

Advocate

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

18% Tuition Hike Slams CUNY Graduate Students

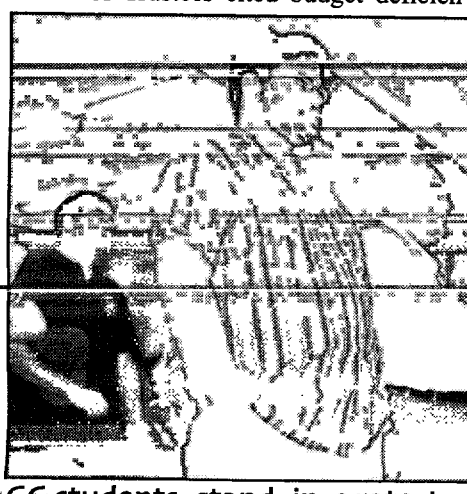
JAMES HOFF

As if New York City was not already expensive enough, Graduate Center students are arriving on campus only to find that their tuition has miraculously increased over the summer by more than 18%. On June 27th the CUNY Board of Trustees, in a near-unanimous decision, voted to approve a revised schedule of tuition and fees for all new and returning senior college graduate and Graduate Center students. Of the 16 board members with voting privileges (10 gubernatorial appointees, 5 mayoral appointees and one student-appointed representative) only the student representative, undergraduate Lauren Fasano, opposed the new tuition schedule. She held that the increases would unduly strain already overburdened graduate students, and that the university should seek more state funding rather than simply increasing tuition.

The new fee schedule, which went into effect for the Fall semester, significantly increases Masters and PhD tuition at all of the university's main campuses including Hunter, City College, Lehman, Baruch, and the Graduate Center, where in-state tuition for Level I PhD students has now increased from \$4,825 to \$5,720 per year.

Increases at other levels were comparable, while some senior college departments faced even larger increases in specialized programs.

In a statement provided to the university community on the day of the vote, the Board of Trustees cited budget deficiencies for senior colleges totaling \$36.3 million as the main reason for the increases.



GC students stand in protest of the Board of Trustees tuition vote.

The Board claimed that these shortfalls were the result of "a \$22.2 million reduction in state operating aid, and \$14 million in increased obligations and needs" which included faculty commitments, facility

needs, environmental health and safety compliance, new building costs at Medgar Evers College and a small portion, reportedly \$300,000, for investments in graduate fellowships.

The Board of Trustees also argued in its statement that the budget shortfalls would

be met, by, among other things, "increased revenue from enrollment growth for new freshmen and increased retention of all classes of students at all of the senior colleges."

The Graduate tuition increases were supported by the City College Department of Engineering and the former Graduate Center President Frances Degen

Horowitz, among others.

However, Hunter Professor of Public Health Nicholas Freudenberg disagreed. In a statement to the Board on June 20th (before the final vote on the 27th) he argued that the new tuition schedule, rather than increasing retention and school

New Trial for Miguel Elale

Adjuncting vs Dog-walking

Is Bush a "Water"?

NYU Grad Student Union Loses Recognition

Academic Repression Inside CUNY

Get the Skinny on the DSC

income, will in fact decrease the total number of graduate students in some programs, and thus the total amount of university revenue. According to Freudenberg, the Hunter College Program in Urban Public Health surveyed its grad-

see *Tuition Increase*, page 3

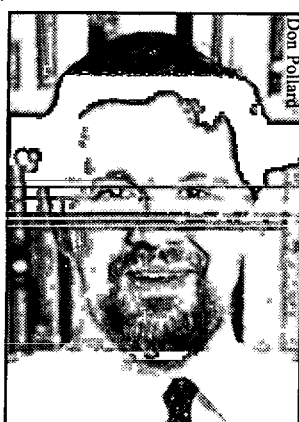
GC Welcomes Bill Kelly as President

This summer, after 14 years under the watch of Frances Degen Horowitz, Provost Bill Kelly was chosen to be president of the Graduate Center.

Originally a scholar of American literature, Kelly came to the GC in 1986 and later was Executive Officer of the English Department before rising to provost.

According to a recent interview with *365 Fifth*, the GC newsletter, Kelly is aware of the struggles ahead, but remains optimistic about the current trajectory of the GC.

According to Kelly, recent successes include substantial hirings of some of the "most distinguished scholars in the world" and an extremely (if only relatively) successful fundraising initiative spearheaded by President Horowitz. He has expressed an interest in rethinking the perception the community has of the GC, including its public programs and



President Bill Kelly

academic offerings. To this end, he hopes to build the GC's MA and MS programs and to focus on developing new and more creative interdisciplinary approaches.

Kelly has also expressed an interest in tapping into the wider CUNY system more effectively to bring new professors at the colleges to CUNY's graduate students. Among his main goals he cites increasing tuition assistance for CUNY adjuncts and building better recruitment packages. The combination of these two initiatives are intended to allow students to focus on their studies and for the GC to be more competitive against the deeper pockets of elite institutions.

As provost, Kelly was always known as a strong advocate for GC students, and developed a reputation for his focus on the scholarly and educational foundations of the GC. *The Advocate* is encouraged by President Kelly's stated goals and welcomes him to his new position.

DSC Welcomes Students Back

DSC Welcomes New Students

The Doctoral Students' Council (DSC) extends a hearty welcome to students new to the CUNY Graduate Center. To those who were away for the summer we say, Welcome back! The DSC is a council of student representatives from all academic programs. Each program elects representatives to the DSC, the number of which is determined on a proportional basis according to the number of students enrolled in the program. There are also at-large representatives elected by the student body as a whole. This council exists to serve student needs and represent student interests before the GC administration. Please visit our recently revamped web page: <http://dsc.gc.cuny.edu>. You can also get there by going to www.gc.cuny.edu and clicking on "Current Students," and then click on "Doctoral Students' Council." On our page you will find more in-depth information regarding some of what appears below.

Save the Wellness Center!

One of the most important student resources at the Graduate Center is the Wellness Center. Today's graduate students rely on the free medical and counseling services provided by the Nurse Practitioner and her trained staff. Unfortunately, due to a lack of continued funding, the Wellness Center will close at the end of the fall semester unless we act now. The administration is willing to cover roughly 50% of the operating costs of the Wellness Center if the Student Activity Fee is increased by \$12 per student per semester, starting in the spring. In order to increase the Student Activity Fee, students must act together by voting "yes" in the referendum. (Of course, even if you oppose the increase we still encourage you to vote. Democracy is more important than the Wellness Center.) The referendum will occur by mail and in person during late September and early October. Have you voted yet?

see *DSC Welcomes Student Back*, page 11

Academic Repression

It's a new academic year, and a new incarnation of *The Advocate*.

Readers who have in the past thought that there were too many snarky photo captions can rest at ease: there will, in all likelihood, be less snarky photo captions in the upcoming year of *The Advocate*. However (and unfortunately for the complainers regarding said captions) there will undoubtedly be an increase in snarky headlines. This is because writing photo captions is the province of the Layout Editor, and after two years in that position, I am now the new Editor-in-Chief. (I should warn readers that as we are still looking to hire a Layout Editor, a snarky photo caption or two may sneak in this issue).

I wish to bid a fond *adieu* to former Editor James Trimarco, whose shoes I am filling. James worked on *The Advocate* for three years and had also migrated from the Layout position. The Editor's job is a time-intensive task (one of the most lethal kinds for a grad student) and the hard work that he committed to the project, in particular in encouraging new writers, was underappreciated by many. I hope that he is able to stay around as a contributor and technical assistant.

Dan Skinner, Managing Editor, is around for another year, his fourth. Due to a sudden calamity, however, the Layout Editor position remains unfilled. If you have some experience in design and would like to apply, please do so ASAP. This is a paid position, and not only do we offer flexible hours, but our computer's I-tunes features many rare ambient, punk and jazz CDs that we have uploaded. *The Advocate* appears three times a semester (usually September-October-November, and February-March-April) and the pay is \$700/issue. Resumes can be sent to our new email address: gcadvocate@gmail.com.

This brings to me our first issue: IR. Not just *The Advocate*, but also the Doctoral Students Council has apparently decided that the GC's Information Resources is an outfit that is too unreliable to count on for communication, and have migrated to Gmail. Enough said.

My position as Editor-in-Chief of my grad school's newspaper is something of just desserts for me, since I was asked to leave high school at 17 in Georgia because of my participation in an underground newspaper, which featured encouragements to oppose the (first) Iraq war and burn the US flag. We were branded troublemakers (quite accurately) and the school bureaucracy focused its resources on removing us. They were successful, and so I went to college a year early, finishing with a BA in Journalism. Later I worked in a variety of broadcast and print media, from corporate (an ABC-affiliate TV station) to radical (such as early incarnation of the NYC Independent Media Center's *Independent* newspaper). I came to the GC four years ago to do in-depth study of social and political theory, and am ostensibly enrolled in the Sociology department here.

I would like to shift *The Advocate's* focus

in some new directions. First, I want to increase the focus on the everyday lives of students at the GC (yes! that means you). What are the real day-to-day issues that concern you? What is it like to adjunct, to be pressured into adjuncting, or to refuse to adjunct? What is being a grad student parent like, or not having the time (or money) to have children, or not wanting to have children even while all your old friends are raising ever get laid at the GC? Where's the best place to fuck here? Ever had sex with a professor, or had problems with professors who have had sex with other students (we get some interesting letters at the paper sometimes...), or have interesting sex work stories? Food, transportation, money, family, stress... all is game. Anonymity can be guaranteed.

I also want to remain focused on the rising censorship and neo-McCarthyism in the academy (and CUNY in particular) directed at silencing radical and progressive voices, be they Communist students at City College, anarchist professors at Yale, or indigenous radicals at Colorado University. There's so much of this going on that we may institute a regular column.

And I want to have a larger "cultural" emphasis, including enhanced coverage of theatre, music, film and art. I want students to feel free to use *The Advocate* to get free passes to concerts and museums, and share their thoughts with the rest of us. And I also want to promote coverage of the cultural production of those who attend the GC itself.

Lastly, please consider contributing to *The Advocate*. Our next deadline is The beginning of October, and hopefully we'll be on the stands in mid-month.

— Spencer Sunshine

THE ADVOCATE

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

CUNY Graduate Center, Rm. 5396
365 Fifth Avenue

New York, NY 10016

Tel: 212 817 7882 or 7885

Email: gcadvocate@gmail.com

Spencer Sunshine
Editor-in-Chief

Dan Skinner
Managing Editor

Abigail Schoneboom
Online Editor

David Hamilton Golland
Media Board Chair

Contributors:

Jennifer Adler, Albert Bregendahl,
James Hoff, Sue Kellogg, Tony
Monchinski, Andrea Morrell, Will
Weikark and Michael Westbrook.

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The Advocate accepts contributions of articles, illustrations, photos and letters to the editor. Please query the above email address. Articles selected for publication will be subjected to editorial revision. Short articles can be up to 800 words, and features should clock in around 1600.

