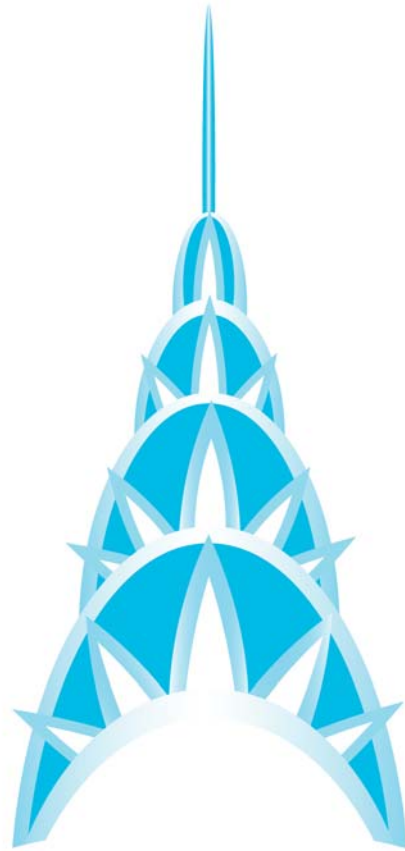
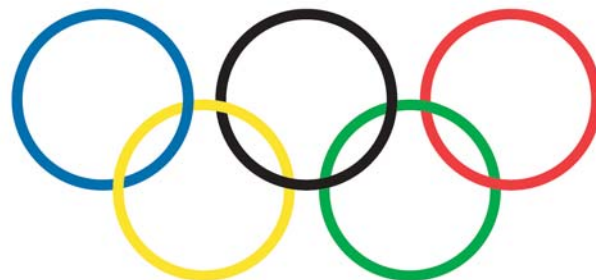


Dollars & sense



NYC 2012



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FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

In 1896, a small athletic competition was held in Athens, Greece. Two years later, a motley collection of boroughs and real estate was consolidated into a single American city. The competition: the very first modern Olympics. The city: New York City, current home to 19 million Americans. Will the historical paths set more than a century ago converge in New York City? That's the looming question as New York seeks to host the 2012 Summer Olympic Games.

In our 2004 issue, *Dollars & Sense* explores New York's bid to host the 2012 Games. We also examine our home city from many different angles. We see it from the perspective of the men who've spent decades underground, carving out an alternate water supply route for the city. And we see it from the vantage point of the Empire State Building, a quintessentially New York skyscraper that is once again the city's tallest structure following the fall of the World Trade Center. We also revisit the remnants of that fallen edifice where we find mourners and tourists in uncomfortable proximity.

In a city still trying to rebuild itself, we consider how proposals to hold the Olympics figure into the city's ongoing reconstruction. We cast our eyes on Manhattan's West Side where plans are afoot to build a stadium that supporters promise will be the envy of the world, but which opponents challenge, arguing that it will do damage to the city.

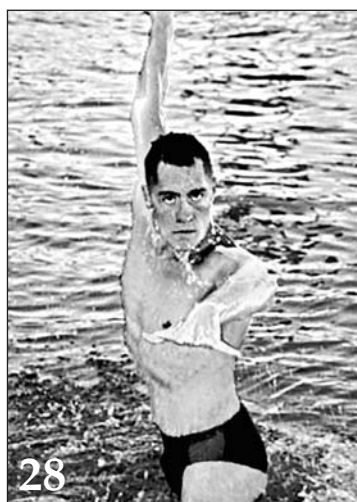
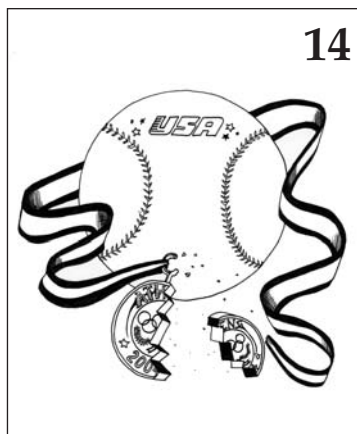
Of course, the Olympics, just like New York City, is about more than just competition and construction. It is also about people doing great things and striving to overcome obstacles. In this issue we look at one Olympic-caliber male athlete striving to secure a place in a sport dominated by women. We also look at the Olympics through the eyes of some of New York's immigrant communities.

In preparing this issue, we had a lot of fun and we hope it shows in some of the more offbeat pieces we've assembled. For example, we hope you'll join us as we ponder the weighty issue of just what sort of Olympic mascot would be fitting for a city like New York.

This issue of *Dollars & Sense* continues a long proud tradition of stellar writing and teamwork. Twenty-six years ago, Professor Roslyn Bernstein and her class came up with the idea for this magazine and the fact that it has made it this far is a testament both to her wisdom and the talent of the past and present creative staff. Professors Andrea Gabor, Michael Nix and Geanne Rosenberg also deserve special thanks for their support on this issue. The *Dollars & Sense* graphics team turned in a — we hope you'll pardon the pun — gold medal performance and should be commended. We hope that you'll get as much enjoyment out of this issue as we got out of putting it together.

Kester Alleyne-Morris
Editor-in-Chief

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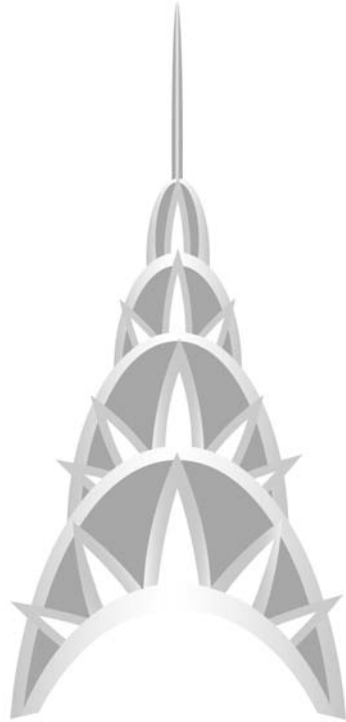
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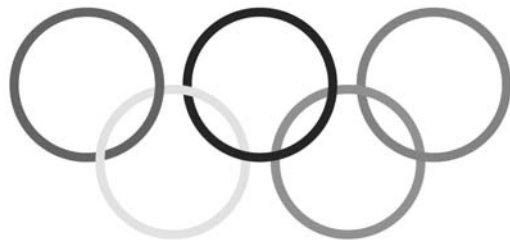
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OLYMPICS



NYC 2012



SPOTLIGHT ON NYC OLYMPIC BID

BY MARTINNE GELLER

If New York wins its bid for the NYC2012 Summer Olympics, the event would trigger some of the widest-ranging changes in the Big Apple since Robert Moses transformed the city in the 1940s and '50s when he was New York City Parks Commissioner and head of the Triborough Bridge Authority. The fierce competition to host the 2012 Olympics, which has pitted New York City against Istanbul, Leipzig, London, Madrid, Moscow, Paris and Rio de Janeiro, will continue to inspire grand development projects throughout the five boroughs until the final decision is announced on July 6, 2005. Even if the city loses its bid, many of the projects related to the Olympics could still go forward, including plans to develop Manhattan's West Side and to renovate Queens' Flushing Meadows–Corona Park. This year *Dollars & Sense* chronicles the plans, hopes and controversies surrounding New York City's Olympic dreams. These dreams do not rely on sympathy for having endured the tragedy of Sept. 11. Rather, New York's bid is based on an ambitious \$3 billion development strategy, according to Lazaro Benitez, media relations manager for NYC2012, the organization promoting the New York Games. The plan will help fund such sports venues as the controversial Olympic Stadium on the West Side of Manhattan, an equestrian center on Staten Island and boating facilities in Flushing Meadows–Corona Park. NYC2012 will provide at least \$1 billion to build or refurbish athletic facilities and parks, the rest will come from other sources.

The "Last Frontier" package examines the scope and controversies surrounding the West Side development plan. Meanwhile, "Slices of the Apple" presents the unique perspectives of New York's Afghani, Greek and Chinese communities as they look forward to seeing both their old and adopted homelands compete for Olympic gold medals. "Game Over" explores the implications of USA Baseball's exclusion from the 2004 Olympic roster. And "Out of Sync" profiles a top-level male athlete's fight to join an all-women's Olympic team.

Even if the Olympic Village doesn't ever materialize across the river from the United Nations, Mayor Michael Bloomberg has signaled his commitment to many of the projects planned for the Olympics. This promises to transform many areas of New York, even as the redevelopment of the World Trade Center continues to reshape the lower tip of Manhattan. D&S



COMPETING FOR THE GOLD!

BARUCH GRAD PLAYS KEY ROLE IN PROMOTING NYC OLYMPIC BID

BY KELLIE TABRON

PHOTOGRAPHS BY DORA CZOVEK AND CHRISTINA LEE

Long before any Olympic Games are held, a competition just as intense as any of the sporting events is being staged among cities vying to host the Games. In this competition, the key players are not dedicated athletes with dreams of gold medals, but whole organizations dedicated to promoting the cause of their host cities.

In New York, that organization is NYC2012, and one of the key players in its campaign to bring the Games to New York City is self-

described sports junkie, Lazaro Benitez. As manager of media relations for NYC2012, Benitez, at first glance, appears to be a surprising choice. The in-your-face, buy-my-product stereotype often associated with a public relations executive is replaced with a laid back pitch that is direct but polite and respectful.

Benitez began his career in public relations in high school, after landing a high school internship with Edelman Public Relations. "I sort

of fell into PR," he says. Benitez stayed with that firm for eight years, including four years during which he completed his education at Baruch College. "It wasn't what I planned to do [PR], but once I started learning about it, I got hooked," he says.

So how do this Washington Heights native and his NYC2012 colleagues plan to convince more than eight million big city residents that New York City needs an Olympic Games? With lots of hard work.



*Lazaro Benitez, media relations
manager for NYC2012*



"This job is the most challenging I've ever had," Benitez says. An average day lasts 16-to-18 hours. He begins early, catching up on Olympics-related news, including stories relating to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and competing cities' plans and progress. "I read about 12 hard-copy papers

own merits," he says. "There's nothing to be gained by disparaging the competition. We focus on espousing the pluses of our own plan."

Like any good political campaign, NYC2012 has specific messages it wants to get out, not the least of which is that, despite the scandals surrounding the 2002 Salt Lake City

public relations efforts, including forbidding its members from visiting bid cities during the selection process. Furthermore, according to the IOC's Web site and its Rules of Conduct, potential host cities are restricted from directly contacting IOC members or proactively approaching members of the interna-

"New York is already an Olympic Village. If you take the No. 7 train to Queens, you'll definitely see that."

each morning and scan 20 or 30 others on the Web," says Benitez. "While our main focus is our own plan, we also need to know what other news is out there."

In addition to their morning immersion in the news, Benitez and his colleagues also spend their day talking to reporters, returning hundreds of phone calls, writing press releases and setting up, publicizing and attending events throughout the city. They work to get reporters to attend events, cultivating those interpersonal relationships that, according to Benitez, are very important in the publicity game. "It's more like a political campaign than anything else," he says. But Benitez says NYC2012's policy is to avoid bashing the competition. "Our mantra is whoever wins this race will win based on their

Winter Games, the U.S. is still a viable venue to host an Olympic Games. In the lead-up to the Salt Lake City Games, 13 Olympic officials were accused of accepting bribes from Salt Lake organizers in exchange for votes favoring the Utah city to host the Olympic Games. Four IOC members and two top Salt Lake City Olympic committee officials, President and CEO Frank Joklik and Vice President David Johnson, resigned in the scandal. Afterward, the IOC underwent a massive reorganization, and the U.S. Justice Department launched a probe against the USOC.

As a result of the scandal, the IOC had to focus both on getting rid of its reputation as a haute fraternity of freeloaders seeking kickbacks and lavish hotel stays, and on putting limits upon bidding cities'

tional press, except during designated times. From now until about six months before the 2012 Games host city is decided in 2005, the only way NYC2012 can interact with the foreign media is if a member of the foreign press approaches them directly.

To counteract the IOC rules, NYC2012's strategy has been to reach out to the 200-or-so daily and weekly newspapers that serve New York's various ethnic communities.

"While a paper may be small in terms of notoriety here in New York, it is likely to be read by the core ethnic group here in the city," says Benitez. "Chances are they call back home to speak with family, and the word gets out about what we're doing."

NYC2012 also targets the 126 IOC members who ultimately will cast the final

votes. They not only have to work to conquer any negative associations remaining from the Salt Lake scandal, but also to overcome longstanding perceptions that the IOC is an Eurocentric organization that generally awards the Games to European countries. In addition, no one knows how the U.S. State Department's policies and the invasion of Iraq will affect New York's cause. Perception problems can hamper a campaign.

One way NYC2012 is working to overcome these obstacles is by ensuring that its message reaches not only an American audience but an international one as well. "Obviously, we are the U.S. representative," says Benitez. "But beyond that, our strategy works to position New York as the world's second home, where we live the Olympic ideals of peoples of all races, religions and ethnic backgrounds coming together every day." Adds Benitez, "New York is already an Olympic Village. If you take the No. 7 train to Queens, you'll definitely see that."

"In the beginning, our strategy was multi-pronged," he explains. "We went after every single audience out there, making our spokespeople available to all of our constituents from the very large to the very small." Benitez says the team's goal is to run

a campaign that is completely open to the public and, by extension, the media. The NYC2012 team maintains that its approach helps to promote a sense of credibility and trust not generally associated with major campaigns, political or otherwise. Not only do those mouthpieces include the standard public relations and media team representatives like himself and executive director Jay Kriegel, but also NYC2012's founder and current deputy mayor for economic development, Dan Doctoroff.

Doctoroff conceived the idea of hosting the Games after attending the 1994 World Cup Soccer semifinals at Giants Stadium in New Jersey's Meadowlands Sports Complex. In forming NYC2012, he led the planning, marketing, community and government relation efforts and continues to act as the city's lead representative in the effort to secure the Games. In his current role as deputy mayor, Doctoroff oversees the planning and implementation of the policies that affect New York's economy, and coordinates efforts to retain, attract and expand the business community. Among his most important responsibilities is the oversight of New York's physical and economic response to the Sept. 11 terrorist

attacks, coordinating with government agencies at the city, state and federal level and with the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation to redevelop the World Trade Center site.

In 2002, NYC2012 moved its offices to Lower Manhattan from its Midtown Park Avenue location, in a show of support for the area's revitalization. But at the same time, it is careful not to hang its bid on the tragedy of Sept. 11. "We are adamant about not winning the host city designation on the basis of sympathy," Benitez says. "It's an impossible topic to avoid, so if we are pressed, our message is not directly regarding Sept. 11, but rather, how wonderfully New Yorkers respond to adverse situations, whether it be Sept. 11, the recent blackout, you name it!"

In addition to the IOC members, NYC2012 had to appeal to representatives across the political spectrum from the state Senate to Gov. George E. Pataki to New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg. "We needed total government support," Benitez says. "They are very important allies, because the IOC needs to know that New Yorkers, whether it be the general public or civil servants, are behind the Olympics. We've been very lucky in that regard."



The representatives from these offices, while not officially members of the 2012 staff, are mouthpieces for the city's bid, in terms of the benefits a New York City Olympics can bring to the city, the state and its residents.

The fact that Doctoroff is now a member of the Bloomberg administration doesn't hurt the NYC2012 effort. In fact, according to Benitez, it makes the communication flow between NYC2012 and the mayor's office much smoother. Bloomberg's administration has proven to be a vocal supporter of Doctoroff and NYC2012's efforts. In a Dec. 28, 2001 press release announcing Doctoroff's appointment as deputy mayor, Bloomberg lauded his efforts

to bring the Games to New York, saying, "He has conceived of and led the development of the city's Olympic bid, which has generated enormous support and enthusiasm across all segments of the city. The vision of a New York Olympic Games has inspired New Yorkers about our future."

Benitez says he also needs public support for the Games. To build this support, NYC2012 has established a presence at various events around the city, including the New York City Marathon and a number of ethnic parades, setting up booths with marketing information, distributing posters and fliers and having staff members and volunteers to answer questions.

Despite all their efforts, NYC2012 does not lack foes. Among the biggest concerns are that the Games would create gridlock of unprecedented proportions. After all, say critics, a single sporting event like a New York Knicks game can create a traffic nightmare, clogging roadways from river to river.

The NYC2012 plan addresses traffic concerns with the "Olympic X" plan. The plan, which won The Municipal Art Society's Masterwork Award for Best Urban Design or Planning Concept in 2002, places all the competition venues along two intersecting water and rail axes.

The plan calls for high-speed ferryboats to deliver athletes to the venues. Special



Community leaders of Hell's Kitchen are concerned about higher traffic volume if the additional activity centers are built.

private trains would also service venues along the rail axes. The Olympic Village would be at the point where the two axes cross. Organizers claim athletes will be able to access all competition venues without traveling on public streets or highways.

In one of the most public debates generated by the Games,

for other development projects such as the revitalization of downtown.

An Internet search reveals the number of New Yorkers in favor of hosting the Games varies depending on the source. Figures range from as low as 32.6 percent, in a nonscientific Newsday poll conducted in 2002, to as high

duction community, which put together five videos used in the presentation to the USOC's Bid Evaluation Task Force during their final site visit in June 2002. The presentation helped New York City win the domestic nomination the following November. Directors, producers, actors and athletes volunteered time,

“Our strategy works to position New York as the world’s second home where we live the Olympic ideals of peoples of all races, religions and ethnic backgrounds coming together every day.”

residents and public advocacy groups from Manhattan’s West Side — the proposed home of the new Olympic Stadium and possible future home of the New York Jets — believe the new stadium would not only block waterfront access, but that the associated traffic would ruin a neighborhood already overrun with transit exhaust. Web sites such as www.hells-kitchen.net are almost entirely devoted to squashing NYC2012’s efforts.

Other concerns include the cost. Despite assurances from NYC2012 that spending for the Games would come exclusively from private sources, many are worried that Olympic expenditures will deplete financial resources earmarked

as 84 percent in a survey conducted on behalf of NYC2012 by KRC Research and Consulting the same year.

Critics note the marked contrast between the results and criticize as skewed the methodology used in polls paid for and conducted by NYC2012. But Benitez insists the majority of residents and corporations support bringing the Games to the city. NYC2012’s Web site posts results of several surveys conducted by McLaughlin & Associates and Siena Research Institute on behalf of NYC2012. The most recent, November 2003, indicates 73 percent of New Yorkers favor hosting the 2012 Games.

Benitez says a good example of that support came from New York’s commercial pro-

equipment and skills to the project, valued at \$15 million to \$20 million. “We couldn’t have afforded to pay for that ourselves,” says Benitez.

Benitez says support for the Games continues to grow. “The enthusiasm keeps building; fundraising is stable, even in light of the tough economy,” he says. While it’s difficult to determine which numbers are real, one thing is certain, the efforts to bring the Games to New York continue running at high speed, with Benitez and his NYC2012 colleagues focusing on their personal Gold medal: the host city designation.

The winner of the event will be revealed in July 2005, when the IOC announces its decision. D&S



GAME OVER!

AMERICAN BASEBALL TEAM CUT FROM OLYMPIC ROSTER

BY PAUL CURCIO

ILLUSTRATIONS BY DONG SUN CHOI & JASON THOMPSON

When the United States Olympic Baseball Team failed to qualify for the 2004 Olympic Games at the trial rounds in Panama City, Panama, in November, it marked the first time since the sport was granted official Olympic medal status in 1992 that the U.S. team will not compete.

But in losing a ninth-inning heartbreaker to Mexico, Team USA may have lost more than just a chance to compete in the Athens Games this summer. "This will affect next year's budget significantly," says USA Baseball's Executive Director and CEO Paul Seiler.

More than half of Team USA's funding comes from the United States Olympic Committee (USOC), Amer-

ica's national organizing committee for all Olympic sports. For the current 2001–2004 quadrennial (the four-year period between Olympic Games) USA Baseball, the national governing body for amateur baseball, is scheduled to receive the next installment of just over \$3.2 million slotted for baseball by the USOC — if the team had qualified for the Olympics. But with this "deeply disappointing" loss, Seiler says, he believes that number will suffer a loss in the "strong six figures."

Funds from the USOC are awarded based on performance; thus, following the Olympic team's elimination, USA Baseball is bracing for the worst. With substantially less than half the not-for-profit

organization's operating budget coming from corporate sponsorship, value-in-kind agreements for equipment, licensing fees and contributions from Major League Baseball and the Major League Baseball Players Association, Team USA will find it more difficult to operate without full funding from its main benefactor, the USOC.

"The challenge, now that we know revenue is down, is to see if we can make that revenue up somewhere else," says Seiler. "If we can't, then expenses have to be adjusted."

Seiler says the organization, which is based in Durham, N.C., "will try not to cut, just to tighten" the operating budget. He expects to invite fewer players to camp next



year and to shorten the length of the program from eight to six days. Since taking over USA Baseball in 1998, Seiler says, he has always been able to meet the needs of the organization with the funds at his disposal, though he admits he's never faced a budget cut before. Fortunately, the financial repercussions will end with the current quadrennial, and the team will get a fresh start for the 2005–2008 quad. Still, Seiler is concerned about the organization's immediate future.

"It's premature to speculate what kind of funding USA Baseball will receive in the next quad," USOC spokesman Darryl Seibel responded when asked about Seiler's budget concerns. He further explains that even though a performance-based planning process determines the level of funding for each Olympic sport, the committee also considers how a team's future performance will "enhance medal opportunities" or "protect medal positions." Dave Fanuchi, director of communications for USA Baseball, put the issue in simple terms: "The bottom line for the USOC is the medal count." In other words, funds flow to teams and athletes with the best chance of bringing the U.S. as many medals as possible, and ebb from those who do not.

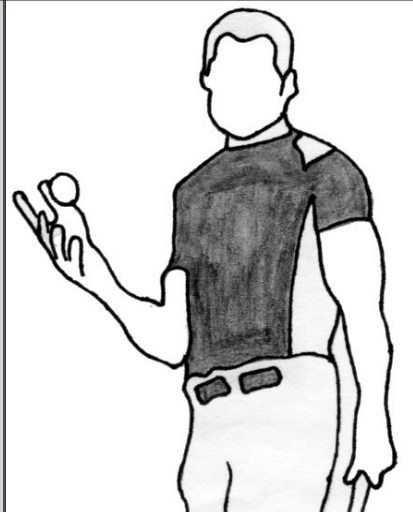
The potential repercussions for USA Baseball are more far-reaching than they appear to be to those who just follow the Olympic team. Five levels of amateur youth teams, from early teens to college athletes and beyond, are also organized for national and international competition by the USAB. All those junior teams are part of a system that prepares young players for competition at the international and Olympic level.

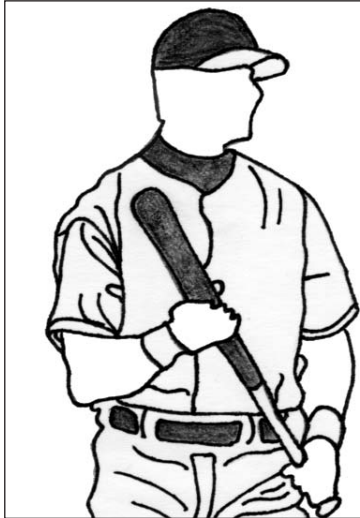
Despite the setback, USA Baseball is already planning its return to the medal round in Beijing in 2008. One way to ensure success, says Seiler, is to get bona fide major-league stars on the team. Former New York Yankee pitching star and future Hall-of-Famer Roger Clemens, who "retired" from pro-baseball at the end of the 2003 World Series only to sign with the Houston Astros over

the winter, was supposed to pitch for Team USA this summer. But the 41-year-old flame thrower lost his opportunity to reach another baseball milestone when Team USA, comprised of mostly fringe minor-league and college players, was eliminated in a ninth-inning home run by Luis A. Garcia (now signed with the Los Angeles Dodgers), and a stellar pitching performance by Rigo Beltran, formerly with the New York Mets.

Olympic baseball teams are increasingly turning to pro players to fill their rosters. In Japan, for instance, amateur baseball players have no chance at making the Olympic team. To remain internationally competitive, Seiler says he believes USA Baseball will have to work out an arrangement with Major League Baseball and the Major League Baseball

"The fact of the matter is, the Olympics have gone pro, so that's what we have to do to stay in the game."





“Baseball players from all over the globe are competing internationally in our national pastime, and that’s a challenge.”

Players Union to put together a “Dream Team” that will get the best professional players to compete at the Olympics. So far, Major League Baseball has, for whatever reasons, been reluctant to do for Olympic baseball what pro-basketball and hockey have done for their national governing bodies in recent Olympiads. “The fact of the matter is, the Olympics have gone pro, so that’s what we have to do to stay in the game,” he says.

Just keeping baseball in the Olympics may be the biggest challenge of all. Published reports reveal that some members of the International Olympic Committee — the final arbiter on all Olympic matters — have complained that baseball is not international enough, and have raised the specter of withdrawing baseball’s certification as an Olympic sport.

Heavy lobbying from USA Baseball and Major League Baseball got the matter tabled until 2005. But if baseball is decertified, the consequences would be dire not just for USA Baseball, but for baseball as a global sport — and possibly confirm what the critics may already suspect: that the IOC props up international baseball competition. Membership in the International Baseball Federation, or IBaF, amateur baseball’s international governing body and organizer of the Olympic qualification trials, has increased 100 percent to 112 countries since 1986, when baseball became an Olympic demonstration sport.

While baseball has long been a popular sport in countries ranging from Japan to Cuba, decertification of baseball as an Olympic sport would stall the sport’s rapid

international expansion. The IBaF will cease to exist, says USA Baseball’s Fanuchi. So will teams in the Netherlands, Italy and other member countries that get funding from national organizing committees, which in turn get their funding from the IOC.

At a time when baseball is expanding rapidly in other countries, it is critical for baseball to remain an Olympic sport in order to continue to develop at the grassroots level internationally, says Seiler, who is also a member of the IBaF’s executive committee. “Nobody at the IBaF or at USA Baseball has their heads in the sand on this,” he says. “We are keenly aware of the challenges ahead of us.”

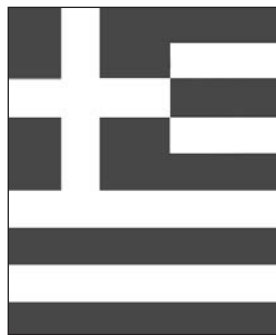
So, the country that invented baseball won’t be defending its gold medal in Athens in 2004, and neither will the South Koreans, the reigning bronze-medalists. Meanwhile, a Canadian team will be in the Olympics for the first time, playing baseball against the likes of the Netherlands and Italy.

“What globalization is doing is it’s making the playing field more level,” says Seiler. “People may not realize that baseball players from all over the globe are competing internationally in our national pastime, and that’s a challenge that faces our administration on a daily basis.” D&S



SLICES OF THE APPLE: ETHNIC PERSPECTIVES ON THE OLYMPICS

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BRIAN M. SIERRA





Chinatown Hopes For Olympic Riches

BY EDDIE CHAN

Beijing may be hosting the 2008 Olympics but it is the 2012 Olympics that Chinatown is most eager to see. Chinatown is one of New York City's largest tourist attractions and, should

here and shop here. I think it's a great way to let people know more about Chinatown. Also to let them know that we still exist and Chinatown is a fun place to visit. I hope New York tries its best

gain. Fat Gaw, owner of the Congee Restaurant on Bowery Street, says he believes "the 2012 Olympics would help all the restaurants in Chinatown and let people know that we still serve the

"People will eat here and shop here. I think it's a great way to let people know more about Chinatown. Also to let them know that we still exist and Chinatown is a fun place to visit."

New York win the bid to host the 2012 Olympics, the community stands to benefit.

"I think that the Olympics will benefit Chinatown by boosting our economy," says Thomas Yu, senior coordinator from the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, a Chinatown service organization founded in 1883.

After the tragedies of Sept. 11, Chinatown's economy was severely disrupted. A 2002 report by the Asian American Federation of New York said that Chinatown lost about \$114 million in wages in the few weeks after Sept. 11. Now, "we need the business," Yu says, explaining that if the Olympics come to New York, "people will eat

and puts up a strong fight to win the bid for the Olympics."

Yu recalls the 1964 World's Fair in New York as a "world event," he says. "It was very exciting."

Jeffrey Chan, owner of the Dragon Bazaar on Mott Street, a gift shop that sells "I Love

best and [most] authentic Chinese food here." Chinatown residents have mixed feelings about which athletes they will root for in the 2012 Olympics. Many say they would root for both the United States and China. As Chinese-Americans, they

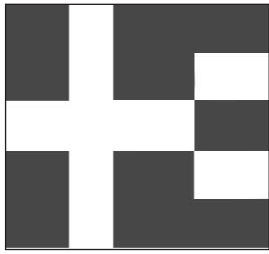
"I hope New York tries its best and puts up a strong fight to win the bid for the Olympics."

New York" t-shirts and New York souvenirs, agrees. "If the Olympics come to New York, it would definitely help the business through these hard times by attracting more tourists," he says.

Restaurants also stand to

view the U.S. as their home, but China will always be in their hearts.

"There are no favorites," Yu said. "I hope they both win. If the U.S. gets gold medals and China gets silver, I'll be happy." D&S



Greeks Cheer Olympics Here and There

BY ROBYN PORTER

The Greek-American community in Astoria, Queens supports the plan to hold the Olympics in New York. But long before 2012, community members will be celebrating an Olympic homecoming — the return of the Olympics to their native Greece in August.

During the 2004 Summer Games, the history and culture of Greece will be celebrated on the world stage. This is big news in Astoria, a community sometimes referred to as “Little Greece,” where, according to the 2000 Census, just under half the population is of Greek heritage.

