



THE MESSENGER

WE HAD NO SPECIFIC KNOWLEDGE OF THE ATTACKS VOL. 4 NO. 4 SUMMER 2002 UNIVERSITY OF HARLEM
 2002 RUNNER-UP, BEST CAMPUS ALTERNATIVE PUBLICATION, CAJP AWARDS

Reem Released

By Hank Williams

Reem Khalil, a senior biochemistry major at City College, has been released after being detained for nearly three months by the INS. She is free while her case is being appealed, although authorities have told her that there is no evidence of any wrongdoing on her part. "That is something that never happens," says Khalil.

Reem and her family were arrested in February by the FBI for questioning about terrorism. After finding no wrongdoing by the Khalils, the FBI turned them over to the INS for detention pending deportation proceedings.

The CCNY and Brooklyn College Faculty Councils passed resolutions urging the CCNY administration to intervene on Khalil's behalf and the CCNY Coalition Against the War circulated a

petition demanding her immediate release, gathering several hundred signatures in the process.

Khalil's case is a microcosm of a wider pattern of intimidation and government secrecy surrounding immigrants. "People who are under suspicion are now justifiably scared about asserting their rights," says Ron McGuire, head of the CUNY Emergency Legal Defense Project. The INS has refused to release names and locations of immigrants it is holding, but there are signs that pressure is starting to mount on the government to respect immigrants' rights.

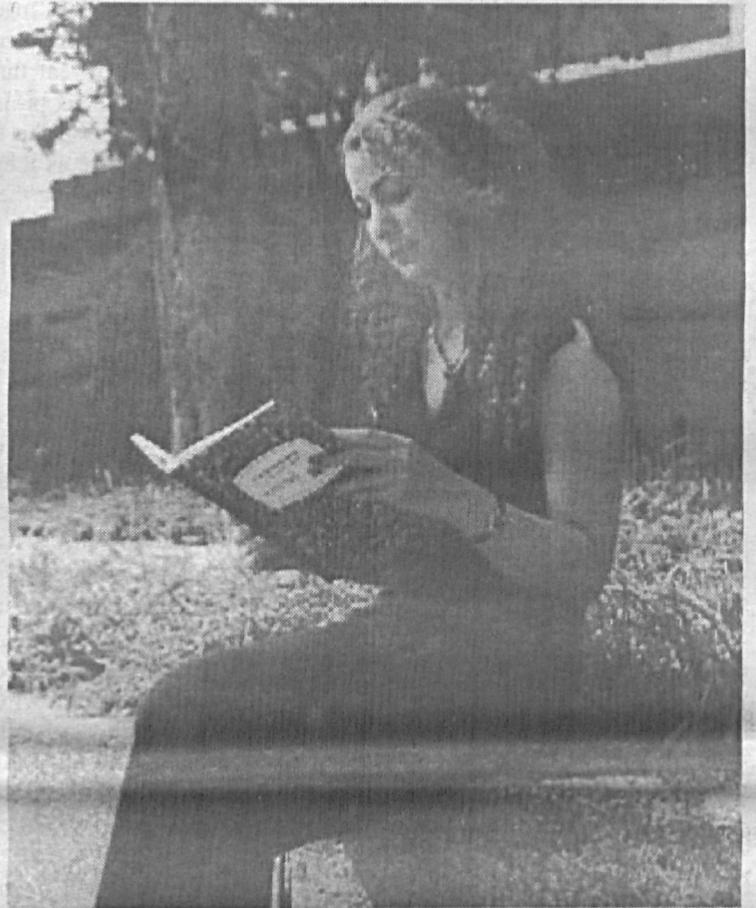
The ACLU won a lawsuit in New Jersey to force the INS to release the names of detainees in two county jails—including the one where Khalil was detained. Superior Court Judge Arthur D'Italia called the INS's secret arrests "odious to a democracy" in his ruling. A national

lawsuit seeking similar information is pending.

Edward Barocas, NJ ACLU Legal Director, said the decision "places us in a better position to assess whether [immigrants'] rights are being protected

and how we can address allegations of mistreatment."

The INS has still not released any names, as the government is appealing the ruling and will not to release information until there is a ruling on the appeal. Meanwhile, thousands of other



detainees like Khalil remain imprisoned while the courts sort out the cases. **M**

See also the article "ExtReem Situation" on page 10.

De-Fee-ted!

Students overwhelmingly vote against proposed increase in student activity fee. Administration illegally pushed for \$23.50 increase.

By Rob Wallace

For the second time in four years, CCNY undergraduates overwhelmingly voted against an increase in the student activity fee proposed by administrators.

The referendum on the increase took place during student government elections April 23-25. It called for an increase from \$49.35 to \$72.85 for full-time undergraduates and from \$33.35 to \$56.85 for part-time students. The proposed increase, by \$23.50 for both full-time and part-time students, nearly doubled a similar proposed increase in the fee students voted down in 1999.

The results of the referendum were 758 (78%) against the fee increase to 208 in favor.

In the course of placing the proposed increase on the referendum, City College

administrators broke CUNY bylaws. The illegal nature of the administration's campaign stemmed from three actions:

- The campaign to increase the student activity fee was waged by the Division of Student Affairs, an administrative unit that pushed for the failed increase in 1999. Associate Dean for Student Affairs Paul Bobb led this year's campaign. Bobb and other members of Student Affairs also served on the Student Elections Review Committee (SERC), which regulates student elections, including the very referendum to increase the fee Student Affairs

The administration used student activity fees in an attempt to increase the student activity fee.

helped bring to the ballot in the first place. In fact, according to SERC minutes the *Messenger* obtained, Dean Bobb wrote the referendum question.

- As in 1999, the administration used Finley Student Center employees, paid with student activity fees, to collect the approximately 640+ signatures needed to place the proposed activity fee increase on the ballot. In short, the administration used student activity fees in an attempt to increase the student activity fee.
- Also as in 1999, SERC championed the fee increase,

violating SERC's mandate as an impartial body as stipulated by CUNY bylaws. SERC generated pro-fee increase literature. SERC minutes also show discussion of efforts "to heighten awareness about detractors who might undermine referendum effort."

Student Affairs Runs SERC

In 1975 the CUNY Board of Trustees established Student Election Review Committees on CUNY campuses as a way of formalizing the certification of election results and as a means of encouraging student participation in elections.

Each year members of SERC are supposed to be nominated by the undergraduate and graduate student governments.

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Student Services: What Is to be Done?

CCNY students spoke with a strong voice in the last elections and soundly defeated an attempt to raise the undergraduate student activity fee. That nearly 80% voted against the proposal isn't surprising—people rarely want to pay more money—but there is more to the story than that.

Students *do* desperately want improved services and more support from the school. The problem is that unless you show a person what they're going to get for their money, they'll be unwilling to part with it. That's what happened here.

As we said before, some of the offices of the Student Services Corporation running the referendum do extremely good work and deserve more support. The Wellness Center and Day Care center are, like so many other services on campus, so woefully underfunded and understaffed that it's impossible to truly fulfill their missions.

Of course we support child care and student health services—and would've supported a petition to fund these entities if we'd had the option—but the college administration bundled all the increases together. You had to support *all* of the organizations asking for money or none at all, which set the referendum up for failure. The bigger issue at work here is that health care and child support should be available to everybody and it should be free. The real answer is a socialist society where things in the public interest that we all need to survive are taken care of instead of cynically left to the private sector to make enormous profit from.

We also haven't forgotten the scandalous way that college employees working for offices supporting the referendum used money from student activity fees and the resources of their own offices to get students to agree to pay *more activity fees!* It's not the first time the administration has acted with such arrogant disregard for the rules the rest of us have to follow. Hopefully this time they'll get the message.

We did find it particularly galling, however, that Finley Center was asking for an increase in funds in a semester where club funds were cut in half across the board, ACC grants that clubs rely on to offer events were unavailable, and the administration stepped up its efforts to thwart clubs from publicizing events. Funds for what? If clubs can't afford to hold events (or even publicize them properly), then why give Finley more cash? It didn't make sense to us or to students who opposed the referendum.

So where do we go from here? A good

first step would be to stop the attack on student life. The repressive policies of posting flyers issued by fiat by COO Lois Cronholm have to go. Now. Students can't show up to events that they don't know about. That doesn't cost the college anything.

Second, support student clubs. Easy steps to take would be to make sure ACC funds for activities and AEC funds for operating expenses are available on time and that clubs have a decent shot at them. Some progress was made in one of these areas: AEC grants were more equitably distributed this year than they have been in a while. The pet projects of administrators who serve on the board didn't completely dominate as they usually do. Several clubs (including the *Messenger*) were awarded funds at levels that actually make it possible to put the money to good use. Again, no fee increase needed.

Student government and the administration should work to make sure that club funds are available early in the semester so that clubs can function properly and plan events. And USG should fix the damn copy machine already so they can do their job and clubs can have access to copy facilities.

VP of Campus Affairs IK showed a creative and brilliant example of what can be done to build student power and support clubs. USG applied for—and won—one of the largest AEC grants awarded this year, and subsequently made the money available to clubs. That money paid for the paper that you're reading now.

These measures won't completely alleviate the problems in student services, but they would show a good faith effort to provide students with some return on their investment. That, in our opinion, will go a long way toward winning support for a fee increase. The administration might also show us exactly what we'll get for our money and play by the same rules we need to the next time there's a referendum. A little good faith goes a long way.

The root of all these problems, as we alluded to before, is the capitalist system that doesn't place value on the lives of its people. Health, education, and welfare are all left to chance. This is particularly the case when you're talking about the poor, minorities, or women. CUNY and all public schools deserve to be well funded and shouldn't have to scrape and beg for money. To do that we need a true mass movement that joins together students, workers, and the entire community to fight for what we deserve.

The Messenger, Contributors Win Awards

By Staff

The *Messenger* and its contributors have been recognized for their work in writing and journalism.

The Campus Alternative Journalism Project (CAJP) awarded the *Messenger* runner-up for the award of "Best Campus Alternative Publication." CAJP is a project of the Independent Press Association (IPA), a nonprofit dedicated to creating a network of independent publications focused on issues of social justice. CAJP was founded to foster the growth of student papers intent on creating social change.

The *Messenger* came in first place two years ago, when the contest was last held, but this year was beat out by the *Student Underground* at Boston University.

The *Underground* operates

without a cent from its student government. The *Underground* gained the judges' special attention for its coverage of the school's poor handling of a rape case on campus. The *Messenger* congratulates the *Student Underground* on its victory.

The Independent Press Association reprinted the cover

story from the last issue of the *Messenger*. The article was about CCNY student Reem Khalil's detention by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. (Reem Khalil and her family have recently been freed. See cover story.)

Three contributors to the *Messenger* were also recently honored with awards from the English Department at City College. Sara Tretter and Alexis Logsdon tied for the Meyer Cohn Essay Award, given for outstanding essays on current events and issues of social importance. Tretter's essay was on the Young Lords Party and Logsdon's was about the impact of September 11 on Arab Americans. Logsdon's essay was based on an article she wrote for the March edition of the *Messenger*.

Anastasiya Andrianova, who was awarded both the David Markowitz Essay and the Allan P. Danzig Awards, contributed a poem to the last issue.

Last but not least, long-standing *Messenger* staff member Rob Wallace has finally earned his doctorate. And he hasn't even retired yet.

Congratulations to all the winners! Congratulations to CCNY as well. The *Messenger* cannot operate without the support of City College's students, faculty and staff.



Six ideas for the Next Student Government

By Shumon Alam

The new USG government would do well to subscribe to six general principles that, if followed, will help both students and the student government.

1. Work for students, not the administration. Instead of acting as an extension of City College's administration, the new student government should act in a way that truly reflects students' interests and demands.

2. Work for students, not your resume. It's real easy to think a student government position is a feather in the cap. But if that's the reason why students join student government, then they shouldn't be there in the first place. Being a good student government official means working for students for at least 30 hours a week, including weekends. Students are depending on their USG officials to work for them, even for the small stipends.

3. Organize students, not administrators. No student government can accomplish its goals if its constituency, City College's student body, is left uninformed and uninvolved. The new student government should help any attempt to create a progressive and viable student movement. The administration, on the other hand, will try to get the next USG to spend all its time serving on various administrative

bodies; that is, to get the USG to act like administrators.

4. Defend free speech. Student government should protect the rights of student to free speech and free expression. The current administration is increasingly attacking all modes of student expression, including clubs' ability to poster and hold events, as well as the campus newspapers. Without free speech, all student life collapses. No postering, no events.

5. Fight budget cuts. The new student government should avoid internalizing the logic of a political system that views CUNY students as nuisances or expendable. Nothing is so ridiculous as so-called CUNY student government leaders defending the premises behind budget cuts and tuition hikes. The next student government should organize against any attempt to implement budget cuts and tuition and fee hikes.

6. Demand the administration do its job. The next student government should take action to improve administrative services. Along with budget cuts and departmental closings, the main reason City College has suffered a huge decline in enrollment is that student services are poorly managed. The next USG should hold the administration accountable. If the administration doesn't do its job, inform the CUNY Board of Trustees.

THE MESSENGER

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CCNY'S SEMI-INDEPENDENT STUDENT NEWSPAPER

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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 CUNY 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.

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Thank You

Thanks to USG for providing funding for this issue.
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The Baroness of Barrenness

COO Cronholm's 'beautification' cleans out free speech at City College.

By Rob Wallace, Hank Williams and Alexis Logsdon

City College has some of the highest paid cleaning staff in the country. No, we're not talking about the hard working staff who nightly mop the halls of City College's buildings.

We're talking about Vice President for Physical Plant Services Jonathan Ryan and Security Director Timothy Hubbard. The two impeccably dressed gents were seen on separate occasions this past month in the NAC Rotunda tearing down student posters from pillar after pillar. That the two, each making nearly \$100,000, found time enough to partake in spring cleaning during working hours raises the question of how much work the two are really occupied with.

The actions of the new cleaning staff stem from a series of policies and practices implemented by Chief Operations Officer Lois Cronholm for her NAC "beautification" project. In one fell swoop this March, without contacting any of the parties affected, Cronholm:

- Disappeared almost all student newspaper bins and student newspapers from the NAC Building.
- Removed and banned student banners from the NAC Rotunda and outside the NAC Building.
- Stripped off bulletin boards in the NAC Rotunda on which individual students and student clubs place their posters advertising campus events.

Curiously, the *New York Times* bins, the "United We Stand" banner the administration mounted outside NAC, and administrative bulletin boards in NAC were left untouched.

At a subsequent meeting with students angered by Cronholm's actions, Cronholm first attempted to absolve herself of responsibility for the actions, shifting blame to Physical Plant Services staff, who had ripped out bulletin boards from around four of the NAC Rotunda's pillars.