The Advocate is published three times a semester, in September, October and November, and February, March and April. Submissions should be in by the beginning of the month, and print copies will be on the stands around the 15th.

In an effort to keep *Advocate* readers abreast of some of the more egregious cases of attempts to squelch academic freedom, we offer the following updates:

The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) has announced that it will conduct an inquiry into academic freedom at CUNY. According to the *Clarion*, the newspaper of the CUNY Professional Staff Congress, the AAUP is planning to look into at least four cases of apparent "political interference in academic affairs." The two following cases, both at Brooklyn College, were initiated as reactions to articles in *The New York Sun*, which has established itself as a reliable bullhorn for ultranationalist right-wing New Yorkers:

Timothy Shortell, Associate Professor, Sociology Department, Brooklyn College

After Shortell wrote an essay on his blog asking "Could there be any doubt that humanity would be better off without religion" and called religious fanatics "moral retards...doing real harm to others," an article in *The Sun* called on BC President Kimmich to step in to reject his consideration as department chair. Apparently eager to cow to the *Sun*, Kimmich wrote to the *Sun* to condemn Shortell's comments and promising an investigation and swift action. Citing a lack of support from the BC administration, but appreciative of union support, Shortell withdrew himself from consideration for the chair in June.

Priya Parmar, Assistant Professor, Education, Brooklyn College

On May 31, *The Sun* struck again, this time claiming that the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education was "screening students for their political views," and pointing out Professor Parmar to serve as the poster child for biased professors, in toe with the Council. Charges students made against Parmar include her questioning the notion of "grammatically correct" English and arguing for the legitimacy of Ebonics. Parmar was also charged with crass political indoctrination in showing Michael Moore's *Fahrenheit 9/11* in class. In their letter to Chancellor Matthew Goldstein, the AAUP said that, "the *Sun's* screed about Professor Parmar, who is a woman of color, leaned heavily on a mischaracterization of her teaching on Standard English and Ebonics, and treated with contempt the idea that reducing social inequities is relevant to education." AAUP called on Chancellor Goldstein to protect Professor Parmar and other professors from the *Sun's* attacks.

Update on the University of Colorado's Ward Churchill

Since the Colorado Board of Regents failed at its politically-motivated effort to remove tenured Ethnic Studies Professor Ward Churchill from the University of Colorado for controversial statements (you've probably heard about the "little Eichmanns") he made regarding September 11th, they turned toward undermining his tenure on a number of fronts. At issue is an accusation that Churchill lied on his application to benefit from affirmative action, misrepresenting himself as a Native American. In addition, the investigation looked into charges of "plagiarism" and "fabrication of authority" over an article that Churchill never claimed authorship of in the first place, making accusations of plagiarism highly dubious. Though, the investigation is ongoing, Churchill was cleared of the charges of misrepresentation and it is likely that the plagiarism charge will be dismissed as well. As Churchill's colleague Natsu Taylor Saito has noted, "In other words, out of dozens of accusations against Ward, ranging from treason to advocacy of violence to personal threats to misrepresenting his identity to plagiarism, all that remain are a handful of questions regarding historical interpretation and the conventions of citation or attribution." Regardless, Churchill is still being denied an award for excellence in teaching, despite the fact that none of the charges that have been made deal with his teaching.

Come to The Advocate's new year open house

Wednesday, Sept 26th

7-9 pm

Room 5396

free food & w/no

Learn how to get involved,
meet the editors,
dance to DJ I-mac!

Tuition Increase (con't from 1)

uate students during the week of May 16th -20th and found that "for a 20 percent tuition increase (the closest to the increase actually proposed by CUNY), 29 percent of students returning in Fall 2005 reported they would take fewer courses and 13 percent reported that would drop out." Freudenberg also concluded that the tuition increases would disproportionately effect students who are poor and people of color, many of whom are already struggling to pay for their education. The conclusion was that "if students reduced their course load as they reported in the survey, the new tuition would lead to a 9 percent decrease in tuition revenue" for the Public Health program at Hunter, one of the largest in the region.

Freudenberg is not the only member of the university community to come out strongly against the tuition increases. Over 60 faculty members, including City College Professor Bill Crain, an active and outspoken member of the University Faculty Senate, signed a letter in opposition to the increases. David Hamilton Golland, Doctoral Students' Council Co-Chair for Communications (and the University Student Senate's Vice Chair for Graduate Affairs) also came out against the tuition increases. He was largely responsible for organizing a small but noticeable contingent of student protesters (including this reporter), dressed in red, who stood in silent (and not so silent) opposition as the Board of Trustees offered its vote on June 27th.

For Golland, like many others opposed to the new schedule, tuition increases for undergraduate as well as graduate students are simply an unequivocal affront to CUNY's historic mission to provide affordable—formerly free—education to the people of New York City. In fact, Chancellor Matthew Goldstein himself graduated from City College when CUNY was still free. The Board of Trustees, on the other hand, has argued that graduate tuition rates at CUNY colleges are still lower than most comparable programs in the Northeast.

Golland and others, however, are concerned that the Board of Trustees spent such a short amount of time drafting its new business plan and response to the budget deficit. When asked about whether there were other available options besides a tuition increase, Golland slammed the Board of Trustees, saying "a better question would be why the Vice Chancellor's office was able to come up with this plan in only six weeks when they take years to solve what should seem more mundane problems, like the funding of the university's wellness centers and the provision of adequate student health insurance. The bottom line is that there were other possibilities, but the administration took the easiest route and, as it turned out, the path of least resistance."

James Hoff is a PhD student in the English program.



The PSC also held a protest inside the Board of Trustees meeting, asking for a new contract.

New Trial for Miguel Malo Begins

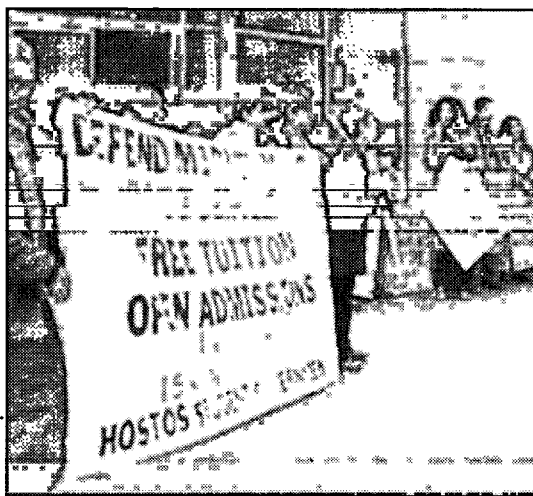
A new trial for embattled CUNY Hostos student Miguel Malo will begin on September 19th. Malo's first trial, for charges of misdemeanor assault and disorderly conduct, was held in December 2003 but resulted in a mistrial. Charges of resisting arrest were dropped during the first trial.

The allegations against Malo stem from an August 2001 incident, when the then-Vice President of the Hostos Student Senate was arrested while protesting cuts in bilingual education at Bronx Community College. Malo and his supporters claim that he is innocent of the charges, and that CUNY 'Peace Officers' beat him after his arrest. He frequently appears at rallies for his own defense holding a poster of injuries he says were inflicted upon him by the officers.

After his arrest Malo was elected president of the Hostos Student Senate, and has drawn a wide range of support. For example, famed radical lawyer Lynne Stewart represented him at his first trial, at least until her own legal problems resulting from federal prosecution and conviction for aiding terrorism.

A variety of individuals and organizations have also asked that charges be dropped against Malo. In February, 2004, just after the first mistrial, the GC Doctoral Students' Council passed a resolution calling for Hostos and the DA to drop the charges, stating that "the circumstances under which Miguel Malo was arrested indicate a desire by CUNY administration to limit even peaceful protests carried out by students." The Professional Staff Congress, the University Faculty Senate, the University Student Senate, AELLA and several CUNY student governments have all issued statements in support of Malo.

A September 6th meeting in support of Malo drew 50 supporters, including Carol Lang, a City College employee who, along with three other students, was arrested in 2004 during an anti-recruiting protest. Also endorsing Malo's case are a handful of Hunter professors, as well as several Trotskyist groups such as the two CUNY Internationalist Clubs, the Revolutionary Reconstruction Club (at Bronx Community College) and Socialist Action.



Scenes from a December 2003 protest at Miguel Malo's first trial. Malo (right) holds up a picture of his injuries which he says CUNY Peace Officers inflicted on him.

Angry about academic repression? So are we. Don't just sit there and wax indignant - take action! Clip out the forms below and send them to Brooklyn College President Christoph Kimmich (free via Inter-CUNY mail) and University of Colorado Interim Chancellor Philip DiStefano.

President Christoph Kimmich
Brooklyn College, 2129 Boylan Hall
2900 Bedford Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11210

President Christoph Kimmich,

As a CUNY student, I am writing to protest your grossly unethical actions regarding the case of Professor Timothy Shortell. You have brought great shame, not just upon Brooklyn College, but upon the whole CUNY system. As you know, Brooklyn College was a major participant in the McCarthy witchhunts, and it seems that you are continuing this sad tradition. It is my understanding that the AAUP is now investigating CUNY, partly on the basis of your attempts to abridge the academic freedom of Professor Shortell. You owe not just Shortell, but all of CUNY, a retraction and an apology.

Sincerely,

Interim Chancellor Philip DiStefano
University of Colorado at Boulder
17 UCB, Regent 301
Boulder, Colorado 80309

Chancellor Philip DiStefano,

I am writing to protest your continued persecution of professor Ward Churchill. The investigations into his ethnic background, as well as accusations of plagiarism, are a thin veneer for UC's politically-motivated witchhunt of professors who dare to speak against the current policies of the Bush administration and the prevailing right-wing climate of our country. You bring disgrace to the university system with your continued actions and we call on you to cease them immediately.

Sincerely,

What Does the Fate of NYU's Graduate Student Union Hold for CUNY?

ANDREA MORRELL

Graduate student workers across the country are nervous in the wake of New York University's recent decision not to recognize the NYU graduate student union. A more conservative National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) under the Bush Administration has made it more difficult for workers to organize in many industries, including in the academy. This trend encourages a graduate student life that is heavy on ramen noodles and light on medical care. While there is clearly a difference between graduate student workers in the CUNY system and the city's private universities, the NYU decision affects us all.

After a favorable decision by the NLRB in 2000, the NYU union, the Graduate Students Organizing Committee (GSOC)/Local 2110 UAW became the first union of graduate students to be recognized at a private university. Their contract, which expired August 31st of this year and covered teaching, research and graduate assistants, was successful in raising stipends an average of 40% and providing paid health benefits for the first time. Under the contract, TAs and RAs earned a \$19,000 annual salary, plus health benefits. The NYU administration has promised that graduate student workers will receive an annual raise of \$1,000 and that the university will continue to pay benefits, but has refused to make this promise legally binding with a contract. According to the NLRB's 2004 reversal of the 2000 ruling (known as the Brown decision), private universities are not obligated to recognize graduate unions; GSOC, however, points out that private universities can, and should, recognize their unions.

