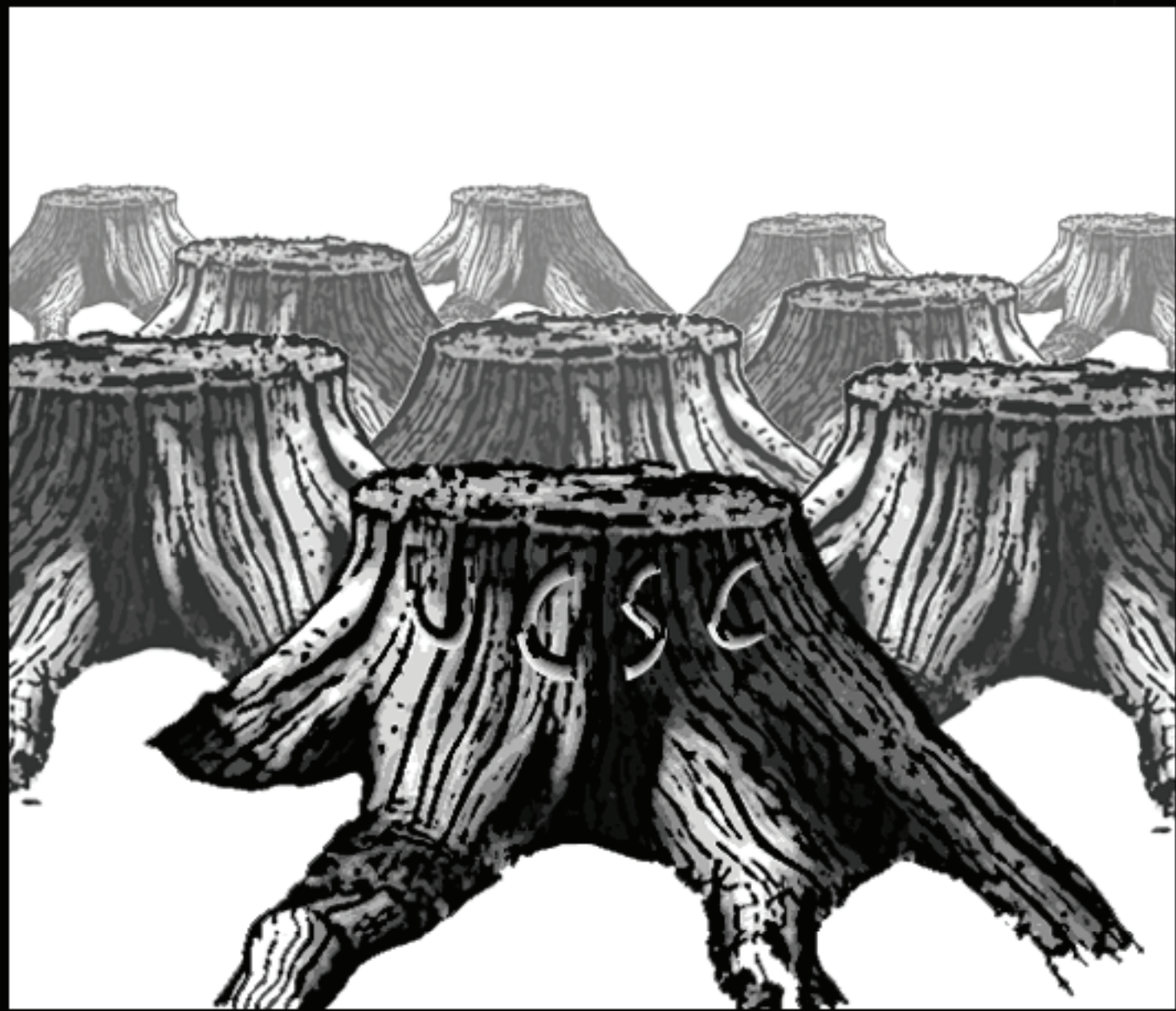


# DISORIENTATION GUIDE

## 2007-08



# Welcome to the Disorientation Guide!

So, this is the Disorientation Guide. What's it all about, and why does it now occupy your hand, floor, bookshelf, or closet? Well, that is an excellent question, so before you start using the guide as a coaster, let's try to get some answers.

The Disorientation Guide was created by a small collective of folks. It has been produced for the past 5 years, although it first hit the scene in 1977, 1982, and 1984. Disorientation Guides have also emerged at UCSB, UCD, UC Berkeley, MIT, Yale, U of Texas at Austin, and many other campuses across the nation.

We are trying to write and share our own history of the university. In other words, this is an introduction to the side of this school that you might have heard about but won't find in your glossy orientation materials. The guide is important to us because we realize that there are many difficult issues and challenges facing new UCSC students and we'd like to offer some information and inspiration. After all, we have experienced (and continue to experience) these same things. This guide is designed as a resource, lubricant, and catalyst for you as you discover and get involved in the creative, radical communities and projects that thrive here in Santa Cruz.

## This Guide is:

- An introduction to issues that affect our campus and communities
- An attempt to strengthen local activists
- A call for direct action and radical change for social justice

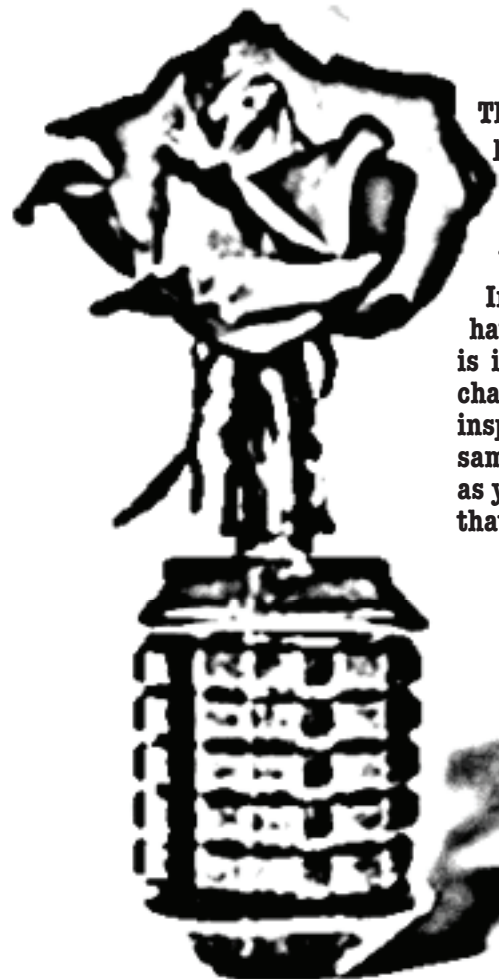
## It includes:

- Articles by students/activists
- Radical campus history
- Tools for rockin' the boat
- And even sex advice!!!

Here are some things you might want to keep in mind while you read:

- Don't feel overwhelmed. The guide is not meant to be read straight through. There is simply too much in it to be able to process one article after another. Take your time, flip to a section that sounds good, and really think about it for a few hours, days, or as long as it takes before starting another.
- The guide is not necessarily in the correct order because there isn't one. None of the issues discussed are self-contained. Ideas, problems, and philosophies all overlap.
- This is in no way a complete publication about the UC system or anything else we discuss. It is simply part of a much larger body of thoughts and ideas.

XOXO,  
The DisGuide Collective





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# Welcome (back) to UCSC

Despite the façade of UCSC being a haven for hippies and radical politics, it is simply another campus in the most profitable institution in the state, the University of California. Sure, the community has a culture that is more politically aligned to the left. Huey P. Newton, co-founder of the Black Panther Party, received his Ph. D here in 1974. Angela Davis, also a leading Black radical, is a professor in the History of Consciousness department. Santa Cruz itself is officially a nuclear-free and anti-death penalty city, with a local Congressman, John Laird, who is openly gay, and city councilman Mike Rotkin is a self-proclaimed communist.

Concurrently, this town and this campus are battlefields for social justice. In the summer of 2006, 107 immigrants were rounded up by the government and deported without any due process. Racist harassment and attacks are becoming a regular occurrence ranging from the spray painting of Swastikas at Stevenson College to the physical assault of politically active Arab and Muslim students. Police harassment of pro-

testors at demonstrations is commonplace. In October 2006 Alette Kendrick was racially targeted by police at a protest against the UC Regents. During a scuffle between police and demonstrators numerous officers swarmed Alette and physically dragged her by her arms into the Humanities Lecture Hall. When students tried to prevent her apprehension many were hit with billy clubs and doused with pepper spray.

The authorities harass those present at protests and demonstrations because there is a growing movement for social justice at UC Santa Cruz. Students Against War has successfully made the campus military recruiter free for three years. Unions, especially AFSCME 3299 representing custodians, dining hall workers, and more, have flexed their muscles by forcing union recognition in the dining halls, striking for a better contract, and recently winning raises for campus janitors. MIRA, Movement for Immigrants Rights

Alliance, has organized three major demonstrations, which have mobilized hundreds of students and community members, with May Day 2006 bringing over 5,000 to a convergence in downtown Santa Cruz.

Changes are taking place all over the world and Santa Cruz plays a role in the process. More importantly, you are a part of the process. You can and do effect and change our society.

While it is easy for cynics to dismiss activism on and off campus as "irrelevant," a "fad," "ineffective," or, such claims lack depth and vision. Activism is a necessity. Getting wrapped up in our lives as students at this University can give us tunnel-vision: we must do well in school because if we do not we will not get a good job, lack of health-care will loom over our heads, and we will work ourselves

## FOLLOW YOUR DREAMS

At the University of California.

Do you dream of selling your time to a corporation in order to buy things that will make you happy on your days off? Here at the University of California, we have developed an Assembly-Line™ educational model that allows us to indoctrinate students more efficiently than

ever before. We are your fast track to economic productivity and status!



to death before reaching any hope of retiring. In other words, we must shut our mouths, pass classes, and there might be some hope that financial and social insecurity will not plague us until death.

Fighting back now is necessary if we are going to make another world a reality. While the movement is small relative to the tasks at hand, if we look at Santa Cruz activism in a national context it is an important element in the resistance that is taking place in small pockets all over the country. Our campus is another front in the fight for social justice.

With increasing discontent brewing in the country, there is an incredible opportunity to build struggle. Pew Research Center polls show that 2/3 of the country disapprove of Bush's handling of the war in Iraq, 59% of people support a path to citizenship for undocumented workers, 73% agree that the rich are getting richer while the poor are getting poorer. A Gallup poll shows that 75% of people believe it is the responsibility of the government to make sure everyone has healthcare.

What is missing is mass mobilization. History shows us that changes for social justice only happen when we make them happen. Demonstrations, conversations, protests, teach-ins, debates, meetings, direct action, petitioning, street theatre, and organizations are needed to build the world we want to live in. So, dive into the guide, get into the movement, and we will be marching right next to you in the street!

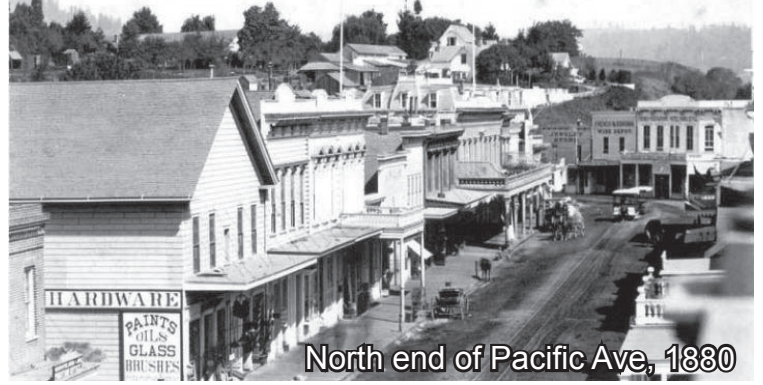
*And now there's one final and very special Welcome to extend...*

Even as we send this year's Guide off to print, the Regents are meeting behind locked doors to decide who will inherit the permanent position of UCSC Chancellor from acting Chancellor Blumenthal. Whatever the lucky selectee has done to earn this noble position is, we are sure, worthy of our highest praise and deference. We would like to dedicate this publication to whomever the Regents select. WELCOME, NEW CHANCELLOR, TO UCSC! We intend to build a most inviting environment for your arrival. And Good Fucking Luck!



# Local Histories

*First the land of the Ohlone, then Spanish, then Mexican, then an independent California Republic, and finally, part of the United States, what we call Santa Cruz has been home to communities whose stories and struggles are rarely recorded, much less acknowledged in popular culture. Elementary school taught many of us about gritty, hard-working settlers and gold miners who pushed westward and eventually forged the state of California. Here you will find another story, a story of those who weren't white, weren't colonizers, but lived in the same area we now call Santa Cruz. Partly, we hope to shed light on the racist underpinnings of America's history, reflected on national and local scales. While many of us are somewhat familiar with the history of racism in the national context, here we offer a very condensed account of local history. While this article focuses largely on the period after Santa Cruz was founded, a more detailed history of the Ohlone people and colonization follows.*



North end of Pacific Ave, 1880

Several immigrant communities have lived and suffered under various degrees of racism and xenophobia since before Santa Cruz was founded in 1866. Among the most important in early Santa Cruz life was the Chinese population. Chinese immigrants built the California rail system (among others) and were an established, if ruthlessly marginalized, part of Santa Cruz since its beginnings. There were three big waves of anti-Chinese sentiment in Santa Cruz, – the first in the late 1870's, the second in 1882, and the third beginning in 1885. The Santa Cruz Sentinel played a prominent role in these efforts as well, particularly its publisher, Douglas McPherson (ancestor of long-time local politician and former California Secretary of State Bruce McPherson), who, in an 1879 Sentinel editorial referred to Chinese laborers as “half-human, half-devil, rat-eating, rag-wearing, law-ignoring, Christian civilization-hating, opium-smoking, labor-degrading, entrail-sucking Celestials.” Even though there was such a hateful environment, four Chinatowns existed in Santa Cruz – the first as early as 1859 and the last remaining until 1955. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, local anti-Chinese sentiment (a county vote in 1879 showed 2450 to 4 against the Chinese), laws targeting the Chinese (anti-opium laws, and an anti-carrying-baskets-with-poles law), and fires in 1897 and 1894 led to the dissolution of the local Chinatowns. The final few residents of the Front Street Chinatown were forced to leave by the 1955 flood and the subsequent redevelopment efforts, which brought the Long's Drug-store and adjacent movie theater. (Today, the Museum of Art and History is housed at the McPherson Center, a prominent building in downtown Santa Cruz.)

Following the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, increasing numbers of Japanese and then Filipinos began to move into Santa Cruz County. By 1900 there were almost 1,000 Japanese living in the Monterey Bay area. With the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941, Japanese-Americans all over the West Coast were removed, 71% of whom were American citizens. They were sent to a camp in Arizona called Poston, the largest of the camps with 17,000 Japanese-American internees.

In 1945, after years in the camps, Japanese-Americans were finally allowed to return home. Many had lost their land and property during the war. During this period, German and Italian Santa Cruzans were also affected, although not nearly to the same degree as local Japanese. Santa Cruz's Genoese-Italian fishing community (including the Stagnaro family) were forced to live inland on what is now Mission Street and prevented from using their fishing boats, due to a bizarre fear that they would somehow collude with the enemy. While these communities were fighting for their right to continue living and working in Santa Cruz, the Sentinel continued to sing its xenophobic tune: “The United States can take no chances by trying to pick for exclusion only those aliens who are known enemies. All aliens originating from countries with which we are at war [should] be banned from the defined areas.”

The African American community of Santa Cruz did not become particularly prominent until the post-World War II period. Historian Phil Reader notes, “Racism has always been a basic component in the socio-economic makeup of this community, but it has been the more visible communities which have born the brunt of this mindless prejudice.” Even while white Santa Cruzans were lynching Native Americans and trying to push the Chinese out of town, in 1860 Loudon Nelson, an ex-slave, left his entire estate to the children of Santa Cruz. A decade later, perhaps in response to this generosity, the trustees of the school board allowed three African-American students access to public schools, ignoring a law prohibiting the public education of “African, Oriental, and Indian” students. In 1880, Joseph Smallwood Francis graduated with honors from Santa Cruz High School – the first African American to graduate from a “regular” public high school in the state. At the turn of the century, as Santa Cruz County's black population started shifting from Watsonville to Santa Cruz, anti-lynching crusader Ida B. Wells and her sister Anna (who also graduated from Santa Cruz High) settled in town.

With the 1914 onset of World War I and the 1916 release of the Ku Klux Klan-promoting film *Birth of a Nation* (which sold out at local theaters), treatment of local African Americans shifted abruptly. Reader describes a suddenly hostile climate: “Bigotry became a policy in many quarters as blacks were banned or discriminated against at local hotels, road houses, and inns... Finding housing and jobs became an impossible task, so many Negro families left in anger and discouragement.”

Yet all this changed again after World War II, which saw a fresh influx of black residents to the Westside in the area now called “the circles.” After an all-black Army unit was stationed at Light-house Point, integration of Santa Cruz could not be undone. Though many white residents disliked the changes, they could do little to stop it. Businesses, for example, were threatened with a boycott when city leaders tried to make certain areas off-limits to the newcomers. Many men from the unit moved their families to Santa Cruz, stimulating the growth of a new African American community and establishing the Missionary Baptist Church. In 1949, the Santa Cruz chapter of the NAACP was established. The NAACP's campaigns included efforts for fair-housing laws, low-income housing projects, and local electoral politics.

New waves of immigrants continued to come, most notably Latino families over the past few decades. Xenophobia and racism is still present in Santa Cruz, even if the Sentinel may not use as direct language as its old publisher Douglas McPherson once did. When UCSC opened its doors in 1965, a fresh challenge to centuries-old white supremacy and patriarchy was launched, but efforts to make Santa Cruz a more just place have always been present – from the Ohlone resistance to the Mission, to Chinese, Japanese, Italian, and African American efforts to organize their communities for survival, and much more.

*This information was all borrowed from Josh Sonnenfeld's thesis: 'An Incomplete History of Activism at the University of California- Santa Cruz,' Feminist Studies 2007*

# The Hordean Ohlone People Once Lived Where This University Now Stands

## An Incomplete Ohlone History

More than 10,000 Native Americans once lived in the coastal region stretching from Point Sur to the Monterey Bay. In fact, before the advance of Spanish colonists, Central California had the most populated community of indigenous peoples anywhere north of Mexico. The Spaniards who came in search of 'savages' to 'civilize,' as well as labor and resources to exploit, arrived (literally) millennia after the original inhabitants of the area: the Costanoan, or, Ohlone People. Ohlone is a Miwok Indian word meaning "western people," and both Ohlone and Costanoan refer to a grouping of smaller tribes in Central California who shared a similar language. Among the 10,000 Ohlone, there were about forty different groups, all with their own distinct culture. The Hordean Ohlone of what is known contemporarily as Santa Cruz, or "Holy Cross," is but one. These groups inhabited different territory, had varying social practices and customs, as well as largely unique languages. Still, it is possible to speak generally about the Ohlones because the groups held much in common.

The Ohlone attitude toward their environment was characterized by respect. Their direct and unmediated relationship with their bioregion (and more generally, the earth) was perhaps the foremost aspect of Ohlone life that fostered respect for the natural world. While they too altered the landscape somewhat, their damaging impact on other wildlife was minimal...certainly incomparable to the wreckage caused by industrial capitalism. Whether fishing for salmon and sturgeon, gathering seeds or brome grass, or collecting clams and oysters, basic daily sustenance of the Ohlone was achieved through the direct use of their bodies interacting with the environment. Every living and non-living thing was considered sacred. The earth was not seen as a simple mass of objects or resources to be exploited, but rather as a vast and intricate network which demanded respect and awe. This symbiotic interaction between human and other animal populations with plant life and each other, in tandem with the intimacy of the social relationships in the groups, begin to explain the harmony said to have been found in much of Ohlone life before invasion.

To further understand the deep bonds within Ohlone society, it is important to recognize that each tribe constituted between roughly two or three hundred people. There was virtually no leaving such a situation unless one was cast out completely. Such ostracization did occur, but it was very rare and reserved only for the greedy or aggressive. Margolin, author of *The Ohlone Way*, writes of greed: "Acquisition was not an Ohlone's idea of wealth or security." After a hunt, for example, the hunter would not prepare meat for himself, but would rather distribute the bounty to family and friends first. For this, the hunter would receive admiration and respect, as well as a kind of insurance that they would be treated with similar trust and benevolence. This is what would be recognized today as a "gift economy," a method for the distribution of goods without bureaucracy, through a network of friends and family. This world of collective security and mutual aid was unheard of to Europeans who felt that a strong (i.e. oppressive) government was the cornerstone of society.

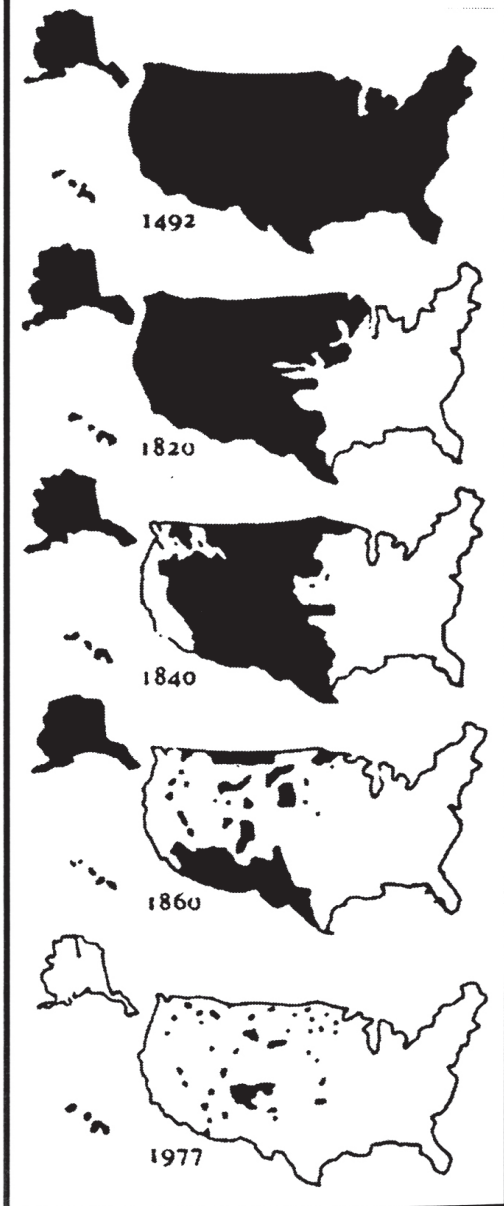
## The Mission Period (1697 - 1834)

Upon the arrival of the somber gray-robed missionaries, the first response of the Ohlone can best be described as fright and awe. The stability that existed among the Ohlone for centuries was suddenly shocked into a new reality. A member of the Portola expedition wrote of the Ohlone reaction to the Franciscan Monks: "Without knowing what they did, some ran for their weapons, then shouted and yelled, and the women burst into tears." But this was to be only a minor hysteria compared to what was to befall the Ohlone in coming years. When the Missionaries appeared to intend no harm, the Ohlone treated the new-comers quite warmly," bearing gifts of fish seed cakes, roots, and deer or antelope meat.

At first some people came voluntarily to the missions, entranced by the novelty of the missionaries' dress, their magic and metallurgy, their seeming benevolence. Others were captured through force. The mission project was created with the stipulation that the Natives would only be held captive and forced into cultural "assimilation" camps for a period of ten years, after which they would be "weaned away from their life of nakedness, lewdness and idolatry." Ten years of captivity and torture were just the beginning for the Ohlone. Their language was criminalized, they were forced to pray like white people, dress like white people, eat like white people, to raise cattle, abandon traditional native crafts, farm etc.

In the Missions, Ohlones were baptized without knowledge of the implications of the ritual. The Spanish believed they had title over the Ohlones, could hold them without consent, and deprive them of any vestige of freedom or their previous culture. The Spanish postulated by torture and imprisonment these 'heathens' would be transformed

## Indigenous Land Within United States, 1492-1977





from “bestias” (beasts) to “gente de razon” (people of reason). If they attempted escape, soldiers were deployed to recapture them. Routine escapees were “whipped, bastinadoed, and shackled, not only to punish them but to provide an example to the others.”

### Resistance Against the Mission

Some Ohlones acknowledged that the only way they could preserve their way of life was through the employment of political violence, also more favorably known as self-defense. Certainly (much like today) law had little to offer the Ohlone, other than to reinforce their servility to the theocracy of the Mission system. As such, along with the consistent escapes from the Missions, other more insurrectionary actions were taken by the Ohlone. As an Ohlone author put it on IndianCanyon.org:

*“They resisted in many ways. The restrictions that the Padres seemed to think were desirable for their neophytes, willing or otherwise. Santa Cruz Mission was attacked by some indigenous resistance fighters who were pursuing their rights to life and liberty.”*

Phil Laverty wrote of the attack on Mission Santa Cruz:

*“On the night of December 14, 1793, Mission Santa Cruz was attacked and partially burned by members of the Quiroste tribe, an Ohlonean group [just twenty miles north of modern-day Santa Cruz]. Based on all available information, this occurrence appears to be the first and perhaps the only direct attack on a mission building in Central California during the Spanish era. Nearly two years of armed resistance on the part of members of the Quiroste [Ohlone] tribe preceded the attack, which was probably the first extended resistance against the Spanish in the entire San Francisco Bay Area.”*

Ohlone resistance was on too small a scale however, to make the critical difference. The only significant threat in the area, the Quiroste, were defeated by sheer force in numbers and a superior military apparatus. Another large blow to the health and morale of the Ohlone, were diseases such as influenza, smallpox, syphilis, measles and mumps. These often were intentionally spread by Europeans, and were much more devastating to the Ohlone due to the lack of immunity to such diseases. Death rates at the missions soared, while birth rates plummeted. This was partially a result of the isolation of women and men into separate facilities (prisons) which were intended to enforce strict chastity regulations. In just some sixty years, the missionary project left the Ohlone peoples almost completely decimated. Native arts like basket making were all but entirely forgotten. Native dialects became mixed and muddled, or were deserted entirely, forcibly replaced with the dominant language of the Spaniards. The gift and barter economy that existed for centuries at least, along with the intricate network of tribal relations and collective responsibilities shared by the Ohlones, had virtually disappeared.

### The Mexican Era and Anglo Advance

After California was ceded to Mexico from Spain in the 1820s, the struggling Ohlone were jostled into a new but equally disastrous position. The Missions were turned over to the Mexican state in 1834, and the Ohlone who had survived were now legally free, but without much of the knowledge or resources necessary to make it in the modern world (if this was something that was desired at all). Without a means to sustain themselves, some Indigenous Californians became servants to the Spanish, while others formed wandering bands who subsisted by hunting cattle, horses and sheep. This was their

only option, as the elk and antelope had almost entirely disappeared. These bands of “outlaws” were themselves hunted and killed. At Mission Dolores in 1850, an old man speaks about his people:

*“I am very sad; my people were once around me like the sands of the shore- many, many. They have gone to the mountains- I do not complain: the antelope falls with the arrow. I had a son- I loved him. When the pale-faces came he went away; I know not where he is. I am a Christian Indian; I am all that is left of my people. I am alone.”*

With California’s incorporation into the U.S. in 1846 and the coming of Anglo settlers, extermination became more overt and publicly acceptable. Indian killing was a favorite pastime, and one

subsidized by the U.S. Government. The 1850 Act for the Government and Protection of Indians led to looser protections for Native children already heavily exploited as young slaves and servants. This act also ensured that Indigenous People’s were withheld status as legal persons, although the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo already ostensibly secured Indigenous Californian’s citizenship. With the Land Claims Act of 1851, most remaining Indigenous land was expropriated for the coming white settlers. Racism and hatred of California Indians led to the impossibility of their receiving fair trial, as virtually any white man would lie for another. The new inhabitants of California made their desire clear in this article from the Yreka Herald in 1853:

*“We hope that the Government will render such aid as will enable the citizens of the north to carry on a war of extermination until the last redskin of these tribes has been killed. Extermination is no longer a question of time - the time has arrived, the work has commenced, and let the first man that says treaty or peace be regarded as a traitor.”* (Yreka Herald, 1853)

Between 1850 and 1870, indigenous Californians experienced perhaps the most bloody and murderous times in their history, with squatters and supposed ‘pioneers’ tracking and assaulting any Native who could be found. In California, the population of 200,000 - 300,000 California Natives in 1848, was reduced to 15,238 by 1890. As for the Ohlone, all 40 tribes and almost all 10,000 people are gone. The last full-blooded Ohlone died recently.

### The Modern Era

Yet, despite the centuries of torment and subjugation, the Ohlone are not dead. One example of a current Ohlone project is the Indian Canyon Ranch, which serves as an Indigenous cultural center and home for Native Americans of many tribal origins. Also hopeful is Quirina Luna-Costillas, who has studied the Mutsun Ohlone language extensively, and started a foundation to research and teach it to others. Some have revived the art of traditional basket making, storytelling and are writing about various aspects of Ohlone culture and history. These examples serve as a reminder of a living culture that has persevered and as a wake-up call to those of us who consider the Ohlone to be deceased. As we are clearly not the rightful inhabitants of this land (unless right is defined by superior might and propensity for brutality) it would do us well to shed our sense of entitlement to this land where the Hordean Ohlone once lived.



# In the Shadow of the Long Range Development Plan

By Jono Kinkade

Amidst meadows and forests, a summer fog surrounds UCSC, our city on a hill. Meanwhile, the powers that be busily push along plans to cut trees and commence the now infamous Long Range Development Plan.

The LRDP, as the 'general plan' of sorts for UCSC's future growth, allows for the development of new colleges, laboratories, parking lots, athletic fields, and bridges, with 120 acres to be developed and 130 to become "campus natural reserve." The plan will bring 4,500 more students to UCSC (currently slightly above 15,000), increasing the population to 19,500 by 2020.

The new buildings will not be the only changes at UCSC. In addition to rising tuition and larger classes, the LRDP will open the flood gates for the new vision of the Strategic Academic Plan and other such "plans" that are leading UCSC toward science and (bio)technological research, leaving the humanities behind. All the while UC decision makers are catering to UC's institutional addiction to external (private) funding.

Lately the courtroom has been the only viable resource for checking the LRDP. The City of Santa Cruz and the Coalition to Limit University Expansion (CLUE) stall building over legal discrepancies in the LRDP's Environmental Impact Report (EIR). In thoroughly detailing the impacts development and an increased population would have on the environment, the EIR addresses effects to habitat, water sources, housing, traffic, air and water quality, and the area's overall well-being. All of these issues have prompted legal challenges in recent years. An August 2007 court ruling found the LRDP's EIR to have insufficiently explained where the water and housing will come from to meet demands of such an influx of students. UCSC to this day has not even contributed its "fair share" to cover the city's infrastructural burdens, like improving roads.

One project currently held up in court is the proposed Biomedical Science Facility.

ity, a four-story building that will host biotech and nanotech research along with a rodent-testing facility in the basement.

Beyond the blatant insufficiencies, the logic of the EIR undercuts con-

cern for endangered species, including the Golden Eagle and the Marbled Murrelet, which have suffered from habitat loss. Both birds, which nest in large tree stands, are not expected to nest in the forest in upper campus because there are high levels of human disturbance to the area and because it lacks trees large enough for nesting. These second-growth forests grew in the wake of the extensive logging that fueled the limekilns of Cowell Ranch; burdened by development for decades, they have never recovered enough to fully support endangered wildlife. The EIR finds it appropriate to cut down the trees that do remain precisely because the area has not yet had the chance to fully recover. Apparently, because trees are "second-growth" it is excusable to cut them down. This is the logic of the EIR: Don't give habitats the chance to grow old, thrive and support endangered species; then, justify further destruction on the premise that the destruction of the past still leaves its mark.

The lawsuits which contest the EIR's violations of the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) have become a battle of attrition between the UC, which has spent \$400,000 on legal fees, and the city and CLUE, which have spent \$300,000. The role of the LRDP is to secure approval for expansion, clearing the way for the lawyers. And after the courtroom levies give way, only students, trees, and entire ecosystems lay in the way. It may be time to begin filling up the sandbags. The ties and lies hooked behind the bureaucratic maze extend outward into a world in an overwhelming crisis.

## A Larger Scheme

On top of the bureaucratic fog sits the very powerful UC Office of the President (UCOP) and the Board of Regents. UCOP was recently lambasted for poor performance. According to a report they themselves commissioned, UC "must act quickly to restore its credibility and repair the

University's governance model." Noted in the report was the process for approving development and contracting capital (building) projects, which "suffers unnecessarily

delays, costing the university tens of millions of dollars each year." And while UCOP is its own mess, it is damn near impossible for a student to get in for a meeting with the Regents who are otherwise occupied with their real constituency: the rich and powerful who stand to benefit from irresponsibly executed university expansion.

Take URS for instance. The international construction firm holds contracts abroad in Afghanistan, Iraq and elsewhere. It has also taken on a long list of projects for many UC campuses, including the proposed Athletic Training Facility at UC Berkeley, where a court injunction has delayed construction on the site where a tree sit has lasted since December 2006 to protect Berkeley's last grove of Coastal Live Oaks. [Note: The fate of the oak grove is up to a court hearing scheduled for Sept. 21, 2007.]

U R S was also hired by UCSC to write the LRDP's Environmental Impact Report. In other words, a war-profiteer and large-scale developing company is accounting for environmental impacts. [see sidebar: URS, Perini, and the UC]

Richard Blum, Chairman of the Board of Regents, was until recently vice president of and a principle investor in URS, during which time the industry giant received a contract to build Berkeley's new Molecular Foundry. After receiving that contract,



student protestors at a Regents meeting noted the severe conflict of interest, which eventually led to Blum's departure from the company. Blum is still chair of the Regents. [see: Who Rules the University, pg16]. This is yet one small example of how UCSC, by way of the LRDP, has become a cash cow for many corporations and special interests.

### Rising Demand for Education

What, then, is UC to do in meeting the Master Plan's mandate to take on the top 12.5% graduating high school students? It is, after all, incredibly important to make the UC accessible to more students, especially at a campus as unique and majestic as our own. And what about the potentially valuable scientific research being undertaken, which includes UCSC's role in the Human Genome Project and the explorations of deep space that have revealed so much about dark matter?

In a way, the UC is doing whatever it can to secure funding as it gets cut from state and federal budgets. [See: More Is Less, pg14] The Strategic Academic Plan repeatedly cites decreasing state funds to explain away its increasing acceptance of external funds. Yet where do these dollars come from? And who benefits?

To many of these questions, any answer may be problematic. Yet, the UC is getting ahead of itself, and is continuing without a plan, as "In Light of the LRDP" describes. Meanwhile, UCSC does not know where it will put 4,500 more students or from where the water will come. The "public institution" is becoming increasingly dependent on external funding, much of which is coming from the

UC-government-industry partnerships forged throughout Silicon Valley.

Former UC president David Gardner, who held the job from 1983 to 1992, and was working to open new campuses in addition to UC Merced, once said that "13,000 students would have been a better fit for UCSC, given the size of the community and the rural nature of the campus."

"What's magical about 20,000 students?" Gardner asked a SF Chronicle reporter, continuing to say: "I can assure you, the next argument will be for 25,000 students."

The more that is revealed, the more the UC looks like it is functioning as a private corporation. It is clear that our future is being influenced by the profit-driven motives of those standing to benefit from letting the trees fall and the laboratories tower. This is about big business. This is about a system that is spinning out of control.

Students are taking the brunt of the burden while ecological destruction continues. Tuition is rapidly increasing, class sizes filling and professors tiring; humanities departments are disappearing if they exist at all, faculty and students of color are fleeing or never coming, and social inequality is increasing; and, where the LRDP is especially guilty, research is matriculating, corporations provide the funding, and as the future is being designed in a laboratory, students are not being taught what it means to be human.

Life, nature, free thought and understanding are all becoming obsolete in this technological dream. They are no longer the priorities of our education. Now,

prestigious universities all over the country are turning their eye toward science and research. All these issues associated with the LRDP—corporate power, ecological destruction, undemocratic governance—are merely small samples of much larger systemic problems in the era of globalization and US hegemony. For UCSC students, employees, faculty, and area community members, it rests in front of our faces in the form of the LRDP, which is serving as a veneer for private profit.

Our education is being privatized. Our future is becoming a commodity. The LRDP is cutting into the forest and the well-being of future generations, eliminating a diverse habitat of people and ideas, and in its place, bringing in a monoculture of laboratory-based life.



**"Growth for the sake of growth is the ideology of a cancer cell."  
- Edward Abbey**

### URS, Perini, and the UC

URS received a \$25 million contract to build the Los Alamos National Laboratories, which was received while Chairman of the Regents, Richard Blum, was a principle investor and vice president of the board. In response to student-initiated pressure, Blum resigned. URS also held a \$150 million construction contract for UCLA's Santa Monica Medical Center, and has developed numerous other projects for the UC. URS subsidiary, EG&G, is another defense contractor that builds weapons systems and underwater sonar systems, "that make a measurable difference in the world from our asset management capabilities to supporting the design and development of new weapons systems."

In October 2005, Perini Corporation acquired \$700 million-a-year construction management firm Rudolph & Sletten for \$53 million. When Blum was a Regent, the board hired Rudolph & Sletten to manage and serve as the general contractor for a \$48 million nanotech laboratory, the Molecular Foundry, at the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory. The project went \$4 million over budget. During this time, Regent Blum was a principle investor in Perini. After the deal, Blum divested his Perini stock, which brought Blum substantial profit. From 2001-2005, Perini and URS received a combined \$1.5 billion in defense contracts while Blum was on the boards or an investor.

### Genencor, Genentech, and the UC

Among those that hold close relationships with the UC, Genencor Inc., a subsidiary of Genentech Inc, is of particular interest.

As UCSC enters into a new era of research-based programs that attract external funding, much of it is being done for the benefit of Silicon Valley's "bio-nano-info tech revolution," at the heart of which is Genencor and the Joint Venture's plans for "The Next Silicon Valley". The company has high ranking executives on boards across Silicon Valley, including the Silicon Valley Network, on which UCSC Acting Chancellor Blumenthal also serves. In a nutshell, this is who is directing research at UCSC and influencing high-level decisions throughout the UC.

