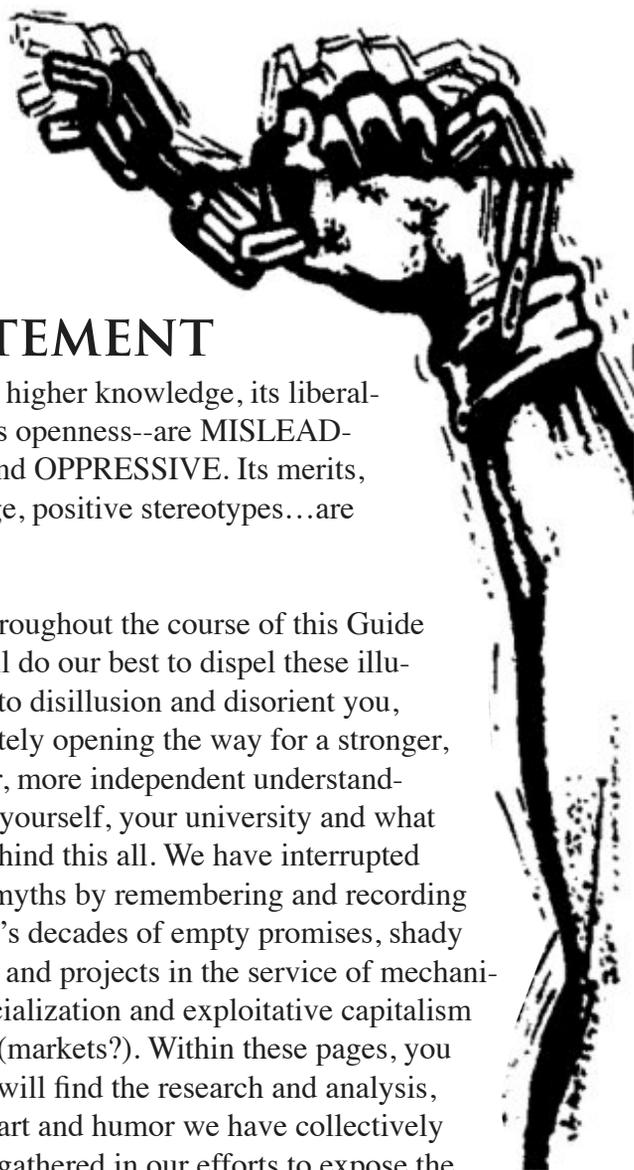
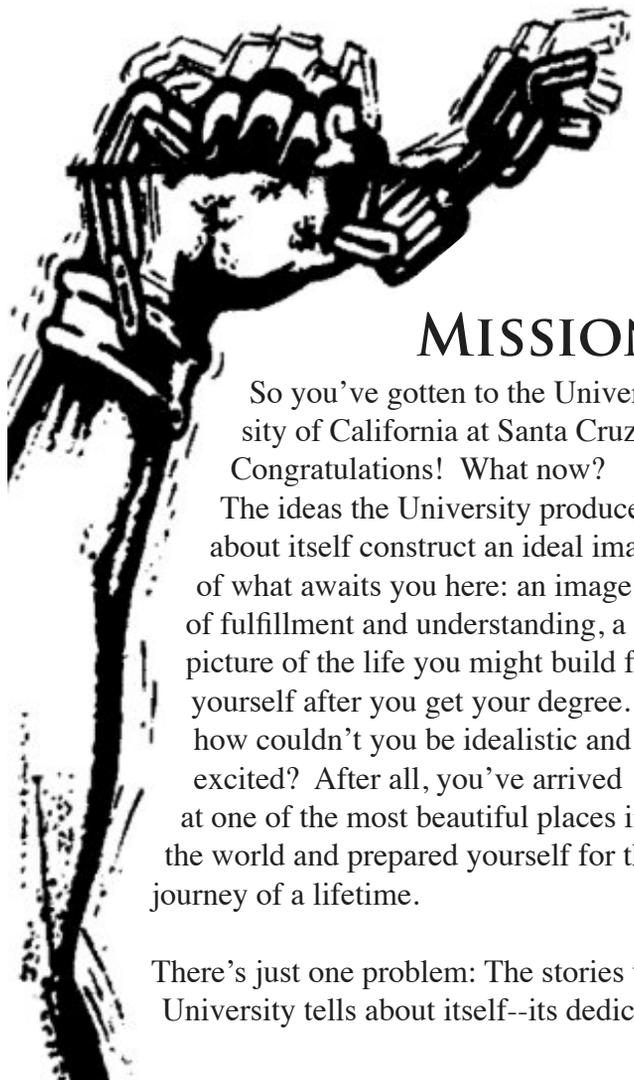


UC SANTA CRUZ  
**DISORIENTATION GUIDE**

2009-10





## MISSION STATEMENT

So you've gotten to the University of California at Santa Cruz. Congratulations! What now?

The ideas the University produces about itself construct an ideal image of what awaits you here: an image of fulfillment and understanding, a picture of the life you might build for yourself after you get your degree. So how couldn't you be idealistic and excited? After all, you've arrived at one of the most beautiful places in the world and prepared yourself for the journey of a lifetime.

There's just one problem: The stories the University tells about itself--its dedica-

tion to higher knowledge, its liberalism, its openness--are MISLEADING and OPPRESSIVE. Its merits, prestige, positive stereotypes...are LIES.

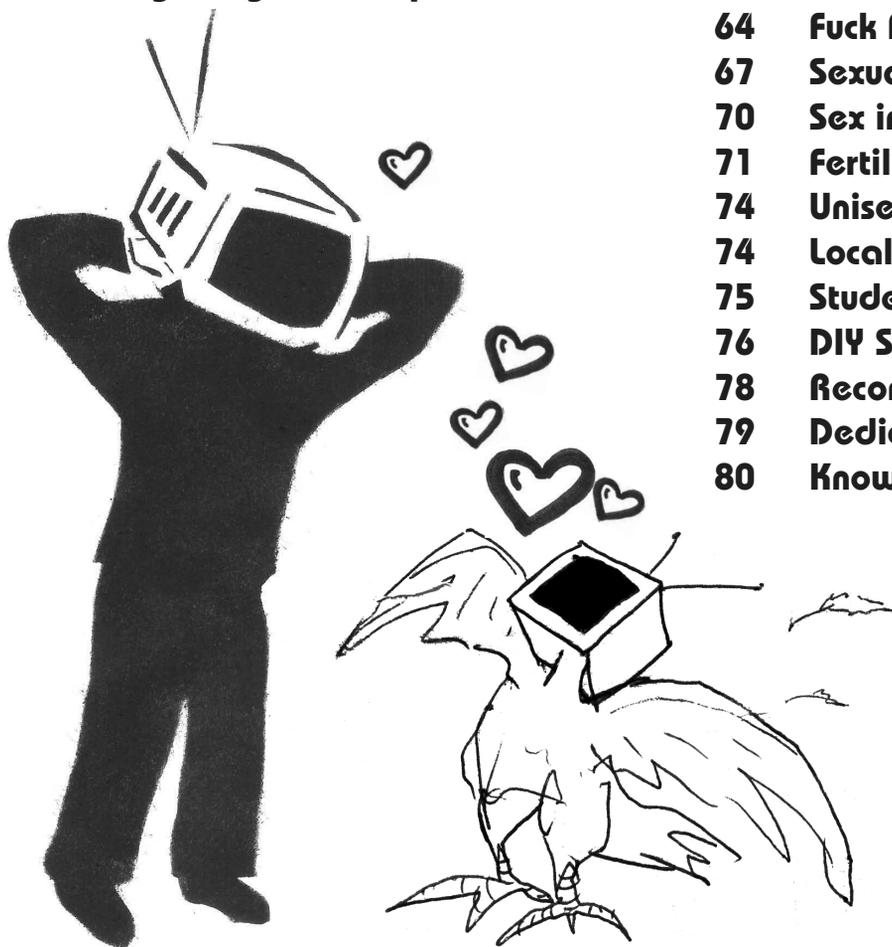
Throughout the course of this Guide we will do our best to dispel these illusions, to disillusion and disorient you, ultimately opening the way for a stronger, clearer, more independent understanding of yourself, your university and what lies behind this all. We have interrupted these myths by remembering and recording UCSC's decades of empty promises, shady fronts, and projects in the service of mechanical socialization and exploitative capitalism (markets?). Within these pages, you will find the research and analysis, art and humor we have collectively gathered in our efforts to expose the structures of our life and reorient our understanding of them. Some of it has taken years to research; some you can find with five minutes and a wifi connection.

This is free information which we've crafted into a Guide, a framework for navigating the complex of global systems which have created the University as we know it today. These systems are highly interconnected and create a network--the University--of cuts, exchanges, proposals and external investments, entangling and constructing a range of actors, some of whom sit atop and others who struggle from the bottom. We call this the UC Machine. So, welcome. And prepare for your Dis- and soon-to-be-Re-Orientation to the University of California at Santa Cruz.



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# Welcome to the Machine

“There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can’t take part; you can’t even passively take part, and you’ve got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you’ve got to make it stop. And you’ve got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you’re free, the machine will be prevented from working at all!”

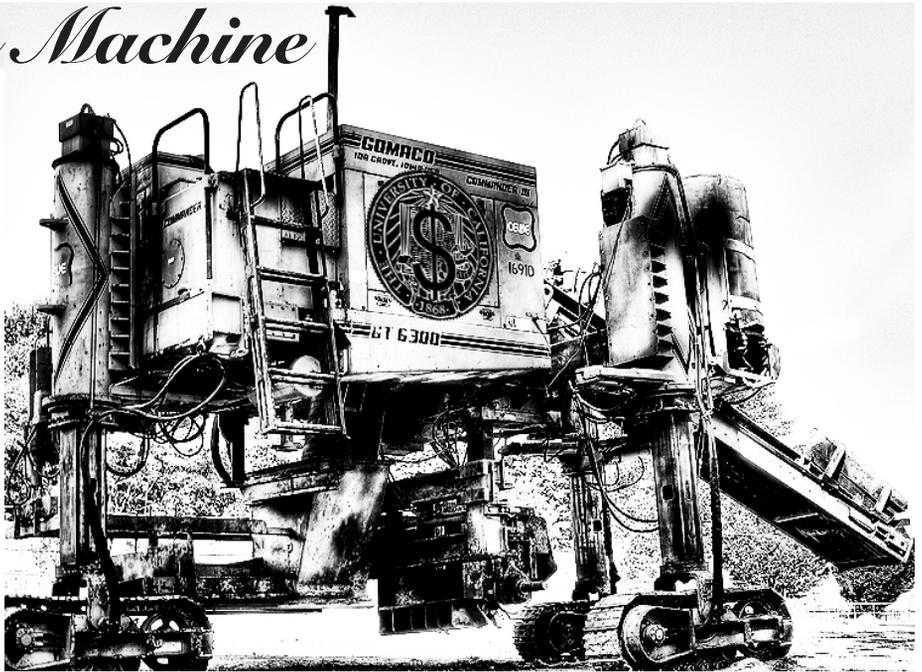
*Mario Savio, 1964, on the steps of Sproul Hall during the Free Speech Movement, before students went in to stage the largest sit-in and mass arrest in the history of campus activism. [YouTube it!]*

You have probably heard Mario Savio’s quote on the machine before. The hallmark moment of the Free Speech Movement at UC Berkeley was an instrumental spark in a chain reaction of political unrest that ignited a wave of campus activism across the country. Savio and other Berkeley students had just returned from a summer spent working for civil rights in Mississippi, and brought to campus their experience in grassroots organizing and acts of civil disobedience along-side those fighting to abolish segregation, including Black students battling for the equal right to enroll in universities whose doors only admitted white students.