“The community is going to be proud and have flags up all over,” says Voula Klutsostas, an Astoria resident from Greece. “Everyone here wants to go to Greece this summer to help out and be part of it. We’re all supporting” the Games.

This year’s New York City Greek Independence Day, held March 28, was dedicated to the upcoming Games in Athens and Greece’s Olympic history, as a way to honor past and present Olympians and to celebrate the Olympic spirit

and the Greek heritage.

“The Olympics are not just about the athletics. They are about the celebration, festivals, music and people coming together — maybe even more so than the athletics,” says Dimitris M. Gemelos, director of the press and information office of the Greek Mission to the United Nations.

Some see the Games not only as cause for celebration, but also as a mechanism for promoting peace. George Papandreou, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece, said

“Promoting peace was, in fact, the reason the Olympic Games were originally established.”

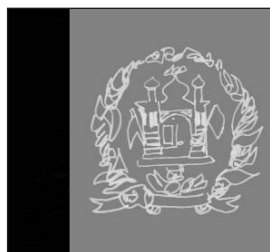
in a published statement, “We want to encourage the notion that it is possible to create lasting peace from a pause in hostilities. Promoting peace was, in fact, the reason the Olympic Games were originally established.”

In ancient, war-torn Greece, the importance of the Olympics was two-fold. There was the celebration of human triumph and physical ability, and the peace that the celebration would bring. Before the competition, spe-

cial messengers traveled in every direction to announce a sacred truce, which would last three months and was primarily declared to protect the athletes from injury. This became known as the Olympic Truce.

Gemelos stressed this fundamental belief behind the Games. “We want to bring back the originality of the Olympic spirit,” he says. “It brings people together and also means peace, which is the number one item we all need right now.”

In June, as part of the six-continent, 35-city International Torch Relay leading up to the 2004 Games, the Olympic torch will pass through four U.S. cities — Los Angeles, St. Louis, Atlanta and, finally, New York where it will be brought to the United Nations. The local Greek-American community will take part in the Torch Relay-related festivities here, with musical performances, lectures and presentations. D&S



Afghan Émigrés Mourn Lost Olympics Past

BY ARIA JOUSHAN

If New York succeeds in winning its bid to host the city's first Olympics in 2012, the victory will be especially bittersweet for the local Afghani-American community. The Games represent not only their country of origin's reemergence from athletic seclusion, but also a painful reminder of its absence from the world community.

Among the many nationalities in New York, the Afghan community has been on the rise, particularly in Flushing, Queens' growing Asian population. But unlike other Asians, Afghans have had little to show in the sense of cultural identity in recent years. They were a country at war, with no official government and no official flag, for decades. Until 2001, the local community was divided between people loyal to and those opposed to the now-deposed Taliban regime. The situation there led many Afghans residing here to distance themselves culturally, mentally, as well as physically, from the country of their birth.

"When people asked me where I came from before Sept. 11, they didn't even know

what continent Afghanistan was on. Of course, they know now," says Rasa Hashimi, a 21-year-old college student. She adds, "We need more time to develop."

The Afghan people are gathering up the pieces of a broken nation and gluing them together in the aftermath of the Soviet invasion, civil war and the strict Taliban regime. Their hope is that the country will rise from the oppression the Taliban imposed. One place where tangible evidence of Afghanistan's reemergence can

be found is on the field of athletic competition.

bership in 1999 after the Taliban regime dissolved the Afghan Olympic Committee and banned female athletes, invited the nation to participate again starting with the 2004 Summer Games in Athens.

The absence from competition was especially wrenching for a country of major sports fans, who are especially supportive of soccer, wrestling, boxing and track.

Now, in 2004, Afghans are once again proud of their athletes and are closely following Lima Azimi, the first Afghan

"Now when I watch the Olympics, my country will have free-will athletes walking behind our flag."

be found is on the field of athletic competition.

Afghanistan's Olympic history goes back to 1930, when the country joined the International Association of Athletes Federation. The Afghanistan National Olympic Committee was formed in 1935, according to the International Olympic Committee's Web site, but the last time athletes represented the country in Olympic competition was at the 1996 Atlanta Games. The IOC, which had suspended the country's mem-

woman to race at the Track and Field World Championships, and Taj Mohammed, 22, and Habibullah, 26, two cyclists who are training in Afghanistan for the Athens Games.

Afghanistan's resumed participation in the Olympics will make for some emotional events for the Afghans in New York. "Now when I watch the Olympics, my country will have free-will athletes walking behind our flag," says Shah, a former Woodside deli owner and father of four. D&S



WANTED:

A NEW LORD OF THE (OLYMPIC) RINGS

NEW YORK CITY'S BID FOR THE GAMES NEEDS A FACE

BY JOSEPH MASELLA

ILLUSTRATIONS BY DONG SUN CHOI

I have visited the official NYC2012 Web site several times, (ok, about 100), and I can't help but think that something is missing. No it's not a magic 3D image hidden within the faces on the main screen. It's a mascot! Without a mascot, what deformed symbol are we supposed to rally behind in hopes that our teams bring home the gold?

Having the right mascot is important. A good mascot embodies the spirit of the team. If the wrong one is chosen, some team members, not to mention cheering fans, might feel embarrassed, or ashamed. How well can a team be expected to perform if their spirit is expressed in the form of a guppy? I put forth that they will feel like fish out

of water, floundering about on the field as a wave of opponents crush them. I'll dispense with the nautical references for now as I take you through a brief history of American Olympic mascots.

1980 LAKE PLACID

Roni the Raccoon is a cute little guy who made Olympic mascot history by being the first mascot to appear in different sporting stances for different events. Unfortunately for Roni, he wasn't the first choice for the honor of representing the Games. The actual living raccoon Rocky was the official mascot of the 1980 Winter Olympic Games — until he died. It's never a good sign when your team's symbol of its indomitable spirit suddenly goes kaput. Maybe he was so

full of spirit that he couldn't hold it all in.

1984 LOS ANGELES

Sam the Eagle was quite a mascot, radiating an aura of patriotism. Designed by retired Disney animator C. Robert Moore, Sam had all the qualities of a good mascot — a good design, patriotism, patriotism, patriotism... During those Olympic Games the former Soviet Union refused to participate. Perhaps they were shocked and awed by Sam. I'm reasonably certain it had nothing to do with the fact the United States boycotted the 1980 Games in Moscow. Nope, nothing at all.

1996 ATLANTA

Fast forward 12 years to the Summer Games in Atlanta and we see Izzy. Izzy is a... is

a... he's... well nobody really knows. In fact that was the point. Izzy's original name was Whatizit? Apparently that name was too confusing for people to remember, so it became Izzy, the guy we all know, but don't necessarily love.

Most mascots symbolize power, strength or some other trait representative of the Olympic Games. The creators of Izzy decided this was not the message they wanted to send so we ended up with something resembling a blue amoeba with eyes.

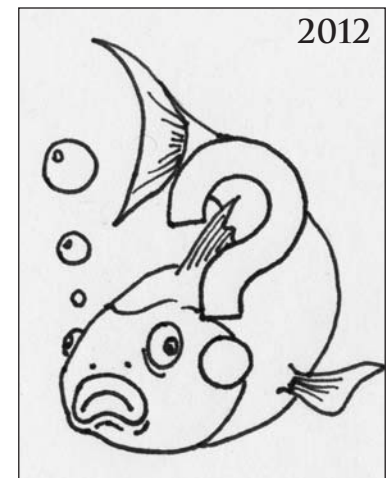
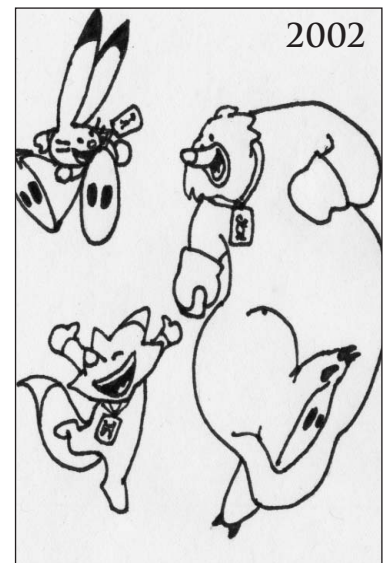
2002 SALT LAKE CITY

There were not one, not two, but three mascots that year and you had to collect the set! Can you say clever marketing? The designers of these furry creatures — Powder the snowshoe hare, Copper the coyote and Coal the American black bear — decided to do a complete 180 degree from Atlanta's design team, going back to real world

inspiration for their mascots. That would have been fine, except that coyotes are among the most hated animals in Utah. Even during the Olympic Games, the state of Utah sponsored the indiscriminate hunting of coyotes, and gave hunters a monetary reward when they brought in proof of a kill. Sorry Copper, your days are numbered.

2012 NEW YORK CITY

What will New York create? A mascot isn't just a symbol of pride; its also big business. Salt Lake City's mascots helped generate nearly \$34 million in revenue. The bottom line is that we need a mascot that truly represents the spirit of New York, something that is powerful, imposing, and will make people say, "That's what New York is all about." I certainly don't want to cheer a guppy on the field. At the very least, New York should be represented by an Atlantic salmon. D&S





GUARDING GOTHAM

FOR OLYMPIC PLANNERS, SECURITY IS NO GAME

BY JENNIFER BLECHER

PHOTOGRAPHY BY JENNIFER BLECHER AND CHRISTINA LEE

Both the physical and cultural landscapes of New York City have changed since Deputy Mayor Daniel Doctoroff first envisioned a NYC2012 Summer Olympics just four years ago, prior to the Sept. 11 attacks.

Doctoroff's NYC2012 Committee is working feverishly with the New York Police Department to create a security plan that will satisfy both the International Olympic Committee and a public concerned about hosting a global event that could invite a terrorist attack.

"We want to provide the safest games possible," says Lazaro Benitez, media relations manager for NYC2012.

London, Paris and Madrid are the other major contenders for the 2012 Olympic Games,

and Benitez says that security will be one of the biggest issues in the IOC's decision.

Despite the catastrophe of Sept. 11, New York is ranked by the FBI as the safest big city in the United States, a point the NYC2012 Committee stressed in a presentation to the IOC.

Security plans call for the creation of an Olympic Operations Command Center that will oversee and coordinate all agencies involved in providing security for the Games. "Other Olympic venues have covered such a large area that security falls under the auspices of several departments," Benitez says. "Our plan calls for one jurisdiction, the NYPD, which will result in a smoother security system."

Transportation will be primarily by two main lines, one by rail and the other by water, that can be easily secured, Benitez notes. Also, since the site of the Olympic Village is surrounded by water on three sides, it will be easy to guard, he adds.

Benitez says he cannot comment on whether there would be a military presence should the Olympics come to New York. It is still too early to tell, he says.

There certainly is ample precedent for stationing military troops outside of Olympic event centers. Military troops were present in the Atlanta, Sydney and Salt Lake City Olympic games. The Olympics came to Salt Lake City after Sept. 11, 2001. Although those games were



“We want to provide the safest Games possible.”

marred by judging scandals and corruption, from a security standpoint, the games ended without a hitch.

But those were the Winter Olympics and the Summer Games are always considered more of a target. The reason being that the two past incidents of Olympic Games terrorist attacks both occurred during the summer.

The first was at the 1972 Summer Games in Munich, Germany. Members of a Palestinian terrorist group known as Black September took over the Israeli team's apartments. Eleven Israelis, one German police officer and five of the terrorists were killed.

The second terrorist attack was more recent, at the 1996 Atlanta Games, when an early-morning blast in Centennial Olympic Park killed one person and injured 111 others. Another person died of a heart attack while responding to the blast. The suspect, Eric Rudolph, was on the run for five years before he was finally captured in May 2003. He now awaits trial on charges stemming from the 1998 bombing of a Birmingham, AL.-based abortion clinic.

In both cases, the then-presidents of the IOC proclaimed that the Games would go on.

More recently, at the 2000 Sydney Summer Games, police foiled a terrorist plot by Afghan nationals involving a nuclear power plant. Again, this was a Summer Olympics.

Now all eyes will be on Athens, site of the first summer games since the Sept. 11 attacks.

Athens has an enormous security budget, currently at \$775 million, but expected to reach almost a billion dollars. This is more than twice the amount spent on security for either of the two previous games.

There will be a force of approximately 42,000 soldiers, police and other personnel in place, more than triple the presence at the Sydney games. Greece has also set up an Olympics security advisory group, including Spain, Germany, Britain, the United States, Israel, Australia and France, to exchange information ahead of the games. It is uncertain whether these other countries will also help establish a military presence, but American officials say that about 100 security agents will accompany the U.S. athletes.

Despite all of these precautions, Americans remain skeptical. A February poll conducted by the Associated Press reveals that 52 percent of Americans believe a terrorist attack is likely to occur at the Greek Olympics.

The Athens security force has conducted practices, mock chemical drills and has even been subjected to tests from the United States. According to a September, 2003 *Washington Post* article, the results of the test were extremely poor. For example, one agent disguised as a pregnant woman was allowed through a checkpoint with a mock bomb. Another man succeeded in planting a fake bomb on a ferry. Athens officials have denied that their security force is inadequate.

“What happens in Athens will have a big effect on our plan for the IOC,” says Benitez. NYC2012 contends on its web site that the plan will be subject to constant revision to reflect “the lessons of other high-profile events” and “the emergence of new technologies,” such as biometric equipment, devices that can use measurements taken from someone's face to identify that person in a video feed.

Biometric equipment was used in the Salt Lake City Olympics, but only to guard the medals.

Emerging technologies may have more uses in future Olympics but how these new methods will fare is questionable, given that even old-fashioned security measures are ruffling a few feathers. Brazil, for instance, has taken offense to U.S. measures to fingerprint and photograph incoming foreigners. In response, Brazil started requiring the fingerprinting of Americans who enter Brazil.

Benitez could not give specific information on which technologies would be used, but offers confidence that his group's plan would be up to the task.

every possible scenario than any other city."

That may be so. But even if police forces are prepared to handle anything, that doesn't mean that New Yorkers are willing to invite such a scenario. A few officers grumbled at the possibility of having to provide security at the Olympics. "We have enough problems as it is," says one. "We'll be stretched to the limit if we bring the Olympics here."

Another agrees. "What's the point anyway? This is New York. It's not like we need the attention or glory or anything," he adds.

A third officer remarks, "I'd rather just stay home and watch it on TV with my kids. It'll be a lot safer, and besides, if I'm pulling securi-

that was then. Right now it's just not a good time for such a spectacle here." Many soldiers at the unit echoed his opinion, despite the fact that if the Games do come here, their company — the largest chemical unit in the Tri-State area — is a likely candidate for a two-week activation. In addition to their training in chemical weapons, the unit is also trained to handle biological and nuclear attacks.

The company's first sergeant maintains that the unit received excellent Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) training during a three-month activation last spring, and would be prepared if called. But the unit's equipment is only designed to decontaminate about 600 peo-

"What's the point anyway? This is New York. It's not like we need the attention or glory or anything."

"We can handle it," he says. "New York has a history of hosting high-profile events, and there has rarely been a problem." He refers to the statement on his organization's web site, which reads: "New York's experience at hosting large, security-intensive events is unparalleled. With three times as many police officers as the next largest force, New York has more resources to handle

ty, I'm not really going to get to see any of it, am I?"

All three officers spoke on the condition of anonymity.

Spc. Ofir Castillo, of the 320th Chemical Company (a military unit that handles decontamination after chemical weapons attacks), was initially excited by the idea, but doesn't think it should be pursued any further. "It was a good idea NY2012 founder Daniel Doctoroff had, but

ple, and a large-scale attack in New York could easily affect ten times that number.

Benitez could not comment on specifics, but repeated his assurance that security would be adequate for all scenarios.

"We will address all security issues when the time comes," Benitez says. "It's still nine years away, and the climate then might be drastically different than it is now." D&S

OUT OF

SYNC

MALE SYNCHRONIZED



Bill May, one of America's best-known synchronized swimmers.

SWIMMER SEEKS SPOT ON WOMEN'S TEAM

BY MARTINNE GELLER

PHOTOGRAPH BY
NANCY HINES

Bill May, one of America's best-known synchronized swimmers, hardly has time to read the fan mail that comes to him from across the world. He dedicates eight hours a day, six days a week to perfecting his "game," but the all-women's sport won't give him any play.

Nevertheless, in a lunch-time phone interview squeezed between practice and coach-

ing, he seems optimistic. He has just received an e-mail from some kindred spirits, a whole team of them, to be exact. And they want to help.

Jane Magnusson, the coach of a Swedish all-male synchronized (synchro) swim team wrote to May to tell him that her 15-member team is planning to go to Athens for the Summer Olympics to “protest the discrimination against men in synchronized swimming.”

If her team does go to Athens, it will be the second time the issue has been raised at the Games. In 2000, the Figure Swimmers, a nine-member all-male synchro team from the Czech Republic, went to Sydney also to publicize the fact that FINA (Fédération Internationale de

May, who is from Cicero, a small town just outside Syracuse, N.Y., is a Santa Clara Aquamaid. Up until recently he was the only male on the team, which is one of the country’s best, and he is the first American male to compete at the highest level in national and international competitions.

Unlike his teammates, he competes without the beauty-enhancing powers of waterproof makeup and unflavored gelatin (gelatin is applied to the hair as a hot paste to keep it in place). He is graceful nonetheless.

His coaches say he’s among the country’s best. Still, May, who has been building his synchronized swimming abilities during 15 years of practice, spent many of those years

duets, teams and free routine combinations.

The problem is that nobody is lobbying FINA hard enough. There is no mixed event because there aren’t enough men in the sport and men are not drawn to the sport because there is no arena for them. “It’s a vicious circle,” May explains.

He notes that FINA personnel judge regional-level competitions and not the top-level open competitions that allow males to compete. Male synchro swimmers like May can only compete in open, invitational meets, which are guided by FINA rules but not officially endorsed by the organization. May believes that if FINA personnel were to come to some of these open events, they would be more

“If women can play soccer and hockey, why shouldn’t men be able to break the water a little in a typical women’s sport?”

Natation), the organization governing international water sport competition, does not have a mixed synchro event in which men can compete.

For Bill May, who is 25 and at the top of his game, the chance to perform in the Olympics can’t come too soon.

watching less able female teammates go to the Olympics. “I think it will happen within the next few years,” says May of the possibility that a male-female event will be added to the roster of synchro events, which currently includes all women solos,

likely to allow males into the sport. May has competed in the Swiss, German and Italian opens, and says that in these well-respected, yet “unofficial” showcases, it is slowly becoming less surprising to see a man in the pool.

As Martin Kopecky, the 37-

year-old founder of the Czech Figure Swimmers, writes on the team's web site, "If women can play soccer and hockey, why shouldn't men be able to break the water a little in a typical women's sport?"

May has a blunt answer: "discrimination."

Ironically, the earliest known synchronized swimming competition, held in 1890 in Berlin, was all male. But by the turn of the century, women had taken over. When Australian swimmer Annette Kellermen performed dances in a glass tank of water at New York's Hippodrome in 1907, Americans got their first glimpse of "aquatic ballet" and were amazed. The event reached international popularity in the 1940s and 1950s when American swimmer

debuted as a full medal sport in Los Angeles in 1984. According to May, the United States dominated until 1996, when many of the American team's power swimmers retired. Now, the U.S. is ranked third, behind Russia and Japan, in that order.

Triumphal music and glitter aside, synchronized swimming is a grueling and strenuous activity. Part sport, part art, it requires, according to the Long Island Synchronized Swim Team web site, "the flexibility of a gymnast, the endurance of a long-distance runner, the strength of a competitive swimmer and the grace of a dancer."

Synchro swimmers may spend up to a minute underwater without coming up for air. During a five-minute rou-

can swim more than 75 meters underwater without coming up for air.

According to the United States synchronized swim team, synchro is "similar to running underwater while holding your breath in a chlorinated pool with your eyes open, with effortless (looking) grace and a big smile."

Sarah Schindler, a member of the Manhattan Plaza Masters, New York City's only synchro team, smiles when she talks about Bill May. "He's like a god," she says.

At 5'9" and 160 lbs., with a nature that seems both down-to-earth and buoyant, May is like a humble Adonis. When asked about role models, May raved about his roommate, a synchronized swimmer who

"It's strange to fathom that someone would be forbidden to compete when it promotes sportsmanship."

Esther Williams performed in a string of MGM "aqua musicals," including "Bathing Beauty" (1944), "Million Dollar Mermaid" (1952), and "Skirts Ahoy!" (1952).

The event was an exhibition sport in five Olympic games from 1948 to 1968, then

tine, that could amount to as much as 3.5 minutes underwater. They use their arms and legs to suspend themselves in the water (a minimum of nine feet deep.) Touching the bottom is against the rules. Top-level synchro swimmers like May

made the Olympic team despite a formidable handicap—she's only 5'3" and thus lacks the typical statuesque synchro physique.

The six days a week May trains, he arrives at the pool at 5:45 a.m. He speed swims until 7:30 a.m., and then does

solo and team work until noon. After lunch, he either coaches or goes to school. When he's not in the pool he's either weight training or taking dance, gymnastics or plyometrics classes (sets of exercises for advanced athletes aimed at linking strength with speed of movement).

May admits that it has been difficult and that he has gotten discouraged. Sometimes, he says, he thinks, "What's the point? It's never going to change." But he reminds himself that one should never join a sport just for the sake of trying to get to the Olympics. He believes it is the love of the sport, and the heart that you put into it, that will get you to international prominence and the Olympics. "If you're just there to win, just to go to the

whose desire to participate in the sport is born of their exclusion from it. The Czech team is known for grinning faces and less-than-perfect figures, and they are more about entertainment than displaying Olympic-quality perfection.

May got into the sport as a small child. As a 10-year-old, he watched his sister's synchro class in upstate N.Y. He already excelled at gymnastics and was drawn to the water.

May says he resents people asking him why he chose synchronized swimming. "People don't wake up one day and decide to play football. The only reason why I'm asked what I do is because I'm a guy."

Even though he may be revolutionizing the sport, and

fact, he says that in 2000, FINA had a committee meeting in which it was supposed to vote on adding a mixed pairs event, but the vote never materialized.

May doesn't think it is fair. "Anything that someone wants to do shouldn't be limited by their race, gender or anything."

In the meantime, May enjoys what he does. "I have my goals. I keep plodding along, trying to be a great synchro swimmer, and trying not to listen to any negativity that would get me down or interfere with my relationship with my teammates."

He also plans to continue his studies. Because of swim meets and training, he has taken a lot of time off from school, but says he would like

**"The flexibility of a gymnast,
the endurance of a long distance runner,
the strength of a competitive swimmer,
and the grace of a dancer."**

Olympics, you're going to be passed up," because without the passion, it's not enough.

May says he never consciously thought about being a pioneer. He never considered pushing boundaries because they were there, unlike his Czech comrades

has already earned his place in synchro history, May is not looking to ignite a political campaign against FINA for what he characterizes as gender discrimination. To his knowledge, no equal-opportunity civil rights groups have taken up his cause. In

to major in psychology. "I am getting to the point where I really need to buckle down."

But if men ever get the nod for Olympic synchro swimming, May will be easy to spot. He'll be the tall one with the biggest smile of them all. D&S



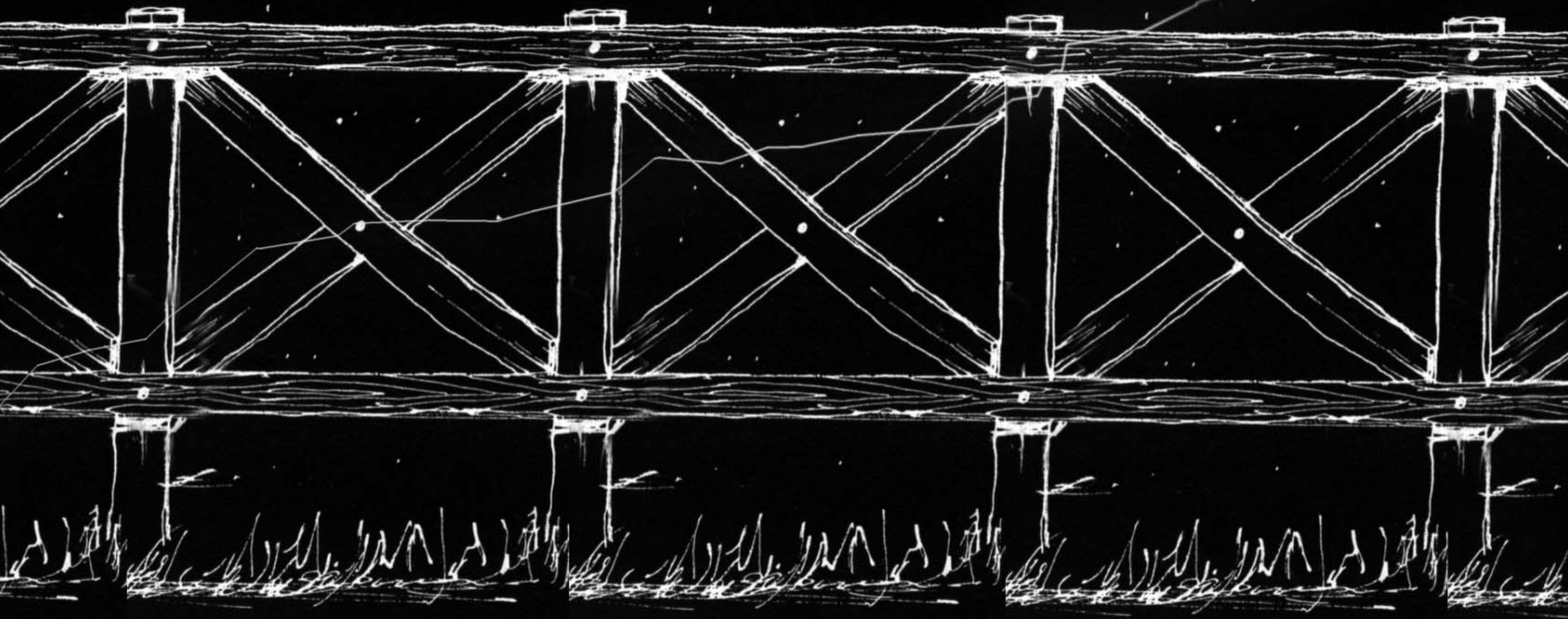


RIDERS IN A STORM

STATEN ISLANDERS DEBATE
BUILDING A MAJOR OLYMPIC
EQUESTRIAN CENTER

BY ALEX ZABLOCKI

ILLUSTRATIONS BY DONG SUN CHOI
MAP BY AYGUL BAGOUTDINOVA





If NYC2012 prevails in its bid to hold the summer Olympics in New York City, the committee plans to build a major equestrian center on Staten Island. In undertaking such a project, NYC2012 will have to buck a lot of opposition.

Like many development projects in this small borough of 450,000 residents, the plan to build an equestrian center has sparked a heated debate among a dwindling cadre of horseowners and riders who favor the plan, and developers and environmentalists who oppose it.

Less controversial are the plans to have Staten Island host an array of other Olympic events, including mountain biking in the Greenbelt, softball at the Staten Island Yankees' ballpark and road cycling along the waterfront near the ferry terminal.

Yet the major Olympic events planned for Staten Island, the least populated borough in New York City, are the equestrian competitions. NYC2012 plans to build a large equestrian facility on the outskirts of the Greenbelt, near a former landfill called Brookfield, which has largely reverted to wild conditions. The facility would cost about \$83 million to build, and would include stables, a training area, three small hotels three miles from the

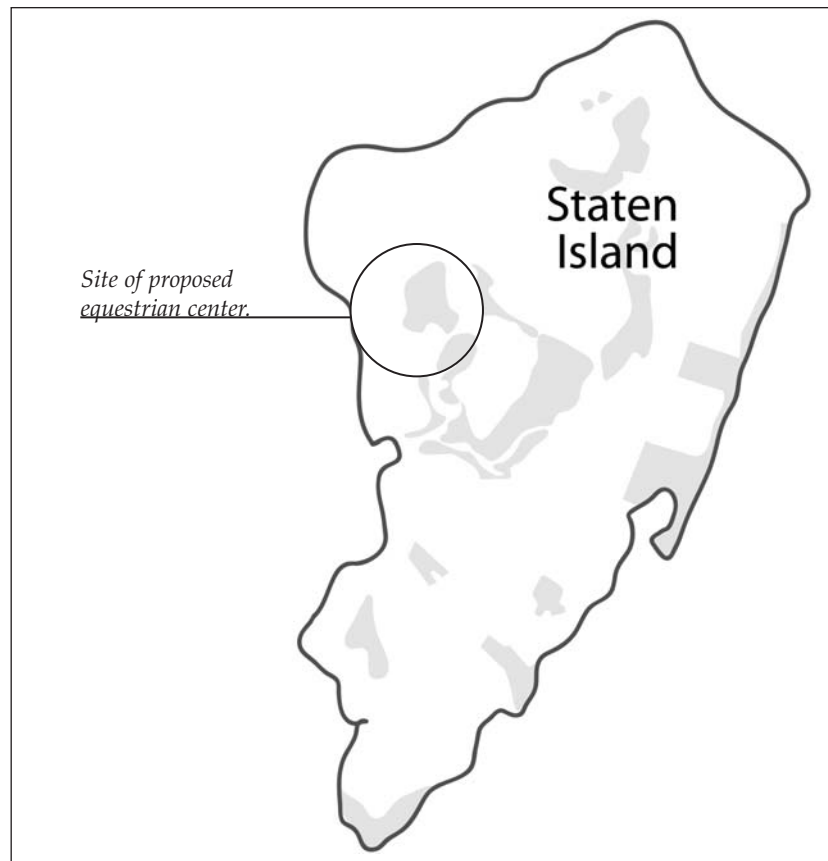
site in the current Staten Island Corporate Park and an additional 24 miles of hiking and riding trails.

