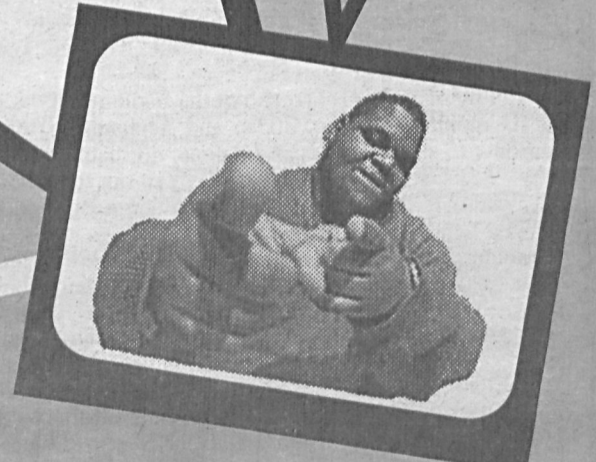


THE MESSENGER

AN INDEPENDENT STUDENT NEWSPAPER VOL. 1 NO. 5 SUMMER 1999 UNIVERSITY OF HARLEM

City College student Omar Soriano almost wins MTV VJ contest

CITY SUPERSTAR



OMAR SORIANO is a sophomore at City College. He is also an on-air radio personality for WCCR, CCNY's student radio station. One morning the 22-year-old woke up and decided to head down to MTV and try out for the music network's Video Jockey Contest with 6,000 other contestants.

This young MC eased through several auditions and made it into the top five in the country. Soriano continued to plow through the competition—decided by viewer votes called or e-mailed in—until there were two contestants left, himself and Thalia DaCosta.

Soriano didn't win the week-long competition. DaCosta took home the \$25,000 prize and a year stint as a MTV veejay. But when Omar looked out the window overlooking Times Square (the same spot where Carson Daly hosts his show *Total Request Live*) and heard his fans screaming his name—he felt it was worth it and that this was his victory. "I felt like I belonged," Soriano told the *Messenger*.

"It would've been nice to give some of that money to my mom," Soriano told the *Daily News*.

Besides nationwide exposure Omar also participated in a MTV Fashion Show with people such as

Tyson Bedford and Ananda Lewis.

Why be a VJ? Omar's passion for music came at an early age. His mother told him that when he was a baby his feet would move to the rhythms of meringue and salsa. As he grew older he would listen to the beats of groups such as the Sugar Hill Gang, Rakim, and the Jungle Brothers.

As he reminisced, he talked about the good old days when one did not have to travel to an expensive lounge to listen to hip-hop. When hip-hop was still an urban thing and you could see hip-hop at its best on street corners and block parties.

When asked about his own, personal style he quickly states, "Can't stand commercial rap." He describes his sound as versatile, a mixture of drum-and-bass with some Latin flavor. "Picture U.K. electronic sounds meeting Wu-Tang, Beatnuts, KRS-One, and Cyprus Hill."

He is currently working on a demo with his new group—"Tres Pounds". The name of the group refers to the fact that there are three of them and their average weight is 320 pounds. They are all Latino. "Tres" is also slang for a gun. "We're lyrically lethal

weapons," explains Soriano.

When asked about the message he wants to send out, he said it is simply "to be yourself". He wants the listeners to be able to identify with his music. A lot of the new commercial rap now talks about an abundance of money, sex and Mafia-style violence, things that not all of us can identify with, he told the *Messenger*.

After the competition kids from his neighborhood followed him around. Women gave him flowers and asked for dates.

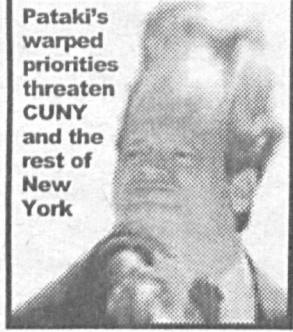
But the road to stardom isn't all fun and games. "[MTV] said they were going to use me for other programs and here I am still sitting in my living room. I thought the people's choice would be good enough."

Asked what was next, Soriano said, "I'm trying to do this demo. Hopefully this will be my course. I want to get into the business. I don't care if it's acting, music or what. I enjoyed the attention."

—MARCELA PUTNAM

Scuttling a drag race

GOVERNOR GEORGE PATAKI and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani are jostling each other in a drag race. Each of these white ethnic New York politicians has accelerated their respective policy racers in an attempt to win Wall Street support for their likely quests for higher office. Both drivers are likely to walk away when their careening cars come to a rest. But the drag strip they will have shot across will be littered with the bodies of poor, especially black and Latino, New York pedestrians who had the audacity to believe they had the right to exist.



Pataki's warped priorities threaten CUNY and the rest of New York

The two politicians' cruisers are custom-fit a bit differently. Pataki's is standard "moderate" Republican issue. Billions in tax-breaks for the rich paid for with cuts in social spending for the poor and working class. Keynesian funding for upstate's prison economies. The death penalty for the poor and the black.

Giuliani's model, on the other hand, is built for martial law, with fascistic fins. Supply the upstate prison economy with downstate bodies. Police checkpoints in the ghettos. An additional 2000 cops even as crime hits new lows.

For most working New Yorkers the distinctions likely don't much matter in the end. The corporate police state, with budget austerity and right-wing social engineering of whatever make, leave working New Yorkers crushed between the white dashes of everyday living in New York. Amadou Diallo, the immigrant blown to pieces in a hail of bullets by cops in his own apartment lobby, is only the most visible recent victim of a campaign the two politicians have launched to elbow each other out of the way for the Wall Street benediction any viable business candidate requires.

The two have recently clashed over the School Construction Authority, funding for a Holocaust memorial museum, and on what city highway to name after Joe Dimaggio. CUNY represents another such battleground. But Pataki and Giuliani aren't fighting over whether the "Harvard for the Poor" should be downgraded and downsized. Instead, they are practicing a game of one-upmanship: How fast and how far can they destroy CUNY, how much can they cut out of TAP, how fast can they privatize remediation.

Unless New Yorkers organize and put up a road block to scuttle the governor and the mayor's vile road race, New York may explode in a wreck of frustrated class and racial rage. New Yorkers need to fight back, and they can as the struggle around Amadou Diallo shows.—**ROB WALLACE**

US Out of Yugoslavia!

AS A DEADLY RAIN of high-tech bombs falls on Yugoslavia, a deadening rain of propaganda falls on Americans—media-manipulated lies designed to prime the populace into supporting harsher military measures against a sovereign nation, in the name of protecting human rights.

NATO is but a fig leaf for American "interests," and the bombing of Yugoslavia is but a global demonstration of the ruthlessness of the American empire...

Let us consider the claims that the U.S. is concerned about "human rights" or about the "rights of ethnic minorities," as the corporate press projects hourly. What of America's largest national minority—African Americans? The world-respected Amnesty International group, speaking through its secretary general, Pierre Sané, announced just days before the bombing, "Human-rights violations in the United States of America are persistent, widespread and appear to disproportionately affect people of racial or ethnic minority backgrounds." Sané was critical of police violence and executions in the U.S. Further, internationally, let's see how the U.S. responds to "liberation movements" of the oppressed. When fighters for Puerto Rican independence began to raise their voices, the U.S. didn't support this "ethnic minority," they sought (and continue) to crush, incarcerate and silence them. Consider the case of the Palestinians, the Kurds, the East Timorese, the Colombian rebels—who has the U.S. consistently supported, the oppressed or the U.S.-armed governments?

This isn't about "human rights." It isn't about "ethnic minorities." And it also isn't about "genocide." It's about establishing who's "boss" in the next century. It's about keeping Russia in its place. It's about keeping the European Union under the thumb of Wall Street.

The bombing of Serbia is an echo of the bombing of three other countries in the past six months—of Iraq, Sudan and Afghanistan. And for precisely the same reason—to show that it can be done, no matter what so-called "international law" states. It is to instill terror through out the world, in order for U.S. capital to institute what former President George Bush tried to do, but failed: to establish a New World Order...

