

Come wee to full Points here, and are et cetera's nothing.

ETCETERAS

Art Culture History Literature Politics Polemics



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REFLECTIONS & COMMENTARY

OCCUPATION 1991

WHERE WAS THE DOCTORAL STUDENTS' COUNCIL?

The reasons for the occupation of the Graduate Center go far beyond the strong feelings felt by the students against the proposed tuition increase and the budget cuts.

This was an act committed by a handful of students, who took advantage of the vacuum of student leadership, without the consent, support or knowledge of the whole student body. The leaders and the representatives of the Doctoral Students' Council [DSC], the legitimate government of the student body, were unresponsive and negligent throughout this crisis. At a time when students turned to their representatives and expected guidance and direction from them, we, the elected officials of the DSC, showed no sign of leadership, although we had every right to stand up and speak for the student body we represent. We left this obligation to a handful of students, who claimed the right overnight to speak for all students. Every afternoon, it was a chilling experience to hear the strikers say, "We, the students of the Graduate Center..."

If the DSC cannot find the initiative

to make decisions and to act accordingly during times of crisis like this, what is its purpose? The responsibility of DSC representatives is not just to attend the monthly meetings (if they ever do), but to represent and to speak for the doctoral students who elected them. Where were we? Why didn't our co-chairs or steering committee members call for an emergency meeting? Why couldn't we make up our mind about what to do? Why did we allow the situation to be dominated by a self-proclaimed leadership? We failed to do what we were supposed to do. We failed to represent the students of this institution. We all were dead quiet and let others speak for us.

We should not forget that as long as the DSC fails to be an active and committed government of, and for the students of this school, there will always be some group of students who will take advantage of this lack of leadership, in order to declare their illegal activities as a response to the wish of all students.

Tamer Aviclar
DSC Steering Committee Member
Computer Science

MEMORANDUM

TO: GRADUATE SCHOOL COMMUNITY

FROM: COMPUTER CENTER OPERATIONS

The Computer Center has spent a good deal of time and effort since the end of the occupation reestablishing computer systems and user services. While we cannot speak to the intentions of the student occupiers, we feel that their efforts were on the whole cooperative in trying to prevent collateral damage to the University's facilities. They went so far as to allow the Computer Center's operations staff into the building to secure our mainframe systems when security personnel were no longer allowed to monitor the machine room.

Nonetheless, there has been a significant impact on the Center's ability to provide its services. Enumerated below are some of the areas where either no impact, or a reduced impact, would have been felt had there been ongoing service during this period.

1. It was necessary to shutdown administrative and academic computer systems to prevent catastrophic damage in the event of air-conditioning failure.
2. Upon reentry it was necessary to stabilize the machine room environment after more than a week of high temperature and humidity.
3. When the VAX 11/780 was restarted after the occupation a number of serious problems were encountered, including breakdowns in the main tape drive and system disk, as well as, faults in dynamic memory. The Computer Center does not attribute these failures directly to the strike, but asserts that the likelihood of their occurrence and their impact would have been less under normal operations.
4. Due to severe hardware failures on the VAX 11/780, an additional week was necessary in order to reestablish full operation of computing and network services.
5. During the entire period of the occupation and subsequent repair, an undetermined amount of electronic communication was lost, due to the inaccessibility of the VAX 11/780.
6. Non-credit computer classes needed to be re-scheduled in order to make up for sessions missed during the strike. (Many classes were later canceled when the majority of students enrolled did not attend the makeup classes.)
7. Single session workshops scheduled during the period of the strike could not be re-scheduled.
8. The heavy burden on microcomputers in our labs contributed to a power failure in our main user area and may be responsible for the "crash" of one of the Novell file servers.

Steve Yaman, User Services Coordinator
Ben Goldstein, Manager of Operations

THE CAUSE AND THE CHAMPIONS

My mother can not sleep until two in the morning. A long time ago her father was not POLITICALLY CORRECT. They could have taken him away at any moment. So each night she waited. Her fears long gone, the habit stays.