A noon demonstration protesting the school's decision not to recognize the union was held on Wednesday, August 31st in front of NYU's Bobst Library. Up to a thousand demonstrators rallied during their lunch hour,

filling the metal pens that the police set up to contain the demonstration. The crowd was a cross-spectrum of local activists and other supporting unions, such as DC-9 and the CUNY's PSC, as well as contingents of students from schools such as Yale. Also present were State Senators José M. Serrano and Tom Duane, and City Council members Gifford Miller, Christine Quinn, Gale Brewer, Robert Jackson and Bill de Blasio. AFL-CIO President John Sweeney addressed the crowd with a bullhorn. The event ended when 76 people, by prior arrangement with the police, sat down in front of Bobst and were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct. Those arrested included Sweeney, Duane, Elizabeth Bunn (Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW), and NYU and Yale students.

The growing movement of graduate student organizing is a reflection of a larger trend in the academy. Not only graduate students, but also part-time and adjunct faculty, now shoulder a greater burden of teaching at both public and private universities. Simultaneous strikes at Columbia and Yale in April 2005 called for recognition of their respective graduate student unions: Graduate Student Employees Union (GESU)/UAW Local 2110 at Columbia, and Graduate Employees and Students Organization (GESO)/UNITE-HERE! at Yale. Their demands for union recognition were informed by the grim prospects academic workers face upon graduation - part-time and adjunct jobs are often the only work available.

At the same time, the 2004 Brown decision asks that teaching assistants and research assistants be considered students rather than workers. In fact, the decision states that graduate student work for the university should merely be considered part of their education. In addition, an internal memo from Columbia University President Alan Brinkley to some university faculty and management in February 2005 (www.thenation.com/special/pdf/brinkley_letter.pdf) suggests that university management retal-

iate against student workers who participate in unionization by delaying their graduation, among other measures. It is clear from the responses of the administrations at Columbia, Yale, and NYU that graduate students' demands for better working conditions constitute an obstacle to the corporatization of education.

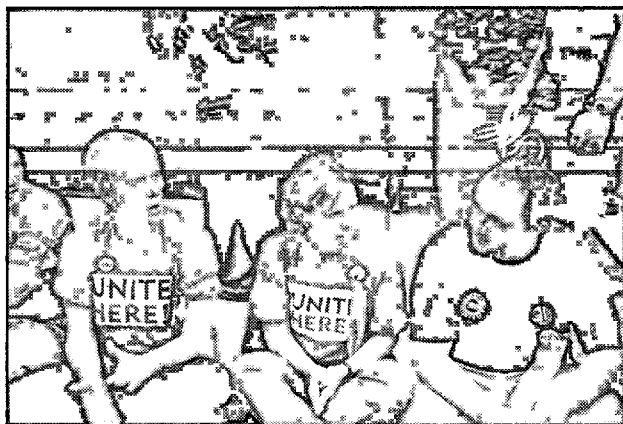
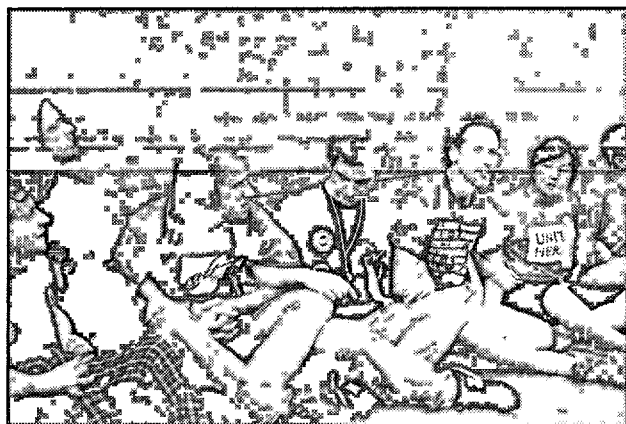
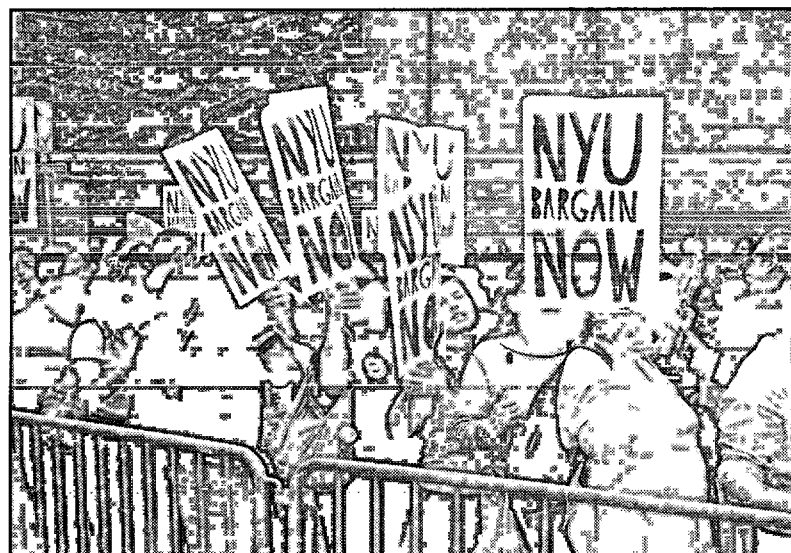
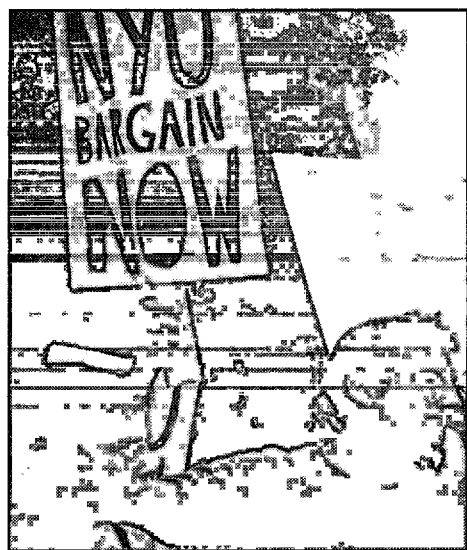
CUNY Grad Students and NYC Academic Workers

Student workers at the CUNY Graduate Center are in a unique position. First, students who teach at the colleges as either adjuncts, Graduate Teaching Fellows, Technology Fellows or Writing Fellows are all members of the same union as other part-time and full-time faculty members, as well as members of the professional staff. This allows CUNY's academic workers to negotiate as a single bargaining unit, bringing to the negotiating table a robust picture of how jobs are shifting from full-time to part-time. Second, many Graduate Center students teach in the CUNY system as adjuncts. This provides no job security, as classes are not guaranteed from semester-to-semester, and may be cancelled with little or no notice. The creation of the Graduate Teaching Fellowships (GTFs) was an attempt to formalize part of this process, promising students two classes a semester at the same college for three years, at less than \$14,000 a year, and with no health insurance. But limited numbers of students receive these fellowships. As adjuncts outnumber full time teaching staff on many CUNY campuses, including BMCC and Queens College, Graduate Center students are essential to keeping the CUNY system afloat.

When considering the dismal pay for CUNY graduate student fellows and adjuncts, NYU's \$19,000 salary may seem like decent compensation. But the labor struggle at NYU can be considered as part of CUNY's struggle for a just contract. An erosion of the conditions of work and study at private institutions will undoubtedly have a negative effect on our already ailing public college and universities. The situation of graduate students at CUNY highlights the intersection of two processes: first, CUNY graduate students, like others in the CUNY system and across the country, are part-timers teaching full course loads and not receiving equal pay, and second, the CUNY system as a whole is severely underfunded, thus limiting the funding for graduate work in general.

The PSC is holding a mass membership meeting September 29th at 6 pm at the Cooper Union Great Hall, 7th Street at 3rd Ave. To get involved in organizing adjuncts and graduate student workers at The Graduate Center, please call the Adjunct Project office at 212-817-7891 or email Andrea Morrell at amorrell@gc.cuny.edu.

Andrea Morrell is a PhD student in the Anthropology department and is the coordinator of the Adjunct Project.



Scenes from the GSOC demonstration : (top left) GC students Antonia Levy and Walter Hergt show their solidarity with GSOC; (top right, bottom right) demonstrators carry stenciled signs inside the designated 'protest pens' in front of Bobst Library; (bottom center and left) some of the 76 awaiting arrest for civil disobedience.

State-Sponsored Hate Speech in the War on Terror: A Plan to Push Back

DAN SKINNER

How fortuitous to be studying language and politics during the War on Terror! Bush has provided so much linguistic fodder that to note his awkward and suspicious tongue has become almost cliché. From slogans such as "compassionate conservatism," to the name games behind the "death tax" and "personal accounts," the Bush administration has established itself as one of the greatest practitioners of the art of linguistic exploitation.

In waging its "War on Terror," however, Bush and his strategists have soared to new rhetorical heights, proving that carefully crafted language can wreak real havoc on a society riddled with fear. This language, as I argue below, is in fact a form of hate speech that provides us not only with a diagnosis of the way the Bush administration's language has shaped and injured American political discourse, but also with a roadmap that can be used to push back and neutralize the language of the War on Terror's injurious capacity.

To better understand the sleight of hand at work in the Bush administration's linguistic strategy, consider J.L. Austin's work on performative speech in his book *How to Do Things With Words* (1962). Performatives, according to Austin, are speech acts that perform actions, with the act of promising serving as his classic example. As what he calls an "illocutionary" performative, the utterance "I promise" is not dependent upon any subsequent actions for its linguistic force. Promising, according to Austin, occurs at the moment of its utterance; its force is immediate and the words themselves are the action, just as saying, "I do," uttered under the right conditions, is engaging in the act of marriage.

A second type of performative is what Austin calls perlocutionary — utterances that force something to happen as a result of their having been uttered. Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. famously distinguished perlocutionary from non-perlocutionary speech acts with his Clear and Present Danger Test in *Schenck v. United States* (1919): "The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent." Noting that the First Amendment does not afford one the right to "falsely [shout] fire in a theatre and [cause] a panic," Justice Holmes distinguished speech that doesn't endanger others' bodies from that which does. For instance, it's okay to falsely shout "fire" in one's own living room, but not in public.

In *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (1996), Judith Butler argues that hate speech is perlocutionary — and, as such, the injuries caused by hate speech are connected by conventions of association, often carrying with them an historically-produced power. For example, the injuriousness effect of uttering "nigger" is not inherent to the word itself; instead, the

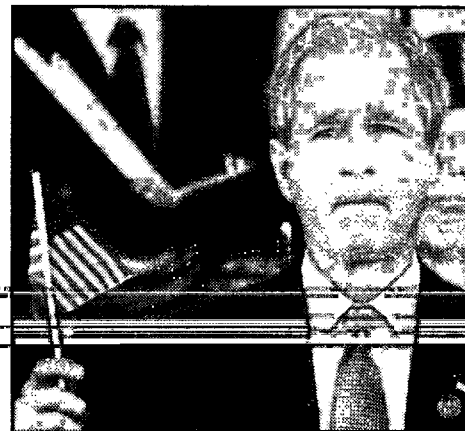
word conjures a history of racially motivated violence, degradation and exclusion, and it has therefore been associated with these significations.