Here are a few examples of the UC-Genencor relationships:

In August 2007, UCSC hired Phil Berman to chair the Biomolecular Engineering Department of the Jack Baskin School of Engineering. Berman, who will receive an annual salary of \$156,000, previously worked for Genentech and VaxGen for 15 years.

Such an addition to the UCSC faculty may become more frequent. The 2007 Strategic Academic Plan suggests that in the wake of rapidly decreasing state funding, UCSC should hire faculty with an "entrepreneurial spirit" that can attract external funding.

Genentech, Genencor's parent company, also has a long history with UC San Francisco—the two were engaged in a nine-year patent dispute, in which UCSC filed a \$400 million lawsuit for an alleged theft of technology developed and patented by the university. The drug of contest, Propriatin, was Genentech's first drug on the market, and made \$2 billion in sales, giving rise to the company's status as a global leader in the industry. The \$200 million that Genentech gave to UCSF in a settlement seemed to function more as an investment for the company.

- <http://lrldp.ucsc.edu/final-draft-lrldp.shtml>
- <http://lrldp.ucsc.edu/final-eir.shtml>
- <http://svi.ucsc.edu/>
- <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~schwrtz/>
- <http://www.peterbyrne.info/>
- <http://planning.ucsc.edu/acadplan/docs/AcadPlan.Mar07.Draft.pdf>
- <http://caldisorientation.org/2007>



# In Light of the Long Range Development Plan

In 1960, the University of California laid out the Master Plan for Higher Education, promising quality, tuition-free education to all high school graduates. Then UC President Clark Kerr stated, "We are just now perceiving that the university's invisible product, knowledge, may be the most powerful single element in our culture, affecting the rise and fall of professions and even of social classes, of regions and even of nations." The Master Plan, which remains today a basic foundation for California higher education, was to make college available to 100% of the state's high school graduates regardless of racial or economic background. The top 33% of high school graduates would be eligible for a CSU, the top 12.5% would be eligible for UC, while those who had not yet met college standards would go to community college. However, today each of those students pays an increasing amount of tuition. So as the school year begins for 2007-2008, we should ask: What does it mean practically that tuition is no longer free? That education is increasingly funded with private rather than public money? Furthermore, what does it mean to us as students that knowledge is the university's "invisible product?"

These questions seem especially pertinent following the recent approval by the UC Regents of the latest Long-Range Development Plan (LRDP), which seeks to increase total enrollment on this campus to 19,500 by 2020—an increase of 4,500 students. The Regents unanimously approved the Final Draft LRDP on September 21st, 2006, along with its accompanying Final

would-be layout of a larger campus, projected enrollment figures, and certain environmental concerns. Yet to some it has become known as the "no-plan plan." From the city's perspective it is unclear whether UCSC will pay for additional housing and transportation costs after thousands more people arrive. And many of us in the humanities, social sciences, or arts ask how anyone could consider expanding given what seem to be serious funding issues. So why grow—for what, and for whom?

One answer could be simply, grow because there are more eligible college students. If 12.5% of high school graduates are eligible for UC under the Master Plan, and the California population rises, then more people go to college. The LRDP text cites increased demand for higher education coupled with an increasing population as reasons for growth. So, when "the President of the University of California asked each UC campus to consider the feasibility of accommodating additional enrollment growth," UCSC stepped up to the plate. Perhaps it makes sense; compare the amount of empty space that UCSC has surrounding it with the space in Westwood around UCLA.

Another answer however requires us to analyze how UC acquires funding versus how it chooses to spend that funding. Public funding for the UC system has gone down over the last few decades (for where the money has gone see "The Case for Ethnic Studies," pg. 26). Following years of budget cuts and growing enrollment, UC President Robert Dynes and the Governor reached an agree-

ment in 2004 called the Compact for Higher Education. The Compact was a commitment on the Governor's part to provide a 3% to 4% increase in state support to the General Fund from 2005 through 2011 (the 4% increase will take effect beginning this year). However, the Compact also included an agreement that President Dynes would increase student fees by an average of 10% from 2005 to 2007.

Even as Dynes hailed the Governor's "commitment" to higher education, he left the majority of the burden to private funding (student fees).

As more private money comes in than public, public revenue will be spent less and less on undergraduate education. Charles Schwartz, a Professor Emeritus at UC Berkeley, wrote a report analyzing a UCOP (Office of the President) figure that estimated the cost of educating a UC student at \$15,810 in 2005. He argued that in fact this figure does not necessarily represent the cost of undergraduate education, and that the money spent on faculty research and graduate education should be calculated separately. According to his formula, the average cost of educating an undergraduate student came out to \$6,847 for 2005-2006. And since fees in 2005-2006 averaged \$6,817, he found that the academic year was covered completely by student fees. Even if his numbers weren't 100% accurate, it would still shed light on the fact

Environmental Impact Report (EIR). While this article does not seek to label the LRDP as either good or bad per se, it will show that campus growth does not benefit the persons it purports to. The LRDP itself is a 100-page document that broadly explains the



that public funding is going somewhere else other than to students.

For Professor Bob Meister, you can sum up this problem in one word: accountability. Not only is the LRDP not a plan, it is essentially a ticket for campus administrators to spend money, and to send the campus expanding however they see fit. Unlike with Schwartz, Meister is less concerned with separating out faculty research from undergraduate education, but rather wants a concrete plan for how to filter knowledge between faculty research and undergraduate education. Currently, no one holds administrators accountable for returning revenue from incoming freshman back to them via an academic plan.

One way to filter knowledge between faculty and undergrads is through the grad students. Yet, take the percentage of graduate students on campus over the years. Among many other plans that did not materialize, the 1988 LRDP promised a 15% grad student population (the same promise appears in the current LRDP), while twenty years later the grad students still comprise just 9% of the campus. In the late 90's, instead of investing in grad students, UCSC was able to fund below-cost corporate training programs in Silicon Valley through University Extension. The school now runs a five million dollar loss each year off this decision, as the corporations have yet to reinvest and return the favor. There is simply no academic reason to grow, says Meister. But if the result is more money and the only cost is quality of education, then hey, why not increase enrollment?

At the moment, the last thing preventing campus growth is a battle between the campus officials and the rest of the city. When the first LRDP came in 1963, campus officials expected UCSC to one day reach a total enrollment of 35,000. Since that time however, the same city that once lobbied for the building of the campus now spends enormous time and money to try and forestall growth. UC technically has no obligation to pay the city for affects of its growth on housing, traffic or water, and as a result, the battle has taken the form of numerous lawsuits with both sides suing the other.

In general, the town/gown battle definitely lacks an air of responsibility. Just the lawyer fees from this fight have resulted in the loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars. These fees affect the city more than a giant industry like the UC, which can afford to pay a nominal lawyer expense (\$400,000 since 1998) if it means saving the money they would have to pay the city otherwise. But more importantly, as the powers that be play in court with issues

like housing, traffic, and water, the real people that are affected are residents and students.

It is important to consider that neither the city's interest in fighting university growth, nor the university's interest in favor of it, encompasses all student interests. In the grand scheme of UC expansion, it is unclear if anyone is fighting on the side of undergraduates (though I think they would all argue they are).

When thinking about the LRDP, I believe it is important not to be disillusioned

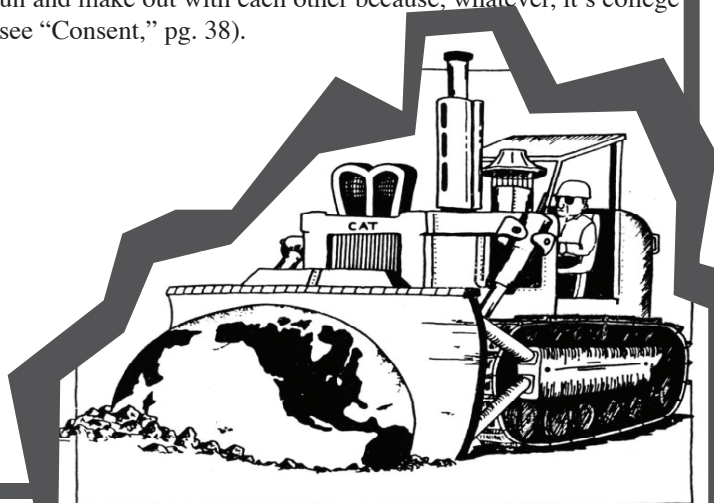
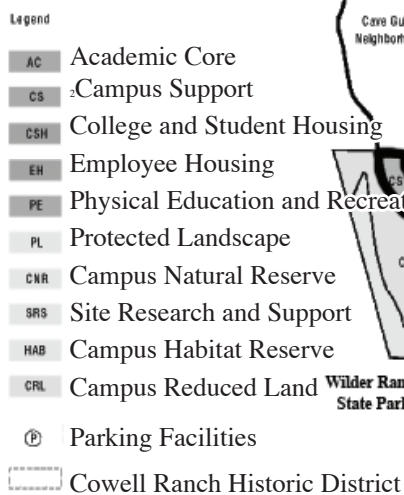
by its enormity, or feel that as the campus gets bigger you get proportionately smaller. Which, it turns out, you do. Rather, it is the purpose of this article and of the Disguise in general to remind us of our standards, and to learn to take less-than-acceptable situations and channel them into something positive. To do

this, all we require is a little informed decision-making, a lot of creativity, and a whole lot of fearlessness. When I first transferred here, I remember coming to a protest against the military recruiters where the plan was to occupy the space around their table, and in response to their anti-gay policies, have same-sex make out sessions until they left.

It was very brave and terribly creative, and

it worked—last year the recruiters did not come back (see

“Counter Recruitment,” pg. 22). Standing up to the university for what you care about is the only way to prevent yourself from being just another fee. Certain goals may feel out of reach, but just remember: your successes or failures will only happen through the people with whom you organize. And at the same time have fun and make out with each other because, whatever, it's college (see “Consent,” pg. 38).



# A Political History of Academics at UCSC

*Memory is a crucial political site. The degree to which we remember our history is the degree to which we can consciously build upon positive legacies and reject patterns of oppression. Every institution has its own history and memory. The transitory nature of the university community makes it especially important for us to actively work to keep our history alive. This guide tries to do this in various ways. This article presents a few dimensions of our UCSC history and identity, focusing on the gradual distortion and deterioration of its original vision.*

## FROM LIBERAL ARTS MODEL TO RESEARCH UNIVERSITY MODEL

UC Santa Cruz was built in 1965 and was intended to be the experimental liberal arts campus in the UC system. As an alternative to the mega UC campuses at Berkeley and Los Angeles, the Santa Cruz college model is supposed to promote community among students, allow for close interactions between faculty and students, and put a premium emphasis on undergraduate education. Professors who have taught here for many decades will tell you how drastically the learning atmosphere has shifted. Importantly, they also emphasize that these detrimental changes occurred with significant student and faculty resistance.

Narrative Evaluations were central to the learning environment that the first administrators at UCSC envisioned. Until 1997, narrative evaluations were the main way that students were evaluated on their academic performance. Narrative Evals were implemented both to give students a more complete sense of their progress, but also to give teachers more flexibility in the kinds of work they could assign through which students could be evaluated. Narrative Evals, meant to emphasize the learning process rather than competition over grades, were firmly in place from 1965 until 1993. At this time the idea of taking on a standard system of grading began to be seriously discussed. Objectors to narrative evaluations asserted that “narratives detract from UCSC’s reputation, they encourage less excellent students to apply here, and they compromise students’ success in getting into graduate and professional schools or securing jobs.” Many students and faculty, however, did not agree and a substantial number of them campaigned to keep narrative evaluations as a significant if not entire part of the grading system at UCSC. Despite the efforts of these activists, as of October 2000 it was decided to adopt a “conventional grading system.” Students are now only allowed to take 1/4 of their classes on a pass/fail basis and must be considered in “good academic standing” to do so. This is just one example of how UCSC has moved toward a factory conception of knowledge production where degrees are cranked out with assembly line efficiency. Although UCSC was never a perfect institution it is moving farther and farther from a school that (at least in theory) emphasizes small communities, meaningful interactions with professors, and alternative models of education and closer to an institution that values grants and research over learning. This change can be seen in the struggle over the way resources are allocated between departments and the way that the University is choosing to expand.

The Individual Major is another student-centered feature of education that has been gradually left by the wayside. Initially quite popular on this campus, they were designed as a way to let students have more of a say in what they are studying and to let them work more closely with

faculty members. Now however, many students are either unaware that they can custom tailor a major or they are persuaded that it is too difficult to do. At this point less than 2% of UCSC students graduate with individual majors and students must find three faculty members to serve on a committee to oversee their progress and to advise them (see page 53 for more information on how to declare an individual major).

UCSC is rapidly moving away from an emphasis on the liberal arts and undergraduate education and towards natural and applied sciences and research. This reflects the values of the larger culture that glorifies technology, market competition, and war and gives little thought to art, literature, community and self-actualization.

Because the state of California has increasingly cut back on the amount of funding it allocates for education, universities such as UCSC are becoming increasingly dependent on outside funding and grants. Consequentially, this University must shape its image in a manner attractive to the sources of money. Much of the money awarded to Universities is in the area of natural and applied sciences because this is the type of research that makes the most money in this economy. Institutions give money to departments and researchers at Universities and then they can sell the outcomes of the research to other institutions and corporations. More and more funding for university research is acquired through branches of the military, the Department of Defense, and the private weapons manufacturers they deal with. The military has always been dependent on having the newest technologies in order to fight its battles and these technologies are often invented within a University atmosphere. It is no coincidence that all of the nuclear weapons in the U.S. arsenal have been made with the science produced by UC employees (see p. 19-21 to learn about the UC’s connections to war).

According to Clark Kerr, UCSC’s mentality of expansion grew out of competition between the various UC campuses. Although expansion is necessary to some degree, it is also important to remember that in many ways the UC is a business like any other, and when one looks at what portions of the campus are expanding the most (not necessarily in proportion to the interests of students) it often correlates with the departments that bring in the most research funding. The current Long Range Development Plan (see page 9-12) is a living case study in the redirecting of this campus’ priorities. The important thing for all of us to remember is that no changes on this campus are inevitable – however much the Regents like us to think they are. The burden, however, is on us to organize initiatives to direct our institution in the ways we see it best benefiting a just society.

## TIMELINE OF LOCAL ACTIVISM

### 1965

- UCSC is founded.

### 1967

- Alan Chadwick community garden opens below what is now Merrill College.

### 1968

- Governor Ronald Reagan attends UC Regents meeting at UCSC and is greeted by mass student protests.
- Students demand that College 7 be called Malcolm X College with a focus on domestic Third World Concerns. It is now Oakes.





# MORE <sup>is</sup> LESS!

## Making sense of the UCSC Crisis

Last year, the UC made \$786 million more than it spent. Yet all we hear about is the “budget crisis.” This doesn’t sound like a budget crisis to us. Our university is in crisis, it’s true, but the main issue isn’t the budget. The main issues are priorities and power. Our resources are being **extracted**. The space we have to live and learn in is **contracting**. What all of us really need is a say in how the university distributes its vast resources. What we need is **democratization**.

**Extraction** is when something we have is taken away from us. This is exactly what’s happening to those of us who study, work, and live at UCSC. Our wages, our student fees, our work, our space, our time, and our imagination are all being **redistributed upwards**. More of us are going into severe debt, cramming into bigger classes, and working harder, faster, and longer, while getting less financial aid, fewer student services, shittier educational experiences, and no chances to advance or make living wages.

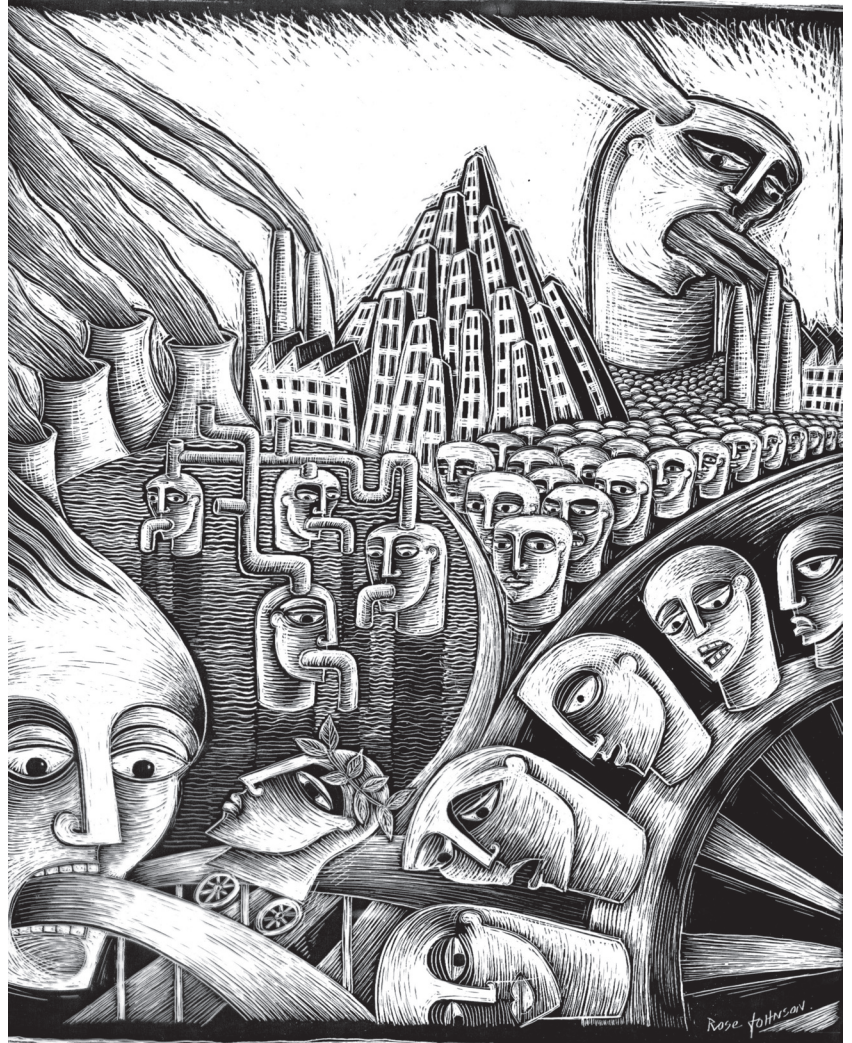
Our money, labor, and energy aren’t being extracted for the purposes of supporting our education or so that we can support our families. Instead, they’re being used to expand corporate connections to the university (in the name of “partnership with the private sector”), line the pockets of top tier administrators (in the name of “salaries competitive with the corporate world”), and double the physical spread of the campus (in the name of “strategic futures”).

### Extraction means:

- Massive fee hikes while classes and programs, like Journalism, are being cut
- Full professors replaced by adjunct and temporary faculty, each teaching bigger classes for less pay
- Custodians required to clean more buildings in less time while being denied raises paying workers so little that they qualify for and need social services for the poor
- Taxing UCSC’s natural environment to make way for a grossly expanded campus that is of no clear benefit to our city or to UCSC students

*We’re told that UCSC has no choice but to make these cutbacks. So why do they have money to give \$2.4 million in bonuses to UC executives? Why is there millions more in surplus this year than last? A recent neutral study found that the University’s pattern of taking in millions more than it spends is not going to change. Where is the budget crisis?*

**Contraction** is when our opportunities are narrowed, our vision *shrunk*. We are all left with less money, time, education, opportunity and hope. You’re probably rushing to finish reading this guide so that you can go to work to afford your fees, do homework that will get inadequate attention from your overworked TA, and crash three courses.



## 1969

- Students take over a portion of the commencement address and present an honorary diploma to Huey Newton (who at the time was in prison). Years later, Newton earns a PhD from the History of Consciousness department.

## 1970

- The U\$ invades Cambodia.



- Student strikes spread nationally after protesters at Kent State and Jackson State are murdered by police:

- 1,800 students out of a total of 2,200 take over Santa Cruz streets and march to the County building to demand we send a representative to Washington to lobby for our withdrawal from Vietnam.



Contraction means crowded classrooms, overworked teachers and staff, and indebted students. But contraction also **affects our field of vision**. It narrows our sense of what education is for, reducing the university experience from an expansive imaginative exploration to narrow job training driven by economic imperatives. Contraction also narrows our sense of belonging to a community, reducing us to isolated constituencies fighting with each other for apparently scarce resources. Our contracted vision keeps us from seeing the big picture. **We have a common problem:** not scarce resources, but exclusion from the decision-making processes that affect our lives at UCSC.

#### Contraction is:

- Students crammed into more overcrowded classrooms and with fewer courses to choose from
- Resources diverted away from crucial outreach and retention programs that support students of color
- Poorer students in California less able to attend – or even imagine attending – a UC, due to higher fees and less aid (Sounds like a brilliant military recruiting formula to us.)
- Workers stuck in dead-end jobs, with no opportunities to advance or build decent futures at UCSC
- Women and people of color overly represented in low-wage entry level service and clerical positions – contraction further entrenches the structural racism and sexism that shape promotional practices
- A narrowed vision of the educational experience: students are being trained to pass scan-tron exams, not educated to write and think
- Connecting the life of programs to corporate “partnership,” which insures the poverty of programs like philosophy or women’s studies

#### Whose University?

We share our ideas with you because the UC administration and regents are telling a different story about what is happening. You’ve probably heard versions of their story. Well, when the administration tells us it can’t meet vital student and workers needs, we think it’s telling us something about its *priorities*, not about material realities.



The crisis in our campus community is not happening in a vacuum. What goes on at UCSC connects with what goes on in California state politics, which must be understood in national and international context: perpetual war, global socialization of loss, privatization of gain, and a concentration of decision-making power. One way we tackle these bigger contexts is by organizing where they affect us – right here.

Solutions to the crisis we face begin with a **democratization** of the UC management process. UC is a public institution: publicly owned and publicly accountable. We the public demand participation in making the decisions that affect our lives, notably the distribution of our resources. Democratization isn’t a one-time task. It’s an ongoing process of learning, building relationships, raising questions, and organizing collectively.

Here is our invitation: Get involved in building democratic community on this campus!

• **Learn** more. Read fact-finding reports on the UC budget (see [www.cueunion.org](http://www.cueunion.org)). Find out more about the links between budget cuts, rising fees, and declining diversity (<http://ucsa.org/media/reportsfacts.html>). Get the facts on the low wages and their impact on our community ([www.nedlc.org](http://www.nedlc.org)). Study the UC’s connections to military and corporate agendas (see [www.fiatpax.net](http://www.fiatpax.net) and info here about UC Regents!).

• **Talk** to people around you about these issues – on the bus, at work, in the classroom, in your dorm, in the dining hall. Bring your questions and concerns out and into the open everywhere. Democracy rarely happens with official approval.

• **Connect** with campus organizations highlighted in this guide.

• **Participate** in actions this quarter. Look around campus for announcements.

*Produced by the Long Road Collective: Sean Burns, Chris Dixon, Maia Ramnath, James Rowe, Rebecca Schein, and Alexis Shotwell. Contact us at [longroad@graffiti.net](mailto:longroad@graffiti.net).*

- Many spring term classes are cancelled or “reorganized” to focus on Vietnam War issues.
- Students burn draft cards in the Quarry plaza.
- Large numbers of students participate in closing down of Highway 1 in front of Fort Ord.
- Student body president Stephen Goldstein critiques UC President Clark Kerr’s book, *Uses of the*

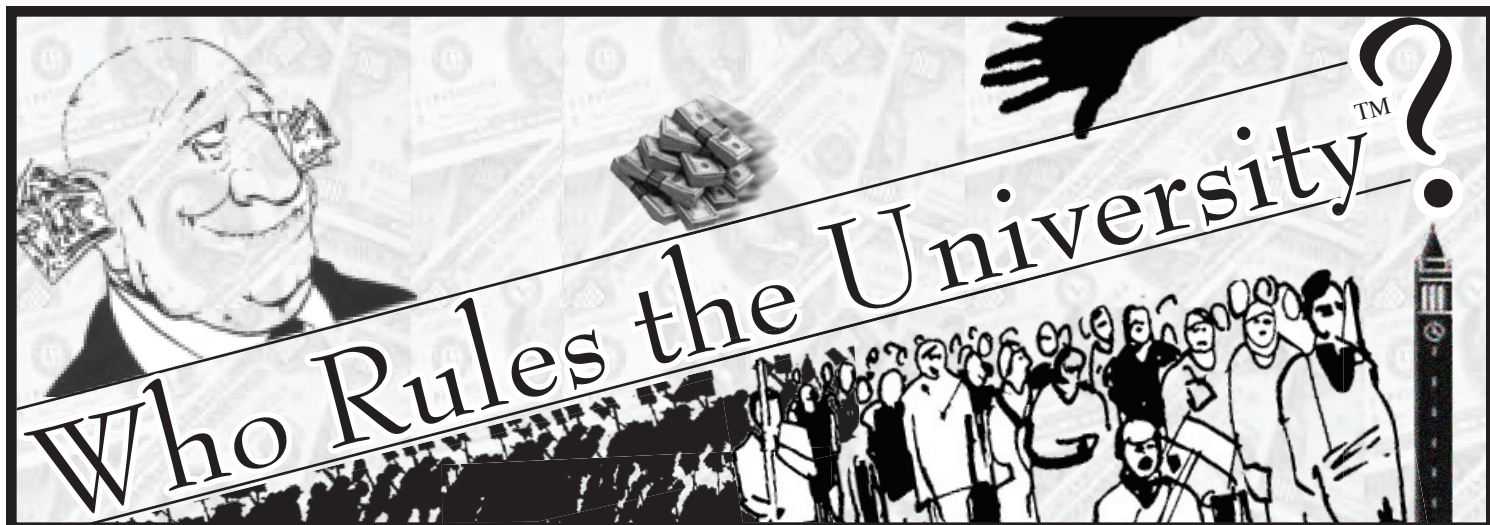
*University*, at commencement and Kerr refuses to speak after him.

#### 1971

- 73 neighborhood activists successfully organize to fight the development of Light House field. This effort marks the beginning of the local environmental movement.

- The first gay and lesbian conference at UCSC attracts 120 people.
- Gay Students Union begins meeting.





## A Short History of the UC Regents

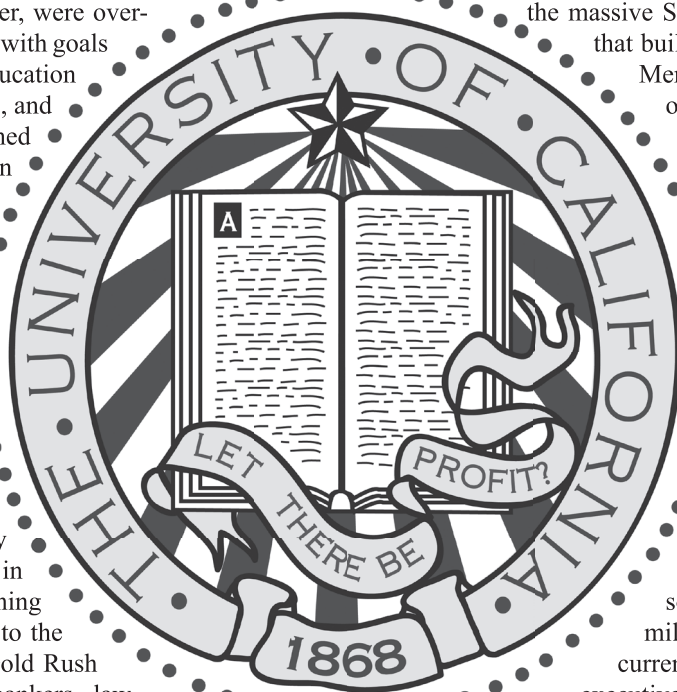
What is distinctive about the UC (like many other public universities) is that wealthy, elite businessmen have always dominated its governing body. Most private colleges and universities were governed by clergymen well into the first decades of the 20th century. Public universities, however, were overseen from day one by a group of men with goals of profit and power, in addition to education and enlightenment. The Regents are, and always have been, primarily concerned with the role of the university as an instrument of economic growth via scientific and technological development, and the training of an educated workforce. They act as the leadership for the power elite to determine the larger strategic roles of the university that will serve transnational corporations, the military, and the state.

The very first UC Regents personified the major economic activities of California, circa 1868. Nearly all of them had acquired interests in mining, farming, railroads, and ranching operations after having immigrated to the state during and after the famous Gold Rush of 1849. Most were prominent bankers, lawyers, merchants, and mining and real estate tycoons.

Charles Reed, a UC Regent from 1868 to 1872 traveled to California from Vermont where he had been an engineer for the Vermont Central Railroad. He eventually became a manager of the California

Quicksilver Mining Company, and a major stockholder in the massive Southern Pacific Railroad (the railroad that built Leland Stanford's fortune). Samuel Merritt, a Regent for the first three years of the University's existence, was a director of the Bank of Oakland, and a major real estate developer in San Francisco, Oakland, and Washington State.

The UC Regents remain a board composed mostly of wealthy businessmen, lawyers, bankers, along with the occasional educator or civil servant. The overall role of the university has changed little since its founding. Changes in the economic base and leading industries of California are reflected in corporations that the current Regents direct, mostly software, electronics, media, finance, military-industrial, and real estate. The current Board of Regents are senior level executives or directors of a total of at least 55 major corporations and banks.



### 1974

- Women's Studies is approved as a BA program.
- "The Farm" opens to further the study of agroecology and sustainable food systems.
- Nancy Shaw (Stoller) becomes first female professor to come out at UCSC.

### 1975

- Kresge Coop opens in a teepee in the Porter meadow.

### 1976

- The Resource Center for Nonviolence (pictured right) is founded. It is still located at 515 Broadway street. Check out [www.rcnv.org](http://www.rcnv.org) for more info.







# “Hey Kids, Fuck You!”

## Who Are the Regents?

The Regents of the University of California are the governing body that oversees the UC system, UC managed national laboratories, and its numerous other research stations. They are solely responsible for making key policy decisions regarding everything from affirmative action to finance and construction. The Governor of California appoints eighteen of the regents for 12-year terms. The other seven UC regents are “ex officio” members. These are: the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Speaker of the Assembly, Superintendent of Public Instruction, president and vice-president of the Alumni Associations of UC and the UC president. One regent is always a UC student, appointed by the other regents.

The Regents are today nothing more than a body of corporate elites and bureaucratic, technical or managerial leaders whose influence and power is put to use by shaping policy within the economic mill that is the University of California. Many of the Regents have financial stakes in the operation of the UC either through direct investments, or through indirect interest in the operations of the school and the general economic benefits it brings to their enterprises (See LRDP Shadow p 9). Many of the Regents serve on the boards of the largest corporations in California and the country at large. Most of the firms controlled

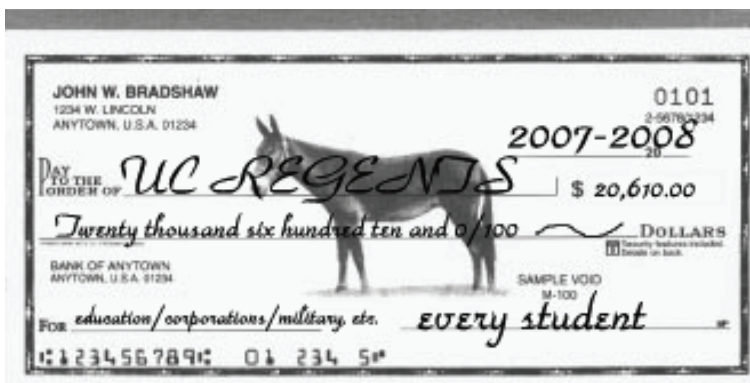
by members of the UC Board of Regents are powerful transnational corporations worth billions of dollars.

The regents are best understood as the board of directors of the corporation UC, a corporation like any other, with an overriding incentive to expand its power, prestige and profits. The UC is also a locus for activities including research and technology transition, recruitment, and education, all of which directly serve the interest of

large firms, the economic elite who run them, and the military-industrial complex.

The Board of Regents is also a politically contested body. Republican and Democratic governors tend to stack the board with political allies when given the chance. Many of these appointees were major contributors or close friends of governors. For instance, Ward Connerly was appointed

to the board by former Republican Governor Pete Wilson. Wilson’s anti-immigration sentiments and conservative perspectives are well known. Connerly went on to lead the conservative attack that prompted the UC to drop its affirmative action policy. For in-depth information on diversity in the UC, see the website of By Any Means Necessary - <http://www.bamn.com>.



- Santa Cruz activists contribute heavily to the creation of affinity groups within “People for a Nuclear Free Future” and the “Abalone Alliance” who protest the building of Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant. No nuclear plant has been built in California since.

Picture at right: 1977 Rally in front of Hahn Student Services. Banner reads: “(illegible) Overturn Bakke.”



### 1977

- The Coalition Against Institutional Racism (CAIR) is formed. The group mobilizes over 1,000 students at Hahn Administration building to demand that the University divest from South African apartheid and reject the Bakke decision outlawing affirmative action. 401 students are arrested occupying the building.



# Regent Profiles



**"And I'd still  
be makin' 25 mil a  
year if it weren't for  
you pesky kids!"**

**Richard C. Blum**

A wealthy financier and Democratic Party insider, Regent Blum is married to Senator Dianne Feinstein, and has provided a funding network that has fueled her rise in politics over the last two decades. Blum's net worth is probably in the level of several hundred million dollars. His financial contributions to the Democratic Party and related political action committees often exceeds \$100,000 in a given year. He also serves on the boards of several influential policy organizations such as the Brookings Institution.

Blum used to hold millions in stock and serve as vice president for URS Corporation, a major military-industrial company that holds innumerable contracts with the U.S. military and is currently making millions of dollars off the "rebuilding of Iraq" through its Perini Construction subsidiary.

Through URS, Blum remained a major player in the military-industrial complex. One notable example is URS's contract for construction services at the UC managed nuclear weapons facility Los Alamos National Laboratory (LANL). As a UC Regent, Blum is responsible for overseeing the overall operations of LANL, a "non-profit public service" according to Blum and the Board of Regents. As a Vice President and major shareholder in URS, Blum was responsible for increasing profits through contracts secured with the U.S. military and other clients like LANL. In July of 2000, URS was awarded a contract for "design and construction services at the U.S. Department of Energy's Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico." This five-year contract will enrich URS by \$25 million per year. It also builds up the U.S. nuclear weapons complex to the profit of men like Blum.

At the same Regents meeting during which students exposed Regent Blum's conflict of interest over URS and the nuclear labs, Regent Gerald Parsky (the current chair) threatened to have the students in attendance removed by force if they continued to speak out against the UC's management of nuclear weapons labs. He gave them a poignant ultimatum: you students can only stay and observe the meeting if you "remain peaceful." When the students, who had come to confront aggressive nuclear build-up, asked in reply: "What's your definition of 'peace'?" Parsky clarified: "Peace means you don't speak!"

Perhaps Parsky gets his definition of peace from his friends in the Republican Party. Peace and Security is increasingly defined by the Bush administration and its allies as the severe restriction of civil rights, a perpetual war on terror, and unprecedented buildups of state military forces. Peace means we don't speak; peace means we stand by while our university is hijacked to build weapons of inconceivable destructive power.

If Regent Parsky and President Bush seem to share the same definition of peace, that's because they're close allies. Parsky is Bush's main man in California. In 2000 and 2004 Parsky chaired George W. Bush's California election committee. This primarily meant that Parsky was responsible for tapping the state's wealthy republican donors. Parsky raised enormous amounts of money for Bush's campaign through his network of business associates and friends in high places. Parsky was a Bush Pioneer in 2000 and a Bush Ranger in 2004. This means he successfully raised \$100,000 for Bush in 2000, and \$200,000 in 2004.

**"Why don't you  
kids just shut the fuck  
up, mmkay?"**



**Gerald L. Parsky**



**Paul Wachter**

Paul Wachter is Schwarzenegger's money-man. Before Schwarzenegger's run for governor the two were business partners on innumerable deals. Wachter currently manages the blind trust into which all of Schwarzenegger's investments were liquidated when he became governor. Blind trusts are required of elected officials to avoid conflicts of interest. But given Wachter and Schwarzenegger's buddy-buddy

relationship it's hard to see how Wachter acts as an independent disinterested manager of the governor's assets. Schwarzenegger's financial holdings were briefly and partially disclosed during the recall campaign in 2003. They revealed a financial empire of tens of millions of dollars invested in securities, private equity funds and over 100 business ventures, many in partnership with Wachter.

After years of public scandal, Dynes has resigned as President of the UC. Dynes, it appears, was a firm believer in the University's management of the nuclear weapons labs. He led the University's decision to pair with Bechtel to bid for a new contract for the management of LANL in 2005-2006.

The decision to give Dynes the helm of the world's premier public university was no doubt motivated by his connections with the UC managed, national nuclear weapons laboratories at Los Alamos (LANL) and Livermore (LLNL). The UC's management role of LANL has been put in question by the Bush administration. Dynes' appointment seemed to be a strategic move on the part of the UC to bolster its ability to keep control of the Lab, and prevent LLNL from suffering a similar fate.



**Robert Dynes**

- A proposal is written calling for the implementation of a Third World and Native American Studies (TWNAS) program at UCSC. The intent was to examine the dynamic of race and class interactions as a whole rather than merely dwelling on the history of oppression and exploitation of each individual group.

## 1978

- A growth limitation is created in Santa Cruz which preserves a "greenbelt" through Measures O and J.

## 1979

- Anti-nuclear activists create the "Radio Active Times" and distribute 100,000 copies over the next few years.

- The first issue of the TWNAS newspaper is published.



**TWNAS  
Logo**

# Knowledge! War! Capital!

*A brief introduction to the  
military-industrial-academic complex*

By Aaron Dankman



The University of California operates a total of ten campuses which enroll more than 208,000 students annually and employ over 120,000 thousand staff and faculty. It is arguably the most prestigious public university in the world. But what is this massive conglomeration of buildings, resources, and people? What ends and whose interests does the UC serve?