Upon returning to school in the fall, these Berkeley students wanted to bring the movement home, onto a campus that would soon become known as a hot spot for radical thinking and liberal ideals.

But they were told they couldn’t do that. Berkeley, which had been a conservative, elitist university from the beginning, did not allow political activity on campus. In turn, students fought for free speech, birthing the Free Speech Movement, which could clear the way for anti-war protests and struggles for civil rights—both nationally and at the university—including advocacy for new programs like African American and Women’s Studies. In years to follow, a wave of radical upheaval against the growing war in Vietnam and in support of the Civil Rights Movement was ignited on universities across the country, and throughout the world, as students from Chile to France stood up against a troubled time, demanding something better.

These stories can be found in history books, magazines, online articles, and Wikipedia. And with any story, it goes as deeply down the rabbit hole as you are willing



“The fortunes of the University of California were tied from the beginning to those of San Francisco’s financial district.”

Grey Brechen, from Imperial San Francisco

to go. This story—about the origins of the University of California—goes beyond the frequently cited mark of the Free Speech Movement on a radical history time line, into a dark beginning built of conquest and less than ideal agendas of the ruling elite.

The Free Speech Movement was an eruption of campus activism, built on organization that today more than ever needs to be studied and synthesized. Yet it is also the crux of Berkeley’s radical identity, an earthquake that shook the established order for a moment, but faded away and left intact much of the underlying truth of the true nature of the University of California.

## The Firm

What preceded Mario Savio’s elegy on the machine was an analysis of the inner-workings of the University of California. His short speech came after attempted negotiations between students demanding the right for on-campus political organizing and former Berkeley Chancellor and then-UC President Clark Kerr, who also brought his own progressive visions for the evolving role of the University. The talks ended in a stalemate and an apology from Kerr because he could persuade the Board of Regents to accept the student’s wishes. Before cursing the machine, Savio surmised the situation:

“We have an autocracy which runs this university. It’s managed. We asked the following: if President Kerr actually tried to get something more liberal out of the Regents in his telephone conversation, why didn’t he make some public statement to that effect? And the answer we received—from a well-meaning liberal—was the following: He said, “Would you ever imagine the manager of a firm making a statement publicly in opposition to his board of directors?” That’s the answer! Now, I ask you to consider: if this is a firm, and if the Board of Regents are the board of directors, and if President Kerr in fact is the manager, then I’ll tell you something: the faculty are a bunch of employ-



*mario savio at sproul hall*

ees, and we're the raw material! But we're a bunch of raw material[s] that don't mean to have any process upon us, don't mean to be made into any product, don't mean to end up being bought by some clients of the University, be they the government, be they industry, be they organized labor, be they anyone! We're human beings!"

What followed were events that contributed to making this time so monumental. Clark Kerr supported the students' endeavors and the right to organize on campus was eventually won. After the upheaval, he handed in his resignation to the Board of Regents, only for it to be rejected and the Board insisting that he continue serving as the University's top administrator. That changed soon after, when Ronald Reagan became Governor of California after running on a platform that promised Californians the instillation of order, including plans to reign in the rebellious spirit that swept through California universities (this was after protestors at UC Santa Barbara burned down a nearby Bank of America for financial ties to the Vietnam War, riots in cities and on campus, and other moments in the saga of the 1960's). Clark Kerr's legacy of UC President came to a sudden end when he was fired by Reagan.

But even before Savio left his mark on the steps of Sproul Hall at Berkeley, Kerr had begun noticing inherent problems with the layout of the University—a large research institution designed for production and economic stimulation. He envisioned another kind of university, one that favored a sense of community and personal growth, an education that benefited society not only in an economic and business manner, but also by creating good citizens. So in the early 60's, Kerr teamed with his former roommate at Stanford University, Dean McHenry, and envisioned a new university that would be a grand experiment. Soon, this vision would become the University of California, Santa Cruz.

Then where did Berkeley and the University of California come from? When did it begin? What's all this about "the machine?"

## A Blueprint of the Machine: An Imperial University Built of Gold

"The external view is that the university is radical; the internal reality is that it is conservative. The internal illusion is that it is a law unto itself; the external reality is that it is governed by history."

Clark Kerr, UC President, 1963

It all started in the wake of the California Gold Rush. The Wild West was a frontier considered wide open for pioneers and entrepreneurs to stake their claim and settle down. For many it was a chance to have a better life, where (European) immigrants could escape famine and religious persecution, and people in the eastern US could head to in the chase for the American Dream. For a few, the West, and especially California, was a growing market to be tapped into, a place where men could become rich.

At the time, a dominating mentality of America's expansionist culture was the idea of Manifest Destiny—a notion that Anglo-Saxons were a supreme race, and had a mission to spread American democracy from "sea to shining sea." Manifest Destiny thought nature to be inferior to man, a wild land to be conquered and utilized, and allowed mindset that rationalized the conquest of Native land and subjugation of its people [see article on Ohlone, pg 10]. In

a sense, it was an extension of both the Spanish Missions and European colonialism.

It was from this landscape that the University of California would soon be borne. As UC Berkeley's historical website Builders of Berkeley describes, along with those coming out west to seek fortunes, "came preachers and teachers with lofty ideals and Eastern schooling. Among this latter group was Henry Durant, a Congregational minister and Yale graduate, who left New England in 1853 and headed for California, saying he had "college on the brain."

"Durant opened his College of California with only three pupils, but he and his trustees soon acquired 160 acres of land for a campus." Soon, upon recommendation by San Francisco lawyer and mining tycoon Frederick Billings, they would name the site of the new college Berkeley, after the philosopher and poet George Berkeley, author of Verses on the prospect of planting arts and learning in America. The namesake was fitting at the time, following Berkeley's influence for ideals that would become Manifest Destiny. As the final stanza of his versus read:

Westward the course of empire takes its way;  
The first four acts already past.  
A fifth shall close the drama with the day.  
Time's noblest offspring is its last.

While the College of California had a noble mission for fortifying America's Westward conquest, they had little money to fund it. So, in 1868 they donated the land to the State of California, and the college became the University of California. Henry Durant became the University's first president.

As the Builders of Berkeley story continues, "A number of California pioneers, especially those who had made fortunes in the gold fields, believed that an investment in the University would have a potent effect on the development of the West." And such the plot thickens. No one has better documented the origins of the University of California than Grey Brechen, author of Imperial San Francisco. In the chapter titled "The University, the Gate, and 'the Gadget,'" Brechen tells in thick detail this story of the University's post-Gold Rush beginnings. "The fortunes of the University of California were tied from the beginning to those of San Francisco's financial district." According to Brechen, the College of California was founded in Oakland to educate the sons of San Francisco's business class. It was built to teach them to be the next leaders and rulers of the West—bankers, railroad moguls, mining company executives—and to have a college where these men could further their industries.

The Morrill Act of 1862 created the land-grant program, which gave federal lands to the states to be used to found institutions to teach the mechanical and agricultural arts. The graduates of these land-grant colleges would be scientifically trained and push industry forward, in turn contributing to society. What was good for business was good for society. [Part of the land grant program required universities to maintain a standing Army that could serve in the event that the United States went to war. That's right, Berkeley had a standing army.]

When the Trustees continued facing financial problems and granted the land to California, Governor Henry Haight (of the legendary Haight Street) signed legislation to make the college the University of California. It was not long after the inception that the third UC President, Yale graduate and geographer Daniel Coit Gillman proudly stated that "Now comes the turn of this new empire State." It was a milestone for California's moguls and tycoons, and in time, as Brechen writes, "so would San Francisco's

capitalists increasingly rely upon the academy at Berkeley to provide managers and engineers for their Pacific emporium.“ [see sidebar]

## UC: Upheaval and Conquest

As the development of the UC continued, so did the discontents. The Free Speech Movement was really about much more than a desire for political activity. It was fueled by a broad collection of deep feelings of concern and disgust over how the nation and the university both were being run. As a major pillar in American Imperialism, the University was one place to mobilize opposition. Be it the Vietnam War and the ensuing draft, racist segregation laws, or in-house policies, like the early stages of the increasing cost of an education, they saw the UC to have a hand in it. The University was, and still is, an integral part of the machine’s



imperial policy of repression at home, conquest abroad. In 1960, the Master Plan for Higher Education was created—an addition to the California Constitution that said every people in California who wants and education can have an education, regardless of economic ability. If someone qualified for the University, they could go to the

### ••••• Sidebar: A Pillar Upholding Empire: Toward the Golden Age of America •••••

After becoming firmly cemented in the new California society and it’s marriage of business and government, the UC became a fundamental pillar in the foundation of the American West. The University was dubbed the “Athens of the West,” and, along side Stanford University—founded by railroad tycoon turned Governor and co-founder of the California Republican Party Leland Stanford—was the epicenter of prestige west of the Mississippi. This prestige attracted a lofty bunch of fellows.

One of those new members includes Bernard Moses, professor of history and political economy. Moses was an ardent spokesperson for the University’s mission, described by Brechen as “existing to train those men to do their duties for the corporations that were increasingly submerging individualism for the greater material good.” Moses continued such advocacy, and in the early 1900’s described his perception of this purpose in the University and the Orient:

“The modern corporation is like the modern machine, whose parts can be readily replaced. The men involved in the corporation—who constitute these parts—may come and go, but the corporation, with undiminished efficiency in the performance of its appointed task, goes on forever.”

It wasn’t long after publishing this that Moses would become the founder of Berkeley’s Political Science Department. The saga continues.

As the university expanded, so did the duty it held toward society. During World War I, the state gave Chemistry Professor Gilbert Lewis a state-of-the-art chemistry building to host the pursuit of weapons research. But any achievements Lewis made were soon eclipsed by the arrival of Ernest Orlando Lawrence, the young physicist who would later team with Dr. Robert Oppenheimer— both UC-employed scientists—to explore the nuclear frontier. With their cutting edge science and intelligence, they would land the University of California with the contract to build the Atomic Bomb under the auspices of the Manhattan Project at Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico. [The UC still holds the government contract to manage the nation’s two leading nuclear laboratories, Los Alamos and Lawrence Livermore National Labs, see Academia &

Empire, pg 45]. Lawrence designed and refined the cyclotron, which uses centrifugal force to separate uranium ore out of raw uranium-rich earth.