The time was 1937, the place was the USSR and the situation was hardly unique. When I learned that "political correctness" is a buzzword of the American left, I was amused. Here, of all places... Well, the more different things are, the more they are the same.

A few years back at the Graduate Center I met some nice people, all concerned with the fate of humanity. In a friendly and only slightly patronizing manner they would try to explain how infinitely better off I had been back in the USSR. I guess my reaction fell short of enthusiasm, for when I met one of them in an elevator, he gazed straight past me, through the walls of oppression, into the bright lights of the future.

Many of my compatriots had similar experiences, and as I listened to their recollections, the word "jerk" seemed to be rather benign. As the joke has it, there are three types of people: decent people, intelligent people and marxists. Yet nobody can be all three: If you are decent and a marxist, you cannot be intelligent. If you are decent and intelligent, you cannot be a marxist. And if you are intelligent and a marxist, you cannot be decent. We lived the advanced stage of the STRUGGLE, people annihilated in body and soul. At that time the joke was true. While people clamor for causes, causes attract people.

The goal of the strikers, who occupied the Graduate Center for ten days, was to defend the people's right to education. So they said. For me, it was more like moral gratification! Since their ideas of education and mine are as far apart as it gets, and nobility of intent is as much their refuge as it is my fear, I do not want to discuss the merits of the strike per se. Instead, I will speak about the way the strike FELT.

It was noisy. "Education is our right! Right, right, right!"

echoing "Education is our right! Fight, fight, fight!" All I could see was a bunch of kids, some of them red in the face with effort, rising on the swell of their slogans. And there was nothing to counter the impression. There was a poster, carried by a man with a happy, half-absent smile. The poster equated Mario Cuomo to Saddam Hussein. Though undeniably subtle, it was nevertheless appalling. I do not like Mario Cuomo. A shrewd, smug hypocrite, a tiny bit of the grocery store still in him, he has a difficult time believing how good HIS life turned out to be. Yet, to compare him to the murderer, who kills people for kicks? I don't believe this was even a consideration! Murderer does not cloud the MARXIST JUDGEMENT! Not a murder in the heat of the STRUGGLE. The poster was yet another tacit admission.

An there was RAGE, RAGE, RAGE. Against WHOM, against WHAT? I guess simplicity was the binding factor. The S&L scandal was obvious. So were the rich and famous, as well as the budget

cuts. Never mind that the state does not have money. Raise the taxes! Now! And nobody, nobody talked about GOOD and BAD, only about RIGHT and WRONG. The skulls of the people caught in the STRUGGLE and lost to this subtle distinction could have filled the Graduate Center many times over!

And there was FREEDOM! Everybody could breathe it; a pair of earplugs did the trick. A student from the Anthropology program stood next to me amid the divided crowd. Filled with scorn and anger, he explained that most of the strikers (though not all of them) had the freedom to be full-time politicians by virtue of their wealthy parents. There was nothing in the way the strikers were dressed to contradict his assertion.

A yellow poster on the wall next to the entrance made me see red (no pun intended). "Come to the liberated Graduate Center!" It proclaimed. The occasion was a seminar on gays and lesbians in RADICAL STRUGGLES. The perversion was obvious! I do not mean their sexual orientation. This was none of my business! And I do not mean their decision to let themselves in, while keeping the rest of us out. Swinish behavior is not unconstitutional. It was their PERVERSE SENSE OF FREEDOM that shocked me; for all practical purposes, the building was LOCKED! And yet they called it LIBERATED? The symbolism was tragic, pure gone.

It was a cold day. The meeting was over. As I sat sipping coffee with a couple of my friends in Le Croissant Shop, I saw one of the strikers take a seat next to us. I had seen her before with another striker, a tall man with a friendly face and quick eyes. She seemed to be friendly too. Since she had left the meeting after we did, I asked her if the seminar went on as planned. At first she did not understand. Then she brushed me off with a short gesture of scorn. I heard her tell her companion a garrulous version of my complaint. When I asked the question again, she raised her voice and asked me to leave her alone, please.