She next placated the students by promising to replace the removed bulletin boards. She also asked the students to help her convene an administrator-student committee that would plan how the NAC would be "beautified."

The bulletin boards were never replaced and students at the meeting with Cronholm interested in the administrator-student committee were never con-

tacted, although they left their names and phone numbers.

The newspaper bins were recovered only when student newspaper staff members liberated them from a NAC closet where they had apparently been locked away. The *Messenger's* newspapers remain missing. When *Messenger* staff members learned from Finley Student Center employees that Cronholm had the bins and newspapers removed, the students filed a security complaint against Cronholm for stealing property (see accompanying graphic).

Security Director Hubbard first tried to discourage the students from filing the complaint against Cronholm. He has since dealt with the matter by referring it to Cronholm's office, an interesting way of conducting an investigation.

In answer to a memo from the *Messenger* on some of these matters, President Gregory Williams wrote that "it is imperative that we all keep our lines of communication about important issues, as we go about the business of providing the best possible education for the students of The City College of New York." According to PSC officials, President Williams refused to speak about these matters when they were raised at the latest union-management meeting.

Williams went on to say in the memo that he believed the agreed-upon student advisory group would "contribute innovative ideas to shape our campus as it changes and grows."

Maybe Legal, Assuredly Dumb

According to student-rights attorney Ron McGuire, the administration may have some legal say in how postering is regulated, including stipulating posters be placed on bulletin boards alone.

At the same time, City College's Governance Charter (Article II, Section 3) clearly states,

The Undergraduate Senate [USG] shall, subject to such rules and guides as may be established by the Board of Trustees and the Faculty Senate, have jurisdiction over extracurricular activities, including the setting of general policy governing student activities (e.g., chartering regulations, publicity regulations, etc.)...

But jurisdiction over postering becomes inconsequential if the administration just rips out most of the available bulletin boards. The NAC Rotunda is a prime location for pedestrian traffic and hanging out. What few boards remain are sequestered in escalator wells, where there is little room to stop

and view posters.

Other buildings suffer from a lack of bulletin boards and newspaper bins. As of 2000 there were three bulletin boards at the front entrance of the Science Building. There are now none. The three bulletin boards left, in the back of the Science Building, are wallpapered with corporate advertising. This may explain why students poster "illegally." There's nowhere else to place their posters.

Without postering, student events cannot be properly advertised and attended, a particularly pernicious problem with undergraduate enrollment still in decline. Indeed, a survey by the *Messenger* published last year, using Finley Student Center data, showed the number of student events declining from 164 in the Spring 1998 to 30 in Spring 1999.

The decline resulted in part from a repressive campaign directed against student clubs by former Vice President for Student Affairs Thomas Morales (for more details see the *Messenger* web site at www.geocities.com/ccnyness/). Given the aftermath of such a campaign, the question current administrators should be asking themselves is whether students would want to



Lois Cronholm plotting her next attack on campus life.

upstairs.

With a wad of "Hey Administrator" posters he ripped down in hand, Security Director Hubbard threatened one of us (RW) with disciplinary action if he continued to put up the poster on NAC Rotunda pillars. For the rest of the day Hubbard had his peace officers patrolling the NAC Building tearing down errant student posters.

Still, that week, other posters taped onto the Rotunda pillars remained untouched. These included posters for latinogreeks.com, Art-carved (the graduation ring company), and the Colin Powell Center for Policy Studies.

The selective enforcement has turned uglier, violating students' First Amendment rights. In mid-April Finley Student Center refused to stamp two student posters based on the content of [the posters]. One poster advertised a speak-out on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the other an anti-war demonstration in Washington DC.

Pointing at "terrorism" on one poster and "killing" (as in "come and voice out your opinion and intolerance towards the killing...") on the other, a Finley Center employee demanded, "You need to re-word that." She then "voided" the posters' stamps. When students

protested the voiding, Finley relented, but the message was sent: The administration is now in the business of cracking down on legal political speech it happens to object to.

In early April, the Amnesty International club sponsored a performance by Reverend Billy, a performance artist with a strongly anti-corporate message. Assia Nakova, Amnesty's president, told the *Messenger* that during the performance she was approached by an unidentified man in a suit who motioned to Reverend Billy and said, "You should stop him."

Later in the show, Amnesty club mem-

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GENERIC STATEMENT

WITNESS [] PERPETRATOR [] COMPLAINANT [X] OTHER [] SIR# _____

I, Alexis Logsdon (Dillon), OF _____, STATE THAT: The Messenger newspaper has had 3 newspaper bins stolen. Employees of the Finley Student Ctr. have informed us that they have been taken by Lois Cronholm. They were located at the top of the escalator in the NAC rotunda; one outside the cafeteria and one by the third floor escalator at the Amsterdam Av exit. We discovered that they were missing on Monday, March 11th, 2002. For the record, from our understanding, all other student newspaper bins are also missing. Along with the bins, approximately 100 newspapers were also taken. Robert Wallace also added as complainant.

I HAVE READ THE ABOVE STATEMENT. I FULLY ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE STATEMENT IS TRUE AND ACCURATE TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEF. I ALSO MADE THIS STATEMENT VOLUNTARILY AND FREELY, WITHOUT THREATS, REWARDS OR PROMISES OF REWARD.

WRITER'S SIGNATURE: Mohamad Alcan DATE: 3/13/02

WITNESS SIGNATURE: _____ DATE: 3/13/02

PAGE 1 OF 1

HEY CITY COLLEGE ADMINISTRATOR!

IF YOU THINK YOU CAN INCREASE ENROLLMENT BY BLOCKING CLUB ACTIVITIES,

TEAR THIS POSTER DOWN!

A PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENT BROUGHT TO YOU BY THE MESSENGER

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In-state Tuition for Undoc Residents?

Gov. Pataki, apparently campaigning hard for re-election already, is asking for a bill that would require two years of New York State high school attendance for in-state tuition eligibility. Last fall the CUNY Board of Trustees decided that the policy of allowing undocumented immigrants who are New York State residents to pay in-state tuition violated federal law.

A lawsuit challenging the CUNY decision failed and, starting this spring, undocumented students have to pay out of state tuition at double the in-state rate regardless of how long they had lived in New York State.

CUNY Chancellor Matthew Goldstein is also supporting the legislation. Several groups, however, are supporting legislation that will include more students. CUNY is Our Future, the Mexican-American Student Alliance and the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, among others want to see a bill passed that would provide in-state tuition eligibility to holders of a New York State high school diploma or a GED. Such a bill has already been introduced in the state legislature.

The coalition also is urging the legislation to include current CUNY and SUNY students in good academic standing who have earned one-half the credits required for an associate's degree or one-quarter of the credits required for a bachelor's degree, as they have demonstrated that they are serious about their studies. A simpler solution, of course, would be to eliminate the tuition that has been charged since 1976, the same year that students of color became the majority in CUNY.

Um... A Seagull Ate My Homework

In what could either be a boon or the greatest white elephant in CUNY history, President Bush announced that he would turn Governor's Island over to New York for a nominal fee, provided the space was reserved for public use.

Mayor Bloomberg and Governor Pataki have devised a plan to turn the former Army and Coast Guard base off the tip of Manhattan into a new CUNY campus. The plan does keep the island, which is dotted with landmarked buildings, in the public domain and could potentially provide a perk that has been largely absent from CUNY: housing. Former residences on the island could be offered to either faculty or students.

But the plans for new CUNY space might be offset. Part of the plan is to move high school students into classroom

space freed up on existing campuses. Also, nobody knows how much it would cost to make the island fully functional or if CUNY can afford to pay for upkeep of the island by itself. The federal government estimates that it costs about \$5 million per year just to maintain the vacant island. And someone would have to provide ferry service, as there are no bridges connecting it to the mainland. Lastly, there are worries that it will become a home for a few privileged honors students, further dividing the haves and have-nots in CUNY.

Despite the drawbacks, some are optimistic about the plan. "I think it's going to make the life of a city that has been tragically affected by killers and murderers better," said President Bush, who has experience in both areas.

Although CUNY is still digesting the plan, spokesperson Jay Hershenson said that chancellor Matthew Goldstein "sees the initiative as promising."

CCNY High

The NYC Board of Ed will open three selective high schools in September on CUNY campuses—including CCNY—to expand the slots for strong students who don't make it into the city's elite trio of science schools: Bronx High School of Science, Brooklyn Tech, and Stuyvesant. Lehman College in the Bronx and York College in Queens will host schools also. Each will take 125 ninth graders this September, eventually expanding to about 500 students.

The new high schools are partly the result of the proposal to make CUNY the primary Governors Island occupant: part of the deal to offer CUNY space on the island was a promise to use the newly freed space on existing campuses for new public schools as a way of alleviating overcrowding.

The new schools will use the same admissions test as the elite NYC schools. Each year, more than 20,000 anxious students take the tests required to win one of about 2,500 seats at the three elite high schools. The City College high school will focus on math, science and engineering and students will be expected to take college courses in their senior year. CCNY currently has A. Philip Randolph High School located on campus.

"There are lots of people in the city who want access to a very rigorous college preparatory high school," CUNY Chancellor Matthew Goldstein told the *New York Times*. "We hope we can expand the opportunities," said Goldstein, who, apparently feels that he doesn't need to expand the opportunities for CUNY students.

Schools Chancellor Harold Levy told the *Times* that—like the other specialized high schools—the new schools will receive slightly higher funding than regular high schools. So we see the city's solution to overcrowding and poor schools: build more for the elite and fund them more, while poor and minority students suffer.

PSC Settles Contract

Negotiators for CUNY's faculty and staff union, the Professional Staff Congress, have agreed on contract terms with CUNY. If approved by the PSC membership and state legislature, the contract will replace a contract that expired in August, 2000.



The basic contract includes a 4% increase retroactive to 2000 and a 3% increase next year. Adjuncts, Graduate Teaching Assistants, and Assistant Registrars and HEO's will receive a 5.77% increase in the second year.

Upgrading the pay and conditions for adjunct professorial staff was a priority in the negotiations, and they received minor gains. Adjuncts who teach a certain number of classes will finally be paid for an extra hour for office hours and will receive yearlong appointments.

The negotiations were surrounded by activism by the PSC including teach-ins, protests, and informational leafleting. The PSC tied its demands to demands for the rebuilding of the university and in support of students. See the PSC website for more info: www.psc-cuny.org.

Take This Job and Shove it

Allen L. Sessoms, who resigned two years ago as president of Queens College, has returned to Harvard as a lecturer in public policy.

Sessoms resigned among a whirlwind of scandal around ambitious goals for Queens College that never materialized. The cornerstone was to be an AIDS research center, which never became more than blueprints because Sessoms didn't raise the \$30 million needed for the project.

Sessoms also drew heat

for reportedly using a four-letter word to refer to remedial students in a speech to a lawyers' group. Sessoms denied the allegation, though Queens PR people said that he used a "salty" term to "refer to the academically unprepared."

Sessoms claims that he was hung out to dry by CUNY: "I communicated everything to the people who had to know," Sessoms told the *New York Times*. "We [Queens College] were undermined" on the project because "the university didn't support it."

"I think I left Queens a heck of a lot better than I found it," Sessoms continued. "We did things that raised the image of the institution, the pride of the alumni and the quality of the faculty and students."

The CUNY bosses think otherwise: CUNY spokesperson Jay Hershenson said: "Dr. Sessoms's propensity for prematurely announcing private funding was widely reported in the media. We wish him well in his future endeavors." Ouch.

Zicklin Goes for the Gold

Baruch College's Zicklin School of Business is aiming to be one of the nation's 25 best business schools, and is swelling the ranks of faculty to meet that goal. 42 new full-time faculty members have been hired and a new dean has been appointed. It now has about 150 tenure-track professors.

John A. Elliott, an accounting professor and associate dean at Cornell University's Johnson Graduate School of Management, will replace the retiring Sidney Lirtzman as dean of Zicklin.

Baruch also announced that it had hired at least 20 new full-time faculty members, who will start in September. "To bring the school to a different level of excellence, we had to replace about 40 substitute professors," said Lirtzman. The plan is to focus on the full-time M.B.A. program to lead the school. This year Baruch raised full-time M.B.A. tuition for New York State residents to about \$6,000 per year from about \$4,000, to help pay for new professors.

Matthew Goldstein, then Baruch's president and now chancellor of CUNY, raised about \$60 million for the college, much of it from successful Baruch alumni like Lawrence Zicklin, a Wall Street executive, after whom the business school is named.

Today Baruch, the largest business school in the United States, has about 13,500 business students, out of a total enrollment of about 15,000 students. About 2,000 are graduate business students, including 200 in the full-time M.B.A. program. M

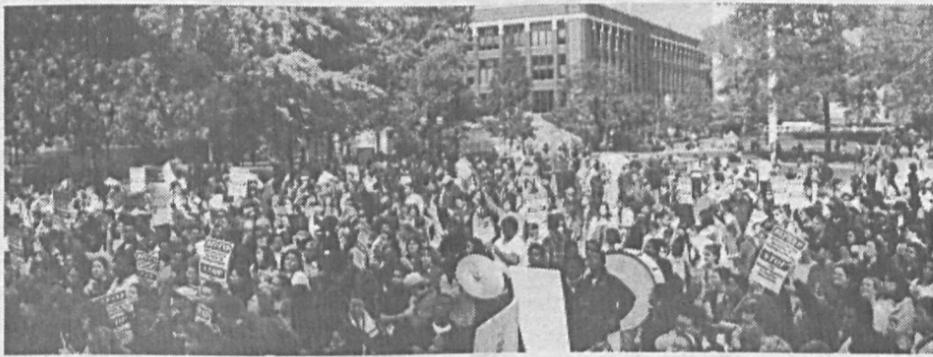


Governor's Island: the former Coast Guard base might be CUNY's newest campus. But what will CUNY do with Fort Clinton?

Advertise in the Messenger

- Gain exposure to thousands of CCNY students
- Low rates

Call the Messenger at (212) 699-3825x7582 voice mail/fax
or email ccnymessenger@yahoo.com



University of Michigan students rally to save affirmative action.

Victory for Affirmative Action

The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled to uphold the University of Michigan Law School's affirmative action admissions policies. The U of M has two lawsuits pending from white students who are accusing the university of reverse racism. The plaintiffs are being assisted by the conservative Center for Individual Rights.

Activists have been mobilizing around the case and mass protests and campaigns have been organized by United for Equality and Affirmative Action and the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action & Integration, and Fight for Equality By Any Means Necessary (BAMN).