Crucially, Butler argues that hate speech and, in fact, words in general, do not necessarily constitute "Clear and Present Danger" in and of themselves. It follows that, because hate speech's ability to wound — though real — is malleable, the injured are not helpless in the face of hateful perlocutionary speech acts. Instead, the fact of their malleability makes them potential sites of liberation from the injury that they formerly wielded; think, for example, of the reappropriation of "nigger" that has been deployed in rap music and in parts of African American culture. The connection between perlocutionary utterances and their effects can be changed.



most notably on cross burning. According to the Court's decision in *R.A.V. v. The City of St. Paul* (1992), for example, hate speech is to be understood not on the basis of categories of content such as race, sex, gender or sexual orientation, but on the basis of its ability to be construed as action — what the Court had earlier termed "fighting words" that signify intent to do bodily harm.

In *Virginia v. Black* (2003) Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, writing for the majority, argued that "a State, consistent with the First Amendment, may ban cross burning carried out with the intent to intimidate," but in doing so did not prohibit forms of cross burning which were not considered preludes to physical harm. These cases, in short, hinged on the illocutionary/perlocutionary divide: the Virginia statute the Court struck down argued that



Butler v Bush — who do you trust more?

These considerations of performative speech expose the logic of the language deployed by the Bush administration in its "War on Terror." The force of performative utterances and their relation to "facts," for example, is behind the now-famous claim made by a high-level Bush administration official in 2003, reported in the *New York Times Magazine*, that liberals were living in a "reality-based community." The Administration, on the other hand, saw itself as creating its own reality through political power. In step with this claim, official government warnings of danger, and the actions these protestations encourage, has been used to turn speech acts into powerful reality shapers.

By the language of the War on Terror, I refer to the whole range of linguistic devices, phrases and slogans, as well as vehicles of "communication" such as the Office of Homeland Security's Terror Alert Status chart — all of which the US government claims are intended to keep Americans aware of the degree of threat that "terrorism" poses to their lives. Since the collective practical effect of these devices is to alter the way in which Americans behave, understanding how these perceptions are structured is necessary to assess the state of American democracy.

The Bush administration's language strategy for the War on Terror fits the legal definition of hate speech according to the Supreme Court's most recent findings,

the very appearance of a burning cross carried with it illocutionary force and that, with reference to hate speech, a distinction between an utterance and an action could not be made. Then, in finding that injury is not inherent to uttering hateful language, the Court distinguished utterances from those meanings that are often associated with them. In this, the Court suggested that it is society — and not language as such — that associates these signs with their significations of injury. The First Amendment, the Court found, protects such signs.

Of course, the ideas behind cross burning are clear, but what was at stake in *Virginia v. Black* was what role, if any, the state should play in restricting speech, and whether space was retained for the re-signification of these acts of hate speech. If the Court had banned all cross burning on the grounds that the speech itself was injurious, it would have ensured the permanent injury of the speech itself by deeming its utterance unspeakable, with no chance for reversing or neutralizing its injurious capacity. Butler argues that legal prohibitions make permanent the wounds of injurious speech by "sedimenting" the connection between words and injury. Rather than eradicating injury, such efforts make it a permanent feature of the utterance by "foreclosing" its meaning and historical resonance. This prohibition, in turn, has the paradoxical effect of affirming the language's injuriousness.

In their practical application, claims

made by leaders about a world reshaped by terrorism have had just such an injurious effect on Americans' lives. Like cross burning and other forms of hate speech, these claims seek to pull people into their linguistic web, structuring the discursive environment through which the world is understood and, on occasion, questioned. Given that the US government can project its voice widely through the media, using a protective frame of patriotism and national security to preclude dissent, the language of the War on Terror can only be assumed to be issued with the intention of doing bodily harm. Seen from another perspective, it is clear that the language of terrorism has no communicative value aside from conditioning the behaviors of Americans through fear.

In projecting a pervasive framework of fear, pitting citizens against citizens and encouraging neighbors to inform on neighbors, the US government has created the conditions for social behaviors that would make Pavlov cringe. The effectiveness of this fear was confirmed in a recent national poll indicating that 64% of Americans would "be willing to give up some of [their] personal freedom in order to reduce the threat of terrorism" and that 65% of Americans value their "safety" over "civil liberties or privacy." (1) The inexplicability of the terror alert status color chart is an even more glaring example of the inattention paid to the injurious capacity of the US government's significations of terrorism and, hence, if not the intent, the reckless disregard with which these messages are being deployed. Though former Secretary of Homeland Security Tom Ridge has acknowledged that the chart is confusing, the best that current Secretary Michael Chertoff can promise is that a review of its effectiveness is ongoing. Meanwhile, the chart continues to do violence to Americans' lives.

The US government has not, as many have suggested it should, encouraged the mobilization of civic action. Instead it has de-mobilized American society itself, with notions of citizenship increasingly limited to a passive cooperation with official acts, while newly unleashed law enforcement agents search bags, tap phones, and take "suspicious" people off New York City tour buses simply because they possess dark complexions and backpacks. Worse still, citizens are not encouraged to engage one another and no new forums for political participation and communication have been established — all absences that have degraded the degree and quality of communication in American political discourse. Even contesting deeply questionable elections is considered within this context to undermine American national security. (It should be noted, however, that Al Gore's "unite the nation" concession speech occurred before Sept. 11, testament to the fact that the conditions of what is commonly called the "post-Sept. 11 world" were in no way ushered in by the attacks themselves.)

Be scared, Americans are told. And, imminently exploitable in their moment of

see *Is GW a 'Hater'?*, page 6

Is GW a 'Hater'? (con't from 5)

weakness, they heed the force of the state's utterance.

I traveled to Berlin for a month last summer and, as often happens in New York when one blinks, the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) implemented a series of new anti-terror advisories and protocols. Upon returning, on my first daily underground commute I was treated to the following announcement, repeated about every five stops: "If you see a suspicious package or activity on the train or platform, do not keep it to yourself. Tell a police officer or MTA employee." With this, the automatic voice system on the fancy new subway trains – the much exalted technologies that the MTA had promised would be used to update New Yorkers about route and schedule changes, and make the MTA more rider-friendly – was transformed into a bullhorn of fear. "If you see something, say something," posters advise. As the announcements roll, New Yorkers look around, for something – for anything – "suspicious." I caught myself thinking that maybe my bag was suspicious, too.

It was on that day that I decided to undertake a quaint experiment in performativity. I placed a hastily constructed "suspicious package" patch on my bag, which, on any given day, contains not bombs or sarin gas, but notebooks and, sometimes, school books. Suspicious indeed.

I soon found that my little tag carried with it a big voice: those two little words, pinned to my bag instead of vomiting from some law enforcement bullhorn, provoked both approving smiles and skeptical sneers that could only be interpreted as an instinctive understanding of the power – but also the fragility – of performative speech. Regardless of the reaction, however, those two words revealed the wisdom of Butler's argument: the language of fear is contestable. Like Bush's "Mission Accomplished" banner or his fake Thanksgiving turkey: saying that something is doesn't make it so.

The relationship between appearances and reality is, of course, not something that the average citizen thinks much about explicitly. And, as I'm often reminded by those who are suspicious of my criticisms, Sept. 11 really did happen, as did the post-Sept. 11 Bali, London, Madrid and Sharm-El-Sheik bombings. "People really died, and you're poking fun at a serious problem," they claim.

This, of course, misses the point. Sure, all of that happened. But so did March 23, 2003 – the day the US and Britain unleashed their own "shock and awe" on Iraq. Similarly, what Americans call the "Vietnam War" the Vietnamese call the "American War." Reality is important, but perspective rules.

So what of "suspicious packages" and the perpetual fear which performatives reek on society? To free the injured – Americans, in this case – from this grip of per-

formative violence, it is neither necessary nor wise to try and prevent these contrived speech acts from being uttered. Those announcements and reminders serve as evidence of what the US government would prefer Americans feel on a daily basis. They present not the world, but the way in which the government would prefer that Americans see the world. As significations, these speech acts can be – at least potentially – neutralized, if not turned back on themselves. This is not unlike the reappropriation of "queer" that, while not removing the injury, has, at least in part, redirected the blunt injuriousness that the word once carried for homosexuals.



J.L. Austin

To attempt to stop hate speech, Butler argues, would only serve to "foreclose" the possibilities that performative language carries with it, placing the determinations of such foreclosure in the hands of the government. Butler suggests instead, to "Consider the situation in which racist speech is contested to the point that it does not have the power to effect the subordination that it espouses and recommends; the undetermined relation between saying and doing is successfully exploited in depriving the saying of its projected performative power."

Moreover, Butler argues that "To give the task of adjudicating hate speech to the state is to give that task of misappropriation to the state." Her suspicions in *Excitable Speech* were confirmed by Justice Clarence Thomas's dissenting opinion in *Virginia v. Black*, where he equated the necessity of banning cross burning with prohibiting the burning of the American flag. Both acts, Thomas argued, constituted special categories because of their "unique position...in our Nation's 200 years of history." Thomas's willingness to equate criticism of the state with the intimidation of blacks, Jews and other minorities illustrates the

slippery continuum on which hate speech slides.

Instead of seeking to prevent its deployment, the language that has framed the War on Terror should be exploited, and with it the ridiculous images that raise the fairly rare occurrence of terrorism to the level of an insidious societal narrative capable of shaping Americans' lives. Austin argued that performatives are dependent upon the context within which they are uttered. With this in mind, efforts to reappropriate and reformulate the language of the War on Terror requires what Jacques Derrida called a "break with context" to free the words that have constituted our understanding of the War from the structures that anchor their meanings. This could be carried out through counter claims of rhetorical ridiculousness like calling ourselves "suspicious" and reminding our friends and family at every turn that they should be scared, too. Far from exacerbating the problem, doing so serves as a form of what Butler calls "insurrectionary speech" that reveals the artificiality of the claim in a way that contesting it through contradiction cannot. Stealing and reappropriating the panoply of frames that constitute the language of the War on Terror could provide new spaces for reconsidering the current state of violence that the current political discourse has supported.

The central dilemma confronting those concerned with the discourse of terrorism is that as communicative beings, we sometimes forget that language (and hence its potential injury) is conventional and, therefore, contestable. This requires nothing less than a state of hyper-awareness and a constant critique of the way in which language shapes – and the injured let it shape and hence delimit – possibility and political imagination. This, of course, is to usher in what Foucault called "a politics of discomfort." But this politics, though not comfortable, adds to a pervasive anxiety a hope that comes from the disruption and liberation of language from the state.