And there was RAGE, RAGE, RAGE. Another place, another time. Almost twenty years ago in Leningrad I met an old Jewish man. Ready smile, grey hair, grey skin, he was possessed by a withering, all-consuming hatred. Back in the thirties, a fellow traveller, he had left New York and moved to the Soviet Union. So eager he was to sever all links with his bourgeois past that upon arrival, his first action was to give up his American passport. The first thing they did once he had given it up was to send him to a labor camp. Eighteen years later, a broken man, they let him go. I don't know what he was raging about. Was it the ideals of his youth that let him down? Or was it the country that made his life a living hell? His was a generation of upheaval. A few years after he left New York the world plunged into turmoil, never to be the same.

All I could see this time was a bunch of screaming kids.

Roman Gitlin
Mathematics

OUTRAGE

I imagine—I have to imagine—that the students... No, not the students... I must remind myself of the dangers of such an impersonalizing objectification, particularly now that the occupations are over and anger, resentment, and the desire for vindication in certain quarters is felt. I have then to imagine that the men and women who occupied the Graduate Center and buildings on other CUNY campuses were acting in full reflective and self-reflective subjectivity out of outrage and a sense of being betrayed.

We have, I believe, to consider the role of outrage in any political formation. It is more intense than rage. It is at once more diffuse and more focused. It is stimulated by what is deemed to be a wrongful act, a budget cut, for example, an increase in tuition, that is itself indicative of some greater inpropriety—a breach of contractual obligation, an injustice. In other words, the act that triggers outrage calls attention to a betrayal of some set of values that is held to be, if not sacrosanct, fundamental. It reveals the uncertain footing of such values, their manipulation for personal advantage by those in power, the artifice of the political ideologies that mask hypocrisy and justify the "evil" that arises from such manipulation. It reminds the outraged of their entrapment in, for lack of a better word, a system in which, despite proclamations of individual freedom, of continuous opportunities for personal initiative, and of possibilities for real, positive change, progress, as we say, they find themselves impotent. It reminds them of the poverty of political imagination.

Outrage can lead to anger, and as the stoics tell us, anger has to be contained. "There is no passion that so shakes the clarity of our judgment as anger," Montaigne observed. "No one would hesitate to punish with death a judge who had condemned his criminal through anger." But, whether or not we see the stoic's view of anger as accommodating to the status quo, whether or not we accept the blindness that arises with outrage, we must differentiate anger from outrage, for outrage need not lead to anger. It can produce striking clarity and lead to the communication of that clear vision. Here lies the force of outrage and the threat it poses to those responsible for the act it poses, that triggered it.

I imagine, I like to imagine, that the men and women who occupied the Graduate Center and the other campuses had that clarity of vision: the exposure of

the hypocrisy of the governor, so famous for his oratory, of his failure to keep his promise, the promise, of a state in which higher education would be open to all who qualified intellectually and not just economically, the revelation that the cherished values and promise of the United States have been sacrificed yet again to a crude, unimaginative pragmatism, and the disclosure of the virtual impossibility of communicating in a meaningful and powerful, an effective, way this vision. If anything led to anger, I assume, it was this disclosure.

What could be done? A symbolic act: the occupation of buildings. To occupy a building, though, is to be occupied by the building. To occupy and be occupied by a symbol. To be isolated from the symbolic effect of the symbol, the symbolic act. To live within the liminal world of the symbol without "real" contact with the outside world in which the symbol is meant to be effective. I imagine that the men and women in the Graduate Center, whatever their realism, their political savvy, their cynicism even, were structurally unable to appreciate fully the effect of their act. Whatever their intentions, they never claimed to represent the full student body but were open democratically to any and all members of that body and would have adhered no doubt to their collective decision.

What those who occupied the Graduate Center did not perhaps realize at first was that in an act of protest and solidarity with those who occupied buildings on other campuses, they were in fact splitting their own community and perpetuating a split in those other communities. They became a symbol for that fact: that for whatever reasons, personal, political, or moral, did not approve of the occupation. They became an object of anger. Their act served to deflect and re-focus the outrage of other members of their community had at the inpropriety of the proposed budget cuts and tuition increase onto them, the students, and their occupation. As a displaced focus of outrage their symbolic act subverted its intended goal and was divisive.