Our brilliant, revered nationalist leader, Malcolm X, taught us to examine history. If we look at history, the bombing of Yugoslavia becomes clear. Empires are maintained, not by reason, but by ruthless terror. It was so in Rome. It is so in the U.S. The brilliant revolutionary, Dr. Huey P. Newton, founder of the Black Panther Party, explained: "The United States was no longer a nation. ... We called it an empire. ... An empire is a nation-state that has transformed itself into a power controlling all the world's lands and people." (1973) Huey was right then, and our response then was to oppose the empire. We must do that now.—**MUMIA ABU-JAMAL**



On April 24, Prof. Starcevic joined about 50 CCNY students at a rally in Philadelphia demanding a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal. The rally attracted about 15,000 people from all over the East Coast and Midwest. Jamal is a former Black Panther Party member who was framed for killing a white police officer in 1981, and was given a death sentence. He has been on death row ever since, despite a rigged trial and much evidence pointing to his innocence. There were also contingents from other CUNY schools such as Hunter College, BMCC, and College of Staten Island.

Clinton, go home!

Anthropology professor explains why City College's graduating students and faculty should turn their back on Hillary Clinton, this year's commencement speaker

By Prof. Diane Sank

WHERE ARE THE women, wives, mothers, children of CCNY? Where are those who were shocked, upset and dismayed when President Moses of CCNY announced April 23 that she chose Hillary Clinton to be our Commencement speaker?

The announcement was made so late in the semester that faculty and students could not digest, unite, react, and respond to it. Indeed, even when presenting the Faculty Senate with a list of potential commencement speakers from which the Senate could recommend a speaker, it appears President Moses had chosen Clinton from the very beginning.

Isn't there anyone out there who thinks it was absolutely inappropriate and contrary to the concept and function of a public educational institution to allow a person, who admits she is an all but declared candidate for a high political office, to use CCNY as a platform for her self-serving, partisan, political purposes—to gauge and obtain political support for her candidacy?

It takes a person with gall to ask a public college president to speak at her college, so she can gain a large voting audience to listen to her and later vote for her as she plans to run for the office of U.S. Senate in New York State, a state she has never lived in, has never established residence in (rather than run in Arkansas, her adopted state or Illinois, her native state).

Isn't there anyone out there who thinks it is inappropriate, wrong, precedent-setting to



Perjurer Hillary Clinton, this year's commencement speaker, gaffaws with last year's speaker, Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew, at yet another "non-campaign" appearance in Brooklyn.

essentially tell the world that CCNY supports, and endorses Hillary Clinton for the Mayor of New York City?

It takes chutzpah and insensitivity for a person to disguise a political speech at a public college which is dependent upon the support of a Mayor (of New York City) who will also be running for U.S. Senate from New York against her (and who will definitely be alienated and antagonistic against a college that blatantly endorses his Senate opponent and provides a large captive audience for that purpose).

Isn't there anyone out there who thinks it is not wrong to have, as our main commencement speaker, a person who is the leading advocate and apologist for her husband's violent, brutal, costly (in lives and monies) immoral, unnecessary and precedent-setting

war against a people and country (Yugoslavia) that has not threatened nor attacked us? And by having her here we again indicate our endorsement of her support for that war?

What has Hillary Clinton accomplished on her own without the name of Bill Clinton or the actions of Bill Clinton getting her "star" status?

What kind of a role model is she to our students, their parents, our faculty and staff?

What kind of role model is Hillary Clinton (as a wife who knew but denied and then covered up her husband's womanizing, adulterous behavior, and lied under oath)? Is this the kind of message we want to send to our graduating students? Is this the kind of message we want to send to our alumni, potential students, and politicians who control our

CLINTON CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

THE MESSENGER

CCNY'S INDEPENDENT STUDENT NEWSPAPER

c/o CCNY SLAMI, 138th St. & Convent Ave., NY, NY 10031 sandino23@hotmail.com
http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/6353/artspubs.htm

EDITORS

Brad Sigal
Rob Wallace

WRITERS

Mumia Abu-Jamal
Lowe Marks
Marcela Putnam
Diane Sank
Hank Williams
DISTRIBUTION
Felipe Pichardo

The Messenger is an independent student newspaper at the City College of New York. It is produced periodically by an editorial collective. The Messenger aims to serve CCNY students, other CUNY students, and the Harlem community. We seek to do this by reporting on student activities for empowerment, enjoyment, and survival and by exposing the misdeeds of those in power. We seek to help build a powerful student movement at CCNY to win improvements in our lives and changes to societal injustices.

The articles in the Messenger do not necessarily reflect the views of the editors of the Messenger or anybody other than the individual writers.

Publishing Date—June 1999 Press Run—5,000

Y2K 5, Students Voice 2

Y2K files series of minor complaints. SERC says Students Voice can't campaign on first day of voting allowing Y2K Ready victory by narrowest margin in years.

By Brad Sigal

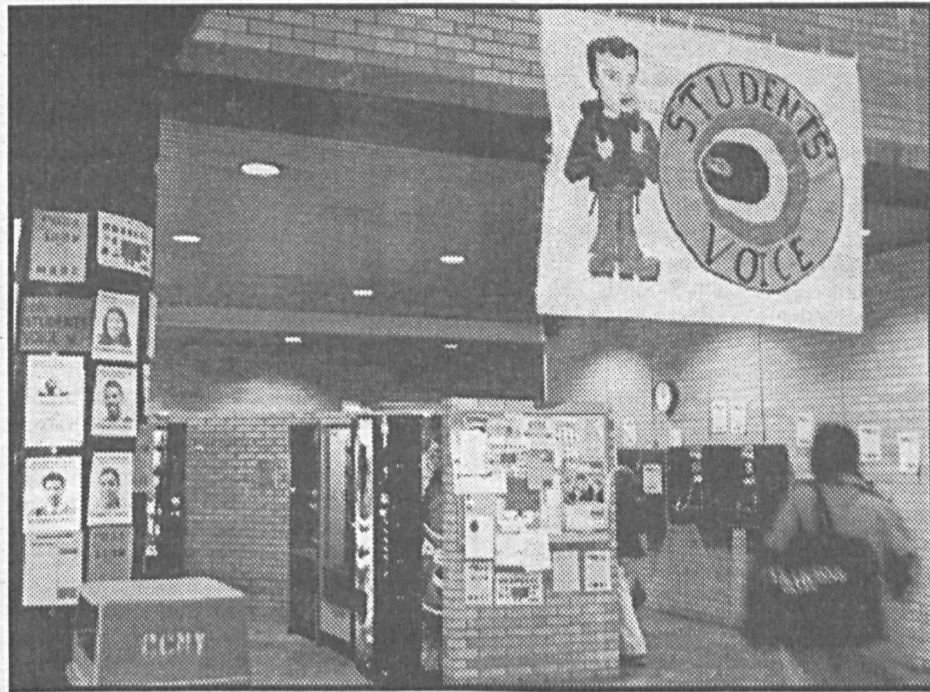
ON APRIL 27-29, CCNY students voted in their elected students representatives for next school year. This year's election was by far the most exciting one in recent memory. There were three slates—Y2K Ready, Students Voice, and Building Bridges—two of which had over 25 candidates running. By comparison, last year none of the 3 slates had more than 5 senate candidates.

In the Day Student Government (DSG) election, Y2K Ready was the biggest winner, gaining 5 of the 7 executive seats and 17 senate seats. Students Voice won 2 executive seats and 9 senate seats. Building Bridges only ran 2 candidates for DSG, both of which lost by huge margins (see the nearby chart for results).

For the Graduate Student Council (GSC) election, Students Voice won the four Education Department seats, Martha Flores' Building Bridges won 4 seats (3 in Liberal Arts and 1 in Engineering), and Misanoor Biswas's Independent forces also won 4 seats—3 in Engineering and 1 in Liberal Arts. This created a three-way tie between the 3 forces which have conflicted strongly over the past 3 years. An alliance was quickly formed between Building Bridges and Independent candidates, who took all the executive seats and returned the controversial Martha Flores to GSC Chair for an unprecedented third straight year.

THE SLATES

THE Y2K READY SLATE WAS LED BY THIS



The NAC Building was festooned with election flyers.

year's DSG V.P. for Campus Affairs, Rafael Dominguez. Many people commented that they were the "popularity contest" slate. On the crucial issue of remediation, they had the position that they supported "alternatives" to remediation—as if DSG, with a few thousand dollars, could replace a CUNYwide program with millions of dollars and hundreds of full-time staff. Most importantly, their position on remediation showed that they have no commitment to struggling to save remediation or access to education in general. In the candidates debate, Y2K Ready Treasur-

er Jason Compton said as much when he criticized Students Voice for advocating "defiant behavior," like organizing protests in favor of remediation and against budget cuts.

Students Voice represented a coalition of progressive activists, students involved with community service, and many newcomers to CCNY politics. Students Voice promised to struggle to save remedial classes and fight budget cuts to TAP, while also putting forward some service-oriented proposals.