The decision sets up a showdown at the Supreme Court. Opponents of affirmative action are widely expected to appeal to the Supreme Court in light of the national prominence of the Michigan litigation and the issue itself. The students have pledged to collect one million petition signatures and organize a National March on Washington on the day that the Supreme Court hears the case. Rev. Jesse Jackson and former U of M President (and new Columbia U. Prez) Lee Bollinger are among the petition's signers.

The case is an important one in deter-

mining the future of affirmative action programs in the US and assuring access for students of color and working class students across the country, as other programs could be affected by the decision. Miranda Massie, lead defense attorney illustrates the importance of affirmative

"These cases are about the preservation and extension of integration. They are our generation's Brown vs. Board of Education."

action, noting that the 1964 graduating class of the UM Law School was almost all male and nearly all white: only 44 of nearly 6,000 graduates between 1950 and 1970 were Black. There were no Latino or

Native American grads.

One of the plaintiffs is a white woman, which Massie sees as manipulation by the CIR. "Very elite white men" will gain the most from ending affirmative action, Massie told *The Crisis*. "Affirmative Action broke down the 'old boys' network. [...] You certainly couldn't get into the UM law school unless you were socially privileged. By breaking things open for Black students, affirmative action broke things open and created access for Latinos and for women of all races and for working-class and modest white young people."

Access: Denied

The *San Francisco Chronicle* reports that kleptomaniac-in-chief Bush has directed White House officials to consider an anti-terrorism policy that would keep some

"This is a war on education and on immigrant and international students' rights."

foreign students from studying "sensitive" academic subjects.

Universities say such a policy would threaten academic freedom and the core of the university mission.

Right now info on the plan is about as vague as domestic security czar Tom Ridge's inane terrorism warnings. Details haven't been revealed about which countries or degree programs might be forbidden. "We still don't have much of an idea of what they are talking about doing," said Victor Johnson, Associate Executive Director of Policy for N A F S A :

Association of International Educators.

Colleges also feel that the onus should be on the government—not them—to police immigration. "If there are people that the government thinks should not study certain subjects because of who they are, they should not be let into this country in the first place," Johnson said. "Walling off parts of the university for certain students wouldn't work for us."

The proposed measure also omits the fact that the majority of foreign students are just that. "I don't know of any case where a student admitted to a research university has been involved in any security breach," said UC Santa Cruz Chancellor M.R.C. Greenwood.

An international graduate student in engineering at UC Berkeley, who was afraid to be identified for fear of attracting the government's attention, called the racial profiling and stereotyping of foreign students an insult.

"Basically, it is saying that if you are a student from the Middle East studying engineering, you will go back home and make a bomb," the student said. "For me, this is a war on education and on immigrant and international students' rights." Smells like business as usual for the Feds.

ICC Ratified Without US

The International Criminal Court has been ratified, but the Bush administration has announced that it is "unsigned" the treaty. The court will be the first permanent court to try individuals accused of the worst crimes in human history—genocide, war crimes and crimes against

humanity.

The US and most of the world's nations signed the Rome treaty creating the court. Many have called it the most significant international legal development since the UN Charter and the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as it represents the best hope to deter and punish these most heinous crimes.

Bush's concern was that it might hamper the global racial profiling and police brutality called the War on Terrorism. The remote risk that US nationals could theoretically be subject to a war crimes prosecution by the ICC, even if the US isn't a party to the treaty, influenced the administration to walk away.

Most likely, Bush is worried about prosecution of US officials under the new law. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is, for example, being sought by authorities for his role in support of the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile. The democratically elected Socialist President Salvador Allende was murdered in a US backed military coup in 1973 and Pinochet executed and jailed thousands of opponents to his regime over the next two decades.

Some commentators, such as Noam Chomsky, have suggested that former President Bill Clinton and Bush's daddy are guilty of war crimes as well for their roles in the war and sanctions against Iraq and various overseas military adventures. It seems like prosecuting these thugs should be a priority if global justice is ever to be achieved.

INS Detentions 'Odious to a democracy'

A state court in Newark, NJ has granted the American Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey access to records of Immigration and Naturalization Service detainees held in jails in Hudson and Passaic counties. The ruling was the result of an ACLU lawsuit based on a state law that requires that the names and the dates of entry of all inmates in county jails, without exception, "shall be open to public inspection."

The INS has still not released any info. They are appealing the case and do not have to release names until all appeals are exhausted. New Jersey Superior Court Judge Arthur D'Italia called the secret arrests "odious to a democracy" in ruling against the INS.

Unfortunately, things have gone from bad to worse for detainees. A condition of the ruling is that the INS not move detainees jailed in the facilities covered by the order without the court's consent. The INS is using the order to refuse access by media to detainees and block even voluntary departure and deportation of detainees.

The ACLU "The government has not only misconstrued the court's order to serve its own purposes, but has invoked the order as a means to further deny the rights of detainees and further deny access to them," said Deborah Jacobs, Executive Director of the New Jersey ACLU.

The Justice Department, collaborating in the INS effort to hide in secrecy, issued a regulation on April 18 forbidding non-federal authorities from releasing information about immigration detainees held in state and local facilities.

The ACLU has also filed a federal Freedom of Information Act request seeking information on detainees held around the country. See the ACLU website for more information: <http://www.aclu.org/safeandfree/index.html>. **M**



President Bush wants to limit subjects that foreign students can take.

Courtesy bushorchimp.com

Marching against War and the Occupation of Palestine



On April 20, close to 100,000 people, including a busload of CCNY students, marched in Washington DC against the US "war on terror." A particular focus was the US-supported Israeli occupation of Palestine, and many of the marchers were Palestinians and other Arabs.

Continue the Struggle for the Students

By Kenneth Williams

The following speech was given May 16 to the CCNY Faculty Senate by the outgoing student body president.

Dear Members of the Faculty Senate:

When I arrived to City College in the fall of 1999, I soon became aware of the rich legacy of student activism that City College has produced, and I wanted to add to that legacy. There are many students who are unaware of the takeover of 1969 and how it enabled City College to live up to its dual historical mission statement of serving the underserved and serving the community. You may recall that the recent *New York Times* article conveyed an impression that our school's image is improving. This article purported the false notion that our reputation had been tarnished because CUNY adopted a policy of open admissions during the seventies.

City College has often taken the blame for everything that is wrong in CUNY. Former Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and the Benno Schmidt Task Force stated that CUNY was an institution that needed to be "blown up," for it was plagued with too many students who need remedial courses.

This brought about the end of City's historical "Open-Admissions" policy and allegedly remedial courses. Consequently, today we have an entire program dubbed the "Freshman Year Program" that has been lauded as a success by various faculty members administrators; however, it's quite ironic that the "Freshman Year Program" offers mostly remedial courses.

Being a student here at City College, I was afforded the opportunity to study from a world-renowned political scientist, and from that opportunity, I am now able to see through the political tactics of Mayor Giuliani. The termination of open admissions did not bring about needed changes in CUNY; rather, it sought to disenfranchise students of color. I believe that many students are unaware of the reasons why our school adopted that policy, and the reasons were due to the gross inequality that existed in our New York City public schools. The supporters of open admissions believed that there was a color line in our city's public school system and believed educational opportunities would be more equitable if CUNY adopted an open admissions policy. Today that color line still exists and the open admissions policy does not.

It would be naïve of me to say that the open admissions policy did not have any flaws: however, open admissions was never fully supported by the university. After the takeover of 1969, students of color arrived at City in unprecedented numbers; up until 1974 CUNY had been free for all its students. Once it became a true university, students from around the world now had the opportunity to attend City. City College no longer catered to an elite group in our city, and tuition was imposed upon students who were from impoverished backgrounds. There has always been lack of support in higher edu-

cation, and open admissions endeavored to change this.

Knowing the history of City College, I am told that the reason why City has been attacked in the media, or, if I may borrow a phrase from a *New York Times* reporter, "maligned as the good child gone bad," is due to the fact that our school has turned out many students of color who have gone on to challenge the status quo and have increased the cohort. Jobs that had been reserved for "white only," due to the fact that minorities weren't afforded the opportunities to get a college degree, were now being taken by students of color, for they now had the qualifications for the position. This is apparent in the retrenchment of our nursing program. During President Moses' tenure, it was stated that the program was inefficient; however, according to various hospital administrators throughout the city, they all claim that City has produced the best nurses.

The reasons the Board of Trustees gave for terminating open admissions and remediation were fabricated. When the board voted to end open admissions, it was believed that students who didn't meet the admissions standards for a senior college would have a place in a community colleges; however, this

could not have been a well-thought-out plan. The configuration of CUNY is that there are more senior colleges than community colleges, and many of our community colleges are already overcrowded. So how could they handle more students?

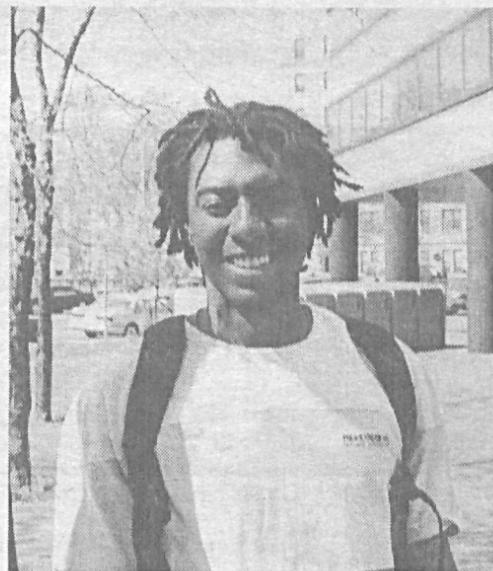
After a teach-in held by the PSC on October 2nd, it became painfully obvious how high a regard our administrators had for our students and faculty. When we were deemed idiots by the knuckle draggers paper, our president, in a private meeting, stated that "we should do nothing." Chancellor Goldstein made the response, "I have no sympathy for the voices of those who make lame excuses." The chancellor even went as far as to publicly state that the comments made at the teach-in were repugnant and recalcitrant, when we the members of the City College community know for a fact that the chancellor was not at the teach-in nor had he had an opportunity to view a videotaping of the teach-in. Clearly, these are people who in their positions have a lack of respect for the students they serve. It should also be brought to the college community's attention that the Board of Trustees never denounced Herman Badillo, who made derogatory statements about Latino students. Every university and college had a discussion or a teach-in regarding the 9/11 tragedy, and they were not deemed idiots. This incident sheds light on the myth that scholarly debate is reserved for Ivy League schools or, rather, predominately white schools.

I would also like to invite those radical professors to take some initiative in the next student government. For many student leaders find that once they take office, they are literally left to the dogs. There is a Christian proverb that states, "Lord, you are the potter and I am the clay." If I may adopt an analogy to

describe my tenure in student government the potter would be the division of student affairs and the clay would be the student government. If you all are wondering where has student government been for the last year, I would ask you to draw your attention to the division which is supposed to be our so-called advisor. The division of Student Affairs has often masqueraded as providing direction and mentoring; however, during my administration that has not been the case. The division has created more problems within student government rather than solving them.

Because of the challenges that student leaders face, running student government can be quite overwhelming. Student government will never be effective without you, the faculty members, who indirectly have a vested interest in the overall student population. I believe the faculty and students united can effect some serious change on this campus. The administration tends to do things that are not in the best interest for students and faculty members; this is apparent by the renewal of Metropolitan Food Services contract. I would like to call your attention to the inequality of pricing between the faculty dining room and the student cafeteria.

If students are not told that they can make a difference, they will believe that



things have to stay the way they are and subsequently leave this place feeling demoralized and that their voices do not count. This is abhorrent, and you, the faculty members and professors, have the ability to change that, for by the mere virtue of your position you hold the key to unlock the minds of students and spur them into action.

I, today, would like to remind those faculty members who have put their careers on the line for students, who have spoken out against the terrible injustices and inequalities that students of color face, who have been sole voices of dissent, **to keep on keeping on.** Your efforts are not in vain. Being a student here at City College, I learned about Frederick Douglass who stated, "If there is no struggle, then there is no progress." We must continue the struggle.

The CUNY Budget Battle

By Daniel Tasripin and Hank Williams

Against a backdrop of statewide elections, budget hearings, and faculty contract negotiations, student opposition to budget cuts and tuition hikes on the campuses of the City University of New York (CUNY) is mounting. Although it looks as if the worst budget cuts from New York City and State have been avoided, CUNY has, at best, a budget with no decrease from last year. This hardly provides relief from the last 30 years of drastic budget cuts and reductions of faculty, support staff, and resources.

Hot Time in the City

Much of the organizing effort by students so far has been against Bloomberg's proposed city budget. Under its agreement with New York State, the city is responsible for funding of the community colleges, which the Bloomberg administration is looking to cut by \$3.9 million. Additionally, students at the senior colleges have been keeping their eyes on the \$7 million the city provides for the Peter Vallone Academic Scholarship Program (also known as the "merit scholarship"). The scholarship regularly provides \$725 per semester for 5000 students. Mayor Bloomberg's proposed budget would eliminate this funding entirely.

"We would love to fund the program, but unfortunately there's a \$4.8 billion budget gap," Bloomberg spokesman Jordan Barowitz said in an interview with *New York Newsday*. After a March 22 hearing of the City Council on CUNY, Mayor Bloomberg was not so articulate.

As students and faculty held a press conference on the steps of City Hall, Bloomberg was quickly spotted making his grand entrance. Surrounding the mayor, they demanded he address concerns over his proposed budget cuts.

Over the clamor of the crowd, the mayor's could only shrug his shoulders and remark, "I'm not the state," alluding to the state government's control over much of CUNY's budget, which came as a result of the 1976 fiscal crisis. As mentioned above, however, Bloomberg does have control over the budget of the CUNY community colleges as well as the Merit Scholarship, but has chosen to cut back on funding to CUNY as he has proposed cuts to education, sanitation, and other essential services.

In a positive development the City Council has drafted a budget that restores much of the funding back to their normal levels. However, as has been the pattern for several years, budget priorities are in a constant state of negotiation. Time will tell which way negotiation will go in such a highly politicized atmosphere.

The State Budget Front

The state budget is where the majority of funding to CUNY comes from and where the greatest cuts are expected. Governor Pataki, whose budgets have become notorious for giving short shrift to the city, has proposed a restructuring of TAP awards that would cut students' current awards by a third while raising the cap on new awards to \$5000. Since CUNY students would be hurt by the first provision but cannot benefit from the second, there is

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ALL CCNY Sweeps Disputed USG Election

Rinaldi elected new USG President. Opposing slate's campaign manager levels charges against Student Elections Review Committee, demands new election.

By Alexis Logsdon and Rob Wallace

The Undergraduate Student Government elections were held April 23-25 in the NAC Rotunda. ALL CCNY, one of three slates running, won every seat it fielded candidates for, including all executive board positions. But the election is disputed by the campaign manager for CCNY Renaissance, another slate.