I am not sure if this subversion is in the nature of all disempowered symbolic acts. I do know that anger and rage—and outrage insuring as it lies at anger and rage's alluring border—are self-propagating and divisive. Focused on an object, however justifiably, they can enrage all those whose anger and rage are not directed to that object. Where division is intolerable, anger and rage become contagious, creating an illusion of solidarity, of shared values and goals, a single vantage point, where there is in fact little that is shared. With such repressive contagion, there can be no dialogue and without dialogue no community.

And yet, we must admit, the occupation did call attention to both the initial outrage and its source. I remember a conversation I had with two men about it, one a conservative republican and the other a middle-of-the-road democrat, neither of whom were connected to the university but both of whom had very considerable political and economic power. They each observed: "Politically you can't legislate out universal education but you can do it through the budget." One of them thought the budget cuts a good thing; the other an outrage. The outrage persists.

Vincent Crapanzano
Distinguished Professor
Executive Officer,
Comparative Literature

RIGHTEOUS AND WRONG

As a relative newcomer to the turmoil of CUNY life I should not have ventured to offer my reflections on the occupation of parts of the University in protest against a very real threat to its continued existence without friendly prodding from the editor of this broadsheet. My views, I explained to him, are hopelessly divided—as befits the academic mind, prone to see both sides of every question. He insisted; here goes.

Standing in the crowd that assembled in the entrance-way of the Graduate Center time after time, straining to hear the speakers out of their bullhorn, amid the roar of passing traffic, I felt acutely the rightness and the wrongness of the occasion. The rightness first. Of course, we must protest being taken to the slaughterhouse. The University can hardly survive the cuts that are proposed for its budget. The students can scarcely be expected to sustain a hefty rise in tuition costs, a cut in aid, being frozen out of adjunct positions, when they barely exist on what little we can provide for their support as it is. The nation has been stripped to its undershirt in the heedless Reagan years. The governor's bookkeepers miscalculated the impact of tax "reform", economic woes supervened, the labor force is being laid off in droves, business flees to locations that haven't heard of a living wage; how can we not cry out? Those who tend the hospitals, the libraries, the bridges, as well as the homeless, the un-cared-for, and the abused cry out to us—how can we not cry out? Those who tend the hospitals,

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When the citizens of Berlin toppled the wall separating east from west (an illegal act in any country), Americans united in celebration, just as they rejoiced when, in defiance of the official authorities, the Opposition held weekly rallies in Leipzig denouncing the corrupt Communist regime. We were confident that the East European regimes that held their populations in thrall for more than forty years were no longer, if they ever were, legitimate expressions of the political will of their respective peoples. When the regimes cried "legal" we simply ignored their appeals.

Let me begin with an apparently improbable analogy. When students at at least 11 campuses of the City University of New York demonstrated against the budget cuts and tuition increases, and some students finally took the bold step of occupying buildings and otherwise disrupting the "normal" activities of the University, the liberals who had heralded similar ruptures in Eastern Europe should have responded with sympathy, if not outright support for the students. They were after all, defending a principle against an economic tyranny: equality of opportunity. The threatened cuts would deprive thousands of their right to an educational credential without which hope for a better future remains elusive in the service society.

Instead, most of the faculty, nearly all of the CUNY administrations and part of the press, notably The New York Times, "deplored" the irresponsibility of students, when they did not support efforts to diffuse or repress the protest. Plainly, liberals made the distinction between the situation in authoritarian countries and our own. Rather than actively supporting the students that legitimized the protest, most public statements by the press, the administration and the CUNY faculty were confined to the question of illegality.

Why? Of course, opponents of the occupations had different and sometimes plausible reasons for their antipathy. The Times alternately praised and discounted the effectiveness of the protest. At the end, their reporter averred that its major weakness was that it was a minority

REFLECTIONS ON THE OCCUPATION

movement that, finally, generated organized opposition from others (hardly a majority) who wanted to go to classes. Moreover, in another report, the protest was said to have little if any effect on the legislature.