Building Bridges was somewhat of a

mystery, as they hardly campaigned at all. The slate was masterminded by GSC Chair Martha Flores, who has spent the last three years forming and breaking alliances with whoever will keep her in power. The two undergrad Building Bridges candidates are on Flores's payroll as the office staff of the GSC. At least two of the GSC Building Bridges candidates are also on Flores's payroll as staff in the GSC Computer Center.

AN EXCITING CAMPAIGN

THIS YEAR'S CAMPAIGN WAS EXCITING, with two parties running full slates for DSG and actively campaigning. The voter turnout was almost double that of last year, with over 1,200 students voting. For two weeks, the campus was overtaken by the beautiful sight of student activism—banners and flyers were everywhere, students cracked out of their shells to talk to passers-by about politics and convince them to vote, and candidates did "class raps", making speeches in classes.

This is the type of activity that should go on all year. It generally doesn't though, because of administrative rules that prohibit putting up posters except in "approved" places, that require the filling out of forms weeks in advance to put up a banner, etc. These rules are all waived for the election, making it clear that the poster policy is entirely arbitrary and is only kept in place to contain student activity, except for activities the administration approves of, such as the student government elections.

Y2K FILES COMPLAINTS

LIKE MOST THINGS AT CCNY, this year's election was complicated by administrative meddling. Before the election had even begun, the Student Election Review Committee (SERC), the administrative-run body that oversees student elections, had

ELECTION CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

SLATE	PRESIDENT	EXECUTIVE VICE PREZ.	TREASURER	ACADEMIC AFFAIRS VP	CAMPUS AFFAIRS VP	COMMUNITY AFFAIRS VP	UNIVERSITY AFFAIRS VP	OMBUDESMAN
STUDENTS VOICE	Denny Pichardo 550	Milagros Aquino 603	Kenyi Ogando 542	SABRINA LAURISTON 651	Jonathan Inoa 625	Wendy Caraballo 592	KATHERINE DE LA CRUZ 626	ROBERT DANIELS 556
Y2K	RAFAEL DOMINGUEZ 649	HANNA SEIFU-TEFERRA 642	JASON COMPTON 625	Sayfullah El 593	MOHAMMED ISLAM 632	CRISTINA COCHEO 653	Peter Stafford 608	David Thurston 396
BUILDING BRIDGES	Shamfin Rachman 92		Rumana Mansur 86					

Defeated!

Students demolish administration proposal to increase activity fee. Sore loser VP Morales attempts to seize evening student funding for gym equipment administrators love to use.

By Rob Wallace

DURING THE APRIL 27-29 student elections, City College undergraduates overwhelmingly voted down a proposal on the ballot for an increase in the student activity fee. The proposed increase was for \$12 for full-time students (\$49.35 to \$61.35). 758 students voted against the proposed increase, while 500 students voted for the increase.

The vote marked a major defeat for the City College administration who had pushed for the increase to fund myriad projects including the Finley Student Center and Athletics. While some of these projects may be considered by some worthy

for funding, like the Day Student Government, students rejected the across-the-board increase. (We'll later go into reasons why the proposed increase seemed doomed to defeat from the start.)

Such democracy once again proved too much for the administration to handle. The Office of Student Affairs, spearheaded by Vice President Thomas Morales and Associate Dean Paul Bobb, are opting for undemocratic means by which to secure funding for administrators' pet projects.

During the last Student Services Corporation (SSC) meeting in May, administrators presented another proposal. According to members of the Graduate Student Council, the administration proposal involves seizing some \$75,000 of funding accumu-

lated from Evening Student activity fees over the past several years and transferring the funds to an account for Wingate Gym equipment. The proposal was made with only one student representative attending the SSC meeting, GSC member Martha Flores, who objected to the administration's maneuvering.

Administrators also tried to give Dean Bobb an SSC vote despite the fact Bobb is the Executive Director of the SSC, a non-voting position.

A little background: The Student Services Corporation is a corporation City College has set up in order to collect and allocate the student activity fees. By setting up the SSC as an outside corporation,

DEFEATED! CONTINUED ON PAGE 6



Vice President "Scumbag" Morales

Paolucci punchout

Board of Trustees chair who shepherded attack against remediation resigns after 27 months. CUNY executives dropping like flies. Heinous Herman Badillo named chair.

By Lowe Marks

CUNY BOARD OF Trustees chair Anne Paolucci resigned May 26. Four days later vice chair Herman Badillo was appointed by Governor George Pataki to replace Paolucci.

The Board of Trustees makes and oversees CUNY-wide policy and financial budgeting. The Board is comprised of five mayoral and ten gubernatorial appointees. The chair of the University Student Senate (USS), the CUNY-wide student organization, acts as the student appointee. The chair of the University Faculty Senate also sits on the Board but without a vote.

Paolucci's is the latest in a series of resignations and dismissals that have roiled CUNY. Chancellor Ann Reynolds was pushed out in 1997, five college presidencies were vacated by corruption, retirements and deaths, and CUNY Central's administrative shock troops have been decimated. For example, Vice Chancellor for Legal Affairs Robert Diaz and Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs Edith Wormack left.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

FOR ALL THOSE WHO CARE ABOUT CUNY, the rise of Badillo to the top of CUNY's hierarchy is bad news. Badillo is committed to the total destruction of remediation and open admissions at CUNY. The June 2 *New York Times* reports that Badillo already has called for ending remediation in not just the senior colleges but also the community colleges.

Badillo's appointment signals that the attacks on access to CUNY will be stepped-up in pace and scale, particularly as the number of Democratic appointees decreases.

es. James Murphy and Edith Everett, outspoken defenders of remedial classes, will almost certainly be replaced by the governor with conservatives in June.

Badillo has already announced that he will run for Mayor of New York City in 2001, making it likely that he will take a "slash and burn" approach to CUNY over the next year and a half, trying to "restructure" as much as he can as an attempt to get into the press while running for mayor.

In his first few days in the Chair position, Badillo has already come out swinging, leveling sweeping attacks on CUNY professors, students, and the entire New York public school system. The only possible good thing that could come from Badillo being chair is that he will piss off and alienate so many people that he will then spark a mass movement in support of saving access to education at CUNY.

PAOLUCCI'S LEGACY

PAOLUCCI LEAVES CUNY after, as she put it, steering us through the first phase of restructuring. She chose this moment to step down, she said, because the first phase is done, and now someone new should lead the next phase, the implementation of the new direction.

Paolucci may have also chosen this moment to make her exit because of the death of her husband earlier this year.

Paolucci came under stinging protests from students, faculty and community



Paolucci's leaving—Good riddance...

leaders for leading the way to end access through remediation. Last year she also came under attack from Governor Pataki, Mayor Giuliani and other right wing ideologues who thought she was not destroying CUNY quickly enough. This combined pressure from left and right likely played a role in her departure, paving the way for a more outwardly ideological mean-spirited person to force through the changes that the current board passed. Enter Herman Badillo.

Giuliani sought to undercut Paolucci's perceived incompetence by appointing the Schmidt Commission, a who's who collection of conservatives.

The Schmidt Commission will likely recommend in their soon to be released report that remediation at CUNY be privatized. Currently \$40 billion are annually spent by the federal and local governments on education. The private sector wants to get its hands on that money.

The Commission is headed by Benno Schmidt, a former Yale president who runs a private education company. Schmidt is rumored to be a candidate for the Chancellorship, as is Peter Salins, SUNY's right-wing provost, who instituted a "core" curriculum at SUNY.

Also on the Commission are Richard Schwartz who served in the Giuliani administration setting up workfare and now works as a private consultant on workfare for municipalities around the country.

Heather MacDonald is another member of the Commission. She is a research fellow with the Manhattan Institute, a right-wing think tank that has provisioned the Giuliani administration with ideological fire-power. MacDonald wrote a notorious article in *City Journal*, the Manhattan Institute's house organ, attacking CUNY.



... but now Badillo, the butcher of CUNY, has been appointed Board chair.

Herman Badillo also sits on the Commission. So Chair Badillo will implement recommendations he helped form in the first place.

WHO IS BADILLO?

BADILLO HAS THE REPUTATION as a liberal turned conservative. A graduate of City College, Badillo went on to be Bronx borough president in the late 1960s, a Democratic mayoral candidate in 1969, 1973, and 1977, as well as a Congressman from 1971-1978. He was Deputy Mayor for two years under Ed Koch and was named to the CUNY Board of Trustees in 1990.