In a race where student campaigns only materialized the week before the elections, Jonathan Rinaldi took 66% of 1045 votes cast for USG president, winning a landslide victory over CCNY Renaissance's Edward Corcino.

Rinaldi, a junior in architecture, expressed his desire to get students more involved in on-campus activities. He told the *Messenger* that if you can get students "to enjoy this place, maybe they will take more interest" in getting involved. "You have to motivate, inspire students to do something," Rinaldi said.

Rinaldi himself has taken an interest in campus activities. At a recent debate sponsored by campus newspaper *The Paper* on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Rinaldi stood on the panel to represent the Zionist perspective. In a debate that got quite lively, so much so that some pro-Zionists were removed for disrupting the event, Rinaldi spoke against the demand for a Palestinian state.

The winner for the post of Executive Vice-President was Dion J. Powell, also from ALL CCNY. Powell ran unopposed.

"The computer labs should be open twenty four hours [a day] because the school needs to be more competitive," Powell told the *Messenger*.

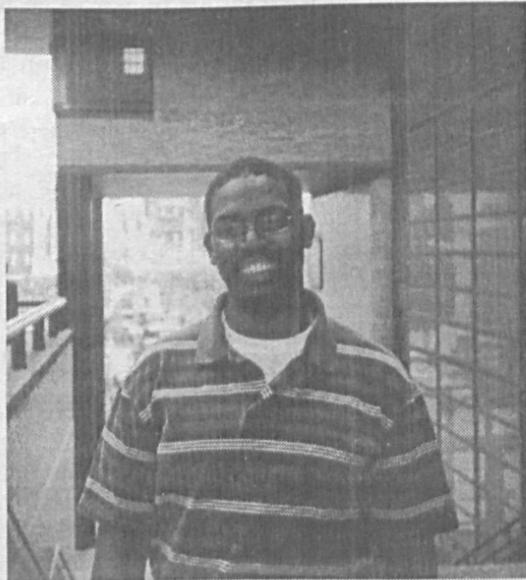
Foul Play by SERC?

Undergraduate Chester Miles, campaign manager for the CCNY Renaissance slate, lambasted the way the SERC handled the student elections and demanded a new election. SERC, typically comprised of administrators and students, oversees the student elections. (For more on SERC see article on the activity fee on page 1.)

In a memo dated May 17 to CUNY Vice-Chancellor for Student Development Otis Hill, Miles alleged five violations by SERC during this year's election:

- SERC permitted only one candidate (Folasayo Fadahunsi) to run for the Student Ombudsman office although the CCNY Governance Charter requires that more than one candidate run for the office.

- SERC certified three students' appeals to switch slates. Tyrone Martin, running for a Liberal Arts senator seat, switched from independent to ALL CCNY, Mabel Gomez, running for VP for Campus Affairs, and Andrene Rodney, running for an Engineering senator position, switched from Campus Initiative to CCNY Renaissance. But Gomez and Rodney were listed on the ballot as running on the Campus Initiative slate, misrepresenting the students' and CCNY Renaissance's affiliations.



Chester Miles, CCNY Renaissance campaign manager, alleges election violations by SERC.

- SERC demonstrated an inconsistent decision-making during the election itself. SERC backed ALL CCNY complaints about illegal flyering by CCNY Renaissance based on circumstantial evidence only, but took no action on CCNY Renaissance complaints against ALL CCNY postering because SERC claimed there were no witnesses or physical evidence of ALL CCNY's infraction.

- SERC effectively disenfranchised students who attend the Center for Worker Education (CWE) at CCNY's downtown campus on Hudson Street by failing to notify them, or the candidates running, that CWE students could vote by internet.

- Architecture students were misinformed by the ballot that there were three senator seats they could vote for, when in fact there were four.

"I've been here for three years and have been involved with student elections all three years. There have been the same kind of inconsistencies all three years," Miles told the *Messenger*. Miles has begun a campaign collecting letters from City College students demanding a new election because of the disenfranchisement CWE students suffered.

On the make-up of SERC Miles declared administrators from Student Affairs over-represented. "For the last three weeks before the elections, there was only one student and he was appointed chair so he couldn't vote," said Miles. Student Andrew Calder took over the chair when

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Emver Hidalgo, Jonathan Rinaldi, Divyaang Mittal, and friends celebrate their victory in the student government elections.

Student Government Elections 2002

Undergraduate Candidates

President		1045 Votes
Jonathan Rinaldi	All CCNY	690 66.0%
Edward Corcino	CCNY Renaissance	354 33.9%
Abstain		1 0.1%
Executive Vice-President		919 Votes
Dion J. Powell	All CCNY	918 99.9%
Abstain		1 0.1%
Treasurer		975 Votes
Richard Ho	All CCNY	670 68.7%
Oniel Vargas	Campus Initiative	304 31.2%
Abstain		1 0.1%
Campus Affairs Vice-President		976 Votes
Orlando Quinones	All CCNY	634 65.0%
Mabel Gomez	Campus Initiative	341 34.9%
Abstain		1 0.1%
Academic Affairs Vice-President		1006 Votes
Georgette A. Malcolm	All CCNY	571 56.8%
Dilara Khanam	CCNY Renaissance	434 43.1%
Abstain		1 0.1%
University Affairs Vice-President		989 Votes
Divyaang Mittal	All CCNY	613 62.0%
Patrick Calizaire	CCNY Renaissance	375 37.9%
Abstain		1 0.1%
Community Affairs Vice-President		915 Votes
Jose A. Camacho	All CCNY	914 99.9%
Abstain		1 0.1%
Evening Affairs Vice-President		919 Votes
Emver Hidalgo	All CCNY	918 99.9%
Abstain		1 0.1%
Student Ombudsperson		733 Votes
Folasayo Fadahunsi	Independent	732 99.9%
Abstain		1 0.1%
Architecture Senator - Four Seats		87 Votes
Venesa Alicea	All CCNY	76 87.4%
Crystal S. Gosine	All CCNY	58 66.7%
Manuel Perez	All CCNY	40 46.0%
Kashif A. Saleem	All CCNY	58 66.7%
Bio-Med Senator - Four Seats		130 Votes
Teresa Bowen-Spirelli	All CCNY	97 74.6%
Anacleto A. Bristol	All CCNY	115 88.5%
Anu Markose	All CCNY	90 69.2%
Leidy L. Soriano	All CCNY	101 77.7%
Rajani Maret	Independent	82 63.1%
Liberal Arts Senator - Nine Seats		461 Votes
Maryellen V. Benito	Independent	240 52.1%
Pelisa Charles	Independent	225 48.8%
Nubyra Chowdhury	All CCNY	301 65.3%
Sonal Dhawan	All CCNY	292 63.3%
Alison Earle	Campus Initiative	212 46.0%
James R. Jennings, Jr.	All CCNY	297 64.4%
Tyrone Martin	All CCNY	316 68.5%
Ishrat Mirza	All CCNY	279 60.5%
Augustina Ogbonnaya	CCNY Renaissance	277 60.1%
Adelaide Oppong-Dwamena	Independent	206 44.7%
Lev A. Sviridov	Independent	175 38.0%
Sheng-Yu Tung	All CCNY	299 64.9%
Education Senator - Three Seats		0 Votes
No Candidates		0 0.0%
Engineering Senator - Five Seats		305 Votes
Jasvinder S. Blah	All CCNY	187 61.3%
Diana Villacis	All CCNY	213 69.8%
Andrene Rodney	Campus Initiative	142 46.6%
Stephen D. Hunte	CCNY Renaissance	170 55.7%
SEEK Senator - Five Seats		16 Votes
Elena Rodriguez	CCNY Renaissance	16 100%
Student Activity Fee (SAF) Referendum Question		966 Votes
Yes		208 21.5%
No		758 78.5%

Snapshots of Palestine

A Palestinian student on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

By Frances Aboushi

I believe in peace. Coming from a Palestinian, this may shock many people, mostly the close-minded and pro-Zionist. But in order for peace to be achieved in the Middle East one thing must be eradicated first: the fifty-four year reign of Israeli terror.

Much attention has been focused on the leaders of the two sides of the conflict, but they do not represent the conflict in its totality.

Let's begin with Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. Sharon is called a peace-maker, war hero, Prime Minister, but, inexplicably, not a terrorist. Sharon was responsible for the 1982 Sabra and Shatila refugee camp massacres in Lebanon, where thousands of Palestinians died.

I have been approached by many who say Sharon is perpetrating the current attacks on the Palestinians to fight terrorism.

But of what do these attacks consist? Bulldozing homes, demolishing schools, wiping out towns, false imprisonments, mass murders, continuing occupation, and the undemocratic treatment of Israel's own (third-class, Palestinian) citizens. The once thriving town of Jenin is now only a memory. Over 500 innocent civilians and an entire village were bulldozed, burying all forms of life. These actions together show that Sharon is trying to destroy the Palestinian infrastructure and to annihilate Palestinians' identity altogether.

If this isn't terrorism, what is?

On the other side of the conflict is Yasser Arafat, who sends children to fight for him. Arafat is an old, mumbling moron who wears an army suit to sustain his image of authority. He represents the Palestinian people, but does not control them. Arafat is seen by Palestinians as a traitor for allowing Israeli-American agreements to soften him up to the point where he is a puppet and nothing more. The Intifada was not started by Arafat. It

was the people who rose up against both the Israeli government and Arafat's faction.

Some will say that Israelis gave the Palestinians many opportunities to have their chance at peace, but the Palestinians refused. For example, the Oslo Accords were signed by then-Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Arafat in September 1993 on the White House lawn. The Oslo Accords granted the mutual recognition of the PLO and the State of Israel. But curfews, closures and demolitions continued.

After Rabin was assassinated by an Israeli settler, the next prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, repeatedly violated Oslo, as well the 1998 Wye Agreements, by building settlements and roads on land reserved only for the Palestinians.

Palestinians did not see any change or hope arise out of these agreements, so they began the Intifada of 2000. Resentment, heartache and loss of patience fueled the Palestinians to an uprising.

The Palestinians were further provoked by an unnecessary visit by Sharon to a Muslim holy site where he disrespected the importance this place has to Muslims around the world. Sharon later said of his provocative visit, "I came with good intentions." At the site Sharon was accompanied by over 1,000 soldiers with guns drawn.

Palestinian Realities

What's a typical Palestinian child's life like? You wake up in a single room shack that your mother and five siblings were forced to move into after your original home was demolished to make room for Jewish settlements. Wearing the same clothes you fell asleep in, you get up starving but unable to eat because of the curfews and closures. Your town has been barricaded by Israeli Defense Forces, which do not allow anyone to leave their homes. You have no access to schools, hospitals, or the outside world.

There's no water. The Israeli government cut your water supply due to "national security."

Spices and herbs are the only things that sit on the shelf. So you do your Morning Prayer, and ask God to keep your head strong in your studies, blind your heart to the daily pains, and grant you the willpower to continue with the struggle.

You give your mother a kiss goodbye as she sits in tears holding that same old picture of your father who was shot at an Israeli checkpoint for "acting suspicious," as he was on his way to visit his sister who resides in the town next door.

You grab your books and begin the journey to school.

Your brother used to accompany you on this trip, but it's been two years since Israeli soldiers arrested him because he didn't have his I.D. on him and there's still no word on his release. You pass deserted towns decorated with tanks, bullet-holed businesses, and demolished homes, until you finally near your school.

As you get closer you realize there's no one there. A soldier walks up to you and tells you to go home, the school is closed for good. An AK-47 separates you from a soldier. You ask, "How come?" The soldier explains, "Under the Prime Minister's orders, this town is declared a military zone." With these words, whatever future you thought you had is killed as if by the slug from the M-16 that shattered your father's chest.

One must understand the emotional, psychological, and physical trauma these kids go through. No one is raised to blow themselves up. Loss of hope and desperation is what leads them to make such a drastic, agonizing, and heart-wrenching decision. Their inspirations and dreams are bulldozed away. There they are blood-stained with memories of loved ones dying before their innocent eyes. They grow up fighting to liberate their country, identity, and dreams.

Unfortunately, they die with the same goal.

Powell's Ignorance

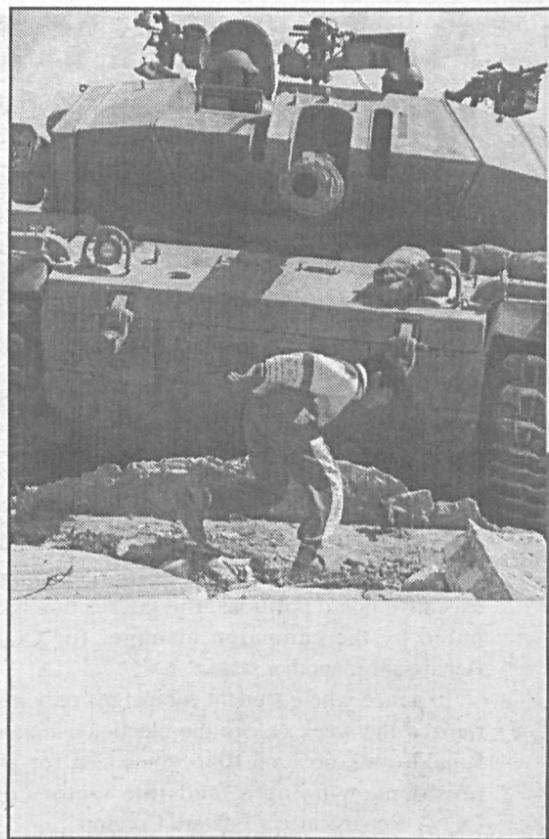
Now, I am not justifying the killing of innocent civilians. Unfortunately, American politicians do not feel the same.

When Secretary of State Colin Powell went to the Mid-East, he cold-heartedly denied any massacres of innocent Palestinians during Sharon's three-month spree in the West Bank, a spree in which whole towns were wiped off the face of the map in an effort "to cleanse these towns of terrorists." Anyone who died is just "collateral damage." Immorality and inhumanity seem to be the necessary qualities to deny such atrocities. I'm ashamed to be graduating from the same college this puppet did.

Palestinians live in fear, so they want the Israelis to live in fear. They have no hope for a better future or for a future at all, so why, they argue, does Israel deserve hope? Palestinians are constantly humiliated, disrespected, and treated like animals.

Sharon's actions and ideas are not identical to those of his people, just like Arafat's ambitions and actions do not correlate with the Palestinians; but the world doesn't know that.

The purpose of suicide bombers is to try to get Israel to stop its terror spree. But what has happened is that these bombings have taken down innocent civilians and wounded many



more, which in turn has sparked the dismantling of Palestinian villages and fire-bombing of towns. This is a vicious cycle that's getting neither side anywhere.