The administration of several colleges took out injunctions against the occupying students; the penalty for defiance is contempt citations that could lead to disciplinary action within the colleges and even prison sentences. According to these documents, the students were violating the integrity of state property. Others warned that the occupiers were alienating fellow students and hurting the cause, shared by the entire CUNY community, of restricting tuition increases and budget cuts.

Most faculty hid out for the duration. This was definitely not the kind of action they could support, but, in the main, they did not speak out against it. They just went home to wait it out. A small minority of CUNY faculty were concerned, and either supported the students or tried to mediate between them and the administration. For the majority, the occupations were comprehended as a break in their normal routine.

Some invoked the "law" of property. Others, perhaps the most significant group, explained that the "true" object of protest was the Governor, not the CUNY administration, and that the legitimate method of action was lobbying and letter-writing, not civil disobedience. After all, we live in a democracy where representatives, elected by the people, can be confronted with reason, not disobedience to the law.

Implicit in all of these criticisms is that American democracy works—even for the excluded. Representative institutions would respond to legitimate complaints, if only expressed in the rhetoric of reason. Presumably, one marshals arguments in letters and petitions. Or,

alternatively, students should constitute themselves as an organized pressure group, hire their own lobbyists, perform convincing research and publish their findings. That's the American Way; that's the middle-class way.

The problem with these scenarios is that CUNY students are out of the loop of the political mainstream. Largely African-American and Latino, certainly from working-class families at or near the bottom of income and occupational hierarchies, their experience has been precisely the reverse of those that propel traditional political action. When not harassed by employers, police and landlords, they are ignored. And school has never been substantially different for most students. They have felt anger and indifference at all grade levels when they were unable or unwilling to conform to the rules. But most of us know that the banks and the political directorate are, routinely, acting in their own interests. The proposition that government is genuinely and broadly representative is hotly contested by most people of color and working class people.

Nor does the racial and subcultural composition of legislatures, and the leading officials of most public agencies, offer any comfort. Moreover, most teachers are white. For many students, almost none of the public representations of authority is familiar. On the contrary. Their strangeness is ubiquitous.

The problem for students was to get the attention of public authorities and the constituencies of the political mainstream—particularly the unions and politicians of color—for their plight. If some students believed the occupations would lead to direct responses by the Governor or the legislature to their protest, they were mistaken. Their real audience was the media and, in some respects, they failed to play it adroitly, although without the occupations it is doubtful that

anyone would have paid attention. Needless to say, by themselves, closing the university would not restore the cuts or rescind the tuition increases. But the students know, better than their critics, that the familiar channels of protest do not work very well and for those without money and power, not at all. Intuitively, if not articulated in the rhetoric of political science, they are also aware that there is a crisis of democracy—not only in Eastern Europe, but in these United States, and that it is getting worse, not better. That's why the occupations were justified and why those who condemned them, most of whom are safely within the political mainstream (which is only half the population) live in a different world from those who acted this Spring.

One of the most important aspects of the event(s) is that on some campuses, notably the Graduate Center, some form of direct democracy was practiced. At open meetings for students and faculty, the decision was made, on a daily basis, to continue the occupation. And, when the PTU refused to comply with the occupiers' demand, The Organization for Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Concerns (OGLBC) was also permitted to hold a teach-in in the auditorium. The topic was the role of gays and lesbians in radical struggles.

Rallies or "open forums" were held every afternoon, where members of the Graduate Center community voiced their support for, or their opposition to, the occupation. At 5:30 every evening, the occupiers sponsored a vote in order to decide whether or not the occupation should continue. Unfortunately, the rallies soon became platforms for the occupiers to air their self-righteousness and to dismiss dissenters as selfish and hypocritical, who were "not thinking of the good of all CUNY students." It was assumed that people opposed to the occupation were apathetic to CUNY's disas-

Stanley Aronowitz
Professor
Sociology

WHOSE STRIKE?