But as Congressman representing the Bronx, Badillo allowed the City to remove fire companies out of minority neighborhood (see back page for more on this). Badillo allowed the subsequent burnouts because he wanted to get his hands on millions in federal dollars to help rebuild the Bronx a la the Empowerment Zone.

Such behavior on the part of Badillo isn't surprising. Before he became borough president Badillo served as "Relocations Commissioner" in municipal government helping Robert Moses slum-clear thousands of blacks and Latinos out of Manhattan and relocate them to the Bronx where, lo and behold, Badillo found himself a constituency. □

SUPER FUNK NYC



AS SEEN IN VILLAGE VOICE, PAPER MAGAZINE, NET MIX, DMA MAGAZINE, DETAILS, NEW YORK, FLYER NYC, ICON A-LIST, TIME OUT, AND NIGHTLIFE CONNECTION

EVERY TUESDAY NIGHT - FREE ADMISSION ALL NIGHT
@ Vanity - 23rd St between Madison, and Park
doors open @ 8PM sharp...New DJ's weekly every
LOG ON @ www.netmix.com/superfunk

THE BEST DJ'S FROM THE US, DETROIT, LONDON, FRANCE, ITALY, & GERMANY
CLUB TOUR DATES:
May 18 - Jovann, Romain, DJ Jullan
May 25 - Danny Buddha Morales, Bill Patrick, Tony Zeoli
June 1 - David G (Distant), DJ Odyssey (Digital Konfusion), DJ Parot (Party News)
June 8 - Wayne Pate, Rob Salmon, (Thirsty), Oscar Poche, John McMann (JIVE)
June 15 - Strictly/Groovillicious Party - Dave Gold, DJ Pierre, Ani Pherce
June 22 - Dave The Wave, Prince Quick (Twisted)
June 29 - Phil Dickerson, DJ Phenix, DJ Spocoy Sol (Argentina)
July 13 - Synkronize press party for DJ Terry Francis with Benji Candelario

LOOKING FOR PROMOTERS
CALL
212-398-9838



Hold the date!

DOMINICANS 2000 CONFERENCE

Feb. 25 - 27, 2000

at City College of New York

To get involved or for more information contact Dominicans 2000 at 212-650-5008, NAC 3/201

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS:

are you concerned about the new regents requirements?
have you heard that CUNY is making it harder for you to get in?
get the 411 and get involved in the struggle to save our right to an education!!

HIGH SCHOOL ORGANIZING MEETING JUNE 21

Organized by Hunter SLAM / Student Government Info: 212-772-4261

CUNY's migrant workers

Adjuncts teach most of your classes, but make McDonald's wages. To make ends meet, many adjuncts migrate from campus to campus teaching classes. Their plight means full-time faculty are expendable and students suffer in their education.

By Hank Williams

WHO'S TEACHING your classes? It may be a part time faculty member, referred to in academic circles as an adjunct. The hiring of extra personnel has been done for a long time and for many reasons: to cover extra class sections, teach specialized courses, or fill in for a faculty member on sabbatical, for example. This arrangement works well for many professionals, who seek to make some extra money by teaching a class or two, but may be hurting other educators who find themselves unable to find full time faculty positions.

What is more ominous, however, is the increasing trend of replacing full time tenured staff with low paid part timers to cut costs. Schools are now following the path set by business, where more expensive full time positions are replaced by part time and temporary employees who can be paid less in real wages, have little job security, and can be offered cheaper (or no) benefits packages.

The City University of New York has followed the national trend in this case. From 1974 to 1996 full time CUNY faculty has been cut by 60% while the ranks of part time staff have increased by 40%.

While tactics such as these are hardly a new development, their use against white-collar workers is. The tactics of CUNY and, to be fair, colleges in general, mirrors the increasing trend of pitting the haves against the have-nots in competition for artificially scarce resources and widening the gap between social classes. CUNY professors may find themselves having more in common with auto workers and UPS employees in the future.

WORKING CONDITIONS

SOME OF THE CONFUSION over adjunct faculty comes from their official status as part time, which is not accurate for many of them. "We're full timers with part time pay," notes Susan DiRaimo, who teaches in the ESL department at City College.

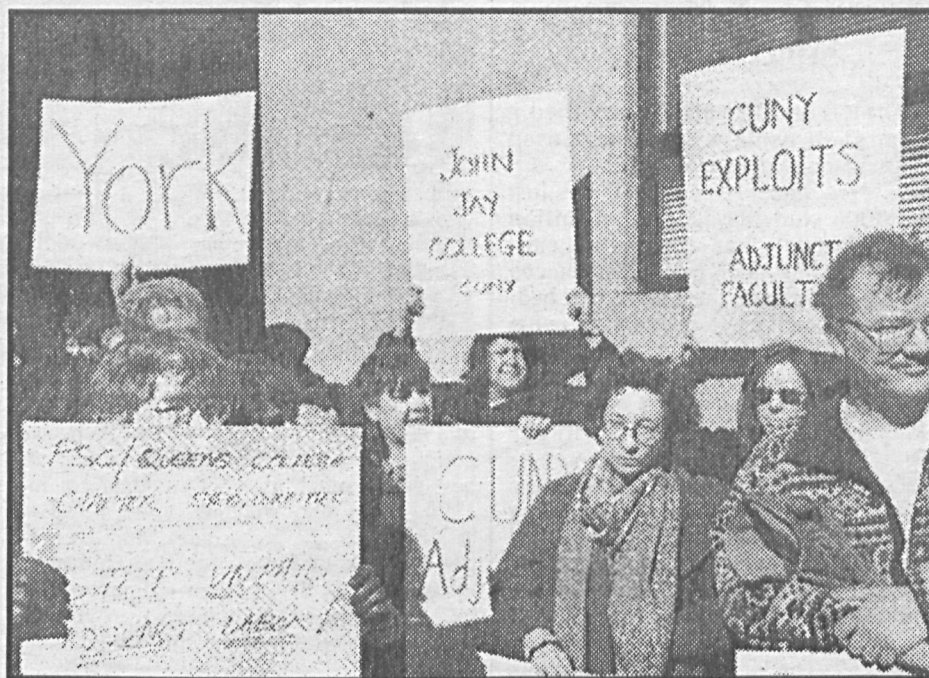
Ms. DiRaimo figures that an adjunct who teaches a full course load of 12 credits can make between \$15-20,000 per year for what is a full time work commitment. Ronni Greenwood, who teaches Psychology, says: "I have a total of 3 jobs and it's not enough; I'm still in debt."

Class work actually represents only a small part of the time any professor needs to put into a course. Ms. DiRaimo figures that she spends about three times the amount of credit hours that a class meets on preparation, grading papers, and doing everything else that's necessary. "I spend the days that I'm not teaching marking compositions," says DiRaimo.

She also notes that "[the department] expects you to meet with students and give midterm reports," adding "we expect it from ourselves also."

Adjuncts are paid for classroom time only, so any who meet with students to provide extra help, clarify assignments, or for other reasons are doing it on their own time. As a result they are generally not required to have regular office hours, but this seems to vary by department. Ms. Greenwood says that she is required by her department to schedule two hours per week to be in her office. Such a requirement for adjuncts is against contract stipulations.

Support services vary also. Both Greenwood and DiRaimo have offices, which they have to share with other faculty members. Ms. DiRaimo notes that her department has "a great secretary who really goes the extra mile" to deliver messages and do what she can to help. Ms. Greenwood describes a different level of support, consisting mainly of "a box of chalk" at



CUNY adjuncts protesting at CUNY Central last year for better working conditions.

the beginning of the semester. She says that there is only one phone line for adjuncts in the Psychology department to use, "and you have to listen to everyone else's messages to find out if you have any so nobody uses it."

Greenwood adds that "I don't have a phone or Internet hook up in [my office]; it makes it very difficult, that one extra thing for students to get [to talk] to you."

This reflects one of the bigger problems with the lack of support and pay for adjuncts: students do not have access to them because they are not on campus.

EFFECT ON STUDENTS

ADJUNCT PROFESSORS aren't the only ones adversely affected by the situation. A 1998 report on CCNY by the Middle States Association made the following disturbing observations:

- Faculty size has been shrinking with serious program consequences.
- Class sizes have been increasing in many instances.
- Hiring new and replacement faculty is difficult if not impossible.
- Disparities in faculty teaching loads are increasing. The MSA Team was quite astounded to learn of a "normal" course load of 21 credits, a load unheard of in other research institutions.
- Faculty salaries are no longer competitive. The faculty is aging without an infusion of new, younger faculty. Some departments have not had any new hires in many years.