As both Austin and Butler acknowledge, speech acts are crucial elements of potential power. In what was formerly said to be a "Global War on Terror" but, according to the Bush administration's most recent frame, is now a "Global Struggle Against Violent Extremism," questioning the unquestioned formulation of official language must be part of efforts to challenge them. Resisting the formulations of the language deployed in the War on Terror, and the meanings that the U.S. government seeks to impose upon it, makes freedom possible in the face of pervasive violence.

(1) Fox News/Opinion Dynamics Poll. July 26-27, 2005. N=900 registered votes nationwide. MoE ± 3.

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The next deadline is October 3rd. We pay \$35 for short articles and \$50 for full-length features. We always have topics for you to cover if you want to write but don't have a specific proposal. We are especially interested in GC and CUNY coverage; articles on academic repression; and true stories of the everyday lives of GC students.

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100 Years of Wobblies at the GC

SPENCER SUNSHINE

In tandem with the current exhibit in the hallway outside of 365 Café, on September 13th the GC hosted a celebration of both the 100th anniversary of the radical labor union, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), and the release of the book *Wobblies! A Graphic History of the IWW*. The book's editors, Paul Buhle and Nicole Schulman, were on hand, in addition to several of the contributing artists and Daniel Gross, an organizer with IWW's Starbucks Workers Union.

The IWW was founded in 1905 as a new kind of labor union. Influenced by European syndicalism, it organized all workers regardless of industry, job or identity. At that time other unions such as the AFL would only organize specific job categories or individual industries, and often refused membership to people of color or women. The Wobblies (the nickname given to IWW members) refused alliances with political parties and relied on strategies of direct action, such as sabotage and strikes. They advocated abolishing capitalism by organizing the workers into "one big union," which would then take over industries and run them themselves (instead of having them administered by a centralized state).

Buhle quipped that on his speaking tour, people tended to either be over 55 or under

30, and the crowd at the GC proved to be no exception. Although the Wobblies are more closely associated with left-wing anarchism than Marxist socialism, the crowd in general was scarcely distinguishable from the usual grey-haired Communist crowd that is so ubiquitous in this city.

One the exception to this rule was Daniel Gross, who spoke about the current campaign by the IWW to organize Starbucks workers, especially in New York City. After giving the update on the current situation of the union, he proclaimed "We look forward to the day when the partners at Starbucks, associates at Wal-Mart, and team members at Kinkos all march together under Wobbly banner reading 'for the abolition of wage slavery.'" (One wonders what the small business owners driven out of business by Starbucks and Wal-Mart would think of this proposal.) He received a rousing ovation.

Artists Sabrina Jones, Peter Kuper and Seth Tobocman all showed slides of their work from the book. John Pietaro and Laurie Towers played renditions of old Wobbly songs, which were clearly geared toward the over 55 crowd, especially in juxtaposition to an artist like Tobocman, a famous figure in the punk countercultural scene.

The IWW exhibit will remain up in the 1st floor hallway until September 30th.

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AAARI / AAHEC 2005 Annual Banquet



Date: Friday, October 14, 2005
Time: 6:00 PM to 9:00 PM

Place: Gum Fung Restaurant
136-28 39th Avenue, Flushing, NY 11355

Banquet Committee Chair: Dr. Matthew Goldstein;
Chancellor, The City University of New York

Banquet Honorees



Mr. Allan Dobrin; Senior Vice Chancellor, CUNY

Hon. John C. Liu; Member, NYC Council

Mr. Alex New; President, Wen-Parker Logistics

Dr. Brian Schwartz; Vice President; Research & Sponsored Programs, CUNY Graduate Center

Price Per Ticket: \$70.00 (\$60 Members/\$30 Students)
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Please RSVP by Friday, September 30, 2005

Friday Evening Lecture Series

Time: 6:00 PM to 8:00 PM

Place: 25 W. 43rd St., 18th Floor, btwn 5th & 6th Ave., Manhattan

- 09-16-05 Danian Hu (City College, CUNY), "The Reception of Einstein and His Theory of Relativity in China, 1917-1979"
- 09-23-05 Robert Lurz (Brooklyn College, CUNY), "Consciousness and the Representational Theory of Mind"
- 09-30-05 Mehdi Bozorgmehr (City College, CUNY), "Examining Backlash on Middle Eastern and South Asian Americans in Wake of 9/11"

Admission: \$3 (Non-Member) | \$1 (Student) | Free (Member)

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Date: Friday, November 11, 2005
Time: 1 PM to 6 PM (Tentative)

Place: Skylight Room -
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Sequels: Sex, Zombies and Rock'n'Roll

System of a Down, *Mesmerize*

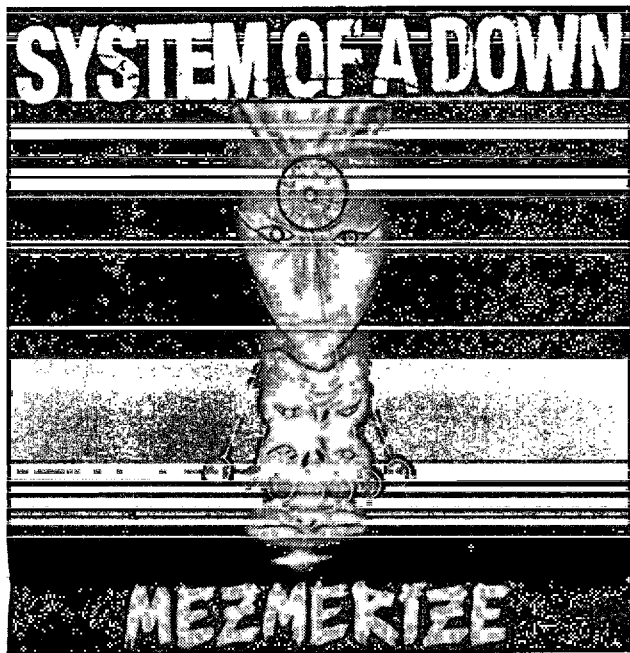
George A. Romero, *Land of the Dead*

Niles Eldredge, *Why We Do It: Rethinking Sex and the Selfish Gene*

TONY MONCHINSKI

ROCK

Two concept albums dropped in the world of hard rock in 2005, Green Day's *American Idiot* and System of a Down's (SOAD) *Mesmerize*. At least I'm told *American Idiot* is a concept album; I'm still trying to figure out what the concept is as I groove to the first five tracks. SOAD, on the other hand, delivers an eminently rockable album



that is only 36 minutes long, leaving metal fans wanting more. Don't fear: rather than release a double album, SOAD chose to put *Mesmerize* out in May, with the follow-up *Hypnotize* on its way in the fall.

The element pervading *Mesmerize*, the follow up album to 2001's successful *Toxicity*, is pessimism. *Toxicity* (SOAD's 3rd on a major record label), with its anti-capitalist-cum-spiritual themes took awhile to be received, issuing as it did the week of 9/11. *Mesmerize*'s release finds the U.S. embroiled in Iraq with no end in sight, and it shows on the tracks. The CD's most successful single to date, "B.Y.O.B. (Bring Your Own Bombs)" contains the chorus: "Why don't presidents fight the war/ Why do they always send the poor?" In contrast to suicide bombers, under-armored Humvees and 120 degree heat, we get "Everybody's going to the party have a real good time/ Dancing in the desert blowing up the sunshine," a line which evokes actor James Cromwell's (*Babe*, *Six Feet Under*) comment at the Oscars that it was "obscene" that people were dying in Iraq while the glitterati and paparazzi lined the red carpet at another awards show.

The familiar SOAD themes are there. Anti-capitalism abounds. "We're the regulators that deregulate," lead vocalist Serj Tankian croons on "Cigaro," "We're the propagators of all genocide/ burning through the worlds resources/ then we turn and hide." Popular culture, of which they are no doubt a part, is taken to task in "Violent Pornography," where guitarist Daron Malakian, sharing more vocals duties than on previous outings, reminds us "It's a violent pornography/ Choking chicks and sodomy/ The kinda shit you get on your TV." Call it "spirituality," the element that abounded on *Toxicity* is largely absent from this album, although Malakian's "Lost in Hollywood" keeps the theme alive.

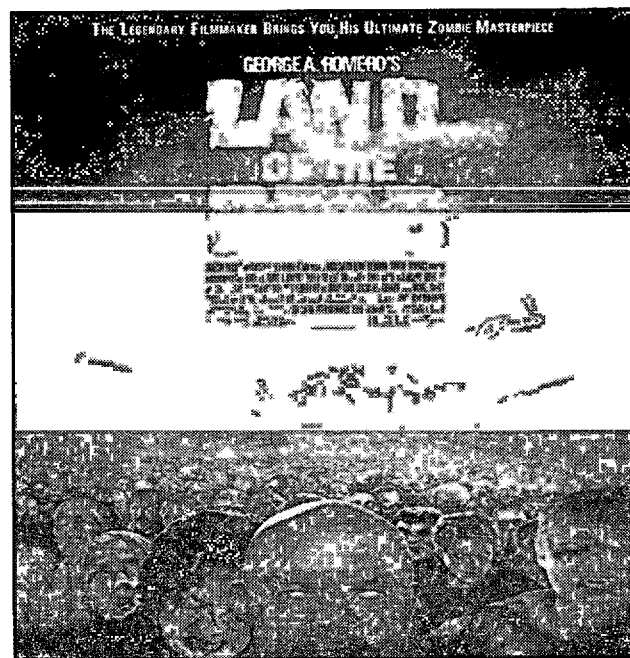
Instead we get a bipolar album. At the same time that we are inundated by powerful metal riffs that make one want to get up and break something—try and sit still for the first twenty seconds of "B.Y.O.B.": we bear the lament of "Sad Statue," "You and me/ We'll all go down in history/ With a sad statue of liberty/ And a generation that didn't agree." Later in the same track Serj, in a pierc-

ing, plaintive cry, asks "What is it in us that turns a deaf ear to the cries of human suffering?" Of course there is the usual "What the heck are they talking about" lyrics that have confounded some critics (E.g., "Gonorrhea gonorrhea"—?).

If you've ever seen the Armenian-American rockers you know they're not your typical rock and roll band, relying on glam and good looks in place of talent. *Mesmerize* delivers. It's a kick ass metal album put out by progressive artists. Maybe you caught them performing on *Saturday Night Live* where an f-bomb got by the censors. The CD booklet is printed on recycled materials featuring artwork by Daron's dad. Past albums prove that SOAD aren't content to merely whine about the state of affairs; expect a more-upbeat album when they lay down *Hypnotize*.

ZOMBIES

If the theme of *Mesmerize* is one of pessimism, a much bleaker scene could not be imagined than that presented in the long anticipated fourth film in George A. Romero's zombie saga, *Land of the Dead*. Those familiar with this films predecessors (*Night of the Living Dead*, *Dawn of the Dead*, and *Day of the Dead*) and the host of imitators they spawned are probably already well-schooled in zombie lore. Imagine a world where cannibalistic zombies stagger around craving their next human happy meal. A world where the undead expand exponentially and humans fend as best they can behind electric fences in fortified cities. A



nightmare existence that, alas, has done little to extinguish the baser aspects of human nature.