With Lawrence’s cutting-edge creation and Oppenheimer’s tenacity to turn enriched uranium into the most powerful, and destructive, weapon ever made, the University became a key part in the Military-Academic-Industrial Complex. The bombs dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima were conceived, designed, and created by those working for the University of California.

And so continued the mission of the University of California. As for those that sat atop the UC hierarchy: The Regents were intended to be a supervising body that remained autonomous from political persuasions. They were appointed to lengthy terms by the governor, intended to be chosen for their keen business sense and common visions society’s advancement. Mind you, this was in a time dominated by the blatantly capitalist belief that what was good for business was good for all of society. These days, some would argue nothing has changed, but at least this notion must be covered by a thick coat of banter about the quest for knowledge.

From the beginning, the conception that Higher Education must be protected from politics to provide cover for an unfettered quest for knowledge and reason has been wrapped in hypocrisy. This situation was well articulated by the later investigative journalist and other of The Jungle, Upton Sinclair. After touring state-supported and private universities throughout the U.S. for his book The Goose Step: A Study of American Education, Sinclair observed that the UC “was run by a governing board that merely claimed to be independent of political control. Instead, status-laden seats on the Board of Regents had always served as political rewards, permitting the state’s financial and manufacturing elites, and especially ‘the Republican political machine which runs the government and is run by the finance of the state,’ to determine what would and would not be taught (from Brechen).”

Think about it, with any large institution in society, the interests of the rich and powerful are at stake. The UC held it’s own attraction, and from the beginning was ruled by those who subjected the University to powerful persuasions that suited the interests of the elite. As you will see in Fuck the Regents pg. 48, current members of the Board of Regents are deeply involved in the real estate business and the financial crisis, the military-industrial complex, and other forms of big business.



University. It was one of Clark Kerr's crown achievement reached early on during his time as UC President. For a short time, education at the UC was paid for by the state, and free of charge for the students. It was public education in the truest form. But that wouldn't last long. Shortly before the Free Speech Movement, the Regents voted to charge registration and education fees. Under the guise of the Master Plan, tuition is covered by the state. But the UC found other ways to charge students, categorizing them as fees and not tuition. Since then, fees have been steady increasing. In the last seven years, the price of a UC diploma has doubled, just recently surpassing \$7,000 a year [see Budget article pg 25].

In the 1960's, student began asking for programs and departments more hospitable to their educational pursuits and political sentiments. At Berkeley, students won an Ethnic Studies Department, which became an interdisciplinary major that was not limited to traditional constraints seen with other Social Sciences. For decades, students at UC Santa Cruz have been advocating for a similar department, with no success [See Ethnic Studies page 24]. Community Studies at UCSC, which was created in the 1960's as a cutting-edge and unique major that allowed students to pair theory and practice and apply their education to social change, has seen the department staff dissolved (canned) and the program has been slipped into the Sociology Department [see Budget Cuts page 25]. The UCSC Administration attempted to shut down the American Indian Resource Center, Engaging Education, and a host of other programs created to support students of color and those from underserved communities who struggle with Higher Education because of an unjust distribution of resources.

Such programs were what Clark Kerr envisioned in his idea of the "multiversity," a place that was not limited to a homogenous mentality or large-scale production. Instead, the multiversity would be hospitable to all types of interests, styles of learning, and kinds of community. It would host "the community of the undergraduate and the community of the graduate; the community of the humanist, the community of the social scientist, and the community of the scientist; the communities of the professional schools; the community of all the nonacademic personnel; the community of the administrators."

That was the dream that birthed UC Santa Cruz. The programs were won by students and faculty in battle,

and Kerr's forward thinking eventually got him fired. Now we see a dream threatened. [see the UC Corporate Hustle pg. 30]. The retreating tide of Kerr's dream of the multiversity, of liberalizing the institution to nurture growth of a bastion of free thought that and exploration that can find multiple ways to address society's biggest questions, and biggest problems, is on its way to becoming shattered shards of hopes and dreams. The erosion of humanities, interdisciplinary programs, and various student services suggest these dreams might be washing away, as the Research Establishment holds its ground. And, in this day and age, the Research Establishment comes part and parcel with new collaborative enterprises like private-public partnerships and private research contracts, both which signal a growing dependence on private funding.

Some would argue that it has always been this way, that the University is beholden to the power elite of society. That is true. But at least since the 60's there have been worthy attempts for reform (divestments, new majors, stopping student fee hikes, student services) and the mobilization of visions and movements to fundamentally change the landscape of the University of California (UC Nuclear Free, divestment and research challenges, opposition to un-checked expansion at UCSC, Berkeley, Santa Barbara, and other campuses.)

As a microcosm of the larger society and its promising movements and devastating problems alike, the UC as it is emerging shares a striking resemblance with the way that the real potential for change once thought possible in the 60's shattered and receded back toward a sorry state for the hardly-existing anti-war movement, attempts to resist racist paradigms, and all other assaults on the machine. The "good liberal" that Savio saw in Clark Kerr represents what was once a young, pioneering movement for change and has since become a satiated middle-class that has lost its edge. The dream of liberalism requires serious questions, and that could very well be the tide that is receding.

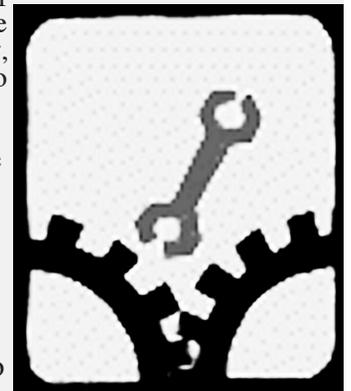
Mario Savio and scores of students sparked a movement that shook the country and paved the way for us to follow in their tracks. But they are now etched in history, along with the spirit and strategies of the 1960's. We are in a new era now, many of us welcomed to any political sentiments by the Bush Administration, paired with a matrix of global crisis that have us scrambling in many directions and bickering amongst ourselves over which direction is the right one.

This era is ours to define. No longer can we ride on the backs of our predecessors; now we must defend the marks and relics left by them. No longer is the University of California some sort of Utopia on Earth. Sorry for the shock. But you're here now, and God knows, it's time to fight.

How does the machine rule your life?

Is it a force you can just sit by and watch?

Or might it once again be time for students in mass to stand up and make it stop?

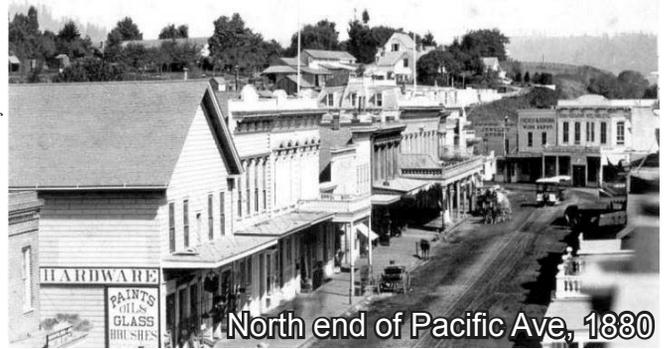


So, from those of us at the DisOrientation Guide: Welcome, my friends, welcome to the Machine.

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.

# Local Histories



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 Drugstore 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.

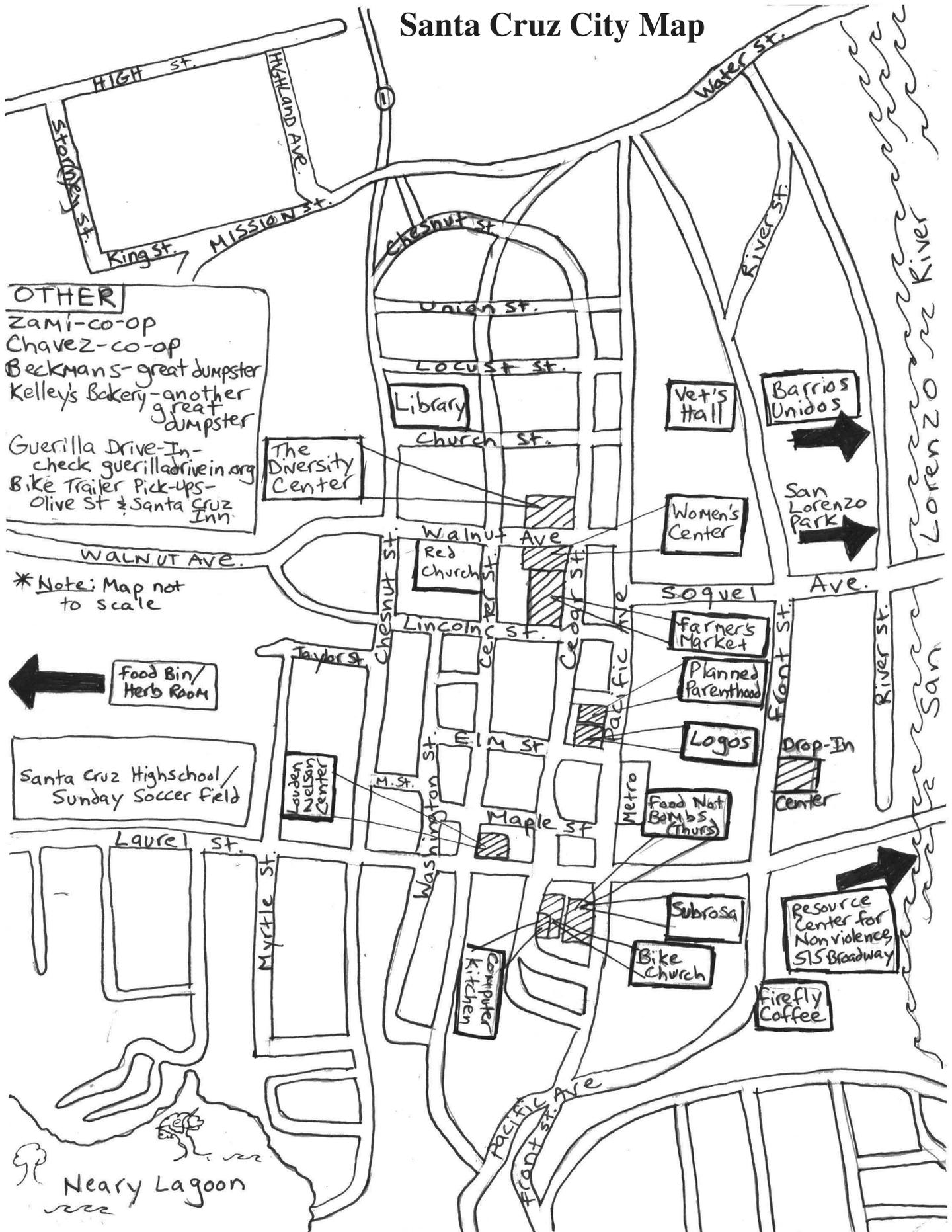
With the 1914 onset of World War I and the 1916 release of the Ku Klux Klan-promoting film *Birth of a Nation* (which sold out at local theaters), treatment of local African Americans shifted abruptly. Reader describes a suddenly hostile climate: “Bigotry became a policy in many quarters as blacks were 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 Lighthouse 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*