The UC's current research and development priorities have their roots in what President Dwight Eisenhower called the 'military-industrial complex.' Soon after World War II, the United States federal government began to tinker with the Keynesian economic model largely associated with Franklin Roosevelt, shifting federal investment focus away from civil works; the new model prioritized private profit and technologies of destruction instead. Over time, a single, vast

enterprise came to dominate university research policy and funding nationwide: the conglomeration of the military and private industry.

This vertically ordered organization persists today and ties most big-budget universities and corporations all the way back to Department of Defense headquarters. Universities comply in order to maintain funding, while corporate participation is motivated by profit. As technologies are refined to the point of profitability they are patented in the private sector and produced for military use or sold back to the public who financed the initial undertaking in the first place. Over fifty percent of for-profit research and development conducted in the electronics, computer, aeronautics, metallurgy,

laser, and telecommunications industries has been done with the public's money.

Through the centralized coordination structures that emerged in the sixties as well as monopolization of research funding options, military interests maintain broad control over the total science base down to its very roots. As writer Brian Martin pointed out: "Military funding also affects what are thought to be the key questions within certain fields, such as certain computational challenges in the early days of computers. This affects areas as diverse as the study of climate, gravitational anomalies, genetic engineering and group psychology."

This "Pentagon Kapitalism," as political economist Seymour Melman called it, pervades all levels of our educational system, prioritizing death over life and aggression over cooperation. As Julian Huxley, a British biologist, remarked in 1934, "If you are willing to pay for more [people] and more facilities in war research than, say, medical research, you will get more results adapted to killing people, and less adapted to keeping them alive." Within these circumstances, what some call 'science-for-its-own-sake' is impossible. The practice of science in this country is presently subservient to the mutually reinforcing interests of war and capital.

This points to the very foundations of war in today's world, and these insights could be crucial in the building of an effective anti-war movement. Protest against the war must mean protest against the weaponry which fuels war; it must mean protesting the apparatuses and funding that employ science to the ends of war.

Knowledge, war, and capital form three axes of U.S. militarism today, and the future of antiwar movements depends on our ability to realize those connections and thus coordinate effective resistance.

- The first wave of progressives is elected into SC city council. By 1983, progressives constituted the majority on the council, a trend that continues to this day.

## 1981

- History of the TWANAS struggle:

1. Ed Castillo, the only instructor teaching Native American Studies, is dismissed. UC Santa

Cruz still lacks Black Studies, Chicano Studies, or Asian and Pacific Islander studies programs.

2. TWANAS and the Native American Studies Support Group merge and decide to present specific demands to secure permanent faculty positions.

Picture at Right: 1981 TWANAS rally





# UC IN THE SHADOW OF THE MUSHROOM CLOUD

by Mark Valen

Since the dawn of the nuclear age, when Robert Oppenheimer and Ernesto Lawrence (both UC scientists) were trying to smash atoms in Berkeley, the University of California has been the central research institution for U.S. nuclear weapon development and design. It was this connection to the discovery of atomic science that led the UC to sign contracts to manage the Los Alamos National Laboratory (LANL) on April 15, 1943. Here, the UC-employed scientists worked feverishly to build the first atomic weapons (to be dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki). In 1952, the nation's second nuclear weapons laboratory, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL), began operations under UC management. The UC continues to manage the two main nuclear weapons facilities in the U.S., making the University of California responsible for the creation of every nuclear bomb in the U.S. arsenal.

## Absentee Landlords

There is a long-standing history of lack of responsible oversight from the UC Regents resulting in multiple security breaches, lost or stolen classified information, improper storage and handling of radioactive material. Conveniently for the UC Regents, the University of California management contracts held a "non-profit" status making them exempt from paying penalty fines for the multiple cases of lab workers, the surrounding communities, and the environment being exposed to deadly levels of radiation. The Department of Energy took notice of the UC's incompetent oversight and in 2004 put the UC's contract for LANL up for bid. It followed the next year by putting the contract for LLNL up for a similar bid. The Regents scrambled to keep the UC seal on the podiums and letterheads of the nuclear weapons labs by putting in bids to keep the labs. And they won!!

Bechtel is a multi-national corporation infamous for its involvement in the water privatization of Bolivia (which led to a massive rebellion and re-taking of the water system by the Bolivian people), receiving no-bid contracts worth over \$680 million to rebuild the infrastructure of Iraq (which have since been dropped due to public scrutiny) and nuclear facility construction, management, and nuclear waste clean up (they profit when nuclear facilities release radioactive pollution!). The lab employees who received the UC benefit and retirement plans have now lost them. Union organizing at the labs has become much more difficult than it already was. Private management means that what takes place at the labs and the managing process have become much more secretive.

This change in management has come at a very critical time for the future of nuclear weapons. The DOE has schemed up Complex 2030, a plan lasting until the year 2030 to completely re-create the nuclear weapons complex with the capacity to build 125 new nuclear weapons a year. A program called the Reliable Replacement Warhead program (RRW) calls for the creation of new nuclear weapons under the guise that the old ones have become outdated and unreliable. The reality is that this is a piece of the initiative to rebuild a new nuclear arsenal. Under the UC management contract, the weapons labs were only allowed to function as research and design laboratories. In order to rebuild the nuclear stockpile, a factory must exist to build new plutonium pits (the nuclear core of atomic or hydrogen bombs.) LANL is the only currently functioning nuclear facility with the capacity to create plutonium pits on a scale large enough to bring in the new bombs. According to the new corporate management team, their primary role as lab managers is to be responsible for "addressing matters related to the integration of the [DOE] weapons complex with the goal of achieving an agile, flexible and efficient complex." Partnering with Bechtel (privatized management) was necessary in order to change the contracts and further the creation of new nukes. The UC is merely a symbolic name and place holder in this whole deal.

## Corporate Takeover and Bombplex 2030

In order to competitively re-bid for the management contracts, UC formed a consortium with military-industrial corporations Bechtel National, BWX Technologies, and Washington Group International. These war profiteers and the UC created Limited Liability Corporations (Los Alamos National Security, LLC. and Lawrence Livermore National Security, LLC.) to jointly manage LANL and LLNL.

3. Nearly 600 people march to the Chancellor's office and present demands which are to be answered within 5 days. The University's response doesn't specifically address the demands, instead proposing the formation of yet another committee.

4. The TWANAS Support Coalition organizes another rally in response, and 25 people commit to not eating until all demands are met.

5. Third World and Native American faculty meet and unanimously agree to support the hunger strike, which lasted 5 days.

6. The University agrees in writing to:

- a. One tenured track faculty member each in both Asian-American Studies and Native American Studies.
- b. The continuance of a part-time position in Asian-American Studies.

c. Additional funding for staff to search for and hire these faculty.

d. To replace Third World and Native American faculty who go on leave in adherence with affirmative action guidelines.

e. A proposal to the Academic Senate that each student be required to take a course substantially focused on Native American and/or the domestic Third World.



## Nuclear Colonialism

The witnesses/survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombings are known as Hibakusha. Over 200,000 acute deaths, and immeasurable amounts of long-term suffering, were the results of the dropping of the UC designed atomic bombs on Japan. Although the Japanese were the only people to be bombed as part of a military act, Hibakusha are widely recognized all over the globe, from the Marshall Islands to the United States. All the processes of building a nuclear bomb (uranium mining, construction, testing, storage, and nuclear waste disposal) are extremely destructive. The facilities that house this deadly radioactive material are most often placed in poor communities of color that have no voice in determining their locations. The Western Shoshone Nation, on who's land lies the Nevada Test Site, is the most bombed nation on earth [1,032 open air nuclear bombings and 21 sub-critical nuclear explosions since WWII] Yucca Mountain, a sacred site for the Western Shoshone for almost a million years (according to their histories), has been selected to house virtually all nuclear waste from the nation's many nuclear power plants. In the Marshall Islands, where many nuclear bombs were tested while former UC Regents watched in celebration from a safe distance (no joke!), families, communities, and entire cultures of the indigenous islanders were destroyed through forced re-location and long-term radiation exposure resulting in massive amounts of birth defects, radiation sickness, and multiple forms of cancer. The nuclear fuel/weapons cycle has physically and culturally exterminated indigenous and poor people around the globe at levels high enough to be considered genocide. This racist and violent phenomenon has come to be known as Nuclear Colonialism.

The UC scientists and their families, (usually white/upper middle-class) are not exempt from the deadly effects of nuclear radiation either. In Livermore, CA approximately one million curies of radiation (roughly equivalent to the amount of radiation deposited by the US atomic bombing of Hiroshima) have saturated the surrounding environment. The Environmental Protection Agency has declared the 50 mile radius around LLNL a "Superfund" site repeatedly affected by radioactive pollution (San Francisco, being 45 mi away from Livermore, falls within this 50 mi radius). Studies have found that children and young adults of Livermore experience 6 times the incidence of malignant melanoma, and people born in the 1960s in Livermore have been found to face elevated levels of brain cancer. Complaints from exposed lab workers are seldom heard due to bureaucratic roadblocks and a hostile, fear-promoting work environment reinforced by lack of responsibility in UC management of the labs.

### Take the U-C out of N-U-C-L-E-A-R

Since the 1960's and the height of the Vietnam War protests, there has been a continual student movement opposing the UC's management of Armageddon. Current faculty on this campus were once (and still are) radical activists calling for a responsible solution to

an insane industry for an academic institution to be a part of. Former UCSC Chancellor Robert Sinsheimer publicly stated that UC lab management "stands in inherent contradiction to the high and lofty principles" of the university. Once upon a time, a UCSC group called Student Alliance for Fallout Emergency (SAFE) sponsored a resolution on an official campus election calling for the Health Center to "stockpile suicide pills to be distributed upon request to registered students in the event that the UCSC campus is exposed to lethal quantities of nuclear radiation."

At this very moment, a strong and vibrant UC student movement for nuclear abolition is taking place. Because of the current nuclear crisis we face and the continued management of the labs by the UC students, faculty, and staff are uniting and calling once and for all for an end to the UC system's legitimization of the nuclear weapons complex. In the past year, students have disrupted and attempted to shut down meetings of the Board of Regents, effectively forcing them to stop managing the laboratories. In the Spring of 2007, 41 students and one faculty member from UCSC, UCSB, UCSF, and UC Berkeley went on a hunger strike lasting a total of 10 days, which culminated in an action at a Regents Meeting, at which 13 starving students were arrested, and the Regents themselves advised the students to go home and "go get some lunch." Word of the UC Hunger Strike spread world-wide throughout both underground and mainstream networks. Immediately after the strike ended, the UCSC student government passed a resolution calling for the immediate severance of the UC's ties to the nuclear weapons laboratories and supported the creation of a student oversight committee to join already existing oversight committees existing at other UC campuses.

Due to the increasingly critical global situation, and the Regents' adamant attachment to the nuclear labs and the furthering of U.S. militarism in general, the movement to make UC nuclear free will only strengthen and grow. The most political action students of the University of California can take is to work to transform the very institution we pay so much money to be a part of. We have a unique leveraging point in making this institution/mega-corporation the most socially equitable it can be. Students have a voice in this system, no matter how small. The power is in our numbers, our creativity, and our lack of fear. Entire communities, and the majority of humans on this planet, are counting on us to help bring down the unthinkable dangerous system of nuclear weapon production and use. Change will only happen if enough people, from all backgrounds and perspectives, come together to end this insanity.

### De-Colonizing our Minds: The UC and the Bomb class

Want to learn more about this stuff and get academic credit for it? The Fourth Generation of the student created and operated class, *UC and the Bomb*, is happening this Fall. In a non-hierarchical, democratic educational environment, students/learners will explore in depth the relationship between the nuclear weapons labs and the University of California. Contact Mark for more info about how



f. Increased financial support for the Third World Teaching Resource Center.

- "Save our Shores" is created in Santa Cruz to spearhead the movement against off shore oil drilling.
- Agroecology program founded, ensuring the continued existence of the Farm and Chadwick garden.

• UCSC Earth First! starts holding meetings at College Eight.



**1982**

- Openly gay professor Nancy (Shaw) Stoller is denied tenure despite the recommendations of her department, outside reviewers, and an ad-hoc committee. After a long legal battle, Stoller wins in 1987 and returns to teach.
- Nearly 10,000 protest at Lawrence Livermore National Lab, one of two UC-managed



# Military Recruiters and the LIES They Tell

Spread the word about these common recruiter lies.

Explore Counter-Recruitment strategies.

No Recruits = No Troops = No War

## LIES DEBUNKED

**LIE #1: The military provides valuable, high tech job training that will prepare you for a civilian career.**

- Veterans earn an average of 19% less than non-veterans.

- Only 12% of male veterans and 6% of female veterans use job skills learned in the military in their civilian careers.

**LIE #2: The military will pay for your college education, you can get up to \$70,000.**

- You have to pay a non-refundable fee of \$1200 just to enroll in the Montgomery GI Bill.

- Only 15% of those eligible for the GI Bill complete a four-year college program and collect the entire amount.

- 65% of the recruits who pay the required \$1200 into the Montgomery GI Bill never get a cent in return.

- So few enlistees are able to take advantage of the GI Bill that the military actually makes a profit off the program—it takes in \$72 million more every year than it pays out.

**LIE #3: Join the Reserves or National Guard and you'll only have to serve one weekend a month.**

- 40% of the soldiers in Iraq today are members of the National Guard or Reserves. Many have seen their enlistments and tours of duty extended by "stop loss" orders.

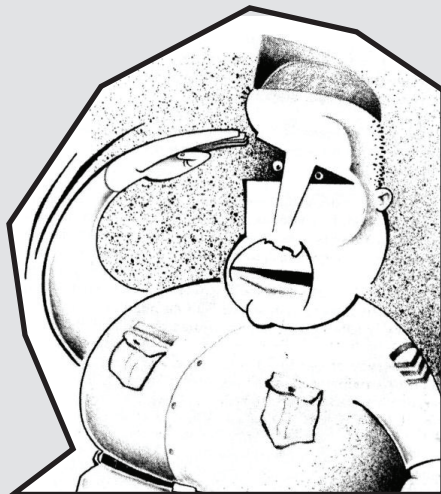
- The enlistment contract contains a clause that allows the military to alter any provision of the contract without even notifying you.

- You can be called back at any time! The fine print of the enlistment contract (Section 9) states that recruits can be kept in the military indefinitely, or called back from the reserves many years later, especially as part of the "war on terror" which has no foreseeable end.

**LIE #4: The military takes care of its own with excellent retirement and disability benefits.**

- Budget cuts have forced the Veterans Administration to charge veterans entering into its system a \$250 annual fee in order for them to receive treatment.

- According to the Veteran's Administration, 1/3 of all homeless people are veterans.



"The reason to have a military is to be prepared to fight and win wars. The military is not a social welfare agency, it's not a jobs program."

-Dick Cheney, current Vice President and former Secretary of Defense

## TACTICS REVEALED

- Recruiters are salespeople. They are trained in the same corporate sales techniques and have quotas to meet just like other salespeople.

- The U.S. General Accounting Office found that the military's recruiting advertising budget doubled from \$300 million to nearly \$600 million between 1998 and 2003.

- The overall recruiting budget last year approached \$4 billion.

- Recruiter misconduct is rampant: They have been caught on tape helping potential recruits forge high school diplomas and fake drug tests. One recruiter was caught threatening high-school students with jail time for refusing to meet with him.

## RACISM, SEXUAL ABUSE, & HOMOPHOBIA

- People of color represent 1/3 of all enlisted personnel but only 1/8 of all officers.

- 75% of African Americans and 61% of Latinos report discriminatory behavior in the military.

- According to the Veteran's Administration, 90% of the women in the military have experienced sexual harassment, and 30% of these have been raped.

- A recently released Associated Press report found that in 2005 alone, more than 80 recruiters faced disciplinary action for sexual misconduct with potential enlistees.

- Since 1996, 722 Army recruiters have been accused of rape and sexual misconduct. It is likely, of course, that the number of reported cases is far lower than the actual number of incidents.

- You cannot be openly homosexual in the military.

nuclear weapons production sites. 1,475 people are arrested.

1983

- First "Take Back the Night" at UCSC is organized in reaction to multiple serial murderers, including the son of a provost.



- June 20th: over 1,000 people are arrested blocking the entrance to the Lawrence Livermore Weapons Lab. Five days later more than 6,000 join hands around the lab in opposition to the lab's work and in support of the arrested blockaders. In response, the Department of Energy buys a 196-acre "security buffer zone" around the lab.

- Santa Cruz becomes a "Nuclear Free County."

- Demands from 1981 TWANAS hunger strike remain unmet. Oakes College ethnic studies courses are dissolved.

- John Laird, a UCSC grad, elected mayor of Santa Cruz - the first openly gay mayor in the country.



## WHY COUNTER-RECRUITMENT?

So here we are, 4 years into a war in Iraq that very few people support, not to mention our military involvement in Afghanistan and countless other places worldwide. The US military is the richest, most powerful, and most aggressive in the world, by a long shot. Many of us have felt how frustrating it can be to try to stand up to this monster – after all, what are a bunch of civilians holding signs going to do to stop the war machine?

One tool that we have is counter-recruitment. This can range from simply providing information such as what's on the previous page to potential recruits, to participating in nonviolent direct action in order to actively prevent any recruitment. Some may say that this tactic violates people's right to choose and the military's right of free speech, but that logic assumes that the military is a legitimate organization that acts responsibly, and this is simply not the case. Consider some of the facts mentioned on the previous page about racial disparities and sexual abuse, and ask yourself if a regular corporation that showed similar numbers would be invited to a UC Santa Cruz job fair. In fact, the military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy directly violates the UC's non-discrimination policy, as well as a more specific policy of the career center regarding who is allowed to participate in job fairs. However, the administration is unable/unwilling to enforce these policies because of a law called the Solomon Amendment which would deny our campus all federal funding if military recruiters were not allowed to recruit at career fairs.

Obviously the recruiters have no real right to be here, but it's up to students to take action. This is exactly what we have done – recruiters have not been allowed to operate on campus for the past two and a half years due to student protest. It started in spring 2005 when over 300 students marched into the job fair and surrounded the recruiters, preventing any recruitment until they picked up and left. The next time they came onto campus was October 2005, and despite higher security that prevented a similar action, Students Against War organized a "queer kiss-in," surrounding the recruiting tables with same-sex couples making out, highlighting the illegitimacy of the military (and making those guys super uncomfortable). In April 2006 the military recruiters' placement in a separate room from the rest of the fair allowed a mass rally to shut them down without disturbing the rest of the fair. And for the entire 2006-2007 school year, recruiters have declined to attend our career fairs.

Together these actions have provoked a deluge of death threats to activists, inspired attempts by conservative lawyers to get UCSC's funding cut, landed Students Against War on a Pentagon terrorism database as a "credible threat," and even got us a stern talking to from Bill O'Reilly.

They have also stopped recruitment.

## ENLISTING RESISTANCE

by Kate Flanagan

### On the Road with Iraq Vets Against the War

#### The UPRISE Counter-Recruitment Tour

I spent October traveling the rustbelt - from D.C. to Chicago - with a caravan of activists, musicians, and veterans. We were in a different city almost every day. The veterans shared their personal stories, and we gave workshops on counter recruitment and corporate connections in Iraq. In the evenings we screened films like *Sir, No Sir!* and hosted shows featuring political hip-hop, punk, and folk artists.

In a last minute miracle the UPRISE tour teamed up with Iraq Veterans Against the War. Four of them came along and local IVAW members came to speak at several events. IVAW is a rapidly growing group that is open to anyone who has served in the military since 9-11. Of the four that came on tour with us two - Nick and Mike - had been active duty in Afghanistan and the other two - Steve, and Toby - had served in Iraq.

#### The Cast of the Tour

"We thought we were going there to help people and save people's lives," Mike says. "We thought that was what the army was about, we thought that was what this country is about." Mike's got long brown hair and soft blue eyes. He is from New Orleans and was trapped in the city during hurricane Katrina. Back then he still had faith in the government and expected help to come, but of course it didn't. He harbors a slow, sad, anger. Ask him to sum his feelings in one word: betrayed.

All of the vets I toured with joined the army with the best of intentions but in war they saw that the government's priority was controlling resources and funneling cash to corrupt leaders and military contractors. Mike served on a base in Qatar during the war in Afghanistan. In a moment, he knew the war was wrong when he saw that his base was sending millions of dollars of new equipment to Iraq, thirteen months before the Iraq war started, while supplies were badly needed in Afghanistan.

At every stop, someone would ask about rebuilding. Steve and Toby would always say that they didn't see any rebuilding in Iraq. "I drove through the streets of Baghdad for twelve months and it just got worse over there," Toby said. Toby has a fair freckled face and a strawberry-blond mohawk. He's quiet and thoughtful -- much of what he doesn't say he pours into poetry.

In Iraq and Afghanistan, instead of putting money toward rebuilding, the military would give cash payments to war lords or tribal leaders, officially for 'rebuilding' but the spending wasn't regulated and it was clear that the money wasn't being spent on new schools and roads. "That money was going to buy bullets that were coming back at us," said Mike.

In Iraq, Steve says, while soldiers were risking their lives on missions for a \$22,000 salary, Halliburton (*Continued on next page*)

## 1984

- TWANAS circulates a petition that shows overwhelming student support for the Ethnic Studies general education requirement.



## 1985

- EOP/SAA sponsors a forum for all Third World students. UNITY THROUGH ACTION is born. UTA drew together a coalition of Third World organizations.

- UTA/TWANAS petition drive collects 1500 student signatures supporting the Ethnic Studies G.E. requirement. Petitions are

submitted to the Academic Senate, which votes to include the requirement. This means VICTORY after 13 years.

- Student Union Assembly (SUA) founded to put students in a better bargaining position with the administration on campus-wide issues.
- Local feminists, led by former fashion model Ann Simonton, protest the Miss California

employees stayed on the base, earning over \$130,000 working safely on the base supervising four or five Iraqis who got \$1.50 an hour. "One time I asked," Steve said, "Why the Iraqis were getting paid so little and they told me it was because they didn't want to flood the Iraqi economy with money." While he was there, Steve will tell you, like many other soldiers he didn't have time to think about the political implications of everything he was seeing. But since he's been home he's been developing a solid anti-capitalist critique. Steve looks like a fox and has all the energy of one. He's bold and raw and a comedic genius. He's the smallest and the angriest of the four, he's also got the most conspicuous case of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. He's jumpy and known to wander off, sometimes in the middle of a conversation.



Steve, Toby, and Mike

While everyone else speaks, Nick sits in the front with a video camera. He's a big teddy bear, with curly brown hair. He's reserved and relatively organized. He's also the driver of the bus, the holder of the money. He seems older than the rest of them but he isn't really — none of them are older than 25. Maybe it's because he's been doing this longer; he's been in IVAW since it started in Summer 2004.

## POST TRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER

They all tell about coming back home from war and being unable to function, how the government didn't give them support to deal with the fact that they had almost died, that they had seen their buddies die or had killed or tortured people themselves. They got through the war thinking that if they could just get home, everything would be right again. But at home they couldn't find comfort in the things they once liked or the people they still loved, they shut themselves off from family and friends.

Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, or "PTSD", is a psychiatric response to life-threatening events. Those afflicted relive traumatic

experiences through nightmares and intrusive memories. It's estimated that a third of soldiers returning from Iraq and Afghanistan are suffering from PTSD. But all of the war veterans I've met have it to some degree and are dealing with the fact that their experiences will haunt them for the rest of their lives. A mother of a soldier came to an event and asked the vets, "How can we help you emotionally?" She wanted to know how to reach her son who had returned from Iraq distant and depressed. "You can't get him back," Steve told her. "How do you tell your mother that your best friend died and his blood splattered on your face, or that you had to kill children? You can't."

When soldiers get off the plane to come home they are asked a set of questions, one of which is "Do you need mental help?" Saying yes would mean staying on the base for another 6 months and not seeing their family, which is all they want at that point. After that, it takes three months for soldiers to get an appointment through the Veterans Administration with someone who can diagnose them with PTSD. When soldiers try to get help for PTSD, the officials at the VA play on the hyper masculinity that soldiers learn in the army to talk them out of seeking help. "They make you feel like if you can't take it, you shouldn't ever have joined the army," said Mike.

Soldiers officially receive free medical care for two years after they are discharged, but the VA uses all sorts of tricks to get out of providing for veterans. The VA's policy on PTSD is that they are not responsible for informing veterans of their right to file a claim, and if they don't know about PTSD, it does not extend their time frame to file a claim. "Most of the people in my platoon don't even know what PTSD is," Steve said, "and how could they, the VA doesn't even tell them."

## PROPERTY OF THE STATE

"You were just following orders, just doing what you were told, but it still keeps you up at night," said Toby. Toby tells the story of when his best friend was killed in an ambush and died in Iraq, "One week later, I was approached by a staff sergeant who gave me a box of 240 machine gun rounds, that my friend had on him when he died, they were caked in his blood. The sergeant told me to go kill some Iraqis. And I did, I used them to the best of my ability." The acts of violence perpetuated by soldiers are not isolated incidents. They are a result of systematic training that valorizes violence and preys upon soldiers' emotions, especially their love for one another. The vets will be living with the memories of war for the rest of their lives. But the military bureaucrats in the Pentagon, the politicians and the war profiteers, who create the system that manipulates soldiers and creates war, they don't have to face the terrors of war or acknowledge the blood on their hands.

The goal of basic training is to break enlistees down and build them back up as killing machines. The military is constantly developing new technologies to manage the troops. The notion of 'brotherhood' is one of the main tools that the military uses to get soldiers to fight. The government has learned that soldiers aren't fighting for the government, or for freedom, but for their fellow soldiers. The military's strategy is to foster soldiers' sense of loyalty to

pageant which was held in Santa Cruz. Simonton (*pictured at right*) wears a dress of raw meat to highlight the objectification of women and is among the arrested. Next year the pageant moves to San Diego.

- Westside neighbors organize Westside Community Health Clinic (later becomes Planned Parenthood downtown)
- The Women's Center opens.



## 1986

- Years of student protest pay off as the UC becomes the largest public institution yet to take a stand against apartheid in South Africa. Actions are held at all UC campuses, including mock shanty towns, sit ins, teach-ins and rallies. These caused such disruption and bad press for the UC that it sold its \$3 billion in stock holdings of companies with ties to South Africa.



each other. Basic training is structured around teaching soldiers that their failure, or their refusal to participate hurts their whole group. Soldiers are assigned to a 'battle buddy' when one loses, his buddy loses and vice versa.

While the military teaches soldiers to care for each other, it simultaneously dehumanizes local populations. Like in Vietnam, where the military called the Vietnamese 'gooks,' today, Iraqis are all called 'Hadjis' and soldiers are discouraged from associating with Iraqi people.

Tariq, one of the activists on the tour, served in the air force for four years making bombs on a base in Korea in the 90's. The first night in basic training his unit was forced on their hands and knees, naked, with chains around their necks. He talks about how as a punishment, a friend of his was thrown into twelve foot deep water, hands and feet tied together and told to swim, they pulled him out right before he drowned. Another friend's head was held under water until he passed out and was revived with an oxygen tank. The military uses these techniques to teach obedience. Through their military training soldiers learn how to be abusive.

Troops are trained to respond to fear and anger with violence and then thrown into situations where fear and anger abound. Walking Iraq city streets in a military uniform makes soldiers an obvious target, but it is often impossible for soldiers to identify who is trying to kill them. Steve said, "It's like being in a dark room and someone keeps punching you, and you don't know who, sooner or later you're going to punch back and not care who you hit."

Women in the military have it the worst. Unlike male soldiers they can't go back to the base and feel safe. Sexual assault and rape are rampant within the military and the military bureaucracy does little to protect women or punish their assaulters.

Military training doesn't stop when troops go home to the base and it carries over into their civilian lives where ex-military are far more likely than civilians to abusive and violent. "You desensitize a person to killing, even children, and you can't turn off that switch." Steve said, "They're cold."

"[The government] learned from Vietnam," Steve says, "it's better for the government to fuck one person up really, really bad, than five people just a little bit." The enlistment contract is binding for the troops but not for the government. Instead of a draft, the government has been implementing the "Stop Loss Policy" which forces soldiers to stay in the military past the terms of their contracts. A quarter of soldiers are on their first tour in Iraq, half are on their second, and the rest are on their third or more. The government knows that every soldier is connected to hundreds of family and friends; reusing the same soldiers allows the government to keep more Americans removed from the war.

Soldiers have no constitutional rights in the military. You literally become state property. The military can use its ownership over soldiers to control what information gets out about the war. Only one media team

came to Toby's base in Iraq the whole time he was there, before they came, the soldiers were trained what to say. "They came to me," he said, "And I told them I didn't have anything to say. Because I couldn't tell the truth."

## DE-TROOP THE TROOPS

A 2004 Pentagon statistic counted 40,000 soldiers AWOL (absent without leave) out of an army of 550,000. We ran into soldiers all along the tour route – some just in training, some AWOL, others back from the war – all opposed to the war. The veterans say most soldiers and even some officers talk openly about not knowing why they are there and what they are fighting for.

The troops are not sounding the battle cry. But most of them aren't signing on to the anti-war movement either. This is partly because the military teaches soldiers that 'protestors' hate them. But also because the anti-war movement often assumes that soldiers are naturally in support of the war. For soldiers, joining the anti-war movement means admitting that everything that happened to them and their friends in the war was for nothing. That's a difficult barrier to cross. But it would be so much easier if there were a visible anti-war community that they knew would welcome them.

The history of the Vietnam War anti-war movement shows that we can only be successful if meaningful connections are created between activists and soldiers. GI resistance is the key to ending the war and that can only happen if activists create decentralized networks to provide services like alternative healthcare, legal advice, and temporary homes for homeless and AWOL soldiers. Remember that militarism is built on a foundation of racism, sexism, and homophobia and that these ideas are pervasive in military culture and training. I do not mean to excuse prejudices but to recognize that folks who believe in equality at their core may still harbor problematic language and ideas. To accept veterans into the anti-war movement will mean actively helping them assimilate to activist culture, sharing the history and lingo of the movement, non-hierarchical organizing theory and practice, and helping them fight internalized sexism, racism, and heterosexism.



**Mandela would later state that the UC divestment campaign was a key part of international pressure to end apartheid.**

- What is now the Queer Fashion Show is started at Crown or Merrill. It is called the "Alternative Fashion Show."

### 1987

- Protest at Lawrence Livermore Labs. 2,000 people are arrested.

- GLBT conference "Exposed!" attracts 500 people from around the country.

### 1989

- City Council explicitly un-invites Navy from visiting harbor for recruitment efforts.
- Gay Lesbian Bi Trans Intersex Resource Center ("Intersex" added in 2003) space is won by students.

### 1990

- Earth Night Action topples power tower in Aptos and blacks out Santa Cruz for 2 days.
- For 3 days, students from the Coalition on Democratic Education take over the Chancellor's office, sleeping in the foyer of McHenry Library. The action helps ensure that ethnic studies courses are listed in the Schedule of Classes.

# Why Do We Need Race and Ethnicity Studies at UCSC?

## *The Facts about Race and UC Funding*

By Sherwin Mendoza

Why are non-European languages in danger of being axed at UCSC? Why are student-initiated outreach and retention programs for people of color always struggling to survive? Why don't we have ethnic studies? This article won't give an exhaustive answer to these questions, but it will hopefully provide a solid basis for thinking about them in a way that doesn't ghettoize race and ethnicity. In other words, this article will argue that if you are a UCSC student race and ethnicity have a profound effect on you.

### Corporatization of the University

Bob Meister's "Eleven Theses on Growth" highlights a problem that UC has faced for the last few decades: average state funding per student at UC, as a proportion of the average cost per student, has drastically declined from the mid-1980s to the present. Each of the qualifications of this ratio is important: "average" suggests that some students get more funding than others; "as a proportion of the average cost per student" means that, while the absolute dollar amount the state allocates for UC might have increased, the average the state has contributed towards the cost of educating each student has declined; finally, "state funding" is opposed to corporate and federal funding. This decline has concrete effects:

- More students are competing for fewer resources from the state. The Regents and the state legislature have a covenant that guarantees to the top eighth of California high school graduates admission to a UC if they apply to one. Because UCSC and UC Merced are the campuses absorbing most of the enrollment growth, the pressures of growth fall most heavily among the UCs on these two campuses. Thus we have underfunded athletics, increasing student to TA and faculty ratios in Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences, and the threatened (or already accomplished) elimination of popular programs and student activities such as journalism, non-European languages, and Rainbow Theater.

- The budget shortfall means that the university has to find other sources of revenue. On the one hand, this means UC fee increases and ballot measures for campus fees to support programs at UCSC. On the other hand, students and professors, particularly in the sciences and engineering, are under pressure to get external funding through grants and partnerships. Thus the shrinking share of state funding is forcing the university to restructure itself so that

it can be appealing, not necessarily for students, faculty, and staff, but for investors. In other words, the university is being corporatized. Programs that are not appealing to private investors, such as UCSC's journalism program, are axed.

- Finally, like any corporation, the corporatized university tries to minimize its labor costs for the vast majority of workers while spending vast amounts on executive pay and perks. The university underfunds pensions, tries to shift the cost of health care onto workers, and it tries to make workers do more work in less time (remember the pressure on student-to-TA and faculty ratios). To keep workers in line the university pays hundreds of thousands of dollars per year to a union-busting law firm, and here at UCSC the police budget is expanding dramatically to silence the protests that are inevitable with the imposition of austerity programs.

### California Prisons and the UC

From the 1985-6 budget to the 2005-6 budget the share of state funds for UC operations declined from around 75% to around 45%. Why has the state's budget for the UC not kept up with the state's population growth? Both the UC and the state's prison system are funded by the legislature, and so there is a certain amount of competition between the prisons and the UC for the state's tax dollars. Since at least 1985, prisons have been winning this competition. From 1985 to 1995 the number of state prisons in California increased from 13 to 31; from 1985 to 2004 the Corrections budget increased from \$923 million to \$5.7 billion. By 2005, prisons accounted for 8.2 percent of the state budget while UC accounted for only 3 percent. In fact, if current trends continue California's prison budget will be larger than the combined budgets of the state's universities by 2012.

### 1991

- UCSC/Big Creek starts logging at Elfland (a redwood grove) over holiday break. 42 people are arrested in day-long demonstration. Native shell site is trampled and sacred sites are destroyed. Construction of Colleges 9 & 10 begins.

The full story can be found here:  
<http://nativenet.uthscsa.edu/archive/nl/9201/0051.html>.

- Students and local activists shut down Highway 1 to protest Operation Desert Storm.
- African American Resource and Cultural Center opens.

### 1994

- Rainbow Theater founded by Don Williams. Despite continued attempts to lay off Williams, consistent activism has ensured that the group continues today.

### 1995

- August 6: 15,000 people gather in downtown SC to honor the victims of the US atomic bombing of Japan.
- Walnut tree action by Santa Cruz Earth First! fails to save old tree behind former Bookshop site. City sells wood at a profit. Protesters march to demonstration and lockdown at Big Creek Lumber mill in Davenport.



However, the budget comparisons only tell part of the story. As the table below shows, African Americans and American Indians have become further under-represented at UC in the wake of the 1996 passage of Proposition 209, which eliminated most forms of affirmative action in California:

<b>UC Demographics</b>	<b>1990 (%)</b>	<b>2005 (%)</b>
African American	4.25	2.91
American Indian	0.86	0.57
Asian American	21.77	35.25
Chicana/o & Latina/o	10.05	12.21
White	54.53	37.01
Total UC Students	166,547	209,080

<b>California Demographics</b>	<b>1990 (%)</b>	<b>2005 (%)</b>
African American	7.75	7.20
American Indian	0.97	1.36
Asian American	9.99	13.24
Chicana/o & Latina/o	24.45	33.41
White	57.04	44.79
Total California Pop.	29.76 mil.	36.46 mil.

Meanwhile, over roughly the same period, the growth of the prison budget and prison population has far outstripped the growth of UC:

<b>California Department of Corrections Prisoner Population</b>	<b>1988 (%)</b>	<b>2000 (%)</b>
Anglo	30.8	29.4
African	37.1	31.0
Latino	27.8	34.8
Other	5.0	4.8
Total Prisoner Population	76,171	162,000

Why are there racial disproportions in prison and the UC? This is a question that ethnicity and race studies would prepare us to answer, but guess what?—we don't have ethnicity and race studies at UCSC. However, even with the data above it is safe to conclude that structural racism exists in California, since only a systematically-skewed system could produce the racial disparities in the populations of the prison and UC systems. Furthermore, from the previous discussion it should be clear that structural racism is cutting into the UC's budget.

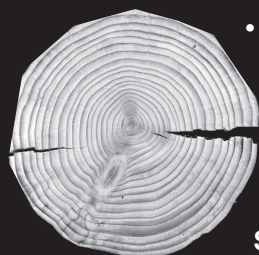
### Everyone at UCSC has a stake in the struggle for Ethnicity and Race Studies

The data above shows a broad systemic tendency in California to put Blacks and Latino groups into prison while Asians

and Whites go to colleges such as the UC. So why is this racial breakdown imperfect? Why are under-represented minorities still present at the UC, and why are there substantial numbers of whites in prison? Class is part of the explanation, but another part is the struggle on the part of under-represented minorities and their allies to make the UC welcoming to people of color.

At UCSC this struggle is conducted largely through unpaid student labor since there is insufficient faculty support. In the absence of (non-Anglo/European) race and ethnicity in most of the curriculum, people of color are regularly called upon to educate their peers. This is already a valuable service, since everyone in California needs to know how to deal with racial and ethnic difference whether or not they acknowledge it.

(Continued on next page)



campus politics over the next decade.

• **Ethnic Student Organization Council (ESOC)** forms out of Third World and Native American Studies Coalition. ESOC plays a key role in

## 1996

- After extensive negotiations with the Regents, the UCSC "Affirmative Action Coalition" (AAC) mobilized over 500 people and shut down the campus for 7 hours on January 17.
- Redwood Empire begins logging at Gamecock Canyon. Activists blockade Summit Road until injunction issued. Resistance continues over the next 3 years

until monkeywrenching finally bankrupts the company, but not before Gamecock Canyon is trashed.