One must understand the frustration and anger on the Palestinian side and try to resolve the underlying problem. Palestinians want their land back and the majority of them agree that Jews also deserve a homeland, but reject the idea that this should come at the cost of such heartache and misery for Palestine.

The Koran and the Torah

If one were to properly read the Koran then one would understand clearly that the Koran does not say to go out and kill people for what they've done. In fact, the Koran prohibits the shedding of innocent blood. Only He has the power to create and destroy.

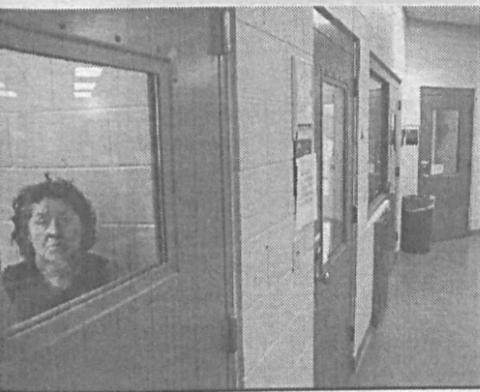
If the Palestinian-Israeli conflict were truly a religious issue, then there really wouldn't be a conflict because there wouldn't be a Palestine or an Israel. Under Islam, it is wrong to segregate your brother under nationalistic titles (Egyptian, Syrian, Indonesian, etc.) simply because it causes division under the broth-

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The War on Palestine,

The War at Home



Living in Fear of Persecution

By "Rosa"

My name is Rosa and I am a student at City College. I've lived in the U.S for about twelve years, the last nine of which I've spent as an undocumented immigrant. Since my high school graduation (from an NYC public high school), it has been a continual struggle for my parents and me to fund my education, since undocumented students do not qualify for government financial aid. I've had to do many jobs, on and off the record, to stay in school. At the same time, I've appealed to Congressional offices to help my legal situation. All of this has been under the pressure and fear of deportation. Before the changes that occurred in this school after September 11, in spite of all my difficulties, I always appreciated CUNY's bona fide resident policy. With it, I and other undocumented students that have lived in NYC for some time were able to pay the more affordable in-state tuition, instead of the

Students Speak Out Against 'War on Terror' at Town Hall Meeting

On April 4, the CCNY Coalition Against the War and several campus clubs sponsored a Town Hall Meeting to address the origins and ramifications of the US Government's "War on Terrorism." Below are excerpts from a speech made by CCNY student and Messenger staffer Alexis Logsdon, and a statement submitted by an anonymous, undocumented immigrant student who uses the pseudonym "Rosa."

Out of the Spiral of Hate

By Alexis Logsdon

The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon did not happen in a vacuum—many things led up to them. This is not to excuse the attacks: They were acts of mass murder. Explanations for how and why the attacks came about are not justifications for the attacks.

But "Why do they hate us?" is a question few people dare to ask. As the penal-

ties for dissent have grown more and more prohibitive, any questioning of the US government's role in the attacks has fallen by the wayside. Anti-immigrant violence, the *Post's* attack on City College, Lynne Cheney's blacklist of "anti-American" professors, the USA-PATRIOT Act and the rounding up of immigrants of Arab descent (including a City College student and her family) are examples of a growing war at home.

The first thing we need to define is who exactly "they" are. Unfortunately, the US Government doesn't have a clear answer to this question, perhaps conveniently. In October, "they" were Osama bin Laden, and, by association, the Taliban, forces the US supported and trained during the Cold War and even through last summer, when the Bush administration courted Taliban support for an Afghan oil pipeline.

With bin Laden still not captured, Bush has gone on to propose a new set of "theys," what he calls the "axis of evil": Iraq, Iran and North Korea. These three are the A-list amongst what Dick Cheney estimates are about "40 to 50 countries" that pose terrorist threats to the US. By Cheney's reckoning a fourth of the countries of the world are out to get us! This implies that a significant percentage of the world's population finds the US government responsible for many of their troubles.

In 1991, the US pushed the UN sanctions against Iraq after failing to oust Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi dictator the US installed and supported for over 30 years. The effects of the sanctions have been devastating. It's well documented that as many as 600,000 Iraqi children have died as a result of the US-backed sanctions. Overall, more than a million people have died. That's comparable to bringing down a WTC once every two weeks for ten years—the duration of the sanctions. Most have died as a result of malnutrition or non-existent medical care.

In an interview on *60 Minutes*, then-Secretary of State Madeleine Albright coolly stated about the deaths of more than half a million Iraqi children: "The price is worth it." The tape of Albright's callous calculus is played again and again around the world. What kind of message do you think the rest of the world receives about what the US considers important?

The sanctions on Iraq are just one instance of the US exerting economic and military force on already suffering people of the world. Some others: Cambodia, El Salvador, Vietnam, Nicaragua, Somalia, Indonesia, Colombia. And also Afghanistan.

In the 1980's, the US sided with the Mujhaddin to rid Afghanistan of Soviet power. The US government provided the Mujhaddin economic and military assistance with full knowledge that they were a militant extremist group. This didn't bother the US government as it didn't bother the government when it supported Saddam Hussein.

These are but two important examples of US aggression and mistreatment of people throughout the world that would cause "they", much of the world's populace, to hate the US so much. There are countless others: support of Israeli occupation of Palestine, US attacks on Panama, support of military dictatorships in Latin America, Asia and Africa and the bombing of a medical supply warehouse in Sudan. If you add to these government involvement with the IMF, World Bank and the WTO, you have the recipe for a seething worldwide stew of hatred.

We are against Bush's war because we are against terrorism. We are against the so-called "war on terror" because it is a war of terror. We are against Bush's war because it won't stop terrorist attacks on the US. We can't look to those who claim to be protecting us when their actions are what brought on the attacks in the first place. We are against Bush's and bin Laden's wars because they are attempts to trap the people of the world in a spiral of hate and fear, a spiral out of which we here at City College can help lead the world. **M**

doubly costly out-of-state tuition. After September 11, for me and others like me, being a CUNY student has gone from difficult to nearly impossible. Like everyone else, I was struck with fear, anxiety, anger and sadness by the death of thousands of innocent people in the World Trade Center. With my friends in the college community, in and outside CUNY, I have shared the grief and anger that continues to affect the performance of us all.

On top of this though, I am in fear of being persecuted for my legal status during the current national anti-foreigner alert. Having heard about the plight of other students in my situation, like that of Reem Khalil and her family, who were taken by the FBI and who are now being held by the INS, has made my fear all the more real. The recent \$1800 tuition hike on undocumented students has caused me a lot more stress. Not only do I feel directly targeted and attacked, but I am upset and frustrated by the possibility of having to drop out of college. I am currently in search for additional employment so that I may pay off my loans and stay in school. It would be a costly setback for me as well as for my family if I had to discontinue my education. Above all, speaking out on these matters has been my biggest challenge.

I speak for hundreds of CUNY students and thousands of other illegal immigrants as I thank from the bottom of my heart all of those who have come to our aid since the tuition hike was implemented. It makes my situation more bearable to know that I have such help and support. **M**



Palestine's Despair

By Mumia Abu-Jamal

... [A] society that becomes accustomed to using violence to solve its problems, both large and small, is a society in which the roots of human relations are diseased.

—Ignacio Martin-Baro, S.J.,
from *Writings for a Liberation Psychology* (1994) [p. 112]

War wreaks havoc on human lives, health and property, but military conflict also decimates personal and communal mental health.

It is this second, hidden feature, that of the wounds of the mind, of the spirit, that is rarely addressed.

Rarer still, is the discussion of war's impact upon the poor, the young, and the impoverished. What are the effects of military conflict upon the oppressed, the dispossessed, the damned?

A Palestinian psychiatrist, Dr. Eyad Sarraj, wrote several years ago that the

Israeli occupation was of such a negative character, and had such a damaging impact upon the Palestinian psyche, that "the amazing thing is not the occurrence of the suicide bombing," but "the rarity of them." Dr. Sarraj further noted:

"I believe it is an act of absolute despair and a very serious stage of the seemingly perpetual conflict. Since the uprooting of the Palestinians in 1948 triggered by Irgun Jewish terror under the leadership of Yitzhak Shamir and Menachem Begin, we have tried everything. We have tried Nasser and Arab Nationalism, only to be invaded in 1956 in our second homes in the refugee camps. It was only the Russian threat to bomb London and Paris and the resolve of American president Eisenhower that ended the occupation."

Then came the disaster of the Arab-Israeli 1967 War, when Israel, in a six-day lightning strike, seized the Sinai from Egypt, stripped the Golan Heights from Syria, and deprived the Palestinian Arabs

ExtReem Situation

A Portrait of the CCNY Student Wrongly Arrested by the FBI

By Frances Aboushi

We crossed paths at a fundraiser. I was on the microphone explaining the Arab-Israeli conflict and asking students to donate whatever they can to help those who are affected by the violence in the Middle East.

That's when a golden, curly haired young lady with a burgundy overcoat made her way through the crowd and said, "Hi, my name is Reem. Do you know if there are any ATM machines around here?"

"No," I replied.

"I don't have anything on me now, just a Metrocard. Hold on. Let me find an ATM and pull out whatever I have on my debit," she said as she dashed toward the escalators and vanished.

I continued giving out pamphlets and discussing the cause, when once again this student appeared. This time her cheeks flushed red almost competing with the color of her coat. "I found an ATM around the school, and pulled out everything I have on the card. It ain't much, but I hope it can help."

As she gave me the money, I stared in shock and disbelief. Shock that she actually made it a point to hunt for an ATM, and disbelief that someone who has only a Metrocard, and no lunch, is handing me a twenty-dollar bill. "You don't have to give me this much. You probably had nothing to eat," I said.

"There are people out there who don't eat for months, I am sure I could make it through the day," she said with a warm smile that lit up her blue eyes. Those were the words that began a wonderful friendship. As time went on we grew to be good friends, and Reem Khalil, a 23-year-old biochemistry major was set to graduate in May of this year with me.

Reem was known for her dedication to her studies. Her head was always buried in her books, whether recopying notes or meeting study groups. Even when she took coffee breaks, she would run problems through her head, jotting down certain points on the Starbucks napkins. After her classes, she would call her Dad

who owned a restaurant downtown and ask if he needed her to come down. At times, she would go just because she felt like her Dad might need her there, even if his answer was no.

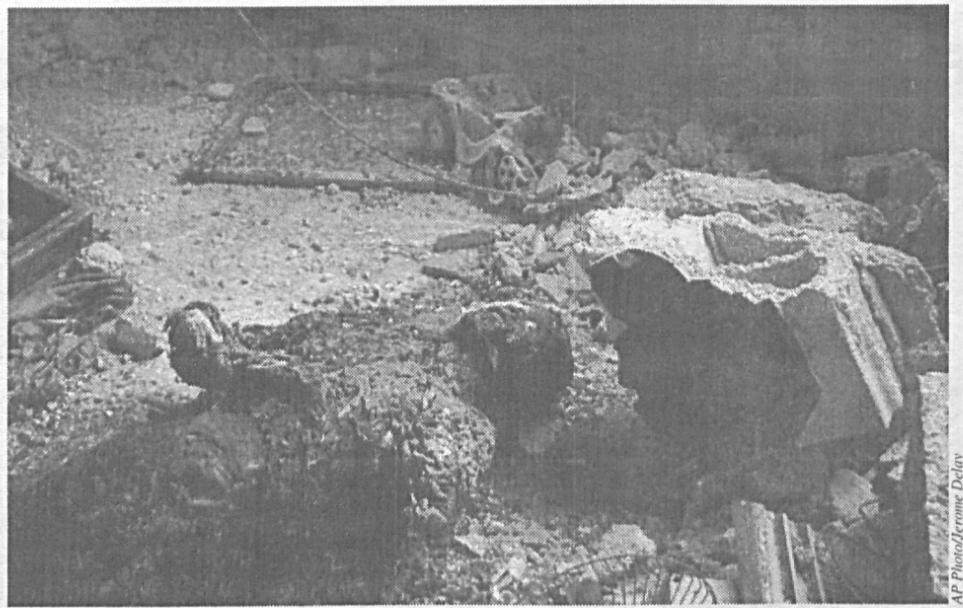
Reem is the eldest of six siblings and has a close relationship with her mom. One time, we were being driven home by a friend, and she missed her mom's call. When she checked her messages, her mother and sister Rasha left her a message that they sang and ended it with an "I love you."

She has model-like looks, but her uttermost beauty comes from inside. One time we threw her a birthday party in that open space between Baskerville and Wingate. As I took some icing and painted her face she did not hesitate to grab a handful of chocolate cake and catapult it in my direction, just so it could hit another friend. Her gold locks were full of fudge. Her pink blouse, that she got from Saks Fifth Avenue, was full of grass stains wrestling her friends to the ground. And at the end she took off her sandals showing her new pedicure and played soccer with the guys barefoot.

Her down-to-earth attitude and vibrant personality was crushed on February 27 at 6am when FBI agents stormed her home in Brooklyn and arrested her, her parents, her 20-year-old and 16-year-old brothers and her 17-year-old sister, leaving her two youngest brothers behind.

Handcuffs were placed on their hands and ankles and around their waists. No one was allowed to ask any questions or talk to one another. Everyone was put in a separate vehicle, and the caravan took them to Federal Plaza in Manhattan where they were interrogated and then given to the INS for deportation.

She has been living in this country for thirteen years. Her family tried to obtain US citizenship by asking for asylum, but were granted only a visa until a decision was made. They were denied, but they stayed and continued with their lives like any other American family would. Her father owned a restaurant for six years, paid state and federal taxes, and her siblings carried on with school like every other kid. They never had run-ins with the



The burned remains of a Palestinian boy lay amidst toys in a house destroyed by Israeli soldiers in the Jenin refugee camp. Israeli forces destroyed hundreds of homes in the camp, using tanks, helicopters and bulldozers.

of both the West Bank and Gaza.

For over 30 years the Palestinians have had to live with the Israeli military occupation (which they call the 'nagba'), with I.D. cards, residence permits, severe

restrictions on internal travel, external travel passes reflecting "undefined nationality," and the nagging, persistence of people seen as foreigners, involving themselves in every facet of life. They have had to live like foreigners in the land of their fathers, a land freckled with Israeli settlements, military checkpoints, and despair.

For the Palestinians, nothing has worked. UN resolutions proclaim their rights to return, to the right of statehood, to an end to Israeli occupation, but on the ground, nothing changes.

The military bulldozes their homes, and snipers shoot kids with stones. Leaders are liquidated at home, and F-16s buzz the night sky. And out of this outsized despair, young men (and now women!) strap their bodies with death. **M**



Reem Khalil with a friend.

law or were known to cause trouble.