# Santa Cruz City Map



\*Note: Map not to scale

# 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.

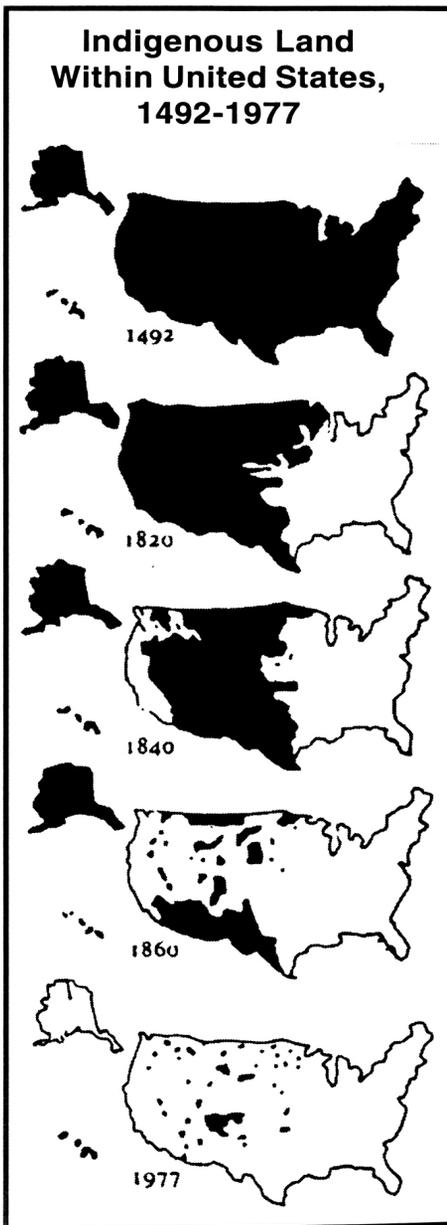
To further understand the deep bonds within Ohlone society, it is important to recognize that each tribe constituted between roughly two or three hundred people. There was virtually no leaving such a situation unless one was cast out completely. Such ostracization did occur, but it was very rare and 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 newcomers 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 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.





# Free Skool Santa Cruz

by Emerald Snow

Free Skool Santa Cruz is another one of the exciting local projects happening in this town that is aimed at building strong community, and creating a world that we enjoy living in. The basic goal of this project is to create a network for the free exchange of information and skills, which is outside of the traditional market economy and institutional educational structures. YOU, me, and everyone make Free Skool happen. Free Skools exist all over the place, with high numbers of them in the U.S. and Canada. The way it works in Santa Cruz is that there is a collective of people who get together and look at class ideas, organize them onto a big calendar (complete with class times, summaries, and locations), and then distribute it different areas in town. **ANYONE** can submit a class idea on whatever they want, and propose to teach it anywhere/anytime they want. There are 4 quarters in each year of Free Skool SC (Fall, winter, spring, and summer). All classes are free, although some teachers may request a donation if there are materials supplied for you. The meaning of “free” in the title is not only in reference to monetary cost but also to the concept of liberation through self and community reliance. Here is a short statement from the Free Skool SC website: “As much as possible, Free Skool works to blur the line between teachers, students, and organizers. Teachers make most of the arrangements for their classes including subject, material, timing, and location. Classes are informal, egalitarian, and are held in homes, social spaces, and parks.”

## What kinds of classes take place through FSSC?

Class topics are very diverse and usually consist of these categories (with some examples of past classes and subjects included):

### • Discussion Oriented Classes

- “Confronting Patriarchy” (a women’s workshop)
- “Refusing to be the Patriarch” (a men’s workshop)
- Local politics/projects
- Conversation sessions (to practice foreign language)
- Sports and Activities
- “Croquet for the People”
- Soccer
- Yoga
- Bike rides

### • More Academic Classes

- languages
- political theory
- history (from local to world)
- music
- health/nutrition
- literature
- women’s health/gynaecology
- herbology
- Art Classes
- mosaic creation
- quilt making
- collage making

- sewing
- world cinema
- poetry readings + analysis
- Skillshares
- plant medicine/herbal remedies
- cooking
- food preservation
- bicycle repair (with workshops specifically for women and trans-gendered peoples)
- how to make: homebrew, a shelter, a camping stove, kombucha, & rice/nut milks.

*There are more types of classes that are not listed, it is truly very difficult to summarize the class categories because they are so various and unique each quarter.*

### From my own personal experience...

For me, Free Skool SC has been a way for me to connect with other people in Santa Cruz and share my interests. I have been both a student and a teacher/facilitator of classes through Free Skool, and the benefits on myself and my community are numerous. I am very thankful for having the opportunity to share my passions with other people who want to learn and discuss, and Free Skool has definitely made this really fun and easy to facilitate. As a student at the university, it is also very nice to get out of a formal educational environment and interact with all sorts of people of all different ages in this small beach town. And most

importantly, for me Free Skool has helped me open my mind up to looking at education in a different way, and form new thoughts and opinions about how I want my education to be, and how to make that happen in the world.

The calendars are distributed at various places on campus so if you get your hands on one check it out and there will probably be at least one interesting class that you can attend (even with our busy college lives). One location you can pick one up is in the Kresge Foods Co-op, which is on the south side of Kresge College. Also, if you are interested, I highly encourage you to facilitate your own class. Remember that without people like you and I holding classes, this project would disappear... For more information and a schedule of classes, check out the Free Skool Santa Cruz website: <http://santacruz.freeskool.org>

# 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.



# Hometown Blues

for the student escapee

Santa Cruz night, in the back yard of one of the dozens of college-student houses, surrounded by scores of local punks, metal heads, friends and strangers—tonight is a garage show. Drunkenness, screaming conversation, and blaring noise is the rule. An American flag is burned. A fist is thrown. There's a scuffle. And then, I am standing in the front yard of this house, with my friends clutching bottles, fingering blades. Across the street, I count shaved heads, white kids. There, but for fortune, go you or me.

Santa Cruz is not the bubble you think it is. The social conflicts alive in this town are not merely analogous to greater ills in American society—as remote as it is, Santa Cruz and its residents are directly involved in conflicts that are being fought across the region, and across California. To paraphrase Paulo Freire, the outcast, the beggar, the jobless, the vagrant, the entire body of the poor is not, nor has it ever been external to society. No, integration is not the problem—the problem is exploitation.

When I came to this city, I was a transfer student from a community college in Los Angeles, and an excited, adamant student of the UC. Santa Cruz struck me as its own sort of microcosm, a weird, funky place where my off-color attitudes could jive with new companions and restaurants would offer me vegetarian food that would actually be enjoyable. It seldom occurred to me that the persons cooking or serving said meals might be in Santa Cruz for entirely different reasons. It seldom occurred to me that the youth in this town might be as disillusioned with the universe they grew up in as I was with Los Angeles—that they, too, have seen thousands flock to their home town, in search of a new life, only to take and leave what they will, exploit and warp the image of the place around them, and ultimately leave as alien as they were when they entered, or sink into madness, desperation, and drug abuse.

There are skinheads around this county—and not only a handful. I am not telling you this to convince you of the prevalence of racism across the country. I am not telling you this to make you think that Santa Cruz is not a beautiful and unique place—it is. I am telling you this because, if you are a new student at the UC, you need to know that you have not escaped to a quiet, little town, dominated by an Ivory Tower, where you can study in peace and ignore the social ills that plagued your own hometown.

“Kooks” is a term many Santa Cruz locals use to describe the student body of UCSC. Specifically, it refers to people like myself, my friends, and anyone who supposes themselves to be a radical, a punk, a hippy, or just a pot-smoking liberal. Shine on, you crazy diamonds. Remember, however, that every year, a new class of graduating seniors leaves Santa Cruz behind, having used the place as a stepping stone. To them, it is a library of ideas; a laboratory to experiment with drugs, “kooky” art, and activism; a bank of experiences to draw from or a canvas to draw upon. Local hatred towards students comes from their treatment of Santa Cruz

There's nothing quite like the feeling that you are about to be in a fight. On a cold

as a disposable. Students do not consider it their home. So, I ask the question, “Are we carpet-baggers?”

No. As the history of California makes clear, the scramble to stake your claim, jump on a hot new market, and “make it big” has long governed the migration of laborers and entrepreneurs. However, Santa Cruz is not exactly fresh, unclaimed land. Two forces dominate the economy of this town: Tourism and the University. We, as students, control neither of these forces. We, like the Latina/o immigrants to the Southwest, cheapen local labor by working shitty, part-time jobs—and likewise excite animosity and hatred from the locals. We students vote with our hearts in local elections that are unlikely to affect us greatly if we leave Santa Cruz after we gain our degrees. We are not carpet-baggers, we are young people, excited by the possibilities and Possibility that this town represents to us. We are not exploiting this place any more than we exploit the laborers who work in our own home towns. The hatred many locals feel towards us is like the hatred that oppressed workers in early-20th century New York felt towards Irish immigrants. The two had a common enemy in the Vanderbilts and the Rockefellers. We students and the local youth of Santa Cruz have a common enemy in the University, and the corporate bodies behind its veil. The degree to which we remain divided is the exact degree to which we will be exploited.

The UC claims the top of the pyramid when it comes to political discussions of how public education should be run in California. Yet, the UC does little to help the people of Santa Cruz besides “provide” the population with jobs that are as alienating and disempowering as a 300-person lecture hall. Vacant as they are of compassion and creativity, California's public schools reinforce class divisions through property-tax-financing. Santa Cruz High School, even with the locally high property values, sends a number of students to UCSC that is so small as to be negligible.

On the one hand, this makes sense. Besides those prospective students who, even with grants, financial aid, and loans, cannot afford UCSC, and those students who have been failed by robotic public schooling and standardized testing, the Santa Cruz natives who went away for university probably wanted to escape. I'm confident that few people reading this wanted badly to stay in their home town, or even close to it, when it came time to decide on university.

On the other hand, I want to ask another question, “Should this be?” Should it be that an Ivory Tower on top of a hill, out in a forest gets to bully around the local politicians? Should it be that we UC students and local youth are pitted against one another for jobs, housing, and a scant artistic spotlight? Should it be that our primary avenue for getting involved in the lives of local youth—the public education system—is so bereft of real values that it leaves our generation, across California, with a desire to abandon our communities, in search of a better life? Should we abandon our communities? Is there a better life to escape to?

Answer this and these questions with your heart, and with your head. I say no.

## 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 US 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.
- 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.