- Chicano Latino Resource Center (El Centro) opens.
- Prop. 209 passes, eliminating affirmative action in CA. Students encircle Hahn Student Services building for 8 hours. The protest ends with Chancellor M.R.C. Greenwood and the

However, remember the competition between prison and the UC for state tax dollars. Through student-initiated outreach and retention programs, and the resulting drop in the prison population and the prison budget, students of color are already in the struggle to halt prison expansion and expand access to the UC.

Evidence for this is in the enrollments of people of color at campuses that have Ethnic Studies since outreach and retention programs provided by students and staff at those schools are much more effective than at UCSC. However, the limits of Ethnic Studies are also evident in the fact that several minorities are still under-represented at the UC in general. Increasing the enrollment of people of color at UCs will not by itself shrink the prison population. Nonetheless, Ethnic Studies would be a step away from the current situation at UCSC, in which a few privileged people are successfully keeping most people out, and a step towards a UCSC that lets as many as possible in.

**Ethnic Studies would be a step away from the current situation at UCSC, in which a few privileged people are successfully keeping most people out, and a step towards a UCSC that lets as many as possible in.**

Education is an investment in the future; prison and police are a waste. Prison devalues people and places, while education enriches the state. In sheer dollar terms, it makes sense to expand the UC—it costs around \$30,000 a year for each inmate in prison, while the cost for each student at a UC is about \$20,000 (of which only about \$10,000 comes from the state). In short, it makes sense to have institutions that do not turn people into prisoners, corrections officers, and police officers. Why not bring people to the UC instead?

Hopefully this article will provide a means for thinking about the interconnections between a number of struggles at UCSC—for justice for workers, for quality in education, for affordable education, and for ethnicity and race studies. However, there is still much work to be done to build an effective movement that can change the current trend to shrink UC's budget while expanding the prison. Ethnicity and race studies can play an important role in this movement.

## Students and Workers and Prisoners Unite!

### Further Reading:

**Angela Davis - *Are Prisons Obsolete?***

**Ruth Wilson Gilmore - *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis and Opposition in Globalizing California***



Above: 1996 campus shut-down

students issuing a statement on how the administration will support student efforts to ensure a diverse campus.

### 1998

- A teach-in on affirmative action policies draws 500. Speakers include American Studies professors Judy Young and Curtis Marez, as well as chancellor M.R.C. Greenwood.

### 1999

- Asian American/Pacific Islander Resource Center opens.
- December 3: 1,000 student protesters successfully halt introduction of grades.

### 2000

- June 18: Ramsey Gulch Treesit started by Earth First! with help from Canopy Action Network.



# Engaging Education (e<sup>2</sup>)

is a Student-Initiated Outreach and Retention Center for Student Engagement and Academic Excellence.

by Amanda Wake

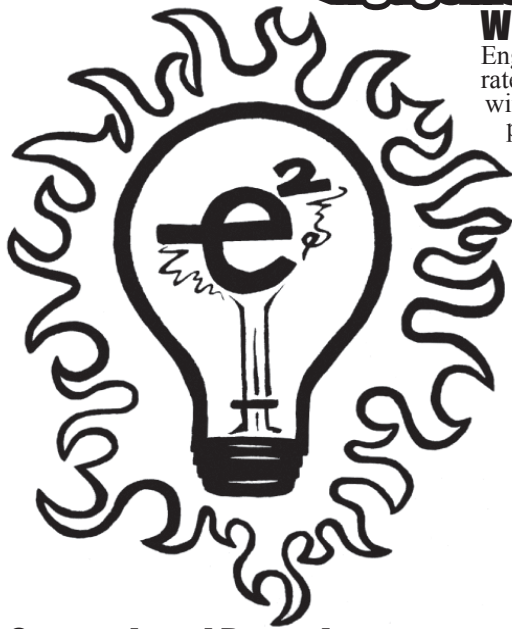
## What is e<sup>2</sup>?

Engaging Education is a supportive and dynamic space for programming that addresses the low rates of recruitment, retention and graduation that historically under-resourced communities face within higher education. To build a foundation for students to grow and evolve, e<sup>2</sup> promotes programming that engages in grassroots organizing, student activism, community-building both inside and outside the University, and understanding legacies of social justice struggle. e<sup>2</sup> partners with the University community to provide a purposeful, transformative and relevant educational experience for all students.

## Context and History

The concept of e<sup>2</sup>: Engaging Education was first introduced at the 2001 Peace Vigil organized by the Ethnic Student Organization Counsel in response to two major hate incidents that had recently occurred at UCSC. On the event's flyer e<sup>2</sup> was defined as, "(v): Engaging Education: is not an organization or club – e<sup>2</sup> is a conscious movement by students at UCSC towards owning and taking responsibility for our education." Students were outraged at the lack of support felt from members of the university administration and the campus community in general. They decided that if any change was to be made it, it was going to have to come from the students.

The idea for the e<sup>2</sup>: Engaging Education Center, conceived at the Peace Vigil, was developed into the Measure 10 Campus referendum during the e<sup>2</sup> class (previously the ESOC Leadership class) of Winter and Spring 2003. The class facilitators and students worked on developing the beginning of the e<sup>2</sup> center. The referendum was created in response to the intensifying threat of cuts to student resources, specifically outreach and retention. e<sup>2</sup> has institutionalized student-initiated outreach and retention programs, which recruit and maintain a diverse student body at UCSC, as well fight for the educational rights of all students.



## Outreach and Retention

Outreach and Retention programs are student-initiated and student-run. Each targets, but is not exclusively for, historically underrepresented communities. Our Outreach programs seek to create opportunities for, and encourage high school students to continue their education at an institution of higher education. Our Retention programs aim to help students reach their fullest potential as learners and graduate. Each program fosters mentorship, builds a sense of community, and offers academic, and social support. As the center grows, new programs can be created and supported by the center.

## Services

In addition to our Outreach and Retention programs, e<sup>2</sup> provides other services that help support and engage students during their academic career. These include:

- **Space** to study, use the computers, dialogue, ask questions, and hold events or workshops.
- **Tutors** in writing, math, biology, chemistry, etc. They are available every Monday through Thursday at the e<sup>2</sup> Redwood Lounge.
- **Academic Credit** for activism through the e<sup>2</sup> class.
- **Mentorship** through Retention Programs and e<sup>2</sup> center internships.
- **e<sup>2</sup> Library** is a collection of textbooks and readers that students can check out.

### Contact Us:

e-mail: ucsc\_e2@yahoo.com

"e<sup>2</sup> is not an organization or a club—e<sup>2</sup> is a conscious movement by students towards owning and taking responsibility of our education"

"e<sup>2</sup> believes there is power in numbers; through solidarity and unity the possibilities for change are endless."

"e<sup>2</sup> believes in the right to a free and accessible education for all."

Redwood Empire files a lawsuit that would bar treesitters from property but then withdraws it.

- American Indian Resource Center (formerly Native American Resource Center) opens.
- Engaging Education is first conceptualized with events organized by the Ethnic Student Organization Council and SUA in response to violence and racism on campus. See above.

- May: More than 1000 students demonstrate to end once and for all the attempt to remove evals. Nevertheless, mandatory grades are voted in by the faculty senate. Evals are kept optional.

- Statewide anti-sweatshop campaign succeeds when the UC Office of the President adopts a "Code of Conduct". Loopholes in this policy later lead to another UC Sweat-Free campaign. See page 34.

## 2001

- In the academic year following 9/11, reported Hate/Bias incidents increases by 400%. This was the last published Hate/Bias report.
- On the 1-month anniversary of 9/11, 1500 people rallied at the base of campus to oppose a U.S. invasion of Afghanistan.

# Ethnic Studies Community Letter: Concerning Professor Pedro Castillo

Despite attempts to stifle movement at UCSC, the struggle for Ethnic Studies has been revived on a student front by members of various Student of Color Organizations, including the African/Black Student Alliance (A/BSA), Asian Pacific Islander Student Alliance (APISA), Movimiento Estudiantil Chicana y Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA), Filipino Student Association (FSA), and Student Alliance of North American Indians (SANAI). This current effort has manifested itself through an undergraduate working group, The Committee on Ethnic Studies, and larger informative & strategic events.

On Thursday, May 3, the Ethnic Studies Committee planned an Informational Meeting to inform the community about the decades-old battle for Ethnic Studies at UCSC, and the state of the movement today. The program included a timeline of our struggle accompanied by 5 testimonials (given by a UCSC professor, graduate student and 3 undergraduate students) and a guest motivational speaker along with a short clip of the TWANAS hunger strike in 1981 (in support of Ethnic Studies).

However, the program was unintentionally altered; intruded upon when Oakes Provost, Pedro Castillo, took it upon himself to barge in and take for himself the power to say what he felt. He went on to relay his satisfaction at seeing such an event, and applauded the students that had come. Then, he started expressing his feelings about Ethnic Studies at UCSC, which completely contradicted his general rhetoric and the overall purpose of the event. He went on to scorn students, questioning their involvement by naming specific ethnic-based classes he had taught at UCSC and asking who had taken them. After a brief dispute between two coordinators and Castillo, in which he stated he would not get off the mic "unless someone dragged

[him] off," the mic was pulled and he exited the stage. While walking out, however, he bumped into another coordinator and when confronted about it, Pedro Castillo replied, "You wanna

take this outside?" The disruption continued as Pedro Castillo continued the altercation outside by arguing with members of the committee just feet away from the audience.

Though it was a brief conflict, the interference left lasting effects on the event, the audience and the coordinators. Not only had he interrupted another speaker's space, his actions were still interrupting after he had left. The ambience had left the atmosphere, and all that remained was sheer silence and awkwardness, and an ample amount of time was wasted trying to regain the focus of the crowd. Everyone's comfort and respect had been infringed upon. By abusing his power and taking control, Pedro Castillo had shown that the event, the audience and the organizers did not have to be respected, and by continuing the debate outside, he was personally attacking members of the committee and acting in a very inappropriate, unprofessional manner. Participants of the event were forced to leave with their experience having been altered.



- African-American, Chicano/Latino, Native American, and Asian-American/Pacific Islander Resource centers open in Bay Tree building.

## 2002

- A group of student leaders pass a referendum allocating funding to address UCSC's low outreach and retention rates, and act as a vital hub for self and educational empowerment



within the community. The ballot measure swept the Spring 2003 student elections with 69% of the vote, setting up "Engaging Education" or "E2."

- October 14- 15: As part of the largest strike in UC history, the Coalition of University Employees (CUE, the clerical workers' union) and the American Federation of Teachers (UC-AFT, the lecturers' union), stopped work at five different

campuses in response to "unfair labor practices" on the part of the UC. (See picture below) Specifically, the UC was failing to negotiate in good faith, using such illegal tactics as deliberate





**Some of you might not know who Alette Kendrick is or what the UC Activist Defense Committee is. That's alright. Some of you might not know the legacy and practice of racism here at UCSC. That is definitely not alright. So let's set the scene:**

On October 18, 2006, UC police targeted, brutalized and arrested student activist Alette Kendrick at a mass protest against the UC Regents. In the process, two other students – Steve Stormoen and Tani Thole – were also arrested. While the charges were dropped against Steve (a white male), and he received only a quarter of academic probation, and while Tani (a white female Alumna) received minimal repercussions, the UCSC administration attempted to make an example out of Alette (a black woman) by seeking a 3-year suspension for the 2nd year student. This is believed to have been the largest attempted suspension in the school's history. By June of 2007, a coordinated campaign organized by Alette, her friends and allies in the UC Activist Defense Committee successfully forced the administration to back down, allowing Alette to return to school with only 2 quarters (summer and fall) suspension. Below is an analysis of the case.

The University does not live in a bubble. We are a part of a broader group of systems. Systems that dominate the way we understand ourselves and the way we are understood. In a world where poverty, hunger and state violence disproportionately targets people of color -- how can anyone say that racism does not exist? With these systems in place, we need to ask ourselves questions like:

- Who can afford to go to the University?
- Why aren't there more people of color in this system, even though people of color represent a majority of the population of California? (see Ethnic Studies p. 26)
- Why is it that such a large percent of young males of color serve on the frontlines of war and do not occupy empty classrooms?
- Why do military recruiters spend most of their time in communities of color and working class communities? (see Recruiters Lies p. 22)

The University, like any social system, exerts its control with the continued criminalization and surveil-

# Defend Alette!

## An Activist Woman of Color and Her Difficulties with Institutionalized Racism at UCSC

lance of people of color -- just like the repressive state system that many University students like to think they are outside of. Regarding the criminalization of people of color, Angela Davis writes, "To deliver up bodies destined for profitable punishment, the political economy of prisons relies on racialized assumptions of criminality -- such as images of black welfare mothers reproducing criminal children -- and on racist practices in arrest, conviction, and sentencing patterns." Administrators accused Alette of "violent behavior" like spitting at police. Alette was not spitting, but that behavior was attributed to her and she was charged by the UC administration, and found "responsible," for that behavior. No white protestors were even accused of these "crimes" -- even though the protestors at the rally were overwhelmingly white. Why was Alette's body criminalized and not the actions of the white protestors? Why was their behavior attributed to the body of a woman of color?

**To DISAPPEAR:** To kidnap and never return; to detain and never release; to make invisible by means of murder, incarceration, or banishment.

For the administration of UCSC, organized resistance is tantamount to a social problem, and criminalization and disappearance are their panacea. The administration's response to student and worker resistance to UC policies has been to: increase policing and surveillance; attempt to remove activists from the campus by suspension and termination of employment; violently suppress acts of resistance (including beatings and the use



**stalling. UCSC was shut down not just by the two unions, but student and worker allies.**

- Santa Cruz City Council weighs in on many national/international issues:
- First city to pass resolutions against US wars on Afghanistan and Iraq.
- Joins cities across the country in opposing the Patriot Act, and raises question of impeachment of Bush.

• A coalition of 9 student organizations named Standing United for Peace (SUP) becomes active:

- Rallies: 700-800 students rally on October 7; 150 march around campus and orchestrate a 'die-in' on November 20; and 300 demonstrate on March 5.
- The SUP actions were each part of nation-wide

days of action with participation from schools across the country.

- SUP also organizes teach-ins, tabling, a peace camp, and carpools to the big antiwar rallies in San Francisco.



of pepper spray against student protesters); and, as in Alette's case, the criminalization of resistance with the goal of incarceration. The persecution of Alette by the UC fits into a pattern of systemic racist criminalization and incarceration of people of color. Angela Davis states, "Imprisonment has become the response of first resort to far too many of the social problems that burden people who are ensconced in poverty. These problems often are veiled by being conveniently grouped together under the category 'crime' and by the automatic attribution of criminal behavior to people of color."

The same racist systems that "deliver up bodies destined for profitable punishment" were at work against Alette's body. The goal of the UC -- let's not forget -- was for Alette to be incarcerated. Is it any coincidence that the original sentence of three years of suspension from UCSC matches up exactly with the three-year maximum jail sentence for the charges that were initially filed against Alette in the criminal case? Were the administrators of UCSC expecting or hoping that Alette would be incarcerated for three years? When asked at a Student Town Hall meeting if they wanted Alette to go to jail, Alma Sifuentes, Chancellor Blumenthal, and other key administrators refused to answer the question. In doing so, they upheld the prison system as a just and legitimate response to political protest, and admitted their position in support of incarceration for Alette Kendrick. Of key significance is the fact that they — the UC administrators — did not succeed. Organized resistance to the UC's attempts to disappear Alette was victorious: Alette did not go to jail and her suspension was reduced from three years to two academic quarters immediately following the May 24, 2007 rally at Kerr Hall.

## SENTENCING

On October 18, 2006, Alette was arrested with two white activists. One of the activists was a white male UCSC student; initially, he was charged with many of the same crimes as Alette and the third. Within a matter of days, the District Attorney dropped all charges against the white male student, saying that there was not enough evidence to support a conviction. Significantly, the UC Police were asked to make revisions to the police report and to fill in more details about the arrest of Alette. This information shows a disinvestment on the part of the police and prosecutors in the conviction of the white male vis a vis the persecution of Alette, a black woman.

The Office of Student Affairs initially sentenced Alette to three years of suspension, which may be the harshest and longest sentence of suspension ever meted out by UCSC. Information about suspensions is located in sealed records, which makes research of this issue close to impossible. Our assertion that this may be the longest-ever sentence is based on the historical memory of faculty. We encourage the Office of Student Affairs to release data to either support or refute our argument.

By contrast, the white male student arrested along with Alette received one quarter of academic probation. In the context of

racialized surveillance, criminalization and sentencing practices, and given a comparison of the lists of accusations against Alette and the white male UCSC student, along with a comparison of their sentences, we can conclude that the three-year suspension sentence is not justified and that it is almost certainly racially motivated.

Notably, the UCSC administration was more zealous in its persecution of Alette than the office of the district attorney. The UCSC administration filed nine charges against Alette and found her "responsible" for all nine, whereas the district attorney only filed two charges against Alette.

## LEGITIMATE SPACES

In the context of increased state spending on prisons at the expense of higher education, the illegality of affirmative action in California, and the recent Supreme Court ruling upholding strict scrutiny and outlawing the use of race in voluntary school desegregation plans, we can see very clearly the state project of constructing prisons as legitimate spaces for people of color. This process includes specifically delegitimizing the presence of people of color at universities. Angela Davis states, "It is obvious that education is increasingly reserved for certain people, while prisons are reserved for others. Five times as many black men are presently in prison as in four-year colleges and universities. This new segregation has dangerous implications for the entire country" (Davis). Just as the state is channeling money away from the UC system to build more spaces in prisons, the UC is pushing out people of color to "make room for somebody else." For whom are they creating space in prison? Where did the Office of Student Affairs intend for Alette to go? For whom was Alette's "place" at UCSC intended?

## CONCLUSION

All of these questions are left unanswered for a reason. Ultimately, we did fight for Alette to remain in school. In doing so, we organized against the inherent racism that exists within the University. AND WE WON. But the fight doesn't stop here. Unless we understand the intricacies of how the University, the prison industrial complex, the military industrial complex, and policing are all intertwined -- we will continue to face racist professors, administrators, and classrooms. One lesson we can take from Alette's victory is that once we organize, they can never stop us. Until we build our own University, we must fight the system as much as we work within it.

### To Find Out More:

- Davis, Angela Y. "Masked Racism: Reflections on the Prison Industrial Complex." *ColorLines*, Winter 1998.
- For more details on the group arrest, please refer to Alette's personal narrative on the UCADC website: "<http://www.ucactivistdefense.org>"

## 2003

- E2 center opens.
- UC Regents unanimously pass a Clean Energy and Green Building policy after a yearlong "UC Go Solar!" campaign by students and Greenpeace.
- The "Dump Sodexho" campaign begins:

- In January food service workers, students, and the union local AFSCME 3299 come together to start a campaign to cancel the University's contract with Sodexho. Sodexho, the largest food service provider in the world, ran the dining halls at UCSC, making obscene profits while paying its workers poverty wages, not providing health care or full-time employment, and disrespecting dining hall staff on a daily basis.



- February 14: 150 students and workers rally to demand that the University cancel its contract with Sodexho, and that all workers currently employed by Sodexho be hired as full University employees.
- March 3: UCSC publicly agrees to coalition demands.
- September: All former Sodexho employees are hired by the



# TENT UNIVERSITY

## A Lesson in Repression

By Tessa Kappe

During the week of April 18, 2005, Tent University Santa Cruz was established in order to highlight the lack of democracy within the UC by setting up an alternative, autonomous university in tents at the base of campus. Many teachers chose to hold their classes at Tent U, and an array of workshops (ranging from how to make natural dyes, to understanding the "budget crisis") were taught by students and community members. Although everyone had their own motives for participation, the space was born out of a mounting discontent pervasive throughout the student body. As the University continued to cut programs, increase tuition, and pay workers less than a living wage (meanwhile allotting millions of dollars in executive bonuses), the Tent U Crew set out to "reclaim the University as our own," as the motto went. In a whirlwind of brashness, empowerment and creativity, we gathered in the public eye against the glaring corruption of higher education. We sought to hold the event without the approval of the administration. This was done as a statement against the possibility of creating revolutionary change from within an institution so inherently corrupt, and as a testament to the power of people to "Resist, Create, Unite" outside of established institutions altogether.

Threatened by this, the administration plotted to subvert the event through a number of avenues. The first problems arose before Tent U even began when the official UCSC website slandered the organizers and announced that there would be inadequate sanitation and unsafe conditions. On the point of sanitation: the University had prohibited every port-a-potty company in the area from selling to us, despite the fact that we had raised sufficient funds. As for safety? Well, what we didn't foresee was that it would be the University itself that would create a situation that was quite unsafe indeed...

The first day of Tent U, Monday, April 18, was termed "The Day of Mass Democracy." Hundreds of students and community members showed up and broke off into discussion groups to decide whether or not we should camp at the base of campus. Disregarding the University's strict warnings that camping was prohibited, the group decided through the process of consensus to camp at the base anyway.

At 9:15 p.m., after a day charged with rallying, discussion, and celebration, the shrill cries of our emergency whistles blew out across the field. All at once, dozens of Santa Cruz police cars, called in by campus officials, rolled up to the scene. At this point, approximately 70 students proceeded to "lock down" in circles of tens, a technique of non-violent resistance which many of us had learned earlier that day from renowned activist David Solnit. Interestingly, the base of campus is classified as a "free speech zone" (an absurd term to begin with) only between the hours of 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. Beyond the octal hour, it becomes private property of the UC Regents, and so by refusing to leave students were charged with trespassing and were ordered by police to disperse.



For the next two hours, students practicing civil disobedience were brutalized by Santa Cruz police officers, as well as the Berkeley riot police, who had been called in the day before to assist with the task of dispersion, using "pain compliance tactics." With hands sheathed in blue latex gloves, police officers jabbed their thumbs forcefully into pressure points beneath the chins of the protesters so that they would either pass out or give up from the pain. The police also gouged eyes, twisted legs, and wrenched wrists in an attempt to get resisting

**With hands sheathed in blue latex gloves, police officers jabbed their thumbs forcefully into pressure points beneath the chins of the protesters so that they would either pass out or give up from the pain.**

students to release their grip from each other's clasp hands. Media gathered outside of the tent, and hundreds of on-lookers encircled the chaos. A myriad of chants rose and fell amidst pleading, singing, crying, and screaming coming

from every direction. Gaggling and spitting with the thought that at any moment I was next, the desperate cry of "we are peaceful, you are violent!" filled my ears. As we watched the police brutalize our loved ones for trying to work toward positive change, a new chant rung out from the crowd: "who are you protecting?!"

What went down that night at Tent University made it all too clear that what the police are protecting is power. In this case, that meant shielding the University from the embarrassment of having its corruption challenged and exposed. The biggest concern of the University of California, in spite of its propaganda and doublespeak, is to maintain its status as a money-making enterprise. "This is not an issue of free speech," said former Chancellor Denton, "rather, it is a matter of ensuring the students' safety and protecting the orderly conduct of our educational mission." Sitting in my lock-down circle, watching police tear at my friends, I have never felt less safe in my life. The University does not care what students want. The UC Regents, as managers of baseball teams and CEOs of major corporations, are entirely removed from the notions of justice and democracy, let alone any true concern for public education (see Regents p. 17). The violence used to suppress Tent University, as hideously unbelievable as it seemed, was yet entirely to be expected. The University will stop at nothing to perpetuate its cycle of exploitation and profit, even if it must go so far as to strangle, literally, the voices of dissent.

**University, winning dignified salaries, full time jobs and health care for their families, union representation through AFSCME 3299, and respect. VICTORY!!!**

- **February 15-16: 11 million people in 600 cities around the world make their opposition to a US invasion of Iraq known in the largest protest in history. 5000-7000 (by police estimates) rally in downtown Santa Cruz.**

- **On the day after the war began, 20,000 people, including many from Santa Cruz, shut down San Francisco's business district with mass civil disobedience. Protesters targeted offices of companies such as Bechtel and the Carlyle Group, who stood to make millions off of the war.**

- **The Coalition to Demilitarize the UC forms to end military research at the UC, including management of the nuclear weapons labs.**

- **Students successfully lobby to get fair-trade certified coffee served in the dining halls. This ensured that at least \$1.26/lb. of coffee went to the coffee farmers, a vast improvement over the \$0.55/lb poverty wage offered by the conventional market.**



# Victory for UC Sweatfree Campaign: A Timeline

By Sara Bloomberg

**1999** // UC adopts a Code of Conduct for Trademark Licensees after dealing with intense pressure from students and becomes a founding member of the Workers Rights Consortium (WRC), a non-profit factory monitor that is independent of apparel industry.

**2000** // University apparel is sourced from factories that 1) respect workers' right to associate, 2) pay a living wage, 3) pay overtime, 4) don't use child or otherwise forced labor, 5) comply with health and safety laws, 6) don't discriminate against, harass, or abuse workers.

**1999-2005** // Conditions improve in several factories around the world because of pressure from university codes of conduct. *However, those very improvements have been undermined as brands began cutting orders to these factories, claiming that they were becoming 'too expensive.'* Brands have been able to cut-and-run from good factories to sweatshops because university codes of conduct haven't been able to effectively enforce compliance. *This is because there are thousands, upon thousands, of factories being used to produce university apparel around the world. It is impossible to externally monitor these numbers with any accuracy.*



**September 2005** // Students around the nation, headed by the international student organizing body United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS), unveils a program to concentrate the university apparel market into a smaller number of factories, making enforcement easier and compliance obligatory. *Called the Designated Suppliers Program (DSP), Factories will be approved by the WRC along the lines of university codes of conduct. Brands will have to either shift production or bring their own factories up to code in order to continue using them to produce university apparel. Sweatshops will be phased out over a period of 3 to 4 years.*

**October 2005** // UCSC SweatFree Coalition holds a rally to demand the UC adopt the DSP, including a provision to purchase non-sweatshop uniforms for workers on campus.

**February 8, 2006** // We meet with Chancellor Denton for the first (and as of May 1st only) time. She tells us to stay in touch with her assistant and to bring her more 'proof' of campus support for this issue.

**February 10, 2006** // 400 students rally outside of the UC Office of the President (UCOP) to demand a "SweatFree" university.

**March 1, 2006** // Naked Protest held at the base of the UCSC campus. Other naked protests and other actions happen at other UC campuses as well.

**March 10, 2006** // 17 students from various UC campuses (San Diego, Riverside, Santa Cruz, Berkeley, Davis) infiltrate UCOP and stage of "preview" sit-in for one hour to demand that President Dynes adopt the DSP. *We are given an appointment to meet with President Dynes on April 6--he subsequently cancels this meeting and declares that he would attend the Code of Conduct Committee meeting, instead, on April 13th, (which he later reneged on as well).*

**March 16, 2006** // We put on a "Sweatshop Fashion Show" in the quarry plaza to highlight the fact that our Slug wear is still made in sweatshops.

**April 11, 2006** // We commence 2 sit-ins to demand that the UC finally adopt the DSP. The sit-ins happen at the chancellors' offices at Berkeley and Riverside. 18 students are arrested at Berkeley after 2 hours. 10 students are arrested at Riverside after nearly 12 hours.

**May 5, 2006** // The UC officially adopts the DSP! Students and workers win! The uniform issue is postponed for further review. The UC joins over 20 other universities and colleges around the nation that have already adopted the program.

## 2004

- Starting Spring quarter, coffee served in the dining halls was purchased direct from a coffee growing cooperative in Costa Rica through the Community Agroecology Network (CAN), earning \$3.77/lb. for the farmer. See page 57.
- A radical campus newspaper, "The Project" starts up.

• May 20: 300 workers and students kicked off a campaign for a better contract for AFSCME workers with a rally at the chancellor's office. 2450 pledges by students to stand with workers, and 300 pledges signed by union members were formally presented to the chancellor's office. This action was just the beginning of a larger campaign for workers' rights.

• September 29: US Marshals and FCC Agents raid Free Radio Santa

Cruz, but an outpouring of community support allows the station to get back on the air. See page 61.

## 2005

- January 20: UCSC Students Against War (SAW) forms.
- April 5: SAW leads its first major action as students successfully kick military recruiters out of a campus job fair.



# An Injury to One is an Injury to All!

## Labor Organizing at UCSC

### WELCOME TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CRUZ.

*In your first weeks here you will probably do some, if not all, of the following things: buy books at the Baytree Bookstore; stand in line for a new student ID; eat meals in the dining halls; take showers in a regularly cleaned dorm bathroom, and throw last night's beer cans into the just-emptied dumpster outside your building.*

*As you do each of these things, take a minute to consider what is happening around you. This university is staffed by thousands of people who do everything from teach your classes to clean your common room. Consider that it is these people who make your university experience here possible. The University works because they do.*

Unfortunately, the University of California, which functions essentially as one of the largest corporations in the state (see Regents p.17), also has one of the worst reputations as an employer. From its inception, the UC has been charged with labor violations: unsafe working conditions, poverty-level wages and refusal to negotiate in good faith with labor unions.

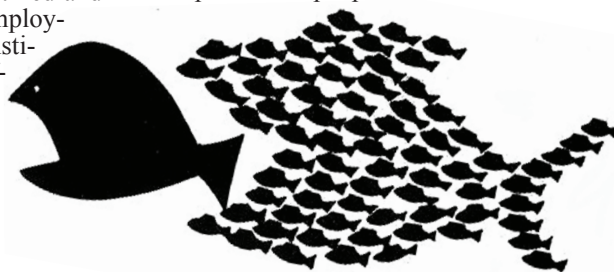
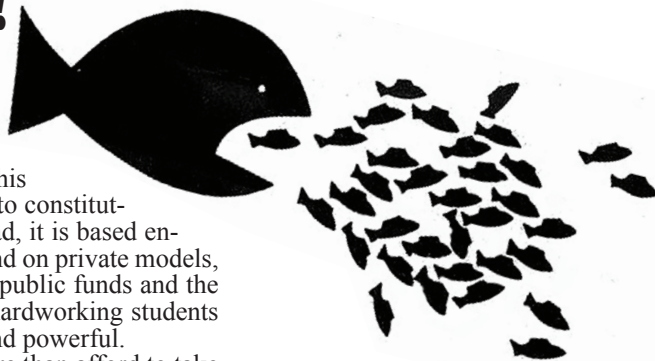
Labor unions are the primary organizations that represent workers and negotiate for their rights with their employers. They protect workers from unlawful termination and harassment, and organize to increase job security, wages and opportunities against the incessant rollbacks of corporations and our government. Most importantly, labor unions can build solidarity among groups of people who are all interested in the same thing: improving their ability to defend their rights and the value of their labor - no simple task at UC. Interested primarily in prestige, power and profit, the administrators and Regents of the University can be counted on to fight each year against the legally justified and entirely reasonable requests of its employees. And for what? UC is a public institution and yet it puts away record profits every fiscal close. Why? Because its priorities have nothing to do with improving education and the communities on and around campuses (see p. 11). Rather than respect the surrounding communities and the

workers who come from them, the university treats them as expendable. This does not even come close to constituting a public service; instead, it is based entirely in private interests and on private models, only this corporation uses public funds and the fees and tuition of many hardworking students to serve the already rich and powerful.

The University can more than afford to take on its role as a public institution properly, to treat its employees with dignity and to keep its doors open to all students who wish to learn. Instead, it edges out more and more students with each fee hike and tuition increase. Instead, it denies its employees salaries that meet the cost of living, and imposes greater and greater workloads on the same number of workers, directly decreasing the quality of education and student life at UCSC.

What happens to the surplus money that the University makes each year? It's clearly not going to workers. It's certainly not going to our overcrowded classrooms, shrinking library or overburdened TAs. Where is all of this money going?! And what can we do to get it back?

The commitment to stand up together for all working people's rights is one of the most fundamental principles of the labor movement, both ethically and strategically. Solidarity - the key to resistance - develops when we build personal connections with the people in our communities. Get to know the people who clean your dorms and classrooms, the people who drive your buses and process your financial aid paperwork. Building relationships and alliances like this is not only crucial to resisting the rollback of our education, it also gives us a glimpse of what is lost in a system which prioritizes profit over people.



STUDENTS AGAINST WAR

- April 14: AFSME 3299 strike SHUTS DOWN CAMPUS, leading to a better contract for campus service workers, including sweatshop-free uniforms.

- April 18-22: Tent University Santa Cruz (TUSC) takes place at the base of campus.

- April 18: riot police arrest and brutalize students who refuse to leave the base of campus after "free speech zone" hours end.

- April 29: The DA drops all charges facing students. See page 33.

- Spring elections: the administration co-opts students into paying for basic services, as a large new fee barely wins to expand the problem-ridden Health Center.

- October 7: 200 people turn out for a rally organized by the Student Worker Coalition for

## Union Cheat Sheet

### AFSCME

Association of  
Federal, State, Clerical and  
Municipal Employees:

groundskeepers, custodians, shuttle  
drivers and dining hall workers.

asg@afscme3299.org  
831.425.4822

AFT American Federation of  
Teachers: lecturers.

www.cft.org, rwaft@aol.com

UAW United Auto Workers:

Teachers Assistants  
www.uaw2865.org  
santacruz@uaw2865.org  
831.423.9737.

CUE Coalition of University  
Employees: clerical workers.

www.cueunion.org  
cueorganizer@cruzio.com

UPTE University Professional  
and Technical Employees:

technical support, lab assistants,  
researchers.

www.upte-ucsc.edu  
upte@upte-ucsc.org  
831.429.8783

# The Year to Come

## UC Service Workers Fight for a Fair Contract

Sometimes I forget who runs this university. Amidst the pomp and circumstance that surrounds administrative figures, it can be deceiving. But remember: UC is nothing without its students and workers. So when the administration, police, regents, or whoever wants to steal what little funds or choices we have, we need to organize. We do this in a variety of ways on our campus. For workers, a strong option is to unionize. And a strong example of these unions is AFSCME Local 3299.

In the past, the university has abused its workers in a variety of ways. Usually its attack is at health care, pensions, or living wages. However, the struggles vary widely. For instance, during the past summer, many dining workers were put on furlough. Essentially this means they were laid off for the summer because there wasn't work for them to do. Or so the university and dining hall management claimed. Actually there was work, but the management wanted cheaper labor. They hired a large number of temp workers with low wages and no benefits, to serve in the place of career workers. And this is where the union was important. At an incoming student orientation, AFSCME workers, students, and community supporters picketed for workers to get their jobs back. Because of the embarrassment and their understanding of union power, the management backed down and offered the jobs to their rightful owners.

This year, the struggle for AFSCME is serious. Contract negotiations have begun and much is at stake. For the first time in 25 years, AFSCME is having to negotiate basic rights to health care and pensions. In addition, they are seeking pay steps, so that a worker who has been at the university many years isn't still getting paid a starting wage. It's all very simple. It's reasonable. It's just.

But the university is already playing dirty. For instance, they hired Hill and Knowlton, a public relations firm that has represented the tobacco industry, oil industry, the lead and asbestos industries, Enron, and WalMart. They're also the ones who made up the term 'eco-terrorists' to apply to environmental activists. So

what does the university need with them? To spin the negotiation process favorably for the university in the press. That's how afraid they are.

There have already been a few bargaining sessions. At the opening session, university reps were already trying to bust the union. They were attempting to divide the members into those on campuses, and those at medical centers, offering medical staff a better contract right away. Well, AFSCME was not fooled and refused the offer. They understand that together we are stronger.

The next year is going to bring a lot of struggle, and the students are a key component of the action. Whether it was dumping the multinational corporation Sodexo, fighting for wage parity, or reinstating workers after illegal firings, students have always been a strong force in pushing the university towards justice. The following months will bring another opportunity for us to stand together with workers in solidarity. We'll be there for workers when they need us most. One union, one fight.

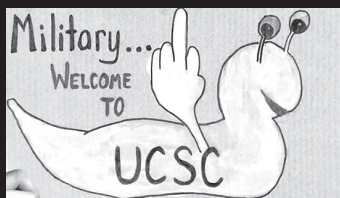


April 14, 2005: Workers, students, and community members shut down UCSC campus during UC-wide AFSCME strike.

**Justice in support of striking metro bus drivers (UTU Local 23). Drivers struck for 37 days against bad faith bargaining by the Metro Board of Directors.**

- **October 18:** SAW organizes a "Queer Kiss-in" in front of military recruiter tables at the fall job fair to highlight the military's discriminatory policies.
- **December:** MSNBC leaks part of a Pentagon surveillance

database that lists SAW's April 5, 2005 counter-recruitment action as a "credible threat" to national security; SAW members work with the ACLU to release the rest of the report.



## 2006

- **February 13-16:** students organize a week-long event called "New Orleans: An American Disaster" to educate the campus about the institutionalized disparities magnified by Hurricane Katrina.
- **Winter quarter:** TWANAS resumes publication of student newspaper. See Page 61
- **April 11:** SAW kicks recruiters



# Teaching Assistants, Readers, and Tutors Demand Fair Contract from UC

## At the Bargaining Table with United Auto Workers, Local 2865

By UAW Member

After a long struggle to protect and improve our rights as workers at the University of California, teaching assistants, readers (i.e. graders), and tutors finally won union recognition in 1998. Our union is the United Auto Workers, Local 2865 ([www.uaw2865.org](http://www.uaw2865.org)). We bargain a statewide contract with the UC every three years. This contract, which outlines our rights (e.g. job security) and benefits (e.g. wages, healthcare, fees), is currently being re-negotiated. We've been in bargaining since March 1 of the spring quarter and our current contract expires September 30th, 2007. But the University is known for its unenviable ability to move at a glacial pace when negotiating with UC unions. Current contract negotiations are no exception.

Our list of demands in bargaining is impressive. They include:

- Improved protections against excessive workload
- Strengthening our non-discrimination clause
- Securing stronger job security rights
- Strengthening our healthcare
- Winning wage increases that actually keep up with the increased cost of living every year (imagine that!)
- Protecting and expanding coverage of our tuition fees.

I will highlight two areas of our demands that deserve special attention: healthcare and workload.