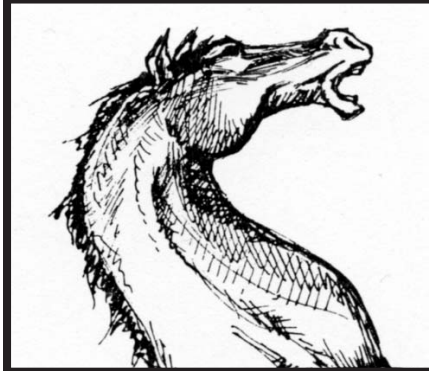
Opinions in Staten Island range from the qualified support of the Staten Island Tax Payers Association (a borough-wide civic organization that supports the idea of an equestrian facility as long as the island's infrastructure, especially the roads, can handle the added strain,) to outright opposition from environmentalists.

As recently as the 1960's, there were approximately 5,000 horses in the borough, yet only about 250 are

currently kept in the borough's dwindling number of stables. The few remaining large parcels of land that once contained stables are being developed as residential properties for the state's fastest growing county.

Most recently, a few acres of property near Silver Lake Park on the north shore of Staten Island, where stables and a corral stood for decades, were cleared to make way for rows of houses. Only a few years ago, the Clove Lakes Stables (located on the outskirts of Clove Lakes Park in the West Brighton neighborhood) once housing





“If they are to build on the site, I would hope that most of the \$83 million would go towards cleaning up the site.”

privately owned horses, were sold to a developer and torn down to make way for about 40 homes.

With continuing development, horses, their stables and their owners have been pushed ever further away from the parks and off the island. Currently, there are only about six stables left, most of them on the southwest shore of Staten Island. A few sit on the border of Clay Pit Ponds State Park Preserve, where riders use the horse trails that can only exist on large tracts of land. On any given day, one can find at least one horse and rider roaming a trail in Clay Pit Ponds Park.

The owners and long-time horse advocates on Staten Island welcome the prospect of a new city-owned equestrian center. They see development slowly encroaching on their livelihood and lifestyle, and envision a city-sponsored equestrian center as the savior of what is left of an industry with deep roots

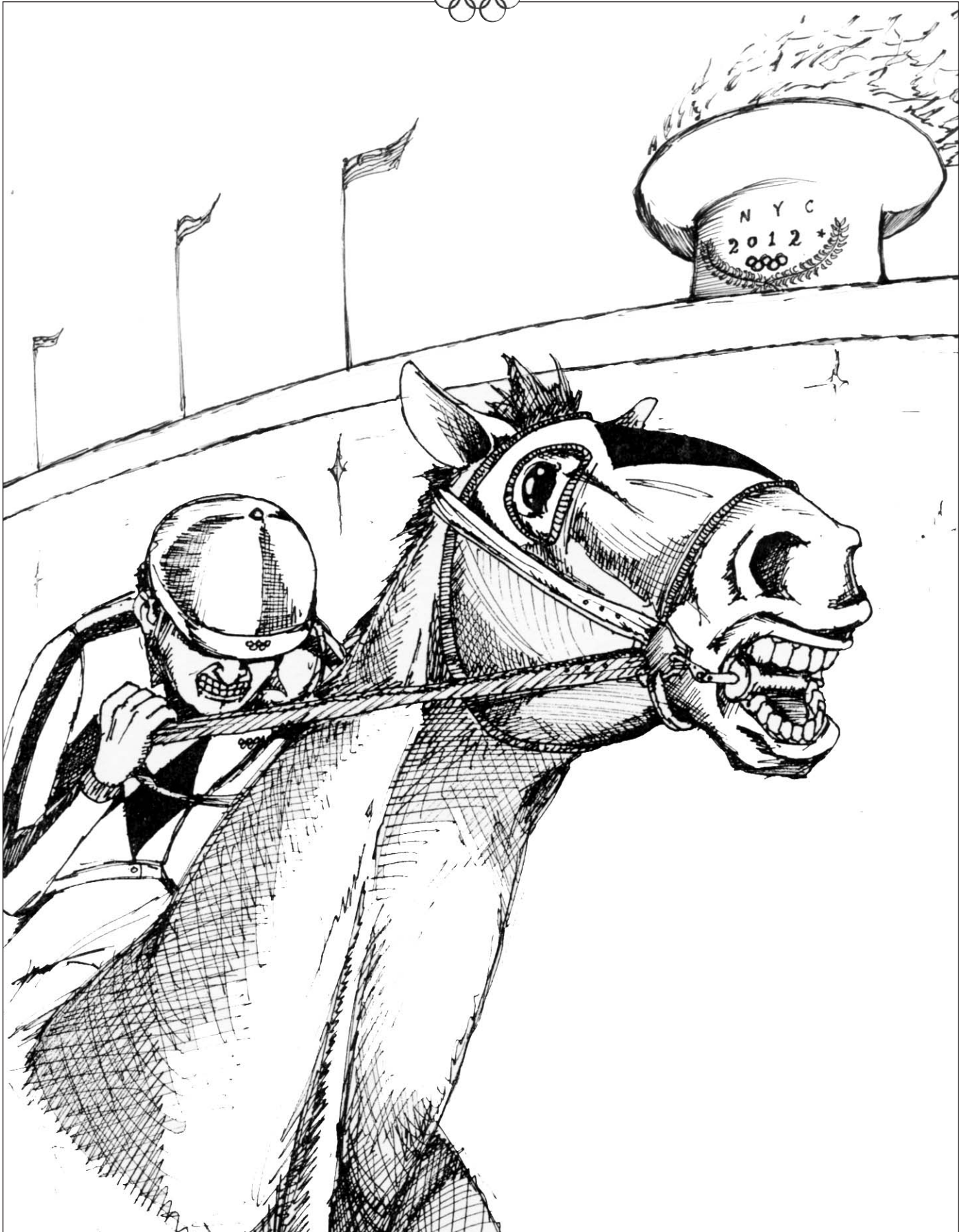
on the island. “The horse industry is diminishing on Staten Island,” says Cheryl Mitchell, one of the strongest advocates of the equestrian center. “We need it!” she adds, suggesting that a permanent facility on the island would help preserve the declining horse industry.

Mitchell, an advocate for saving the last remaining horse trails in the area, owns and operates Richer Farms Inc. in the Charleston section of Staten Island. Richer Farms houses one of the largest remaining stables and includes the Richer Equine Sanctuary, a not-for-profit center that cares for rescued, neglected and abused horses.

Opposing the equestrian site are the environmentalists who want to preserve the island’s few remaining stretches of pristine open space. Those opposed to the plan include The Protectors of Pine Oak Woods, an environmental organization formed in the 1970’s to fight the loss of open space on Staten Island.

John C. Rooney, a former member of the Pine Oaks Woods board and a long-time resident of Staten Island, says that the area on which the equestrian center is to be built (South LaTourette Park) was earmarked for open space and two ball fields in the 1991 Greenbelt Master Plan, a blueprint for the nearly 3,000-acre park. Rooney believes that those supporting the erection of such a large center in designated parkland and state wetlands are failing to address the environmental issues raised by such an action.

Rooney explains that he would like to see the Olympics equestrian events occupy an alternative site, noting that the Hamilton Farms in Gladstone (near Bedminster) in New Jersey have been the site of many past equestrian events. “The Greenbelt is not a land bank to be chipped away for this reason or that,” he wrote in a letter in 2000. In a phone interview, Rooney





“Reclamation of the landfill site will leave the park with playing fields and other recreational facilities, providing a permanent environmental legacy.”

also pointed out that a recent USDA Soil Conservation Study revealed 18 contaminants on the site, including high levels of lead. “If they are to build on the site, I would hope that most of the \$83 million would go towards cleaning up the site.”

Indeed, the site for the equestrian facility lies on a former dump on the outskirts of the Brookfield Landfill — the site has a history of neglect and illegal dumping. Part of this land now houses ball fields and a model airplane field. A cleanup project is planned for the site, according to the NYC2012 plan: “Reclamation of the landfill site will leave the park with playing fields and other recreational facilities, providing a permanent environmental legacy.”

The fast pace of development in Staten Island has made related traffic concerns a hot button issue and many residents fear that the equestrian center would add to these problems in

the long-term.

Currently, the NYC2012 plan does not include any specific proposals for transportation to the equestrian site. Travel to the equestrian center would include a ferry trip to Staten Island and a bus ride to the site. The committee’s plan involves several traffic-friendly accommodations, including road improvements and an event schedule that will coincide with off-peak traffic hours to ease congestion.

Traffic concerns relating to the equestrian center, however, may not end with the Olympics. In fact, the NYC2012 plan calls for maintaining a scaled-down equestrian facility after the games are over; the facility would host small competitions and a riding school. According to the NYC2012 plan, the Parks Department would own the site and a private concessionaire would run the facility after the games are over, generating revenue for the city. The trails around the site

would be accessible to horse riders and hikers.

City Councilman Andrew Lanza, whose district includes the site, supports the Olympic committee’s plan to build the facility in the area. “Our job is to bring economic development and recreational facilities to the island,” says Vincent Ignizio, Lanza’s chief of staff. “What better place for an equestrian center than on Staten Island? It will be a lasting legacy after the Olympics, a place for jobs and recreation, and will save a piece of our borough’s history in the process.”

The horse enthusiast community, which has actually grown in recent years as more affluent residents have moved to Staten Island, views the proposal as an opportunity to improve the quality of life in the borough. Mitchell, who believes the stables will eventually be built, observes: “Every Olympics, everywhere, goes through this.” To her, the debate is part of the process. D&S



QUEENS' CROWN JEWELS

OLYMPICS CAST LIGHT ON BOROUGH'S TREASURES

BY SAKYI ODURO

PHOTOGRAPHY BY MEI LING PAN

If New York City wins its bid for the 2012 Olympics, Manhattan will surely receive the glory for the event, but the epicenter of the games will be in Queens.

Directly across the East River from the United Nations, the Olympic Village will span the Long Island City waterfront. The Village itself will be located at the intersection of a transportation network known as the "Olympic X," through which all Olympic venues could be reached via public transportation. The two axes of the "X" will be composed of an east-west rail system and a north-south high-speed ferry, along the Harlem and East Rivers.

With 11 sports to be played at six venues in Queens, plus the Olympic Village that will provide housing for athletes, Queens is the second most important location in the NYC2012 plan. Indeed, the Hunters Point / Long Is-

land City section of Queens, called "Queens West" in the NYC2012 master plan, is a fitting metaphor for the transformation that the Olympics is expected to bring to Queens.

Long Island City is already the site of an ongoing urban renewal project under the auspices of a consortium headed by the Queens West Development Corp., a subsidiary of

the Empire State Development Corp., as well as Queens Borough Presidents Office and The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. The consortium designates private sector investment companies to develop projects for Queens West.

Queens West encompasses rumbling train yards, vast vacant lots and the aban-



Shea Stadium could be replaced under NYC2012 plans.

doned Schwartz Chemical plant with towering, now-dormant smokestacks juxtaposed against new luxury high-rise apartment buildings and one lone Citigroup skyscraper. The Olympic Village promises even more lavish construction as an extension of Manhattan living. As K. Thomas Elghannayan, president of Rockrose Development Corporation, puts it, "Midtown needs to expand and this is where it's going."

The idea of establishing a Midtown beachhead in Queens, however, riles some locals, as do some of the Olympic development plans, especially the initiative to reconfigure the lakes in Flushing Meadows-Corona Park.

Of course, Queens is no stranger to hosting global events or to providing event infrastructure that has changed the landscape of the borough. The 1939 World's Fair grew out of a desire to bring economic resurgence to the city. A second World's Fair was held in 1964, the same year that Shea Stadium opened. Indeed, some Queens residents and local politicians like Councilman John Liu of Willets Point have even lobbied to have the opening and closing ceremonies for the 2012 Olympics held at a newly constructed Olympic Stadium, which would replace Shea Stadium, a plan endorsed

by residents of Manhattan's West Side who oppose the city's West Side redevelopment plans (see story on p. 44)

Playing international host is a fitting role for a borough that, for more than 40 years, has been the world's greatest magnet for immigrants. Queens' two airports, LaGuardia and Kennedy, now serve as the gateway for immigrants, just as Castle Garden did in the late 1800s and Ellis Island in the early 1900s. According to an essay by Professor Vincent Seygfried of the Department of History at Queens College, CUNY, Queens' current rich ethnic social fabric was woven, in part, out of the Immigration Act of 1965, which relaxed U.S. immigration quotas. The Act opened the way for an influx of Greek, Chinese, Korean, South Asian, Maltese and Puerto Rican newcomers to Queens.

In recent years, political unrest around the world has sparked another flood of new immigrants that includes Russians who came following the end of the Cold War, Albanians who fled the war in Kosovo and, most recently, Pakistanis, Bengalis and Afghans who have joined a growing group of South Asian émigrés. With its Greek eateries, Arab mosques, Korean auto body shops and Afghan repair garages, today's Queens is the ultimate global village.

Queens' roots can be traced

back as far as 1637, with Dutch settlements in Astoria, Hunters Point and the Dutch Kills section of Long Island City. English settlements soon followed. In the early years, Queens was farmland; and local farmers grew tobacco and flax, cultivated beautiful gardens and traveled via dirt roads, creeks or river.

In 1898, the New York State Legislature incorporated the five boroughs, including Queens, into the Greater City of New York. Queens experienced a huge population boom during the roaring 1920s, as the number of residents grew 130 percent, from 469,000 to more than 1 million. In 1928, Roosevelt Avenue, a secondary arterial roadway and elevated subway line that stretched from Queens Boulevard to Flushing, was completed. Roosevelt Avenue was named in honor of former President Teddy Roosevelt, New York's beloved native son, who served as police commissioner and governor before becoming the only U.S. president ever born in New York City. Roosevelt, who as an adult lived in Oyster Bay, Long Island, just 25 miles from Queens, frequently attended meetings at the Flushing Town Hall. Roosevelt was known to have a soft spot for Queens. He supported the newly planned communities in Queens in the early 20th century, such as the



artisan Sunnyside Gardens, which featured simple brick homes along tree-lined streets surrounding grassy communal courtyards — the community has the only private park in the city other than Gramercy Park in Manhattan. And, in 1911, Roosevelt spoke at the dedication ceremony of the township of Forest Hills, which remains one of Queens' most affluent neighborhoods.

Throughout the early 20th century, miles of row homes sprouted up along Roosevelt Avenue and Queens Boulevard — houses immortalized by Archie Bunker, the obnoxious yet endearing bigot of the 1970s sitcom "All In The Family."

Geographically the largest borough of New York City, Queens constitutes about 120 square miles, or 37 percent of the city's total land area, and

has a population of about 2.2 million. Today, Queens residents speak most of the languages of the globe. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, 46 percent of the population is foreign born and more than 53 percent speak a language other than English at home. The cosmopolitan view of Manhattan's skyline, with its soaring skyscrapers, can be seen from Queens' side of the East River, and it is a far cry from the typical Queens working class neighborhood, with its aluminum-sided three-story walkups, watering holes and local bodegas.

Archie Bunker's old neighborhood in Astoria is now home to the largest Greek population center outside of Athens. The once Jewish neighborhood of Flushing now has exploding Korean and Chinese populations. African-

Americans and Latinos reside in the longtime Italian neighborhood of Corona, which is still well known for its Italian ices. The neighboring Flushing Meadows-Corona Park celebrates cultural events like the Ecuadorian, Peruvian and Colombian Festivals and the Hong Kong Dragon Boat Races.

Every once in a while, the melting pot boils over into violence. In 1986, a gang of white teenagers in Howard Beach chased and severely beat Michael Steward, a 23-year-old African-American, in an incident that then-Mayor Ed Koch called one of the most horrendous events of his term in office. Outbreaks of anti-semitism have occurred in communities like Hillcrest and Kew Gardens in recent years. Similarly, in the days following the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, a number of Arab and South



Plans call for extending the No. 7 line.

Asian residents were beaten and their businesses vandalized. That backlash, however, soon subsided — perhaps in part because Queens, with the most diverse collection of neighborhoods in the world packed into one of the most densely populated counties in the country, is generally a place in which multiculturalism thrives.

The borough's diversity extends beyond the ethnic mix of its residents. Roosevelt Avenue, a main east-west thoroughfare, leads past some of New York's most important sports venues, including Shea Stadium and the National Tennis Center, both in Flushing, as well as the former World's Fair site at Flushing Meadows Park. The western section of Queens is an industrial landscape that includes the massive abandoned Schwartz Chemical plant, with its four smoke stacks providing an eerie reminder of the borough's industrial labor heritage. A network of waterways and the need to generate city tax revenue culminated in the large industrial complex of plants, factories and refineries operating in Long Island City at the turn of the century. For example, in 1912, some 2,500 people worked at the Sunshine Biscuit Company. Another bakery, the Silvercup Bakery, would eventually become Silvercup Studios where "The Sopranos," the

HBO hit drama, is produced.

With the nation mired in the Great Depression following the stock market crash of 1929, Queens benefited from some New Deal legislation. The National Housing Act of 1934 gave Queens a small public housing program. A far larger public housing complex, the 3,101-unit Queensbridge Houses, named after the Queensboro Bridge that connects Manhattan to Long Island City, was completed in 1940 and helped provide jobs and housing to local residents. At about the same time, Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia appointed Robert Moses as chairman of the Triborough Bridge Authority, which would build the Triborough and Bronx-Whitestone Bridges connecting Queens to Manhattan and the Bronx.

In 1935, a group of New York corporate titans created the World's Fair Development Corp. in the hope of triggering economic recovery and garnering international recognition for the city. The group included a who's who of New York City bigwigs, including Winthrop Aldrich, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and Percy Straus, then president of Macy's. Among the development projects undertaken for the World's Fair was the Astoria pool, which was built in 1936 under the Works Progress Administration, and became the site for the 1936

and 1964 Olympic trials for the U.S. swim and dive teams. LaGuardia Airport opened in 1939 (as North Beach Airport) in preparation for the fair. On the eve of the World's Fair, in 1939, Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered the fair's opening address on television, in what would be the first commercial television broadcast in U.S. history. The signal was broadcast by the National Broadcasting Company from the World's Fair in Queens to the Empire State Building and then relayed around the world.

Following World War II, the Queens World's Fair site was chosen as the initial location for the United Nations. On Oct. 23, 1946, in the converted ice rink of the New York City building of Flushing Meadows Park, President Harry S. Truman delivered the inaugural address before the U.N. General Assembly, stating, "All nations large and small are represented here." Queens became the site of another World's Fair in 1964. The fair took place in conjunction with New York City's 300th anniversary of the Dutch surrender to the Duke of York by Peter Stuyvesant, director-general of New Netherland. The year also marked the completion of Queens' major league baseball stadium, originally to be named Flushing Meadow Park, but changed to Shea



Stadium for attorney William Shea who, after the departure of the Brooklyn Dodgers and New York Giants, championed the effort to bring National League baseball back to New York.

The 1964 World's Fair cost \$1 billion and finished \$10 million in the red. From its conception, the World's Fair was expected to make money. The planners' enthusiasm blinded them to a seemingly obvious truth: that the city and the nation were economically hemorrhaging. The years immediately following the 1964 World's Fair were difficult ones for both the United States and for New York City, with civil unrest sparked by both the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights movement. The '70s brought flight to the suburbs from cities across America. A nationwide recession caused by the oil embargo of 1973-74 further fueled fiscal and social crisis in New York City; oil prices, unemployment and crime skyrocketed.

While Queens fared better than some other New York boroughs, especially the Bronx and Brooklyn, it too suffered urban decay. Flushing Meadows Park became a haven for skid row gangs and heroin addicts. The Astoria pool, one of the few recreational facilities for Black and Hispanic youth, was left to deteriorate. Some neighborhoods, such as Corona, were transformed into

economically depressed urban ghettos. And street crime everywhere was on the rise.

At the heart of NYC2012 are plans to refurbish many of the sites that were first developed for the two World's Fairs. For example, the Astoria pool will be transformed into three new pools for diving, swimming, and synchronized swimming. When the games are over, NYC2012 envisions turning the pools into an aquatics center for the Astoria community.

One of the most controversial projects of NYC2012 involves the merging of Flushing Meadows-Corona Park's two manmade lakes into a single 2000-meter waterway and building a regatta center for rowing and canoeing contests. The manmade Meadow and Willow lakes were originally designed as storm drain basins and a beautifying showpiece for the 1939 World's Fair. A key challenge will be to improve the poor water quality of the lakes, which will require dredging up and removing decades of accumulated waste and then connecting the lakes.

Many community groups are in staunch opposition to Olympic use of the lakes. The Queens Civic Congress, a borough-wide coalition of 100 community-based groups, requested that NYC2012 withdraw its proposal to use Flushing Meadows-Corona Park for water sports. Patricia

Dolan, president of the Kew Gardens Civic Association, says that dredging and connecting the two lakes would devastate the ecosystem as well as boost maintenance costs after the games. "Queens residents will not stand idly by as the protected wetlands around Willow Lake, the playgrounds at Meadow Lake and the ballfields near the Unisphere are destroyed for a three week extravaganza," says Dolan.

NYC2012 dismisses allegations that joining the two lakes will harm the environment.

The optimism of the NYC2012 planners is embodied in the design competition for the Olympic Village. Many of the finalists' designs evoke zany utopian havens; one finalist even features "kissing" glass towers.

While often sporting events are primarily for the avid fan, NYC2012 has presented its Olympics plan as a way for sports to enhance the lives of the residents of Queens, through the development and redevelopment that will take place. Nonetheless Queens' pride is tempered with skepticism in light of decaying World's Fair venues and swampy manmade lakes, combined with the fear of terrorism. Queens residents ask not what they can do for the Olympics, but what the Olympics can do for the people of Queens. D&S

THE LAST FRONTIER

SHOWDOWN OVER WEST SIDE EXPANSION PLANS

BY DELANG LII

Redevelopment of Manhattan's Far West Side, a centerpiece of New York City's bid to host the Olympics, has been the subject of controversy for over 30 years. When a portion of the West Side Highway collapsed in 1973, causing a closure of streets below 42nd Street, several proposals were floated to rebuild it. One such plan was the Westway Project, a multi-billion dollar construction scheme that would have involved using landfills to extend Manhattan an additional 1,000 feet west into the Hudson River, building new commercial and residential developments on top of this extension and a West Side Highway tunnel beneath it.

The project had the support of then Mayor Edward Koch and Governor Mario Cuomo. However, it failed in the face of widespread opposition from community residents who joined the Sierra Club, a powerful environmental group that won a court battle, in 1985, to block construction on the grounds that it would

threaten the breeding habitat of striped bass.

Some 20 years later, the West Side is still at the center of a construction debate. This time the controversy swirls around redevelopment plans that could cost close to \$4 billion, and have the backing of Mayor Michael Bloomberg and the NYC2012 Committee. The new plan involves rezoning the area west of Eighth Avenue, between 31st and 41st Street, which encompasses several up-and-coming neighborhoods, including Hell's Kitchen (Clinton) to the north and Chelsea to the South. It also involves the creation of a nine-block-long pedestrian boulevard between 10th and 11th Avenue, which is currently dominated by warehouses and rail yards. By rezoning the area, developers would be able to create new offices and residential buildings, parking for as many as 50,000 vehicles and some 20 acres of open recreational space.

In the following stories, D&S takes a street-level view of the development

plans and the implications for the West Side. Rosa Caballero and Karah Woodward take the temperature of Hell's Kitchen in "First Down in Midtown," and explain the groundswell of opposition among residents to development of an Olympic Stadium in their backyard. A new 75,000 seat stadium for the New York Jets would be built adjacent to an expanded Javits Center, and would host the Games' opening and closing ceremonies, as well as athletic events.

In "Money Train," Kester Alleyne-Morris reports on the variety of financing schemes intended to fund an extension of the Number 7 (Flushing) subway line. The project, which is estimated to cost close to \$2 billion, will be a major part of the "Olympic X" transportation axis that will link Olympic events throughout the city. Kester Alleyne-Morris, in "Crossover," also looks at how controversies over building a new stadium have spilled into Brooklyn, where the New Jersey Nets are to be relocated. D&S



FIRST DOWN IN MIDTOWN

STADIUM PLAN GAINS GROUND DESPITE OPPOSITION

BY ROSA CABALLERO WITH KARAH WOODWARD

PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTINA LEE

Like the Big Apple itself, Manhattan's West Side is home to every conceivable ethnic and economic group. There are working class Latino and Chinese immigrants in Hell's Kitchen in the 30s around Eight and Ninth Avenues. Ten blocks down, in Chelsea, young families and a flourishing gay community have refurbished historic brownstones and attracted trendy bars and restaurants. And artists, fleeing rising rents in Soho, have set up studios amid the auto body shops and warehouses along 10th and 11th Avenues.

When these groups collide — as they did when upscale clubs opened in Chelsea, making it one of the noisiest nightspots in Manhattan — old-time residents, many of them elderly, clash with their new, young neighbors.

Yet despite such conflicts and the divergent backgrounds and lifestyles of West Siders, a broad consensus has emerged among area residents who oppose plans that call for expanding the Javits Convention Center, building a stadium adjacent to the Javits Center and extending the No. 7 (Flushing) subway line. While residents generally support holding the 2012 Summer Olympics in New York City, and some even favor expanding the Javits Center, most fear that the planned redevelopment will bring with it a host of problems, ranging from a surge in traffic to sky-high rents.

The focus of much of the opposition is the 75,000 seat New York Sports and Convention Center, which would be built over the Hudson Railroad Yards to provide a

new home for the New York Jets and serve as a centerpiece for the Olympics.

Community Board 4, whose domain extends from 14th to 60th Street and from Eighth Avenue and Avenue of the Americas (6th Avenue) to the Hudson River, has consistently opposed building a West Side stadium. "There is... widespread opposition in the community to a stadium," said Anna Hayes Levin, chair of the board's Clinton Land Use and Zoning Committee, at an April 28, 2003 meeting of the City Council committee on land use issues relating to the city's 2012 plan. Adds Richard Kussmaul, president of the 51st Street Block Association and a 38-year resident of Hell's Kitchen, which spans 34th to 59th Streets and from Eighth Avenue to the Hudson River: "We are very much



opposed because of the congestion it's going to cause. Putting a stadium down there is absolutely insane."

Not everyone agrees. Jonathan Tisch, CEO of the Loews Hotels chain, says the new center will have benefits for all New Yorkers and "would allow us to have maximum economic growth in the shortest amount of time." Even Anna Hayes Levin concedes that an expanded Javits Center would "draw business and create jobs."

One key controversy involves the number of residents who would be displaced as a result of redevelopment. Opponents charge that NYC2012, the group that put forth the Olympic bid, under-

estimates the number of residents who live on the West Side that would be displaced by a large stadium. For example, according to the city's Hudson Yards: A Proposal for the Hudson Rail Yards documents, only 132 housing units would be demolished to build commercial spaces between 28th and 41st Streets and 10th and 12th Avenues. These would make way for 4,000 new residential units.

John Fisher, president of the 45th Street Block Association and one of the most vocal critics of NYC2012, counters that the latest U.S. Census data shows 6,500 people living in the area. "NYC2012's count of residents was grossly, grossly understated," says Jeremy

Hoffman, legislative director for Councilwoman Christine Quinn. In fact, according to Hoffman, the numbers lack such truthfulness that the administration has stopped quoting them altogether. Adds Te Revesz, public relations director for the Coalition for a Livable Westside: "'Blighted' is often just a code word for the next real estate grab."

Moreover, the official statistics don't reflect the number of residents who would be priced out of the area when anticipated rent increases inevitably follow redevelopment. "Buildings would still stand but the economies would be such that people who live there will be forced out," says Fisher, a Montana



Expansion plans for the Javits Center will include high rise hotels, apartment complexes and a Jets Stadium to be used for the 2012 Olympics.

native who has lived in the neighborhood for 20 years. Indeed, the Hudson Rail Yards Plan makes no provision for low-income housing that community leaders say is vital to helping residents stay in the neighborhood. Small mom and pop businesses like barber shops and hardware stores have already joined other longtime residents in fleeing the area because of the increasing rents that have come with the growing popularity of Clinton and Chelsea on the eastern edge of the area. According to the 2003 Corcoran Rental Report, the average monthly rent in Midtown Manhattan rose 8 percent in 2002, from \$2,861 to \$3,095.

Part of the garment district, which extends from Fifth to Ninth Avenues, and 33rd to

landlords will convert the property or sell it for other development, thus depriving the residents of housing.

Some local businesses have already braced themselves for the inevitable. Frank Ford, a bartender at O'Farrel's Tavern on the northwest corner of 10th Avenue and 34th says he expects to get about five good years of business before his block is demolished, after which he hopes the bar's owner will be offered a retail location in the stadium, where the bar could do an even brisker business. O'Farrel's is located on Tax block 705 — 10th and 11th Avenues between 33rd and 34th Street. According to the Hudson Yards proposal, this block is slated for demolition in order to facilitate the development



Daniel Doctoroff, the man behind the NYC2012 Project for the West Side.

development. Ferraro says his family paid no more than \$50 a month in rent for a railroad apartment on Ninth Avenue; the same apartment now rents for \$3,000 a month. An entrepreneur who "brought him-

“‘Blighted’ is often just a code word for the next real estate grab.”

42nd Streets, might also be endangered. According to Edgar Romney, secretary-treasurer of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees, the No. 7 train extension "will devastate the garment industry and cost New York tens of thousands of jobs." The Hudson Yards proposal involves rezoning a 59-block area that includes part of the garment district. Critics are concerned that

of transit stations and an eight acre Olympic Square. Ford dismisses the "anti-stadium people" as locals who complain about not being able to walk their dog or those who speculate about potential traffic congestion.