In its reply to the report, the CCNY administration recognizes that there is "[an] unduly large reliance on adjunct faculty," among other problems.

To be fair, the report noted that CCNY "is endowed with an excellent and highly qualified faculty," but it is asking a lot for them to carry the burden all by themselves.

Larger class sizes, teacher course loads, and lack of needed support services and supplies have a direct effect on students: less attention from faculty and fewer course sections for starters. The lack of office space, office hours, voice mail, and sometimes even mailboxes all make it more difficult for students to interact with adjunct faculty. Ironically, adjuncts often teach lower level courses, where some of the students are most in need of extra attention.

Acknowledgement of a problem is one thing; solving it is another problem entirely. Tentative plans for adding more staff (adjunct pay is not directly addressed here) have been put forward by the administra-

tion in their mission statement, but there is no idea where the funds for that might come from.

Indeed, in a *Messenger* interview, a faculty member reported that President Yolanda Moses stated that "a mission statement is not a plan." The college's reply to the Middle States Association report seemed to make the same realization:

"The College is highly aware of the need to revitalize its departments on a regular basis by bringing new, younger faculty into its ranks . . . our ability to do [this] is restricted by the need to balance faculty replacement and renewal against other pressing budget items."

In other words, the question is do we spend money on more staff that are desperately needed to keep the quality of education high or do we spend money to keep the college buildings from falling down?

The lack of funds will grow even more acute if remediation is ended and the current skills tests become entrance exams. Mechanical Engineering Professor Gary Benenson estimates that the incoming freshman class could shrink by as much as 1,000 students in the worst case. Benenson commented on the effect of such a situation: "That's \$3 million less in the budget; where's that going to come from?"

FUNDING PRIORITIES: FROM SCHOOLS TO JAILS

IN THE CASE of the CUNY system, lack of money is a real and pressing problem. There are funds, however, that could be used to help schools in all areas; certainly to see that all staff are paid in a fair and reasonable manner.

New York State has shifted funds from colleges to build prisons and is resorting to a sweatshop labor mentality in the colleges to get even more out of shriveled budgets. Both faculty and students find themselves paying the price for this policy. Students suffer from dwindling financial aid and support services while faculty deals with less job security, lower pay, and fewer of the resources they need to teach students effectively.

In the April 1998 budget debates, Governor Pataki vetoed a \$7.5 million request from CUNY for the hiring of more full time faculty and also cut \$8.6 million from the CUNY budget for good measure.

The news, unfortunately, gets worse when one takes a look at where the funds have gone and the cumulative effect of spending cuts to higher education. A 1998 Justice Policy Institute report notes that: "Since 1988, New York's public universities have seen their operating budgets

plummet by 29% while funding for prisons has increased by 76%. In actual dollars, there has nearly been an equal trade-off, with the *Department of Correctional Services* receiving a \$761 million increase during that time [1988-1998] while state funding for New York's city and state university systems has declined by \$615 million (emphasis added)."

In ten years, New York State has gone from spending more than twice as much on universities than on prisons to spending \$275 million more on prisons than on state and city colleges each year.

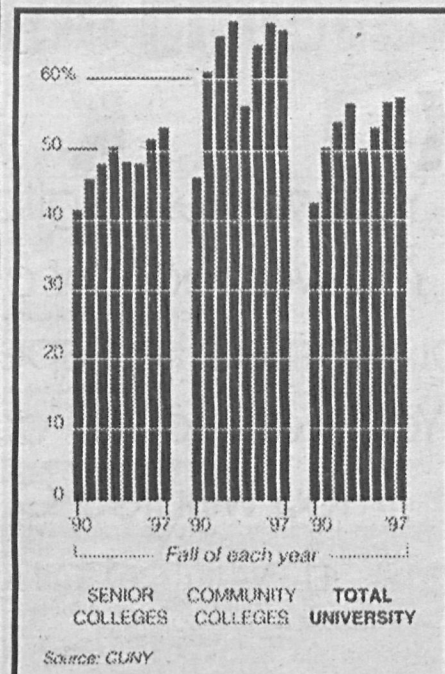
Curiously, CUNY has seen fit to create a new elite security force (the SAFE Team), buy riot control equipment, weapons, and ammunition, and spend \$30-40 million yearly on security for its campuses. The highest paid SAFE officers currently make about \$81,000 per year for a job that does not require an advanced college degree. This puts them in the same pay range as tenured professors and far above that of adjuncts.

ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES

ADJUNCT PROFESSORS are represented by the Professional Staff Congress, the faculty labor union in CUNY, and have won some gains. The New Caucus slate in the union has been particularly supportive of adjunct issues and is gaining strength throughout the city. Professor Benenson, the CCNY chapter chair, notes that the New Caucus ran unopposed at CCNY in the last election.

Adjuncts can qualify for health insurance, which they are eligible for after one year of teaching six credits or more per semester.

Adjuncts now have guarantees of being paid for courses they were hired for if the course is cancelled by the college. Colleges can (and do) get around this by hiring help at the last minute.



Adjuncts make up nearly 60% of CUNY faculty, compared with 40% nationally.

There is also a tuition reimbursement program, but qualifying for it means working for 10 consecutive semesters in the same department at the same campus; a difficult task for part time help. There is also the obvious point that five years is a long time to qualify for a program, especially for those with an eye on finishing their studies.

Despite New Caucus support, the PSC has not made any progress on the issue of pay for office hours, which is one that the advocacy group CUNY Adjuncts Unite! has taken up. The PSC has also failed on other counts to properly represent part timers. For starters, unlike full timers, dues payments

ADJUNCTS CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

**DEFEETED! CONTINUED
FROM PAGE 3**

CCNY can indemnify itself if a vendor decides to sue the school for any malfeasance any of the allocating bodies, like the DSG or the Graduate Student Council (GSC) commit. The SSC's Board is comprised of administrators, student government officials or appointees, and faculty.

The Evening Student Government (ESG) has not been in operation for several years. "Evening student" as a designated option has been administratively phased out despite the fact hundreds of students attend City in the evening only. This is particularly the case as the increases in tuition and reductions in financial aid under Cuomo and Pataki has forced a goodly portion of City College's student body to work full-time. Such students can only attend school at night after work.

But even as the ESG has been moribund, what Evening students are left have continued to pay their activity fees and a sizeable amount of some \$75,000 sits unused in the ESG's SSC account, according to student officials.

Vice President Morales has pushed for merging ESG into the Day Student Government. That way the money could be freed up and the Office of Student Affairs could get its hands on a great portion of the \$75,000. The Day Student Government agreed to such a merger with the thought it could access some of the ESG money for use by student organizations. DSG officials have spent considerable time submitting proposed changes to City College's Governance Charter allowing the merger. The proposed changes in the Charter need to be approved by the CUNY Board of Trustees, the governing body that sets CUNY policy from its bunker on 80th Street.

But here, in one fell swoop, Morales and Dean Bobb have aimed to take the entire ESG account for their own uses, completely undermining DSG's reasons for seeking the merger with ESG in the first place.

But don't we need gym equipment? Sure we do. But we also need more funding for student groups and more computer services and tutoring and longer library hours. Such losses are especially felt by evening students who should reap the benefits of the

funding they have for years contributed to. Services for evening students have gotten so bad some NAC Building bathrooms are often locked at night.

The administration's attempts to transfer the full \$75,000 to the Wingate Gym is especially galling for evening students since the Gym is closed in the evening.

Such a slap in the face stings worse for evening and day students once they realize that upper-level administrators reportedly have been seen using this student gym. One student government official told the *Messenger* that they have seen administrators using the Wingate Gym early in the morning.

SHELL GAMES

THE OFFICE OF STUDENT Affairs tried a similar shell game with the proposed increase in the student activity fee.

Consider: Since 1994 CCNY has lost some 3000 students because of tuition hikes, budget cuts, and departmental closings the administration helped implement. With fewer students, the activity fee budget became smaller. So the administration that pushed thousands of students out of City College wanted to increase its own budget back to where it was in 1994 by making those few students still at City pay more.

Let's do the math: In 1994 there were about 12,000 undergraduates attending CCNY. After the administration helped implement budget cuts, the undergrad body decreased 25% to around 9,000 students. So in 1994: 12,000 students x \$49.35 = \$592,200. In 1999: 9000 students x \$49.35 = \$444,150. That's about a \$150,000 loss in the activity fee budget because of the drop in the size of the student body. If we hadn't lost all those students, CCNY wouldn't have had this problem.