Land in a nutshell: A city of human beings survives, protected by rivers and electrified barriers. The city is a virtual fiefdom of CEO Kaufman (played by a wonderfully low key but hilarious-in-a-black-humor-sort-of-way Dennis Hopper) who resides along with the rest of the rich in the penthouses of Fiddler's Green, a sky scraper that towers over the city's indigent and indignant inhabitants. You might like to think - I sure do! - that humans would draw together in the face of the kind of post-apocalyptic horror they're forced to confront, but they don't. Greed, skulduggery, and venality are the order of the day. Kaufman and his fat cat cronies are protected by a military force and a special mercenary squad that travels out of the city in a heavily armored 18 wheeler-looking fort, the Dead Reckoning (the original title for the film, by the way), bringing back food, supplies and luxury items. Cholo (John Leguizamo, in a fine performance) plays one of the mercenaries who grows too big for his britches.

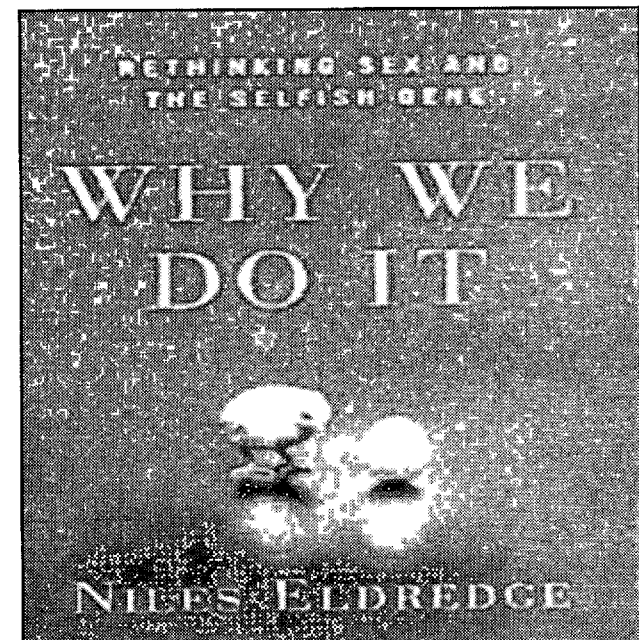
When Kaufman denies Cholo an apartment in Fiddler's Green, the slighted merc car jacks the Dead Reckoning, drives it out of the protected confines of the city, and threatens to use its multiple missile launchers to blow up the sky scraper. Kaufman has no choice but to send good guy Guy Smiley, I mean Riley (Simon Baker) and his oddball menagerie of literally straight shooting social rejects to wrestle the Dead Reckoning away from Cholo.

The dead movies have long been known for their gore and special effects. That is all apparent here, from a zombie reaching into a victim's mouth and pulling out the esophagus to spinal columns ripped out of backs. What the films have not been known for are their characterization, but in *Land of the Dead* Romero shows he has grown as a director. Not only are the human beings here the most likeable and sympathetic of the four films, but the undead are as well. At the same time that Simon is trying to retake the Dead Reckoning, a zombie army is amassing, led by Big Daddy (Eugene Clarke), who was a gasoline-attendant in another life. This zombie shows emotion: from rage at the humans as they mow down his undead brethren to compassion as he uses an assault rifle to end the misery of a caterwauling immolated fellow zombie. Big Daddy is the Che Guevara of zombies, minus the funky beret but plus an appetite for human vittles. He leads the evolution of the zombies. The zombies learn to communicate in a rudimentary manner (text messages and emails are still beyond their grasp). Hmm, if head shots are the only thing that can take out a zombie, then that means they can't drown. And if they can't drown, well then they can just plunge right into a river and walk across the bottom to the other side where they can wreck havoc on rich and poor alike, right? You get the idea.

Romero has always sprinkled social commentary in his zombie flicks and *Land* is not exempt. Kaufmann, pressed by Cholo's actions, refuses to comply with the demands of "terrorists." When the denizens of Fiddler's Green find themselves between a rock and hard place (literally between an electrified fence and the undead horde), it gives new meaning to the phrase "eat the rich." The good guys in *Land* include a prostitute and a possibly retarded burn victim.

It's really quite fortuitous that *Land* got made. Romero has been yearning to do a sequel for the past couple decades, but no major studio was offering the money so he could do it right. In the last few years, with the success of zombie films like *28 Days Later*, a remake of *Dawn*, and *Shaun of the Dead*, interest and profitability in the undead has been sparked anew. In short, dollars dictated the res-

can't on next page



Suggestions for a New New Orleans

MICHAEL WESTBROOK

Foreboding best described the general feeling during my past discussions of potential major hurricane effects on New Orleans. But, in the end, imagination proved to be a mediocre preparation for reality.

I am hesitant to criticize the Mayor, Governor or President for their reactions. Factors such as the expense of preparing a modern city's infrastructure to withstand a Category Five hurricane, the commitment of the National Guard and other US assets over seas, and non-compliance with evacuation instructions by many citizens may all offset the shortcomings assigned to city, state, and federal officials.

Nonetheless, tens of thousands are now government wards, requiring water, food, clothing, shelter, medicine, and hope.

For want of proper levies, port activities have been disrupted along the Central Gulf Coast, which will affect commercial agricultural, chemical, and skilled manufacturing from the Rockies to the Appalachians (the American Heartland). National assets impacted by this hurricane include the human population, emergency services, homeland security, energy infrastructure, heartland commerce, and national health.

On August 29, 2005 over a million Americans woke up in a third world country, without drinkable water, food, power, a residence, or a place to migrate. Global TV showed them wading through mixed salt and fresh water, rich with eroded sediment, inherent biomes, human waste, petroleum, chemicals, dead animals and living reptiles.

'Down South' standing water promotes mosquito populations that spread diseases.

Putrefaction of food, untreated human waste, and animal carcasses will soon yield noxious odors and dangerous conditions as dis-

ease vectors dispersed by decomposers (greenflies, maggots, and others).

But for a lack of funding how much of this disaster was preventable? CUNY's own courses have shown this to be the case.

Based on CCNY's "Wind-Effects on Structures" course, window failure in the northern face of the crescent shaped New Orleans Hyatt Hotel was predictable based on the low pressure gradient formed by 140 mph winds off the Gulf to the south.

CCNY EAS oceanography predicted the combined height of storm surge and tide, on the basis of air pressure and tide tables.

Cooper Union's ME (Masters of Engineering) training allows building design and construction to resist dynamic forces equivalent to a thirty-foot wall of water moving at 20 mph.

And Hunter College's 'coastal processes' study supported building a levee system around New Orleans capable of resisting the strongest known storm winds, 200 mph.

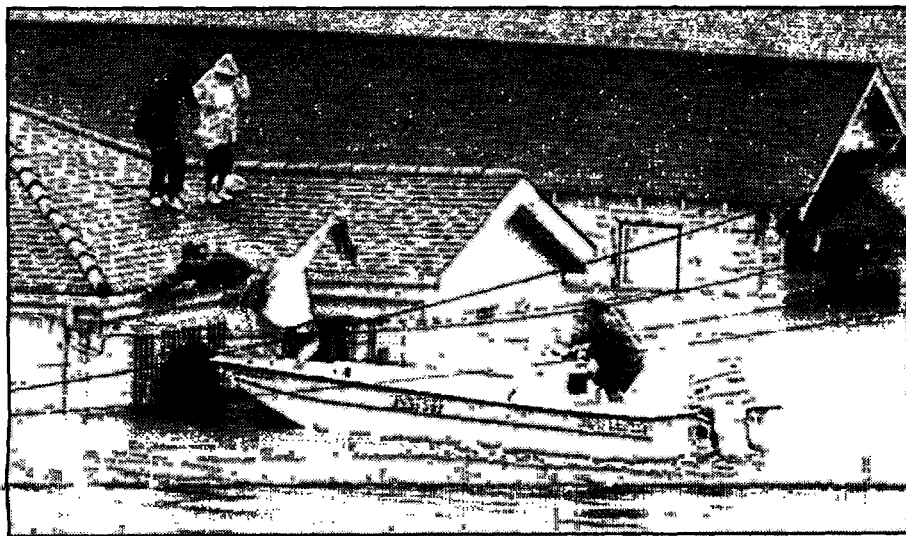
On a positive note, actual benefits may accrue from

reconstruction efforts. I challenge "Homeland Security" planners to consider the follow measures.

FEMA should help communities prepare for at least one week of emergency self sufficiency. New Orleans levees should be rebuilt to withstand Category 6 storms. Coastal building codes for large residential and commercial occupancy buildings should be amended to include alternative power and sustainable sewage treatment options for emergencies. FEMA should also maintain mobile rapid response facilities for all critical needs areas highlighted by Katrina, like communications, power, medical treatment, mass decontamination, inoculation, and corpse management.

A last thought on looters, extrapolated from life as well as from material studied at Brigham Young University Rexburg in Anthropology, and at Hunter College in limnology class. To Matt Lauer, morning co-host of the *Today Show*: "Lighten Up!" Consider the disenfranchised desperate hungry people whose nefarious activities you vilify as agents of sustainability; rising water will destroy food in powerless stores anyway.

As for manufactured goods, allow as justification for such acts the faulty logic encoded in the statement "it's covered by insurance." In truth we might assign this short-lived bounty historic significance as reparations for: slavery, the Hayes/Tilden betrayal, unleashing the KKK, "Jim Crow" police brutality, Farm Bureau loan discrimination, and a host of other institutionalized and socialized forms of pandemic discrimination both overt and covert.



Michael Westbrook is a DSC Communications Representative and PhD student in the Earth and Environmental Sciences program. He was born before Hurricane Camille about 90 miles north of Memphis on the Mississippi River.

Sequels (con't)

urrection of the Romero franchise, not artistic merit or genius, although both of the later ingredients are on display here. One thing's for sure, we can expect a whole slew of zombie movies after this one.

FUCKING

Life leads to death and sex leads to life, and hopefully along the way you're not eating anyone. So you might ask, how does Niles Eldredge's *Why We Do It* fit into a review of "sequels"? After all, Eldredge, unlike Jared Diamond and Jenna Jameson, hasn't written a book about sex before. Chances are, however, if you're like most other human beings, you spend a good deal of time thinking about sex. Maybe you spend part of the first day in class each new semester perusing the syllabus and checking out the guys or girls in your class, figuring out who's the hottest. Perhaps you wonder what goes on in the booths of the Peep-O-Rama around the corner from the GC, or maybe you've already visited them with your handful of quarters today. Fact is, you've probably already thought about sex sometime following today's sunrise, so bringing the subject of Eldredge's book up is a sequel of sorts to what has been passing through your mind already. Blushing now, right? No need. Eldredge is here to tell you its okay, it's perfectly natural, human even, to think about sex and engage in coitus.