Our health benefits are in dire need of improvement. Instead of the costly health benefits we currently receive, we want affordable health, dental, and vision coverage. We also are demanding full health coverage for our children, domestic partners, and spouses. Currently this coverage is so costly that our children often qualify for state healthcare aid. We are also demanding that the University stop discriminating against transgender people in healthcare. Transgender transition-related services and procedures are presently not covered in most undergraduate

June 2007: Teaching assistants and other union members hold a "grade-in" demonstration at the Baytree Plaza.

and graduate student campus-based healthcare plans, whereas the UC employee healthcare plans are "transgender-inclusive." We strongly feel that providing these health services to all people who are transgender is a simple matter of social justice; it's unconscionable for the UC to continue to discriminate against an already stigmatized community.

We are also demanding that the UC stop overworking us by conceding to our proposal to strengthen our workload rights. One of our most important proposals is to achieve a contractual protection against out of control class sizes. When each teaching assistant, for instance, is responsible for leading discussion section and grading papers and tests for too many students, we're being overworked and undergraduate students in our classes are being short changed. This proposal is thus meant not only to prevent ourselves from being overworked, but it's also meant to improve the quality of education that undergraduates receive at the University of California. With reasonable class sizes, we can spend more time providing each student with the help and attention they need and deserve. Full arbitrability, another demand, means that at the end of the grievance procedure a neutral third party decides what the resolution should be for a workload dispute. Another important demand, union standing to grieve, would allow the union to file grievances when a workload problem arises. Together, winning these workload demands would mark an extraordinary improvement of the UC's current working and learning conditions.

To get the University to stop stalling and start moving, we need to exert pressure on them at the very beginning of the fall quarter. We're hoping to achieve a new and improved contract by the expiration of our current contract on September 30th, but this will only happen if the whole campus community works in solidarity with each other to force the University to stop stalling.

Interested in helping out or learning more? Email

[santacruz@](mailto:santacruz@uaw2865.org)

[uaw2865.org](http://uaw2865.org)

or call 831-423-9737.



Photo by Bradley Stuart / Indycbay.org

off of campus for the second year in a row.

- May 1: Hundreds of students rally at the base of campus in support of immigrant rights and then march to the beach flats to join a community rally.

See picture at left (sign reads "No Immigrants? No Business!")



- May 5: The UC Sweatfree campaign ends in victory.

- May 18: SAW and anti-nuke activists from around CA disrupt a UC Regents meeting. One UCSC student is escorted out of the building for going over his 30 second limit during the comment period.

- Spring: The Save Our Languages campaign demands prioritization of UCSC Language Programs.

- June 6: The Affirmative Diversity Coalition holds mass rally to demand concrete infrastructural support for diversity at UCSC.

- October 18: In response to a UC Regents visit, a large coalition of students from a variety of struggles protests the regents' comment period.

In this section you'll find tips on cultivating positive sexual relations, resources for a healthy sex life, and ideas about regaining control and agency in our reproductive lives. If that isn't sexy, then what is?

## Let's Talk Consent!

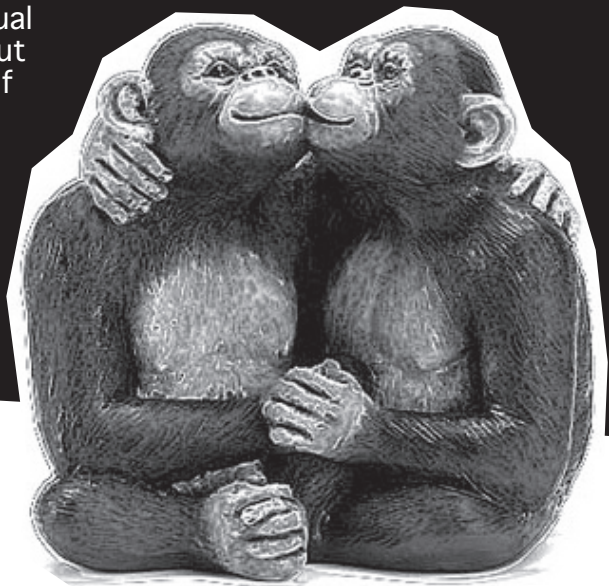
Here's the thing: it seems that the version of "sex-ed" that many of us were taught in high school was pathetically limited and, more often than not, downright messed up. While some of us are taught to be ashamed, silent, and passive – others are taught to be ashamed, silent, and aggressive to over-compensate. But too often none of us are taught how to ask questions, to know that we can have boundaries, or to be comfortable asserting them!

We think consent is a key part of sex-ed that is left out. We also think that it's important for people of all ages to be in constant dialogue about safe and healthy sex. None of us are ever too old to learn about this stuff. Consent isn't defined the same by everybody, and consent is never assumed with strangers or long-term partners. It is an ongoing process at each new stage of intimacy, and is only possible through honest and respectful communication.

Consent is about creating the opportunity in intimate moments to face your partner in deeper, more honest, and more fully satisfying ways; it is about actually being bodily present with ourselves and with each other. It is the cosmic YES of wholly present living. Healthy communication and verbal consent helps people to become aware of what they really want sexually, find ways to make a partner aware of their boundaries, and to be aware of what their partner is comfortable with sexually. It is about striving for conscious and confident intimacy.

Consent is about a fully affirmative YES. Not an ambiguous yes, or a well-not-really-but-ok-I-guess-yes. Certainly not a silent-no yes, or an ouch-but-I'm-scared-to-hurt-your-feelings yes. Consent is about YES, UH HUH, ABSOLUTELY, YIPPEE YAHOO YES! Being with someone who you are sure REALLY WANTS to be with you. Being with someone who you are sure YOU REALLY WANT to be with. THAT is EXCITING, is EROTIC, is DEEP, is GREAT, is YES! That is consent.

Consent is also about NO, hearing that a person is really NOT OK being with you in this way or that way, and being able to tell a person that you are NOT OK doing this or that. It is also about the EXPECTATION that they will RESPECT your choices, your requests, and your answers to their requests WITHOUT deriding



you, manipulating you, or threatening you in any way. This is about respecting that each person, for WHATEVER REASONS they choose, has a right to define why and how they will be touched, at any time or step along the way, no matter what you intend or want to share with them (and vice versa). And because we come from a culture that so often disrespects personal sexual choices – through confusing dynamics, gender role socializations, sexual manipulation, abuse and violence – it should be acknowledged that part of consent is corrective. It helps us all learn to SPELL OUT THE NO'S so that each of us may feel freer and safer being assertive about and affirmed when we SPELL OUT THE YESES.

**Talk about consent with friends, dates, lovers, partners, roommates, or whoever! Here are some questions to get you started:**

- How do you define consent?
- Do other people define it differently?
- Do you think about people's abuse histories?
- Have you ever been unsure about whether or not the person you were being sexual with wanted to be doing what you were doing? Did you talk about it? Ignore it?
- How does consent change in long term relationships?
- Do you think it's the other person's responsibility to say if they aren't into what you're doing?
- Do you check in as things progress or do you assume that the original consent means everything is ok?
- How might someone express that what is happening is not ok?
- Do you think it's possible to misinterpret silence for consent?

- UC police quell the crowd with pepper spray (a first in UC history) and arrest 3 students. Chancellor Blumenthal shows no concern about the pepper spraying and condemns the protest. Later the administration tries to make an example out of one of the arrestees, a black woman named Alette Kendrick, by suspending her for 3 years.

### 2007

- February 15: "Money for Wages, Not for War" rally calls for a reprioritization of resources to focus on the needs of low-paid service workers rather than on weapons development and war. The rally corresponds with anti-war student strikes on several other campuses nation-wide.
- April 17: With major protests imminent, military recruiters

withdraw from upcoming spring job fair.

- May 1 - 4: The Movement for Immigrant Rights Alliance (MIRA) organizes a week of actions and awareness in support of immigrant rights and May Day.
- May 7 - 10: The Committee for Justice in Palestine organizes Palestine Awareness Week events including a mock checkpoint established by Baytree.



Here are some ways to ask in the heat of the moment. But don't forget, talking about these things before gettin' all naked is often better.

- May I \_\_\_\_\_?  
touch \_\_\_\_\_?  
kiss \_\_\_\_\_?  
put my \_\_\_\_\_?
- Are you into this?
- How are you feeling?
- What would you like me to do?
- I think it's hot when my partner does \_\_\_\_\_ to me.
- What do you like?
- Where do you see this going?
- What should I look for if you start to shut down? "

"No" means no  
 "Wait..." means no  
 "I'd rather be alone" means no  
 "I have a boyfriend/girlfriend" means no  
 "Not now" means no  
 "Maybe later" means no  
 "Let's just go to sleep" means no  
 "Uhhh..." means no  
 "It hurts" means no  
 "Fuck you" means no (Fuck me means yes)  
 "I'm not in the mood" means no  
 "You're not my type" means no  
 "I really like you but..." means no  
 "You're drunk/ I'm drunk" means no  
 "I'm not sure" means no  
 "Stop" means no  
 "Don't touch me" means no  
 Silence means no  
 Staying still means no

#### This is only the start!

Think about drinking, drugs, and consent.  
 Think about survivor support.  
 Think about having workshops, discussions, and potlucks to talk about safe and healthy sex.

Content borrowed from:

- Christina Cappelletti of the Sexual Offense Prevention and Survivors' Advocacy Program
- Hysteria Collective (hysteriacollective@yahoo.com)
- Cindy from Dorisdoris.com

## Resources for Sexual Bliss!

The **UCSC Health Center** provides a variety of essential services. Check out their website (<http://www2.ucsc.edu/healthcenter/>) to find resources such as:

### The Condom Co-op

The Condom Co-op provides condoms, dental dams, lubricants and other safer sex supplies to the campus community at a lower cost than you would find anywhere else. Starting around the third week of each quarter, students staff the Co-op at various times around campus. Co-op stuff can also be found at the Health Center Pharmacy. They also carry polyurethane condoms/dams for people who are allergic to latex, and do not recommend using spermicide because it often irritates, increasing the risk of STD transmission.

### HIV Peer Counseling & Testing

All undergraduate UCSC students are eligible for free & anonymous HIV testing provided by highly trained Peer Test Counselors. Call (831) 459-4679 with questions or to set up an appointment. They also have information about getting tested for other STDs.

### Health Center Pharmacy

Open daily 9AM - noon; 1:30 - 4:45PM.

Will fill any contraceptive prescriptions (pill, patch, ring, injection, diaphragm, cervical cap). Oral contraceptive prescriptions can often be filled at the health center pharmacy much more cheaply than elsewhere. Can also provide Emergency Contraception and counseling.

### Rape Prevention Education

Run not only educational programs but also offer support. 459-2721

### Off Campus:

Your local sexshop, *Camouflage*, also carries lots of goodies. Check it out at 1329 Pacific Avenue. If your in the city, San Francisco's *Good Vibrations*, offers sex toys galore in a comfortable environment run by women.

**Planned Parenthood** is also a good place to get cheap or free contraceptives, abortion services, and prenatal care. Located downtown at 1119 Pacific Avenue.

Check out [www.santacruzhealth.org](http://www.santacruzhealth.org) for a list of all the places in Santa Cruz County to get Emergency Contraception (aka "the morning-after pill"). Find out pharmacy hours, location, and whether or not you need a prescription.

- May 9 - 17: 45 UC students and faculty engage in a 9 day hunger strike, raising the pressure for UC severance ties with nuclear weapons lab.
- May 24: 500+ rally at the Chancellor's Office to protest the proposed 3 year suspension of Alette Kendrick. Speakers include Angela Davis and members of the UC Activist Defense Committee. In response

to this outcry, the administration backs off from this severe punishment on May 30.



- June 21: UCSC rehires fired dining hall worker Angela Ruiz after a day of student and worker protest. Angela was fired in April for attending a union-sponsored protest against UC President Robert Dynes, even though she had received excellent evaluations and the protest was during her lunch hour.

2008...  
**YOU DECIDE!**

# Sex In Three Parts

by Alexis Shotwell

We don't have that many things we do just for the pleasure of it, just because of how they make us feel or how they're making other people feel. Probably you can think of lots of things that match this description - playing fabulous music, cooking wonderfully, napping. I encourage you to think of these things, and then go out and do them - they're things that fight the soul-sucking misery that is capitalism. Sex is right up there, though, on the list of pleasure-for-its-own-sake activities. And so it bugs me that often sex ends up being horribly mis-managed and not fun, or flat out fucked up, or explicitly an exercise in demeaning yuckiness. Sex is a good thing, and we should have a fabulous time doing it, but we might also need to keep some guidelines in mind. The following are my bossy ideas for how to keep the deliciousness-neurosis ratio low.

**PART ONE:** Before you get to the salty, sweet, sweaty bits involved with sex, there's the time between identifying someone you'd like to get with and actual canoodling. In my experience, the main neurosis in this part comes from people not being able to talk to each other ethically. If you're attracted to someone, there are two times when the responsible thing to do is tell them how you're feeling:

1) when you have an idea that they might return the favor, or 2) when you're obsessing, your crush is causing you anguish or when it's ruining your friendship. Ethical divulging of attraction minimizes the embarrassment factor inevitably involved for yourself and your potential smooch-ees. I suggest scripts like these: "I'd love to hang out with you for the third time this week. But I want you to know that I have carnal intentions toward you. How do you feel about that?" or "Can we make out, even though I'm not up for a romantic relationship at the moment?" Notice that these are verbal representations of what is sometimes supposed to be a purely spontaneous, you just know" kind of event. Don't get me wrong: I'm all for wordless goodness. Trouble is that moving in, lips puckered, can leave the recipient of your pucker with no smooth way to take a bit more time, let you know that actually he has a boyfriend in Baltimore, or whatever.

A way the pre-naked part goes wrong is when your crush is pure fabrication. This is a non-consensual crush: the object of your affection is unaware of your interest, or uninterested, and you persist in interpreting their every action as proof of your excellent chances to someday soon nibble their earlobe. Which is why talking is good. The main point: you should refrain from projecting stuff on people you're into, you should communicate clearly, gently, and honestly with them, and you should make every effort to relinquish unrequited crushes. This is also the part where you go out and get tested for sexually transmitted infections, most notably HIV and hepatitis.

**PART TWO:** And then you've made it to sex narrowly defined - there's probably kissing, groping, tingly goodness, and perhaps bare skin. Yay! But also, Yipes! What to do? Here I have three recommendations:

1) Don't base the kind of sex you have on movies, bad romance novels, or an abstract idea of what you should be doing. While a lot of the time the naked part is easy and fun, there is a fair chance that there'll be some awkwardness. Many of us tend to fall into patterns that are really pretty messed up - and rigidly heteronormative sex isn't fun, even for straight couples. Sometimes you find yourself in bed with someone who has - or have yourself - difficult or painful history with sex. So again with the communication, which doesn't have to be verbal but can be. Check with your partner(s) as you go, and be willing to shift what you're doing. Communicate how you're doing, yourself: If the person you're kissing turns out to be a massively tongue-ful kisser, and you prefer upper-lip subtle licking, demonstrate what you're into on them and request they try it. This is often a really

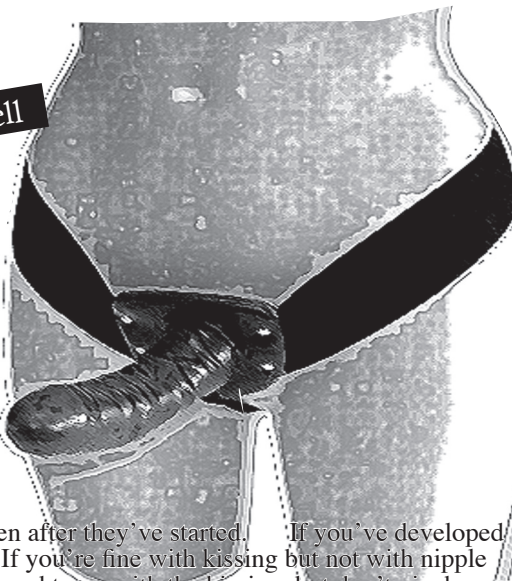
hard thing to do - we're all willing to turn other people on, but often have a hard time asking them to change what or how they're doing things with/to us.

2) Be willing to stop explicitly sexual activities, even after they've started. If you've developed a hesitation, say so. If you're fine with kissing but not with nipple pinching, say "I'm good to go with the kissing, but don't pinch my nipple." If you want to stop making out altogether, say so. If the person or people you're in bed with express a wish to stop an activity - for heaven's sake, stop!

3) Be willing to expand the horizons of what turns you on. If your new honey likes nothing better than going down on you, and you're not sure what you think about it, give it a shot. Or if she'd really like to try sex with a new strap-on in the shower, see if there's a place in your libido for that. Or if he's into role-plays, play along. If any of the potential activities are stretches for you, set up time limits: five minutes of cunnilingus, unless I tell you explicitly I want you to keep going. We stop with the strap on if the hot water runs out. And in general: Don't fall into the trap of assuming that sex is only sex if penetration happens, or if there are massive yelling orgasms - these are fine but unnecessary ingredients. As with part one, the keywords here are "ethical behavior," which involves communication, emotional flexibility, and being present in the moment. Finally: these are still potentially dangerous times, my friends! Before any potentially fluid-exchange-y activities, you gotta talk about when the last time you got tested was and what sex you've had since then. This is never a hugely sexy conversation, but with practice, it'll become just another aspect of your erotics of talk. And since you'll have listened to my wise advice in Part One, at this point you'll already have been tested. Regardless, latex = good.

**PART THREE:** Especially if this was the first time you've hooked up with someone, the post-naked time can be neurosis-making. What are they thinking? When will you see each other again? This is another time to refrain from projecting and be open to conversation. You may have decided that you're not interested in any more hoo-ha, or that you're interested in lots more sweaty sweetness. In either case, ideally you'll let the person in question know where you're at - again, clearly, gently, and honestly. This doesn't have to be a huge production, but some communication is in order, post-sex - it's actually part of sex. Don't make assumptions about people you've had sex with! Don't pretend not to see them! Don't obsessively hang out in bars they frequent to remind them you exist without talking about the fact that you were recently touching tummies! And if they're weird and refuse to talk to you, be angry at them, and reach for a state of compassion beyond pity - they're just incapable of adult behavior just yet. The ideal in this part is for clear and painless understanding of what's going on, in one of three situations:

1) You both want to keep having sex, and with each other (brilliant!)  
2) You want to and they don't (understand that you are perfect and wonderful, anyhow, and try not to argue too much with them) or b. they want to and you don't (be clear and firm, without being mean)  
3) Neither of you want to (also fine! Part civilly, and perhaps craft a friendship).





# Abortion Resources

The previous pages offered some resources to help you stay sexually happy and healthy. It sure would be great if these safety measures were completely reliable and available to all of us, but they just aren't, and an unexpected pregnancy can happen to anyone. Talk about a disorientation!

Why does this page only provide information about different ways to *end* a pregnancy? Well, as you probably know, abortion is the only pregnancy option that is constantly under attack by very visible and well funded campaigns that function to mis-inform, intimidate, and control women's bodies. And, frankly, all that anti-choice propaganda isn't particularly helpful when holding a positive pregnancy test in your hand. That's why it is vital to spread information about abortion without censorship and without apology.

Sharing this type of info continues a long legacy of self-help: women have been educating themselves and each other about reproduction—including ways to end pregnancy—throughout all of human history. But in these dark days of regressive reproduction laws and abstinence-only sex-ed curriculums, there is very little public discussion about the procedures themselves and the differences between them.

**So get informed and spread the word!**

## Medical Abortion

This option ends a pregnancy with medicine and without surgery. First, your clinician will give you either an oral medication (*mifepistrone*) or an injection (*methotrexate*) to break down the lining of the uterus and end fetal development. Second, you will take another medication (*misoprostol*) in tablet form. This causes the uterus to contract and empty with vaginal bleeding. Third, you will return to your clinician for follow-up to make sure the abortion is complete.

- Available during first 63 days of the first trimester
- Much of the process can take place in your home
- No surgical procedure or anesthesia
- May allow you to feel more in control

- **Effectiveness:** Mifepristone is 92–97% effective. Methotrexate is about 90% effective. VA is necessary if medicine fails.

- **Physical effects:** bleeding as if having a heavy period, strong cramps, temporary abdominal pain, fever and chills, nausea or vomiting, and/or diarrhea. Over-the-counter medicines can reduce symptoms.

- **Cost:** Ranges from \$350 to \$650 depending on location and may be more or less depending on whatever additional tests, visits, or exams are needed. Costs vary from community to community, based on regional and local expenses.

- *it is often possible to get the abortion costs fully covered.*



## Surgical Abortion

**Vacuum aspiration (VA)** is a way to end pregnancy by emptying the uterus with suction. The two most common methods are **manual vacuum aspiration (MVA)**, and **dilation and suction curettage (D&C)**. The method used depends on how long you have been pregnant. MVA can be done as soon as you know you are pregnant and up to 10 weeks after your last period. D&C can be performed after the first month of pregnancy and throughout the first trimester.

- Available throughout the first trimester
- Process takes place in a medical office
- Minor surgery (without incision), may involve anesthesia
- May seem as if clinician is more in control
- **Effectiveness:** Nearly 100% effective. It fails to end a pregnancy one out of 100 times and may need to be repeated.

- **Physical effects:** pain similar to strong menstrual cramps. For others, it is more uncomfortable. Local painkillers are usually used. Some clinics use a kind of medicine that allows you to be awake but deeply relaxed.

- **Cost:** Varies depending on how long you've been pregnant and where you go. Nationwide, the cost ranges from about \$350 to \$700 for abortion in the first trimester. Costs vary from community to community, based on regional and local expenses.

- *it is often possible to get the abortion costs fully covered.*

***www.4exhale.org is a secular resource for post-abortion support***

## Alternative Abortions

Although the methods described above are generally considered to be the safest and most effective ways to end a pregnancy, they are certainly not the only ways. Herbal and do-it-yourself abortions have a long history in nearly all cultures and communities; after all, women have been having abortions since long before politicians and doctors gave their paternalistic and highly restricted "permission" to do so. These alternatives can take many forms such as herbal tinctures and teas that induce miscarriages, some forms of acupuncture and

reflexology that cause contractions in the uterus, and even self-help techniques that empty the womb manually. Some of these options have ancient origins, others were developed in the early 1970s by networks of underground abortion providers involved in the women's liberation struggle.

Why choose these alternative methods? Well, sometimes it is not a choice. Many women—especially the young and poor—face serious legal, economic, and social barriers which make the mainstream methods inaccessible. Others may choose alterna-

tive abortion techniques out of a dedication to natural medicine or because they reject the interference of the state and the medical establishment in their personal lives.

These alternatives vary in safety and effectiveness, so they should not be undertaken lightly. They can be life-threatening if done incorrectly, and a back-up method is a must. Do thorough research and talk to experienced people before pursuing alternative abortion techniques. The website Sister Zeus ([www.sisterzeus.com](http://www.sisterzeus.com)) may be a good place to start.

# Feminism for Everybody!

by Alexis Shotwell and Chris Dixon

We're sorry, but we still live in a society structured by multiple forms of oppression and privilege. One of the biggies intersecting all other forms is patriarchy, or sexism. The term "patriarchy" may seem a little outdated. After all, it literally means "rule of the fathers" and many of us would say that our fathers aren't ruling us. Still, patriarchy is a good term to keep around, because it names a form of gendered power that is still very present in all of our lives. We're talking here about a complex web of ideas, everyday practices, social systems, and ensconced institutions that form some people into men, other people into women, punish those who refuse to conform, and give social and material power to men. "Power" here means having the ability to influence important decisions and formations – about politics, money, and relationships on a scale that runs from government all the way down to our kitchens and bedrooms.

Here at UCSC we can see lots of examples of patriarchal power at work in our daily lives. You might see sexism in your classrooms. The articles and books you read might all be written by white men, or the course might include token reference to one or two women, usually also white and straight. In lecture, you might notice that profs and TAs remember men's names more frequently than women's, or call on men (also usually white and middle class) more often and with more respectful attention. Sexism also likely affects the grades you get, though also always in relation to other kinds of privilege you're partaking, or not, in. You might see patriarchy manifesting in social settings – parties, cafes, on the bus (check out who's wearing the "Freshman girls – get them while they're skinny" T-shirts, and notice how you feel). You might see it in whether you feel comfortable walking down the path to the library after dark. You might see sexism in how you're treated at the health center (especially if you have to go there once a year for a pelvic exam!) – does your doctor assume that you're incapable of using contraception correctly and recommend that you get a carcinogenic Depo-Provera implant?

Notice that, when we talk about patriarchy, it doesn't stand alone. Systems of oppression and privilege – patriarchy, racism and white supremacy, class stratification under capitalism, heterosexism and gender binarism, and others – intertwine in all aspects of our lives. All of us here – students, janitors, professors, bus drivers, food service workers, and so on – live lives in relation to our gender, who we want to have sex with, how much money we have, how others read our skin color and ethnicity, etc. For instance, being white and middle class affords considerable opportunity in this university setting and in Santa Cruz – both in who can come here and who can live here. These forms of privilege, in turn, deeply affect how each of us experiences gender oppression or privilege, and vice versa. It's important to think about patriarchy in relation to other ways we're positioned, because tearing it down will involve challenging it all.

We also see, here at UCSC, daily struggles against the way patriarchy warps, limits, and messes with all of us – weekly self defense trainings for responding to sexual harassment and assault, Women's Studies classes, institutional resources like the UCSC Women's Center, individual people naming the sexism they see around them and challenging gender binarism, and (more powerfully) groups of people coming together to work against the normalization of patriarchal power. One way to understand many of these struggles is as expressions of feminist practice. "Feminism" is another term that sometimes seems outdated. Feminism is often attached to the Women's Liberation movement of the 1960s and 70s. Imperfectly, it attempted to challenge the disparities and power imbalances affecting women, including sex-role

stereotypes, wage gaps, private and public violence against women, inequities in household labor, and more. Through interventions by women who were often marginalized by the women's liberation movement – frequently working class and queer women of color – much feminism has taken on a more radical, comprehensive analysis. It is a theory and practice that seeks to challenge not only sexism but all systems of oppression.

Happily, this theory and practice is available to everyone. You don't have to be a woman to fight patriarchy. In fact, it will take people of all genders to fundamentally transform our society into a place where we all want to live. **Lets start now!**

## Resources

**UCSC Women's Center:** Cardiff House, 459-2072 , <http://www2.ucsc.edu/wmcenter/>

**Rape Prevention Education** 459-2721 *Student Health Center, Room 147*

**Gay Lesbian Bisexual Transgender Intersex Resource Center (GLBTIRC)** 459-2468 Merrill College (next to KZSC)

**Walnut Avenue Women's Center**, 303 Walnut Avenue 426-3062

**The Diversity Center** 1117 Soquel Avenue 425-5422.  
hooks, bell. *Feminism is for Everybody*

**FOR EVERY GIRL WHO IS TIRED OF ACTING WEAK WHEN SHE IS STRONG, THERE IS A BOY TIRED OF APPEARING STRONG WHEN HE FEELS VULNERABLE. FOR EVERY BOY WHO IS BURDENED WITH THE CONSTANT EXPECTATION OF KNOWING EVERYTHING, THERE IS A GIRL TIRED OF PEOPLE NOT TRUSTING HER INTELLIGENCE. FOR EVERY GIRL WHO IS TIRED OF BEING CALLED OVER-SENSITIVE, THERE IS A BOY WHO FEARS TO BE GENTLE, TO WEEP. FOR EVERY BOY FOR WHOM COMPETITION IS THE ONLY WAY TO PROVE HIS MASCULINITY, THERE IS A GIRL WHO IS CALLED UNFEMININE WHEN SHE COMPETES. FOR EVERY GIRL WHO THROWS OUT HER E-Z-BAKE OVEN, THERE IS A BOY WHO WISHES TO FIND ONE. FOR EVERY BOY STRUGGLING NOT TO LET ADVERTISING DICTATE HIS DESIRES, THERE IS A GIRL FACING THE AD INDUSTRY'S ATTACKS ON HER SELF-ESTEEM. FOR EVERY GIRL WHO TAKES A STEP TOWARD HER LIBERATION, THERE IS A BOY WHO FINDS THE WAY TO FREEDOM A LITTLE EASIER.**





# QUEER!

Our whole lives are shaped around the idea that there are two genders. Men and women are supposed to use separate bathrooms, shop in their assigned departments, and act in different ways. Most people spend their whole lives trying to live up to the gender they're expected to be. Companies make millions of dollars every year off of products that are supposed to make us more perfectly gendered.

Some find the terms commonly used to describe sexuality - straight/gay/bi/lesbian - similarly restrictive because they are based on the limiting definitions of man/woman and because they don't incorporate the other ways that we can express our sexuality. In response to the gay liberation movement of the 70s, the institutional definition of 'normal' expanded slightly to allow some room for gays and lesbians to exist openly. But over time, this has taken the shape of commodification, where gay and lesbian identities and people are exploited, tokenized, and fetishized. Gender and sexuality don't always fit into the categories that are available to us, but there still isn't much space for people to exist outside of gender binaries and homo/heterosexual.

On campus and downtown there are a couple of places created to be safe for people with non-normative genders and sexualities.

**The Lionel Cantu Gay Lesbian Bisexual Transgender Intersex Resource Center** is a sweet queer space to escape the campus crowds. It's up at Merrill, open Monday through Friday, and has comfy chairs, a kitchen, good lighting, and lots of printed and people resources. It's a good place to meet people, take a break, and feel gender safe. The Resource Center aims to do education, advocacy, and to provide a safe space for queer UCSC students.

>>> [www.queer.ucsc.edu](http://www.queer.ucsc.edu)

Downtown, there's the **Diversity Center** - (The Santa Cruz County Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center). They do Friday night movies, a queer youth task force, a senior task force, host Santa Cruz Pride every year, and offer a walk-in resource. They're a good bet if you're interested in volunteering in a queer space in Santa Cruz, and worth checking out especially if you want to get off campus and maybe help with the teen programming.

1117 Soquel Avenue  
(831) 425-5422  
[info@diversitycenter.org](mailto:info@diversitycenter.org)

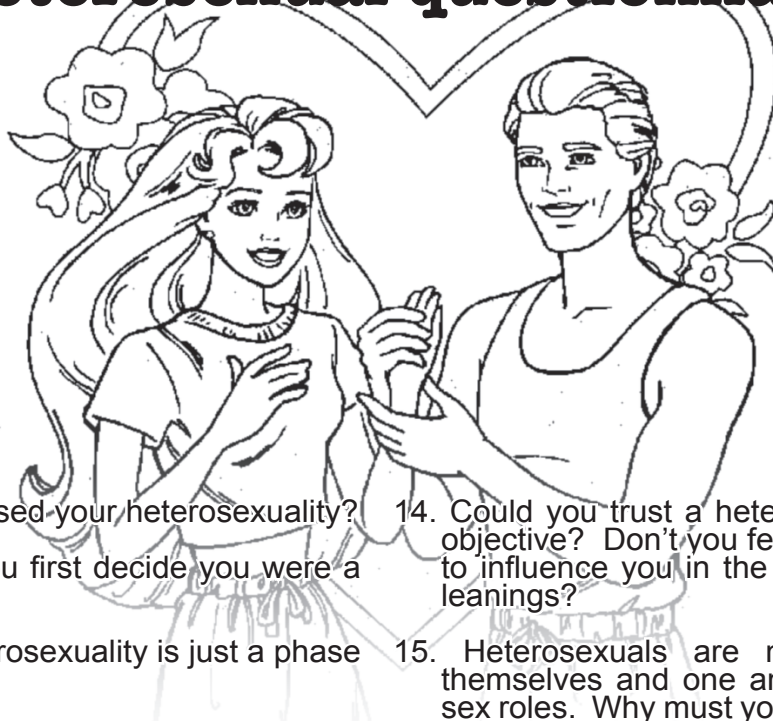


'Queer' is an inclusive term that allows us to break out of traditional definitions man and woman and straight and gay to describe infinite possibilities within gender, sexuality and sexual practices. 'Queer' can be used to name everything that's not straight - which we think of as one male-bodied-guy and one female-bodied gal having penile-vaginal intercourse regularly in the missionary position. The possibilities named by queer are much wider than the labels gay, lesbian, bisexual, and even trans, and intersex can encompass. When you add a flexible or unconventional gender identity, sexual orientation, and/or sexual practice to the mix the possibilities are endless. There are more genders than two, more orientations than same/other and same/same, and so many fun sexual practices that we can't even think of them all. Gender and sexuality identities aren't stable - they can change over time. It's okay to not know what you prefer, or to try something new. We just hope you can carve out a space to be the gender you dream of, have fun sex with the folks you're attracted to instead of the ones you're expected to, and to join the still-desperate struggle for political, social, emotional, and psychic freedom for queers and our allies.



- How many genders are there?
- How do you define gender?
- What would the world look like without gender?
- In what ways do you feel confined or restricted to your assigned gender?
- Was the gender assigned to you the one you feel most comfortable with?
- What privileges do you or don't you have due to the gender you've been labeled?
- Do you feel forced to act in certain ways because of gender?
- What happens when you don't act in these ways?
- How do we unlearn gender?

# heterosexual questionnaire

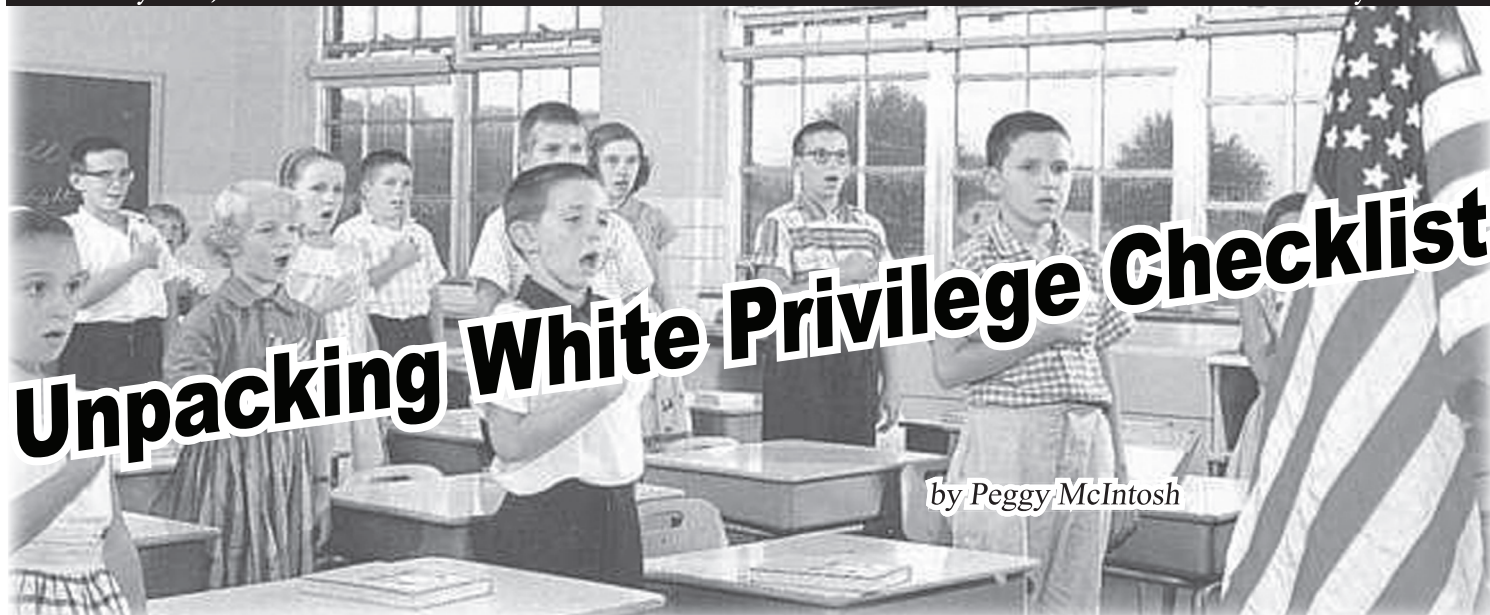


1. What do you think caused your heterosexuality?
2. When and how did you first decide you were a heterosexual?
3. Is it possible your heterosexuality is just a phase you may grow out of?
4. Could it be that your heterosexuality stems from a neurotic fear of others of the same sex?
5. If you've never slept with a person of the same sex, how can you be sure you wouldn't prefer that?
6. To whom have you disclosed your heterosexual tendencies? How did they react?
7. Why do heterosexuals feel compelled to seduce others into their lifestyle?
8. Why do you insist on flaunting your heterosexuality? Can't you just be what you are and keep it quiet?
9. Would you want your children to be heterosexual, knowing the problems they'd face?
10. A disproportionate majority of child molesters are heterosexual men. Do you consider it safe to expose children to heterosexual male teachers, pediatricians, priests, or scoutmasters?
11. With all the societal support for marriage, the divorce rate is spiraling. Why are there so few stable relationships among heterosexuals?
12. Why do heterosexuals place so much emphasis on sex?
13. Considering the menace of overpopulation, how could the human race survive if everyone were heterosexual?
14. Could you trust a heterosexual therapist to be objective? Don't you fear s/he might be inclined to influence you in the direction of her/his own leanings?
15. Heterosexuals are notorious for assigning themselves and one another rigid, stereotyped sex roles. Why must you cling to such unhealthy role-playing?
16. With the sexually segregated living conditions of military life, isn't heterosexuality incompatible with military service?
17. How can you enjoy an emotionally fulfilling experience with a person of the other sex when there are such vast differences between you? How can a man know what pleases a woman sexually or vice-versa?
18. Shouldn't you ask your far-out straight cohorts, like skinheads and born-again, to keep quiet? Wouldn't that improve your image?
19. Why are heterosexuals so promiscuous?
20. Why do you attribute heterosexuality to so many famous lesbian and gay people? Is it to justify your own heterosexuality?
21. How can you hope to actualize your God-given homosexual potential if you limit yourself to exclusive, compulsive heterosexuality?
22. There seem to be very few happy heterosexuals. Techniques have been developed that might enable you to change if you really want to. After all, you never deliberately chose to be a heterosexual, did you? Have you considered aversion therapy or Heterosexuals Anonymous?