Earlier this year the administration proposed an increase in the activity fee to \$65.35 per student before settling, after students complained, for a proposed \$12 increase to \$61.35. But think about the administration's earlier proposed increase: 9,000 students x \$65.35 = \$588,150. That's almost exactly what the activity budget was in 1994.

So, in other words, administrators like Vice President Morales and Dean Bobb

SLAMMIN POETRY CONTEST



On May 6, Meleo (pictured above) came in 2nd place in the CCNY Poetry Society and CCNY Coalition's poetry contest. The theme of the contest was "Schools not Jails." About 20 conscious CCNY poets performed their works, and Junot Diaz, author of the book *Drown*, read an excerpt from his upcoming book. First place was grabbed by Lady Black, and 3rd place went to Marlana of Black Alchemist Press (<http://www.BlackAlchemistPress.com>). Look for more conscious poetry events like this in the Fall semester.

only wanted to re-inflate their budget back to 1994 levels. No real new services were going to be added. City students would at best get as much as what students got in 1994, if that. City students would, however, pay more, that's for sure. Moreover, a good chunk of Finley Student Center's increase would likely go toward paying off its huge budget deficit, not to providing new services. But that's a story for another *Messenger*.

Lastly, college fees are in general not progressive. All students, regardless of their income level, must pay the same fee. There's no financial aid for fees. A \$12 fee increase could have gone on top of Governor Pataki's proposed decrease of \$500 in TAP for CUNY students, some of the country's poorest college students. So in the end, INCREASED FEES + DECREASED FINANCIAL AID = FEWER POOR AND WORKING STUDENTS AT CCNY.

City College students voted "no" to that equation. Instead, it seems, they would rather have more students, not more fees. ☐

**CLINTON CONTINUED
FROM PAGE 2**

budget and programs?

Some faculty and students seem to be "star struck" by having a President's wife speak here. She is a shallow "star" without substance.

Her presence sends a terribly wrong message to our graduates. Couldn't President Moses find a better role model for our students and faculty, women, men, parents, wives, and our 85% minority and foreign born students?

As the mother of three children who graduated from CCNY, with one of them receiving his Master's Degree in Education this June, and as an educator, I am insulted that Hillary Clinton will be speaking on *Education* to our faculty and students.

Let's turn our backs to Hillary Clinton to express our dissatisfaction with her presence at our commencement. ☐

Professor Diane Sank teaches in the Anthropology Department.

**ADJUNCTS CONTINUED
FROM PAGE 5**

(or "agency fees" for those who choose not to join the union) are not automatically deducted from the paychecks of part timers. The result is a catch-22 type of situation where adjuncts aren't properly represented, don't have voting strength proportional to their numbers, and can't fight in an organized way to win better contracts.

The PSC points out that union dues would be a hardship for adjuncts because they don't make very much. Supporters note, however, that if serious organization were to occur, part timers would outnumber full timers in the union. The PSC would then be forced to fight for some of the issues facing adjuncts in a stronger manner, leaving them in a much better position to fight for better pay and services as a result.

Perhaps the greatest irony is that those who now find themselves trapped in adjunct status went to college to be able to get better jobs with their education: the same reason the students whom they are now teaching are in school. It unfortunately makes students unwilling accomplices in the breeding of an educational sweatshop.

The situation forces confrontation of the troubling question that if the promise of better life through education has failed for these professionals, then what guarantees do the current crop of students have.

What is clear, however, is that student support and pressure and union solidarity will be important factors in bringing change. A concerted fight involving both students and a united union could bring about better faculty working conditions and lay the foundation for better education and a stop to government attacks on the working class in general. It would also allow the PSC to better defend all of its members. If the country really is serious about educating its people for the future both faculty and students deserve better.

An Adjuncts Unite! poster points out that after grading papers, meeting with students, and teaching class, adjunct faculty end up with about \$8 an hour; about what they pay at McDonald's, and asks: "Isn't it

**Why is CITY COLLEGE
traveling miles to get to
K I N K O ' S ?**

You wanted digital color copies?
(High Quality Xerox Digital Laser)

You wanted low cost B/W copies?
(Crystal Clear Xerox Quality-8.5X11 = \$0.05 ea)

You wanted highspeed bulk copying?
(90 Copies Per Minute as low as \$0.02 ea)

You wanted CD copying services?
(Make back-up copies of all your important stuff)

You wanted CD mastering?
(Create audio and data CD's from DAT's, Zips, Jazz Disks, Etc.)

You wanted binding services?
(Comb Binding, Thermal Binding, Folding)

You wanted laminating?
(Any size up to 11X17)

You wanted Faxing services?
(As low as \$1.00 per page)

YOU DEMANDED CONVENIENCE!

PSSST!! Here's a clue



**COMPUTER CENTER
COPY CENTER**

1616 AMSTERDAM AVE NY NY 10031
(212) 862-6126

CONVENIENTLY LOCATED ON AMSTERDAM AVE.
BETWEEN 139TH & 140TH STREET.

**CCNY COALITION
& NYPIRG BOOK
EXCHANGE**

WHY PAY MORE?
WHY SELL FOR LESS?

The book exchange is
located in the NAC
Rotunda outside the
Cohen Library.

For more information,
call NYPIRG 650-5047

**COME HEAR A SPEAKER WHO IS
A LEADER IN THE**

**WOMEN'S MOVEMENT
IN EL SALVADOR**

ROSIBEL FLORES

ORGANIZER AND DIRECTOR OF THE
MELINDA ANAYA MONTES WOMENS
MOVEMENT

THURSDAY, JUNE 17

7:00 PM.

AFSCME DC 1707

75 VARICK ST, 14TH FLOOR
AT CANAL ST. (TAKE 1,9,A,C,E TRAIN)

INFO: NY COMMITTEE IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE
PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR 212-645-5230

**ELECTIONS CONTINUED
FROM PAGE 5**

severely handicapped one of the two main slates, *Students Voice*.

Rafael Dominguez of *Y2K Ready* filed a flurry of complaints against his main competition, *Students Voice*. Dominguez declared that he was very concerned that one *Students Voice* banner, at 138th & Amsterdam, might be in violation of state law because it touched City property without permission. *Y2K* complained about the placement of another *Students Voice* banner, and brought a photo of one *SV* flier that was posted over a *Y2K* flier. Meanwhile, *Students Voice* found *Y2K* posters over *Students Voices'* flyers but did not file complaints with SERC because the election was not going to be won because a few flyers were covered.

Despite the frivolousness and political motivation of these complaints, the members of the SERC proceeded to penalize *Students Voice*, who represented a more activist student government that would be more likely to challenge the administration.

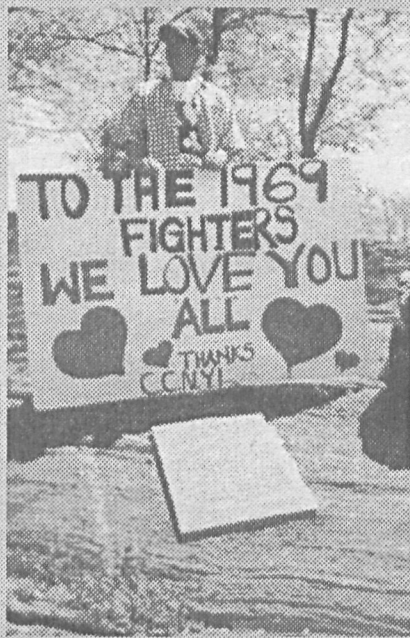
SERC declared that only one of Dominguez's complaints had merit. But this was enough for the SERC to hand down a stunning ruling—*Students Voice* would not be allowed to campaign at all during the heaviest hours of the first day of campaigning, 10:00 am to 3:00 pm. In other words, *Y2K Ready* had three days to campaign, while *Students Voice* only had two days.

WHAT DID STUDENTS VOICE DO WRONG?

IT IS A VIOLATION OF SERC RULES to place banners on construction areas; the purpose of the rule is to prevent students from injuring themselves while placing banners in unsafe areas. One *Students Voice* banner was placed on a fence outside of Shepard Hall.