Another long-time resident, Mike Ferraro, who grew up in the Hell's Kitchen neighborhood and still lives on 35th Street and Eighth Avenue, is excited about the potential

self up," Ferraro bought two apartments in the Hell's Kitchen area and expects to make a handsome profit as a result of redevelopment. "I could probably sell them for a million each," he said.

However, many residents either can't, or don't want to, cash in, and see quality-of-life issues as reason enough to stop the stadium. Traffic and noise pollution from visitors to Times Square,



A Metropolitan Transportation Authority bus depot, one block north of the Javits Center, may be relocated.

the Javits Center and Madison Square Garden are all cited as nuisances by residents. "We feel that traffic is a very big issue, because we are close to tour buses, trucks and cars," explains J.D. Noland, the 47th Street Block Association vice-president. "A stadium is just going to bring more. This means noise, congestion and pollution."

During the Olympic Games, the NYC2012 plans call for restricting car traffic. Spectators would not be able to access the area around the Javits Center by car and some lanes in Midtown would be reserved for VIPs and media only. But area residents worry about the long-term impact of a stadium. The New York Jets expect to play in their new stadium by 2009, and residents dread the noise that will

be generated by 75,000 football fans.

Financing the stadium raises another major concern. The plan, officially announced March 25th, calls for the Jets to pay about \$800 million for the stadium itself while the city and state have agreed to pay \$300 million each for a retractable roof and a deck over the Hudson Rail Yards. According to Hoffman, the Jets will not pay for the modifications to make the stadium suitable for the Olympics. He adds that the land chosen for the stadium construction is not great and must first be leveled out, while railroad tracks will have to be removed, projects that would add several hundred million dollars to the stadium's price tag. At the West Side Forum, a public discussion held in New

York in March, Jets president Jay Cross explained why the Jets aren't paying for the stadium roof: "We (the Jets) don't need a roof. The Olympics don't need a roof. But the city needs a roof to use the stadium as an indoor convention center. Otherwise, we'd pay for it ourselves."

The plan has other obstacles. The Javits expansion requires that an MTA-owned bus depot on 41st Street between 8th and 9th Avenues be moved to another location, but, as of press time, the MTA and the city had yet to agree on terms of sale.

Building the stadium, redeveloping the area, and extending the No. 7 subway line might all cost up to \$5 billion. The city expects to raise funds for both the Javits expansion and the retractable roof

“Queens wants a stadium, we don’t.”

through the sale or transfer of land and buildings that are earmarked for development, and some public money. Tisch, the Loews Hotel chairman, also recently announced that the Hotel Association of New York was considering a plan to add a \$1.50 per guest tax on hotel rooms to help pay for the expansion of the Javits Center.

In the meantime, a number of residents have been promoting an alternative plan: Building a stadium in — and moving the center of the Olympics to — Queens. The plan has received the endorsement of a number of Queens’s neighborhood leaders. “Queens wants a stadium, we don’t,” says 47th street Block Association vice-president Noland, who supports the Hell’s Kitchen/Hudson Yards Alliance.

That group has commissioned an alternative development plan for the area that calls for expansion of the Javits Center and more residential — as opposed to commercial — development. Backers of the plan include City Councilwomen Christine Quinn and Gale Brewer and State Senators Thomas Duane and Liz Krueger.

“We support the Queens

Borough President’s proposal that an Olympic stadium could be located at Willets Point in Queens and we invite NYC 2012 to consider other Olympic uses for the open space that would be available on the rail yards under the alternative community plan,” wrote Levin and Simone Sindin, both of Manhattan Community Board 4, in a letter to Emil F. Dul and Robert Dobruskin. Dul, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority’s chief engineer, is in charge of approving the expansion of the No. 7 line; Dobruskin, the director of the city’s Planning Department’s environmental assessment & review division, would have to agree to rezone the area.

Mayor Michael Bloomberg has used his weekly radio address to publicly scoff at the alternative plan. A stadium in Manhattan is more attractive to patrons than one outside of the city, the mayor insists. He said the Jets want to be in Manhattan and nowhere else. Ironically, the team, now based in Giants Stadium in New Jersey, played in Queens from 1964 to 1984. Cross, the Jets president, concedes that building a stadium in Manhattan would cause some congestion, but argues that since a

Queens stadium — unlike a Manhattan location — would be accessed primarily by car, locating the stadium in Queens would create far worse traffic problems.

While the mayor may oppose the construction of a stadium in Queens, he would be well advised not to underestimate the West Side opponents. Many are experienced activists who cut their teeth fighting other development projects. Others are local artists who have waged successful battles in the past, including defeating the Eighth Avenue/Theater Subdistrict zoning proposal, which would have allowed theater owners to sell their air rights space to high rise developers in the late 1990’s.

For years, residents have been fighting the progress of skyscrapers towards the Hudson River. Looking east from the Hudson River, skyscrapers loom in the distance on 8th Avenue. The only things standing in their way are the five-story-high brownstones of Clinton and Chelsea. If the city and NYC2012 have their way, a stadium and a new phalanx of skyscrapers will muscle their way onto the banks of the Hudson River. D&S



CROSSOVER: NETS JUMP TO BROOKLYN SPARKING OLYMPIC-SIZED CONTROVERSY

BY KESTER ALLEYNE-MORRIS

Ever since the Brooklyn Dodgers moved west in 1957, leaving Ebbets Field deserted, the borough has sorely lacked both a professional athletic team and a stadium it could call home. Now, if the Olympics come to New York City in 2012, Brooklyn will grab — if only briefly — the “forgotten borough” crown long worn by Staten Island, as it will contain only two of the 28 sports venues spread throughout and around New York City.

This lack of attention is not a direct snub by NYC2012, but the result of an absence of practical sports venues in the borough. With only 7,500 seats, Keyspan Park, the largest remaining ballpark in Brooklyn, and the home of the minor-league Brooklyn Cyclones, is too small for Olympic purposes. It has nowhere near the seating capacity of a Madison Square Garden or a Yankee Stadium, both of which will host several 2012 Olympic events if the city wins its bid.

Indeed, the only games to be held in Brooklyn will be

held in sports complexes that have yet to be built. A new Williamsburg Waterfront Park is to host the archery and beach volleyball events. And a new Brooklyn Sportsplex, in Coney Island, is to host the volleyball event.

But Brooklyn’s sports profile is about to be raised dramatically thanks to the acquisition of the New Jersey Nets by an investor group led by real estate developer Bruce Ratner. The group, which includes Brooklyn son and hip-hop great Jay-Z, bought the Nets early this year for some \$300 million and plans to return the team to New York for the first time since 1977, when the team played out of Long Island.

The Nets currently play in the Continental Airlines Arena in New Jersey and, under the terms of their contract, they are not eligible to leave until at least 2006. That gives Ratner’s group a minimum of two years to construct a stadium.

Ratner plans to relocate the Nets to a new 19,000-seat stadium in downtown Brooklyn,

somewhere between Flatbush and Atlantic Avenues. The dimensions of the new stadium would put it on a par with Madison Square Garden while its proximity to local neighborhoods would make it as controversial in Brooklyn as is the proposed new Jets stadium in Manhattan.

If New York City wins its bid to host the NYC 2012 Olympics, the new home of the “Brooklyn Nets”— as the team will likely be renamed — would become one of five major stadia in the Big Apple. It would join Manhattan’s Madison Square Garden, the Bronx’s Yankee Stadium, Queens’ Shea Stadium and the yet-to-be-built Jets stadium and an expanded Javits Center, both in Manhattan. The stadium could even boost the borough’s chances to host more Olympic sports. Says NYC2012 media relations manager, Lazaro Benitez, “While we can’t speculate right now, when the arena’s completed, we’ll definitely consider it and see whether it could host any Olympic events.” Much like

the planned Olympic Stadium on Manhattan's West Side, the Nets stadium has been incorporated into plans for a large-scale redevelop-

square foot building. The stadium itself will be a titanium and glass edifice designed by award winning architect Frank Gehry, designer of

taken to papering the proposed site with leaflets, protesting any construction. Fittingly enough in this information age, some protesters

If the Olympics come to New York City in 2012, Brooklyn will grab — if only briefly — the “forgotten borough” crown long worn by Staten Island.

ment of downtown Brooklyn. The stadium will be a key part of the \$2.5 billion Atlantic Yards project in Downtown Brooklyn, over the LIRR rail yards, a City Hall supported redevelopment plan that seeks to upgrade seven million-plus square feet of real estate in the borough. Ratner reportedly owns development rights over the LIRR rail yards, but still needs to seek permission from the MTA for the construction of the stadium.

The Atlantic Yards project calls for developing 2.1 million square feet of commercial office space, 4.4 million square feet of housing and 300,000 square feet of retail space. It will also include six acres of recreational space to be designed by Olin Partnership, which landscaped Battery Park City and Bryant Park in Manhattan.

According to published reports, the Nets' new home will be a \$2.5 billion, 800,000

some of the most eye-catching buildings in recent times, including the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain and Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles. Ratner has promised that the stadium and its design will “forever alter the borough.”

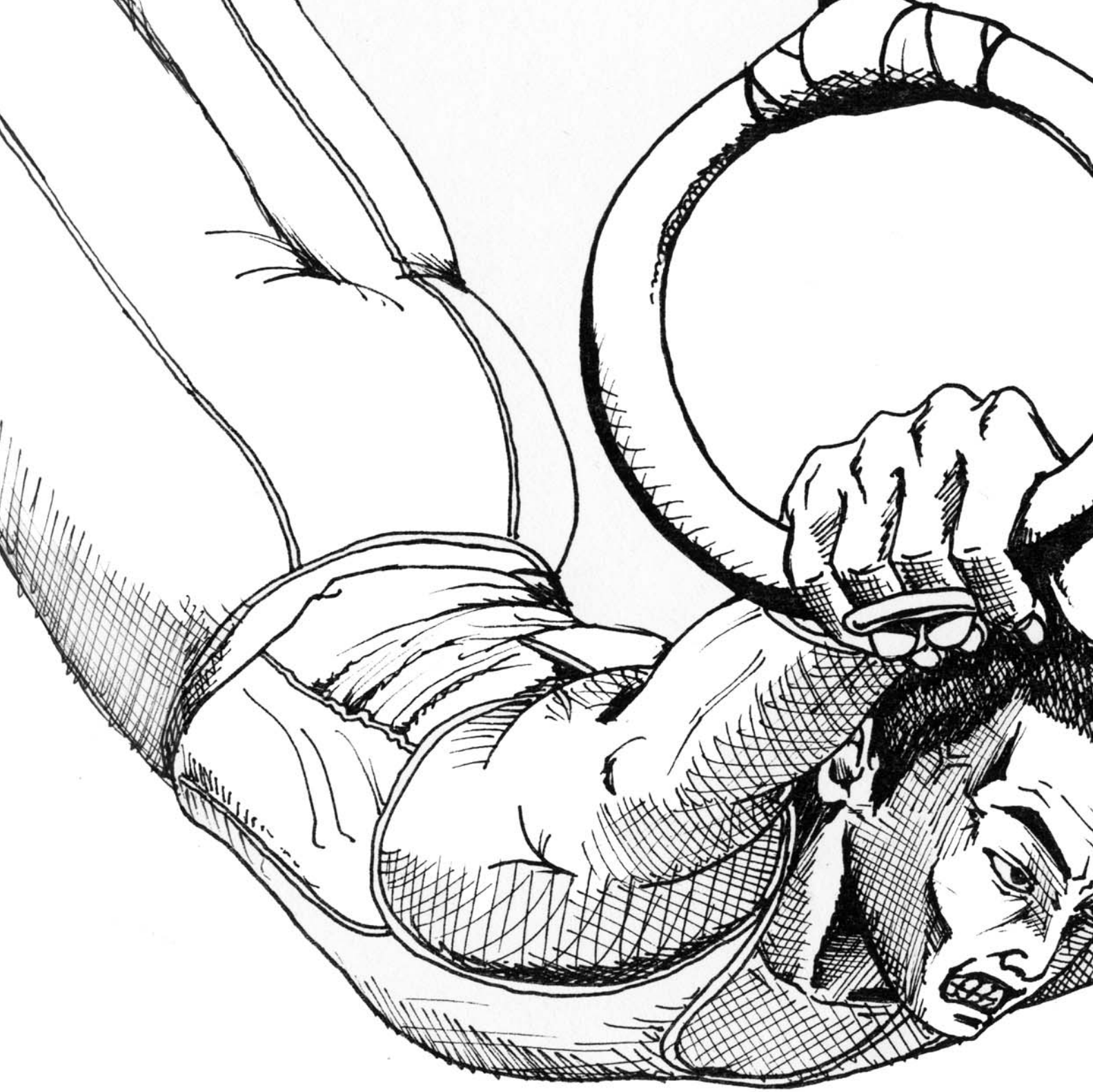
That's part of the trouble, according to local residents. In the neighboring communities of Prospect Heights, Park Slope, and Fort Greene. Patti Hagan, of the Prospect Heights Action Coalition has promised to put up “a hell of a fight” against construction of a stadium that developers admit will necessitate the demolition of at least four city blocks, all of which are occupied by residences and businesses. Estimates of the number of people who would be displaced range from 184 (Ratner's estimate) to more than 800 (local estimates.)

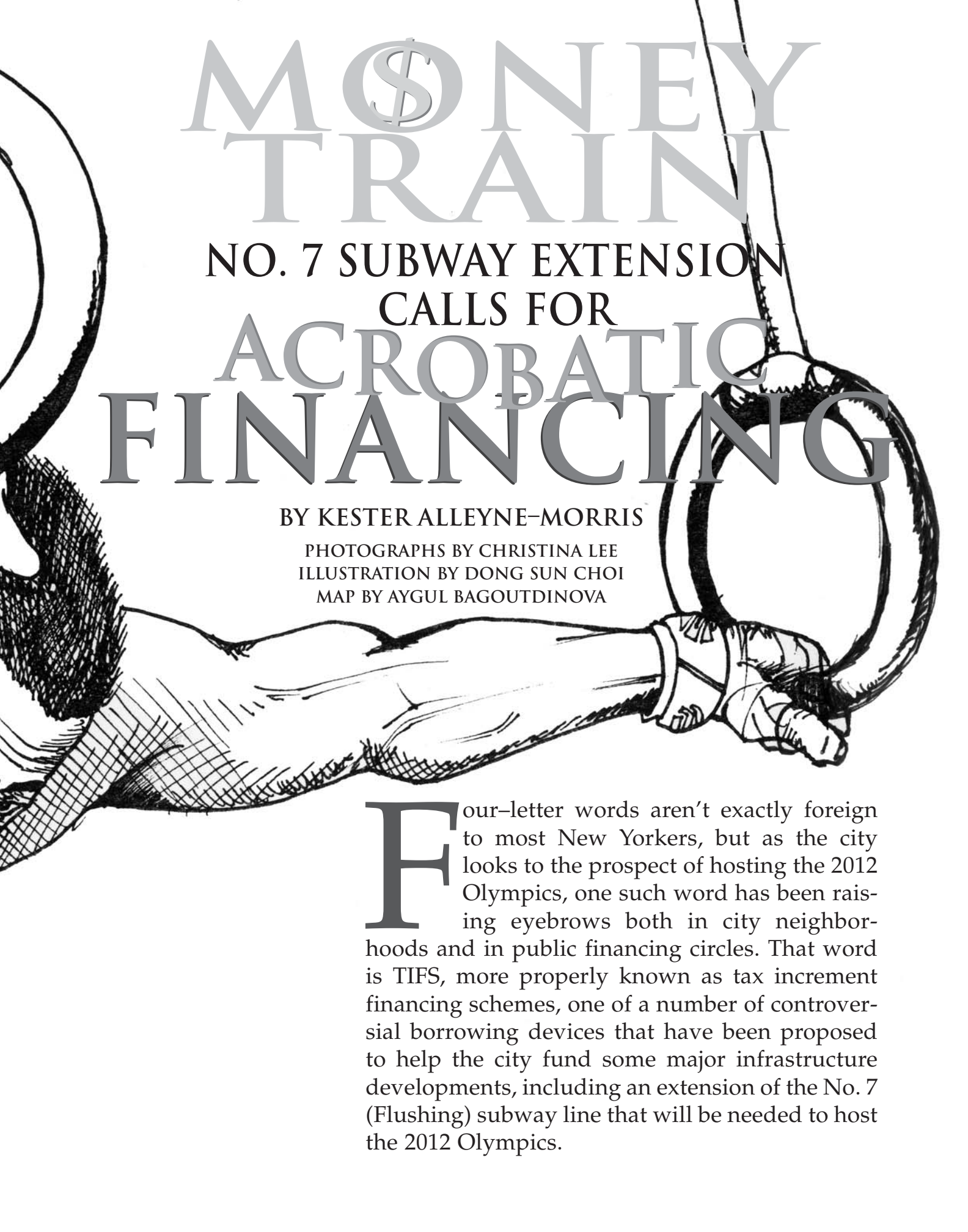
Another grassroots group — the Develop Don't Destroy Brooklyn coalition — has

have taken to the Internet. Develop Don't Destroy Brooklyn has a web presence as does Fair Development Brooklyn, a group that bills itself as one “standing up against Ratner's real estate deal.”

Brooklyn Borough President Marty Markowitz has publicly stated that bringing the Nets to Brooklyn will be the fulfillment of a “life-long dream.” But many local residents are convinced that constructing a stadium in Brooklyn will lead to a traffic nightmare.

Brooklynites also have aesthetic concerns unique to their borough. Brooklyn's tallest structure is the 42-story Williamsburg Bank Clock Tower. But the stadium will be part of plans that will bring true, Manhattan-sized office buildings to the borough, something that will alter the character of Brooklyn in ways that a stadium alone might not. D&S



A black and white illustration of a hand holding a large, circular ring. The hand is rendered with fine lines and shading, suggesting a firm grip. The ring is also detailed with lines, and a thin wire or string is visible passing through its center. The background is plain white.

MONEY TRAIN

NO. 7 SUBWAY EXTENSION
CALLS FOR
ACROBATIC
FINANCING

BY KESTER ALLEYNE-MORRIS

PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTINA LEE
ILLUSTRATION BY DONG SUN CHOI
MAP BY AYGUL BAGOUTDINOVA

Four-letter words aren't exactly foreign to most New Yorkers, but as the city looks to the prospect of hosting the 2012 Olympics, one such word has been raising eyebrows both in city neighborhoods and in public financing circles. That word is TIFS, more properly known as tax increment financing schemes, one of a number of controversial borrowing devices that have been proposed to help the city fund some major infrastructure developments, including an extension of the No. 7 (Flushing) subway line that will be needed to host the 2012 Olympics.

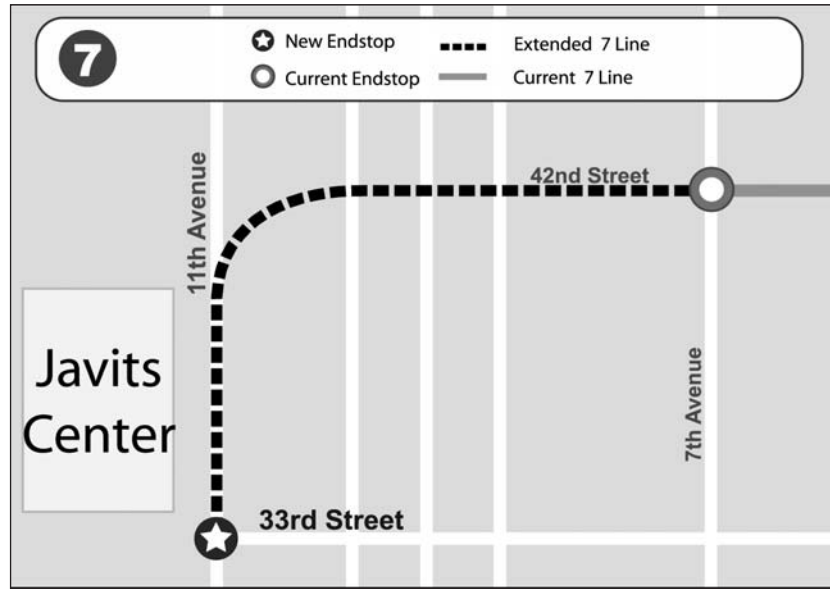


The extension of the No. 7 subway would run west of Times Square, connecting the theater district to a proposed new Olympic Stadium, and forming a key link in what organizers of the Games are touting as “the world’s first ever mass transit Olympics.”

TIFS have the broad support of Mayor Michael Bloomberg and NYC2012, the committee charged with bringing the Games to New York City. In one weekly radio address in May 2002, Bloomberg argued that TIFS would ensure that the 2012 Olympics are done “literally without any public monies whatsoever.”

TIFS are meeting almost as much resistance as the expansion plans themselves. Citing a decidedly mixed record in financing public works projects in other cities, critics — ranging from grassroots organizations to economic experts — question the track record of TIFS as a vehicle for municipal finance and their suitability for a city like New York.

But what exactly are TIFS? The theory behind them is simple enough. A geographic area — in this case an area extending roughly between Chelsea and West 42nd Street — is designated a TIF district. The municipality (read New York City and New York State) then issues bonds to



Map of proposed No. 7 subway extension.

investors, the proceeds of which are used to pay for construction and development within the district. This development encourages private investors, who might have otherwise spurned the area, to build. The new construction, in turn, boosts property values and the attendant property taxes, which rise above the existing tax base. It is this increase that is used to service the bonds when they mature.

TIFS have been proposed as a way to help the city fund the extension of the Flushing line without having to raise taxes, hence Bloomberg’s “no public monies” comment.

They have, in fact, been successfully used in many cities. In Chicago, \$50 million in TIF money was raised to fund improvements at the

University of Illinois at Chicago, among other projects. Washington D.C. used TIFS to partially fund the \$6.9 million construction of the International Spy Museum in 2001, as well as the construction of a retail and entertainment complex in 2002 that cost \$73.6 million. These and other developments might have been prohibitively expensive, were they not financed with TIF money.

TIFS, however, have not always been a boon for the cities that have embraced them. One notable failure was in St. Petersburg, Fla., which used them to fund improvements in Bayboro Harbor in 1988, only to see the average taxable property values there decline from \$28.1 million to \$20.7 million by 1998, leaving taxpayers to



Extending the 7 line will boost commuter traffic into Times Square, according to Joseph Korman, a New York subway historian.

foot the difference.

Similarly, Indianapolis was left stranded two years ago after it used an estimated \$320 million in TIF to help finance a maintenance center for United Airlines. The center was a joint effort between the airline, which wanted a state-of-the-art facility to maintain and rebuild its planes, and the city, which wanted the promise of local jobs that the center represented. In May 2003, United, facing a post-Sept. 11 slump in the airline industry, abandoned the center that at its peak had employed around 2,500 mechanics, many of them locals. To date, accord-

ing to reports in *The New York Times*, Indianapolis is still grappling with the effects of United's sudden departure. The city has to deal not only with the massive job loss but also with having to assume the payments of more than \$34 million a year toward retiring the \$320 million bond issue used to fund the center. It is also still responsible for paying \$6 million a year to maintain the now abandoned center and the \$700,000 yearly lease on the land, expenses for which United was once responsible.

Such nightmare scenarios illustrate the potential risks of TIFS, according to Lex La-

rose, an accountant with Lehman Brothers. "They are one of a number of borrowing devices from the 'build it and they will come' way of thinking," says Larose. When investors and developers fail to show up or when, as in Indianapolis, partners suddenly pull out of a deal, it falls to taxpayers to pay any difference in revenue.

The size of the subway financing in New York is a major reason why a plan to finance the No. 7 line using TIFS is coming under fire. The proposed extension is estimated to cost \$1 billion to \$3 billion. Even a conservative price tag would be several times



more than the largest TIF project to date, says a report issued by the New York Independent Budget Office, a city watchdog, in September 2002. That report stopped short of concluding that TIFS were a mistake for the proposed project, but did urge caution, because TIFS are completely new to New York, even though the TIF law has been

its bid for the 2012 Olympics. Although the proposed extension is not part of the NYC2012 Committee's official plan, it would be difficult to hold the Games without such a infrastructural improvement. "You can build the stadium, but there's bound to be a problem if there's no way to get there," says Lazaro Benitez, NYC2012

ments on the extension, they took pains to explain that no tax revenues would be used. Instead, the No. 7 train and much of the West Side redevelopment will be paid for with bonds underwritten by local banks — Bear Stearns, JP Morgan Chase and Goldman Sachs. These bonds, city officials explained, will be paid off by a body called the

"TIFS in general have a troubled history and their use in New York City couldn't fail to set off some red flags."

on the books since 1984. "TIFS in general have a troubled history and their use in New York City couldn't fail to set off some red flags," says Ronnie Lowenstein, IBO director.

Another reason to be cautious, say experts, is that New York City is still feeling the effects of its worst financial crisis since the 1970s; the city shed several thousand workers, made a number of painful cuts in child welfare and education and raised taxes. "It's not completely clear whether we can afford this kind of thinking [behind TIFS] right now," says Lehman's Larose.

Yet, the notion of using TIFS to finance a subway extension has taken on new urgency, with New York City's plan to build a new West Side stadium and with

media relations manager.

As for the mayor, he has publicly signaled continuing commitment both to extend the No. 7 line and to finance the expansion, whether or not the 2012 Olympics come to New York City. In his October 2003 budget speech, he listed the extension of the No. 7 subway line, the expansion of the Jacob Javits Center and the redevelopment of the Hudson Yards — all projects that directly support the city's bid for the Games — as priority developments for his administration.

The level of opposition to TIFS may explain why in recent months the city has studiously avoided using the words in its proposal plans for the extension. Indeed, when city officials held a press conference in early February to announce the latest develop-

Hudson Yards Infrastructure Corporation, using revenue generated from the creation of some 40 million square feet in new development on the West Side. Since many of these buildings are as yet unbuilt — the West Side development plan remains just that, a plan — the city wants to borrow some \$900 million to cover its initial foray into the West Side, anticipating that all of these revenues will be repaid with the new construction. Still, for all the talk of not using tax revenues, the construction of these projects is predicated on first rezoning the West Side and paying off debts through rising property values, both concepts at the heart of TIFS.

Larose is skeptical. "It sounds like TIFS 2.0," he said. "Nothing's really changed except they've created (the Hudson Yards Infrastructure

Corp.) to issue these bonds.” *The Daily News*, in a Feb. 14 editorial, expressed nominal support for the extension, but was equally skeptical about the proposed financing, noting that it sounded like a “Rube Goldberg borrowing scheme.”

These concerns have not been put to rest by Mayor Bloomberg’s Deputy Mayor

the bulk of the \$2 billion bill for extending the No. 7 train.

MTA spokesperson John McCarthy declined to give details or a timetable for resolving the issue. He would only say that the MTA “will continue to work with the city on the infrastructure needs” for redeveloping the West Side and extending the No. 7 train. He added that the

only one with that concern. The Tri-State Transportation Campaign, a non-profit group of transportation experts, gave a presentation to the MTA at a public hearing in June 2003, contending that extending the No. 7 line would not “solve existing transportation problems” and should be “a lower priority than projects such as the Second Avenue subway.”

“They are one of a number of borrowing devices from the ‘build it and they will come’ way of thinking.”

of economic development, Daniel Doctoroff. Doctoroff, the founder of NYC2012, told *Crain’s New York Business* last year that the financing system the city settles on might “differ from a classic TIF, but the concept of using incremental revenues generated in the area is still exactly what we’re planning to do.”

Whatever borrowing device is eventually used, extending the Flushing line remains a tricky proposition in and of itself. The city, which wants to develop the West Side, is still negotiating with the MTA, which owns and runs the No. 7 line, over who will actually get to be in charge of extending it. Recent published reports indicate that the city has proposed that the MTA hand over part of its Hudson Yards for development, in exchange for City Hall footing

MTA has always stressed “the need to receive appropriate compensation for the use of the property related to that development.”

If the MTA does agree to give up the Hudson Yards in exchange for the city taking the lead on extending the No. 7 train, it would allow the authority to sidestep other critics of the extension who had questioned how the No. 7 extension would affect other long-term MTA projects like the completion of the Second Avenue subway. “There’s only so much money in the pot, so if the 7 train gets money, then it’s bound to be a harder sell for the Second Avenue subway,” reasons George Sarkissian, a liaison for Community Board 11, which has campaigned for decades for the completion of the Second Avenue line. Nor is he the

Adds New York subway historian Joseph Korman, “The city seems dead set on extending the Flushing line... but finishing the Second Avenue subway line would relieve a lot of the congestion.”

As if that were not enough to derail plans to extend the No. 7 train, not everyone remains convinced that extending the No. 7 train is the right way to go. “Extending the No. 7 train would mean that thousands more Queens-bound riders would be deposited at Times Square, which is already super crowded at rush hour,” says Korman. He calls that a recipe for disaster and suggests that a more practical plan might be to extend the less-heavily traveled Canarsie (L) line north toward the Javits Center.



But the extension of the No. 7 train is about more than just a few trampled feet. It is one of the cornerstones of the redevelopment plan for the West Side. At least one major study puts the estimated economic development benefit of extending the No. 7 train at some \$13.8 billion, higher than the \$12.6 billion estimated value of completing the Second Avenue subway. The study, "Transportation Choices and The Future of the New York City Economy," was prepared in 2003 by the non-profit Partnership for New York City

and used data supplied by the Boston Consulting Group and the University Transportation Research Center at the City University of New York. It cited the extension of the No. 7 train as one of three major transportation projects that, if implemented, would eventually "yield more than five times their capital costs in economic development benefits."