The only reason they were picked up is because they are victims of racial profiling.

Since the WTC attack there has been a concerted effort by the US government to detain and deport those of Middle Eastern or South Asian descent who do not have proper legal documentation.

The U.S. government has targeted those who have names that resemble Arabic ones. Currently, there are over 300,000 immigrants living in this country with orders for deportation, otherwise known as "absconders." Approximately seven thousand of them are from the Middle East.

This is where racial profiling comes in. The government has chosen to focus on deporting those seven thousand.

The hysteria and paranoia caused by the WTC attacks is reminiscent of World War Two and the internment of Japanese-Americans. During WWII, the civil liberties of Japanese and Japanese Americans were violated. Today the focus is on non-citizen Arabs/South Asians.

While those of Japanese origins were rounded up and forced into concentration camps, the Arabs/South Asians of today are placed in prisons. Furthermore, the INS has detained over 1,000 Arabs/South Asians with proper legal documentation, imprisoning them for minor visa violations, such as failing to file a change of address. The immigration laws aid the profiling of Arabs and South Asians.

Unfortunately, Reem and her family have fallen victim to this campaign. **M**

Frances Aboushi is an international studies major at City College and one of Reem's many friends.

Snapshots

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erhood of Islam. All Muslims should only be regarded as Muslims under the unification of the belief in God and his messenger, Prophet Muhammad.

Under the Torah, the Jews are to wait for the Messiah to come and fulfill the promise God has made them in granting them a homeland. The hate in Israel is fueled not by Judaism, but by a racist and dangerous set of political principles called Zionism. Zionism is the enemy of not just Palestinians but all the oppressed of the world, including Jews.

We are not against Jews. In fact, history proves how the Muslims and Jews tolerated one another and were prosecuted together during the Spanish Inquisition. Both Muslims and Jews were murdered and crushed during the Crusades, like anyone who was not a believer in the Christian faith.

We cannot rely on TV, newspapers, or any form of media for accurate information. It is up to the individual to hear out both sides and decide what makes sense and what is important.

I have talked with Zionists, Rabbis, pro-Palestinian Israelis, and Jews of all sorts, allowing me to get a better understanding of this conflict and who the Jews are. Enemies? Friends? Haters? Victims? I've realized they're humans. One might ask, why didn't you realize that from the beginning? The media, coupled with a disastrous history, trained me to always be on the defensive. But an open mind can open doors that lead to a future of tolerance and understanding.

We cannot count on these puppets we call leaders to lead us into a peaceful and productive future. It is up to us, the people. **M**

Students March on City Hall for CUNY

By Hank Williams

Hundreds of high school and CUNY students rallied at Union Square Park, then marched down Broadway to City Hall on April 30 to demand the restoration of open admissions, free tuition, an end to the tuition increase for undocumented immigrant students, and repeal of CUNY's new technology fee.

The demonstration was organized by the CUNY for All Coalition, a group to gather activists working on campuses throughout the CUNY system, and supported by a large contingent of high school students fighting further cuts to the Board of Education. Between 500 and 1000 students, mostly high schoolers, gathered at Union Square and listened to various speakers before marching down Broadway to City Hall. A planned rally at City Hall was canceled because of torrential rain.

Although turnout was smaller than



hoped, the demonstration seems to have had an impact: Governor Pataki is now supporting bills introduced to offer tuition for some undocumented immigrants and is backing off a proposed cut of the Tuition Assistance Program by one-third.

The action also motivated some students to continue organizing. "Although the group was small, when we went under construction scaffolding, our voices became really loud. It was really exciting," said Sara Tretter of City College.

Budget

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suspicion that Pataki's budget cuts are selectively targeting the working-class, person-of-color constituency of CUNY while insulating the more middle-class white students of private universities.

At a rally at Borough of Manhattan Community College on April 5, Councilman Charles Barron, Chairman of the Council's Higher Education Committee, advised students to work "inside and outside" of official channels. Indeed, several City Hall and Albany insiders, including the aforementioned Barron, Council Speaker Gifford Miller, and State Comptroller (and gubernatorial candidate) Carl McCall expressed their opposition to the TAP cuts and restructuring.

The state budget is negotiated amongst leader of the Democratic-controlled State Assembly Sheldon Silver, the leader of the Republican-controlled State Senate

Joseph Bruno, and Governor George Pataki. As this is an election year, a great amount of horse-trading is possible, and while several state legislators from New York State have made some motion opposing the TAP cuts and restructuring, the politicized nature of this year's budget again leaves CUNY students out of the loop.

Growing Distrust of the Trustees

In the midst of these and several other attacks on access to education and on students, there has been a deafening silence from the City University Board of Trustees. While according to its own mission statement the Board of Trustees must see to "the provision of equal access and opportunity for students, faculty and staff from all ethnic and racial groups and from both sexes," much of the Board's conduct says otherwise.

While intended to act independently,

ten trustees are appointed by the governor (and confirmed by the State Senate) and five by the mayor, with only one trustee for students and faculty each—neither of whom have a vote. As a result, trusteeships are largely given out as patronage positions to those who will toe the ideological line. Most notably, the very chairmanship of the Board of Trustees belongs to Pataki appointee Benno Schmidt, head of the Edison Project, a for-profit corporation that has taken over several public schools and was thwarted in its efforts to do so in New York City.

The Board of Trustees has, within this past year, either capitulated to or outright consented to several anti-democratic and anti-student measures. The presidency of Hunter College, for instance, was given last year to Jennifer Raab, a former Giuliani aide with little academic experience, at the request of former chairman Herman Badillo—himself a Giuliani appointee. Shortly after the attacks of September 11,

Letter from a CUNY Student

By Daniel Tasripin

I recently re-read "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" and with all reverence due to Rev. Dr. King, I made a few changes in names and causes but I think it is relevant to the current debate.

You may well ask: "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, etc.? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. I just referred to the creation of tension as a part of the work of the nonviolent resister. This may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word tension. I have earnestly worked and preached against violent tension, but there is a type of constructive nonviolent tension that is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to

the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, we must see the need of having nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men to rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood.

So the purpose of the direct action is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. We, therefore, concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved CUNY been bogged down in the tragic attempt to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

One of the basic points in your statement is that our acts are untimely. Some have asked, "Why didn't you give the new administration time to act?" The only answer that I can give to this inquiry is that the new administration must be prodded about as much as the outgoing one before it acts. We will be sadly mistaken if we feel that the election of Mr. Bloomberg will bring the money to CUNY. While Mr. Bloomberg is much more articulate and gentle than Mr. Giuliani, they are both anti-CUNY, dedicated to the task of maintaining the status quo. The hope I see in Mr. Bloomberg is that he will be reasonable enough to see the futility of massive

resistance to open admissions. But he will not see this without pressure from the devotees of the City University. My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and nonviolent pressure. History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups are more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was "well timed," according to the timetable of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of budget cuts. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every CUNY student with a piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that "justice too long delayed is justice denied." **M**

Daniel Tasripin is a member of Hunter SLAM!.

the trustees passed a resolution condemning an anti-war teach-in at City College, and, to add further insult, the Board also decided to give in to the rising anti-immigrant fervor and reversed its longstanding agreement to allow undocumented students to pay in-state tuition on the basis of their residency. And most recently, the board approved the elimination of the Last Semester Free program and the institution of "technology fees" to be charged to students beginning next fall—this with the full knowledge of the state and city budget cuts' impact on students.

The Struggle Continues

With the normal channels having been largely exhausted—the City Council and state legislature busy with negotiation and the Board of Trustees ambivalent toward students—CUNY students are largely left with the option of direct action. As shown by the history of struggle at the City University, in the Open Admissions Strikes of 1969, the takeover of buildings in 1989, and the massive rally at City Hall in 1995, students have been able to fight for access and win concessions from the state and local governments—indeed, Open Admissions Strike gave students much of what they are fighting to keep from being taken from them.

In that spirit, the April 30 rally and march by the CUNY For All Coalition was—despite the small numbers—a step in the right direction. Increasing awareness on campuses and building the base of students willing to fight attacks on their education will be necessary for a successful campaign. **M**

Daniel Tasripin is a member of Hunter College Student Liberation Action Movement (SLAM). Hank Williams is editor of the Messenger.

Election

continued from page 7

Student Ombudsman Juanita Rozzell was no longer able to attend meetings.

According to Miles, Student Affairs is upset by his memo. "They don't want their dirty laundry aired in public," said Miles. Miles is waiting for replies to his charges from CUNY Central and from CCNY president Gregory Williams.

Messenger efforts to reach SERC chair Andrew Calder by deadline were unsuccessful.

Internet Future?

A Messenger-estimated 13% of the undergraduate student body voted in this year's elections, the highest turnout since 1996, when 16.9% voted. In comparison, only 26 graduate students voted in the Graduate Student Council elections, with no candidates running for the Engineering, Education and Architecture GSC seats, easily the worst showing in a decade.

The 2002 elections marked the first time internet voting took place. SERC conducted a pilot program offering graduate students the opportunity to vote by internet. Few graduate students voted, but one graduate student who did told the Messenger that voting by internet was "easy."

A survey conducted by the Finley Student Center asked students who voted if they would prefer to vote by internet in the future. Of the 964 students who answered the survey, 49% answered that they would prefer to vote by internet, 27% said they would not, and 24% said they were not sure. Fifty-two percent declared that they believed that internet voting would encourage more students to vote. **M**

'Involve Faculty and Staff in Seeking Solutions'

An interview with Professor Gary Benenson, out-going chair of CCNY's chapter of the Professional Staff Congress

Professor Gary Benenson of Mechanical Engineering is ending a six-year tenure as the chapter chair of City College's chapter of the Professional Staff Congress-CUNY, the union that represents CUNY faculty and many CUNY staff. The Messenger's Rob Wallace interviewed Benenson last week. Wallace, for the record, is also a proud member of the PSC.

The Messenger: For six years you served as the City College chapter chair of the Professional Staff Congress. What is the PSC and who can join? What are some of the more important things the PSC has done for CUNY faculty, staff and students the past five years?

Gary Benenson: The PSC is the union that represents all CUNY faculty, both full-time and part-time, Graduate Teaching Fellows, Higher Education Officers and College Laboratory Technicians. Anyone in any of these categories is eligible—and urged—to join. By becoming a member, you can have a voice in the poli-

cies and in electing the leadership of the union.

During the past few years, the union has negotiated an excellent contract, established a significant political presence in Albany and at City Hall, organized more than two thousand adjuncts, and begun to represent adjuncts effectively, and reversed numerous arbitrary actions by management.

TM: In what ways has City College changed during this time?

GB: I think faculty and staff morale are even worse than they were several years ago. Many dedicated faculty members have retired or found other jobs; a number of competent administrators have stepped down or left; and the place as a whole seems dirtier, more neglected and less well run.

TM: What are your thoughts about the new administration? What problems does it face and how have administrators so far chosen to face them?

GB: City College faces many serious problems. Our enrollment is declining, we are victims of many capricious and unreasonable decisions made by CUNY Central, and the budget problem seems only to get worse. Classes are larger and more difficult to get into, particularly in the first two years.

The administration is aware of these problems, but generally unwilling to involve faculty and staff in seeking solutions to them, which is unfortunate. There may be some problems that can be solved without us, such as raising money from alumni or attracting favorable publicity. However, the nitty-gritty problems of the College—for example, retention, resistance to arbitrary decrees by 80th Street,



Gary Benenson speaking at a Strategic Planning Committee meeting on May 16.

lobbying for a better state budget, and establishment of a student-friendly environment—require serious collaboration between faculty, staff and administration. So far, the new administration has elected to go it alone. In my opinion, this approach is self-defeating.

TM: You've brought about a lot. One thing is that not only does the enrollment continue to decline, but the make-up of the student body has begun to change. The administration has spun the change in a

adjunct grooves

The New Contract: What's in It for Me?

By Tim McCormack

Looking at the new PSC-CUNY contract for the first time gave me the same feeling opening a journal that had published my work: I flipped through and scanned pages with a self-centered, frantic and expectant "where's mine" attitude.

When I found them, the thirty or so lines related to adjunct life, I was at once relieved and elated: at last, substantial improvements in adjunct life in a CUNY contract, undoubtedly a result of increased adjunct membership and an improved attitude toward adjuncts from the new union leadership. In short, the changes represent the important start to a new life for CUNY adjuncts.

In simplified form the gains include these:

- Seven percent raise: four percent retroactive from August 1, 2000 and three percent retroactive from August 1 2001.
- A paid office hour for anyone teaching at least six hours on one campus.
- One-year appointments, after six consecutive semesters in the same department.
- Some graduate school tuition remission for adjuncts and graduate assistants who are also attending CUNY.
- A small step toward better health care by securing more adjunct health insurance funding.

Because the seven percent raise is

retroactive, all adjuncts will receive a nice little check to ease our troubled minds about our past labor. The office hour provision provides a little something for the future in terms of pay. Beginning in the Fall semester, an adjunct who meets the qualifications will earn somewhere between \$750 and \$900 more per semester, depending on his/her pay rate. This is especially welcomed since it pays us for work that many of us were already doing.

The Fruits of a New PSC Leadership

Still, my mind ruminates over the events of the past three years: the startling rise of a new PSC leadership that overturned the tables of decades of inertia and opened the door to adjunct issues; the concerted effort to register adjuncts as union members which was in stark contrast to the previous leadership that tried to hassle adjuncts into not becoming members; the change in agency fee policy for adjuncts that allowed our voice to be heard; and of course the contract battle with its open negotiation process and its protests and demonstrations, all of which featured adjunct input and participation. In this context, it is the one-year appointment clause that stands out as the key gain as far as adjuncts are concerned.

Here's why. The one-year contract pro-

vides the start of a meaningful working relationship between adjuncts and the departments in which they work. Living year by year as opposed to semester by semester provides a modicum of commitment in a world of complete instability.

The PSC's original proposals to management contained close to fifteen provisions similar to this one: ways to make the adjunct life less of a piecemeal, confrontational, unstable form of employment. In most instances, the proposals asked that adjuncts be considered in relation to full-timers; that is, that we should be recognized as professional, constructive contributors, rather than as enemies, hired guns or disposable diapers. The one-year commitment is a structural change to our working relationship with the university.

As Eric Marshall, the adjunct representative from the PSC pointed out in the *Clarion*, the PSC newspaper, "The introduction of structural changes to the con-

tract... opens the door to more improvements and expanded provisions in the next round of bargaining which begins soon."