This fence surrounds an area where no construction is going on. All construction near this area was completed months ago. It is not at all clear that the fence even is a construction fence, as it is separated from the main construction area in front of

**OPEN ADMISSIONS
COMMEMORATED**



On April 22, a group of students, faculty and community members commemorated the 30th anniversary of the policy of Open Admissions at CUNY. The policy was implemented after students at CCNY, and later at other CUNY schools, went on strike and shut down the campus. They demanded blacks and Latinos have greater access to CUNY. And they won! The ceremony took place at a plaque just south of the Y building. The plaque, installed by alumni, commemorates the right to an education. Pictured is Felipe Pichardo.

Shepard. Additionally, two members of *Students Voice* asked SERC member Dean Bobb before putting the banner there, and he gave no indication that they would be in jeopardy of punishment for doing so.

The purpose of campaign rules in general, and of SERC in particular, is to ensure that no candidates are able to unfairly bias the election toward themselves. If no candidate or slate has done anything that will give them an unfair advantage over other

candidates, the SERC should stay out of the way of the campaign.

But at CCNY over the last two years, the administrators (including those on the SERC) seem to think that their role is to make or break elections by penalizing candidates that are critical of the administration. Last year, the SERC nearly cancelled the entire GSC election because they didn't like who won (President Moses went on to do just that after the SERC didn't do it). Some of the same activists who were punished last year were part of the *Students Voice* slate that was again punished this year.

This "violation" of putting a banner on a fence, which is not even clearly a violation, did not win *Students Voice* any extra votes. If it had not been on the fence in question, the banner would have been on a different fence six feet away. The placement of the banner made no practical difference in the election.

The SERC, though, punished *Students Voice* in a way that clearly cost the slate votes by prohibiting the slate from campaigning on the most important hours of the first campaign day.

SERC TAINTED THE ELECTION

DURING THOSE HOURS on the first day, *Students Voice* certainly lost votes the slate otherwise would have gotten. It is not inconceivable that the slate lost as many as 100 votes. Considering that every executive seat was decided by under 100 votes—Campus Affairs was decided by a mere 7 votes and Vice President by only 39—it is clear that SERC handed the election to *Y2K Ready* by their punishment of *Students Voice*.

If *Students Voice* had won just those two seats lost by 7 and 39 votes, they would have had a 4-3 majority on the DSG Executive Board. Instead, *Y2K Ready* has a 5-2 majority.

WHAT DOES IT ALL MEAN?

NEXT YEAR'S student government will be a co-run by *Y2K Ready* and *Students Voice*. It will be interesting to see how the candidates from the two groups can work together and what they can accomplish.

During the election, the *Campus* newspaper published a survey showing that the vast majority of students don't know anything about the student government and don't really care.

In general this attitude among students is understandable—student governments tend to be nothing more than playpens for aspiring politicians and bureaucrats. They have almost no real power in the university. For this reason student governments usually only attract self-promoting creeps.

Student government is only interesting insofar as it can be used as a tool in the struggle to expand access to education, to encourage students to be more involved in social movements, and to build links with the community. At CUNY there have been left-wing activist student governments at almost every campus at some time or another since the 1960s.

Student governments at CUNY helped organize the building takeovers that stopped the proposed tuition increase in 1989. CCNY's student government helped organize the massive CUNY student march against budget cuts in 1995, and helped organize the Hunger Strike in the NAC Rotunda that spring where over 40 students were arrested. The CCNY student government helped organize the *Day of Outrage* against the proposed \$400 tuition hike in 1996, and also helped organize buses to protest in Albany.

But since 1996, student governments at CCNY have done almost nothing to build the movement to save our education. Our elected leaders are not the true leaders on campus, they are merely popular people or people who like to have an office to hang out in. This lack of leadership is a tragedy in this time of the most severe attacks on CUNY in its history.

The main power the student government really has is to use its money to mobilize thousands of students to demand continued access to education at CUNY for the people of New York. We can only hope (and demand) that the incoming student government steps up to the plate and faces their historic responsibility to foster the struggle forward.

For the record, Brad Sigal ran as a member of the *Students Voice* slate this past election.

**PLAGUE CONTINUED
FROM PAGE 5**

In a particularly illuminating example, the Wallaces show the rates of HIV in surrounding counties are directly proportional to the amount of workers in the county who commute to New York. This also proved true at the national level. The amount of air travel cities across the United States received from New York correlated with their AIDS case loads.

In other words, so go the neighborhoods of the South Bronx, the Lower East Side, and Bed-Sty, etc., so goes the health of the United States. Because of their vulnerabilities brought about by "planned shrinkage" policy, policies still continued today and expanded with "welfare reform" and attacks on institutions like CUNY, New York City's minority neighborhoods act as gateways for health and safety problems for the rest of the country. Unless "planned shrinkage" is reversed, they will continue to.

A Plague on Your Houses is available at local bookstores. If not, call Verso Press at 1-800-233-4830.

**Discount
Movie
Passes**

SONY Theatres
\$6.50

SSC Business Office
NAC 1/210
Mon.-Fri. 9am - 5pm

A CALL TO

**LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL &
TRANSGENDER STUDENTS
AT CITY COLLEGE**

**LET'S START A CLUB FOR THE
FALL SEMESTER!**

**CALL CHRISTINE AT
(212) 712-7331**

**café
LARGO**

City's own café

137th St. & Broadway
(3387 Broadway)

right by the 1 train

CCNY students, faculty and staff:

Bring this ad with you and get

10% OFF

your meal!

(some restrictions may apply)

Live Jazz

Thursday through Saturday nights

Hours: Mon - Wed 12 - 11:00 pm Thurs - Sat. 10:30 am - 12:00 pm

Sunday 10:30 am - 11:00 pm info: 212-862-8142



IT'S UNIMAGINABLE that New York City's government would burn down whole neighborhoods on purpose. Unimaginable perhaps, but, according to a new book, absolutely true.

The book, *A Plague on Your Houses: How New York City Burned Down and National Health Crumbled* (Verso Press), was written by Deborah and Rodrick Wallace, two urban ecologists who for over twenty years have studied New York's human ecosystem, city service allocations, and their effects on human health.

The Wallaces' tale actually begins with the Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War in the 1960s. By this time the Civil Rights movement was moving north into the nation's cities. Martin Luther King was organizing in Chicago. Kenneth Gibson of Newark was the first black mayor elected in the Northeast. Black mayors were elected in Detroit and Cleveland. In New York, Herman Badillo made a serious run at the mayoralty.

In short, blacks and Latinos in cities across the North were organizing into powerful voting blocks. The affluent white power structures were threatened. What were they to do?

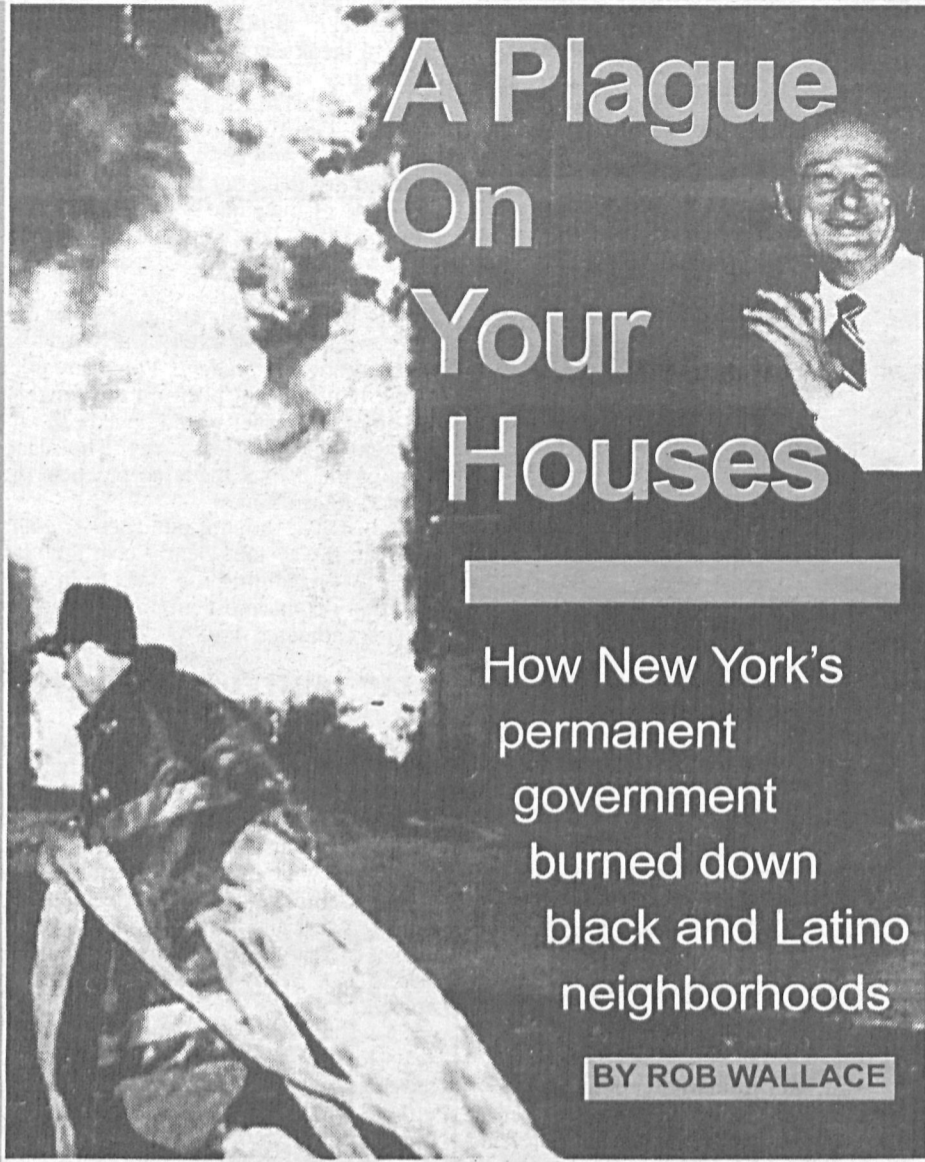
Meanwhile abroad, the Vietnam War was going badly. Many of the institutions that supported the war were demoralized and their authority, their very existence, questioned.