**So, one of the most important ways to redeem our education is by looking at everything we are learning through an anti-racist lens. Upon reflection, it is clear that the ideology of white supremacy persists in today's world...it is constructed and maintained through a combination of deceptive storytelling and brute force. Although the system of white supremacy pervades every aspect of the lives of white folks, it remains invisible to most of them...and herein lies its power. Afterall, if we don't understand what it is, nor see the repercussions of its existence, then how can we challenge it? In order to defy this system, it is essential that we look at the fibers of racism that have been woven into the fabric of society.**



- ☐ I can arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time.
- ☐ I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed.
- ☐ I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.
- ☐ When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization" I am shown that people of my color made it what it is.
- ☐ I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race.
- ☐ I can go into a music shop and count on finding the music of my race represented, into a supermarket and find the food I grew up with, into a hairdresser's shop and find someone who can deal with my hair.
- ☐ Whether I use checks, credit cards, or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial responsibility.
- ☐ I am not made acutely aware that my shape, bearing, or body odor will be taken as a reflection on my race.
- ☐ I can worry about racism without being seen as self-interested or self-seeking.
- ☐ I can take a job or enroll in a college with an affirmative action policy without having my co-workers or peers assume I got it because of my race.
- ☐ I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help, my race will not work against me
- ☐ I can arrange my activities so that I will never have to experience feelings of rejection owing to my race
- ☐ I am never asked to speak for all of the people of my racial group.
- ☐ I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk with the "person in charge" I will be facing a person of my race.
- ☐ If a traffic cop pulls me over or if the IRS audits my tax return, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race.
- ☐ I can walk into a classroom and know I will not be the only member of my race.
- ☐ I can easily buy posters, postcards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys, and children's magazines featuring people of my race.
- ☐ I can choose blemish cover or bandages in "flesh" color and have them more or less match my skin.
- ☐ I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a "credit to my race."
- ☐ I can enroll in classes at college and be sure that the majority of my professors will be of my race.
- ☐ I can easily find academic courses and institutions which give attention only to people of my race.
- ☐ I can criticize our government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behavior without being seen as a cultural outsider.

# Tools for White Guys Who Are Working for Social Change (and other people socialized in a society based on domination)

*This page has some great suggestions for anyone involved in social justice organizing:*

- 1.** Practice noticing who's in the room at meetings - how many gender privileged men (biological men), how many women, how many transgendered people, how many white people, how many people of color? Is it majority heterosexual, are there queers, what are people's class backgrounds? Don't assume to know people, just work at being more aware and listen to what people say. Talk one on one to people you work with.
- 2a.** Count how many times you speak and keep track of how long you speak.
- 2b.** Count how many times other people speak and keep track of how long they speak.
- 3.** Be conscious of how often you are actively listening to what other people are saying as opposed to just waiting your turn thinking about what you'll say next. Keep a notebook so that you can write down your thoughts and then focus on what other people are saying. As a white guy who talks a lot, I've found it helpful to write down my thoughts and wait to hear what others have to say (frequently others will be thinking something similar and then you can support their initiative).
- 4.** Practice going to meetings or hanging out with people focused on listening and learning - not to get caught in the paralysis of whether or not you have anything useful to say, but acting from a place of valuing other people's knowledge and experiences.
- 5a.** Pay attention to how many times you put ideas out to the group you work with.
- 5b.** Notice how often you support other people's ideas for the group.
- 6.** Practice supporting people by asking them to expand on ideas and get more in-depth.
- 7a.** Think about whose work and what contributions to the group get recognized.
- 7b.** Practice recognizing more people for the work they do and try to do it more often. This also includes men offering support to other men who aren't recognized and actively challenging competitive dynamics that men are socialized to act out with each other.
- 8.** Practice asking more people what they think about events, ideas, actions, strategy and vision. White guys tend to talk amongst themselves and develop strong bonds that manifest in organizing. These informal support structures often help reinforce informal leadership structures as well. Asking people what they think and really listening is a core ingredient to healthy group dynamics: think about who you ask and who you really listen to. Developing respect and solidarity across race, class, gender and sexuality is complex and difficult, but absolutely critical - and liberating. Those most negatively impacted by systems of oppression have and will play leading roles in the struggle for collective liberation.
- 9.** Be aware of how often you ask people to do something as opposed to asking other people "what needs to be done": logistics, child care, making phone calls, cooking, providing emotional support and following up with people are often undervalued responsibilities performed by people who are gender oppressed (biological women and trans folks).
- 10.** Struggle with the saying, "you will be needed in the movement when you realize that you are not needed in the movement".
- 11.** Struggle and work with the model of group leadership that says the responsibility of leaders is to help develop more leaders. Reflect upon what this means to you: how do you support others and what support do you need from others.

This includes men providing emotional and political support to other men. How can men work to be allies to each other in the struggle to develop radical models of anti-racist, class conscious, pro-queer, feminist manhood that challenges strict binary gender roles and categories. This is also about struggling to recognize leadership roles
- while also redefining leadership as actively working to build power with others rather than power over others.
- 12.** Remember that social change is a process, and that our individual transformation and individual liberation is intimately interconnected with social transformation and social liberation. Life is profoundly complex and there are many contradictions. Remember that the path we travel is guided by love, dignity and respect - even when it brings us to tears and is difficult to navigate. As we struggle let us also love ourselves.
- 13.** This list is not limited to white guys, nor is it intended to reduce all white guys into one category. This list is intended to disrupt patterns of domination which hurt our movement and hurt each other. White guys have a lot of work to do, but if we white guys support and challenge each other, while also building trust and compassion we can heal ourselves in the process.
- 14.** Day-to-day patterns of domination are the glue that maintain systems of domination. The struggle against capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy, heterosexism and the state, is also the struggle towards collective liberation.
- 15.** No one is free until we are all free.



**For more reading, check out:**  
*On the Road to Healing: A Booklet for Men Against Sexism*  
P.O. Box 84171 Seattle, Washington 98124  
or [plantingseeds@tao.ca](mailto:plantingseeds@tao.ca)



# what is WHITE SUPREMACY?

by Elizabeth (Betita) Martinez

**White Supremacy is a historically based, institutionally perpetuated system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations, and peoples of color by white peoples and nations of the European continent, for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power, and privilege.**

## I. What does it mean to say White Supremacy is a system?

The most common mistake people make when they talk about racism is to think it is a collection of prejudices and individual acts of discrimination. They do not see that it is a system, a web of interlocking, reinforcing institutions: economic, military, legal, educational, religious, and cultural. As a system, racism affects every aspect of life in a country.

By not seeing that racism is systemic (part of a system), people often personalize or individualize racist acts. For example, they will reduce racist police behavior to "a few bad apples" who need to be removed, rather than seeing it exists in police departments all over the country and is basic to the society. This mistake has real consequences: refusing to see police brutality as part of a system, and that the system needs to be changed, means that the brutality will continue. The need to recognize racism as being systemic is one reason the term White Supremacy has been more useful than the term racism. They refer to the same problem but:

**A.** The purpose of racism is much clearer when we call it "white supremacy." Some people think of racism as just a matter of prejudice. "Supremacy" defines a power relationship.

**B.** Race is an unscientific term. Although racism is a social reality, it is based on a term which has no biological or other scientific reality.

**C.** The term racism often leads to dead-end debates about whether a particular remark or action by an individual white person was really racist or not. We will achieve a clearer understanding of racism if we analyze how a certain action relates to the system of White Supremacy.

**D.** The term White Supremacy gives white people a clear choice of supporting or opposing a system, rather than getting bogged down in claims to be anti-racist (or not) in their personal behavior.

## II. What does it mean to say White Supremacy is historically based?

Every nation has a creation myth, or origin myth, which is the story people are taught of how the nation came into being. Ours says the United States began with Columbus's so-called "discovery" of America, continued with settlement by brave Pilgrims, won its independence from England with the American Revolution, and then expanded westward until it became the enormous, rich country you

see today. That is the origin myth. It omits three key facts about the birth and growth of the United States as a nation. Those facts demonstrate that White Supremacy is fundamental to the existence of this country.

**A.** The United States is a nation state created by military conquest in several stages. The first stage was the European seizure of the lands inhabited by indigenous peoples, which they called Turtle Island. Before the European invasion, there were between nine and eighteen million indigenous people in North America. By the end of the Indian Wars, there were about 250,000 in what is now called the United States, and about 123,000 in what is now Canada (source of these population figures from the book "The State of Native America" ed. by M. Annette Jaimes, South End Press, 1992). That process must be called genocide, and it created the land base of this country. The elimination of indigenous peoples and seizure of their land was the first condition for its existence.

**B.** The United States could not have developed economically as a nation without enslaved African labor. When agriculture and industry began to grow in the colonial period, a tremendous labor shortage existed. Not enough white workers came from Europe and the European invaders could not put indigenous peoples to work in sufficient numbers. It was enslaved Africans who provided the labor force that made the growth of the United States possible.

That growth peaked from about 1800 to 1860, the period called the Market Revolution. During this period, the United States changed from being an agricultural/commercial economy to an industrial corporate economy. The development of banks, expansion of the credit system, protective tariffs, and new transportation systems all helped make this possible.

But the key to the Market Revolution was the export of cotton, and this was made possible by slave labor.



C. The third major piece in the true story of the formation of the United States as a nation was the take-over of half of Mexico by war -- today's Southwest. This enabled the U.S. to expand to the Pacific, and thus open up huge trade with Asia -- markets for export, goods to import and sell in the U.S. It also opened to the U.S. vast mineral wealth in Arizona, agricultural wealth in California, and vast new sources of cheap labor to build railroads and develop the economy.

The United States had already taken over the part of Mexico we call Texas in 1836, then made it a state in 1845. The following year, it invaded Mexico and seized its territory under the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. A few years later, in 1853, the U.S. acquired a final chunk of Arizona from Mexico by threatening to renew the war. This completed the territorial boundaries of what is now the United States.

Those were the three foundation stones of the United States as a nation. One more key step was taken in 1898, with the takeover of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam and Cuba by means of the Spanish-American War. Since then, all but Cuba have remained U.S. colonies or neo-colonies, providing new sources of wealth and military power for the United States. The 1898 take-over completed the phase of direct conquest and colonization, which had begun with the murderous theft of Native American lands five centuries before.

Many people in the United States hate to recognize these truths. They prefer the established origin myth. They could be called the Premise Keepers.

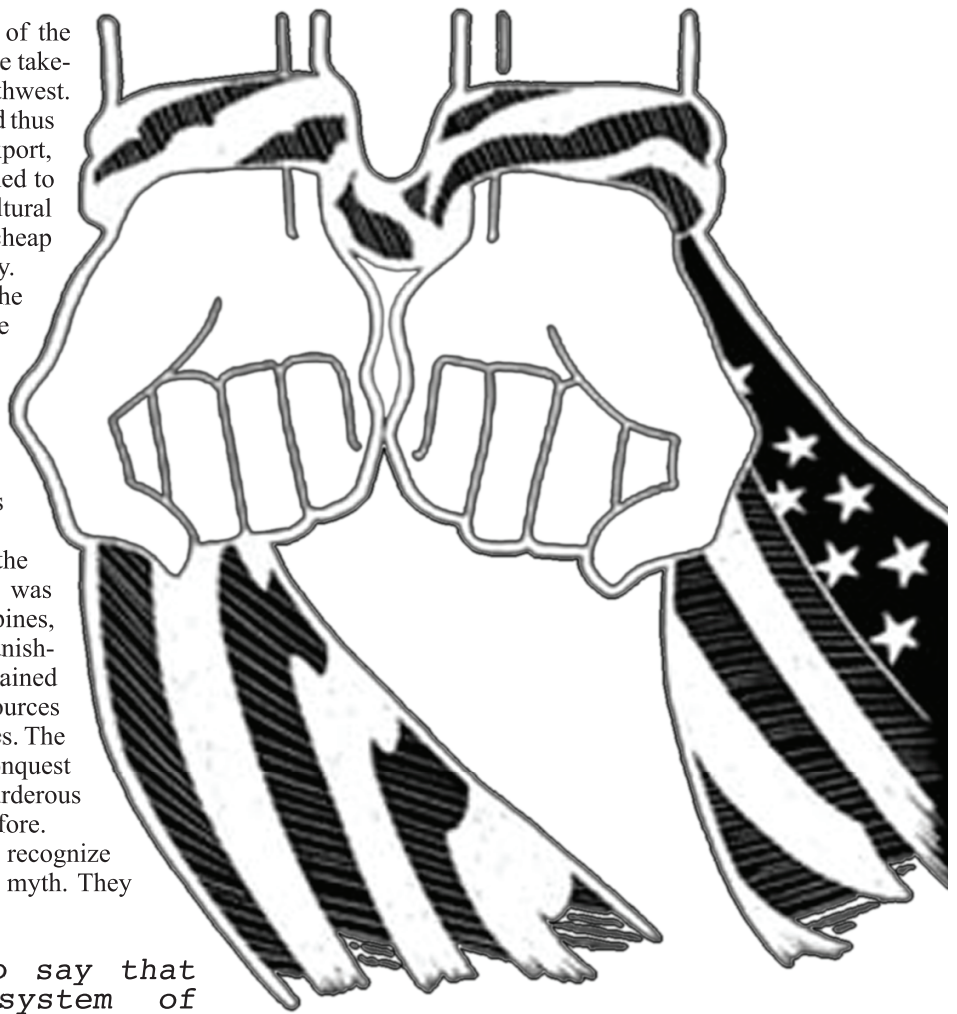
### III. What does it mean to say that White Supremacy is a system of exploitation?

The roots of U.S. racism or White Supremacy lie in establishing economic exploitation by the theft of resources and human labor, then justifying that exploitation by institutionalizing the inferiority of its victims. The first application of White Supremacy or racism by the EuroAmericans who control U.S. society was against indigenous peoples. Then came Blacks, originally as slaves and later as exploited waged labor. They were followed by Mexicans, who lost their means of survival when they lost their land holdings, and also became wage-slaves. Mexican labor built the Southwest, along with Chinese, Filipino, Japanese and other workers.

In short, White Supremacy and economic power were born together. The United States is the first nation in the world to be born racist (South Africa came later) and also the first to be born capitalist. That is not a coincidence. In this country, as history shows, capitalism and racism go hand in hand.

### IV. Origins of Whiteness and White Supremacy as Concepts

The first European settlers called themselves English, Irish, German, French, Dutch, etc. -- not white. Over half of those who came in the early colonial period were servants. By 1760, the population reached about two million, of whom 400,000 were enslaved Africans. An elite of planters developed in the southern colonies. In Virginia, for example, 50 rich white families held the reins of power but were vastly outnumbered by non-whites. In the Carolinas, 25,000 whites faced 40,000 Black slaves and 60,000 indigenous peoples in the area. Class lines hardened as the distinction between rich and poor became sharper. The problem of control loomed large and fear of revolt from below grew.



There had been slave revolts from the beginning but elite whites feared even more that discontented whites--servants, tenant farmers, the urban poor, the property-less, soldiers and sailors--would join Black slaves to overthrow the existing order. As early as 1663, indentured white servants and Black slaves in Virginia had formed a conspiracy to rebel and gain their freedom. In 1676, came Bacon's Rebellion by white frontiersmen and servants alongside Black slaves. The rebellion shook up Virginia's planter elite. Many other rebellions followed, from South Carolina to New York. The main fear of elite whites everywhere was a class fear.

Their solution: divide and control. Certain privileges were given to white indentured servants. They were allowed to join militias, carry guns, acquire land, and have other legal rights not allowed to slaves. With these privileges they were legally declared white on the basis of skin color and continental origin. That made them "superior" to Blacks (and Indians). Thus whiteness was born as a racist concept to prevent lower-class whites from joining people of color, especially Blacks, against their class enemies. The concept of whiteness became a source of unity and strength for the vastly outnumbered Euroamericans--as in South Africa, another settler nation. Today, unity across color lines remains the biggest threat in the eyes of a white ruling class.

White folks who aren't actively anti-racist are complicit in this system of White Supremacy. To learn more, turn back to page 45 and check out our "Tools for White Guys who are Working for Social Change"



# The Immigration Question

By Tim Muldoon

The question of immigration affects all of us, especially here in California. We've all heard the rhetoric: either "illegal immigrants are a drain on our economy, taking jobs from hardworking Americans, lowering average wages, and straining the resources of our public services"; or "these hardworking people are vital to our economy, we need them to pick our strawberries, mow our lawns, and take care of our children so we can continue living the Good Life." This is an extremely narrow way to approach the issue, and both sides (a) fail to see that immigration – legalities aside – is just one part of a huge and complex global economy, and (b) ignore the interests and needs of immigrants themselves, instead focusing solely on what will most benefit "Americans." Thus both sides fall prey to a racist, shortsighted, and inhumane logic.

Nativist, anti-immigrant hysteria comes and goes in this country, alternating with periods of welcoming, open-hearted land-of-opportunism. Like clockwork, these sentiments follow the capitalist cycle. Every major recession in US history has been accompanied by xenophobic morons scapegoating immigrants, and always immigrants of a particular ethnicity. The current hullaballoo over Latino immigration is no exception.

## Nation of Immigrants and Xenophobia

First it was the Irish with their damn Catholicism who were threatening what nativists described as a pure, Anglo-protestant society. The next target was Chinese immigrants building railroads and working agriculture jobs in California. White racists accused the Chinese of taking valuable jobs away from white workers. But when the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882, the demand for cheap labor did not decrease, so big business just brought in Japanese instead. There was another shortage of cheap labor during WWII when the government interned Japanese-Americans, so congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943. (See History p 6)

Mexican people have been migrating to the US in large numbers ever since the Mexican-American war ended in 1848 with the US seizing land from Texas to California. This aggressive war began a history of violent repression perpetrated by nativists against Mexican immigrants and Mexican-American citizens. Throughout the decades there have been periods in which the government and businesses encouraged Mexican laborers to migrate to the US. During the Great Depression Mexican-Americans were faced not only with bank foreclosures, job cutbacks and food shortages but also threats of deportation and racist violence. Federal agents and local police and sheriffs began rounding up people who looked Mexican, without regard to residency or citizenship status, and deporting them without trials. Even US citizens whose families had lived and owned land in the Southwest since it was Mexico were not protected.

In times of labor shortages, the government has facilitated immigration from Mexico. One such campaign was the Bracero Program – an earlier version of Bush's guest-worker program – that put in place a labor dynamic somewhere between indentured servitude and straight-up slavery. But when there was a minor recession in 1953 and racism against Mexican-Americans increased, the

government initiated another forced deportation program in 1954 entitled "Operation Wetback." This program, reminiscent of the deportations of the 1920s, had law enforcement target "Mexican-looking" people, and deport Mexican immigrants with their US born children who were citizens by birth.

Ironically during deportations of the '50s the Bracero program did not cease nor even slow down. In one year of Operation Wetback about 500,000 Mexicans – of all different legal statuses – were deported, while about 490,000 were actively imported by the same government. So what's the deal here? Are the masterminds of this paradoxical policy just big idiots? Well, yeah, they sure are . . . but at the same time this strategy – called the "revolving door policy" – is a tried and true method of solving the "immigrant problem" to the mutual benefit of both big business and politicians. We saw this same idea when the government prevented Chinese immigration to appease the racist public's hollering, then immediately stepped up their recruitment efforts in Japan; we see this same thing happening in other ways today. Here's why it works: first, it satisfies the xenophobic and racist bloodlust of the nativist public while still allowing the corporations their needed cheap labor; second, that labor force is kept on its toes and on the run, afraid enough of being deported to be prevented from any pesky unionism, standing up for their rights, or anything like that. Braceros were deported after 3 days if not hired, which forced them to accept wages and conditions of employment that they wouldn't otherwise. Undocumented migrants were even more vulnerable, and so labor standards were lowered for workers, both "legal" and "illegal."

Economists argue over whether immigrants are making the lives of white 'Americans' better or worse; assholes like Samuel Huntington ("The Hispanic Challenge") have convinced many white Americans that Mexican immigrants are a threat to some great and wonderful culture (arguing that it's the great American culture that has made the US so wealthy, ignoring centuries of exploitative military and economic policies). These arguments aren't about legal status but about race and social status. And meanwhile, agro-corporations, hotels, restaurants, landscaping firms, house-cleaning companies, and all the other businesses that rely on immigrant labor continue to profit.

## Economic Roots

It's important to understand immigration patterns as a manifestation of the global economy. Since European colonialism, dominant world powers have directly and indirectly controlled the economies of Latin American countries for the benefit of the rich and powerful. Through colonialism, European governments used force to directly control indigenous peoples land in order to use it for enterprises that benefitted those in power – for example, gold mining, oil-drilling, growing bananas or sugar or chocolate or coffee for export. This selective development destroyed local economies that were more sustainable and egalitarian. As nationalist movements grew, the people of each country fought revolutions, gaining political independence. But exploitation and domination did not end. Economic domination continues under a structure called neocolonialism. This includes institutions like the World

Bank and IMF, dominated by the US and European powers, using their economic power (hella money) to control the direction that the economies of the Global South take. So, again, the people are forced to use their land and resources in ways that are beneficial to those in power. With the US growing richer by forcing poverty upon most Latin American countries, is it any surprise that northward migration is increasing?

In 1993 the North American Free Trade Agreement was signed by governments of Canada, the US, and Mexico. NAFTA eliminated trade restrictions and tariffs, making it harder for governments to pass laws protecting workers, consumers, and the environment. Neoliberals promised that it would be beneficial for everyone, though about the only group that it has benefitted is transnational corporations and their share-holders. Many proponents even claimed that it would decrease immigration from Mexico to the United States by building Mexico's economy. However, exactly the opposite has happened – as soon as NAFTA was implemented there was a definite increase in migration. This happened for many simple reasons. First, the poor of Mexico almost immediately grew poorer. Second, the new industries that were created as a result of NAFTA tended to be more capital-intensive and less labor-intensive, thus creating a permanent unemployed labor force. And third, in a more conceptual sense, NAFTA simply opened the borders to capital. Given that capitalism treats everything, including human beings, as capital with a certain value, workers were bound to flow more freely, just like produce, manufactured products, currency, cocaine, etc.

This analysis has focused on large-scale waves of immigration and their causes. However, the fact is we are talking about real people, not just a campaign issue for US politicians, a success or failure of neoliberal economics. The fact is, transnational migration is devastating to the people who migrate. It destroys communities, breaks up families, puts more strain on already struggling home economies, and takes the lives of hundreds of border crossers each year. Immigrants of color in the US face racism, marginalization, exploitation, and systematic denial of their rights. Obviously immigrants must have some pretty strong reasons for coming to the US if they're willing to put so much on the line, yet the structural and economic causes of immigration are largely ignored in the mainstream debate.

This is the type of thing we should be focusing on, while looking at least briefly at the global economy to provide context. Of course immigration is not a plague on the US economy or a threat to a superior WASP culture. Nor is it a happy fun thing that benefits all parties. It is usually an attempt by poor people to move to where they can become slightly less poor. Maybe it's a family fleeing paramili-

taries (probably US-funded) who are trying to kill them. Immigrants to the US come for a huge variety of reasons from a huge number of sending countries.

## Today's Immigration "Crisis"

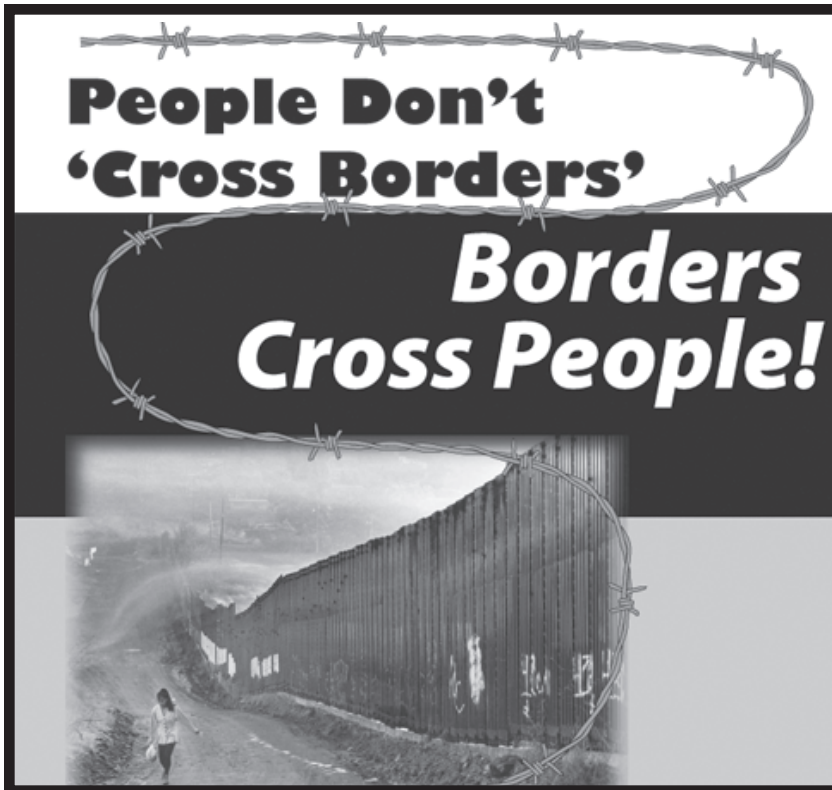
The immigration question exploded into public debate in late 2005 when the House of Representatives passed the Border Protection, Anti-Terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 (HR4437). This draconian bill sought to make it a federal felony to be in this country without papers, or to assist or serve any such person. Basically that means that any teachers, doctors, religious leaders, firefighters, etc., would have to get proof of citizenship or legal residence before they could do their jobs, or risk being prosecuted and imprisoned for "smuggling." It also called for building the Great Wall of America. These absurd proposals were passed 239 to 182 (not even close), with support from both parties. Luckily the bill never passed in the Senate, and every attempt at passing a bill into actual law since has failed.

The real effect of HR4437 was to disillusion and mobilize immigrants and their supporters like never before. People turned out to the marches in spring 2006 in truly historic numbers. Countless cities and small towns across the country with little history of activism or protest experienced record-breaking numbers. Over a

million marched in L.A. on May 1st. In Chicago marchers took over a freeway, and in Tijuana 1,000 protesters blocked the international border. In Santa Cruz about 5,000 took part in a two-part march – a mass of campus workers, students, and faculty gathered at the base of UCSC, blocking the entrance, and then marched down High St. to meet a second crowd that had marched downtown from the Beach Flats. As a participant I can't tell you how inspiring it was – to be in a crowd larger than any other I've seen in Santa Cruz, then to come down the hill to meet an even bigger crowd cheering and waving flags of all sorts.

These marches were not simply protesting HR4437. That stupid-ass bill was just the spark, while the protests were long due. People came together for all sorts of reasons and with all sorts of messages – some held American flags, some had Mexican flags, and many had signs saying "No Nations, No Borders." And the story did not end after May 1st. Since then the anti-immigrant side has mobilized itself as well, with the Minutemen and other vigilante border patrol groups growing rapidly.

The debate has gone back and forth in Congress with nothing actually coming of it, and meanwhile ICE (Immigration and Customs





Enforcement) has been raiding Latino communities around the country, including one raid on September 10, 2006 that swept up 107 residents of Santa Cruz, Watsonville, and Hollister. Witnesses reported ICE officers clearly racially profiling (no surprise) at flea markets and other places in the community, and most of those detained were deported within a few weeks without access to defense, without anything resembling justice.

As of August 2007 Congress has failed to accomplish anything regarding immigration. However, on August 10 the good folks over at the Department of Homeland Security released their new plan for immigration reform, focusing solely on border enforcement. According to their press release, the new plan includes 18,300 new Border Patrol agents, 370 miles of fencing, 105 camera and radar towers, and lots of other fun stuff by the end of 2008.

None of this crap – the debate in Congress, the divisions within parties, the protests, the counter-protests, the media sensationalism, the straight-up racism and dehumanization – none of it is very new. It's happened before and it will happen again the next time the political and economic environments take a turn for the worse, mixing with pre-existing sentiments of xenophobia and racism, nationalism, and the drive to protect racial and class privilege, all combine into a dank, hearty stew of anti-immigrant nonsense.

## Immigration Policy of the Past Century

**Quota Acts of 1921 and 1924** - Reacting to increased Eastern European immigration, established quotas for each country. Quotas were set to match proportions from before the current wave, thus favoring Anglos and maintaining ethnic “purity.” Severely limited Jewish emigres in the 30s and 40s.

**Bracero Program (1942-1964)** - Imported thousands of Mexicans as temporary laborers. They were given no citizenship nor permanent residency rights, and had very little protection in the workplace. Has been compared to Bush's guest worker program. Has also been compared to slavery.

**Operation Wetback (1954)** - Large-scale attack on Latinos living in the US, responding to an economic recession and the hysteria of the white citizenry. Local police were deputized to raid homes and places of business and community in order to round up as many Latinos as possible, deporting anyone who couldn't immediately produce documents, in many cases deporting parents and doing nothing about the children left alone at home. Note that the Bracero Program was still in full effect.

**Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965** - Abolished national quotas, replacing them with hemispheric limits, and later with one world quota, now set at 700,000 per year (with “unskilled” immigration capped at 10,000).

**California Prop 187 (1994)** - Initiative passed by 58.8% of voters, denied all public services to those who could not prove their legal status. Also required local police to investigate the status of all those suspected of being aliens. Ruled unconstitutional by a federal judge the same year, but likely inspired the 1996 federal act below, which went further.

**Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996** - Provided for immediate deportation of legal permanent residents convicted of minor offenses, such as shoplifting or drug possession. This was made retroactive, so it called

for deportation of all those previously convicted of such offenses. Also doubles Border Patrol to 10,000.

**USA PATRIOT Act (2001)** - Allowed immigrants to be denied admission based on suspected terrorist activity (read: unfavorable political beliefs or activism). Caused a huge amount of harassment and imprisonment of legal and illegal immigrants

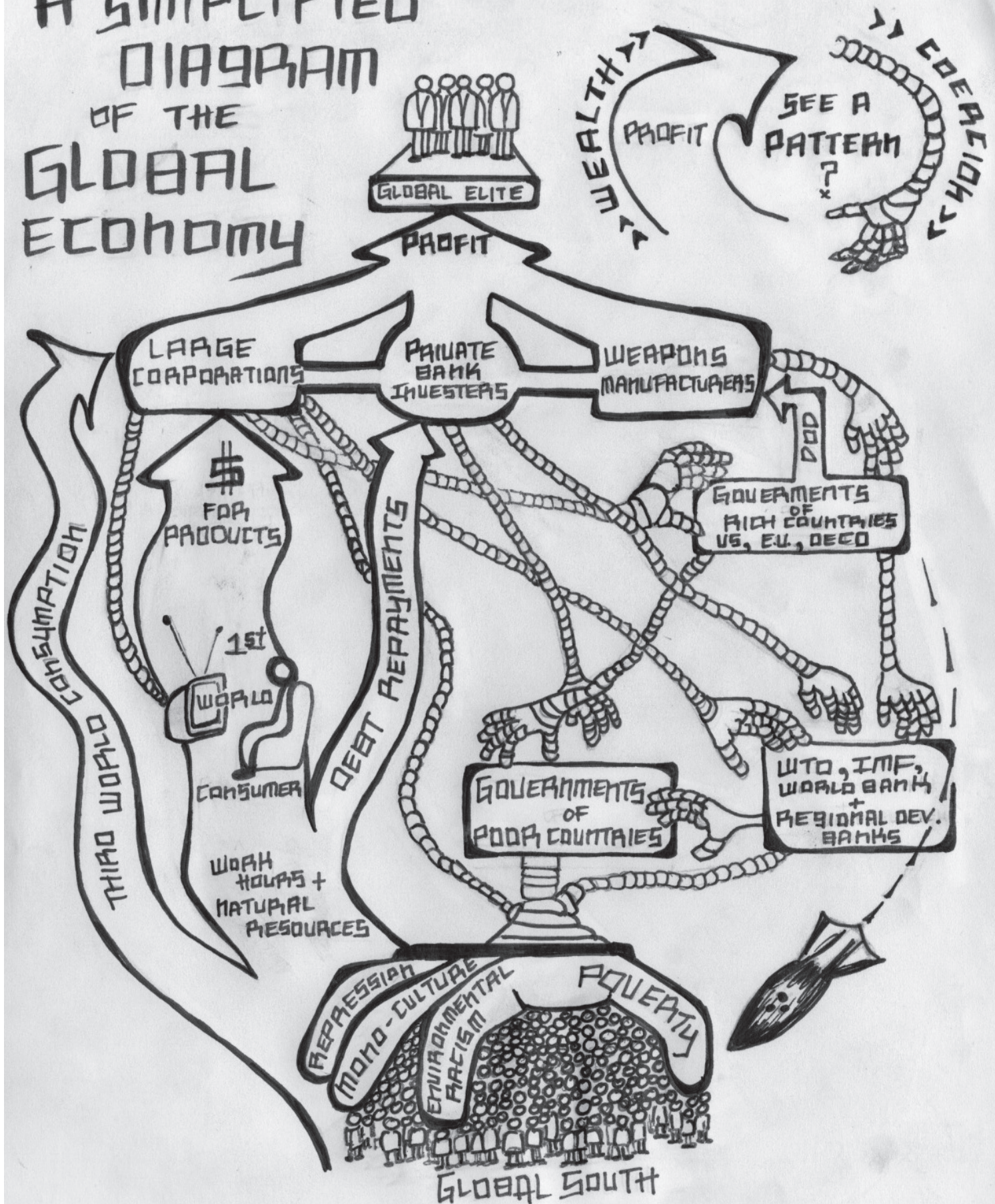
**2007 Border Security Reform** - After repeated failures by Congress to pass any immigration reform, the Dept. of Homeland Security announced a series of “reforms” in the sphere of enforcement, including adding 18,300 Border Patrol agents and 370 miles of fencing, as well as sending “no-match” letters to all large employers and requiring them to fire workers.



**May 1st, 2006 : Mass Demonstrations for Worker and Immigrant Rights take over Santa Cruz**



# A SIMPLIFIED DIAGRAM OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY





# **GUIDE TO THE GLOBAL ECONOMY:**

*Navigating Neo-liberal Economics and  
Neo-conservative Politics ("NEOCONSERVIBERALISM")*

**WITH YOUR HOSTS MAIA AND ERIC**

***"THE MILITARY AND THE MONETARY, THE MONETARY AND THE MILITARY,  
GET TOGETHER WHENEVER IT'S NECESSARY..."***

**-- Gil Scott-Heron**

Looking back, it seems like in 1999-2001 protesting corporate globalization was the big thing. Then by late 2001-2003, protesting war was all the rage. Since then we've protested multiple wars and occupations, Republicans, regional trade pacts, localized labor and environmental abuses, you name it.

Are resisters just fickle? Do we just like complaining about something, anything? What do corporate globalization and war have to do with each other? Are they two contradictory paradigms, or two sides of the same phenomenon? I'd say the latter, and its name is imperialism. And if imperialism is the bread-- that is, the architectural base of the sandwich-- then capitalism and militarism go together like PB&J. One strategy's "soft" and the other's "hard"; they're often identified with the political rhetoric of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism respectively. But at bottom they're complementary strategies. Only the emphasis changes, along with the dominant ideologies used to legitimate them.



**For more Information on  
the Global Economy:**

*Runaway World*  
-- Anthony Giddens

*Globalization/Anti-  
Globalization*  
-- David Held and  
Anthony McGrew

*No Nonsense Guide to  
Globalization*  
-- Wayne Ellwood

[www.corpwatch.org](http://www.corpwatch.org)

[www.globalexchange.org](http://www.globalexchange.org)

William Hartung in *The Nation*

# PART ONE:

## WHY NEOLIBERAL

We can't pretend to give a comprehensive explanation of the changes in the global economy in the past 50 years, and the distribution of geopolitical clout. What we can do, in a ridiculously shallow way is to simply try and convey that economics *matter*.

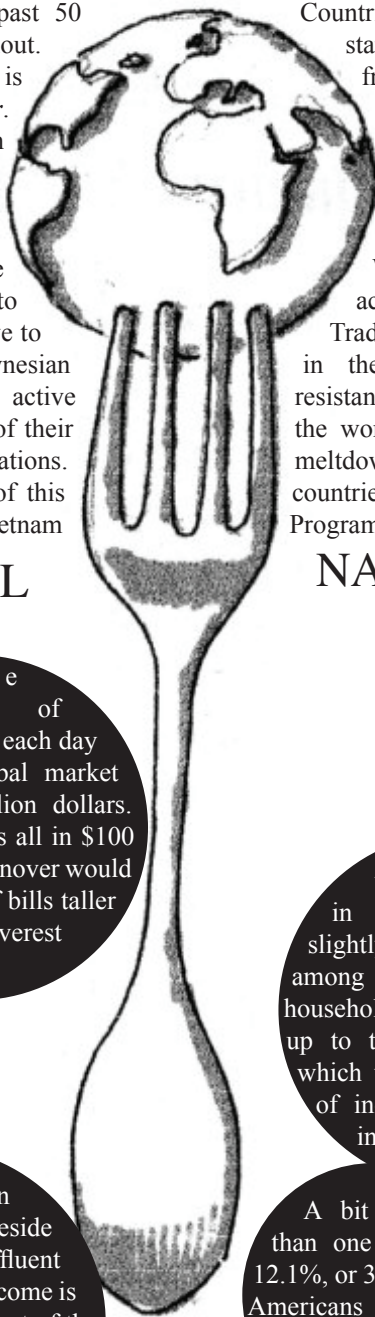
In 1944, after WW II, the dominant western powers gathered to write the Bretton Woods treaty. They created the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT, precursor to the World Trade Organization, or the WTO) in order to reconstruct the "free world" in ways most conducive to capitalist expansion. This was done according to the Keynesian principles--in other words, the principal of an active state guiding the national economy and the value of their currency to provide for predicatability in trading relations.

In the late 1960s to early 1970s the growth of this system hit some roadblocks in the form of the Vietnam

## ECONOMICS MATTER

War and the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) oil crisis which forced the US to remove the gold standard. This placed the global economy in a sort of free fall that allowed the emergence of what's known as the *neo-liberal paradigm*. This is based upon the idea of downplaying the activity of the state and ostensibly letting the global economy be governed by the "invisible laws" of the market itself.