# Homelessness & City Ordinances

by Ruth & Gazuedro

Familiarizing yourself with the rules and regulations on campus will take some getting used to. Fortunately, there is a certain amount of leeway that comes with paying over a thousand dollars a month for a shared dorm room, no kitchen, and a bathroom/shower situation that might make you feel like you're away at summer camp.

When you make it down the hill to the city of Santa Cruz, there is a whole new list of laws, enforced to keep the population at bay. Now if you're in your nice Northface jacket or other flashy apparel, carrying a purse, or sporting a back pocket full of cash, there might not be a lot to worry about. But, if you happen to dawn a scruffier look, these laws will be used to keep you OUT of the downtown area. They are designed for the persecution of individuals without the cash-flow for housing, those traveler types, those vagabonds, those LAZY CRAZY homeless people.



This system of persecution depends on a lack of awareness--an assumed disconnect between you and those out of luck. Technically, these laws are supposed to be for EVERYONE, which would make public space UNINHABITABLE. They are designed to keep people moving, providing no FREE place to sit and take a much needed break, unless of course you have a cup of coffee in your

hand, or a large shopping bag full of new shoes.

This trend of criminalizing the poor does not create safety. It terrorizes a fragile population and promotes an atmosphere of hostility, a sense of unease.

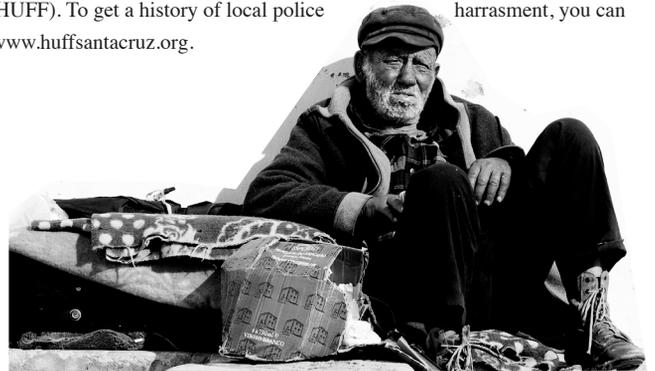
While the city may portray a concern for safety, altogether an

## DOWNTOWN LAW!!!

- \*DO NOT SIT ON THE SIDEWALK, YOU CAN BE TICKED IF:
  - You are at a Bus Stop
  - Within 14 Feet of ANY building
  - Within 50 feet of an ATM (or any other outdoor coin/money machine)
  - Within 14 feet of any fence that abuts a public sidewalk
  - Within 14 feet of any drinking fountain, public telephone, public bench, public trash compactors, info or directory/map signs, sculpture or artwork displayed in public property, or vending cart
  - within 14 feet of any street corner or intersection
  - Within 14 of any kiosk
- \*DO NOT SIT ON ANY PUBLIC BENCH GREATER THAN 1 HOUR
- \*DO NOT SLEEP IN THE CAR OR IN THE PARK
- \*DO NOT WALK A DOG DOWNTOWN
- \*DO NOT POLITICALLY TABLE OR STREET PERFORM IN DESIGNATED AREAS FOR LONGER THAN AN HOUR

unfounded argument, the reality is that the safety of citizens is secondary to the financial security massive police forces provide. The reality is that homeless people reduce tourism, and that just cannot be tolerated. These laws terrorized people into fulfilling certain roles, or else risk losing even more. Fuck that shit, it's crazy.

Witnesses and photographs of police harassment can make a report to HUFF (423-HUFF). To get a history of local police harassment, you can visit [www.huffsantacruz.org](http://www.huffsantacruz.org).



- 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.

### 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 next page)

# HERBS

The herbs listed here are likely to help out your heart, body, and home. Many grow locally and can be found sneaking through the cracks in the sidewalk, or growing on the trail you hike on between lectures (see LRDP list of plant species). You may not want to pick any that have been growing too close to roads because of all the car pollution, but if you find any of these herbs in a good environment, they're super yummy.



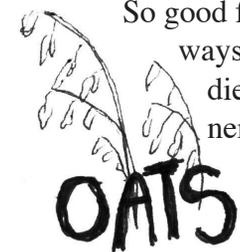
Make a wish! This is no weed. If you get down to one of the farmers' markets you can buy bunches of the leafy greens. It's a great liver tonic (if you've been having a nice long drinking extravaganza), is also a great source of potassium, and a diuretic. You can brew it in tea, cook it, or make wine out of it (although some forms of consumption may be more nutritious than others).

Great for yeast infections (see Fertility Cycles), bronchitis, colds, coughs, hay fever, infections, sore throat, wounds, and serves as a liver tonic.



A fairly common tea that performs all sorts of minor miracles: dealing with anxiety, burns, depression, fever, headache, indigestion, insomnia, itching, nausea, sore throats, stress, and wounds.

Is it winter yet? Is there a constant chorus of coughing in lecture? This is the herb to take for bronchitis, colds, swollen glands, infection, laryngitis, and sore throats.



So good for you, and so many ways to cook them. These are a great dietary staple because they feed the nervous system, especially under stress, which can sometimes feel constant at the University. Oats also help with anxiety and depression.

is founded. It is still located at 515 Broadway street. Check out [www.rcnv.org](http://www.rcnv.org) for more info.



- 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.

## 1977

- The Coalition Against Institutional Racism (CAIR) is formed. The group mobilizes over 1,000 students at Hahn Administration building to



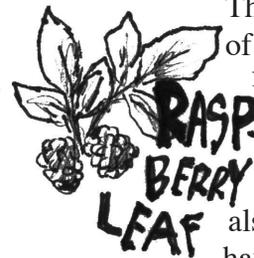
Great for beer-making, firstly. Also great for anxiety, insomnia, stress and tension. There are some warnings for use during depression, however, as depression may increase.

Not just for kissing under, this herb has been taken for anxiety, depression, migraines, stress, and tension. It is also an abortifacient, and should therefore be avoided during pregnancy (or, consult the Herbal Abortion recipe).



The flower of the state can be brewed for anxiety, insomnia, and tension. Great after a long paper (but don't get caught gathering it unless you crave jail time).

This plant can help with anxiety, cramps, depression, headaches, insomnia, pre-menstrual tension, painful menstruation, tension, and migraines. This plant does a whole, whole lot.



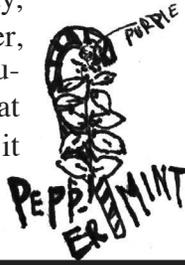
This makes a nice cup of tea in the weeks before and during your period. It is also great for pregnant women trying to keep themselves healthily pregnant. It is also a good uterine contractor if you haven't had your period in a while or wish to abort. (see recipe for getting your period back).



demand that the University divest from South African apartheid and reject the Bakke decision outlawing affirmative action. 401 students are arrested occupying the building.

- 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.

Another fairly common herb used in teas which can alleviate anxiety, colds, fever, hay fever, indigestion, itching, nausea, and tension. Great for before bed, though it can sometimes worsen overly acidic stomachs.



This lovely herb grows everywhere here in Santa Cruz. It is good for circulation, depression, and headaches. Cook with it or make tea.



Parsley contracts the uterus, can help bring on a period, or speed up the last few skimpy days of menstruation by helping to move the blood out.

With this herb comes with the issue of legality. It is used to alleviate appetite disorders, anxiety, sleeplessness, pain, nausea. There is policed access to this herb. Here in Santa Cruz you can get a Dr.'s note and pay for a Medical Marijuana card (muy expensive), but the card provides you with a degree of safety, though with all the regulations/laws and ordinances out there, it leaves fairly few people un-criminal. A Medical Marijuana Card in Santa Cruz grants you the following "rights":

### 7.124.105 -- Medical Marijuana Guidelines

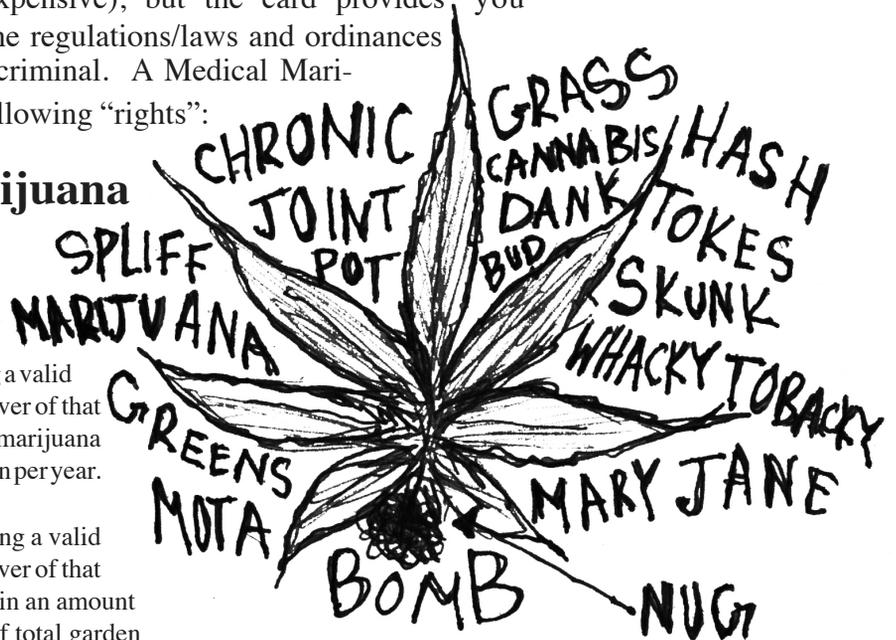
**A. Possession.** A qualified patient or a person holding a valid identification card, or the designated primary caregiver of that qualified patient or person, may possess amounts of marijuana up to three pounds of dried cannabis bud or conversion per year.

**B. Cultivation.** A qualified patient or a person holding a valid identification card, or the designated primary caregiver of that qualified patient or person, may cultivate cannabis in an amount not to exceed more than one hundred square feet of total garden canopy, as measured by the combined vegetative growth area.

**C.** If a qualified medical marijuana patient or primary caregiver has an attending physician's written, dated and signed recommendation that the quantities described in subsections A and B of this section are not sufficient to meet the medical marijuana patient's needs, said patient or caregiver may possess and/or cultivate an amount of marijuana consistent with the attending physician's written recommendation.

**D.** The name of the qualified medical marijuana patient and/or the primary caregiver's designation shall be and remain posted at any garden site where medical marijuana is being cultivated.

**E.** A primary caregiver's designation shall be in the possession of the caregiver whenever he or she possesses or cultivates marijuana subject to this chapter.