Liberal politicians supported "converting" military technology to peaceful use and channeling scientists away from war and weapons research. Toward that effort, New York Mayor John Lindsay opened New York City, and its people, as a laboratory for several military corporations. Among them were Grumann, Norelco, and the Riverside Research Institute. Another was the RAND Corporation, a military think tank that, along with developing weapons systems, modeled troop deployment. It seems the Viet Cong continually refused to follow RAND's models and would routinely take out American platoons. Perhaps such models would have better civilian applications.

As the New York City RAND Institute, RAND developed a series of simplistic pseudoscientific mathematical models that concluded city services could be allocated in a way that would permit the City to cut services and still deliver adequate coverage. In 1969, the City reduced the number of fire companies dispatched to fires on the basis of the RAND models.

RAND's early work inspired Daniel Patrick Moynihan's 1970 "benign neglect" memo to President Nixon in which, citing RAND data showing many fires in poor neighborhoods, the future New York senator declared black and Latino neighborhoods inherently pathological. The large number of fires were arson, Moynihan argued. Blacks and Latinos were burning down their own neighborhoods. Inner cities across the country should be left to neglect, Moynihan concluded.

Roger Starr, New York City's Housing Commissioner under Mayor Abe Beame, would later take this ideological attack further. Starr declared to the *New York Times*



in 1976 that the City should engage in a policy of "planned shrinkage"—of *deliberately* removing services out of "unviable" slum neighborhoods and keeping them in neighborhoods where there was a "continued willingness to live". Starr's remarks caused an uproar and he was forced out. But Starr only articulated a policy the City had *already* begun four years earlier.

WITH THE RAND models as cover, the Beame administration closed or moved some 30 fire companies between 1972-1975, a number that grew to over 40 by 1991 under successive administrations. The service rollbacks were directed at high-population density, high-fire incidence neighborhoods composed primarily of economically poor blacks and Latinos (See figure A). Of the seven companies eventually restored, only one was in a minority area. The rest were restored in white, politically active neighborhoods.

The fire companies were closed even as the Fire Department's own Deputy Fire Chief, Charles Kirby, issued a survey of Bronx neighborhoods that indicated an impending outbreak of fires in the very neighborhoods targeted for cuts. Kirby recommended the establishment of *more* firefighting units in these areas. For a sim-

ilar set of conditions some years earlier, the City opened 16 new units in 1969-1970 in areas with the highest fire incidences.

Compounded by these fire service cutbacks, including a 25% cut in firefighting staffing, Kirby's predicted fire outbreak erupted in 1972 (see figure B). The epidemic of fire, literally incinerating whole neighborhoods a la Dresden, destroyed three-quarters of some neighborhoods' housing (see figure C).

The burned-out neighborhoods subsequently underwent mass emigrations reminiscent of that of Kosovo Albanians (figure D). As much as 80% of these black and Latino populations moved out of their burned-out neighborhoods and into overcrowded housing in adjacent neighborhoods like the West and North Bronx and East New York in Brooklyn. About 600,000 poor New Yorkers were directly displaced. About 1.3 million white New Yorkers fled the waves of conflagration and urban decay for the suburbs. The 1970s were marked by an ethnic cleansing of New York City, one never covered by the *Times*.

The people targeted for "planned shrinkage" lost more than their housing. Neighborhoods consist of more than a

collection of houses. They provide the social institutions—churches, youth programs, block associations—and the orbit of personal relationships every last human requires for their material and emotional well-being. These social networks are particularly important for the poor who often pool their limited resources. These networks also act as the means by which information and community norms are spread and maintained.

A large literature exists detailing the psychological, even biochemical, consequences of stress brought about by this kind of disaster, mass migrations, and ruined social networks that followed the burnouts (For a recent review of this literature, see Richard Wilkenson's 1996 book *Unhealthy Societies: The Afflictions of Inequity*.)

When community social networks are destroyed, as they were with the "planned shrinkage" burnouts, community institutions needed to block crime or the spread of disease are replaced by institutions that were previously marginalized. Unsupervised youth gangs replace community-supported youth groups. Drug operations and prostitution rings replace safer industries. Drug and alcohol abuse replace religious, political, and social means of solace and support.

This community "meltdown," directly resulting from the "planned shrinkage" burnouts, disrupted the means by which the targeted neighborhoods assured social control, economic opportunity, and the socialization of youth. Such a social "phase change" often involved the development of a nexus of behaviors that mutually reinforced sexual and drug practices—for example, drugs for sex—which intensified as the burnouts, the migrations, the drug trade and its associated crime waves progressed.

"PLANNED SHRINKAGE" was a convergence of agendas. By implementing RAND's pseudoscientific models as City public policy, the permanent government could 1) rationalize reducing services for poor and minority neighborhoods and thereby 2) break the coalescing minority voting blocks that threatened the power structure and 3) clear land of "slums" for industrial use. In essence, New York's rulers felt they had to burn the city in order to save it, in order to keep "minorities", who now made up a large portion of the city, from taking over. The war was indeed brought home.

Clearly "planned shrinkage" was liberal racism at its most fascistic. And the Wallaces show its horrific ramifications reverberated for two decades and continue to even today.

The epidemics of burnout and urban decay, of disease (TB and AIDS), of drug abuse (heroin, crack, alcohol) and of crime expanded throughout the city, even beyond the neighborhoods that first suffered the initial service cuts and burnouts. Indeed, the pathogens and pathologies of these busted communities spread beyond New York out into the surrounding areas and to neighboring cities.

PLAGUE CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

Figures A-D show New York City "planned shrinkage" in action.

A) From 1972-1975 30 fire companies are closed primarily in poor, minority neighborhoods (e.g. Harlem, the South Bronx, the Lower East Side, Bed-Sty).

B) 1975 fire engine companies competing for external work time are to a company situated in the minority neighborhoods that suffered the cuts. External work time is a measure of the amount of time alien fire companies fight fires in a home unit's response area. It is essentially a measure of the inability of the home unit to control its area's "fire load" as the unit requires the aid of outside units. Engine and ladder company external work time for ghetto fire units increased from their respective means of 12.7 and 13.4 hours in 1972, the first year of the service cuts, to 49.1 and 39.9 hours in 1975. In other words, because minority neighborhoods were provided insufficient service, outside units had to be continually dispatched into the ghettos to fight fires. As the outside units took longer to get to the fires, the seriousness of fires also worsened and fires often burned out more buildings than if sufficient service was provided.



C) Census tracts that lost more than 500 housing units between 1970 and 1980. Fires destroy housing. And without the engines and ladders to combat and control them, fires were able to destroy thousands of housing units in the very neighborhoods that suffered the fire service cuts, just as the Kirby report predicted.

D) Change in black population, 1970-1980. As their housing was literally incinerated out from under them, minorities were forced to move to adjacent neighborhoods. Those who did not move were left in urban wastelands of burned-out housing. Those that did move were crammed into overcrowded housing. This was New York's ethnic cleansing.