In the mid-1990s, the emergence of the WTO (amping up the scope of the GATT) and the activation of NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement) applied these neoliberal principles in their most extreme form. Almost immediately, resistance became impossible to ignore in many parts of the world. Equally impossible to ignore were economic meltdowns in many African and Latin American countries subject to IMF, imposed Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), most dramatically in Argentina in 2001.



### GLOBAL

In 1960, the world's richest fifth had 30 times more income than the poorest fifth. By 1997, this disparity more than doubled and stands at 74:1.

The amount of money traded each day within the global market is over one trillion dollars. If this money was all in \$100 bills, the daily turnover would equal a stack of bills taller than Mt. Everest

In less developed countries (LDCs), 30,000 children die every day from preventable diseases. To provide health care to all of the LDCs children that it would cost \$13 billion a year. While this is quite a sum of money, it is \$4 billion less than what is spent on pet food each year in Western Europe and Japan.

There are 900 million people that reside within the world's affluent areas. Their average income is \$27,450 per year. The rest of the 5.1 billion people who make the up the remaining population bring home on average of only \$3,890 a year.

The world's 900 million affluent people are responsible for: 86% of the world's consumption expenditures, 79% of the world's income, 47% of carbon emissions, 58% of the world's total energy consumption, and 74% of the total telephone lines.

The world's poorest 1.2 billion people are only responsible for 1.3% of the world's total consumption expenditures, 4% of the world's energy consumption, 1.5% of total telephone lines, and 5% of the world's fish and meat consumption.

### NATIONAL

At \$5.15 an hour, the US federal minimum wage is 30% less than it was in 1968, after adjustments are made for inflation. This means that with the wages paid today, workers are able to buy 30% less goods than they were able to in 1968. (SO MUCH FOR PROGRESS)

In the US, income in 2000 was only slightly less concentrated among the top 1% of households than during the run-up to the Great Depression, which was the worst period of income concentration in the last century.

In 2000, the top 1% held 21.7% of the nation's income.

A bit more than one in ten--12.1%, or 34.6 million Americans in the year of 2002 lived below the poverty line.

In the years of 1989-2000 the average income of a CEO increased by 79% with other forms of compensation increasing by a ridiculous 342%. In 1965, CEOs were paid roughly 26 times more than a typical worker. In 2003, CEOs are paid 185 times more than the average worker.

In 1929, the top 1% held 22.5% of the nation's income.



# PART TWO: WHY NEOCONSERVATIVE POLITICS MATTER



*“War is the health of the state.”*

**-- Randolph Bourne**

In the early 21st century, another ideology came (back) to prominence.

With SAPs imploding, countries in the global south are defaulting on debts and undergoing the slow attrition of economics. Global consensus around the neoliberal economic program has started slipping. (At the Cancun ministerial in 2003 the G-20 group of major global south nations started using the WTO to talk back to the US and EU, demanding that their concerns be incorporated into any negotiations.)

So, in order for the North (dominated by the US) to maintain access to and control of certain key resources and markets, its had to do two things, often connected to each other. First, its fallen back on more specific bilateral or regional trade agreements, like CAFTA (the Central American Free Trade Agreement). Second, its amped up the use of military force. And in order to get the necessary popular support and legitimacy this requires justification by imperial mission, defense of civilization, a smackdown of good and evil.

Once the interests of corporate capital are overtly identified with the glory of the Nation, then we, as the Citizens of the Nation, are “invited” to link our loyalties and identities with it. After all “our way of life,” the one that needs defending from

“evil-doers,” is consumer capitalism. We’re told it’s our patriotic duty to consume, thereby doing

our part to increase corporate profits while defying terrorism with our indomitable spirits.

And war is one of the most potent ways to generate this kind of loyalty. Patriotism is a passionate commitment to protect the state and its economic interests, which are portrayed as being under threat. Not to mention that war is arguably a much more straightforward way to claim geopolitical dominance than through stealth economics-- though in the long term perhaps more precarious because it makes people madder, faster.

Thus, after a few years of musing over whether the nation-state was obsolete, and irrelevant to the expansion of transnational capital, the national flag has recharged its potency as a unifying symbol -- thanks to the presence of convenient external scapegoats. Imperialism is a transnationalist system carried out in the name of the nation.

## OPERATION IRAQI FREE TRADE

George Bush launched the invasion of Iraq in March of 2003. Since 2003, the US has signed Trade and Investment Framework Agreements (TIFAs) with Bahrain, Yemen, UAE, Oman, Kuwait...and of course Iraq. Bush aims for a US-Middle East Free Trade Area to be created by 2013. In the words of Robert Zoellick, a former US Trade Representative who recently resigned as Deputy Secretary of State, “Earlier enemies learned that America

is the arsenal of democracy. Today’s enemies will learn that America is the economic engine for freedom, opportunity and development. To that end, U.S. leadership in promoting the international economic and trading system is vital. Trade is about more than economic efficiency. It promotes the values at the heart of this protracted struggle.”

And, “The President’s vision is clear. Trade liberalization and increased economic integration will generate growth, create opportunity and promote security throughout the Middle East.”





# WHOM DOES THE EMPIRE SERVE?

Oil companies, defense contractors, corporations specializing in construction and support for oil production or military logistics, and the wealthy politicians they own.

For Example:

## **Halliburton...**

...provides oil services and logistics. Subsidiary Kellogg Brown & Root provides military support services and received \$8 billion in 2003 alone in contracts for Iraq reconstruction. KBR, which received a no-bid five year contract to put out oil fires even before the invasion began. Now currently under criminal investigation for overcharging the government by \$67 million for shipping in gasoline to Iraq from Kuwait and for receiving \$11 million in kickbacks from subcontractors. Received \$16 million to build prison in Guantanamo Bay. Still pulling in profits from 1990s Balkan war contracts. VP Dick Cheney was Halliburton President and CEO until taking office and still holds stock options worth over \$10 million dollars.



## **Chevron-Texaco...**

...along with ExxonMobil, was part of Caspian oil consortium exploring untapped reserves in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan.

Has since bought Unocal. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice was previously on the board of directors for Chevron, serving as special consultant on Central Asia.

## **Boeing...**

...number two in "Big Three". Makes 747s, "smart" bombs, fighter plans, missile components and Apache helicopters. Received \$16.6 billion in military contracts in fiscal 2002, \$17.1 billion in 2004. Largest US exporter. Like the other big defense contractors, has adapted marketing strategies and application of products for use in domestic security. Under investigation for numerous cases of corruption and influence-peddling.



## **General Electric...**

...world's largest company by market share. Owns Boeing. Makes jet engines for both Lockheed Martin and Boeing and received \$2.8 billion in military contracts in 2002. Also builds nuclear reactors internationally. Owns NBC, Telemundo, and msnbc.com (jointly with Microsoft) among many other media outlets. Currently battling to prove that the Superfund law requiring industrial toxic waste producers to clean up their messes is unconstitutional.



## **Bechtel...**

...has built oil pipelines in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Canada, Alaska, Colombia, Libya. Tried to privatize the water supply in Cochabamba, Bolivia in 2003 but backed off due to massive public protest. Won initial closed-bid contract to rebuild Iraq's oil infrastructure for \$680 million. Chairman/CEO Riley Bechtel was appointed in February 2004 to President Bush's advisory committee on international trade. Other former Bechtel executives include Reagan's Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. Last year, the UC partnered with Bechtel to manage the Los Alamos and Livermore nuclear labs.

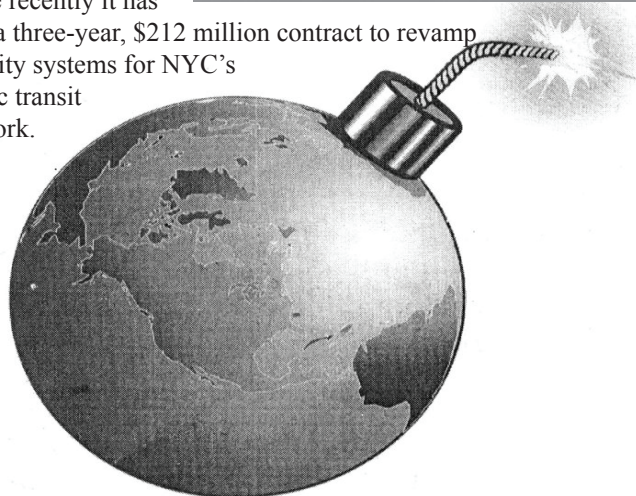


## **Unocal...**

...since the mid 1990s, worked on building natural gas pipeline from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan and Pakistan. Former Unocal executive Zalmay Khalilzad was appointed special envoy to Afghanistan after the 2001 invasion, and currently serves as ambassador to Iraq.

## **Lockheed Martin...**

...number one in the defense industry "Big Three." Makes fighter planes, spy planes, missiles and nuclear weapons. Received \$17 billion in military contracts in fiscal 2002 and \$20.7 billion in 2004. Former Lockheed VP Bruce Jackson chaired the Coalition for the Liberation of Iraq which promoted the Bush war plan. More recently it has won a three-year, \$212 million contract to revamp security systems for NYC's public transit network.





# COMMUNITY AGROECOLOGY NETWORK



## LA RED AGROECOLOGIA COMUNITARIA

by Hannah Buoye

*Oh, what's in a Cup of Coffee?: Agroecology and The CAN Community!*

When attempting to imbibe enough caffeine to counter last night's hang over and get you through core class, the last thing on your mind are the social, environmental, political and economic issues brewed within your Costa Rican breakfast blend light roast. High in caffeine, slightly acidic in flavor, the drink you are consuming is more than just the fuel that will keep your bloodshot eyes open. But you can let your guilt subside a little with that headache—coffee, despite its history of crisis, does have a future of hope.

The second most traded commodity after oil, coffee is grown in the equatorial regions of the world, mainly by small-scale farmers. While coffee is a high-risk crop that is subject to price fluctuations and often grown in conditions detrimental to the environment—including a need for high chemical inputs, deforestation and reduced biodiversity as mountainsides are cleared to increase production—developing countries still rely on the commodity's cultivation.

The US alone consumes around 2.3 billion pounds of coffee a year, according to Trans Fair USA, which is more than any other country. While demand for coffee has increased exponentially in consuming countries, partly due to the specialty market and coffee-drinking culture created by companies like Starbucks and Pete's, the financial return and community support is not always justly returned to the farmers and communities producing the coffee beans. The market price of beans has decreased due to structural adjustment encouraged by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund [for more on the global economy, see pgs 52-55.]. With overproduction, international price deregulations, and the disregard for the environmental issues created through monoculture practices, the coffee farmer is stuck in a difficult financial paradox—reliance on production for export, while unable to create profitable returns.

Due to a long chain traveled by coffee on its way into your cup, consumers do not always consider the place that it came from. Coffee is mainly exported relatively unprocessed as 'green,' with the capital-intensive, value-adding processes of roasting and packaging done in consuming countries. Most farmers receive \$0.90-\$1.31 for a pound of beans, while people pay anywhere

from \$7-\$14 a pound for roasted beans. As the coffee market quickly grew farmers all over the world jumped on the bandwagon, often favoring input-intensive monoculture farming practices that created a global surplus of coffee. The International Coffee Organization formed to oversee the market and ensure that farmers received fair prices, but the market security crumbled when the US pulled out. A crash in coffee prices followed, becoming commonly known as the 'coffee crisis.' During the coffee crisis, many farmers found production costs exceeded the market price, leaving many farmers in debt and to some cooperatives in bankruptcy.

Currently four major companies—Nestle, Kraft, Sarah Lee and Proctor & Gamble—control the majority of production, packaging and distribution of coffee with farmers gaining little in comparison to these companies' profits. Coffee shops can sell their coffee at a set price of \$3.50 a latte while farmers are at the mercy of supply and demand.

In the last decade, the fair trade movement has emerged as a recognized reference for consumers, who see the "Fair-Trade Certified" label as a guarantee that the people producing their food are receiving fair prices and means to support their communities in socially, economically, and ecologically sustainable ways. In addition to coffee, fair trade labels can be found on chocolate, sugar, bananas, rice, quinoa, tea and other exports). Business interests have capitalized on fair trade, however, turning premiums into profits, leaving the farmers, in the case of coffee, with only the guarantee of 1.31 (recently adjusted to inflation), further alienating farmers' abilities to equally participate in the global market.

Fair-Trade products are facing a growing challenge, however: during the trip from the Global South to the Global North, [see pg 52] the commodity travels through a vast chain of middlemen that export, wholesale, or roast the beans before they are priced and placed on the shelf or in the espresso machine. In the end, much of the profit stays with roasters and retailers, while only \$1.31 per pound is guaranteed to return to the farming cooperatives.

The Community Agroecology Network, a unique non-profit organization based on campus seeks to relieve this growing disparity by directly linking rural coffee-farming communities with the many consumers here in Santa Cruz and throughout the US.

Founded in 2001 by UCSC Environmental Studies Professor Steve Gliessman and his wife Robbie Jaffe, CAN strives to link farming communities directly with consumers, promoting a producer-controlled market for coffee. CAN has set up a "fair-trade direct" system with coffee farming cooperatives across Central America.

Coffee from the CoopePueblos Cooperative in Agua Buena, Costa Rica, is roasted, packaged and shipped directly to the United States. Coffee is also available from cooperatives in Nicaragua and El Salvador who ship their beans to be roasted locally by the Santa Cruz Coffee Roasting Company. Available through mail order and at local Farmer's Markets, with the UCSC dining halls as its largest customer, the coffee that CAN sells provides a return of at least \$3 per pound to the farming cooperative.

Unlike voluntary labeling, such as fair trade and organic, coffee sold through CAN retains a direct link to the producing communities it came from. With CAN, the cooperative receives 85 percent of the profits, money they can invest directly into co-op infrastructure and community development.

In addition to creating a direct market between coffee-growing communities and consumers, CAN also provides research opportunities abroad for university students and faculty. Helping to target the environmental and developmental issues surrounding coffee production, CAN focuses on researching and teaching agroecological principles based on sustainability and community in order to empower local farmers.

During the Coffee Crisis of 1989, communities, such as Agua Buena, in Costa Rica, experienced a drastic drop in the price of beans due to the dismantling of the International Coffee Organization (ICO) with US withdrawal. The local coop, Coopabuena went bankrupt and couldn't pay the 400 families it served for the harvest year. The poverty in town created an exodus of young men to urban areas while other farmers, giving up on coffee, converted their land to pasture. For those farmers still dedicated to coffee, long-practiced agricultural methods were abandoned for the high-chemical input, high-yield methods of the so-called "Green Revolution," which left farmers depending on expensive fertilizer and pesticides that brought high debt and ecological devastation.

Roberto Jimenez, a local farmer and long time partner with the CAN internship program, has adopted more sustainable farming practices to recuperate from the damage done to soils by the conversion to pasture and non-shade grown coffee. Jimenez's coffee is now grown in the shade of a forest canopy rich in biodiversity, incorporating food-producing trees, such as bananas, which enhance soil quality and provide edible produce for the family. The coffee gains nutrients from the leaf-matter that falls, accumulates and decomposes into fertilizer around the coffee plants. In addition, the trees provide important habitat for birds. A smaller coop, Co- (continued on next page)

pePueblos, dedicated to sustainable farming practices has been formed to replace the one that collapsed during the crisis.

### A strengthening community

In May 2007, Roberto and his wife Naomi, with Costa Rica internship coordinator Julieta Mendez Rojas, visited UCSC and the local community, speaking with and listening to students, community members, and coffee aficionados. The visit was a key step in connecting producers and consumers.

By creating a direct market for these communities' coffee beans and encouraging a relationship through internships and research, CAN establishes a bridge between cultures by bringing the product closer to its consumer, Encouraging the use of sustainable practices and insuring the reinvestment of profits into the community, coffee producers are able to maintain their livelihoods without detriment to their ecological or social communities.

CAN has worked closely with the UCSC dining halls, and Perk Coffee carts now serve CAN coffee. While we can consciously choose to buy fair trade and organic coffees at New Leaf, it is the larger consumers, like schools, that make the difference in terms of creating a demand for fairly produced and purchased coffee.

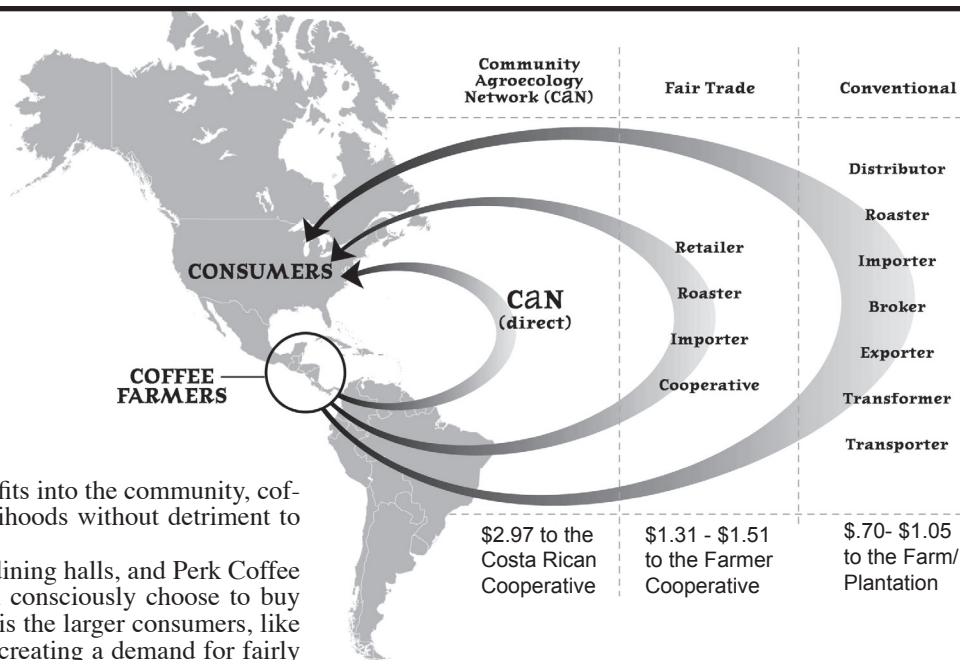
Starting this year, CAN will be introduced to new communities at Cabrillo College in Soquel, and many colleges, including UC Berkeley, UC Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara City College, Evergreen University in Washington, and potentially other universities in California.

So sip your coffee consciously and remember the path of your bean and the people who produce it. As the farmers say, "Coffee is life."

*To purchase CAN coffee, inquire about internship opportunities, or to learn more, visit the CAN Headquarters at A2 in the Village, located across from the UCSC Organic Farm in the lower quarry. CAN meetings are held every Tuesday at 6pm in Building A3.*

*For more info about CAN visit [www.communityagroecolgy.net](http://www.communityagroecolgy.net)*

*For more information about Fair Trade, visit [www.transfairusa.org](http://www.transfairusa.org), [www.fairtrade.net](http://www.fairtrade.net), [www.oxfam.org](http://www.oxfam.org)*



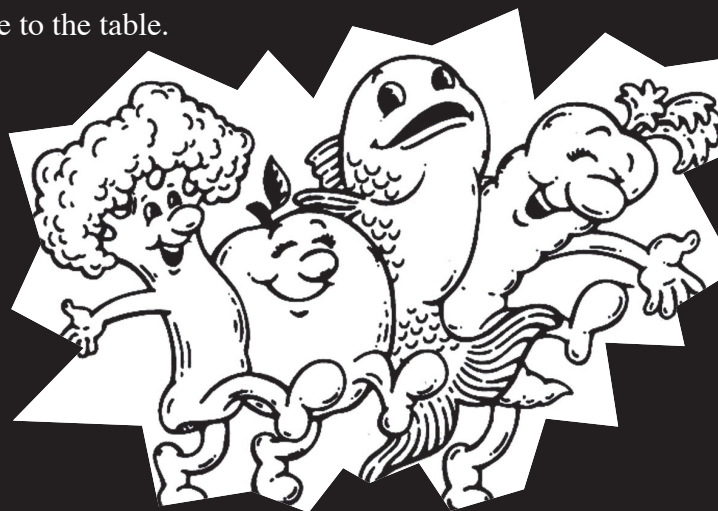
## Food Systems Working Group:

We are changing the food at UCSC, and invite you to come to the table.

*The Food Systems Working Group (FSWG) is working to bring "sustainable food" to campus dining halls and promote education & awareness through a collaborative process of input, planning, and action implementation.*

### Why We Work To Bring Sustainable Food to Campus Dining Halls:

- To provide students with healthier, fresher food
- To support the local economy by purchasing food grown by local farmers
- To reduce the use of fossil fuels and CO2 emissions by reducing the distance food must be transported
- To reduce local use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides by supporting organic farmers
- To support socially responsible treatment of food system workers
- To support producer cooperatives in the global south through purchase of Fair Trade goods



To attend upcoming meetings and find out about exciting campus and community events or for more info on sustainable food system initiatives at UCSC please look online at the farm to college link at <http://casfs.ucsc.edu> or contact FSWG facilitators:

Tim Galarneau, Food Systems Working Group Coordinator: [tgalarne@ucsc.edu](mailto:tgalarne@ucsc.edu)  
 Nancy Vail, Farm to College Coordinator at CASFS: [navail@ucsc.edu](mailto:navail@ucsc.edu)

*FSWG includes representatives from: The Center for Agroecology & Sustainable Food Systems (CASFS), Community Agroecology Network (CAN), Community Alliance with Family Farmers (CAFF), Students for Organic Solutions (SOS), Program in Community & Agroecology (PICA), Campus Purchasing, Education For Sustainable Living Program (ESLP), Campus Dining Services, Kresge Cooperative, Interested Faculty, Monterey Bay Organic Farming Consortium (MBOFC), Undergraduate & Graduate students.*



# The Garden Is Not a Metaphor

by Joy Moore  
CASFFS Apprentice & Urban Gardener

*"I stepped out my door to see concrete cement asphalt and no trees. I felt, knew we had left the garden, intent on destroying it! Why? Can we come, one and all, back to the garden and never leave again!"*

I've lived in Berkeley, California since 1969; the south part of the town. I came to Berkeley as a transplant from New York City attracted by a city known for its love of freedom and commitment to racial equality and egalitarianism. I went to school, worked and raised a family there and came to love the place. Thirty years later, in 1999, my first grandson, Sidney Paul, was born in Berkeley. That same year the City of Berkeley's health department released a status report on the health of its citizens. There was a big surprise contained within that report and it was bombshell for me, my family and my community. As an African American, my grandson, statistically, had a 40% greater chance of dying before the age of 40 than children who were European American and lived in the more affluent parts of the city. Needless to say this was a devastating shock; one that galvanized me and others to try and figure out how and why this was happening, here, in one of the most enlightened and progressive cities in the world. The Berkeley school District had been one of the first in the nation to voluntarily integrate and elect a Black Mayor and a diverse, representative city council. Yet with all the hype about equal opportunity and access, somehow my grandson and others like him, faced a shortened life span and I had to know why and do something about it.

I began to ask questions and take stock of my neighborhood, the south side. What were our strengths and resources, what was lacking and needed? In a nutshell, we had an abundance of liquor stores, and a lack of grocery stores with very few opportunities to buy and eat good wholesome food. And, although there is a farmers' market on MLK and Derby streets every Tuesday afternoon, few African Americans used it.

Why? I began to see a possible root cause for the early demise of so many and came to the conclusion that we had to go back to basics. I looked around and I noticed there were no trees, no gardens nothing growing. Struggling for solutions and seeking help I became aware of a new organization that was also concerned with the issues raised in the health status report, the Berkeley Food Policy Council (BFPC). At the meetings of BFPC I met several people who seemed to feel the way I did about the conditions of living in some parts of Berkeley and who too noticed the lack of access to good, fresh produce and how important that lack of access was. They spoke about the garden and the need to water the edges of the garden to insure the overall health of the

**"LIVING HERE HAS OPENED MY EYES TO THE LACK OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN THIS COMMUNITY AND ESPECIALLY IN THE UC SYSTEM"**

garden. Who are these people, I wondered. And where is this garden they're talking about? It turns out that they had graduated from an apprenticeship at a farm and garden program at University of California at Santa Cruz's Center for Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems (CASFS). The way they talked, worked and lived caught my attention and I formed an alliance with them and changed my life and ultimately my community. Through the work of the BFPC and others we began to make significant change and began building a sustainable, food system in and around south and west Berkeley. We created an organization called Farm Fresh Choice which sells affordable, fresh, organic produce at after school programs and recreation programs every week. We developed employment opportunities for youth in our community and have begun to re-teach people how to buy, store, cook and eat green wholesome food again. We have created greater access for people to this good food, although we needed more. There grew within me a

great desire to save my community and I began to have visions of a beautiful garden where I live that was open and available to all. Though I knew nothing about growing food or how to create a garden, I became obsessed with the idea of creating a garden and convinced that the garden could be the solution to many of the ills we all faced. Again, I looked around for help and I was reminded of the farm and garden program at UCSC.

In April of this year I moved to Santa Cruz and became an apprentice at the Farm and garden program CASFS at UCSC for six months. I hoped to work hard, learn a lot, and go back home and save my people with my newfound knowledge.

Though I have visited Santa Cruz many times, living here has opened my eyes to the lack of ethnic diversity in this community and especially in the UC system. I chose to move here and learn to grow food sustainably out of concern for the health of my family and community. I thought that by obtaining this knowledge and sharing it I could affect a great change and provide my community with the tools and information to grow good food and thereby improve the overall health and prosperity of my community. However, after living here in Santa Cruz for the past three months, I've come to question the wisdom of my decision. I question whether I can grow and thrive in this monolithic culture called Santa Cruz. I'm reminded of the garden again. I believe a beautiful, successful garden has variety of color and shape, a plethora of different smells and sizes. How can Santa Cruz's garden continue to grow and thrive with one dominate culture, one ethnicity --all pale? I'm lonely and I want to go home, yet I know I will remain here until I receive my certificate in order to build a garden that reflects the city I love. I'm sad that the place that has spawned so many gardening visionaries is also an example of an exclusionary community. I plow on, dreaming of the day I go back to Berkeley and re-build a garden that will welcome and sustain us all. The garden is life! Come back to it and live!



# THE CORPORATE MEDIA MENACE

For a true democracy to work, people need easy access to independent and diverse sources of news and information. But the last two decades have given rise to an unprecedented corporate consolidation of mass media. By 2006, just six corporations emerged to dominate all media outlets including: television, radio, newspapers, magazines, music, publishing and film.

of anarchy and the swords of thugs.'

These corporate media outlets are legally responsible to their shareholders to maximize profits; lest anyone doubt that a conflict of interest might create media bias. Consider the following:

more likely to disclose obvious mistakes.

NBC is owned by General Electric, which also owns Westinghouse, which collaborated with Boeing and Northrop Grumman to produce the B-2 Bomber and the F-18 Fighter Jet, two planes that have been involved extensively in U.S. military campaigns including the Kosovo War in 1999, Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan and Operation Iraqi Freedom in the ongoing Iraq War.\*

Corporate ties from the media to the military-industrial complex are commonplace now, forcing us into an era where information can no longer be trusted. As these corporations consolidate their holdings, fewer and fewer individuals are involved in how the public receives their information about the world around them. This amounts to a populace that is under- or misinformed.\*\*

\* "General Electric has designed, manufactured and supplied parts and maintenance for nearly every major weapons system used by the U.S. during the Gulf War- including the Patriot and Tomahawk Cruise missiles (Still being used by the U.S. as 'first strike' weapons) and several planes and spy satellite systems..." (From [www.fair.org](http://www.fair.org) "The Military-Industrial-Media Complex")

\*\* So when the correspondents from NBC and other major news organizations would "praise the performance of U.S. weapons, they were extolling equipment made by GE, the corporation that pays their salaries." (From Unreliable Sources by Norman Solomon and Martin A. Lee)

**The six mass media conglomerates are:**  
General Electric, CBS Corporation, AOL Time Warner, VIACOM, News Corporation, The Walt Disney Company

- For a comprehensive guide to the multi-media holdings of these corporations:  
[www.thenation.com/doc/20060703/mediachart](http://www.thenation.com/doc/20060703/mediachart)

- For more information on corporate domination of the media: [www.fair.org](http://www.fair.org)

## THERE ARE ALTERNATIVES!

In addition to the three local media outlets introduced on the next page, consider checking out these alternative news websites:

[www.democracynow.org](http://www.democracynow.org)  
[www.commondreams.org](http://www.commondreams.org)  
[www.alternet.org](http://www.alternet.org)  
[www.truthout.org](http://www.truthout.org)  
[www.ipsnews.net](http://www.ipsnews.net)



# independent media

## Free Radio Santa Cruz

**www.freakradio.org 101.1 FM**

Free Radio Santa Cruz 101.1 fm is your local, unlicensed, micropower radio station. Some call us pirates, but we see what we do as reclaiming what belongs to all of us collectively, the airwaves. Radio can be an easy, cheap and fun way to communicate with each other on a grassroots level. Unfortunately, powerful interests have increasingly consolidated their control of the airwaves for their own profit, at the expense of the people and the free flow of information. Increasing corporate control of the media was one of the main reasons that Free Radio Santa Cruz was formed in March of 1995 by a group of local folks who were working with Food Not Bombs. They were dissatisfied with the way that the Santa Cruz Sentinel and other local media were reporting stories about events and protests, often telling the story almost solely from the point of view of the police department. So they got together to see what they could do to address this problem, and the idea of a radio station came up. So, they decided to pool their meager resources and buy a transmitter. And Free Radio Santa Cruz was born.

Over the years, the station has operated out of a kitchen, a bike cart, a big tricycle, the basement of a medical marijuana co-op, a backyard shed, etc. After ten years on the air, in September of 2004, we were raided by the FCC and dozens of heavily armed US Marshals. Following the raid and the seizure of all of our equipment, we immediately began streaming again on the web, and in less than three weeks we were back on the FM dial at 101.1 again. The huge

and very positive community response we received during and after the raid was highly encouraging to us and enormously helpful in getting back to broadcasting. This community support was instrumental partly because we are a completely noncommercial radio station and have absolutely no ads or underwriting. We are supported by our programmers and donations from the community.

Some folks ask us why we don't just get a license. Well, talking to the airwaves without a license is not only a statement against increasing corporate control of communication, it is a necessity. Licenses are prohibitively expensive to obtain, even where they can be applied for. Additionally, for some in the Free Radio collective, a broadcasting license is considered undesirable since that requires involvement with and regulation by the state. (Some of us don't think that we should have to have a license just to talk to one another.) Furthermore, there is little or no licensing for low watt stations like ours in most urban areas. Basically, even if we wanted a license and could afford one, we would not be able to obtain one under existing laws.

Free Radio Santa Cruz invites you to join with us in continuing to create independent, truly non-commercial, community media. Tune your radio dial to 101.1 fm, go to our website [freakradio.org](http://freakradio.org) where you can listen to our live stream, see our full schedule, contact us, and even apply for your own show. Programs include excellent, independently produced news from a local, national and international perspective, lots of great music and local talk shows, many of which are unavailable anywhere else on your dial. Join us in standing up for community control of the airwaves. As Jello Biafra says, "if you don't like the media, become the media."

## make media, make trouble.

Indybay.org—the website of the SF Bay Area and Santa Cruz Independent Media Centers—is a radical news site where every reader can also be a reporter.

It's a place for you to learn about what's going on in diverse communities all over Northern California and beyond. It's also a space for you to easily publish your own reports, articles, photos, audio & video. Build the social justice movement by sharing your experiences and reflections with the world.

Every reader is a reporter. Get active. Get involved today!



## Third World and Native American Students Press

**TWANAS has a 25 year history of being a collective student of color publication at UCSC. We believe that TWANAS is valuable and necessary because it provides a voice for UCSC students of color, which can give strength to teach the communities represented. In order for TWANAS to truly represent UCSC students of color, we need the participation of every community of color at UCSC. If you share our vision for collective action, we invite you to join us.**

*Send us your articles, photos,  
artwork, and poetry!*

**To submit content and learn how to  
get involved:  
[TWANASPRESS@GMAIL.COM](mailto:TWANASPRESS@GMAIL.COM)**

The following three articles were written by current and former collective members. Each author explores a different idea about revolutionary theory and practice, and their varying opinions reflect just a few of the many active debates among those in the movement for social justice. As always, we encourage you, as you read the following articles, to consider their arguments as part of a much larger discussion and make your own conclusions!

# Case for Socialism

by Alessandro Tinonga of the International Socialist Organization

## Socialism Not Capitalism

There are two worlds that exist on our planet: one of wealth and luxury, the other of sweat and strife. One of the powerful and another of the powerless. The latter is a world drowning in poverty. More than a third of the world's people, 2.8 billion, live on less than two dollars a day. 1.2 billion people live on less than one dollar a day. Look to the U.S. and picture is still stark:

- In 2002, 34.6 million Americans (12.1% of the population) lived below the poverty line, and 8.5 million of them had jobs. Overall, Black poverty is double that of whites
- 50 million Americans have no healthcare
- The minimum wage in 2005 was below what it was fifty years ago

While the majority of the world's people suffer, the elites revel in prosperity. The assets of the world's top three billionaires are greater than those of the poorest 600 million people on the planet. Half of the world's 587 billionaires are Americans, whose wealth increased collectively by \$500 billion in 2003 alone. They possess the same amount of wealth as the combined gross domestic product of the world's poorest 170 countries combined. In the U.S., statistics reveal a society split between a filthy rich elite and struggling masses. On average, CEOs in 2004 made 431 times what a production worker made up from a ratio from 42:1 in 1982. The top 20 percent of American households control 83 percent of the nation's wealth, while the bottom 80 percent of Americans control only about 17 percent of the nation's wealth.

Under capitalism, these worlds exist together. The ruling-class owns the mass of wealth while the billions of workers and poor struggle to get by. It is important to understand that the world of the rich necessitates the world of the poor. Rich and powerful, the capitalists, own and control the means of production; mines, factories, stores, media conglomerates, etc. and workers produce their profits. By employing workers, driving down their wages, making healthcare inaccessible, speeding up the assembly line, extending working hours, Capitalists make their profits through exploitation. This is why today corporate profits are skyrocketing while the standard of living for the entire world, including the U.S. continues to plummet. Despite the fact that modern industry produces enough food to feed the entire world's population (according to UN surveys) 16 million children die every year from starvation. Instead of feeding the people of the world, Capitalists allow billions of tons of grain to rot because it is not profitable to give it to the hungry.

Exploitation for profit knows no borders. Through institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the most profitable nations in the world try to curb international trade and finance to suit their needs. For instance, the ruling classes of Mexico, Canada, and the U.S. use treaties like NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) to expand markets and finance investments by lowering the standard of living by breaking down laws and tariffs. The effects on NAFTA have been devastating. While the Mexican Government privatizes formerly state owned land and corporations drives peasants off the land and lowers wages in all sectors of industry. Concurrently, U.S. companies downsize industry laying off millions of workers. Mexican workers receive slave wages pushing most of the population under the poverty level thusly forcing many to immigrate into the U.S. seeking work. U.S. corporations then pit immigrant and "native" workers against each other while the exploitation on both

sides of the border robs both populations of equality and dignity. Plunder for profit is a global process. When imperialist nations like the U.S. is unable to rely on the consent and cooperation of other nations then armed force is used. The war in Iraq will be about one thing: oil. Iraq has the second largest proven oil reserves in the world and if the U.S. is unable to control that market it will prove to be a major set-back for American imperialism. If Exxon Mobil is going to continue to make \$371 billion in profits the U.S. must control Iraq's oil market. The amount of money and resources the U.S. is willing to spend on a war that has already killed over half a million people reveals the appalling nature of capitalism. The super rich are willing to support a war that will cost \$2 trillion by 2010, which is enough money to feed, clothe, shelter, educate, and provide medical care to the entire world's population for two decades. Socialism is the idea that the massive amounts of wealth that is produced in society be used for human need instead of profit.

## Workers' Power

Workers create society's wealth, but have no control over its production and distribution. This is why someone like Bill Gates makes 431 times more than the average worker. Microsoft is one of the most profitable businesses in the world yet there is a huge disparity between its CEO and workers who produce his profits. If it were not for the faceless multitude of people who deliver materials to make computer parts, create each system, assemble every tower, ship every package, and facilitate each transaction Bill Gates would not be a multi-billionaire. A socialist society can only be built when workers collectively take control of that wealth and democratically plan its production and distribution to meet the needs of society.

Today, the working-class is the vast majority of society and is the key to fight for socialism. Workers are often caricatured as blue collar white males, however the American socialist Sharon Smith writes: "the working-class includes skilled and unskilled workers in factories, laundries, restaurants, schools, offices, sweatshops; sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and migrant workers laboring in fields; women workers and the non-working wives of male workers; and those who have jobs and the currently unemployed." In the U.S. white males only make up 46% of the working-class; women make up 47.7%, plus over 1/3 is made up of Blacks and Latinos. Worker's central role in production gives them a social power- by use of the strike weapon to paralyze the system like no other social force. When AFSCME workers in the UC went on a one-day strike in 2005, the entire University of California was slowed to a halt with the Santa Cruz campus totally shut down for several hours. When 38,000 New York City transit workers went on a three-day strike in 2006 they shut down one of the most important cities in the world. To be sure, the number of workers employed in industrial production in the U.S. has gone down significantly. At the same time, industrial production in America is at an all time high, which increases the social weight of workers. Labor activist Adam Turl notes that "in 1936, the event that led to the Akron, Ohio rubber workers sit-down strike was action by just twelve men in just one department. That shut down the entire works-of several thousand workers. Sixty years later, the strike of one United Auto Workers local, at a GM plant in Ohio, shut down GM production in Canada, the U.S. and Mexico-save at one plant-for seventeen days. One plant did to all of North America in 1996 what twelve men had done to one plant in 1936."



To be clear, socialism is working-class self-emancipation. Only mass struggles of the workers themselves can put an end to the capitalist system of oppression and exploitation. Though social-Democratic countries have immense social programs that should be fought for in the U.S., like single-payer healthcare, state-ownership is not the same as workers' power. Despite the massive social programs that exist all over Western Europe, corporations are successfully pushing governments to adopt more neo-liberal policies to increase profit rates. This is why the United Kingdom is looking to dismantle their National Healthcare system, German industry is speeding up the assembly line, and France might extend their working week to 40 hours (it would be great if the U.S. had a 35 hour work week to defend).