The scene was familiar. An unusual gathering in the Graduate Center courtyard. Protest banners. I proceeded to the front door oblivious to their half-hearted picket line.

"You can't go in," a student told me. "Just watch," I said. "They've locked the building" this student continued, neither defiantly nor outraged.

"Who's 'they'?" I asked. "The students." "The students? I'm a student, who asked me if I wanted to close down the university?"

As my sense of outrage faded, it was this question which lingered in my mind throughout the week. Who are these "students"? Why are they acting like spoiled children playing revolution?

The CUNY strike has little to do with education and much more to do with politics. Generally the CUNY strike reflects a deeper crisis in academia—the outdated idea of the university as an instrument of social mobility, with the erroneous assumption that more education translates into greater marketability in the working world. While this remains true for the sciences, it is quite the opposite with the liberal arts—the field from where the protesters hail. It is in these

political demands of the university and the state. If they considered themselves professionals, they might be overwhelmed by the demands of the scholarship that lay before them, and the daunting amount of personal sacrifice and hard work education demands. But perhaps that is the very reason why they are protesting.

John Condon
Sociology



Stanley Aronowitz asks questions at the Teach-In

The 3 Biggest Lies at the Graduate Center
I'm not a Racist,
I'm not a Sexist,
and I never, NEVER READ
The Graduate Student Advocate

RHETORIC & REALITY

I remember feeling a sense of elation when I first heard about the occupation of the Graduate Center, and even said aloud, "More power to the students." For the first two days, the occupation was an effective symbolic gesture of the occupiers' support for their undergraduate colleagues at other CUNY campuses. However, as the days went by and the strikers appeared to be wrapped up in their power to allow or to deny access to the building, it became clear both that the occupation was not heading toward any concrete solutions, and that the occupiers were unwilling to listen to any dissenting voices. In fact, double standards abounded. Certain groups and individuals were allowed to enter the building. The Part-Timers United (PTU), an organization of adjunct lecturers, was allowed to hold a meeting, although PTU officials later reported that the occupiers insisted that the PTU endorse the occupation. The PTU refused to comply with the occupiers' demand. The Organization for Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Concerns (OGLBC) was also permitted to hold a teach-in in the auditorium. The topic was the role of gays and lesbians in radical struggles.

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trous fiscal crisis. This position was reiterated in an editorial published in the May issue of The Graduate Student Advocate: "Some graduate students may feel that their interests lie with the institution and not with other CUNY students, and that their careers are best secured this way." The Advocate's only news report about the occupation—entitled "The Graduate School Strikes Back"—focused on the support for the action; opposition voices were mentioned only in passing: "An open microphone was provided for people to express their opinion of the action, whether in support or opposition." The article failed to mention that the occupiers monopolized the microphone to such an extent that when it came time to vote, the dissenters had left the rally in disgust. Thus the "open forum" deteriorated into a monologue by the occupiers, who insisted that the occupation was "morally" justified. This demagogic attitude fostered among the occupiers alienated many dissenters.

The rhetoric for and against the occupation was heated and emotional, sometimes absurd. There were students who supported the occupation because they felt that it was the only effective way to pressure the administration to fight against the impending budget cuts and tuition hike. For those students, to give up the building was to abandon the protest altogether. Another occupier argued about the need for some students to give up their rights now for the future good of the majority. Still another occupier tear-

fully stated that as a member of an upper-middle-class family, she could afford the \$50 tuition hike, but that she was fighting for the rights of the less privileged who cannot afford the increase. One occupier even confessed that he had opposed the occupation at first, but decided to go along with the majority opinion, thus bowing to peer pressure.

A Latina student mentioned the fact that the occupiers in the building were not all white, and that many were "people of color." She went on to explain how skin color is not only a physical trait but also a state of mind. The Latina student spoke about "people of color" as a faceless collectivity, without individual differences. Does the fact that there were "people of color" in the group of occupiers legitimize their action? Or was the Latina student's rhetoric merely phony and manipulative? Although the occupation seemed to demonstrate that it is possible for people of different sexualities, genders and races to work together toward a common goal, the occupier was obviously not speaking for all "people of color." A nursing student at Borough of Manhattan Community College, who objected to the occupation of BMCC, pointed to the color of her skin and told reporters that as a black woman it is only through education that she will succeed in this country.