1977 Rally in front of Hahn Student Services. Banner reads: "(illegible) Overturn Bakke."

#### 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 TWANAS newspaper is published.



TWANAS Logo

# An Injury to One is an Injury to All!

## 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.48), 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.

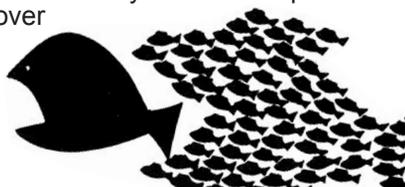
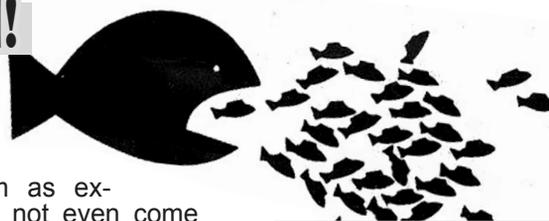
Labor unions are the primary organizations that represent workers and negotiate for their rights with their employers. They protect workers from unlawful termination and harassment, and organize to increase job security, wages and opportunities against the incessant rollbacks of corporations and our 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 it's priorities have nothing to do with improving education and the communities on and around campuses. Rather than re-

spect 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.



## Union Cheat Sheet

### AFSCME

Association of Federal, State, County and Municipal Employees: groundskeepers, custodians, shuttle drivers and dining hall workers. [www.afscme3299.org](http://www.afscme3299.org) [mmolina@afscme3299.org](mailto:mmolina@afscme3299.org) 831.425.4822

**AFT** American Federation of Teachers: lecturers. [www.ucsc-aft.org](http://www.ucsc-aft.org), [allison@ucsc-aft.org](mailto:allison@ucsc-aft.org)

**UAW** United Auto Workers: Teachers Assistants [www.uaw2865.org](http://www.uaw2865.org) [www.uaw-quad.org](http://www.uaw-quad.org) [santacruz@uaw2865.org](mailto:santacruz@uaw2865.org) 831.423.9737.

**CUE** Coalition of University Employees: clerical workers. [www.cueunion.org](http://www.cueunion.org) [cueorganizer@cruzio.com](mailto:cueorganizer@cruzio.com)

**UPTe** University Professional and Technical Employees: technical support, lab assistants, researchers. [www.upte-ucsc.edu](http://www.upte-ucsc.edu) [upte@upte-ucsc.org](mailto:upte@upte-ucsc.org) 831.429.8783

• 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.

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.



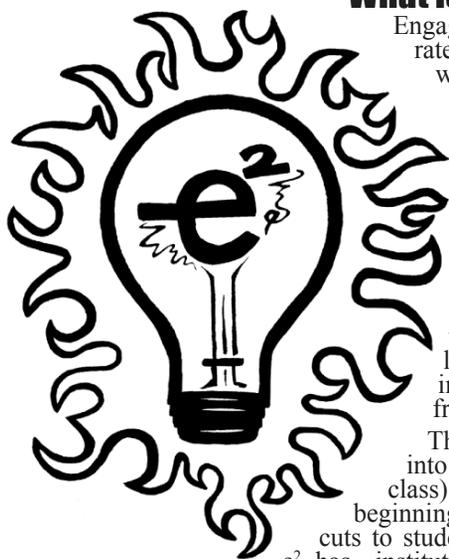
4. The TWANAS Support Coalition organizes another rally in response, and 25 people commit to not eating

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

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

## 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.

"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."

### Contact Us:

e-mail: ucsc\_e2@yahoo.com  
Main: 831-459-1743

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.

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.

# RAINBOW, RAINBOW!

BY ALEX HERNANDEZ

It isn't just said-It is proclaimed! "Rainbow Rainbow!" Maybe you'll hear it coming into class, across the lecture hall, in the middle of the forest, in the dining halls, and even on the streets of Santa Cruz. Chances are, if you're traveling, you'll hear it, shouted on corners, in audiences, in artist gatherings, in different hideaways, all across the United States. Am I exaggerating? Of course not! After fifteen seasons (that's fifteen years) alumni of both UCSC and Rainbow Theatre are out in the world, doing what they do best. They aim to create a space on UCSC campus devoted to bringing the stories and lives of culturally and ethnically diverse peoples to a place where they are rarely seen: the stage (From Rainbow Theatre's mission statement).

Founder of Rainbow Theatre, Don Williams, director of Cultural Arts and Diversity for the Student Affairs Division, is always dressed to impress at premieres of performance by his students. Always willing to uplift, Rainbow's motto being, "Uplift someone higher than yourself." Each year, he joyfully welcomes former students back to Stevenson College to see the new performances put on by the Rainbow crew, and to welcome in new members of what most of them would call the "Rainbow Family." The family oriented theme is present and growing in every aspect of Rainbow, as it's members are encouraged to listen to, love and take care of one another. ("Don't worry. I got you!")

Expect to be challenged if you're going to try and become a part of the Rainbow Theatre Troup. In a space where feelings of resentment and frustration bubble to the surface, people sharing their experiences can be intensely visceral. Experiences of discrimination, strife among family, and even raw emotional wounds from deaths and losses are opened up and revealed. And this is just the auditions! When working from the ground up with nothing but a script, and being so close to other people, Rainbow Theatre brings out emotions, not always pleasant, but all

the time enlightening. Thanks to Don Williams' sincerity and (sometimes really, really long) talks at the end of the night, his reassuring presence and experience provide a ballast to the passions making theatre elicits.

Don doesn't fail to remind his students, he wouldn't be here without them. A few years ago, Theatre Arts made a decision to try and cut Rainbow Theatre from UCSC. Don was informed he would lose his job. When Don informed the Rainbow Family he would no longer be faculty, students began to organize. Protests against the decision raged. Performances and speeches vehemently against the university's decision, and strongly in support of Don Williams lasted for days. In the end, the university's decision to excise a Theatre Troup that was known for attracting controversial and sometimes

subversive material came to be seen by many as a thinly veiled attempt to bring down what could arguably be the most active, vocal, and intelligent groups on campus.

Attracting radical thinkers and poets, Rainbow Theatre is an expression of what Theatre could and should be: an experience that changes your life and the way you see yourself and the world around you. Many students who never knew what costuming was, many students who never knew what getting on a stage and performing was like, many students who never knew theatre wasn't supposed to be dull and substanceless all know now what a powerful and cathartic instrument a collaborative Theatre can be. If you can't be a part of it, go and see the performances. You are a part of the Rainbow Family too, because everyone can listen and learn.



• UCSC Earth First! Starts to 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 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,

# OUR COMMUNITIES ARE UNDER ATTACK!

by Student of Color Collective

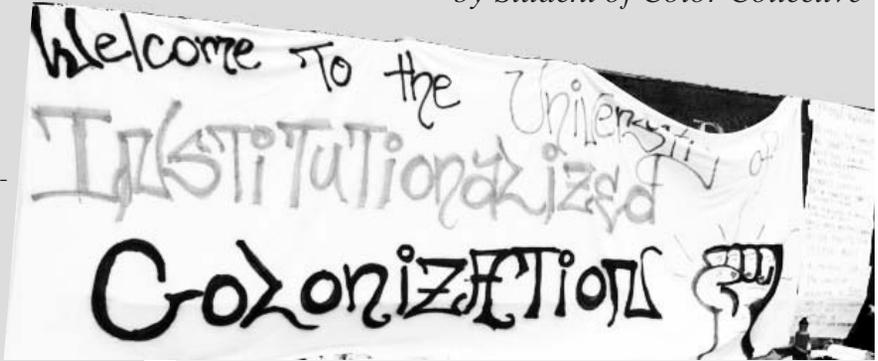
As students of color, we must constantly fight for a spot at the university, and when budget cuts hit, the battle continues to ensure that the services students of color depend on are preserved.

In the midst of these budget cuts and rising fees, working class students of color and other marginalized groups continue to be at the margins. Due to the recently enacted 6% cuts in enrollment growth, less students of color are expected to admit to the UC. African-American/Black student enrollment alone is expected to decrease by 5.4 - 8% when African American/Black students on our campus currently make up only 3.1% of incoming new freshman and 2.8% of already existing undergraduates (as of 2007). While UC Santa Cruz already has the second lowest graduation rate—just above UC Riverside—for students from historically underrepresented communities, the budget cuts disproportionately affect those already vulnerable groups at UC Santa Cruz and statewide.

Our communities and the attacks from the state on higher education are not independent of the cuts and attack on public education throughout California. Urban cities across California are truly being disenfranchised. A movement for quality education cannot be independent of knowledge or connection with students in the K-12 system. Prior to the current cuts we are facing, students in urban schools in California already suffered a lack of appropriate materials, qualified teachers, linear curriculums, criminalization of youth (specifically those from impoverished communities), militarization and lack of college preparation courses or resources; These systemic problems heightened after Schwarzenegger's cuts to education. All of these issues, and many more have everything to do with those who "make-it" to the university and those who do not. When we say our communities are under attack, we cannot see ourselves at the university as a separate entity from the students who suffer an inept public education in the state of California.

## WHAT DO WE DO?

While concerns were brought up in organizations and various student groups on campus who were working to fight against the budget cuts, students of color did not have a unified voice to build power, mobilization, and actively work to combat the decisions that would disproportionately and detrimentally impact them. Student leaders from various ethnic organizations along with others unaffiliated with groups on campus called an emergency meeting to mobilize and create a united platform to collectively respond to the budget cuts. Together we formed the Student of Color Collective.



(photo by Bradley Stuart / Indybay.org)

## Student of Color Collective Mission Statement

The Student of Color Collective (SOCC) is a coalition of student of color organizers actively working for an equitable, more accessible higher education for all students. Comprised of student leaders, ethnic organizations, and concerned students of color, the collective works to take back ownership over the system of higher education that has historically excluded/exploited communities of color. The collective recognizes the particular struggle of students of color to access, engage, and retain themselves in an institution that has, through the use of institutionalized racism, undervalued, underutilized, and overlooked the importance of a diverse student body. The collective asserts that as a public institution, it is the duty of the university to serve the public justly by reflecting the demographics of California.

Following a long legacy of student of color activism, and a thirty year long fight to maintain vital resources for students of color on this campus, the collective asserts that students of color are valuable assets to the UCSC campus and must be treated by the university as such. During times of budget cuts and economic uncertainty, it is the duty of the university to prioritize those who are most immediately impacted, students of color from historically marginalized communities. It is the duty of the university to therefore, adequately fund, promote, and support resources for these students of color in order to maintain a healthy, diverse campus.

The Student of Color Collective maintains the needs of students of color include but are not limited to access to effective outreach and retention programs which work to target marginalized communities, access to effective resource centers

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.

## 1984

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



that work to address the needs of students of color as stated by students of color, people of color representation on all levels of administration, retention of faculty of color, decision making power in all proposed or actual budget cuts which effect student of color resources, and accountability and transparency by all UCSC administrators over all budget decisions.

The collective holds the university accountable to its claim "To serve society as a center of higher learning, providing long-term societal benefits through transmitting advanced knowledge to all California students" (University of California Mission Statement). As active stakeholders in this institution of higher learning the Student of Color collective reclaims the university as a taskforce for creating a strong, diverse, and educated generation of leaders.