## Revolution

The struggle of workers and all oppressed people for economic, political and social reforms are positive steps because they improve conditions for the masses of people in society and advance the confidence and fight strength. For example, if the fight of single-payer healthcare became a movement of millions of people it could provide the social weight that would force the government to abolish free-market healthcare. Single-payer healthcare would stop over 88,000 deaths a year, millions would be treated for curable diseases and injuries and millions more would not be ruined through debt. Additionally, winning such an amazing victory would raise peoples' expectations that through action and organization they could win even more demands. But reforms within the capitalist system cannot put an end to oppression and exploitation. Capitalism must be replaced.

The present structures of the U.S. government developed under capitalism and are designed to protect capitalist rule. When a strike breaks out the first and last line of defense for business interests are the police. In 1999, when tens of thousands of people demonstrated against WTO and the IMF in Seattle, they were met with brutal repression at the hands of hundreds of riot police. To prevent protestors from shutting down the World Trade Summit, the police suspended the 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment. Historically, during major labor upheavals the federal government uses armed might through the army and the police to force workers back into submission. The working-class needs an entirely different kind of state- a democratic workers' state based on councils of workers' delegates. While no workers' state exists today, the best example is the one created by the Russian Revolution in 1917. In the course of one year, the workers of Russia rose up in a mass upheaval that overthrew the tyrannical Tsarist regime of Alexander II and months later created a workers' democracy. Workers' councils, named soviets, were bodies of direct democracy where all people collectively decided how to run society. Soviets spread through every barracks, factory, field, university, and city district, which came to run Russian society. Contrary to popular myth, through the Soviets, the workers and peasants voted to overthrow the capitalist Provisional Government and create workers' state led by the Bolsheviks. Workers had political power allowing visions for a new egalitarian society to take shape. Universal suffrage was established allowing women to vote, women had equal standing in divorce, abortion was free on demand, oppression of homosexuals and Jews was made illegal, Russia ended its involvement in WWI, and oppressed nationalities were granted self-determination.

## Internationalism

Capitalism is an international system, so the struggle for socialism must be international by uniting workers of all countries. Attempting to develop Socialism in one country is impossible. One socialist country that tries to face the world free market will be

destroyed by imperialist invasion by a neighboring capitalist country, or will slowly degenerate under economic pressure by international finance.

The Russian Revolution provided such a threat to the capitalist world that 14 countries invaded the Soviet republic in an effort to smash it. Four years of civil war obliterated Russia's economy and its working class and thusly degenerated into a dictatorship by Stalin. Additionally, a massive revolutionary wave that swept through the whole Europe was unsuccessful in taking state power because of vicious repression brought on by numerous governments.

Revolution is still a possibility. The 20<sup>th</sup> century was a century of revolutions, which showed the global possibilities for workers' power. Revolts in Hungary in '56, France in '68, Chile in '72, Portugal in '74, Iran in '79, and Poland in 1980 are all



inspiring stories that demonstrate that people are capable of creating new societies based on workers' democracy. Latin America today shows us the potential of people power; Argentine workers have occupied factories as their own and ran them more efficiently, the masses of Bolivia have kicked out three neo-liberal governments, and the people of Oaxaca, Mexico ran an entire city for three months under a general strike and held back the Mexican military. It is imperative that revolutionaries defend uprisings of workers and the oppressed because victories all over the world will strengthen our fight.

## Full Equality and Liberation

Bigotry, whether it is racism, sexism, homophobia, nationalism or any other form of prejudice are used to divide the working-class. People of color, gays and lesbians, women and immigrants are some of the specially oppressed groups within the working class and suffer the most under capitalism. The most oppressed in society are used to keep the exploited masses in fear of fighting back and/or are used as scapegoats for our unjust and chaotic system. Essentially, as abolitionist Frederick Douglass points out, "they [the powerful] divide each to conquer both."

If we are going to bring about a better system we must fight with the most oppressed in society. The liberation of the oppressed is essential to socialist revolution and impossible without it.

## The Revolutionary Party

To achieve socialism, the most militant workers and students must be organized into a revolutionary socialist party. There is a small layer of people in society right now that consider themselves socialists, however if militants are not organized and united around a common campaign to win more workers and students to a program of revolutionary action, their sentiments, ideas and partial insights will dissipate without real effect. We must have an organization in order to bring the politics and history of revolutionary change to every struggle that is being fought. In the words of British socialist Duncan Hallas: "The many partial and localized struggles on wages, conditions, housing, rents, education, health [war and immigration] and so on have to be coordinated and unified into a coherent forward movement based on a strategy for the transformation of society. In human terms, an organized layer of thousands of workers, by hand and by brain, firmly rooted amongst their fellow workers [and students] with a shared consciousness of the necessity for socialism and the way to achieve it, has to be created."

United together, we can destroy this oppressive and exploitative system of capitalism. We must organize now.

**Turn Anger Into Action, Join the Fight!**

# Violence in Resistance

“To say that it is violent to destroy the machinery of a slaughterhouse or to break windows belonging to a party that promotes war is to prioritize property over human and animal life.”  
-Crimethinc

How can we define violence? Can this definition be adapted according to rank or privilege? Is the use of violence acceptable in self-defense, or in the struggles of oppressed people? Is it possible to create positive change with the use of violence? Can the answers to these questions begin to explain why violent action is used so rarely within our community?

Violence takes many forms and is used by many different people. In all circumstances violence creates pain, whether mentally or physically, for a person or many people. Violence can be direct; a physical blow or a nuclear missile, or indirect; allowing entire communities of people to die, though plentiful resources are available elsewhere. Violence can also be on a personal or structural level. Structural violence is apparent in cases of police abuse, lack of healthcare coverage, racist and sexist laws, inequality in schooling facilities and many other things. Personal violence can be seen most obviously in cases of domestic abuse. These two categories in no way cover all forms of violence, and in many ways cases of personal violence are caused indirectly by structural violence. For now, however, this will be used as a general definition of violence.

## How does violent resistance fit into these categories?

In the face of huge amounts of structural violence, wars, and oppression that many people are aware of and disagree with, the most applauded forms of resistance have been nonviolent. Nonviolent resistance is appreciated and encouraged by the government as well as the people. Many of the most famous instances of this nonviolent resistance however have only been portrayed as nonviolent, while in actuality the nonviolent aspect is only one of many tactics used in the struggle. Some examples: the civil rights movement, the nationalist uprising in India, and opposition to the Vietnam war, seem to have been written into history as successful nonviolent movements, however these three examples used a diversity of tactics; violent and nonviolent resistance both worked towards the same goals. In the civil rights movement there were race riots, Malcolm X, and the black panthers, not just Martin Luther King. In the Indian uprising, guerillas and outside threats to the British, not just Gandhi. During the Vietnam War there were Vietnamese and American soldier's violent uprisings, not just peaceful hippies. These movements were at least partially successful because of the violence in them.

## Does violence in resistance carry the same weight that violence in domination has?

To use an example of personal violence, in a domestic abuse situation, where a man physically harms his wife or partner, and after a continuation of this violence she eventually fights back in self-defense, her actions are not considered violent. They are necessary reactions to the abuse. To save herself physically or mentally from violence, she must react with force, or else continue to be harmed.

The California Coalition for Women Prisoners (CCWP) argues that this force cannot be defined as violence.

This rule can also be applied on a larger scale. With violence coming from a pre-existing and already dominant power, forceful resistance is only self-defense. Self-defense is not at all similar to the oppressive violence that makes it necessary.

## Why is nonviolence the most popular form of resistance?

Perhaps the government positively propagandizes it as legitimate and successful because they fear more force. When people are threatened with war and death in other countries why do we use ritualized protest methods like marches and vigils? Is asking local administration for permits to walk down a street, literally asking permission to voice disagreement, really a form of protest? Or even free speech?

## Has the revolution been ritualized?

During the 2003 protests of the war in Iraq millions of people got permits and marched down the streets. However this powerful display of nonviolent resistance had little affect on governmental decisions about the war.

Within our own community the anti-war movement was polarized due to the use of various tactics. An organization called the Protest Mediation Council (PMC) was formed “solely to organize protests that are supported by all parts of the community, showing unity against certain issues.” (PMC Waleed Salaheldin) It seemed almost an after thought that they chose a cause for this protest: anti-war. This organization called their action “unique” in its use of peaceful tactics, though as this guide shows and in the history of UCSC there have been countless non-violent demonstrations. Their acquiescence in working with the UCSC administration as well as the local police highlighted differences between the PMC and radical groups already established.

More radical groups felt their own struggles were de-legitimized by this polarization. Suddenly there was a correct and incorrect way to work towards this common goal. The civility of the PMC demonstration on May 9th was contrasted directly to supposedly violent protesting by groups such as Students Against War (SAW.)

While violent and nonviolent movements can at times achieve minor success separately, together a much greater range of activists can be involved. Using a diversity of tactics is useful in creating a larger unified community. Polarizing two different strategies in the movement weakens all of them.

## Still not sure what you think?

Check out these books with views on both sides.

Nonviolence:

Waging Nonviolent Struggle

By Gene Sharp

The Color of Violence

The Incite! Anthology

Violence:

Pacifism as Pathology

By Ward Churchill

How Nonviolence Protects the State

By Peter Gelderloos

A Power Governments Cannot Suppress

By Howard Zinn



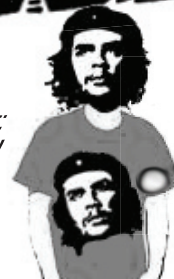


# RETHINKING

# REVOLUTION

By Sean Burns

*Revolution: the resonate, echoing mantra of the radical tradition. The photosynthesis of the radical imaginary. Revolution. Say it with me. Revolution. The word is like shaman's brew bridging one world to another: the world as we know it with the world as we dream it. Viva la revolución! Un otro mundo es posible! But, wait, not so fast...*



No, I said  
community, not  
commodity!

What dreams *does* the word revolution conjure up? The 20<sup>th</sup> Century witnessed a whole range of revolutions born as dream, raised as nightmare. Time and time again, seizure of state power was held up as the holy grail of emancipatory transformation – think Russia or China. And time and time again, these revolutionary states proceeded to control and murder their populations at genocidal levels. From this historical angle, revolution looks like a grim mirror image of the social order it seeks to transcend.

This violent paradox gives you a sense of the backdrop against which I believe we need to rigorously think through what this word – revolution – can mean for us today. If you're interested (as I am) in holding onto the word, I would argue it's a vital time to reconceptualize its meaning. A kind of revolutionizing of revolution – at once philosophical and deeply concrete and pragmatic.

My starting point for reconceptualizing revolution is this: social transformation occurs within specific political, economic, and cultural conditions. Formulas, generalizations, and universal proclamations about social change should be examined with great skepticism. Historically, revolution has most often been thought of as the seizure of government through armed insurgency. Whether such seizures have led to positive changes in living conditions for the majority is, as I have suggested, complicated. What has been described as revolution has so often been the overthrow of one authoritarian leadership by another. This is the primary reason why I think the insurgent toppling of government should not necessarily be thought of as revolution. After all, what has changed? New faces, new rhetoric, same violence and oppression.

Revolution should be reserved to describe the overthrow of a society's dominant myths. By dominant myths I mean the set of prevailing political, economic, and cultural assumptions and practices that determine a society's most foundational order. Dominant myths exert power by virtue of their wide spread perceived legitimacy. The issue is not whether they are true or false (that's irrelevant). The issue is whether a majority of people buy into their premises and everyday implications. Some of the dominant myths which structure life in the United States are:

- White supremacy
- The belief that private property is natural, and that privatization and the expansion of the free market can bring stability and prosperity to all
- Hierarchy (and most notably patriarchy) is necessary for the maintenance of order
- War ensures peace
- The natural world is inherently competitive and antagonistic
- There is, in the broadest sense, not enough for everyone. Not enough land, not enough food, not enough happiness, not enough time.

You'll notice how many of these ideas seem to connect up with others.

The last point to raise about dominant myths is that while legitimacy is most often achieved through struggle and influence on the ideological level (that is to say the social playing field of ideas), dominant myths will in many circumstances be born, defined and reinforced through physical violence. Forced displacement of indigenous peoples, lynching, the CIA, and recourse to martial law are just a few examples. As Rudolph Rocker says, "Power's intellectual form of expression is dead dogma, its physical form is brute force." This relationship between violence and dominant myths is very important for thinking about revolution in the United States. I need not remind you we live in the most powerfully militarized state ever; there are no remotely close comparisons. Armed insurgency (which I differentiate from localized instances of armed defense) is not practical.

The first fronts of revolutionary practice in the United States are the subversion and delegitimation of dominant myths and the creative forging of alternative modes of thought and action. This is revolution conceived of as a constant process of bringing social ends and means together. Egalitarian vision infuses and sustains social struggle; social struggle infuses and sustains egalitarian visions. This conception of revolution, rooted in the decolonization of everyday life, guards against the related traps of waiting for revolution (someday the conditions will be right...) or thinking revolution is near at hand (as many late '60's radicals felt). This conception of revolution draws resources from contradictions in so far as it recognizes that dominant myths are never invincible and bolted down – they can be shaken up, moved, reconfigured, tossed and tagged. At the same time, subversion and resistance must see contradictions in their very conditions for possibility and remember that dominant myths die slow psychic deaths. Grand, self-righteous notions of living a pure existence beyond



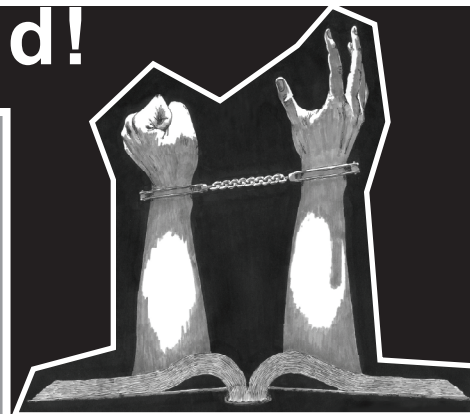
and outside of oppressive dominant myths tends toward short sightedness and vanguardism. This often leads to what some people call "sectarianism" – a situation where different social change groups (often quite small in size) squabble over the precise and correct way to advance change.

My feeling is we need multiple tools and strategies to dismantle powers that are as concentrated as those we confront today. More often than not, different ideologies and tactics create essential space for one another to work in, an effect which is under-appreciated in arguments over who is right and wrong. Revolution, after all, must proceed through a heightened spirit of experimentalism. This is not to say that concrete strategic differences should not be wrestled with and worked through. Quite the contrary, we need to maximize critical exchange around what kinds of long-term visions we hold and what kinds of immediate community projects and coalition building will get us living aspects of our dreams. This combined, participatory effort is the very work of revolution.

# Books! To Read!

## History

Allen, Robert - *Reluctant Reformers: Racism and Social Reform Movements in the United States*  
 Baehr, Ninia - *Abortion Without Apology: A Radical History for the 1990s*  
 Buhle, Paul and Nicole Schuleman ed. - *Wobblies! A Graphic History of the Industrial Workers of the World*  
 Brechin, Gary - *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin*  
 Cortright, David - *Soldiers In Revolt: GI Resistance During The Vietnam War*  
 Federici, Kaplan - *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body, and Primitive Accumulation*  
 Kaplan, Laura - *The Story of Jane: The Legendary Underground Feminist Abortion Service*  
 Katsiaficas, George - *The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Social Movements and the Decolonization of Everyday Life*  
 Orwell, George - *Homage to Catalonia*  
 Notes from Nowhere (Ed.) - *We are Everywhere: The Irresistible Rise of Global Anti-Capitalism*  
 Rediker, Marcus and Peter Linebaugh - *The Many Headed Hydra: The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*  
 Yuen, Eddie ed. - *Confronting Capitalism: Dispatches from a Global Movement*  
 Zinn, Howard - *A People's History of the United States*



## Poetry

Borges, Jorge Luis - *Dreamtigers*  
 Lorde, Audre - *Collected Poems*  
 Rich, Adrienne - *The Dream Of a Common Language*  
 Rilke, Rainer Maria - *Selected Poetry*  
 Silverstein, Shel - *The Missing Piece*

## Biographical

Abu-Jamal, Mumia - *Live From Death Row*  
 Anzaldúa, Gloria - *La frontera/ Borderlands*  
 Aptheker, Bettina - *Intimate Politics: How I Grew up Red, Fought for Free Speech, and Became a Feminist Rebel*  
 Bornstein, Kate - *My Gender Workbook*  
 Crawford, John - *The Last True Story I'll Ever Tell: An Accidental Soldier's Account of the War in Iraq*  
 Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley - *The Rebel Girl*  
 Jackson, George - *Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson*  
 Moraga, Cherrie and Gloria Anzaldúa - *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*  
 Newton, Huey P. - *Revolutionary Suicide*  
 Peltier, Leonard - *Prison Writings: My Life Is My Sun Dance*  
 Shakur, Assata - *Assata: An Autobiography*  
 X, Malcolm - *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*



## Fiction

Arundhati, Roy - *The God of Small Things*  
 Atwood, Margaret - *Oryx and Crake*  
 Cisneros, Sandra - *The House on Mango Street*  
 Feinberg, Leslie - *Stone Butch Blues*  
 Heinlen, Robert A. - *Stranger in a Strange Land*  
 LeGuin, Ursula - *The Dispossessed*  
 Luis Borges, Jorge - *Labrynth*  
 Marquez, Gabriel Garcia - *One Hundred Years of Solitude*  
 Pieret, Marge - *He, She, and It*  
 Walker, Alice - *The Color Purple*



## Communion

## Theory

Alinsky, Saul - *Rules for Radicals*  
 Davis, Angela - *Are Prisons Obsolete?*  
     *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism*  
 Fanon, Franz - *The Wretched of the Earth*  
 Feinberg, Leslie - *Trans Liberation: Beyond Pink and Blue*  
 Freire, Paulo - *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*  
 Gelderloos, Peter - *How Nonviolence Protects the State*  
 Hern, Matt ed. - *Deschooling Our Lives*  
 Hollaway, John - *Changing the World Without Taking Power*  
 hooks, bell - *Ain't I a Woman*  
     *Teaching to Transgress*

Jensen, Derrick; Draffan George - *Strangely Like War: The Global Assault on Forests*  
 Kelley, Robin - *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*  
 Lipsitz, George - *Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*  
 Lorde, Audre - *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*  
 Omi, Michael and Howard Winant - *Racial Formation in the United States*  
 Thompson, Becky - *A Promise and a Way of Life: White Antiracist Activism*





Padraig Pearse



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# BREAKING DOWN THE JARGON

(A glossary of terms that are useful to know...)

## Note:

These definitions are of course imperfect – they're useful only because they are the thoughts of some well-intentioned people. What do you and your friends think?

Many of the following were adapted from those used by the Challenging White Supremacy Workshop (<http://cwsworkshop.org/>) and Women's Education in the Global Economy by the Women of Color Resource Center ([www.coloredgirls.org/](http://www.coloredgirls.org/)). See <http://colours.mahost.org/faq/definitions.html> for a more detailed discussion, including criticisms of the definitions below.

**AGENCY:** The means through which one exerts power or achieves a goal.

**ANARCHISM:** An umbrella term describing ideas that reject structures of hierarchy and power. Different branches of anarchism have different bases such as the individual, an organization, a trade union or a community.

**BUREAUCRACY:** An organizational system based on dividing responsibilities and reward in a complicated and extensive hierarchy. Corruption is common in bureaucracy because of the alienation experienced by those on the bottom of the system in addition to the lack of accountability present at the top. Excessive routine, most of which is illogical, works to make bureaucracies impenetrable.

**CAPITALISM:** An economic system based on class which values profit over all else. The majority of us (who are essential tools of this system) must sell our labor ("work") in order to live, often becoming alienated from our labor due to meaningless and uninteresting jobs (i.e. assembly lines). Meanwhile, wealthy people (often as corporations) own the facilities and tools of the system, and profit from their ownership. By any means necessary they scour the world looking for cheaper ways to accumulate more money often at the expense of the working class.



## CLASSISM:

The belief that people deserve their privilege or lack thereof based on "merit", social status, level of education, job, birth, etc.

## COLLECTIVISM:

The principle of distributing ownership to a group of people, rather than a single owner. There are many examples throughout history in which collectivization has transformed a workplace by achieving greater participation, increased dignity and equality of the workers.

## COLONIALISM:

A relationship in which a colonizing state establishes means to control the economy, military, politics and culture of a colonized nation or people. The purpose of colonialism is to extract maximum profits from the colonized nation for the colonizing state.

## COMMODIFICATION:

When something valuable, such as a movement, a fashion or art, is transformed into something that can be exchanged for currency. In this process desire for profit overtakes genuine passion.

## CULTURAL APPROPRIATION:

Theft of cultural elements for one's own use, commodification, or profit – including symbols, art, language, customs, etc. – often without understanding, acknowledgement, or respect for its value in the original culture. Results from the assumption of a dominant culture's right to use other cultural elements.

## DIRECT ACTION:

Any action aimed at achieving a direct result. Often used by political, social or labor organizations through strikes, protests, sabotage or any other creative plan that demands something from an institution of power and authority.

**ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM:** Racial discrimination in environmental policy-making and the enforcement of regulations and laws; the deliberate targeting of communities of color for toxic waste facilities; the official sanctioning of the life threatening presence of poisons and pollutants in our communities; and the history of excluding people of color from the leadership of the environmental movement.

## EXPLOITATION:

A relationship in which one party is greatly mistreated or misused for the greatest possible benefit of the other party.

## FREE TRADE:

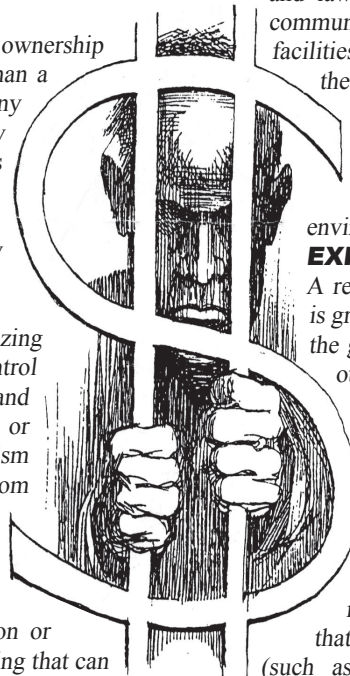
The reduction of regulations and other constraints on businesses to increase international trade. Free trade is rarely free, however; government intervention is necessary to eliminate any laws (such as health, environmental, and labor laws) and to maintain social order (through policing and prisons, among other measures) in societies with vast and growing inequalities.

## GENDER BINARY SYSTEM:

A biologically determinist system of oppression which dictates that there are two acceptable genders, man or woman. This is a gender regime policed and upheld by heterosexism and patriarchy (closely linked to white supremacy and capitalism), which regulates what gender "roles" are and the punishments for challenging or deviating from those roles.

## GLOBALIZATION:

This term usually refers to the expansion of economies beyond national borders, in particular, the expansion of production by a firm to many countries around the world, i.e., globalization of production, or the "global assembly line." This has given transnational corporations power beyond countries, and has weakened any nation's ability to control corporate practices and flows of capital, set regulations, control balances of trade and exchange rates, or manage domestic economic policy. It has also weakened the ability of workers to fight for better wages and working conditions from fear that employers may relocate to other areas.



**HETEROSEXISM:** An ideological and social system of compulsory and assumed heterosexuality, based on binary gender, which denies and persecutes non-heterosexual forms of behavior, identity, relationship, or community. Heterosexism also privileges people who act “straight.”

**HIERARCHY:** Any system or structure which ranks people above one another. This structure creates a relationship of domination and subordination between those who lie on opposite sides of the spectrum. Often times these ladders are nearly impossible to climb due to corruption, racism, etc.

**HOMOPHOBIA:** The fear and persecution of queer people rooted in a desire to maintain the heterosexual social order.

**IDEOLOGY:** A belief system which shapes the way people understand and exist in the world. The state and other institutions often manipulate ideologies in order to maintain “social control.”

**IMPERIALISM:** A policy of extending control or authority over foreign territories as a means of acquisition and/or maintenance of empires, either through direct control (i.e. military occupation) or through indirect control of the politics and/or economies of other countries (i.e. occupation by transnational corporations).

**MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX:** A term coined in WWII era by Eisenhower because of the increase in partnerships between the military and business. The increase of military presence in our society is also referred to as militarism.

**NATIONALISM:** The belief that nations will benefit from acting independently rather than collectively, emphasizing national rather than international goals. Nationalism is strongly linked with racism and hierarchy.

**NEOLIBERALISM:** The set of ideas that has justified the rise of capitalist globalization over the last twenty-five years. The main tenet is that “the market will take care of everything.” In practice, this means countries cutting funding for social services such as education, welfare, and health care, and selling (“privatizing”) publicly-owned facilities such as schools, highways, water, and energy utilities. At the same time, this means corporations and investors being given free reign to maximize their profits, whether that requires busting unions, dumping toxic waste, or destroying entire economies with volatile short-term investments.

**OPPRESSOR, OPPRESSED, and OPPRESSION:** An oppressor is one who uses her/his power to dominate another, or who refuses to use her/his power to challenge that domination. An oppressed is one who

is dominated by an oppressor, and by those who consent with their silence. Oppression is the power and the effects of domination. There are many forms of (often) interlocking oppressions: racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, anti-Semitism, ableism, ageism, etc. People can be oppressed by one or more of these systems while benefiting from privilege obtained from one or more of the others.

**PATRIARCHY:** An economic, political, cultural and social system of domination of women that privileges men. It is based on binary definitions of gender — male/female — with strict gender roles. It also has rigidly enforced heterosexuality that places male/straight as superior and women/queer as inferior.

**PEOPLE OF COLOR:** A term used to refer to peoples and ethnicities whose ancestral origins are from Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Pacific islands, and the Americas; used instead of the term “minority” which implies inferiority and disenfranchisement. The term emphasizes common experiences of racial discrimination or racism.

**PREJUDICE:** A prejudice is a pre-judgment in favor of or against a person, a group, an event, an idea, or a thing. An action based on prejudgment is discrimination. A negative prejudgment is often called a stereotype. An action based on a stereotype is called bigotry. (There is no power relationship necessarily implied or expressed by “prejudice,” “discrimination,” “stereotype” or “bigotry.”)

**PRIVILEGE:** Unearned social power accorded by the formal and informal institutions of society to all members of a dominant group (e.g. white privilege, male privilege, etc.). Privilege is usually invisible to those who have it because we’re taught not to see it, but nevertheless it puts them at an advantage over those who do not have it.

**QUEER:** Queer is an umbrella term of self-identification and means different things to different people but is usually used in place of or in addition to identifications of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, or intersex. The basic idea is that queer is a gender or sexual identification that implies that the person is outside of traditional binaries of gender (male/female) and/or sexuality (gay/straight). As a definition of gender it often means that the person does not see themselves as fitting into the binary of



male/female and refuses to buy into “gender roles.” As a sexual definition it can mean that the person is generally homosexual but prefers the term queer because it sounds less like a text book diagnosis or that the person refuses to see sexuality as a set boundary wherein people can only be attracted to men and/or women, or any other definition that people create for themselves or their communities.

**RACE:** A classification of human beings created by Europeans (Whites). Race is often used to define social status and human worth while whiteness remains the basis or model race which all others are compared.

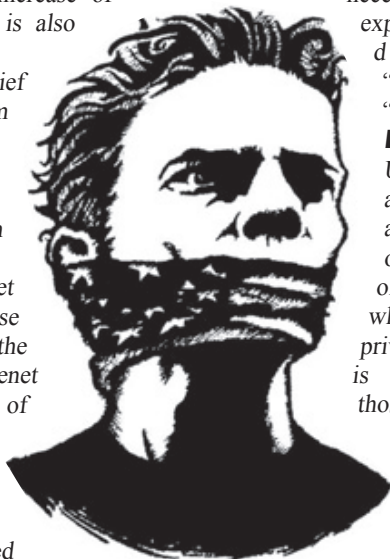
**RACISM:** Power plus racial prejudice, a system that leads to the oppression of or discrimination against specific racial or ethnic groups. Forms of racism range from internal (discriminating against one’s own race) to structural (discrimination embedded in a system)

**SEXISM:** Perpetuates a system of patriarchy where men hold power and privilege and women are subordinate to men.

**SILENCING:** Situations in which people from dominant social groupings dominate discussions or dominate space.

**SYNDICALISM:** The belief that the capitalist society can be changed by the working class through the organization of labor unions. Often a rejection of conventional party politics, power is derived through direct action and the power of a united working class. The belief that workers of a trade are just as much owners of the means of production as their “bosses” and therefore deserve equal earnings..

**THIRD WORLD:** A term developed during the cold war by the regions who felt detached from both the first world (Capitalist U.S.A.) and the second world (Communist Soviet Union). Today it is commonly used by mainstream media to describe regions of the world which suffer from intense poverty and exploitation. The term “Global South” is a more politically correct alternative.





**TOKENISM:** Presence without meaningful participation. For example, a superficial invitation for participation without ongoing dialogue and support, handpicked representatives who are expected to speak for the whole (socially oppressed) group (e.g. "tell us how women experience this issue"). Tokenism is often used as a band-aid solution to help the group improve its image (e.g. "we're not racist, look there's a person of color on the panel").

**TOTALITARIANISM:**

A form of government in which the state controls all aspects of society. In these cases, ideology is often used as a tool by the government to force its citizens to meet its demands. Mass surveillance, propaganda and secret police are common institutions established by totalitarian governments.

**TRANSGENDER:** The definition of transgender often overlaps with those of transsexual and genderqueer. Although many people use the term in their own ways, transgender usually means a person who identifies as a gender other than the one they were given at birth. Transgender includes non-op, pre-op, and post-op individuals (i.e. those that choose not to surgically and chemically change their bodies to look more like the gender they identify with, those who wish to change their bodies but have

not yet done so, and those who have already gone through the process). Transgendered people are often categorized as either f2m or m2f (female to male or male to female).

**TRANSPHOBIA:** The fear and persecution of transgender/transsexual persons, rooted in a desire to maintain the gender binary (i.e. the categories

"male" and "female"), which obscures the reality of the fluidity of gender and hides the experience of persons who do not identify with either category.

**WHITE PRIVILEGE:**

A privilege is a right, favor, advantage, immunity, specially granted to one individual or group, and withheld from another. White privilege is an historically based, institutionally perpetuated system of: (1) Preferential prejudice for and treatment of white people based solely on their skin color and/or ancestral origin from Europe; and (2) Exemption from racial and/or national oppression based on skin color and/or ancestral origin from Africa, Asia, the Americas and the Arab world.

U.S. institutions and culture (economic, legal, military, political, educational, entertainment, familial and religious) privilege peoples from Europe over peoples from the Americas, Africa, Asia and the Arab world. In a white supremacist system, white privilege and racial oppression are two sides of the same coin.

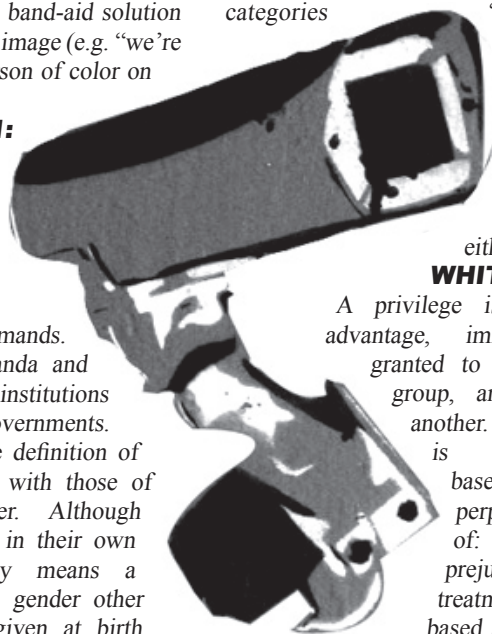
**WHITE SUPREMACY:** White supremacy is an historically based, institutionally perpetuated system and ideology of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations and peoples of color by white peoples and nations of the European continent; for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power and privilege..

**XENOPHOBIA:** Irrational or unjustified hatred for something foreign. Most commonly found today in societies which fear diversity. In high income areas, policies are developed to deny access to housing or the development of low income housing so as to keep out people of color and the working. Xenophobia is strongly linked with racism and white supremacy.

**Do you agree with these definitions?**

**Which would you change?**

**What other terms would you include?**

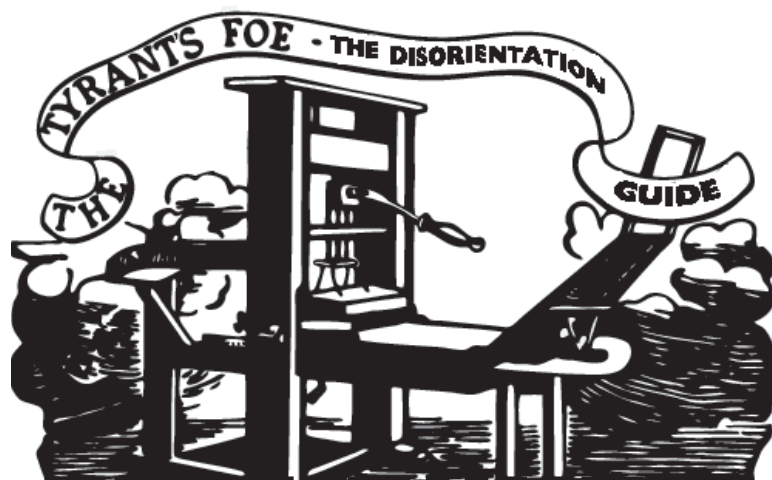


As you flip through this year's Disorientation Guide there are probably some things you dig and some things you would change if you could ... and thank goodness for that! You see, this project was created over the summer by a small number of folks who contributed their knowledge, resources, and time. In other words: we gave it our best shot.

Many of us are graduating this year, so the collective will need lots of new participants. We welcome and invite you to make next year's guide your own by giving feedback, providing content, and/or helping with its construction. Only with your help can the DisGuide evolve, improve, and grow.

**Take us over.**

**Comments. Critiques. Involvement.**  
**Email [disguide@graffiti.net](mailto:disguide@graffiti.net)**



Aaron Dankman  
Alessandro Tinonga  
Andy Miller  
Claire Harbage  
Daniel Mark  
Jono Kinkade  
Kate Flanagan  
Mara Ortenburger

Mark Valen  
Matt Boyar  
Melissa Vo  
Tim Becker  
Tim Fessenden  
Tim Muldoon  
And others!

# KNOW YOUR RIGHTS

By Santa Cruz Copwatch

## *What rights do I have?*

### **The Right to Advocate for Change.**

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution protects the rights of groups and individuals who advocate changes in laws, government practices, and even the form of government.

### **The Right to Remain Silent.**

The Fifth Amendment of the Constitution provides that every person has the right to remain silent in the face of questions posed by any police officer or government agent.

### **The Right to be Free from “Unreasonable Searches and Seizures.”**

The Fourth Amendment is supposed to protect your privacy. Without a warrant, no government agent is allowed to search your home or office and you can refuse to let them in. Know, however, that it is easy for the government to monitor your telephone calls, conversations in your office, home, car, or meeting place, as well as mail. E-mail is particularly insecure. The government has already begun stepping up its monitoring of e-mails.

## **If The Police Stop You...**

### **Ask, “Am I Free To Go?”**

If not, you are being detained. If yes, walk away.

### **Ask, “Why Are You Detaining Me?”**

To stop you, the officer must have a “reasonable suspicion” to suspect your involvement in a specific crime (not just a guess or a stereotype).

*You do not have to answer any questions.* If you are stopped while driving you DO have to show ID, registration, and proof of insurance. If you are stopped while walking, you are not required to show ID. If you are being detained or issued a ticket, you may want to show ID to the cop because they can take you to the station to verify your identity.

### **Do Not Argue Or Respond To Their Accusations.**

When talking to them always keep your hands in sight. Do not touch them. Do not run away, even if you have done nothing wrong. Do not argue with, insult, or be rude to any officers, even if they are being rude to you.

### **If A Cop Tries To Search Your Car, Your House, Or Your Person:**

*Say repeatedly that you do not consent to the search.*

If in a car, do not open your trunk or door - by doing so you consent to a search of your property and yourself. If at home, step outside and lock your door behind you so cops have no reason to enter your house. Ask to see the warrant and check for proper address, judge's signature, and what the warrant says the cops are searching for. Everything must be correct in a legal warrant. Otherwise, send the police away.

The cops can do a “pat search” (search the exterior of one's clothing for weapons) during a detention for “officer safety reasons.” They can't go into your pockets or bags without your consent. If you are arrested, they can search you and your possessions in great detail.

## **If The Police Stop Someone Else...**

### **Stop And Watch.**

Write down officers' names, badge numbers, and car numbers.

*Cops must be indentified by name or badge number.*

- Write down the time, date, and place of the incident and all details as soon as possible.

- Ask if the person is being arrested, and if so, on what charge.

- Get witnesses' names and contact info.

- Try to get the arrestee's name, but only if they already gave it to the police.

- Document any injuries as soon as possible. Photograph them and have a medical report describing details of the injuries.

Police can arrest someone they believe is “interfering” with their actions. Maintain a reasonable distance, and if cops threaten to arrest you, explain that you don't intend to interfere, but you have the right to observe their actions.

## **If The Police Arrest You...**

### **Do Not Resist Physically.**

Use your words and keep cool. You may be handcuffed, searched, photographed and fingerprinted.

### **Say Repeatedly, “I Don't Want To Talk Until My Lawyer Is Present.”**

Even if your rights aren't read, refuse to talk until your lawyer/public defender arrives.

### **If You're On Probation/Parole:**

Tell your P.O. You've been arrested, but nothing else.

### **Do Not Talk To Inmates In Jail About Your Case.**

### **Get Help!**

In California, within the first three hours of your arrest, you are allowed 3 local phone calls: one to a family member or friend, one to a bail bondsperson, and one to a lawyer.

For more information on your legal rights, visit [www.nlg.org](http://www.nlg.org)