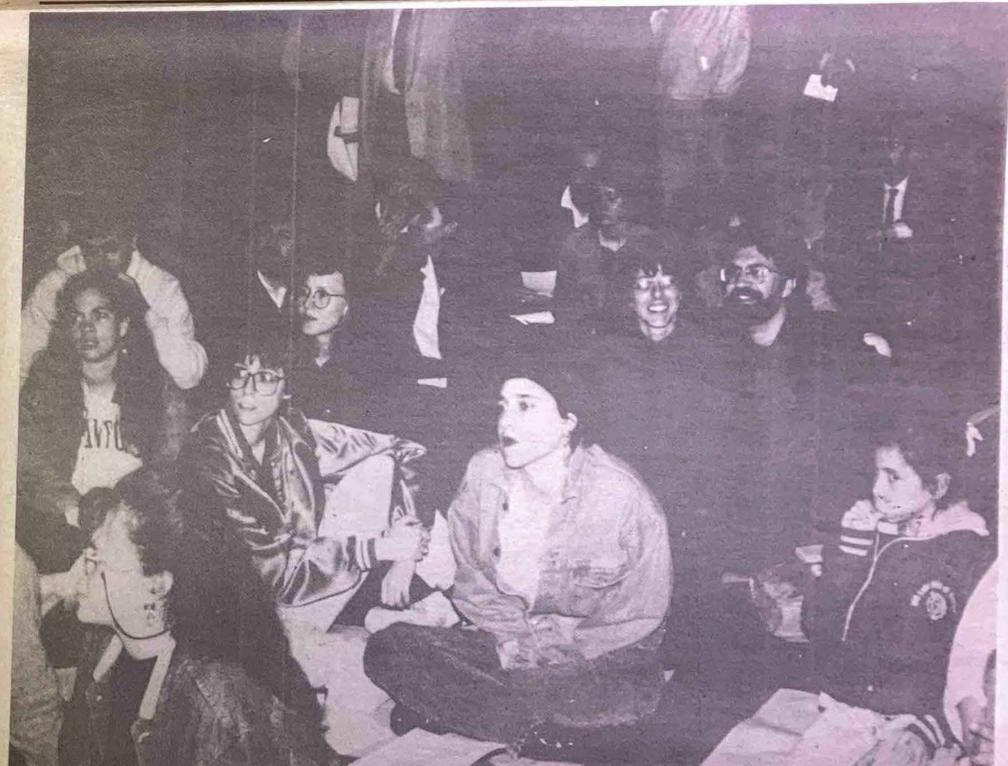
Since the end of the occupation more than two weeks ago, a silent war has been waging between the students who occupied the building and those who opposed the action. The occupiers have sponsored

a number of meetings to discuss protest strategy and their continuing negotiations with the administration. Nevertheless, when flyers were posted last week announcing a forum for dissenting views, they were defaced, presumably by student occupiers, who challenged dissenters to propose their own ideas to fight the budget cuts. Although the occupiers have said that they want to put the occupation behind them and to work with the entire student body, they have not yet learned that many students who opposed their action are still splitting fire.

In retrospect, it is easy to speculate on what should or should not have been done. Nonetheless, it is vital that such a post-mortem take place, if only to assuage the anger felt by those on both sides of the controversy. It may be purely conjectural to wonder whether the occupiers, without taking over the building, could have persuaded the administration to participate in the battle against the budget cuts. If the occupiers had organized rallies to discuss ways to fight CUNY's problems before taking over the building, they might have achieved their ideal democratic process. And in doing so, they might have been able to build consensus among the Graduate Center community. If anything positive resulted from the occupation, it was the interchange between the administration and students, as well as the dialogue, however vitriolic, between the students themselves.

The occupiers will have to listen to the views of the dissenters in order to achieve the solidarity they so desperately seek.

Bruce Mehra
Teacher



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