Looking Forward

Soon, as in right now. This agreement that we are signing expires on October 31, 2002. In other words, we shouldn't think of the fight as one of contract to contract, but an ongoing push to professionalize our existence. The original CUNY proposals included this one: "Adjuncts shall be eligible, on a pro-rated basis, for all the benefits, prerogatives and opportunities granted in the collective bargaining agreement to full-timer members of the instructional staff." Unlike when I first read this proposal, and the proposal for prorated pay parity with full-timers, it no longer seem so far-fetched.

We can start by renewing the fight—right now! In the fall semester, a new bunch of neophyte CUNY adjuncts will appear in every department throughout CUNY, grateful, as I was years ago, for the experience of teaching a college class.

Make it a point to get each one a yellow membership card to sign before they get official class rosters in their mailboxes. The work has only just begun. **M**

Adjunct Grooves is written for and about CUNY adjunct life and appears in each issue of the Messenger. Please send column ideas related to adjunct issues to Tim McCormack c/o the Messenger.



Peter Hoopes/The Clarion

positive light. "With the end of remediation and the virtual destruction of SEEK, standards have increased and diversity remains." But no one has publicly addressed what seems the unspeakable: The student body is turning increasingly white. The topic is political TNT, but the implications for the college appear momentous. Has any administrator spoken up about this, one way or the other? What's your sense about what such a change might mean for City College?

GB: I am very dismayed by what I see as an abandonment by the administration—or some within it—of our traditional mission of access. In fact, the new Draft Mission statement, currently being circulated, seems focused on admitting only students who have already demonstrated outstanding academic achievement.

I wrote down my objections to this statement, and sent them back. Personally, I believe that this strategy is doomed for two reasons: there are many other colleges that are highly selective in whom they admit, but very few that attract the diverse student body that we do. If we abandon our mission of access, our enrollment will suffer even more. Secondly, there are many on our faculty and staff—and yes, within the administration—who are deeply committed to our historic mission,

and they are among the best and most committed. If we change our goals, many of them are likely to leave. This second observation is based on several conversations I've had about in the past few days.

TM: When confronted by students, faculty or staff about a misguided CUNY-wide policy, former CCNY president Yolanda Moses would shrug her shoulders and declare that there was nothing she could do as she "served at the pleasure of the Board [of Trustees]." Is this a good excuse? In what ways could President Williams respond to board blunders or gubernatorial gaffes?

GB: I think Yolanda was wrong. A President who stood up to 80th Street on an important principled issue, did so clearly and thoughtfully, and was able to mobilize student, faculty, staff and community support, would have a good chance of winning. However, such a strategy would require a combination of principle, commitment and skill that we have not typically seen in administrators.

TM: In her latest newsletter to the campus—which just about no one has access to—Chief Operations Officer Lois Cronholm declares she's meeting with three different advisory committees of students and faculty for input on facility issues. The recommendations of one com-

mittee have been ignored and a second committee has yet to convene. The committees appear window dressing for decisions already conceived and implemented. Can you give an example of how true collaboration with students or faculty could solve a nitty-gritty problem here at City?

GB: It's no big secret—they teach this stuff in management school. An administrator could request a meeting with leaders of faculty, staff and student groups to discuss a topic of common concern, such as the State budget, retention, facilities, registration, the new high school, security, the library, or half a dozen other issues. Another option would be for administrators to attend some department meetings, or meetings of student clubs, etc. On some topics, it might be more appropriate to do it as a "town meeting," although follow-through would be more likely if it were a smaller meeting.

In either case, they would have to listen, make commitments, follow through on them, schedule additional meetings, involve people, listen some more, keep people informed as to what they are doing and why, etc. This would not only help to improve morale, it would also generate better solutions to these problems, because the people most affected would have something to say.

TM: You're a professor in mechanical engineering. How are your engineering and your activism related?

GB: I don't see any contradiction at all. Engineering is about solving problems. So is political activism. Both are strongly social endeavors. Much of my understanding of how to do engineering is a direct outcome of my involvement in community and labor struggles, and vice versa. If engineers have a conservative rap in this country—unlike most others—it is probably because of the enormous influence of the US military on engineering employment, rather than anything inherent to engineering. For my own part, I've always steered clear of any work related to the military.

TM: Anything you'd like to say to City College?

GB: City College still has an opportunity to be a national model for institutions of higher education, whose student bodies will increasingly look like ours: highly diverse, older, ambitious, and often not well prepared. Considering the enormous barriers we face—including our own governor, Board of Trustees and central office administration—we have done quite well in fulfilling our historic mission. Let's not abandon it now.

M

De-Fee-Ted!

continued from page 1

According to an August 1990 memo to CUNY campus presidents explaining the student election review procedures, then-Vice Chancellor for Legal Affairs Robert Diaz advised, "If the student government fails to nominate [student members to SERC] by the time the SERC should begin operation, the college president may appoint the members."

The *Messenger* could not learn by deadline whether the student government submitted nominations for SERC or whether President Williams appointed SERC without nominations.

According to a list provided by Jerry Rosa, Assistant Director of Co-Curricular Life at Finley Student Center and SERC's vice-chair, this year's SERC includes Rosa, Dean Bobb, Wendy Thornton and Harry Mars of Finley Center.

Other members include Rawlins Beharry of the School of Engineering; Evelyn Cruz of Student Support Services; Andrew Calder of the Circle K Club; Enrique Cepeda of NYPIRG; David Luciano of the SEEK program; Juanita Rozzell, the Student Ombudsperson; and Peter Stafford, a student.

In short, Student Affairs held four of the eleven spots on this year's SERC. According to a former member of SERC, SERC in the past had nine student members and only one member from Finley. The Ombudsperson typically chairs the SERC, but according to one staff member Juanita Rozzell has been "AWOL" this semester and, as SERC minutes show, Andrew Calder took over chair duties. By the elections, Calder was the only student on SERC showing up for meetings.

The SERC meeting right before the elections included only Calder and, from Student Affairs, Rosa, Bobb, Thornton and Mars.

SERC met 13 times in total this year. According to SERC minutes obtained by the *Messenger* SERC spoke about the activity fee referendum at eight meetings. It was a regular agenda item.

SERC Members Pushed Fee

To place a referendum on the student ballot, proponents of a fee increase must

obtain the signatures of at least 10% of the undergraduate student body, which last semester, when the signatures were collected, was comprised of 6407 students, according to SERC minutes.

The March 13 minutes show 654 signatures were collected, but nowhere in the minutes are those who collected the signatures identified. The minutes speak only of "efforts from all entities to collect more signatures."

According to one member the *Messenger* spoke with, the activity fee was put together by an "ad-hoc organization," including members of Student Affairs.

In other words, the very persons pushing for the fee increase judged the signatures valid and sufficient. The *Messenger* could not verify whether all the signatures were from legitimate, current students, and properly filled out with last and first names, last four digits of the student ID, and signatures.

Finley Center employees actively pursued signatures from inside Finley Center during working hours. In an e-mail to student clubs, Finley Center declared,

Please advise your club members to visit the Finley Student Center, the Wellness and Counseling Center, Intercollegiate Athletics, or any other offices that form the Student Services Corporation (SSC) to sign a petition to include a referendum question in the upcoming student government elections.

Early this semester, SERC released a publication titled "The New York Chronicle," part of "a massive election awareness campaign." The publication is almost identical to literature released by SERC during the 1999 campaign to increase the activity fee, save for the size of the increase involved.

"The Chronicle" included an article on the activity fee increase with a subheadline that declared "Proposal Will Have Positive Effect on Several Student Services."

"City College ranks lowest among the

CUNY colleges in student activity fees," the anonymously written article continues.

In a table for the article are listed five senior colleges and their activity fees: Baruch (undergraduate, full-time) \$69.15, Brooklyn \$95.70, City \$49.35, Hunter \$69, Staten Island \$73.15. Unlisted is Lehman College's activity fee of \$55, less than \$6 more than City College's fee.

The article declares, "Although the proposed increase would not place the college on a fee platform comparable to that of other senior colleges"—a statement contradicted by the article's own table—"the increase] would nevertheless have a direct impact on the improvement and expansion of the services offered by several departments."

The basis for declaring that an improvement in services would result from the fee increase is left unstated.

How did SERC end up publishing clearly pro-increase materials?

According to Kathleen Springer of the Student Service Corporation's Business Office, SERC

does not have a budget.

Springer told the *Messenger* that the Division of Student Affairs paid for the SERC publication and that Dean Bobb produced the SERC posters.

The telephone number listed on the "Chronicle" is that of Jerry Rosa, Assistant Director of Co-Curricular Life at Finley Student Center, run by the Division of Student Affairs.

Student Affairs also published several, more blatant pro-increase flyers. Among these included a "Vote Yes For The Student Activities Fee Referendum," which gave the impression the college supported the increase, as "The City College of The City University of New York" was printed at the bottom of the flyer.

Student Affairs' actions apparently violated CUNY's bylaws on SERC. According to Vice-Chancellor Diaz's 1990 memo to college presidents, those selected for SERC should "have an impartial interest in the election. A partial person would be

one who is either a candidate, or by declaration or action has demonstrated a personal interest in the outcome of those elections."

And Student Affairs administrators serving on SERC have shown unquestionable partiality in this year's elections.

Rules Are for Students, Not Us

SERC minutes show that some members of the committee were uncomfortable with SERC's obvious conflicts of interest.

Minutes for the April 10 meeting show an extensive discussion over whether Student Services Corporation allocating bodies such as Finley Center could use student activity fees and their offices to promote the fee increase. Students running for government offices are banned from using activity fees or government offices in their campaigns.

SERC members argued that the rules for students do not identify staff and that the rules "talk about student candidates, not referendums." Moreover, the election and the referendum are not "intermarried."

One member declared, "If the staff person campaigns for the referendum outside the office, that is fine."

But another member rejected even that concession, declaring, "SERC governs candidates and slates, not [administrative] offices."

And what happens when those against the fee increase make appeals against the referendum, evoking a conflict of interest for "four members affected by [student activity fees]"? Is SERC the correct body to which such appeals can be made?

Well, yes, the minutes declare, as "by default, SERC is the body that reviews the elections appeals." In other words, SERC rules don't apply to the referendum on a fee increase Student Affairs is organizing, but SERC does have the right to hear appeals on the referendum!

The qualms about conflict of interest do not go away. In the April 17 meeting a SERC member again raises the issue of conflict. The SERC minutes declare that SERC members "should inform students about the referendum, but not promote it." Some SERC members apparently could not tell the difference.

M

ARTS

fiction

People Watching

By Chris Ross

There was once a boy with blue hands who moved to the big city to meet a girl with blue hands. The boy with blue hands soon found the big city to be full of girls with blue hands. But after living there awhile the boy came to discover that the color of some peoples' hands simply wash away. The boy with blue hands couldn't wash his blue away. And so he walked through his days and seasons wearing gloves.

One day two very tall buildings, the tallest in the city in fact, fell down. A lot of people were hurt. A lot of people were missing. The mayor prepared a speech. He said these were troubling times and that the city should come together like a family.

The boy removed his gloves. He raised his blue hands to the sky. The sky was a single brown cloud due to all the dust in the air from the buildings falling.

A little time passed. Enough for the mayor to write another speech. In this speech he warned the people of the possibility of more buildings falling. And that they should remain united as a family.

The boy with blue hands was watching this particular speech on the television when he received a phone call. It was Maria, a friend of his. The boy knew that Maria had blue hands. But he knew she wore gloves as well. They were beautiful gloves. Yellow like sunsets on clear

August days. At the cuffs, little black birds posed as if pecking at the ground.

Maria called to see if he wanted to go to the museum with her. She said there was a Marc Chagall exhibition there and that today was the last day to see it before the exhibition closed. The boy with blue hands looked at the mayor wrapping up his speech. "Like a family." The mayor reminded his audience. The boy turned off his television and told Maria he'd meet her at the museum in an hour.

The boy opened his kitchen window before heading out to meet Maria. He stuck his hands outside to check the weather. Breezy, with a slight chill. The sun was still up, and the boy knew it was getting to be that time of the year when, once the sun goes down, it can get really cold. He put his gloves in the pocket of his jacket and walked out to meet her.

Maria was there waiting for him in front of a Chagall painting when he arrived. The painting was of a lamp reflected inside a mirror. The lamp was huge, larger than life. The mirror was huge, larger than life. And at the foot of the mirror and its lamp was a little person, bent over with their head resting on crossed arms. The face of the little person was one quite tired, but happy, satisfied in a tired kind of way.

Maria said the little person was cute. The boy with blue hands nodded in agreement and walked away to another painting.

The next painting they stood in front of

was a very famous one. A young couple were flying through the air. Beneath them the town sat divided by many fences. There were a few birds on the ground, just standing there among one another. Maria said this one was her favorite. The boy lifted one of Maria's gloved hands to point out how the birds on her gloves were nearly the same as the ones in the painting.

Afterwards, they had coffee in a diner and people watched from where they sat behind a large glass window. They laughed at all the Chagall parts passing by them. A Chagall eye. A Chagall foot. A Chagall smile. A Chagall sweater. The boy with blue hands wondered to himself about the mayor's speech and what it'd be like if all the Chagall parts of the world came together like a family. How maybe no more buildings would fall...

Maria asked him if he was going to finish his coffee. He told her she could have the rest. She added sugar to it, because the boy with blue hands didn't take sugar in his coffee. When she finished the two of them got on the subway. They talked of many things. Once, when the boy with blue hands said something funny, Maria placed one of her gloved hands on the breast pocket of his jacket. She held it there until her laughing stopped. Her eyes, the boy noted, were happy.

In a little while they realized that they had forgotten to get off at their subway stop and were now very close to the place where those two tall buildings had fallen. Maria suggested that they go up and check out the remains. The boy with the blue hands wasn't sure. But he saw that Maria wanted to, so he agreed.

What they saw quieted them. The buildings still standing seemed to be caught in the same, strange brown cloud that once enveloped the city the day the two buildings fell.

Many of the mayor's policeman guarded the surrounding streets. Their faces were hard and watchful. The space in the sky that was once filled with the steel of the two buildings was now just the night, the stars slowly winking behind the smoke still lingering up from the rubble.

The air smelled of dead parts.

Maria found a page ripped from the big city's yellow pages. All the names on it began with the letter S. Its edges were burnt and curled. The boy with blue hands told her that in some countries people burn a corner of a letter to remind the person their writing that their love still burns for them. Maria put the yellow page inside her purse, and with it, her gloves.