So what else is Eldredge doing with his book? Well, the curator at the American Museum of Natural History is reviving a war of sorts that had momentarily quieted down with the passing of his friend and colleague Stephen Jay Gould. Gould and Eldredge, best known in the natural sciences for their theory of "punctuated equilibrium," were engaged in a battle against a competing faction of evolutionary theorizing exemplified by the work of Richard Dawkins and E.O. Wilson. The two camps agree on a lot but disagree on a couple of important particulars. Gould and Eldredge held that natural selection acts on individual organisms. Dawkins and his camp see selection acting on gene lineages, with the genes "struggle" to replicate driv-

ing the history of evolution.

Gould and Eldredge criticized Dawkins as a reductionist, placing too much emphasis on "selfish genes." Gould argued that individual genes usually don't have a consistent enough effect on their bearer's fitness to back Dawkins' claim. Gould held that changes between genetic generations do not accumulate, whereas Dawkins feels it does. Gould is gone now, but not forgotten, and the torch against sociobiology, evolutionary psychology and genetic determinism has been passed to Eldredge.

And it's not like Eldredge isn't a capable opponent. He is. In *Why We Do It*, he points out that human sexuality includes a lot of practices that don't lead to reproduction. Masturbation, contraception, autoerotic asphyxiation, fisting, Roman showers—none of this results in offspring. So obviously genes can't be driving evolution, right? Well, not necessarily. In his landmark 1976 work, Dawkins posited that human bodies are survival machines for our genes. One of Eldredge's concerns, which he doesn't delve into much in the book besides mentioning it in the first chapter, is political. "...to reduce our existence in this manner," he writes, "to see ourselves as mere shells being marched around by our inner genes, is not just bad biology. It verges on a willfully stupid joke or, even worse, a malevolent political doctrine."

I share Eldredge's concern, but I don't think most who subscribe to the selfish gene theory would be willing to write off bad behavior as something our genes make us do, or to embrace Social Darwinism. Indeed, one thing Dawkins has always been very clear about is that, although our genes have programmed us to do what it takes to ensure their survival, we have free will and don't always make decisions that are in line with our gene's preferences. For example, some evolutionary psychologists argue that monogamy isn't natural for the human male, but our society prizes monogamy in marriage and relationships and many people make good faith efforts to see it through. And what about suicide?

Of course, speaking of genes "driving" and "programming" is misleading personification. "We have come to be besotted by genes," fumes Eldredge, "seeing them as the

masterminds of the biological universe and as the determinants of all that is human." Yes, Niles, but genes don't think. Human brains in human beings do. And human beings are composed of genes, genes in us that have very successfully been passed down for thousands of years.

Eldredge breaks life processes down into what he calls economics and reproduction. Economics involves finding shelter and food. Reproduction is getting jiggy with it to make babies and ensure the continuation of the species. The thing is, when a couple makes love, even if they do so to create a child, they're not thinking, "Ah, here we go doing our part to continue the species." But, even if this isn't what they're thinking, it is in fact what they are instrumental in doing, and this is the heart of the selfish gene theory.

Everything humans need in order to survive is pleasurable. Starving? Doesn't that food taste good? Freezing? Doesn't it feel great to climb under those blankets? Gotta pee—what a relief to release yourself, right? Much better than having your bladder explode. So why is sex any different? It doesn't matter if it's with ourselves, a member of the same sex, or with a member of the opposite sex but not aimed at reproduction. Enough human beings are going to engage in old fashioned man-woman breeder sex to see that the human race continues.

Eldredge and his concerns are not without merit. I agree with him wholeheartedly that some evolutionary psychologists take genetic determinism to far. For example, I don't think I agree that rape exists because at one time it provided a biological advantage in that the rapist spread more of his genes, an argument some evolutionary psychologists have made. Intellectual fisticuffs like this make for interesting reading. However, given the rise of religious fundamentalism at home in America as well as the rest of the world, I think there are other things Eldredge and Dawkins could spend their time arguing about and against.

Tom Monchinski is a PhD student in the Political Science department.

DSC Chartered Student Organizations

ACM (Association for Computer Machinery)
AELLA (Latino & Latin-American
Students Association)
Africa Research Group
Africana Studies Group
American Studies Group (aka CUNY
Americanists)
Black Student Alliance (BSA)
Chinese Students & Scholars Organization
Culture Club
DSA/Democratic Socialists
of America at CUNY
Eighteenth Century Studies Group
Ethnobiology Studies Group
Feminist Studies Group
Free CUNY
Global Studies Collective
International Socialists' Organization
Korean Student Association
Japan Study Group
L'Atelier
Language Studies Organization
PART (Art History Journal)
Pearle Kibre Medieval Study
Postcolonial Studies Group
QUNY / The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual,
Transgendered and Queer Student Group
SPTSA / Social and Political Theory
Students Organization
Taiwanese Students Organization
Turkish Students Association
Twentieth Century Studies Group
Women of Color Network

For contact info, click on "Clubs"
at <http://dsc.gc.cuny.edu>

Chair of CUNY University Student Senate Impeached

Lauren Fasano, the chairperson the CUNY University Student Senate (USS), was impeached over the summer, but administrative officials overseeing the process prohibited a final vote on her removal on the basis of a technicality.

Members of the USS Steering Committee charged Fasano, a student at City College, with unauthorized spending. She was accused of authorizing expenditures of \$14,000 for CUNY-Family Day, whereas the chair's position only allows for expenditures of \$3,500 without prior approval. On June 20th, a vote of "no confidence" was passed against Fasano, and her resignation was requested, which she refused. A vote of impeachment was then passed; both votes were by 4-3 margins.

A vote of all USS members was set for July 31st on whether Fasano should receive a trial on the Articles of Impeachment, but only six of the 27 senators were in attendance because of the summer break. USS senators claim that that day an agreement was reached with the Student Affairs Office to allow for absentee voting on the

Articles of Impeachment. However, University Assistant Dean Harry Franklin said that after consulting the legal experts at the Office of General Counsel, the next day Student Affairs declared that the vote had to take place in person.

Fasano's term ends on October 25th, but she remains eligible to run for the same office again.

Despite repeated attempts, *The Advocate* was not able to contact Fasano for comment.



USS Chair Lauren Fasano

New Research Grant Opportunity for GC Students

JENNIFER ADLER

Just when you thought CUNY was only capable of cutting support availability for doctoral level research, students now have the opportunity to apply to a new source of funding, the Graduate Research Grants Program. This new program aims to foster a research-oriented academic culture among doctoral students by providing incentives for students to prepare and submit research proposals to funding sources; in this manner students can apply for funding themselves.

The Research Grant Program will be funded by the CUNY central office and administered by the Office of the Vice President for Research and Sponsored Programs at the Graduate Center. Funds will be distributed among departments and disciplinary clusters in approximate proportion to the number of eligible students in each sector for that academic year. University funds are available to support a variety of student research related activities such as data collection, compensation for human subjects,

recruitment and advertising for research subjects, fees to use professional libraries and/or databases and to purchase required software, the rental of meeting and research space, travel requirements as well as for conference attendance.

Eligible students apply directly to the program. They must be in good academic standing and currently in their second through seventh year of doctoral studies. Individual grants are available up to \$1,500. Applications are due by October 25th. The grant period will extend from February 1st, 2005 through January 31st, 2006. Applications can be requested from the Office of Sponsored Research and from the 5th floor Doctoral Students' Council hallway. You will be asked to include a research proposal and budget for evaluation. For additional information please contact your program's Executive Officer.

Jennifer Adler is a PhD student in Environmental Psychology and teaches at BMCC.

The Doctoral Students Council Fall Party is almost here!

Date: Friday, September 23rd

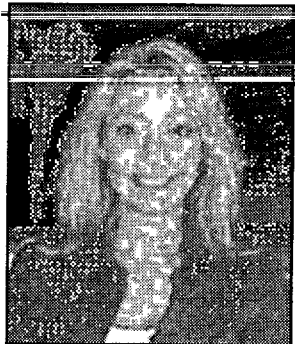
Time: 7:00-11:00 P.M.

Place: Rm. 5414

Come join us for an evening
of free food, drinks, music and
FUN!

Visit the DSC online at <http://dsc.gc.cuny.edu>

Meet the DSC Executive Committee



Stephanie Domenici,
Co-Chair for Student
Affairs

Hi! A special greeting to all of new students and welcome back to the rest of us! I am a student representative from the Environmental Psychology Program. This year is my second year serving

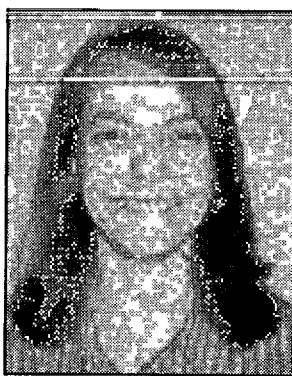
as Co-Chair for Student Affairs. As a long time student at CUNY, I realized that while we may be at different campuses all over the city, we all have the same needs. The Doctoral Student's Council is your voice in the university.

As graduate students you are all members of the Council through your student activity fee (the DSC is funded solely through that fee). Each program has at least one elected representative. Your program is entitled to a departmental allocation that your rep can apply for each semester. In addition, the DSC distributes separate cultural affairs funds to groups holding academic/cultural events or producing a publication. In addition, your student funds support the wellness center and the travel and research fund. Through the DSC you can also learn more about the various existing Chartered Students Organizations or even start your own group! Know who your rep is so you can be sure that the interests of your program are represented at the DSC.

One of my main goals as Co-Chair has been to increase the awareness about the Doctoral Students Council among both students and administrators around the university. We are printing business cards for departmental representatives and they in turn can order cards for you. We can all be more visible and be seen as a part of a terrific university, as well as part of a powerful student organization.

Although we are all based at the Graduate Center, we may be taking classes or working at various campuses around CUNY. The DSC, along with your program's representative, will schedule meetings at campuses to meet you and share information on your issues. In order to make this year as successful as our last, I need to hear from all of you! Come to a plenary... a party... help host one of our events... represent students by joining a committee and advocating for student issues. Look for a participation survey in your department office.

Visit our web site (<http://dsc.gc.cuny.edu>) regularly as we will be posting our schedule of meetings, events and updates on issues and opportunities. Or contact us directly for information on participation.



Tina Lee,
Co-Chair for Business
Management

Welcome to all new GC students and Welcome Back to all returning students! I am a fourth year student in the Anthropology Department and this is my 3rd year serving on the DSC.

My main job at the DSC is to manage our budget and make sure that student activity fee funds are spent for student needs. We use student fees to finance services for individual students and Cultural Affairs Grants for student events - see our website for details and take advantage of them. In addition, each department and chartered organization is entitled to an allocation each semester. I encourage you to find out who your department representative is and tell them what you would like to do with this money.

I am also working with members of our Steering Committee to create guidelines for a newly created Conferences, Publications, and Professional Development grants program. Groups of students can apply for money to run a conference, to publish research results/materials, or to hold a workshop on an aspect of professional development such as proposal writing or public speaking skills. Look for more information about this soon!