John Fisher, a member of Manhattan Community Board 4 and president of the grassroots community mobilizing group, Clinton Special District Coalition, neverthe-

less slams the extension "as a subway to nowhere" that will be convenient only for the Olympic Stadium and the nearby Jacob Javits Convention Center at the expense of the area's residents, who will be swamped with conventioners and sports fans.

As this debate rages on, NYC2012 has tried to stay above the fray, preferring to point out that extending the Flushing line is the city's idea, not theirs. At the same time, NYC2012's Benitez insists that the Olympics and attendant projects will not drain money away from New York City, but will instead, contribute \$11.3 billion to the tri-state economy. "We've learned from previous Olympics," says Benitez, adding "There will be no white elephants this time," a passing reference to the 1976 Olympics in Montreal where construction of the Olympic stadium left taxpayers saddled with a bill of more than \$1 billion and a much-maligned and inefficient stadium.

Benitez also points out that any infrastructure improvements made as a result of the Olympics — like the extension of the Flushing line — will "form part of the Olympic legacy."

Left to be determined is whether the associated debt will also form part of that legacy. D&S



How will West Side residents respond to increased traffic following the proposed expansion of the 7 line?

INSIDE

BY XIMENA DIEGO

Our parents influence us in so many ways and sometimes their legacies surprise us. As I write this, my father lies beside me in an immaculate white hospital bed. He is fighting lung cancer, which has now spread to his liver. In the last two days, I have passed him a portable urinal, helped him change positions and placed spoonfuls of flavorless soup in his mouth. I look at him and I can see only a ghost of the dad I knew. But deep in his eyes, I can tell he is still there. More importantly for me, I can also see joy and gratitude. He doesn't need to talk.

Immersed in memories from our past, I wonder why it takes such extreme circumstances for me to show my dad how much he means to me. Like other things in my life, because he was always there, I took him for granted. But I owe so much of myself to him. He taught me how to swim in the deep sea, how to ride a bike and how to take pictures with my first camera. These three activities remain part of my daily life today. And still, I never once told him how grateful I am.

I know I am not alone. All of this year's INSIDE/OUT contributors took a moment to honor their parents. Perhaps we are frustrated living in a culture fixated on the present and the future, without ever giving us time to acknowledge our parents and the legacies of our past. Our parents influence us in so many ways, and sometimes their legacies surprise us. Ena Janet Saavedra looks back at her dad and his losing battle with alcoholism. While she was finally able to accept him the way he was, flaws and all, it is only now that she can see how his way of dealing with life influenced hers. Shirley Sullivan-Mannette's article gracefully illustrates the consciousness of a mother whose role shifted without her noticing. Observing the way she interacts with her daughters and her mother one day, she stumbles on a profound realization. In my article, a sign in the subway sparks memories of my childhood in Buenos Aires, when a military dictatorship's iron fist ruled the country. During those years of widespread fear, my parents performed an act of bravery that I will always remember. I hope these stories will be a reminder that to honor our parents is to honor ourselves.

❖ MY NEIGHBOR LOOKS SUSPICIOUS

❖ MY FATHER'S LEGACY

❖ "TWICE A CHILD"

OUT

MY NEIGHBOR LOOKS SUSPICIOUS

BY XIMENA DIEGO

While riding recently in a packed subway car, a black and white sign warned me: “If you see something, say something.” New York is so full of “somethings” I wondered what qualified. In smaller font, the sign explained that if you see “a suspicious package or activity” you should report it to the police, using the toll free number: 1-888-NYC-SAFE.

I looked around for something suspicious. I saw an orthodox woman reading scripture, a young man intently searching his I-Pod and a Chinese woman loaded with grocery bags; nothing out of the ordinary. Then again, dangerous people don’t always look it. The thought of people reporting “suspicious” activities triggers childhood memories and makes me uncomfortable.

Back in the late 1970s in Argentina, when a military regime was in place to ensure “national security,” people used to spy on each other. Many people cooperated with the authorities in the so-called “Dirty War” against terrorism.

People called the police to report a neighbor whose hair was too long, whose tongue was too sharp or whose views differed from those of the government. They reported political gatherings and the comings and goings of activists and their friends. Anything “suspicious” was reported. And with those reports came a tragic polarization of society.

I was too young to know it, but a massive repression against so-called “terrorists” was taking place all around me. I didn’t know about the “disappeared” (people who were presumed dead but

whose bodies were never found) or the mass graves. But many adults didn’t know about this secret repression either, and the ones that did know preferred not to talk about it. People just didn’t discuss certain things. If somebody was suddenly abducted by the police, it was because “algo habrá hecho,”— they must have done something.

“While fear does strange things to people, it can also make them heroic.”

Today sometimes it feels like *déjà vu*. Things I read in the paper and hear on the radio sound like the things I used to hear when I was a child. Back then the priority was also a war on terrorism. And as in any war, the government said, mistakes happen. As we later learned, too many mistakes happened.

“Suspicious” people were kidnapped, tortured and forced to give up names of people they didn’t even know. Sometimes they were freed after the interrogation, but often they were not. It has been estimated that approximately 30,000 people disappeared between 1976 and 1978. None of these people had a proper trial. None of them made the news.

For some months during those dark days my cousin Marion moved in with us. She was not yet 20 years old, but she was already labeled a “terrorist”: she hung out with Montoneros — one of the two main armed guerrilla groups. She came to live with

us after her house was searched by four armed police officers. Luckily, she had not been in her house at that time.

Referring to this episode, my mother recently told me that those were the scariest days of her life. She had been afraid that at any moment, soldiers would burst into our house and find Marion. They would punish my parents for hiding a “terrorist.”

The day Marion moved in, my mom explained to our neighbor Frida, a psychiatrist and a good friend, who Marion was and why she was staying with us. My mom asked Frida to tie up her dog in the garden, so, in case of an emergency, Marion could escape from our garden to Frida’s garden, and from there to the railroad tracks next to her house without the threat of an unrestrained guard dog. Frida, herself a proclaimed communist who opposed the military regime, refused to be part of any such scheme. As far as she was concerned, she did not know anything about Marion. My mom and Frida remained friends after this incident. But fear and paranoia do things to people.

To make matters worse for my family, Marion was not an easy person to hide. Many nights she would secretly leave the house and return early the following morning. Whenever this happened, my parents feared she was dead. They both suspected that Marion was attending revolutionary meetings. But as we later learned, she was actually sneaking out to see her boyfriend.

Marion finally left our house without any tragedy. She was never killed or imprisoned, and neither were we. She is now married to that same boyfriend, who is a successful businessman. They have seven children and live in a mansion.

My mom and dad always condemned the violent activities of the Montoneros, so I always wondered why they let Marion stay at our home, risking the safety of their own family. My mom explained that regardless of politics, they loved Marion. They weren’t about to abandon her to almost certain death. While fear does strange things to people, it can also make them heroic.

Now, whenever I see the signs in the subway cars urging me to report “something” to the authorities, I wonder if we really need these alerts. I wonder if these signs do not actually create more paranoia. I wonder if we haven’t already had enough. D&S

MY FATHER’S LEGACY

BY ENA JANET SAAVEDRA

I walked into the dark room and shivered in the draft from the open window. My dad was leaning out of it, with a pink pillow cushioning his bare belly. I squeezed past him to see what he was looking at from our third-floor apartment. He wondered aloud, “What are they thinking about?”

My dad loved to people-watch. Along with picking up friends when they needed rides, or making huge BBQs and forcing everyone to eat until they burst, people-watching was one of his favorite hobbies. It was a way to escape the normal day and jump into another life without putting himself at risk.

“That was the day I began to see my father as a human being.”

That was a means of escape that I liked to partake in. But Papi had another escape: alcohol. Upon his nightly returns, if the keys clattered a little more than usual, that was a sign that Papi had had a little too much fun that night. But if the door opened with ease, the night would be quiet. Curiously, he never started the fights with my mom. Drinking actually made him affectionate. He would promise me gifts, hug me and dance around to make us laugh. My mother would just look at him — first with disappointment and sadness, then with resentment and anger. She was mad that he had escaped again, but I didn’t understand why. All I knew was that Mami was angry and Papi couldn’t do anything about it. So, I also tried to escape — on my bicycle.

One day I sped up faster and faster. The wheels were turning so fast that I felt close to taking off like a bird. I wanted so badly to beat all my cousins because they had 10-speeds, and I only had a crummy kid’s bike, spray-painted pink.

When I finally won the race, I was so busy gloating over my victory that I tripped on something and

landed on the pavement. I stood up with bloodied knees. My dad, who had been watching from the side, told me to sit down. I searched his bloodshot eyes, wondering what he planned to do. Then I looked at his hand and saw him tilting the beer bottle he'd been drinking toward my wound, as if to disinfect it. My heart began to pound and I jumped up hysterically and cried, "I don't want to be an alcoholic!" My dad tried to calm me down, but I stormed off and joined my startled cousins at the curb.

That was the day I began to pity my father. I started to see him as a loser, as someone who could never make the right decisions for his family. I saw him as the man who sold our house on Long Island and moved us to Texas, only to return six months later in defeat, and the one who brought us to live in Brooklyn when we could have lived somewhere better. I looked at him as a helpless soul who continued to dream and escape reality.

Then one early morning, when the house was empty except for my dad and me, the sound of the TV brought me to the living room. There I found my father on his knees with one hand on the TV and the other hand elevated. He was watching an evangelical program. His eyes were closed but I saw the tears streaming down his face. I quietly retreated back to my room because I felt embarrassed to have seen him that way. That was the day I began to see my father as a human being. I was no longer disappointed that he wasn't the superman I had wished for.

Papi tried a couple times to change, but the successes never stuck. He could never make a full commitment to faith, but he always remained steadfast in his love for us, drunk or not.

He taught me the Salvadoran national anthem. "You will never know where you're going until you know where you came from," he would say. He played on my emerging feminine vanity by jokingly accusing me of having a boyfriend. When I was 12, I would deny such accusations, and he would respond with a loving smile, "So, why do you look so wonderful?" It was music to my ears. Growing up, I always dreamt that my future mate would treat me as well as my dad did.

During the last years of my father's life, I began to respect him and love him more for having loved me. My mom and I would even stay home every Saturday night, just to spend time with him. One

such Saturday, we heard the keys clanking a little too much. He came in and my mother set out food for him. He began to eat but was strangely quiet. Suddenly, I heard my mother asking him what was wrong. My father looked spaced out, unable to chew. My mother fingered the food out of his mouth while Papi just looked down. He motioned us to take him to bed.

As he napped, I asked my mother if we should call an ambulance, but she said he was just drunk. Two hours later, he tried to walk to the bathroom but couldn't without our assistance. At the door of the bathroom, he collapsed in my arms. His silent eyes looked up at me as I urged my mother to call the ambulance. I put my hand on his head the same way he had put his hand on the television, and I asked God to help him. I gently chided him for drinking when he had high blood pressure. He just looked at me. Then he closed his eyes. Two days later, he was pronounced dead after a stroke and a heart attack.

Years have passed, and I no longer people-watch from the window. I try to face challenges and embrace change, even when it's painful. When I think about my father's life, I still don't know what he was trying to escape, but I am pretty sure that in the end, during his last nap, he finally decided to face it. His eyes told me so. D&S

"TWICE A CHILD"

BY SHIRLEY SULLIVAN-MANNETTE

Something rouses me from sleep. My dream is disconnected. I listen. Then I relax. It is only my 11-year-old daughter Teri taking a shower. It's 5:30 a.m. and she's getting herself ready for school. I squeeze my eyes shut against the guilt for letting the late nights at work and school keep me from getting up to help her. I try to return to my interrupted dream where I am in charge and everything is running smoothly in our lives. Sleep engulfs me once again.

Then, my senses capture the aroma of bacon and

eggs. Teri is now saying that breakfast is ready. My weary body lays still as I listen to my two daughters talking to each other. Tricia, the 17-year-old, reminds Teri to pick up her clothes from the floor. Teri responds, "Yes, Trish. Can you fix my hair for me, please?"

Guilt suddenly gives way to a startling realization — they are mature. They can take good care of each other. The closeness I share with my sisters has rubbed off on the younger generation. I understand now that I can depend on them to have things under control.

"Mommy, wake up. You'll be late for work," says Teri. I smile, thinking how things have turned around. I recall the days when I was the one shaking everyone awake. I picture myself back then, experimenting in the kitchen, cooking up a storm. Trish rushes into my bedroom and whisks my thoughts back to the present. She kisses me goodbye. "Mommy, don't forget to call the bank today. I need that loan for school," she says as she leaves the room. It feels so good to be needed for something. My heart fills with gratitude for all my blessings. Then, the thought of work finally nudges me out of bed.

The telephone rings. It's my mother. Her weak voice touches my heart. "You home today?" she asks hopefully. I hesitate for a moment. I am sorry to have to let her down. "I leave soon," I mumble. I hear the disappointment in her voice even though she tells me almost every day that she likes living alone, that she does not want to be a burden on anyone. "I don't see you anymore. I can't believe that you live downstairs." I wait for the usual words to follow. "Thank God I have Jesus."

This usually means that she needs attention, so with guilt-laden shoulders, I drag myself up the stairs to her apartment. The surprised smile she puts on hardly disguises the mischief in her face. She is happy to see me, but even more grateful for the company. We chat for a while. Since most days find her in her rocking chair fielding calls from relatives around the country, she is able to update me on all of our family matters.

While she talks, I put my hand on her frail body and feel sad. Life has been hard on her. I remember her as a superwoman who took good care of her 14 children on her own. It is like she has become a child again. In my mind I hear the two of us laugh-

ing at the reality of the saying, "Once a man but twice a child."

She stumbles across the room and I am now reminded of my girls when they were babies. She, like them, wants to take on the adventure of walking, but fear and weakness make the effort a feeble one. We seldom have the courage to talk about her condition. The doctors are not sure what it is. Her limbs are weak and she shakes a lot. Her deterioration is a mystery to us all. We have not yet accepted the possibility that she is suffering from an awful disease.

I encourage her to use her walking aids. She reminds me, "I took care of all my children and I can take care of myself, thank you." She always complains that different people are sent to be with her. "I can't take all these strangers in my house." For the hundredth time, I go through all the reasons why she must keep the help.

"You do not have the same abilities as you did before. You must face it and be thankful for the help," I try to reason with her. She complains about

"Life has been hard on her. I remember her as a superwoman, who took good care of her 14 children on her own. It is like she has become a child again."

the doctor, how he doesn't know what he's doing. "All this medicine is making me sicker," she laments. The best thing I can do, I think, is remind her how much worse it would be if she were in a nursing home, with strangers hovering over her all the time. I hope that she will remember how fortunate she is to not be in that position. Once again, I feel how completely the tables have turned.

I leave her apartment with a sense of relief, and congratulate myself for having made the effort to see her and make her feel loved. Seeing her inspires me to be good to my children. Upon entering my apartment again, I think of my relationship with my girls and wonder how they feel about me. I walk into the kitchen and notice a note on the wall above the sink. In bold lettering it says, "Please wash your dishes after they are used." I smile to myself and start getting ready for work, being careful not to leave any clothes on the floor or dishes in the sink. D&S

ON AGAIN, OFF AGAIN

ONE BARUCH STUDENT'S RIDE ON THE WEIGHT-LOSS ROLLER COASTER

BY SUSIE FOSTER

PHOTO COMPOSITION BY SYLVIA PERICON

The low-carb revolution is sweeping the country and I am its newest recruit. Whether it goes by the name Atkins, South Beach, Protein Power or one of the seemingly countless other low-carbohydrate diets, this is the latest in a long line of "miracle cures" for people like me who are eternally struggling with their weight. As the daughter of a woman whose mantra has always been, "The diet starts on Monday," I have been on a diet for almost as long as I can remember. Diet and nutrition books line the walls of my mother's office and every new "breakthrough" promises to be the diet that will finally work, the one that will be our savior.

It wasn't always this way. My earliest food memories are of my mother's cooking. The smells of healthy, homemade

bread, soups and spaghetti sauce bring back vivid memories of my early childhood. My mother cooked everything herself and fast food was a rare treat. When I was nine years old, my parents had their fifth and final daughter. Callie was born with special needs and a myriad of health concerns. Healthy, leisurely family meals gave way to the new realities of caring for a handicapped child.

My sisters and I began to eat whatever fast food my parents stopped for on the way to or from the hospital. The dining room table was piled with medical literature and we began eating dinner at the coffee table in front of the television. Healthy meals were replaced by pizza or burgers or anything else that was fast and easy.

My young body quickly changed with my new diet as the pounds started to pack on.

The trim, active child that I had been was slowly replaced with a chubby, idle young adult. These changes seemed relatively inconsequential at first. My solid and tight-knit group of friends seemed not to notice the new, bigger me.

Junior high school changed all that. Overnight, my girlfriends went from playing with dolls to worrying about their hair and their clothes and what boys thought of their hair and clothes. There was little room for a chubby girl in this new, adolescent world as chubby cheeks were only cute to grandparents, not teenaged boys.

Gym class did not help my already shaky self-esteem. The locker room was full of girls with lithe, trim figures. By comparison, my fleshy white thighs embarrassed me. While the other girls changed for class in a group, I would

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David H.

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take my shorts and t-shirt and change in a bathroom stall. The first day of class, we were all forced to run a mile. Sixteen minutes later, my short legs finally crossed the finish line and I was mortified when my teacher announced to the class that I might not have come in last place if I ran more often.

Later that day, I walked to the front of the cafeteria where older students sold ice cream and milk, clutching a quarter tightly in my fist. As I got close to the front, I caught the eye of my gym teacher. He folded his arms across his chest and his look was almost a dare. Humiliated, I quietly ordered milk and returned to my seat.

Some time later, a teacher asked me to run an errand to the office. On the way, I passed by the deserted kitchen and went straight to the freezer doors. I stole an ice cream sandwich and ran to the bathroom, where I devoured it in three quick bites. As soon as the ice cream hit my stomach, I felt ashamed, not only of my lack of self-control but for what the ice cream was going to do to my body.

In junior high school, magazines like *Seventeen* and *YM* were popular among my friends. Magazine models personified the ideal body type that we all wanted to have and that boys all talked about as being 'perfect.' Blondes, with hair as long and sleek as their

legs, peered out from the glossy covers and seemed to taunt me with their perfection. Every month, there was an article about young girls who overcame their eating disorders. Exotic sounding words like anorexia nervosa and bulimia filled the pages and I devoured them. I soaked up the stories as inspiration for ways that I could lose weight. The fact that many of these girls now had rotting teeth and ulcers in their esophagi did not worry me. I would never let it get to that point. I did not want to weigh 80 pounds; I just wanted to look better. I just wanted to feel better about myself. I wanted to look like a magazine model with the long legs and inner confidence that came with them.

I remember that my favorite TV star, Tracey Gold, disappeared from *Growing Pains* for a few weeks in its final season. Gold struggled with anorexia and had become so sick that she could no longer do the show. In an interview with *USA Today*, Gold said that "anorexia is not merely a disease of vanity or thinness but of a quest for control when a lot seems out of control." She later made a TV movie about her experience. I remember watching that movie and, instead of walking away feeling moved by her strength to overcome the disease, I was moved by the tenacity she showed in

starving herself for so long.

I was inspired to try. I would test myself to see how long I could go without eating. If I went two days without food once, I would try to go three days the next time. Still, I never lost a pound. I had discovered a paradox of dieting: when a body is starving, medical experts say it holds on to stored fat deposits in order to function. This was frustrating. My stint at self-imposed starvation lasted only a month or two and when I began to eat again, it was with a sense of failure. I was simply not dedicated enough to make it work.

As my weight increased, so did my mother's. She had gained 125 lbs. because of the difficulties of her last pregnancy. The strain of the birth caused her thyroid gland to malfunction, making it difficult for her to lose her pregnancy weight. During this time, she began a series of diets that continue to this day. The first diet that I remember her trying was Weight Watchers. Lowfat foods and small portions were the cornerstone of this diet and food scales and rice cakes were introduced to my daily life. After a few great weeks of slow but steady weight loss, my mother hit what is often called a "dieting plateau," where her body had become used to low-calorie meals and she found it difficult to lose

more weight. Therefore, Weight Watchers was considered a 'failure' and it was discarded.

My mother next tried Richard Simmons "Deal-A-Meal" diet plan. The idea behind this diet was that you start the day off with a set of cards representing your daily food allowance. As you eat, you "spend" your cards, and when you have spent the last card, you're done eating for the day. But when you spend all of your cards before lunch on the first day, as we did, there is not a great chance for success. This diet and the accompanying playing cards were quickly tossed in the junk drawer.

One diet with which my mother had great success was the Jenny Craig diet. Pre-packaged foods, weekly meetings and weigh-ins helped her lose 75 pounds. But when she went back to eating her own food, she gained back all she had lost, plus an additional 15 lbs, because she had not learned how to eat without assistance from Jenny Craig.

Another diet that seemed promising for my mother was Body for Life, which combined strength training with a balanced diet. It seemed too sensible. My mother did well on this diet and managed to lose another 50 lbs. My sisters and I were

so proud of her and were convinced that this was finally going to be the diet that would change her life. She was like the "Little Engine That Could Not" though, and all of the momentum she had built up was lost one day and she went back to subsisting on high fat foods and no exercise. The weight piled back on.

Suzanne Somers' diet was attempted but "Somercizing" gave way to "Super Sizing." Also discarded were Nutri-system (not enough good food) and Herbalife (too many pills.) The latest diet to cross my mother's radar was Dr. Phil's *The Ultimate Weight Solution*. I recently called my sister to ask how my mother was doing on this diet and she told me that Dr. Phil's book is now covered with a fine layer of dust.

Over the years as I also tried diet after diet, I taught myself several important "truths" about dieting. First, when you're on a diet, personal responsibility can be thrown right out the window. When diets fail, the proper thing to do is to blame the diet. Issues of motivation or personal responsibility do not apply in the dieting world and it is more than acceptable to blame the diet or blame the doctors or blame society for your inability to change your eating

habits. Another piece of dogma I taught myself was that if you have a big event looming in the future, say a fancy dance or a party, it's a good idea to put off healthy eating for a week or two. After all, what good is 12 or 13 days of eating lean proteins, fruits and vegetables if you know you are going to eat badly a few days later?

These lessons have stuck with me through most of my life and the process of unlearning them will probably go on forever. Food has always been a comfort and an indulgence that brings with it inevitable pangs of guilt, instead of any real pleasure. Eating and thoughts of eating consumed me and only now am I learning to accept my body and myself. I am also learning to recognize that eating may sustain life, but the fat and caloric content of what I eat is not a matter of life and death. "Balanced meals" and "exercise" are words that I understand, but have a hard time embracing. It is so simple that I have difficulty in believing there could not be a trick. There must be some sort of gimmick.

I recently signed up for a six-week membership to the South Beach Diet online. "Lose eight to 13 pounds in two weeks! No exercise," the ad says.

Now that's more like it. D&S

POSTCARD FROM GROUND ZERO: A MOURNER'S VIEW

TOURISTS DON'T TREAT THE SITE
OF THE CITY'S TRAGEDY AS SACRED

BY NADIA M. ARBOLINO

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JENNIFER BLECHER

I see Ground Zero as a tomb, as evidence of our mediocrity, our vulnerability, a lapse in government security that let thousands of innocent lives be taken in a matter of hours.

I used to think the whole concept of the World Trade Center tragedy was still raw in everyone's minds. That may be so for New Yorkers, but not for tourists, whose cameras often obscure the site's gravity.

Many tourists come to Ground Zero to see the devastation firsthand. People the world over consider the site a memorial, but unfortunately, it also has become a tourist attraction. For those of us who lost loved ones there, seeing tourists smile for the camera is a slap in the face that stings with every click.

"I understand shooting the devastation to a certain



Close up of memorial.

degree, but the 'Get in the shot, honey' ideology escapes me," says Camilla Sicilianni, a mourner visiting Ground Zero. "I want to say, 'Some of my dear friends died right where you are waving to each other.' Would I go to their deceased's gravesites and take pictures of me smiling? No, I don't think so."

Black panels, inscribed with the names of victims, hang on

the chain-link fence that outlines the perimeter of Ground Zero's 16 acres. Martina Jakobsson, a European tourist, photographs them. "People will be amazed by all the names and how many people died," she says with a heavy accent. "I cannot wait to go back and show them all this."

Tourists can be insensitive. What I have witnessed, going to the site almost daily, is more

than I can bear. Vendors on the street try to capitalize on the tragedy. Tourists fall right into the trap.

"I can't believe they have pictures of the planes hitting the buildings in views we have never seen before!" exclaims Timothy Robertson of Avondale, Arizona. "I come from such a small town that I am going to be the talk of the town when I come back with these pictures." I turn away, shaking my head, speechless.

"Why shouldn't I make

Street. The T-shirts that read, "I survived the World Trade Center collapse" cross the line of decency. It is too much.

Police officers at the site typically have more in common with the mourners than the tourists and the vendors. Officer William Lehey explained his complex emotions while patrolling the Ground Zero area. "I hate being here so often," he says. "It reminds me every day that I lost 20 dear friends here and I can't even focus on that. I have

stands overlooking the site. "I lost my stepfather here," says Angela Agnes. He worked for Cantor Fitzgerald, the firm that lost 658 employees that day. "I just do not understand why. Why would people want to take pictures of a mass gravesite? Do normal people do this?"

All I can do is hug her and whisper, "I know."

Visitors to Ground Zero sometimes strike up conversations with me and ask me what it was like to be there that day.



Taped up across the street from Ground Zero at Ladder 10.



South Side of Ground Zero.

money out of this?" asks a street vendor who won't give his name. "When something tragic happens, you profit. These people choose to buy. I'm not holding a gun to their heads."

As a native New Yorker experiencing the pain of loss and survival that Sept. 11 wrought, it is difficult having to ward off vendors selling these horrific photos on Dey

to make sure these [expletive] tourists are not too rowdy."

Another officer, Robert Persico, adds, "It's a sin that when you walk past the vendors you can overhear tourists bargaining. 'Come on, gimme that picture for \$5, not \$10.' Do people realize what they are saying sometimes, or are they that stupid?"

As dusk falls and the crowds start to disperse, a lone visitor

I simply say that I am a survivor. Then I point to my father's name and say, "He and 3,000 other people were not." This usually returns people to taking pictures. Occasionally they glance back at me. They want to see the site, but they don't want to hear about what happened there.

And they don't seem to want somebody in their souvenir pictures who isn't smiling. D&S

HAR LEM

a p h o t o e s s a y :

Harlem is the best known African–American community in the United States, if not the world. Harlem’s beauty comes from its rich history, architecture, sacred places, arts & culture and diversity.

This photo essay looks at Harlem through the creativity of Erika Baez, Sylvia Pericon, Ellen Shaw and Brian M. Sierra.

Take a trip with them and walk the streets that Malcolm X, Josephine Baker and James Vanderzee among others made famous.



(previous page)

The Brownstone

Located on 125th Street & Fifth Avenue. This location features independently owned retail & service businesses serving up contemporary African Lifestyle in high style.

Three stories of living well... *Photography & caption by Erika Baez*



The Hale House

Located at 152 West 122nd Street.

It is America's oldest and best known independent agency caring for babies born addicted to drugs, alcohol, and tobacco, and sometimes infected by HIV.

Photography & caption by Ellen Shaw



The YMCA

Located on 135th Street, the YMCA is a community service organization that promotes positive values through programs that build spirit, mind and body. It welcomes all people, with a focus on youth.

Photography & caption by Erika Baez



The Brownstone

Located on 125 Street & Fifth Avenue. Hidden within the busy streets of Harlem, there's a small cafe where everyone greets you with a smile, where your coffee cup is always full, where the flowers are always fresh and where you know there's no other place you would rather be. *Photography & caption by Sylvia Pericon*



Mural

Located on the walls of the H&M building on 125th Street, this mural is one of many in Harlem. The practice of painting murals started as a movement in the early 80s. Today these art works are cherished by local business owners and rarely taken down from their location.

Photography & caption by Erika Baez



Hotel Theresa

Located on 125th Street & Seventh Avenue. Founded in 1912, the Hotel Theresa went on to become one of Harlem's most famous landmarks. Guests included A. Philip Randolph, Fidel Castro and Malcolm X.

Photography & caption by Erika Baez.



Salem United Methodist Church

Peer into time. Peer into another world. Located at 129th Street & Adam Clayton Powell Boulevard, Salem United Methodist Church offers sanctuary to all who come. It is a timeless wonder and a treasure to the Harlem Community.

Photography & caption by Brian M. Sierra



Abyssinian Baptist Church

Located at 132 West 138th Street. Segregation in White Baptist Church led to its formation in 1808 by a group of African-Americans and Ethiopian merchants. It is a Christian fellowship of faith, rich in history and heritage.

Photography & caption by Ellen Shaw



The Brownstone

The brownstone located
at 200 West 135th Street &
Adam Clayton Jr. Boulevard
stands tall and proud like
a pillar of the community.
This building demands
to be noticed as it stands
apart from all others
in the area due to its resem-
blance to the Flatiron
Building on West 23rd St.

*Photography & caption
by Brian M. Sierra*

The Brownstone

Located on
125th Street &
Fifth Avenue.
I hurried down
the corridor
where I stopped
for a moment to
catch my breath.
Standing there
I looked through
a door and
remembered
that happiness
is shaped in
moments.