### Student of Color Collective Demands

#### Short Term:

- Hire full-time AIRC (American Indian Resource Center) and WC (Women's Center) directors with student voice in hiring process
- Maintain academic integrity and current structure of Community Studies Dept. by keeping field study coordinators Mike Rotkin and Flor Marchetti and Department Manager Penny Stinson.
- Retain two LALS professors Guillermo Delgado and Susan Jonas
- Make UCSC a sanctuary campus
- UCSC publicly support the Dream Act (state/federal)
- Permanent funding for Ethnic- Year-End Ceremonies from college C.A.O.s and Provosts
- RC (Resource Center) rep as liaison to between local tribes and UCSC. Maintain respectable relationships with local tribes.
- Equitable rent for family student housing. No rent increase for year of 09-10
- Fair transparent negotiations with workers and unions to ensure equitable pay, working condition and representation
- No layoffs!
- No worker deportations by ICE
- Freeze on cuts over the summer

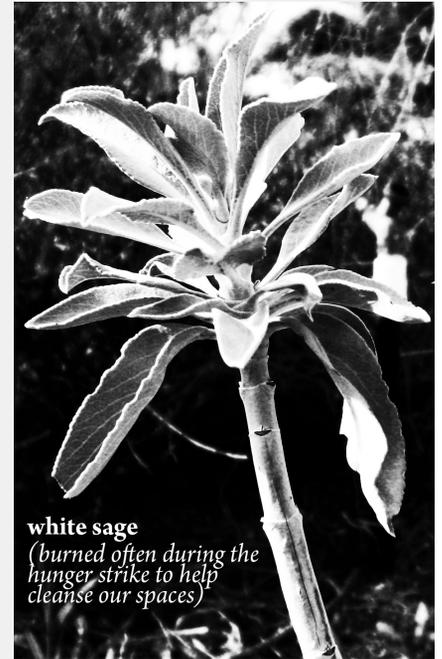
#### Long Term:

- Chancellor support/funding of Student Initiated Outreach programs for Students of Color
- Institutionalized scholarships and other resources for under-resourced immigrant students
- Access and affordability to higher education for underrepresented communities- STOP STUDENT FEE HIKES!
- Outreach and retention of faculty and staff of color (CPS)
- Fill Asian American "specialist" position for American Studies

- Movement towards an Ethnic Studies Program
- Affordable and quality housing for under sourced immigrant students
- No cuts to Disability Student resources
- No cuts to rape awareness

### STAND UP, FIGHT BACK!

In response to budget cuts we initiated a hunger strike. During the Hunger Strike, we had hundreds of students, community members, professors and organizations support by holding classes, meetings, rallies and simply to stand in solidarity. Press coverage from local Santa Cruz area, to Monterey County to the Bay, San Diego to Tokyo, spread fast in respect and attention to the methods that the SOC collective chose to respond to the budget cuts. We camped an entire week at the base of campus, with no police presence, alternating night watch, having meetings and creating relationships in our shared struggle to bring attention to the issues of a quality, accessible and affordable education. The collective also struggled internally with little time to organize, lack of commitment from certain groups, and also diverse perspectives on strategy. Ultimately the 2009 Student of Color Collective Hunger Strike began an important statement, first in honoring and remembering the TWANAS Hunger Strike for Ethnic Studies in 1979, and showing creatively the extent to which students are willing to take to combat continued systemic reproductions of colonialism and racism, in a new age of public education. The SOC Collective continues to formulate a rhetoric that resists the capitalist, disenfranchising and inaccessible productions of oppression within the university.



**white sage**  
(burned often during the hunger strike to help cleanse our spaces)

KNOWLEDGE WITHOUT WISDOM IS ADEQUATE FOR THE POWERFUL, BUT WISDOM IS ESSENTIAL TO THE SURVIVAL OF THE SUBORDINATE.

-Patricia Hill Collins

### 1985

- EOP/SAA sponsors a forum for all Third World students and 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 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



## Save the Student Voice: UCSC Student Media Cuts

by Dana Burd



This summer Campus Life, a cluster within Student Affairs which oversees a number of student services, including the Career Center, EOP, STARS, OPERS, the Resource Centers, Student Media, and SOAR [Student Organiza-

tion Advising and Resources], continued the process of making \$1.3 million dollars in budget cuts. According to the June 2008 Campus Life Budget Update, re-organization and staff reduction plans have been implemented to absorb the cuts because, "in order to preserve services for students, we are required to think and act differently," Associate Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs and Dean of Students Alma Sifuentes writes. These plans included the re-organization of Student Media to fall under the Director of SOAR, and have resulted in the layoff of the Director of Student Media, Marlene Olson.

Marlene Olson (who had been with the University for 20 years as the Director of Student Media, as the Media Coordinator before Student Media had even been established as a unit, as well as serving as an intermedium Director of SOAR between program directors) argues that the units are too dissimilar to be combined. Unique characteristics of Student Media organizations include the necessity for media law advising, day-to-day business advising, and training in accounts payable, collections, advertising and underwriting for business and ad sales teams. "College student media advising requires a remarkably different professional skill set than those required by SOAR, OPERS or College Programming advisers," said Olson. "With each change of supervisor, I found myself spending as much time advising and educating my new supervisors in the nuances of the First Amendment, media law, earned income, and the special needs of our program, as I did students."

Student Media was established as a unit when it was separated from SOAR in 1998. Since then both units have expanded; Student Media alone has grown from supporting 400 students in 1996 to nearly 1,000 in 2009. "The primary reason any UCSC program receives 'unit status' is because of verifiable and quantifiable student demand for services. Unit status is a statement of commitment to support a specific area," said Olson, "[allowing] for a dedicated and knowledgeable unit director to provide timely responses to the day-to-day risk management demands, which in

this case included First Amendment, FCC and related media law."

"I was surprised by the reorganization, and since then I have been trying to figure out what it means for SOAR," said SOAR Director Sayo Fujioka. "Anytime you lose an FTE [full time equivalent position], that's a loss, so the question is how we will fill that time and expertise".

Mike Rotkin, who is a Lecturer in the Community Studies Department, faculty sponsor for Student Media publication Fish Rap Live!, and UC-AFT Vice President, argues against the method of implementing layoffs to deal with these cuts. "The regents and president are making these insane, outrageous and stupid decisions, then UCSC is making bad choices on how to make the cuts. It's irrational on multiple levels." The SOAR Director sees the layoff as a loss for students in the face of the harsh fiscal realities the University is facing. "Marlene built a lot of new initiatives with staff and students; her leaving is a big loss," Fujioka said. "The University overall is in a crisis, it is hard on everybody. Students are losing valuable people and services are being reduced. It's not an optimal situation."

While the position has been cut, the funding is staying with Student Media. In a meeting with Acting Assistant Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs Sue Matthews and Student Affairs administrators Lucy Rojas and Denise Onitsuka, students were assured that "the reorganization is not a budget reduction issue." In fact, the funding for the position is required to stay with Student Media because it was funded by student referendum, Measure 7. Each Measure is a compulsory Campus-Based fee charged to UCSC students. In 2003, Measure 7 was passed as students voted to assess themselves a fee of up to \$51 a quarter to preserve student programs, which were losing Registration fee funding. **Measure 7 funding can be allocated to student programs and services that enhance campus life.**

Each UC campus has an SFAC (Student Fee Advisory Committee) or RFAC (Registration Fee Advisory Committee) charged with bringing student involvement to budget decisions in the form of funding allocation recommendations. UCSC's SFAC has the added responsibility of holding purview of Measure 7, the Student Program's Fee. The committee made no proposals of funding changes for 2009-10, taking the possibility of cutting any unit's Measure 7 funding off the table. Since the Measure falls under the control of SFAC, who made no recommendation, Measure 7 funding will stay with units at the same allocation for next year, so all cuts were taken from unit's registration fee funding. While many units took the 10% cut out of vacant staff salaries, reduction of staff FTE, operating budgets and even lay offs, some administrative offices such as AVC SA received permanent budget and staff FTE increases for the 2010 Fiscal year.

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 shantytowns, 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. 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

***Since the unit is supported by Measures and earned income, Student Media is left with nothing to cut; so why layoff the Director?***

In spite of the fact that Measure 7 was protected, and Student Media receives \$558 in registration fee funding, the unit was asked to write a proposal on how it handle a cut of up to 7-10% of its permanent budget (Measure 7 included). The proposal put forth by the unit on how to address that kind of cut offered a method of rearranging Student Media's budget in a way which avoided layoffs. "We would find a way to do it" Olson said, "If Student Media was once again forced to cut its budget, we were committed to replacing operating costs and salaries with Measure 13 and 34 and earned income. As in all of the past years of cuts, I was prepared for tough times." Student Media has plenty of experience dealing with decreased fees and still sustaining their program. Over the years registration fee funding for Student Media has been cut back through budget cuts so that the unit receives almost no registration fee funding. Thus, the unit must rely on Student Measure 13 for equipment, Measure 34 for advising and Measure 7 for operations and advising. "Student Media has endured year-after-year of the budget cuts - beyond any other unit of its size I know of on campus, taking a \$50,000 cut in 1994-1995," said Olson, "And yet, we found a way to survive each and every one of them."

Ultimately Student Media's received no direct budget cut this summer. It was Sifuentes' decision, not a recommendation from unit Directors or Executive Directors to layoff the Director and reorganize Student Media under SOAR. "Student Affairs was really large and administratively heavy", said Sifuentes "where we could find synergies we merged positions to have those efficiencies in addition to budget cuts." Because of this year's re-organization, decisions on how to spend the funding from the eliminated Director position falls to the discretion of the Director of SOAR; thus, it is unlikely the advising will be replaced through the hiring of additional staff this year. "I don't think we are going to be able to fill a position right now, just because of all of these other challenges that we have for this year," said Sifuentes. Plans on how Student Media will use the funds have not been finalized.

Reorganization decisions traditionally fall to the Director and Executive Director administrative levels to determine how changes will be made within units. "In a very general way that was the purview of the Directors, and the Executive Director is supposed to do that," said Sifuentes, "I was not satisfied with the plans, because I thought they were not realistic, so I gave folks the chance of providing input, but it did not realize, so I had to go ahead and make those kinds of decisions."

Some students, however, do not see this move as creating such efficiency, because of the loss of the direct advising that the

Director of Student Media had offered students. "The two units are like apples and oranges, they are so different. You could make that argument about administrative efficiencies for every position that is on the same level, so all of the Directors and all of the Executive Directors and all of the Associate Vice Chancellors are all technically duplicates of each other," said Connan Bradley, Student Media's IT System's Analyst, "but it was the scope of the [Director of Student Media] position that made it unique. She was offering direct advising for legal and financial issues, which are responsibilities that are for the most part now being pushed off onto the other advisors who already have too much work". According to the position's job description, the Director had a unique combination of responsibilities including training and advising for student in underwriting and ad sales. "The development of earned income for student media organizations has been a significant part of my day-to-day efforts and advising," said Olson. "Each year I trained new generations of students to go into the community and compete in one the most media saturated markets in the country." "This is a huge risk management mistake," said Rotkin, arguing, "Someone will get sued for a million dollars for defamation of character. This is bad management, simple as that." He added, "There is no reason to make these kinds of cuts. This is taking away some of the autonomy of student publications and threatening the idea of an independent student voice".