I hope to make the process of using student funds as painless as possible. Forms and other guidelines are on our website, and I am available by phone (212-817-7892), email (tlee@gc.cuny.edu), or in my office (5499) to answer any questions or concerns you may have. I look forward to meeting you as the semester goes on, and I hope everyone has a successful, productive, and enjoyable year!



David Hamilton Golland,
Co-Chair for
Communications

Greetings from the Doctoral Students' Council! My name is David Hamilton Golland, and I am the 2005-06 DSC Co-Chair for Communications. I am a

fourth-year PhD student in the History program, with an MA in American History from the University of Virginia, and I am currently in my third year as a Graduate Teaching Fellow at Brooklyn College.

Last year I served both as Vice Chair for Graduate Affairs of the University Student Senate and as Chairperson of the DSC Subcommittee on Wellness Center Issues. The most important thing I did last year was work to save the Wellness Center. Later this month, we will be going forward with the referendum to increase the student activity by \$12 to offset the student-funded share of the Wellness Center Operating Budget. The goal at the university level continues to be full access to all campus Wellness/Health Centers for all CUNY students.

Another issue that I have been concerned with is graduate tuition. Unfortunately, the Board of Trustees raised graduate tuition last June, despite my organization of two protests and several meetings with administrators at the college and university level. On the bright side, tuition remission funds for students employed in the university will be increasing by the same amount. I intend to continue working on this issue as we move towards our goal of permanent tuition remission for all students of the Graduate Center.

COMING SOON:

Guidelines on how to apply for DSC grants for hosting conferences, making publications and promoting professional development. The grants are for up to \$500 and available to all students.

DSC Welcomes Students Back (I can't from 11)

Tuition Remission

Thanks to the hard work of President Kelly and the leadership of the Doctoral Students' Council, CUNY Central will be funding \$1.17 million in tuition remission for mid-level doctoral students employed in CUNY as instructors or lab techs. The funds will be divided equitably between programs. Are you a mid-level student who works in CUNY? Check with your Executive Officer to arrange for immediate tuition remission!

Student Advocacy

The DSC urges all students to meet their program's representatives. During the course of your study here at the GC it is very likely that you will encounter problems or have questions about some facet of student life. Perhaps you think the café needs better lighting, or maybe you're frustrated with the computer system. Your DSC rep is the point person and will listen to problems like this and bring them before the monthly plenary meeting where an effective solution will be debated.

Social Events

Studying at the graduate level can be stressful and we know students need a break to chat, eat snacks or get a groove on. This is why we hold a variety of events (coffee hours, two parties, various workshops) in our social lounge, located in room 5414. Please watch this page of

The Advocate for specific dates and times for these free events. Also, there is an ongoing effort to develop the social lounge into a place for students to relax and spend time together, so if you have old board games or (especially) a used foosball, ping-pong, or pool table, please let us know.

Chartered Organizations

We sponsor chartered organizations and endow them with discretionary funds. A list of chartered organizations is provided on page 10 so that you may find any group whose focus matches yours. Don't see a group for your interest? Then contact the DSC for information on starting a new chartered organization.

Departmental Allocations

We also provide funds for students in each program to spend as they see fit (lectures, parties, journal subscriptions, etc.). The application forms for funds are available in the hallway outside room 5495, and may be downloaded from the DSC web page. Please submit completed forms to the Co-Chair for Business.

Grants

The DSC provides (or has advocated that the administration provide) the following grants:

- * Travel and Research Grants Matching Funds

Program

- * Cultural Affairs Grants
- * Graduate Research Grants Program

For more information, visit us in room 5495 during our office hours or call us at 817-7888.

Discount Movie Tickets

DSC also provides discount movie tickets for \$6 each, payable by check only. These coupons are good for movies (well, at least those that have been out for at least a week) showing at Lowes Theatres (although there is an additional \$1 surcharge in Manhattan).

IR Workshops

The Information Resources Department offers free workshops to interested members of the community in a variety of computing areas; additionally, they are constantly looking to hire new workshop instructors. Call (212) 817-7370 for more information.

Please visit us in room 5495 during our office hours or call us at (212) 817-7888.

Stephanie Domenici-Cabonargi,
Co-Chair for Student Affairs

Tina Lee, Co-Chair for Business

David Hamilton Golland, Co-Chair for Communications

Trading Undergrads for Canines: Adjuncting versus Dog Walking

WILL WEIKART

What did YOU do this summer?

I walked dogs and made more money than I've ever made in the five years I've lived in NYC as a CUNY Graduate Center student. In fact, I made more than double what I made as a CUNY adjunct teaching two classes.

Let me explain. Last semester I taught as an adjunct for the first time. I taught Social Theory to students at John Jay College and Queens College. Prior to that, I was one who never wanted to be a professor, but after last semester, I had a complete change of heart. I loved teaching and I loved the students. I wish I could've taught over the summer and continued to teach this semester. It's a shame. But I'm not sad about it. I'm fucking pissed.

The reason why I can't teach again for now is simple. I can't afford to. Teaching two classes in CUNY brought home the bacon to the tune of just under \$1,000 per month. Even last Spring, when my rent was a mere \$500 (about as low as one can expect to pay in NYC), I could barely support an existence. We're talking: late rent, perpetual strings of late fees on various bills, service disconnections, the embarrassment of lacking TRAIN FARE...the whole deal. Sure, we adjuncts have most of the responsibilities of a "normal" professor with almost none of the benefits (health insurance, etc.). But what about something as obvious as PAY? Who can afford to live in NYC on \$12k per year? I know people who do - I've been one of them - and I'm still not sure how we pull it

off. The short answer is, we assume debt - the very lifeblood of contemporary biopolitical capital, and a major mechanism of material control.

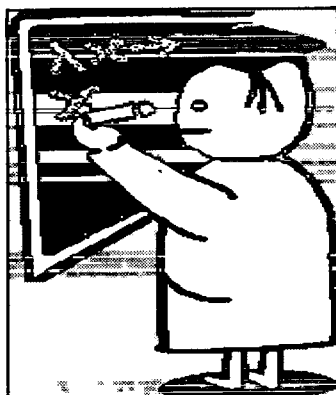
Financial insecurity has probably been the main reason, or at least the greatest external constraint, slowing my academic progress at CUNY.

So, what about dog walking? I work for a small company in lower Manhattan that does all

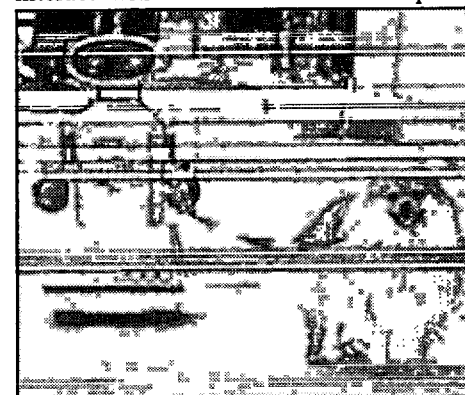
manner of pet care and services - but mainly, walking peoples' dogs when they can't or don't want to. I'm sure you've seen them - the

famous (but increasingly inaccurate) image is of the group walks (one person holding multiple leashes connected to a veritable urban PACK of dogs). I work for a company that does only individual walks and happens to pay well - I think better than most. Independent dog walkers, however, can make up to \$50k per year or more. Many of them can afford to live in Manhattan - even, like, in the Village. I've discovered that, unlike adjuncting, dog walking comes with fringe benefits such

as occasionally reading while at dog runs; making connections with clients (e.g., I have one client who owns a moving company and recently moved me only charging "cost" - I'd never been able to afford the luxury of a mover before!); I have more control over my time "outside" of work; and I'm in pretty darn good physical shape. I get to bike every day to work (never mind the sweat rings!), where I interact with "clients" who don't speak,



Teaching: A robot can't do it, but it pays shit. Dog walking: A robot can do it and you have to pick up shit, but it pays more than teaching - at least if you're a CUNY adjunct.



and I rarely see my boss - nor he I. This is one of the only jobs I've ever had at which I feel almost completely and unambiguously ethical.

So, my point with all this, which is probably pretty apparent by now, is, stop killing yourself as an adjunct. Get a job outside academia if you have to. As adjuncts we are hurting ourselves, the pool of full-time job seekers, and the students. I'll admit, knowing what I know now, I would be mighty reluctant to take an

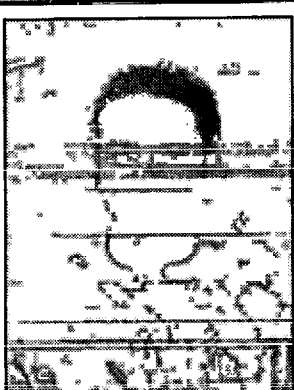
undergraduate class in my major - the ONLY time I will ever take that class - from someone who 1) may have had no teaching training or preparation whatsoever (as is the case with most of us); 2) may have NEVER taught college before (never mind the particular subject/course); and 3) may have been hired literally a day before classes started (or even after classes started, as I'm sure you have seen). Don't get me wrong - I'm sure there are a lot of great adjuncts out there, CUNY and elsewhere. I feel I did a competent job for my first time. But overall we are nothing but scabs in an increasingly market-ized academic/intellectual ghetto.

All semester long I never had the heart to tell my students, who referred to me as "professor," that I am NOT a fucking professor, and may not be one for a long time. In fact, I only have the degree (BA) that many of them are literally just about to receive. I never knew exactly what to say when one admiring (or dreading) student asked, "So what are you teaching next semester?" ("I don't know - they may not rehire me.") What do YOU tell YOUR students?

I still don't have health insurance but at least now, for once, I don't have the stress of utter and constant economic insecurity. Consider it a giant raised middle finger to the gristmill that is the entire CUNY adjunct system.

Will Weikart is an unapologetic anarchist in the Sociology program.

Do you have any advice for new GC students?



Humayan Kabir,
Political Science

Don't take too many courses; the level of difficulty is very different from undergraduate courses. Pace yourself, try to socialize, build a community.



David Parsons,
History

Get to know your fellow students. Form a study group with new incoming students.



Jiyoung Ryu,
English

Get involved as much as you can in the department; don't alienate yourself. Make friends. Start teaching as soon as you can.



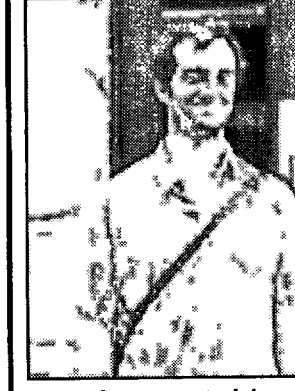
Tim Krause,
English

Find good people to work with...Go to the movies a lot, know your bartender, misspend your fellowship money on tattoos... Find people who match your vision and strenuously avoid all others.



Sara Hanaburgh,
French

Be active in your department: serve on committees, get to know as many faculty as you can... and don't be afraid to get your ideas out there; send abstracts to publishers and conferences.



Jonah P.B. Goldwater,
Philosophy

Find an apartment... Accept as many loans as you can; pay them back later... Don't be discouraged by criticism... remember that all of your friends are potential competitors for jobs.