*Photography &
caption by
Sylvia Pericon*



LIFE



IN

NEW YORK

DOWAGER EDIFICE

EMPIRE STATE BUILDING RECLAIMS GOTHAM'S SUMMIT

BY VALENTINA SCEKIC
WITH MARTINNE GELLER

PHOTOGRAPHS BY DORA CZOVEK

I rven “Jack” Brod, 94, the Empire State Building’s last original tenant, surveys the urban panorama from the windows of his office on the 76th floor as he has done six days a week for the past 73 years. It’s not very clear today, he explains. Otherwise, you could see 70 miles in all directions.

Brod, owner of the Empire Diamond Corporation, which buys and sells estate jewelry, diamonds, gold and silver, was lured to the building in 1931 by the prospect of having an easily recognizable address, especially for his radio advertisements. He moved in on

July 1, just two months after it opened. He still advertises on the radio (and the Internet), using just a simple address — the Empire State Building.

Like Empire Diamond, another 850 businesses, with about 18,000 employees, call the 102-story Empire State Building home. While never host to major corporations, it has consistently housed a range of small and mid-sized businesses and professional offices, from insurers and doctors to travel agencies and real estate brokers. It even has its own area code — 10118. “The Empire State Building is a commercial cathedral,” says

Brod, inadvertently invoking the old nickname of the Woolworth building, which was once the world’s tallest building. “It houses every trade in the world.”

When One World Trade Center was completed in 1972, the 110-story structure surpassed the height of the Empire State Building (the second tower was completed a year later.) The tragedy of Sept. 11 once again made the Empire State Building the tallest structure in New York, a distinction it will keep until 2009, the anticipated completion date for the World Trade Center site’s Freedom Tower.



Designed by David M. Childs, Freedom Tower will stand an unprecedented 1,776 feet, bumping the Empire State back to second place.

Since many broadcast stations were displaced when the Twin Towers collapsed, the Empire State Building gained nine TV and four radio stations. It is now home to all of New York's major television broadcasters — CBS 2, NBC 4, FOX 5 and ABC 7. The Italian national airline, Alitalia, also recently set up its American headquarters here.

As other New York skyscrapers struggled, first with recession and then with continuing fears of terrorism, the Empire State Building maintained occupancy levels close to 90 percent in the year following the attacks, according to Thomas Sullivan, director of leasing. Average occupancy rates in Class A office buildings in Midtown Manhattan during the same period were just 80 to 85 percent. Currently, occupancy at the Empire State Building is 88 percent.

Office rents also dropped about 10 percent following Sept. 11, and have yet to recover. One reason the commercial real estate market remains soft is the continuing technology slump, according to real estate experts.

The asking price for commercial office space in the Empire State Building is \$35

per square foot, a dollar more than the Manhattan average. Most tenants, including Brod, end up paying about \$30, comparable to rates around Penn Station and south of Midtown. Simon Hodges, assistant director of leasing, explains that tenants on the lower floors have more negotiating power, and therefore might be able to get a better deal, because the lower floors lack the sunshine and the view of the upper stories.

The Empire State Building was designed in the Art Deco style of the late 1920s and 1930s, which was influenced by Greek, Roman and Far and Middle Eastern designs. The facade's geometric forms and decorative elements, which include stylized gears and wheels, as well as sunbursts and flowers, drew on the era's enthusiasm for technology and machine power. The design has been immortalized in movies such as *King Kong* and *Sleepless In Seattle*.

The invention of elevators and steel frame construction at the turn of the century made high-rise construction possible, but it was the big corporate egos of the day that fueled the city's historic race to the sky. The fierce competition to build the world's tallest building began when William P. Chrysler, the auto magnate, commissioned William Van Alen to build a skyscraper at

405 Lexington Avenue and the corner of 42nd Street in 1928. At the same time, Van Alen's former partner and ultimate archrival, H. Craig Severence was building the 66-story Bank of Manhattan Tower at 40 Wall Street, which would rise 927 feet. Van Alen had publicly announced that the Chrysler Building would be 925 feet tall, but he and Chrysler secretly assembled a 180-foot, needle-like finial inside the tower, and right before the building's completion, the finial was hoisted into place from inside the building's elevator shaft. Thus, in November 1929, less than a month after the great stock market crash, the Chrysler Building became the world's tallest building. In 1930, the Empire State Building, brainchild of former DuPont and General Motors Director John J. Raskob, claimed the title of world's tallest building.

Raskob was intent on surpassing the height of the Chrysler Building, which was still under construction when plans for the Empire State were announced on August 29, 1929. The guidelines set out for the building, which was designed by the architecture firm of Shreve, Lamb and Harmon, required it to be built in one-and-a-half years, an unprecedented speed. Its location, the corner of 34th Street

“PEOPLE COME TO EMPIRE STATE BUILDING TO SHOW THEIR SUPPORT AND MANY TIMES GO TO THE TOP TO VIEW THE CHANGED SKYLINE.”

and Fifth Avenue, used to house the “Twin Hotels” — the Waldorf and the Astoria. The hotels closed in May 1929, and the site was sold to a consortium to build the world’s tallest building. The two hotels merged and the newly named Waldorf–Astoria relocated uptown to its current home at 301 Park Avenue at 50th Street.

The foundation for the Empire State Building was poured in March 1930, and the building, with 2.25 million square feet of commercial space, was completed on April 11, 1931, just 13 months later. Since it was the start of the Depression, Raskob had trouble attracting tenants at first. When the building was completed, only a quarter of the total office space had been rented. Newspapers at the time mockingly called it the “Empty State Building.”

Some real estate brokers argued that the building failed to attract the best companies because of its location on Fifth Avenue; it was too far from Grand Central Terminal on the East Side, and Penn Station on the West Side. Raskob is said to have used his personal fortune to keep up with the mortgage payments.

According to Lydia A. Ruth, the Empire State Building’s director of public relations, the building was never intended to be a tourist attraction, although tourism now generates as much revenue for the building as its leases do. With the exception of the 17 days following Sept. 11, the observatory on the 86th floor has been open almost every day. Visits to the observatory have picked up, but remain below pre–Sept. 11 levels. Last year, some 3.4 million tourists visited the observatory, slightly more than in 2002, and up from 2.5 million in 2001.

Most tourists who visit the building are American. Some 60 to 70 percent come from the New York City area. “People come to Empire State Building to show their support and many times go to the top to view the changed skyline,” says Ruth.

Since the observatory opened to the public in 1931, 110 million visitors from all over the world have taken in a view that stretches across several states. “I remember Queen Elizabeth of England visiting the Empire State Building,” says Brod who, as one of the first tenants, had opportunities to meet the

Queen and other dignitaries during his own 400 or so visits to the observatory. Brod remembers that the Queen liked the view, especially since Britain doesn’t have any comparable skyscrapers.

Special events such as the Empire State Building Run–up, a race up 86 flights of stairs from the lobby to the observatory, and Valentine’s Day weddings, also attract people from all over the world. According to Ruth, every year between 13 and 18 couples are selected to participate for free in this group ceremony. In order to be chosen, couples must write to the building explaining why they want to get married there. Couples can also book private wedding ceremonies for about \$600. In 2002, a couple from Germany, who were at the Empire State Building on Sept. 11, were among those selected to have their wedding on the 80th floor.

After a fatal incident in February 1997, when a man opened fire on the observation deck, killing one person and wounding six others before shooting himself, security in the building was stiffened. Helmsey–Spears Inc., which manages the Empire State

Building, “installed metal detectors and package scanners for all visitors to the observatory, the security staff was increased and the closed circuit camera system was enlarged,” according to Ruth. After Sept. 11, management required all tenants and employees to have photo identification cards and the search reserved for observatory visitors was extended to everyone entering the premises.

The building has a battalion of 200 security personnel, including a bomb-sniffing dog and plain clothes guards, who work around the clock, mingling with visitors, to look for potential troublemakers. Although on a busy day, 10,000 to 15,000 visitors enter the building, either to visit tenants, shop or go to the observatory, security guards say there have never been terrorist threats. Says Ruth: “Our director of security continues to be in constant communication with the Homeland Security office, FBI, NYPD and Terrorist Task Force. At no time has the Empire State Building ever been named as a terrorist target.”

Despite heightened security, terrorism fears have affected some of the Empire State Building’s businesses. Ruth admits that three tenants left because of fears of being in a landmark tower post-Sept. 11, and about 10 others left

because their businesses failed in the economic downturn that followed. Rebecca Lim, international marketing director for Empire Diamond, says she now goes “to Chinatown to meet...customers because they are afraid to come to the 76th floor.”

The building’s dense construction of massive steel columns and concrete makes some tenants feel secure. Indeed, the Empire State Building has had to prove its resilience twice. In June 1945, on a foggy Saturday morning, a B-25 bomber accidentally slammed into the building at the 79th floor. Although the gasoline from the plane set offices on fire, the building withstood the heat, and reopened Monday morning. “I heard on the radio that a plane hit the building,” remembers Brod, who was on the 6th floor at the time. “I am not afraid to be in the building.” The building showed its strength again in 1990 when fire swept through the 51st floor, burning out the offices. The Empire State Building’s structure was undamaged.

While tenants say they feel safe, a number of them complain about poor management and services. They charge that management cares only about the lobby and observatory. Indeed, behind the luxurious lobby, lined with European marble, are dingy halls and

stairways. The restaurants on the ground floor, including an Au Bon Pain and Rosa’s Pizza, are dark and shabby, the typical New York street variety, and stand in marked contrast to the high gloss of the marble.

The ownership history of the aging skyscraper is a twisted tale of complex financial deals, lies and betrayals.

After Raskob’s executors sold the property in 1954, Prudential Insurance acquired it. Prudential leased the building, for 114 years, to the late real estate developers Harry Helmsley and Lawrence Wien. The lease, which promises the owner a mere \$1.97 million a year in rent (an amount that will fall to \$1.72 million in 2013 until it expires in 2076), is now owned by their heirs Peter Malkin and Leona Helmsley, who manage the building. Because Malkin and Helmsley can never be required to pay an owner more than that low price, real estate experts claim, the profit potential of the building is completely erased and its value depressed.

Nevertheless, in the 1980s, Japanese billionaire Hideki Yokoi bought the aging icon, spurred on by a favorable exchange rate and a desire to acquire conspicuous and symbolic properties. Because Yokoi had a shady past involving Japanese organized crime, Prudential refused his

initial offer. He then enlisted his illegitimate daughter, Kiiiko Nakahara and her husband Jean-Paul Renoir, to persuade Wall Street investor Oliver Grace Jr. to set up a shell company, E.G. Holding, which financed the purchase through a web of offshore trusts. By the time of purchase, Yokoi was serving a prison term for negligence associated with a fire at one of his properties in Tokyo, and a family feud erupted, as Yokoi grew to distrust the business dealings of his daughter and son-in-law.

In 1994, Yokoi joined forces with Donald Trump. While Yokoi maintained a low profile, Trump tried to upgrade the building with luxury condos and classy restaurants. He also tried (unsuccessfully) to break the lease, claiming that Malkin and the building manager, Helmsley-Spear Inc., mismanaged the property and let it fall into disarray. This episode fueled a media frenzy about the animosity between Trump and Helmsley. Finally in March 2002, Trump (Yokoi died in 1998) sold the property back to a group of real estate investors led by Malkin, called Empire State Building Associates, for \$57.5 million, a fraction of the \$1 billion that analysts say the property would be worth if it weren't for the unfavorable lease.

For the first time since 1961,



the same group of investors owns the building and the lease. By consolidating control of the property and the lease, some analysts believe the value of the property will be enhanced because the leaseholder will now have more incentive to upgrade the building. Ruth says consolidation has had no effect on day-to-day operations, and PBS Realty Advisors' John Brod also believes there will be no effect.

During the early 90's,

around the time of Trump's suit, management embarked on a seven-year, \$66 million modernization program that included the installation of 6,440 new thermo-pane windows, computerized elevators, modernization of all public bathrooms and corridors and exterior lime restoration. The modernization has been extended twice and is still underway. Ruth claims the project had "nothing to do with Trump — we always have on-going capital improvement projects. (It is) important to keep the building up to date and properly maintained."

Tenants add that services, including air conditioning, cable TV and digital and broadband technology, also have been modernized.

With New Yorkers feeling a renewed sense of nostalgia, the Empire State Building has regained some of the luster it lost in years past. If Childs' design for the Freedom Tower downtown is finished on time, it will still give the soaring icon at 34th Street and Fifth Avenue eight years to reign as the tallest structure in the city. For Jack Brod, who at 94 uses a scooter to get around his large office, and is likely to retire before the Freedom Tower is completed, it is a strangely reaffirming end to a career that has spanned most of a century. D&S

OBJEC

CHALLENGES TO LEGAL AID SUPREMACY

BY ARI LEVY

While Dale Tippins was on trial facing the possibility of life behind bars, his court-appointed attorney was in the courtroom catching up on lost sleep. In a case that has gone down in legal history as one of the most egregious examples of ineffective legal representation, Tippins was convicted of first-degree drug charges and sentenced to 18 years to life in prison for selling two pounds of cocaine to an undercover officer in Rockland County, New York. After nine years of incarceration, Tippins finally succeeded in having his conviction overturned and a new trial ordered.

U.S. District Court Judge John F. Keenan seemed to state the obvious in his decision: Tippins' attorney, Louis

Tirelli, "slept during a 'substantial portion' of the trial," and "unconscious or sleeping counsel is tantamount to no counsel at all." The ruling, which was affirmed by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, overturned a New York State Appellate Court determination that, even as Tippins' lawyer slept during parts of the trial, the client still received "meaningful representation."

Defendants like Tippins, who are financially unable to hire their own lawyers, are entitled to counsel under both the Sixth Amendment and the case *Gideon v. Wainwright*, a 1963 U.S. Supreme Court decision that guaranteed an indigent defendant's right to court-appointed legal counsel in all criminal matters. Justice

Hugo Black, writing for a unanimous court, said a criminal trial against a poor person could not be fair "if the poor man charged with crime has to face his accusers without a lawyer to assist him."

Forty one years later, the poor in this country who face criminal charges remain plagued by bureaucratic, overburdened, underfunded legal defense networks. "If you don't have resources to investigate a case, innocent people end up going to jail," says Catherine Beane, an indigent defense counsel for the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers.

New York City suffers from the same problems that hinder criminal defense nationwide: a lack of money, standards, and structure. With more than

TION!

REINVENT WORLD OF PUBLIC DEFENSE

1,000 criminal defense and appeals attorneys, in nine different defenders offices covering the five boroughs, the defense universe in New York City is expansive.

Indigent defense in New York dates as far back as 1876, when a group of German-Americans began providing services to German immigrants facing hardships in their new land. The German Legal Aid Society, as it was known, was the first of its kind in the United States. Its mission then expanded to include the plight of all poor New Yorkers, and in 1896 it became the Legal Aid Society.

In New York, the burden on the states mandated by *Gideon v. Wainwright* was handed down to the 57 county governments through County

Law 18-B. The law requires counties to provide sufficient funding for the handling of indigent criminal defense. New York is one of the few states in which almost all of the funding occurs at the county level.

Robert Wagner, who was New York's mayor when *Gideon* was decided in 1963, named the Legal Aid Society the city's primary provider of indigent defense services. Given its long history, it was the obvious choice.

Over the next 30 years, the society grew in stature and scope. By 1995, it had more than 900 lawyers, handling 250,000 criminal cases, with an annual budget of \$130 million, \$79 million of it for criminal and appellate work.

Yet in 1990, the Vera

Institute for Social Justice, found the criminal defense system to be in crisis. The Manhattan-based non-profit found that poor people were receiving inadequate representation because defense attorney caseloads were too large and their resources insufficient. The Institute persuaded the city to fund a small Harlem-based defense provider called Neighborhood Defender Services (NDS), .

With the understanding that a person's defense does not occur just in the courtroom, NDS offers a holistic approach to legal services, including providing investigators, social workers and paralegals. "If you offer services early enough, you can intervene at the investigative stage and help preserve constitutional

“I NEVER LIKED THE IDEA OF STRIKING OVER MONEY AND LEAVING MY CLIENTS IN JAIL BECAUSE I WANTED [MORE] IN MY PAYCHECK.”

rights, limit the interrogation, and make sure things are done in a fair manner,” says Leonard Noisette, a former Legal Aid lawyer and NDS director. NDS is unusual in that it provides its clients, most of whom live in Harlem, near NDS’s Fifth Avenue and 125th Street office, with community-based services.

NDS received an initial five-year contract for \$3.8 million a year to handle 2,500 cases, or \$1,520 a case. While significantly higher than the \$316 a case provided to Legal Aid, NDS insisted the extra costs were worth it, given the reduced sentences of its clients and the additional pre-arrest services provided. Also, most people represented by NDS were accused of serious felonies, which require a greater commitment of time and resources than cases involving lesser allegations.

Four years after NDS was formed, a labor dispute between Legal Aid and the Giuliani administration gave others the opportunity to emulate the Harlem model. On Oct. 3, 1994, Legal Aid workers went on strike demanding better benefits and salary increases. They felt the then-new mayor, Rudolph

Giuliani, who was calling for city police to crack down on small misdemeanors, or “quality-of-life” crimes, was pushing their heavy caseloads to an extreme.

For Legal Aid, the strike was disastrous. The strike lasted only one day, in part, because the mayor announced that all attorneys who stayed away from work would be barred from working for the city again. The attorneys promptly negotiated a contract with management for a 2 percent bonus over two years.

But the damage had been done. Giuliani responded to the strike by canceling the city’s contract with Legal Aid and then significantly slashed the organization’s budget the following year. He initially turned over cases to 18-B attorneys, a panel of private defense attorneys who were the only alternative to Legal Aid pre-NDS, and in 1995 he sent out a request for proposals (RFP), allowing other organizations to bid for city criminal defense work.

Giuliani’s actions marked the end of Legal Aid’s 28-year reign as the primary institutional provider of criminal defense for the city. Over the next four years, Legal

Aid’s criminal and appellate divisions experienced annual funding cuts, from \$79 million in 1994 to \$52 million in 1999. In addition, a new contract signed following the strike included a clause allowing for the city to replace Legal Aid in certain areas.

Between 1995 and 2000, as a result of forced layoffs and voluntary departures, Legal Aid lost 199, or 31 percent, of its trial-level and criminal appeals attorneys.

The Association of Legal Aid Attorneys (ALAA), Legal Aid’s union, was the most vocal opponent of Giuliani’s decision, arguing that any non-union provider of defense to the indigent would undermine Legal Aid and allow the city to accept proposals from the lowest bidder, regardless of qualifications. Others said that Giuliani’s intent was to further weaken criminal defense by ending continuity of representation, meaning that cases were likely to go from one provider to another, so attorneys would often be unfamiliar with their clients.

Surprisingly, Giuliani’s most vocal support came largely from the ranks of Legal Aid. There was too much bureaucracy, they said, and the

organization was too big to handle the particular problems of each borough. Some said the union was overly militant, concerned more with workers' rights than with their responsibilities to their clients.

Lori Zeno, deputy director of Queens Law Associates, an alternative indigent defense provider, was a trial attorney at Legal Aid for 10 years. She left after the strike. "I never liked the idea of striking over money and leaving my clients in jail because I wanted [more] in my paycheck," she says.

Offices like Zeno's were formed in each borough. But funding remains a constant struggle, as each organization is dependent on renewed city contracts.

So far, the Bloomberg administration has been supportive. The lingering effects of Sept. 11, and a sputtering national economy forced Mayor Michael Bloomberg to slash \$2.6 billion from the city's budget. However, he has preserved indigent defense funding. "People enjoy a constitutional right to a lawyer, and I'm glad to see the Bloomberg administration agrees," Zeno says.

"The move towards new defender groups with small offices and limited management seems to work extremely well," says Marvin Schechter, a New York-based private criminal defense attorney

who led the criminal defense division of Legal Aid in Brooklyn from 1992 to 1994.

Case in point: New York County Defender Services (NYCDS), directed by Michael Coleman, who started his career as a Legal Aid staff attorney and worked his way up to supervising attorney at the Brooklyn criminal trial division. At age 57, his current job is "a dream come true," Coleman says. He admits that defending poor criminals is not a job that many people hold in high regard, but "it's all I ever wanted to do."

With 50 employees, including 32 staff attorneys, and 16,000 cases a year, Coleman says the big advantage NYCDS has over Legal Aid is the experience level of its attorneys. They average 13 or 14 years of experience, and the inexperienced attorneys have to wait several years before doing trial work. In contrast, many of Legal Aid's attorneys begin trial work right out of law school. Salaries at NYCDS range from about \$55,000 to \$80,000 a year for attorneys with more than 10 years of experience.



Lori Zeno, deputy director of Queens Law Associates. [Photo by Dora Czovek.]

“WE’RE NOT IN A BUREAUCRACY. IF SOMEONE SCREWED UP HERE, IT WOULD BE GLARING.”

Because of NYCDS’s small size, Coleman says, “There’s no room for sub-standard practice here. We’re not in a bureaucracy. If someone screwed up here, it would be glaring.”

Another new defender group provides services in the Bronx. Robin Steinberg, a former Legal Aid and NDS lawyer, said she founded Bronx Defenders in 1997 after hearing about Giuliani’s RFP.

“We have on our staff several people dedicated to developing prevention programs, educational opportunities, and empowering people to understand their rights,” says Steinberg, executive director of Bronx Defenders.

With a staff of 56, including 35 lawyers, her goal is to expand on the holistic model of legal assistance. Steinberg’s office employs social workers, youth workers, community

organizers, and civil attorneys who help clients with issues like housing and employment.

Legal Aid, under President Daniel Greenberg, hired after the 1995 strike, is now implementing community-based programs of its own. It is expanding its presence in Harlem with a new building and has launched a fundraising effort to raise some \$22 million over four to five years to provide civil services, including family law, employment and housing-related services. It also started a project to support mentally ill, chemically addicted (MICA Project) clients, that offers substance abuse treatment services after offenders are released from prison.

Bloomberg, in recognition of Legal Aid’s continued importance, returned \$8.6 million from the 18-B panel to the society for fiscal years 2003 and 2004. The new contract requires that Legal Aid handle a minimum of 86 percent of all cases arraigned in Brooklyn, the Bronx, Manhattan and Queens. The increased funding is far below what is necessary, according to ALAA President Jim Rogers.

Rogers says that considering the caseloads lawyers are now handling, Legal Aid needs



*Michael Coleman, director of New York County Defender Services (NYCDS).
[Photo provided by NYCDS]*

“PEOPLE DON’T RESPECT THE LAWYER WHO SUPPORTS THE DRUG DEALER.”

funding to hire 30 percent more lawyers and provide “reasonable raises” to those already there. He is recommending that management start going to the city now, putting these demands on the table, for negotiations that will take place in June.

As for Neighborhood Defender Services, it has become a model for public defense in cities across the country. The Community Law Office in Knoxville, Tennessee, identifies NDS (and Bronx Defenders) as trendsetters in the field. Projects in Seattle, Atlanta, and Miami have also adopted pieces of the holistic model.

But NDS’s Noisette says inadequate funding remains a problem. “The city could still be willing to invest a little bit more in a service that is such a critical one for so many discrete communities,” he says.

For 18-B attorneys, the situation is even worse. The primary problem has always been unmanageably low pay rates, which were raised in January for the first time since 1985, to \$75 an hour for felony cases and \$60 an hour for misdemeanors. The rates had been \$40 an hour for work in court and \$25 an hour for work performed out of court.

“The general sentiment among 18-B attorneys is that it’s a bad scene,” says Schechter, the private defense attorney. “It’s not just about raising rates. There are systemic problems — with no investigators or paralegals, and poor training.”

In 1995, New York’s First Judicial Department established the Indigent Defense Organization Oversight Committee to assess the quality of representation provided by the various organizations on a criminal and appeals level. Perhaps even more than providing a solution to the problem of oversight and standards, the committee exposed a bigger issue: a complete dearth of citywide or statewide standards.

The First Department covers only two boroughs of New York City, Manhattan and the Bronx, meaning providers in the other boroughs, which are receiving funds from the same pool of city money, are not being similarly evaluated.

Furthermore, attorneys on the 18-B panel, who by 1995 were handling 30 percent of the city’s indigent defense caseload, are excluded from the committee’s evaluations.

In May 2003, the state took a step forward in its support

of indigent defense when it set up the Indigent Legal Services Fund, under the state comptroller.

The state added \$50 to the registration fee for attorneys practicing in New York, which is expected to help generate an extra \$65 million for indigent defense to be distributed to the counties.

Jonathan Gradess, executive director of the New York State Defenders Association, complains that the amount pales in comparison to the more than \$2 billion a year the state spends on prisons, money that in his view does “nothing to advance criminal justice,” and only “helps the economy of upstate.”

While an extra few million dollars is better than nothing, Gradess says if the state were truly committed to indigent defense, it would ask the question, “What would it take to do really decent work?”

But money for indigent criminal defense is not exactly a winning political issue in New York.

“People don’t respect the lawyer who supports the drug dealer,” says Vanessa Merton, a former Legal Aid Attorney and associate dean for clinical education at Pace Law School in Manhattan. D&S

SHAM MARRIAGE

One Man's Search for legal status through Matrimony

BY ANTOINE CRAIGWELL

In June 2001, an immigrant named Michael came to the United States from St. Vincent on a three-month visitor's visa. When his visa expired, Michael, who was 32 at the time, decided to remain in New York. (Michael asked that his last name not be used for publication.) He found a job as a bathhouse attendant in Manhattan, where he was paid off the books. Michael was eager to establish himself with his own apartment and a

more permanent job. He even dreamed of one day owning his own restaurant.

However, it was not long until Michael was forced to confront a dilemma that faces all illegal immigrants. He wanted to remain in the United States, but he couldn't figure out a legal way to do so.

Through friends, he learned that under U.S. immigration law, he could remain in the country if he married a citizen. A citizen can file papers for an

émigré spouse that would enable him or her to "adjust status" from that of visitor to permanent resident.

But legalizing his status through marriage posed problems for Michael. After Sept. 11, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) — now renamed the Bureau of Citizenship & Immigration Services (BCIS) — started cracking down on illegal aliens, paying particular attention to those people who

had married foreigners and filed petitions for adjustment of status. Moreover, Michael is gay. "At first I was afraid to let my boyfriend know about my immigration status, but then I decided I had to trust somebody," says Michael. "I didn't see any other way out."

Michael's lover was understanding and even offered to help him pay for a green card bride. So he asked friends and acquaintances to help him find one.

Eventually, with the help of several contacts, Michael met Shauna, a reservist in the U.S. military. With his savings and some money borrowed from his lover, Michael scraped together the \$5,000 price that Shauna demanded to become a green card bride. The two married in Atlanta in June 2002, not far from the military base where Shauna was stationed. Two weeks later, she was shipped off for service in Kuwait. But before she left, Shauna promised to file the necessary papers to begin the process for Michael to get his green card.

Over the course of the next year, Michael sent Shauna cards, pictures and letters. But he received no reply. In October 2003, Michael learned that she had returned to the United States and was living in Texas. When he finally reached her, she claimed that he had abandoned her, and

"At first I was afraid to let my boyfriend know about my immigration status, but then I decided I had to trust somebody."

therefore she was filing for divorce. She had never filed the green card papers.

Michael was crushed. He was indebted to his lover with whom, in the meantime, he had broken up, and he had nothing to show for his efforts except a divorce decree.

"I don't know what to do now; my mother is sick and I wanted to go and visit her and my brother's grave," says Michael. "I'm scared. My boyfriend is demanding his money, and the place where I work is not getting much business and it looks like they might lay me off."

At a time when millions of people are desperate to legalize their status in the U.S. under tightening immigration laws, especially after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, Michael's predicament is increasingly common.

According to federal law enforcement officials, most of the estimated seven million illegal immigrants in the

United States are seeking to remain in the country by finding a spouse who is a U.S. citizen. In 1999, BCIS brought about 4,000 cases of marriage fraud, according to a January 2000 report from the General Accounting Office (GAO), Congress's investigative arm. About half of those cases involved fraudulent marriage claims, according to the GAO.

BCIS tries to ferret out bogus marriages during an "adjustment of status" interview. In all cases or petitions for adjustment of status, an immigration officer interviews the married couple and questions them to determine the validity of their marriage. If the officer suspects that the marriage is only to obtain a green card, then the couple is informed of the officer's suspicion and held for further questioning. A case is only investigated if something in the file piques the interest of a investigating officer. If no suspicions are raised, then the officer stamps

the immigrant's passport "temporary resident," and a green card is issued a few months later. The penalty for a U.S. citizen committing fraud against the government is up to ten years imprisonment and a maximum fine of \$250,000. An illegal immigrant would be imprisoned, deported and forever banned from returning to the United States.

However, these penalties do not deter either the many women and men desperate to stay in the United States, or the American citizens who, usually for a hefty fee, are willing to help them. Marriage swindles are just one of a number of ways in which some desperate illegal immigrants, who wish to stay in the United States, are exploited by profiteers. Human smugglers or "coyotes" charge other illegal immigrants about \$2,000 per person to smuggle them across the border, while some boat owners charge upwards of \$1,000 per person to ferry people from Cuba, Haiti or Jamaica and drop them off on one of Florida's beaches.

However, phony nuptials can be even more lucrative for profiteering brides and grooms than smuggling. Prices for green card husbands and wives range from \$5,000 to \$20,000, and some return repeatedly to City Hall with new spouses. Last July, Manhattan's District Attorney

The penalty for a U.S. citizen committing fraud against the government is up to ten years imprisonment and a maximum fine of \$250,000. An illegal immigrant would be imprisoned, deported and forever banned from returning to the United States.

Robert Morgenthau exposed a scheme by six women who had obtained a total of 43 licenses for sham marriages, charging their husbands \$1,000 each. One such woman, Dezerrie Cortes, married 27 times between 1984 and 2000, to men from Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Peru and Pakistan. These marriages were conducted at different city offices throughout the five boroughs, Long Island and even in Florida. In an interview with *Newsday's* Patricia Hurtado, Morgenthau said that these sham marriages warranted closer investigation since they could provide an avenue for terrorists to obtain easy residency.