The two walked around for another hour, holding hands, looking into the faces of the other people walking around. **M**

photography

Arms Pit 2001

By Meir Gal



"Apart from several projects my work always takes a critical political position fused with humor which often mocks one thing or other. The entity I'm criticizing could be museums, art and art history, countries, governments, certain political figures, etc., and I always try to layer it with a few other issues. In Arms Pit I'm not only referring to Israel as an arms dump, a place that has enough arms to bring down half (or more) of this planet, but also how Israeli citizens are branded for life. That's on the immediate visual level. Less obvious but far more important issues for me are the psychosexual relations between the state and its citizens (Yael told me today that at the age of six she had a crush on a soldier—it's a known phenomenon over there), the internalization of the state's memory and priorities over personal history and freedom, and finally how the state infiltrates, and ultimately hides, and disguises itself somewhere in people's bodies."

Meir Gal, an internationally known artist originally from Israel, is an adjunct lecturer in art at CCNY. Fall semester Gal will be offering a course called "The Artist as Activist."

Youth 4 Reparations Day

Saturday, May 25, 2002 2-6PM

I.S. 8, 108th Ave. & 167th St. (off Merrick Blvd.)

Take E train to Jamaica Center (Parsons & Archer)
then take 4,84, 5 or 85 bus to 167th Street

Calling all artists, singers, poets, dancers and emcees!
Illustrate the importance of Reparations using your creative skills.

Special Guests include:
Fred Hampton Jr. • M1 of Dead Prez
Phayastarta • Tehutnine

Have a chance to perform at Millions for Reparations March, August 17, 2002 in Washington D.C., win a prize or just show off your skills.

For more informations or to sign up call or email Kahlil Almustafa,
kahlil629@aol.com, (917) 517-9006

Spread the Message!
Millions for Reparations
March on Washington D.C.
August 17th, 2002

Flor de Leche

By Yarisa Colon

Soy una flor de leche
 rota
 sin olor

día en menstruación
 casi esperma

El tren es mi testigo
 y México le ha robado los odios más atentos
 a mi boca

por eso tiemblo de sed
 dentro del cuello del saxofón que me acompaña

por eso tiemblo
 como lo hace el viejo que pide limosna con su vasito de metal

y aún cuando trato de construir
 una barrera entre las orillas
 del descanso filoso de la vida
 y yo

mientras camino hacia el barrio de esta tristeza heredada
 con un sabor espantoso de leche

no puedo evitar arrancarme otro pétalo de papel.

the beat by seán

in the begin/in the end/the beat/the begin is the beat/the beat is the begin/
 apart from the beat/not one thing came into existence

what has come into existence/by means of the beat/life/the beat is life/
 life and the beat are one/it all began with the beat/beat/beat

the beat of a time long past/the beat of a future yet to be

the beat of eternity starts/the heartbeat/beat/beat/the beat of the heart

the beat speaks

since time untold/the beat/since time began/the beat/beat/beat/
 as old as time/the beat forced itself to completion/the beat comes forth/of its own accord

the beat cannot be stilled/the beat cannot be silenced

the beat don't stop

entrusted with the sacred beat/the ancients beat/the drum

eternity/the ancients beat/upon the drum

the ancients knew/the ancients know/the message in the beat

the beat of war/the beat of peace/the beat of harmony

the beat is revolution/the beat is freedom/the beat of the emancipating drum

there is a beat echoing in the wind/replete with sustenance/the beat gives healing

always the beat is there/ only but to listen/ hear what it has to say/come to know it

listen to the beat/hear the beat/ listen/the drum speaks

I am as I have always been beside you
 giving

the ancients beat 'pon their drums

I will keep you I will spare you on

hear the drums

I will carry you I will see you through

listen

I will set you free I will uplift you I am
 as I have always been

I have never left you I will never leave
 you

so say the drums

feel the beat within you

dance to the beat

I will set you free
 live to the beat

I will see you through
 love to the beat

I will carry you
 rise to the beat

I will uplift you
 dance to the beat

I will set you free
 live to the beat

I will see you through
 I am as I have always been

so say the drums

Go Away

By cynthia onetta tolover

Lower East Side
 Loisaida
 Alphabet City
 the hood.
 Every summer
 a caravan of
 cars and vans and bikes
 parade down the block
 horns blowing,
 flags fluttering,
 bodies hanging out
 of windows, a celebration.
 Full of pride;
 full of joy.

On other days
 concrete tinker toys
 spread up and out.
 Sores, festering
 full of white, oozing
 yuppies,
 to the left of me
 yuppies,
 to the right of me.
 Searching for
 a flavor

that can't be bought
 or duplicated.

On Avenue C
 graffiti screams
 "fuck gentrification"
 but it's too late.
 Greasy spoon cafes
 slip into oblivion
 and landlords pay homage
 to deities of green and gold,
 while super trendy bars
 with super trendy prices
 full of Gap khakis and pocket tees
 commit another hostile takeover.

I beg
 the corner bodega,
 por favor
 don't look at the white light!
 No matching furniture, please.
 No frozen espresso mint lattes
 anywhere

While men in gray suits,
 with bulging, obscene
 stock portfolios whisper
 That's progress.

Taboo

By Anastasiya Adrianova

Beneath the whirlpool of her eyes
 erupt volcanoes,
 angered;
 tornadoes twisting in disguise
 burst into ashes;
 fouls rise.
 A dragon's kiss,
 expelling thunder,
 rips up the skies.
 Beneath the sunset of her eyes
 lie forlorn tears,
 condensed;
 in melting icicles,
 weeps hidden dew.

Hidden, she lies
 and sleeps her dark forbidden life.

The Politics of Hip Hop

By Manning Marable

The politics of hip hop culture took an important step forward recently with the Russell Simmons-founded Hip Hop Summit Action Network's hosting of the historic West Coast Hip-Hop Summit. Organized by Summit President Minister Benjamin Muhammad, hundreds of influential performance artists, music executives, grassroots activists, public leaders, and others gathered to address key issues and to establish a progressive political agenda.

Prominent participants included rappers Kuruft, DJ Quik, the Outlawz, Mack 10, Boo-Yaa Tribe, Mike Conception and the D.O.C., and radio personality/comedian Steve Harvey. Significantly, the keynote address was delivered by the leader of the Nation of Islam, Minister Louis Farrakhan, who also keynoted the first national hip-hop summit, staged last summer in New York City.

This latest Hip-Hop Summit Action Network followed closely after two recent New York-based events connected with the effort to build a progressive hip hop political agenda. On Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Day (January 21), the first hip hop youth summit was held at York College in Queens. Featuring prominent hip hop artists such as Nas, Reverend Run of the legendary group Run-DMC, Wu-Tang Clan, rap activist Sister Souljah, and Fat Joe, the conference focused on building youth memberships and chapters across the country. Programs discussed included the "Read to Succeed Project," which is designed to bring hip hop artists into the public schools to emphasize literacy, and the anti-drug "Game Over" public service campaign.

The Role of the NOI

On January 28, Russell Simmons engaged in a "public dialogue" with me, hosted by the Institute for Research in African-American Studies at Columbia University before several hundred people. Since my participation in last year's national hip-hop summit, I have been meeting with both Simmons and Muhammad to develop a "hip-hop initiative," which could include a summer youth leadership training institute, and public conversations between rap artists and political activists around social justice issues such as the prison industrial complex, the death penalty, voter education, and music censorship.

In our dialogue, Simmons affirmed his deep personal affection and respect for Minister Farrakhan, whom he described as "the conscience of black leadership." Simmons also criticized many mainstream African-American leaders for their failure to listen to the hip hop nation's concerns. "The civil rights leaders have the finances and infrastructure but don't do s—t," Simmons stated. "We are constantly working to connect the old civil rights leaders with creative young people."

As the founder and chairman of Rush Communications, a multimedia empire that includes Def Pictures, Def Jam recordings, Russell Simmons Television, Rush Art Management, on-line magazines Oneworld and 360hiphop, and the clothing company Phat Farm, Simmons's political views are increasingly carrying enormous weight. His intimate relationship with the NOI reflects, in part, the strong

Islamic orientation of many hip hop artists. One of today's best and most "conscious" hip hop artists, Mos Def, opened his 1999 album "Black on Both Sides" with a Muslim prayer. Rap artists in the NOI include Ice Cube, K-Solo and Mc Ren. Even more hip hop artists have been influenced by the NOI offshoot, the Five Percent Nation—such as Wu Tang Clan, Busta Rhymes, and Poor Righteous Teachers. What also seems clear is that most of the liberal integrationist, middle class black establishment has largely refused for two decades to engage in a constructive political dialogue with the hip hop nation.

The Nation of Islam has understood for decades that black culture is directly related to black politics. To transform an oppressed community's political behavior, one must first begin with the reconstruction of both cultural and civic imagination. Malcolm X's greatest strength as a black leader was his ability to change how black people thought about themselves as "racial subjects."

Culture and Social Struggle

Revolutionary culture does the same thing. Through music and the power of art, we can imagine ourselves in exciting new ways, as makers of new history. The reluctance of the black bourgeoisie to come to terms with the music its own children listen to compromises its ability to advance a meaningful political agenda reflecting what the masses of our people see and feel in their daily lives. It speaks volumes about the cultural divisions and political stratification within the African-American community, as Russell Simmons noted in our recent public dialogues, that Run-DMC was on the cover of Rolling Stone and Vanity Fair before they were on *Emerge* or *Ebony*.

Hip Hop culture's early evolution was closely linked with the development of a series of political struggles and events which fundamentally shaped the harsh realities of black urban life.

For example, hip hop historians sometimes cite the true origins of rap as an art form with the 1970 release of the self-titled album, "The Last Poets," based on the spoken word. "The Last Poets" was recorded and released during an intense period of rebellion closely coinciding with the murder of two African-American students and the wounding of 12 others by police at Jackson State University in Mississippi, the mass wave of ghetto rebellions during the summer of 1970, and the FBI's nationwide campaign to arrest and imprison prominent black activist Angela Davis.

In New York City in 1973-74, Afrika Bambataa (Kevin Donovan) established the Zulu Nation, a collective of DJs, graffiti artists and breakers, with the stated political purpose of urban survival through cultural empowerment and peaceful social change. Hip Hop's first DJ Kool Herc (Clive Campbell) developed rap as a cultural mode of aesthetic expression.

Graffiti art exploded everywhere across the city—on subway cars, buses, and buildings—and soon is recognized as an original and creative art form. What helped to shape these cultural forms which later would become known as hip hop was the economic and political turmoil occurring in New York City during

these years. The city government was lurching toward bankruptcy, as urban unemployment rates rose during the most severe economic recession since the end of World War II. This also marked the beginnings of more extreme forms of deadly violence among African-American and Hispanic young people. In 1977 even DJ Kool Herc was stabbed three times at his own party, reflecting in part escalating competition between crews, as well as the growth of violence to resolve disputes.

Yet the sites of greatest oppression,

however, frequently can produce the strongest forces of resistance. The culture that the world one day would know as hip hop was born in that context of racial and class struggle. **M**

Dr. Manning Marable is Professor of History and Political Science, and the Director of the Institute for Research in African-American Studies at Columbia University in New York. Dr. Marable's column is also available on the Internet at www.manningmarable.net.

Beautification continued from page 3

bers were approached by Assistant Director of Co-Curricular Life Jerry Rosa who informed them that Wendy Thornton, Director of Finley Student Center, would like to speak with one of them immediately. Nakova accompanied Rosa to Finley.

Thornton told Nakova that if Amnesty International cared to have ACC-funded events in the future, they would have to ask their speakers not to "use profanity."

"I was shocked," said Nakova. "I knew that what Thornton was doing was wrong, but I didn't know what to say at the time."

When asked what profanities Reverend Billy used, Sara Tretter, also of Amnesty, said, "Very few. To me, it didn't even register that he was swearing. It was so the opposite of excessive." Tretter added that most people who stopped to enjoy the show found it "really funny."

According to witnesses, Thornton had not personally witnessed Reverend Billy's performance.

VP Ryan Has No Authority

When confronted by a *Messenger* reporter in the midst of tearing down student posters, Vice President Jonathan Ryan declared he was on the Strategic Planning Steering Committee, as if this was the source from which he drew the necessary authority.

Strategic Planning at City College is an effort at City College to devise and implement a five-year plan to improve the campus. The effort is comprised of five task forces, largely consisting of faculty. The Division of Student Affairs, an administrative unit, selected the few students that serve on the task forces.

Each task force is dedicated to a specific set of campus problems: facilities management, addressing campus infrastructure; enrollment management, addressing the declining enrollment; technology management; programmatic vision, dealing with the academic departments and requirements; and a 9-11 consortium, addressing issues orbiting the September 11 attacks.

The Steering Committee, on the other hand, is comprised largely of administrators. The Steering Committee is to revise the task forces' recommendations before forwarding them to the president.

The *Messenger* will report more on Strategic Planning in upcoming issues.

The task force whose work appears relevant to Ryan's authority to tear down posters is Facilities Management. Its preliminary report recommends, "There must be a prohibition on plastering signs of any kind on building surfaces." One wonders if such a ban would also apply to the "United We Stand" sign on the NAC

Building.

While the *Messenger* disagrees with the task force's draft conclusions, nowhere does the task force recommend removing bulletin boards, as Cronholm and Ryan have done.

Moreover, according to Cronholm herself, in a message to the campus, "The operational details [of the recommendations are] to be devised in late processes." As Strategic Planning recommendations are in their draft form only, ripping down student posters and bulletin boards pell-mell, as has occurred all semester, violates Strategic Planning's own stated schedule.

Whose "Beautification"?

The Facilities Management task force's draft report also assumes Big Brotheresque pretensions. The report reads:

The widespread communication of the intention to improve the campus environment may be predicted to influence the behavior and activities of the community, encouraging practices by individuals that improve the environment; e.g., discouraging littering and the unsightly results of plastering announcements and posters on any and all available spots in buildings.

Given Security Director Hubbard's actions, the task force's behavior modification program apparently includes threatening arrest.

The operative premise of Cronholm's actions and the task force's draft recommendations is that a campus free of posterage (and therefore free of student organizations) is a beautiful campus. On the contrary, it's a campus festooned with posters that is a beautiful campus. It's an active campus where the true exchange of ideas is encouraged. Instead, Cronholm and her cronies mistake a barren campus for a beautiful one, a mistake potential and current students semesterly vote on with their feet, as the declining enrollment attests.

Administrators' bizarre obsession with blocking posterage also appears emblematic of an acting out. Unable or unwilling to seriously deal with the worst problems the school faces—declining enrollment, leaking ceilings, an obliterated library, an anti-student atmosphere—desperate administrators fixate on the most facile emblems of their fears. Posters are the most obvious markers of groups of students, who, when organized, could begin to ask a terribly simple question: What are they doing in the Administration Building?

In his memo to the *Messenger*, President Williams wrote that he "remained committed to an open and intellectually vibrant campus that celebrates the free and full exchange of ideas." But the proof is in the pudding. **M**