However, not all marriages and petitions start out with a price tag. Some begin with the

intention of assisting a loved one in obtaining residency. Immigration attorney William Waterman says that in these cases the marriages are valid, but sometimes the relationships go sour before the time of the interview. A sponsoring spouse may then resort to using financial, psychological, emotional or sexual blackmail. A victimized spouse sometimes has to acquiesce to such demands in order to obtain legal residency.

Women and men who have been robbed by a phony spouse have no legal recourse or means of recompense. Michael, for instance, cannot hire an attorney to go after Shauna for breaking an agreement with him, because the contract with her was illegal from the beginning. "He just

has to suck it up and move on," says C.M. Chung, an immigration attorney based in New York. "Often attorneys are not told whether it is a sham marriage or not, but if they suspect that it is, they are bound to refuse to represent the couple before BCIS." Chung explains that an attorney suspected of having any part in the perpetuation of defrauding the government can be investigated, fined, disbarred and imprisoned.

For many immigrants, the obstacles to a successful green card marriage are formidable. To prove that their marriage is valid, they have to overcome the presumption that their marriage is a sham. Even when the parties to a marriage insist it is legitimate, immigration authorities can determine otherwise. According to BCIS, about 4,000 people each year are detained on suspicion of committing fraudulent marriages; about half of these are prosecuted. On October 27, the *San Antonio Express-News* highlighted the plight of a widow who challenged the BCIS in court, to uphold the petition her husband made on her behalf before he died. Dina Korb arrived from Israel in March 1989, met Raul "Paul" Correa and was married to him six months later. For almost six years, Correa actively petitioned for his wife to obtain legal residency.

Prices for green card husbands and wives range from \$5,000 to \$20,000 and some return repeatedly to City Hall with new spouses.

On February 14, 1995, Correa died of AIDS. Eight years later, BCIS declared that Correa's and Korb's marriage was a sham.

Immigration authorities claim the marriage was never valid because they can prove that she is a lesbian and that her husband was gay. BCIS has jumped into the escalating debate on same-sex marriages by prosecuting Korb under the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), a 1996 law defining marriage in strict terms as the union of a man and a woman. The authorities claim that when they visited Korb and Correa's house, they found out that Korb had shared a room with another woman and Correa had shared a room with another man. BCIS claimed that the marriage wasn't consummated, making it a marriage in name only.

Korb's attorney Azar-Farr explains that Correa was bi-sexual. But immigration

officials maintain that the marriage was not bona fide. The judge has sent the case back to BCIS. According to Azar-Farr, this may finally mean that she'll get her permanent resident status, but the question is — how long will BCIS take to issue it?

Since the Sept. 11 attacks, immigration authorities are cracking down harder than ever on those they suspect of lying when they say, "I do." Despite tighter scrutiny by the authorities and the failure of his first attempt at a green card marriage, Michael does not intend to give up. He is lying low for a while — to avoid arousing any suspicions and to recoup his finances.

But he intends to marry again, and hopes he will meet someone without a price tag. He thinks that, on his second try, he might consummate the marriage, though it would mean living a double life with a new lover. D&S

LEARNING CURVE

NEW TEACHER PUT TO THE TEST IN INNER CITY CLASSROOMS

BY GAVIN O'MALLEY

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MEI YING PAN

In the settled middle class suburb of Englewood, Colorado where Amy Zolla was raised, a good education was simply expected. Both of her parents taught in public schools and while Zolla could not envision herself teaching, she never doubted that she would be good at it. After Zolla graduated from Washington University in Saint Louis, in 2001, with a degree in English Literature,

she and a friend ventured to New York to begin their teaching careers. For Zolla, the job would be her chance to make a difference in the nation's largest public school system.

At the beginning of 2002, Zolla, age 22, began teaching at the Captain Manuel Rivera, Jr. School, or PS/MS 279, in the South Bronx. School administrators told Zolla, who had no prior training, that she was more suited for the ele-

mentary school, but the only positions available were in the middle school. Fortunately for her, New York's public school system relies on quixotic neophytes such as herself to fill a constant stream of vacancies. And PS/MS 279, on Walton Avenue and 180th Street, is under constant pressure to find willing and able staff.

When Zolla arrived at PS/MS 279, 18 out of the 20 teachers in the middle school



First Drafts

In a dem...

Amy Zolla, teacher at PS/MS 279, writes the day's lesson on the board.

had less than five years of experience and every sixth grade Language Arts teacher was new. Because of difficult and often threatening student behavior, teacher burnout is high at the school. "It is not a friendly work environment," says Zolla. She continues: "It's dangerous...a teacher was punched on the Friday before I arrived when she was caught between two fighting students."

Fledgling teachers need to learn to cope quickly. They can rely on support from fellow teachers, but rarely from administrators, say teachers at PS/MS 279. "You're totally stressed out and tired," insists Zolla. "It's really very hard."

Before she actually began to teach, Zolla expected that her new job would probably take over her life, but no one could have prepared her for what that would really mean. Anxious to see for myself what sort of challenges these emergent educators actually face, I decided to go along with her for a day of classes at PS/MS 279.

I met Zolla near her Upper West Side apartment before dawn on that late November date in 2002. In person, Zolla could pass for a 15-year-old if she were not so often drained of enthusiasm after long hours of work. Her features are modest and unadorned; she never wears makeup or

indulges herself in the expensive clothing that so many young professionals seem to cherish. Everything about her is seemingly normal except for that unexplained and powerful impulse that drives her toward the South Bronx day in and day out.

The sun has not yet risen as we make our way through the empty street of a commercial district in the Bronx. Angel, the school's head custodian, is preparing for the school day while security guards drink bodega-bought coffee and hot breakfast rolls.

Zolla climbs the stairs to her fifth floor classroom and begins to prepare for class. The room has the comforting clutter one expects in a schoolroom, covered as it is with chalkboards and maps. Papers of every color and size line the walls, displaying students' collages and drawings, charts, study plans, graphs and question-and-answer sheets.

At the back of the room stand three old Macintosh computers that have not been used as long as anyone can remember, after the single printer broke down and all three gray mouse balls were stolen. Near them is a wine and lavender shag rug that serves as a reading area for the students. "Story topic" charts hang from the ceiling above.

Two large windows face eastward over the austere

gray Bronx cityscape of warehouses, apartment complexes and — at this early hour of the morning — vacant basketball courts. And in the distance the Number 4 express train periodically rumbles past on its elevated tracks.

PS/MS 279 falls within Region 1, one of the ten new school regions established by Mayor Michael Bloomberg, who overhauled the public school system during his first year in office and made improving the schools a top priority for his administration. Winning control of the system, itself an early victory, raised public expectations sharply. Bloomberg has also offered superintendents bonuses of up to \$40,000 — the starting salary for a new teacher — if they significantly improve test scores in their districts.

The new system penalizes schools that perform below average on CTB Math and English Language Arts multiple-choice testing, mandated by the city, and NYS Math and English Language Arts testing. The fourth and eighth grades are benchmark years when determining a school's performance. Each test is given once a year; CTB testing at the end of the school year in April, and state testing for benchmarks in January.

Region 1 administrators who track the academic performance of the students in



Zolla, in a rare quiet moment, ensures that the students understand the lesson.

each of the region's 66 elementary schools and 20 middle schools put PS/MS 279 on the equivalent of academic probation in 2002 because NYS Math and English Language Arts scores were consistently below average. (In Spring 2003, 41 percent of New York City students in grades three through eight either met or exceeded city and state reading exam standards, according to the NYC Department of Education Web site.)

This puts pressure on teachers like Zolla to add to their curricula. For example, district mandates state that all students should receive three periods, or two hours, of

English instruction daily, up from the single 50-minute period taught previously.

If the fourth and eighth graders' scores failed to improve at the end of the school year, the school would have become classified as a School Under Registration Review, in which case the state would take over, replace staff and monitor the school on a constant basis. "The entire middle school is determined not to let that happen," says Ellen Flanagan, a staff developer at PS/MS 279. To improve her students' English scores, during the fall of 2002, her first semester at the school, Zolla tutored her stu-

dents on Saturdays, days for which she was paid at her regular rate.

On this morning, Margie Metsch, a thickset, good-natured guidance counselor, stops by to greet Zolla. They chat about planned objectives for the week — addressing students with academic or behavioral issues, planning future field trips and activities, and monitoring Zolla's professional development. Just before 8:30 a.m., Zolla's first students begin to wander into the classroom. Each student wears the required white top and gray bottom outfits that make up the school's dress code.

Zolla is ready for them. In an instant, her usually reticent manner disappears; Amy Zolla becomes Ms. Zolla as she barks: "Number one! You have to behave.

Number two! You have to take that earring out of your ear, Christian.

Number three! You have to be very careful not to trip or pull on the wire for the projector."

"O.K.!" bellows Zolla. "Jackets off! I like how table three has been quiet and is ready to begin picking jobs. O.K. Who is going to pick jobs?...When I call your name, you have seven seconds to pick." As Zolla takes attendance, the students pick their jobs for the day — board eraser, librarian, teacher's helper and messenger.

Graded assignments and materials are taken out next. The topic of the day is "short stories." Andrew, a docile and rather large boy sits quietly, visibly relieved to have been excluded from the girl-chatter to his left and right. Christian reads for the class; his delivery is practiced and fluid.

The students learn the difference between "action" and "reaction." Zolla peppers her explanations with encouragement: "Good, you have a lot to say about that idea...We just had a discussion "

When the students become rambunctious, Zolla initiates a

countdown to quiet. "Five, four, three O.K., quiet!" she calls out.

At lunchtime, we head downstairs to the cafeteria to drop off her first class and collect her second. As we approach the cafeteria, the reek of processed lunches and chemical agents, together with the shouts of students, hits us hard. The students of PS/MS 279 are allowed two gym classes a week, and no recess during a six-and-a-half-hour day because, as Metsch, the guidance counselor, explains, "the kids would kill each other." In the cafeteria, with its noise and jostling and food fights, the pent-up energy is palpable.

I had been forewarned about Zolla's second class, which has a reputation for being trouble. Zolla herself had said that she "hadn't quite established [the] grounds for authority, or respect, with this class yet."

As we escort the new group of students back to the classroom, I notice an abrupt change in Zolla's bearing. She tenses up and appears cautiously aware of everyone and everything around her.

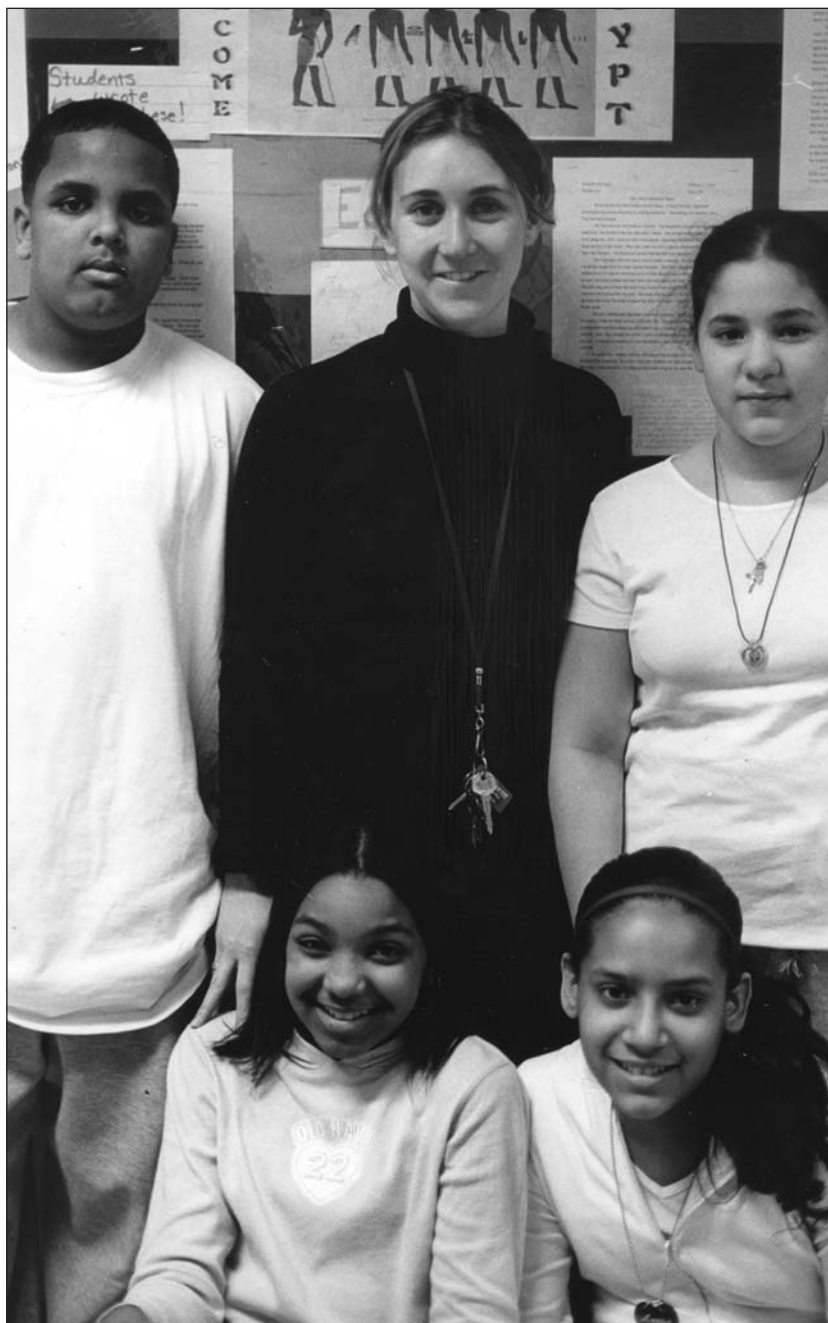
Despite all these signs, I was still unprepared for what I saw. Zolla's hands are full as she tries to lay out the day's lesson plan and is challenged, ignored and derided by her students. Curses and derogatory remarks fly like buy and

sell orders on a commodities trading floor just after the opening bell. Victor, a boy in an extra large t-shirt and silver chain-necklace, introduces himself and, when told of my reason for being in the classroom, says with a straight face, "What do you want to know because I'm the guy you want to talk to."

Zolla had warned me in advance about two of the students, Avery and Jesus. Avery, by far the biggest 11-year-old in the class, is the resident alpha-male and, along with Jesus, rules over the class. At times when things get out of hand, he can get his classmates to simmer down. But then there are moments like this: chewing on a plastic straw with obvious boredom, he rips away the book that Zolla is reading to the class — *The Three Little Pigs* — and tears it to pieces. Zolla, however, does not react.

Instead, she begins reading another book. She attempts to discuss the meaning of the word "hysterical" with the handful of students that are still paying attention. Vulgar gestures and remarks are still flying around them; a single sneaker soars through the air in her direction.

No scolding, no reprimands, no call for order. Eventually Zolla picks up the phone near the door and places a call to the assistant principal in



Zolla poses with some of her students.

charge of disciplining the student body. After a long delay, she is told that the assistant principal is busy and, given no further instruction, she decides to soldier on with her lesson plan.

"A great deal isn't expected from these kids, and they don't expect much in return," explained Metsch the guidance counselor when we spoke toward the end of the school day. Zolla wishes she

could do more with the really difficult students, but concedes, "I don't know where most of them are coming from."

Like many teachers in the New York City school system, Zolla is doing yeomen's work.

"I don't care about the money," she says, noting that she has already spent over \$1,000 of her own money on school supplies for her students — a common practice among the most dedicated public school teachers.

Most teachers in their first year understand their options are quite limited and simply try to make the best of a bad situation.

"Schools in the suburbs don't hire first year teachers," explains Zolla. She understands that her current situation, as terrifying as it might appear, is principally a time for accelerated learning.

Zolla will graduate with a Masters Degree in Education from Mercy College in May, and she knows that if she can tough it out for three years in the South Bronx, she will become, in her words, "a very employable person."

Sadly for her students, she plans to leave the South Bronx as soon as possible. "I want to go somewhere where I can improve my teaching abilities," she says. "These schools need exceptional teachers, and I'm just not there yet." D&S

B I G

D I G

A SANDHOG'S LIFE
UNDERGROUND

BY J.D. WONNACOTT

In the purple-blue light that comes just before dawn and hours before men and women wearing suits ascend to the tops of skyscrapers a block away, John Roache and his co-workers prepare to descend into a cold tunnel 60 stories beneath the streets of New York City.

"Doesn't matter if it's January or July," says Roache with a thick Irish brogue. "I still gotta wear my long johns to keep warm."

By layering a dark, long-sleeved shirt and then a plaid flannel one, Roache, a 30-year veteran of New York's underground, is insulated from the 40 to 50 degree Fahrenheit tunnel air.

He tightens the brown laces of his steel-toed boots, dusty and caked with mud. Between his lips bounces a cigarette, tickled by his thick, brown mustache and stubbled cheeks. The green, plastic hard hat, cinched tightly, frames steel-blue eyes.

Roache is a member of the Compressed Air and Free Air Shafts, Tunnels, Foundations, Caissons, Subway, Sewer Cofferdam Construction Workers of New York, New Jersey States and Vicinity; just one of the 697 units of the Local 147 Union. Together, these men make up a fraternal organization that has been working beneath the blacktop and concrete of the city for more than



Sandhogs drill into bedrock underground. [Photo source: Department of Environmental Protection]

100 years. They are the sandhogs.

Subway tunnels, sewer lines, water mains, and more, are all the work of sandhogs like Roache. They are the city's surgeons; cutting through rock and dirt underground, carving the veins and arteries that give life to the city. The efforts of these unseen workers have not only built New York City, but have kept it alive.

Roache, a native of Ireland, came to America in search of economic opportunity in the 1970s. "With a couple of kids, you gotta get up in the morning," says Roache, explaining why he began to work with the sandhogs. "They were looking for guys in the 70's

and I decided to start somewhere," he says.

That somewhere has led to 10th Avenue and 30th Street where sandhogs are working on a section of New York City's Water Tunnel #3 — a project that is vital to the city's water supply.

Currently New York City's water is brought from upstate via two aging tunnels. City Tunnel #1 and City Tunnel #2, built in 1917 and 1938 respectively, are becoming increasingly dilapidated. They have yet to be shut down for maintenance or repair. since first being put into service. Doing so would be impossible. Closing down just one of the tunnels would cut the city's water supply in half, crippling

New York and depriving millions of water.

In 1970, the New York Department of Environmental Protection (NYCDEP) began constructing a third tunnel that would allow city officials to shut down one of the antiquated tunnels for repair. Originally slated as a 40-year project, the anticipated completion date for the 60-mile tunnel is now 2020. When completed, the tunnel will have cost roughly \$6.7 billion, making it one of the single largest public works projects in history, according to Mike Greenberg, a former NYCDEP official overseeing the tunnel project.

City Tunnel #3 will run from Van Cortlandt Park through Manhattan, beneath Queens and Brooklyn, and into Staten Island. Roache and several other sandhogs have been working on City Tunnel #3 for most of their careers.

The work is now second nature. Each workday, before the sun rises, Roache and his fellow sandhogs meet in the Hoghouse, a doublewide trailer of sorts located at the work site, just steps from the gaping shaft that leads below

the surface. Outside hangs a white plaque with the words, "Local 147, Sandhogs."

Inside, the air is clouded blue with cigarette smoke. Doughnuts and bagels are scattered on a table next to the coffee machines while men lounge around cradling steaming cups of coffee in their hands. They share stories and trade jokes back and forth. Some sandhogs sit in metal folding chairs while others stand. Smiles and slaps on the back erupt with punch lines as friends rib each other, using their respective nicknames. It feels like a clubhouse complete with showers, microwave and a washer and dryer. On the walls hang pictures of sandhogs from years past and present, faces young and old, some still there, some others retired or deceased.

The profession's dangers are apparent even at 7 a.m. when work begins. Before their trip down into a world that few know exist, sandhogs turn their tags on the white "Check-in, Check-out" board that stands at the top of the shaft. Small metal tags, each about the size of a silver dollar with a hole punched out, are

turned from the green side to the red. After coming out, the tags are changed back. This simple ritual at the beginning and end of each workday helps to account for each person who goes in and out of the tunnel, improving safety at the site.

After turning their tags, the sandhogs, in groups of no more than four, step into the elevator, a cylindrical cage of yellow, grated steel that dangles by a single cable. Along one side slides a metal door. The floor is made of a tightly woven steel mesh that enables the riders to see straight down into the 600-foot abyss.

"It's an experience unto itself," says Noel Howard, one of the few African-American sandhogs working on the first shift at the 10th Avenue site. "You're lowered down in a cage, like you're Hannibal Lector in *Silence of the Lambs*. But I'll tell you one thing — down here, all of us are real. We watch out for each other."

A few feet from the muddy bottom, a small circle of daylight remains overhead as the elevator passes from the vertical shaft and into the darker horizontal tunnel jetting off

"I'LL TELL YOU ONE THING —
DOWN HERE, ALL OF US ARE REAL.
WE WATCH OUT FOR EACH OTHER."

about 100 feet in either direction. Stepping from the elevator into soft mud, the water is ankle deep. The air at that depth stays cool and very damp, seeming much heavier than the air above. It chills to the bone. The lighting system that runs the length of the tunnel casts a light-green glow. It's low light, but enough for the job at hand.

Large white ventilation ducts run along the top of the tunnel's facade, circulating air from above. Other cables, mostly electric, follow the same path, as does a pump ready to clear water from the expanse if needed. Water drips from the vertical shaft leading downward, forming a perfect circle of rain. Inside the tunnel, sandhogs have lined the face with steel girders and scaffolding in an attempt to reinforce the ceiling and walls.

Once descended into the tunnel the real work begins. And it is grueling. Hour upon hour, sandhogs load debris and dump it into a giant metal bucket that holds 8 to 10 cubic yards. When the bucket is full, it is pulled by the crane cable back up through the vertical shaft and emptied up top.

The work is backbreaking and the risks are ever-present. Twenty-four people have been killed on the job since the early 1970s when work on the tunnel began. In the environment in which the sandhogs



A finished section of a tunnel. [Photo source: Department of Environmental Protection]

labor, using heavy machinery and explosives, accidents happen. Occasional cave-ins or other accidents with heavy equipment have resulted in an average of one death per Tunnel #3 project mile. It is a risk that Roache and his fellow workers seem willing to take. Sandhogs can earn upwards of \$2,000 a week and sandhogs earn a salary that is nearly six figures before taxes.

Roache says that conditions have improved significantly over the years. "It's different now than it was years ago," says Roache. But dangers persist. "I wouldn't recommend it

for any young man," he says. Now, as the site's safety coordinator, Roache works to keep himself and his fellow sandhogs safe.

Roache and his co-workers, revealing a hint of superstition, seem uncomfortable talking about accidents and the dangers they've seen firsthand. There's also an emotional barrier. Sandhogs explain that talking about a co-worker's death is like talking about losing a brother. The analogy to a family is apt. "Most of these guys are second generation or more," explains James Ryan, Union

President of the Local 147 and third generation sandhog. "That's how you find out about it, because your fathers are in it." Ryan is living proof of this. In 1922, his grandfather began working in the tunnels. In 1937, his father followed. "In 1970, I started," says Ryan. "And my one boy started in '95 or '96, and the other boy just started two years ago. We got four generations," says Ryan

Roache is different in that he's an immigrant. While he remains pleased with the line of work he's chosen, he explains that because of the risks inherent in his job, he wants something different for his own children.

Two of Roache's children have spent time working in the tunnel, but only for summer jobs. "I told 'em when they're coming down here, 'You're just coming down here to get a few dollars for the summer and that's it,'" says Roache, his voice stern. "I know I wouldn't want to see

my sons down here. I know my wife wouldn't want to see 'em down here."

Now, Roache beams when he announces that his two sons have finished college. He's proud they have moved on to work at IBM and Enterprise. His daughter, he proudly says, attends college in Connecticut. Roache's third son is still in high school and is being encouraged by both his parents to choose the same route as his siblings, one above ground and away from the dangers Roache faces on a regular basis.

Though Roache does not want his progeny to follow in his footsteps, it is apparent from the way he jokes, banters and interacts with those around him that, at some level, he loves his job and the camaraderie he has with the men he has worked with for so many years.

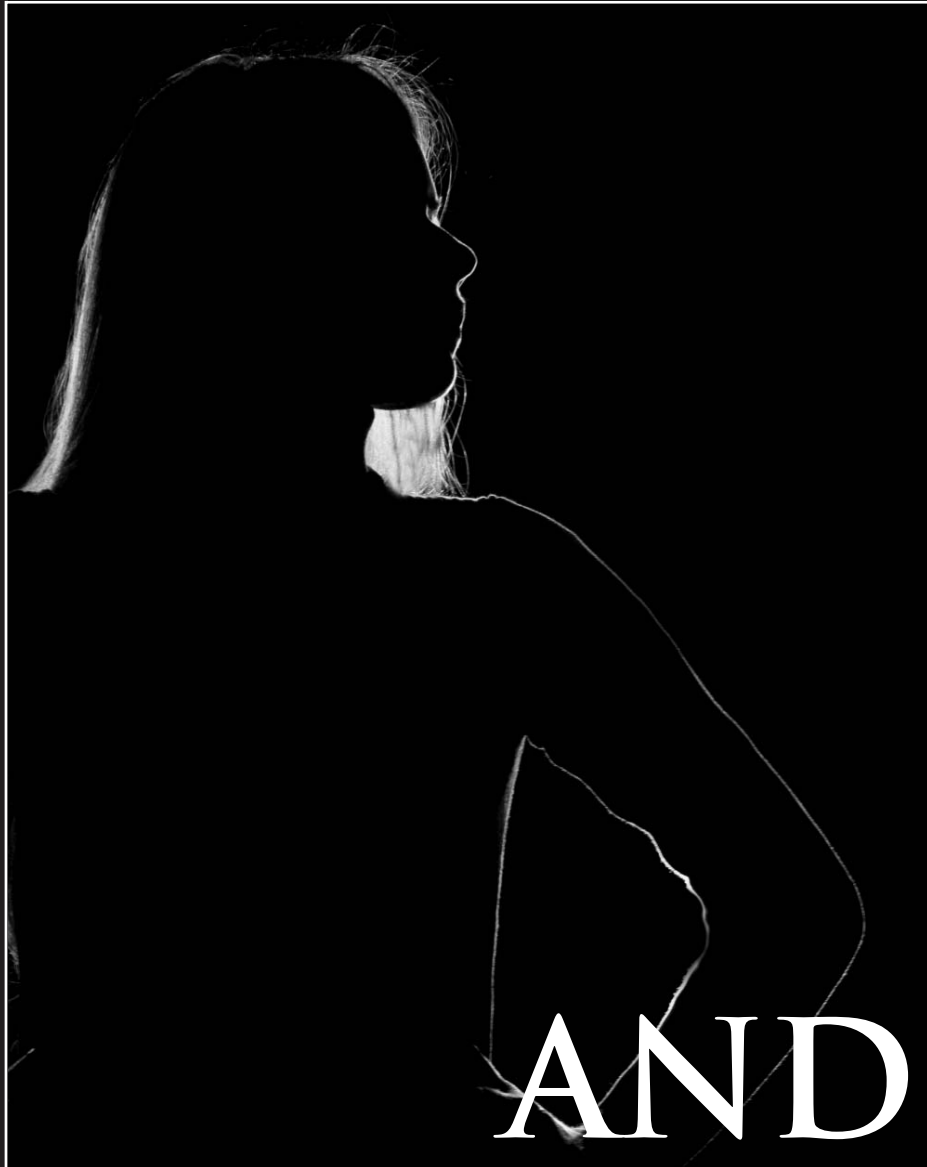
When the shift is over and the work below is called to a halt, sandhogs once again step into the yellow cage.

Slowly brought from the darkness, back into the light, the seriousness on the faces of the men melts away as they squint in the bright light of day. On top, the men switch their tags on the board back to green — another safe day down. Clustered in small groups, they begin to joke once again as they make their way back to the Hoghouse. At the end of the day, it is a welcome place of refuge from the cold tunnel — an informal boys club where friendships runs generations deep.

Decades of work remain and Jim Roache will have spent the entirety of his career working on New York City's Tunnel #3. Its completion will not end the work of the sandhogs. As New York City continues to grow and expand, sandhogs will continue to labor below the concrete jungle. As they do, sandhogs like Roache will continue to don their warm layers and ready themselves for their daily excursions into the city's underground. D&S

SLOWLY BROUGHT FROM
THE DARKNESS, BACK INTO
THE LIGHT, THE SERIOUSNESS
ON THE FACES OF THE MEN
MELTS AWAY AS THEY SQUINT
IN THE BRIGHT LIGHT OF DAY.

MEDIA



THE LAW

PUTTING THE GENIE BACK IN THE BOTTLE

THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA GRAPPLES
WITH OUTING SEX-CRIME VICTIMS

BY PAUL CURCIO

PHOTOGRAPHY BY SYLVIA PERICON

Tom Leykis doesn't know it, but he made Kelly McBride and Bob Steele's job a bit more complicated when he revealed the name of the teen-aged accuser of NBA All-Star Kobe Bryant on his nationally syndicated radio show.

The two Poynter Institute for Media Studies faculty members were working, last summer, to devise a model policy on the widely accepted newsroom practice of protecting sex-crime victims' identities, when Bryant was accused of sexually assaulting the 19-year-old woman during his stay at the Colorado resort where she worked.

So when Leykis repeatedly aired the name of the complainant, the two journalism scholars decided to finish the two-page model policy, which

establishes journalistic and ethical standards for dealing with reporting sex crimes, ahead of schedule. McBride and Steele had been searching for an opportune moment to share what they had learned from months of discussions with reporters, editors, victims, counselors, doctors and feminists. "But it was the Kobe Bryant coverage that really inspired us to take the extra step," McBride says.

For decades, it has been a mostly unwritten rule in American newsrooms that the identities of sex-crime victims should be withheld. However, the practice has been questioned in recent years by reporters, editors, publishers and scholars. The Bryant case has rekindled the debate and thrust the privacy issue into the public spotlight — fueled

by Leykis's revelation, and then fanned by the publication of the alleged victim's photograph on the front page of a supermarket tabloid.

Leykis — a shock jock known for encouraging female listeners to bare their breasts in public, and for encouraging his predominantly male audience to "hit on" victims of incest and sexual abuse because they're "easy" — is not a journalist. For him, there was no ethical question. But his reasoning is shared by some journalists and editors who believe it's time for a change.

In various published reports, Leykis has said he doesn't believe a trial is fair when "you know the name of one person and not the other," so he has continued to use the alleged victim's name



on his Los Angeles-based radio show because he said he believes that Bryant, who plays for the Los Angeles Lakers, is the “real victim.” And if rape is an act of violence by today’s standards, Leykis has argued, rape victims should have nothing to be ashamed of.

Leykis broke no obvious laws by revealing the woman’s name, nor has he subjected himself to civil litigation — at least not yet. Why? Because there is no compelling legal reason for the media to withhold the identities of sex-crimes victims in the United States; it is a matter of newsroom policy and of custom.

According to a report by the Reporters’ Committee for Freedom of the Press, statutory restraints prohibiting the press from naming rape victims are few: Florida and Georgia had statutes on their books until recently, but both were deemed unconstitutional by their respective state Supreme Courts. South Carolina’s statute, however, survived a challenge and journalists in that state who identify rape victims are subject to fines and/or jail sentences. The RCFP also notes, “although the [U.S.] Supreme Court has not held that these statutes are unconstitutional as written, it has ruled that states cannot punish journalists for publishing truthful information they

have obtained from public records or official proceedings.” In *The Florida Star vs. B.J.F.*, concerning an incident in which a sexual-assault victim’s name was inadvertently published, the Court held that “imposing damages on *The Star* for publishing [the victim’s] name violates the First Amendment,” further reinforcing the press’ protection.

So the nagging question remains: Considering there is no clear-cut legal reason not to identify rape victims, should the news media abandon the policy? Maybe, says McBride.

McBride believes that continuing to protect victims’ identities is a good practice — to an extent. Her model policy suggests reporters and editors first seek the victim’s permission to be identified — an idea that has been kicking around for about 15 years, according to Geneva Overholser, a professor at the Missouri School of Journalism and a frequent contributor to Poynteronline.com. But Overholser says this isn’t typically the way journalists and editors operate in the newsroom. “If we decided to ask people if they’d like to be in the newspaper,” she points out, “we’d have a very hard time printing most newsworthy news.”

McBride agrees newsworthiness is an important element to determine before running a story on rape, yet

“there’s always a balance between the public’s right to know and the victim’s right to privacy. Finding that balance is the challenge.”

Newsday columnist Kathleen Gray says balance doesn’t seem to exist in today’s news media. “If you cut off a woman’s arm, we print her name in the paper,” she observes. “Therefore, allowing a woman [who has been raped] to stay anonymous does just as much to victimize her, to blame her and to place her at fault.” And, Gray points out, such outmoded, paternalistic attitudes about anonymity for sex-crime victims only succeed in “objectifying” women, making them less real in readers’ minds.

According to Overholser, the practice of keeping victims anonymous is rooted in “old patterns of thinking” by paternalistic “old men” in the newsroom who, she says, in the genesis of the policy “made the wrong decision,” no matter how well intentioned.

The anonymity policy has survived these many decades while social mores and awareness about sex have evolved with each new generation, McBride observes.

Though policies vary slightly from newsroom to newsroom, concern for the victim appears to be the overarching intention.

“The American media practice of withholding the names

is based on the long-held premise that to do otherwise would further mortify the victim and possibly deter others from reporting the crime," says Scott Wenger, an editor at the *New York Daily News*. He says if the policy were being created today, "the voices of dissent might be louder." But he says he's seen no indication the mainstream media will abandon the practice anytime soon. With the exception of Overholser, everyone interviewed for this story expressed the belief that anonymity policies will remain intact.

In perhaps the most famous instance of a newspaper naming an alleged rape victim, *The New York Times* broke with tradition, and its own policy, and instead of reporting on a controversy, the Gray Lady created one. When a member of the politically powerful Kennedy family, William Kennedy Smith, was on trial for rape in 1992, the *Times* published the name of his accuser after it had been revealed in a televised report on NBC.

Senior News Editor William Borders says that in retrospect, the *Times'* decision was "regrettable." The reasoning, he says, was based on the fact that the name had already been revealed by another news outlet, and the editorial board believed other publica-

tions would follow suit. None did. The *Times*, he says, found itself out on an "uncomfortable limb" on the naming issue, and that is "a place the *Times* does not like to be ethically."

To avoid these thorny ethical dilemmas and restore balance and credibility not just in rape cases but to crime reporting in general, Overholser endorses naming everyone involved because "we get into dicey territory when we make decisions that are based on trying to be merciful, rather than sticking with what we know to be journalistically sound. That means we name people — we don't select one person to protect and not the other."

Balance is McBride's objective, too. But hers is a drastically different approach: If a story protects the identity of the accuser, then it should protect the accused's identity as well.

But Dan Holt, co-publisher of Courier-Life Publications, which publishes 32 weekly community newspapers in the metropolitan area, disagrees. He says that policy won't work, because arrest records are public information and once someone is arrested, "we as journalists can't put the genie back in the bottle."

The model policy, written by McBride and edited by Steele, is one attempt to offer

a standard by which editors and reporters can deal with reporting on sex-crimes because, surprisingly, so many publications do not have a written policy. Indeed, an informal poll of editors at all four major daily newspapers in New York City revealed that only *The New York Times* and *Newsday* have a written policy concerning the handling of sex-crime reportage in their respective stylebooks. The Associated Press, with a stylebook is considered by many to be the last word on journalistic matters, has no written policy regarding the identification of sex-crime victims, says AP attorney David Tomlin.

While editors and scholars continue to argue over the issue, one thing remains clear: It is not likely that anything will change, unless some case, some person or some event causes the media to formulate a standard. But as the Internet and other innovative media outlets grow in popularity, and as access is gained by more diverse points of views, a uniform ethical standard seems harder to attain.

"With the porous communications world we're in today," says Overholser, "it's no longer feasible for mainstream media to be gatekeepers as they were in the past. It's changing before our eyes." D&S

MORTAL DANGER

THE MEDIA'S HIGH-STAKES GAME OF NAMING NAMES

BY EILEEN AJ CONNELLY

ILLUSTRATION BY DONG SUN CHOI

Valerie Plame, Steve Bartman and Stephen Porter inhabit different worlds. Yet, the CIA operative, the infamous Cubs baseball fan and the reputed police informant have at least two things in common: They all became unwittingly embroiled in news stories and the media put their personal safety at risk by revealing their identities.

While the circumstances of each news story vary, all three raise fundamental questions for journalists about when it is proper to publicly identify the subject or source of a news story if doing so could place that person in danger.

Editors and reporters say there is no easy way to determine when to withhold publication of an individual's name for fear that he might be endangered. The details of each case must be weighed in the context of a given news organization's policies and a reporter's personal standards.

Yet in the end, most editors agree that truth is a key criterion. "A newspaper's role first and foremost is to report the news," says Scott Gillespie,

managing editor of the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, the paper that revealed Porter's history as a Minneapolis police informant. While the details of a case may influence the decision-making process, Gillespie says, the fear that something might happen as a result of publication is at best just one factor to be considered.

Other factors that have to be weighed, journalists agree, are the media savvy of a news subject, the context in which an individual's name might become relevant and the motives of the news source that is naming names not already in the news.

Finally, says Gary Hill of the Society of Professional Journalists Ethics Committee, journalists must ask: "Is the public interest served?"

In the case of Valerie Plame, the CIA operative whose name was revealed by "two senior Bush administration officials" and who became the subject of a now infamous column by the syndicated columnist Robert Novak in July 2003, the motives of the sources were called into question.

The veteran conservative

scribe said he learned Plame's identity when he asked White House sources why her husband, former Ambassador Joseph Wilson IV, a Democrat, had been selected to go to Africa to investigate claims that then-Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein had tried to buy enriched uranium there. Wilson determined that Hussein had not bought uranium in Nigeria, and, shortly before Novak's column ran, publicly criticized President Bush's claim that the U.S. government had evidence Saddam tried to purchase the nuclear weapons component as part of the justification for the Iraq war.

Novak's column identifying Plame as a CIA "operative on weapons of mass destruction" went largely unnoticed until September 2003, when it became known that the Justice Department had launched an investigation to discover Novak's sources; leaking the name of an undercover agent is against the law. In the firestorm that followed, the *Washington Post* reported that the White House had contacted several other journalists

about Plame, which some observers say lends support to the view that the leak was a response to Wilson's criticism, and Novak had played into the administration's hands.

David Corn, the Washington editor for *The Nation* magazine, also believes the Bush administration used Novak's column to retaliate against Wilson. Two days after Novak's column titled—"A White House Smear," Corn wrote, "Wilson caused problems for the White House, and his wife was outed as an undercover CIA officer." He quoted Wilson, who charged the leak was intended to intimidate others who might criticize the Bush administration.

Corn argues that Novak should have known better. In a telephone interview, Corn said that even though he writes for a publication that generally has an adversarial relationship with government, he has protected the identities of a number of CIA agents, both during their careers and after they retired. Corn says the nature of undercover work means that CIA staffers deserve special handling by the media. "When a fellow asked me not to name him because his family was overseas, I didn't," Corn said of one retired agent.

Corn was reluctant to suggest specific guidelines for

when it might be proper for a journalist to reveal the name of an agent against her wishes. "I don't know if you could come up with any good standard," he says, noting that one exception might be if a reporter discovered that an agent was involved in an illegal activity, such as Iran/Contra. "Context is everything" in cases like this, says Corn.

Indeed, the potential harm that might befall Plame following the revelation of her identity wasn't the only ethical lapse in the Plame case, according to the SPJ's Gary Hill. Novak's connection to conservative causes also raises ethical questions, says Hill, as does Novak's failure to question the motives of his sources. Indeed, some leading journalists believe Novak should now reveal his sources.

"As a piece of journalism, the Novak column raises disturbing ethical questions," wrote Geneva Overholser, a professor at the University of Missouri School of Journalism and member of *The New York Times* editorial board, in a Times Op-Ed column in February. "He apparently turned a time-honored use of confidentiality — protecting a whistleblower from government retribution — on its head, delivering government retribution to the whistle-

blower instead. Worse, he enabled his sources to illegally divulge intelligence information," she wrote.

It is generally in the public interest for journalists to protect anonymous sources, Overholser wrote. "But it is also in the public interest for journalists to speak out against ethical lapses in their craft. Far from undermining the principle of confidentiality, our acknowledgment that protecting sources can be used for ill as well as for good can bolster it, reassuring a public that often wonders who is watching the watchdog."

Hill noted that the SPJ code of ethics reminds journalists to question their sources' motives and make every effort to "Minimize Harm." One of the tenets of the code under that heading says, "Recognize that private people have a greater right to control information about themselves than do public officials and others who seek power, influence or attention. Only an overriding public need can justify intrusion into anyone's privacy."

Ironically, the naming of Stephen Porter might also have been an act of retaliation, one that put the reputed police informant, who had a string of arrests for minor drug activity and possession, in grave mortal danger.

On Oct. 15, Porter's name

became known to the residents of Minneapolis when local papers and television stations reported an accusation by Porter that two city police officers had sodomized him with the handle of a plunger during a drug raid, an allegation that recalled the 1997 assault of Abner Louima in a Brooklyn station house.

Two days later, the *Minneapolis Star-Tribune* led its Metro section with a story headlined "Alleged Victim Was Informer." The story began, "The man accusing a Minneapolis police officer of sexually assaulting him during a drug raid was a confidential informant for the officer, sources with knowledge of the case said."

The possibility that Porter's life might be endangered by the disclosure did not come up during the afternoon editorial meeting. Rather, the editors debated whether to run the item on Page 1 or the second book Metro Section cover, where it eventually landed. "We really didn't talk about concerns about Mr. Porter's safety," says Scott Gillespie of the *Star Tribune*. Later that evening, another editor called Gillespie at home to express some misgivings about identifying a police informant.

"A lot of this newspaper's policies of what not to print are about protecting victims," Gillespie says, noting that

they don't name juveniles or sexual abuse victims in most cases. But in this case, he says, Porter had held a news conference about his allegations, during which he identified the cops he was accusing by name. With such a high profile case, the decision about running the story was not difficult, he says. "We felt that any previous relationship that (Porter) might have had with the police officers who he alleged assaulted him was newsworthy and relevant," he says. "Do we keep that from our readers because we're concerned about what might happen to Mr. Porter? It wasn't a decision we took lightly, but it was also a pretty clear one."

The report generated an outcry, with other publications and area residents saying the *Star-Tribune* put Porter at risk by publishing the claim. "In the North Minneapolis neighborhood where Porter was arrested this week, 'snitches' face beatings or death for leading police to drug dealers and traffickers, residents said," the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* wrote in response to a press conference at which Porter denied being an informant.

"I'm scared — I don't know what to say or what to do," said Porter at a press conference after the story ran. "I'm not an informant. I never was, never will be."

No charges were filed

against Porter from the incident in question. In December, he was sentenced to three years and nine months in prison for fifth-degree drug possession stemming from a drug arrest in January 2002. He is also serving a concurrent two and a half year sentence on drug charges that arose from another raid in November, after the search that led to his allegations against the cops.

The SPJ's Hill, who is the managing director of news at KSTP-TV, the Twin Cities ABC affiliate, says his reporters had also been hearing rumors about Porter's association with the police prior to the alleged attack, but had not tracked down the documentary evidence that the *Star Tribune* produced. "I didn't know if we would report it, because it could get the guy killed," he says. "There have been past incidences where drug informants got killed."

Then again, Hill says, the documentation — arrest records that included notes about offers from Porter to help police — to back up the story was in the public record, where ostensibly anyone who wanted to get it could do so, he says. When he saw the *Star Tribune* story, Hill says, "I questioned it a little bit," but some of the information probably would have come out anyway, he adds.

Ironically, the case of the infamous baseball fan may raise the most ambiguous ethical dilemmas. It is difficult to argue that the public interest was served by the publication of Steve Bartman's name. Given the publicity surrounding the event that brought Bartman his 15 minutes of fame, it is equally difficult to argue that news organizations could have withheld his name for long. Yet there is little doubt that revealing his identity endangered Bartman, at least temporarily.

Bartman is the hapless Chicago Cubs fan who interfered with the team's Moises Alou when the left fielder attempted to catch a fly ball in foul territory during the eighth inning of the National League Championship Series Game Six last October in Chicago. The Cubs lost their momentum, and ultimately the game.

The next morning, Bartman's photo and name were plastered on the cover of the *Chicago Sun-Times* and other Windy City papers. Since Bartman had been escorted by security and police out of Wrigley Field amid a barrage of verbal abuse, Bob Steele, the director of the Poynter Institute's Ethics Program, questioned how fair it was to publicize Bartman's name. "I see no justifiable purpose for a public pillorying ...," he wrote the day after the game

in his column on the Poynter Web site. "And I see no journalistic purpose for naming the guy, even if his action is the talk of the town."

However, Bartman was also fingered on the Internet. Just moments after the game, his name, home address and home and work telephone numbers were posted on Major League Baseball's Web site, MLB.com and reposted several times, after administrators took the information down, on the site and others. Bartman had to disconnect his home telephone, was unable to go to work and received several threats.

Since the play in question happened on national television, it is doubtful Bartman's name could have been kept secret. "It's one of those moments in baseball that rises above the event," Hill says. "The guy will become a legend." Since Bartman was the "who" of the story, "it's not an inconsequential fact," he adds.

In each case, the decision to reveal the identity of a reluctant news subject rested with the judgment of the journalists covering the story and the news organizations they work for. There are no laws prohibiting the publication of an individual's identity even if publication puts the subject at risk.

However, in journalism as in libel law, most journalists agree that the bar for revealing

the name of a private individual should be set much higher than for disclosing the name of a public figure.

Aly Colon, Poynter's Ethics Group Leader, says one key to making decisions when the subject of a story might be placed in danger is to ask more questions. Like Corn, he says the first issue is to consider whether the name is critical to the story, and what consequences might result from making the name public. While a news subject's profession or activities — employment with the CIA or working as police informant, for instance — shouldn't determine the standards used to determine whether her identity should be revealed, says Colon, "I think that what the individual does helps [determine] how you're going to apply your standards."

On the street, the issue may not be as hard to handle as it seems. Reporter Lawrence McShane, a 23-year veteran who works at the Associated Press New York City Metro desk, says he would hesitate before printing a name if he thought doing so might endanger the person. "I think it's better to err on the side of caution in these cases," the reporter says. "Once somebody's identified in a story, they can never go back to anonymity. It's the old, 'You can't unring' a bell deal." D&S

DANGEROUS LIAISONS

THE REPORTER-SOURCE RELATIONSHIP GETS A CLOSER LOOK

BY HILARY JOHNSON

Thirty years ago, at a school board meeting, Dennis Foley shook hands with his girlfriend of the time as if they had never met. The couple had been dating for several months, but each was uncomfortable admitting they knew each other. The reason: the school board was Foley's beat as a reporter, and his girlfriend was chair of the teacher's union bargaining unit.

Now, in his 50s, married to someone else and a veteran reporter at the *Orange County Register*, Foley is working on writing and implementing an ethics policy for his newspaper.

Foley says the code will encourage reporters to discuss ethical questions with their editors, and will leave room for a "reasonableness standard" in situations such

as meals with sources, in which personal judgment comes into play.

Foley writes, in an e-mail interview, that prior to the new code for the *Register*, "numerous policies and guidelines were written, distributed and stuck into a black binder. Some knew the policies. Others didn't." *The Register's* goal is to create an ethics "framework" that clearly states the paper's ethical standards. It will be distributed to all editorial staff.

The Register's code will specify, as do those of many other news organizations, that reporters should maintain an appropriate distance from sources, to avoid, as *The New York Times'* code requires, even the appearance of a conflict of interest.

Romantic relationship with subjects and sources are off limits.

"I don't care if you sleep with elephants, as long as you don't cover the circus," former *New York Times* Executive Editor Abe Rosenthal is quoted as having said. According to Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel, in their book, *The Elements of Journalism*, Rosenthal made this statement in 1977, after the *Times* fired a reporter who was having a relationship with a source. The reporter had worked for *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, and *The Inquirer* disclosed that she was involved with a politician she had covered while there.

In another more recent example of a journalist-source relationship that overstepped boundaries, in April 2002, Suzy Wetlaufer was forced to resign as editor of the *Harvard Business Review*, when her affair with General

Electric Chief Executive Officer Jack Welch was made public. The affair began while Wetlaufer was reporting and writing a profile on Welch for the publication.

Clearly, romantic relationships with sources are problematic. But even platonic friendships can raise issues.

Carol Loomis, a widely respected *Fortune* magazine writer, has a close friendship with someone she has included in her stories, Berkshire-Hathaway Chief Executive Officer Warren Buffett. Loomis's stories on Buffett and his business interests typically include breezy disclosures of their friendship, including their bridge-playing camaraderie and the fact that she has edited Berkshire Hathaway's annual reports.

Loomis sometimes implies that her readers benefit from her close ties to Buffett. For example, in a story on the Long Term Capital Management hedge fund disaster, she wrote: "[W]e understand, to an extent that no other can, the role played in this affair by noted investor Warren Buffett, who is a longtime friend of this writer."

Floyd Norris, *The New York Times* business reporter, called Loomis "an inspiration" in a *Columbia Journalism Review* article published in

2000, saying that Loomis has the ability to analyze publicly available accounting material and catch footnote disclosures that other parties — including the Securities and Exchange Commission — may sometimes miss.

Norris did not judge the implications of Loomis's friendship with Buffett, except to comment that the relationship "goes far beyond reporter-source," and that "she is always meticulous about disclosing the relationship."

But when is close too close? And does disclosure solve the problem?

options with them. He writes in an e-mail, "I don't want the editor deciding who I can date, but I want to know the consequences to me should I go ahead. I also want to make sure I do not hurt my credibility or my news organization's (or hers with her organization and co-workers, for that matter.)"

In fact, Foley ran across the same problem in his role as an editor: a reporter whom he supervised disclosed a romantic interest in a source on that reporter's beat. After consulting with Foley and learning that the paper's ethics prevented him from

I don't want the editor deciding who I can date, but I want to know the consequences to me should I go ahead.

Lucy Morgan, a Pulitzer Prize-winning investigative reporter at the *St. Petersburg Times*, writes in an e-mail, "There is a delicate line between being friendly with sources and getting to be too close to them. It's hard to walk and one you will always have to think about."

The Register's Foley reflects back upon his romance with the union negotiator and concludes that he should have disclosed the relationship to his editors and discussed his

pursuing the relationship, the reporter waited until he was off his beat, and on a special project, before beginning to date the woman.

By the time the reporter returned to his beat, a relationship had developed, and his new girlfriend decided to change jobs to avoid any conflict of interest.

Foley writes: "They were married a year later, and I was the best man at their wedding. They are happy still, with two kids." D&S

EMBEDDED IN OR FROM WITHOUT

JOURNALISTS' VANTAGE POINTS REFLECT WAR COVERAGE DEBATE

BY MARTINNE GELLER

When the United States unleashed its “Shock and Awe” bombs on the Iraqi people, Jim Rupert of *Newsday* was in neighboring Jordan, waiting for an Iraqi visa, which was taking way too long. Since he chose to operate independently of Pentagon parameters, he was at the mercy of the inefficient Iraqi bureaucracy. However once the war started, the country’s borders were sealed. He had to watch events unfold from outside.

Meanwhile, at the war’s front lines, Tom Frank, a young colleague who normally covered homeland security from the paper’s Washington bureau, found himself poised for action. In his first foreign reporting assignment, he was eating, sleeping and living with a unit of the American army. He was one of more than 700 “embedded” journalists

enrolled in a Pentagon program designed to give the media unfettered access to allied soldiers as they fought the war — a complete departure from how the media was allowed to cover the first Gulf War.

During Operation Desert Storm, members of the Defense Department’s “national media pool” — a group of 17 journalists: seven from television, five from news wires, two from newspapers, two from news magazines and one from radio — (as well as approved regional media pools) were the only ones who received the cooperation of the United States in covering the war.

In exchange for visas allowing them to work, pool reporters had constant escorts who limited when and how they could talk to troops. They had to work between military censors and Pentagon officials practiced in the art of

anticipating their questions. Reporters were only able to get as close to the action as the Bush (Sr.) administration let them. And they didn’t complain about it until after the action had ended.

In his book, “Second Front: Censorship and Propaganda in the Gulf War,” John R. MacArthur asks why the press so quickly acquiesced to the conditions imposed on it, noting that “in the weeks and months of post-war wailing and self-criticism by the media, it was difficult to find anyone who didn’t, at least officially, count Desert Storm as a devastating and immoral victory for military censorship and a crushing defeat for the press and the First Amendment.”

So when it came time to formulate the public information policy for Operation Iraqi Freedom, the Pentagon developed a plan in which reporters, “embedded” with

American and British troops, would get nonstop, free access to the action — front-row season tickets. These embedded journalists did everything with the troops. They hid in ditches and came under fire with the troops, all the while dispatching instantaneously: through the Internet, satellite phones and videophones, making this the most televised war in history.

The independent journalists like Rupert, or “unilaterals” as the Pentagon called them, could go where they liked, although always at their own peril. Unlike their “embedded” counterparts they lacked armed bodyguards. It was their work however, which provided the larger context for the vivid slices of war filed by the many embeds.

Many reporters saw the inability of embedded journalists to move freely, or talk to Iraqis without American soldiers looming, as proof that the whole program was another Pentagon public relations miracle, another attempt at media manipulation. Others saw it as unprecedented access that simultaneously protected journalists in a dangerous environment, and gave the American people an amazingly vivid picture of what it means to be at war. The debate continues in media circles.

As Marquette University

journalism professor Philip Seib said in a *Boston Globe* article published the day before most journalists embedded with military troops, “The Defense Department is trying to have the press version of a preemptive strike by offering to bring you into the family. The problem is that once you’re in the family, you have to obey the family rules.” The rules included restrictions about what and when journalists could report. They had to promise not to write anything about future missions, or about things that might endanger their units.

Though it appeared to give journalists complete access, critics of the embed program questioned whether journalists would be able to maintain objectivity in reporting when they are so close to their subjects. They worried about how reporters would balance the public’s need to know with the military’s need to keep secrets, and whether reporters would take sides if and when they were caught up in the heat of war. Journalists responded to these quandaries in different ways, and many of them came under fire for doing what came naturally.

Tom Frank traveled for five weeks with the U.S. Army’s 3rd Infantry Division, an aviation brigade of Apache helicopters. He was one of the paper’s five embedded

reporters. (*Newsday* also had four reporters in the area operating independently.) Because Army attack helicopters have no passenger room, he never saw combat firsthand. In a later reflection published in *Newsday* he wrote, “I experienced the Army more as a culture than a fighting force, the soldiers more as bunkmates than combatants.”

When asked in a telephone interview if this closeness made it difficult to maintain objectivity toward his bunkmates, Frank replied, “In a way I think I was predisposed to feel sympathetic to them,” but explained that since his unit was never involved in anything very controversial such as friendly fire or civilian casualties, his objectivity was never seriously tested.

Frank’s most controversial story was called “Taking a Back-Seat Role/Apaches not seeing much action in war.” It compared what he saw to the more important role the Apaches played in the first Gulf War. By the time it ran on April 15, Frank had already left the unit (luckily, he adds).

The previously gracious captain, who had taken Frank around and introduced him to all the soldiers, was furious. Frank responded to the captain’s “blistering email” by repeating his justification for the article and apologizing for the captain’s anger — but not

for the article. This situation could have been much different if Frank had still been with the unit.

Unable to compare embedded foreign reporting to any other kind, Frank had generally positive feelings about being with the military, and says he would consider doing it again. Jim Rupert, who is *Newsday's* deputy foreign editor and a veteran international correspondent, had a different view.

Rupert would personally prefer to cover the war independently, and is pleased that his paper was able to compliment the embedded reports with more realistic, broader ones from its independent reporters, who were freer to move around the country. After all, he reasons, "being able to move around, that frankly, is the whole reason why you'd go" cover a war in the first place.

Rupert values his "Americanness" and loves his country. He was shocked, however, by the question that arose during the war of whether American journalists should be patriotic, notably in response to the "jingoistic coverage" from networks like Fox, whose anchors often resembled cheerleaders rather than journalists. These anchors, a long-time foreign correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal* who declines to be identified by name, pointed out, "even

used the pronoun 'we' when referring to their sources."

Rupert believes that nationality should not inhibit objectivity. As an American who has spent considerable time abroad, this was not a problem for him. He explains, "If you spend a lot of time abroad, you recognize pretty quickly that the relationship the U.S. declares it has [with other countries] is greatly different from its real relationship." Therefore, he didn't fall for the domestic temptation to sympathize with the American cause, or fear that negative stories would be viewed as unpatriotic.

Watching the war from Jordan, Rupert reported on issues such as Iraqi refugees in the border area and the way the media's on both sides covered the war.

In an April 10th story entitled "Different View in Arab World," Rupert wrote, "America's TV war has tended to feature the country's startling military technology and has starred thousands of tan, steel vehicles roaring across Iraq's deserts. Arabs have watched a visually nastier conflict starring Iraqis as heroic underdogs battling U.S. forces, or as often shockingly bloodied civilian victims of callous U.S. troops."

Rupert would not like to be embedded himself, but he feels the program was enough of a

success for the press to try again next time and negotiate adjustments. In the future he would push for more flexibility for journalists to move from unit to unit. The ideal situation, he said, would be to have three classifications: "journalists embedded with both sides and unilaterals moving freely."

Whether politics would allow the media to negotiate a scenario so balanced will remain to be seen. For Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, who acknowledged that embedded journalism only provides "slices of the war in Iraq," the program featuring American camouflage-clad heroes racing across the desert, moving into the city and tearing down a statue of Saddam Hussein amid a crowd of cheering and dancing Iraqis must be considered a success. For journalists, who saw some of their colleagues forced to join in the action, like Gordon Dillow of *The Orange County Register* —, who was given a hand grenade by a Marine during an ambush, but never had to use it; or Sanjay Gupta, medical correspondent for CNN (and practicing neurosurgeon,) who performed emergency surgery on a dying Iraqi boy, — embedded journalism presents a situation that raises just as many questions as it answers. D&S

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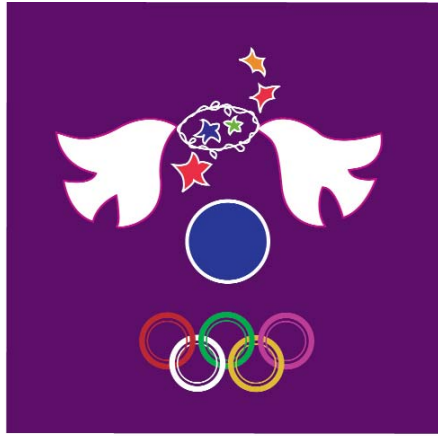
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