In response, students alarmed with the lack of transparency and student input in this and similar changes across the division of Student Affairs launched the campaign, Save the Student Voice. Moving forward, the campaign will focus on bringing student opinion back into the decision making processes, including demanding budget transparency, involvement from the Student Fee Advisory Committee in budget allocations, and student input when changes are made to student programs.

Visit [savethestudentvoice.com](http://savethestudentvoice.com) for more information, or email at [savethestudentvoice@gmail.com](mailto:savethestudentvoice@gmail.com).

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.

**1991**

- UCSC/Big Creek starts logging at Elfland (a redwood grove) over holiday break. 42 people are arrested in a 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](http://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

# Some Historical Context for the Struggle for Ethnic Studies at UCSC *by Sherwin Mendoza*

There is a long history of struggle for Ethnic Studies here at UCSC. In 1977 the Coalition Against Institutional Racism was formed to demand that UCSC divest from South Africa and support affirmative action. In 1977 also there were calls proposing a Third World and Native American Studies (TWNAS) program at UCSC. These calls were not fulfilled, but by 1981 students were organized enough to hold a hunger strike that won a written commitment from the university to hire Ethnic Studies faculty and to affirm the requirement that all students should take at least one class focused on Native Americans or the domestic Third World.

However, the struggle for Ethnic Studies is not just a struggle about the curriculum and the faculty of the university. The struggle for Ethnic Studies has been at the center of a struggle over the identity of the UC as a whole. The 1960 “Master Plan” for higher education in California divides the population of high school graduates into three pools, 12.5% eligible to attend the UC, 33% eligible to attend CSUs, and anyone “capable of benefiting from instruction” eligible to attend a community college. This plan for education devised by self-styled “masters” is clearly a plan to reproduce a class system in the state of California by sorting people into a hierarchy of educational institutions, with the small minority attending the UCs becoming the new elite of the state.

Fortunately, not everyone who has attended the UCs has been so in-

vested in building boundaries based on where people go to school. The late 1960s and early 1970s rang with the slogans “Serve the People!” and “All Power to the People!” It was in the spirit of these slogans that the Third World Student Strikes at San Francisco State and UC Berkeley in 1968 demanded and won the first Ethnic Studies programs in California. In contrast to the “Master Plan,” which would create a privileged set of UC graduates, the movement for Ethnic Studies aimed at breaking the barriers between students and the most exploited workers, between the university and communities of color.

The recent history of struggles for Ethnic Studies at UCSC has been mixed. Although key faculty have not been retained, there have been a number of victories such as the establishment of Engaging Education (E<sup>2</sup>), resource centers for students of color, and the winning of institutional support for student-led outreach and retention programs. Currently, the UC president and some top UCSC admin-

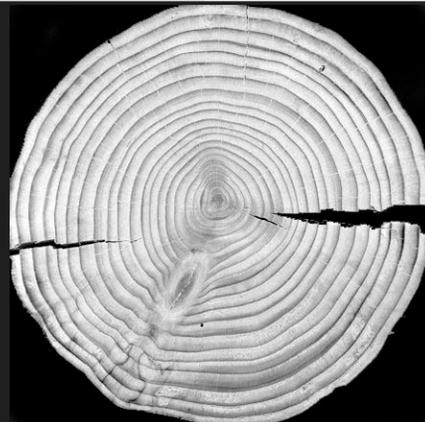
istrators are attempting to roll back and even eliminate these programs through budget cuts and in particular by laying off key support staff. Two particularly urgent cases right now are the cuts to the Educational Opportunity Program (EOP) and to Community Studies. The great question now is whether the university will only serve a tiny elite, with all power to the UC president, or whether the university will serve all of the people of California, including people of color.



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.

- Ethnic Student Organization Council (ESOC) forms out of Third World and Native American Studies Coalition. ESOC plays a key role in campus politics over the next decade.

## 1996

- After extensive negotiations with the Regents, the UCSC “Affirmative Action Coalition” (AAC) mobilized

# The Budget Cuts

by Gazuedro, September 2009

The University of California system, as a whole, is facing a budget shortfall upwards of \$1.15 billion over two years. The state of California itself is suffering from an approximate \$41 billion budget deficit. The message that the UC office of the president (UCOP) is relaying to the rest of the university system is to realize our unified interest to survive these budget cuts. UC President Mark Yudof says that what he needs “is [our] strong support and a sense that we’re all hanging in together in this.” (UCOP) But who is really hanging in this together? Who takes the bulk of cuts in this crisis? As the crunch gets more severe, it becomes more apparent that the UC’s approach is antithetical to the success of its educational mission. The UC’s rhetoric about the budget crisis is riddled with hypocrisy, veiled messaging, and most prominently, a lack of depth & insight in scrutinizing the scope, distribution and consequences of the budget reductions.

## Some Numbers

In the past few years, UC student fee increases exploded. The 2007-2008 academic year saw a 8% fee increase, the next year an additional 7.4% fee increase and this coming year (2009-10) we will suffer the staggering effects of a 9.3% fee increase (UCOP). Between 1990 and 1995 the student fees increased 115%\*, followed by a lull and a 13.0%\* fee reduction. Between 2002 and 2006 the student fee skyrocketed with a 59.8%\* increase. Adjusting for inflation, student fees have increased 209%\*, while California minimum wage has dropped 14.5%\* since 1970. If this is the beginning of your first year at the UC, you should be aware that your tuition will almost certainly increase each consecutive year as the economy worsens and the residual effects of such an economic collapse continues to devastate California’s educational system. (\*values calculated based on US Department of Labor “buying power” inflation rates. It should be noted that the UC has no formal tuition, but the student fees are, for practical purposes, the same thing. The fees are divided into Registration and Educational fees. Ironically, the 1960 UC Master Plan laid out the intent to eliminate formal tuition. Also note that these values correspond to in-state undergraduate students, although similar trends can be found for other students.)

The actual history of budget cuts at the UC extend beyond

due to changes in property tax law. However, this reasoning is speculative and thus less helpful as an analysis of the current budget situation than as an excuse to exercise cuts. Still, the continual decrease in permanent state funding is cause for concern, especially as UC turns to private funding to offset state funding shortfalls. Particularly unnerving, the increase in private funding to replace state funding means a dramatic increase of university corporatization on a whole. Thus we see both the literal increase in direct corruptive corporate funding through research grants and the resultant capitulation of any mild semblance of free academia to an abrasive corporate influence. To further exacerbate the damage, such research grants often frame undergraduate education

as a secondary objective and thus further deteriorate it despite a total funding increase. The resulting change in research incentive and overall focus may have disastrous and unforeseen impacts (see page 30).

**“ADJUSTING FOR INFLATION,  
STUDENT FEES HAVE INCREASED  
209% SINCE 1970...”**

## Santa Cruz et al.

The past 8 months have exposed the onset of dramatic cuts on campus. Announcements of these cuts appear to be unending. Several vulnerable communities on campus felt significantly perturbing and fatal cuts, including: graduate students, those in family student housing, students of color, lecturers, staff and workers. Although almost every person on campus feels the stinging effects of recent budget cuts, it is these communities, struggling against budget encroachment for decades, that are particularly unable to withstand this new assault without massive consequences.

## Graduate Students and Family Student Housing

The UC increased student fees for Graduate students by 9.3% as well. Graduate student fees now total \$8,736 each year. Graduate students will feel the impact of this \$750 fee increase on top of increases in graduate student health insurance (GSHIP) expenses and a significant decrease in job opportunities as teaching assistants (TAs)—again, lost to this round of budget cuts. The UCSC Social Sciences Division, for instance, has cut what their division sees as almost every possible non-necessary expense as a result of recent budget reductions. However, in light of massive new

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 monkey-wrenching 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 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.

budget reductions, the Social Sciences Division fears it may have to cut almost half of all the TAs. Family Student Housing (FSH), chiefly composed of graduate students, received a 7.5% rent increase (with more to come). Despite relatively lower costs at FSH compared to local housing costs, the enclosing circle of imposing budget reductions and cost increases, along with inflation, provide a vicious formula for one of the most vulnerable communities at UCSC. As Tim Muldoon points out in the April 2009 issue of *The Project*, in 1974 FSH was considerably cheaper while salaries from TAs were at approximately the same levels as they are today (adjusted for inflation). FSH residents made more money and paid less tuition and rent. Indeed, the pervasive perversity of this rent hike deepens: Although UCSC advertises FSH as affordable, it is neither designated as low-income housing (with such rights withheld) nor are the rent hikes a direct result of budget reductions. Rather, UC chose these economically trying times to impose extra payments on behalf of future FSH residencies, all whilst current buildings continue to deteriorate.

### Scorching Santa Cruz Summer

The damage wrought by budget reductions continued over this past summer with the elimination of director positions (ie. layoffs) of the Educational Opportunity Program (EOP), the ARCcenter, and Student Media—all carried out without meaningful student input. When students requested transparency and budget information regarding the loss of the Director of Student Media, the Student Affairs office responded by supplying students with a massive binder with hundreds of pages of complicated accounting information. What they failed to provide was coherent reasoning for the merging of Student Media with SOAR or for the firing of crucial staff while Student Media continues to create income independently. In August, the office of Student Affairs reduced funding to the Early Education Services program, eliminating childcare for staff and faculty among other issues.

### Razing Staff/Workers

During July the UC established an unusual pay slash/furlough system. It cut employee salary by 4-10% based on the employee's original salary, and then, as some sort of twisted compensation it gave employees anywhere between 11 to 26 days off amidst a 16% unemployment crisis. The pay cuts themselves don't only

target UC employees making high salaries, but will target the lowest paid employees strongly. Salaries higher than \$240,000 will be cut no greater than 10%, while employees making less than \$40,000, no matter how little, will receive 4% pay cuts. Through this approach, the UC is hoping to cover approximately 25% of their budget shortfall. Perhaps the worst aspect of the furlough system the UC has established is that part time employees will receive a pay cut based on the salary they would be making if they were full-time employees. In other words, if someone part-time makes \$30,000 and their full-time equivalent makes \$50,000, they will receive a 6% pay cut instead of a 4% pay cut!

In January of 2009, service workers in the union AFSCME Local 3299 won a contract battle that lasted 16 months. Stipulated in

“With the annually imposed 7.5 % increase in rent at FSH, the recently announced downsizing in half of the campus daycare, the elimination of valuable summer care, and the constant threat against hard-earned gains in wages and healthcare, the feasibility of being a parent and graduate student simultaneously is becoming less realistic. As a member of FSH, I have watched my rent go up two hundred dollars in the past two years and have no reason to believe they won't go up another two hundred in the immediate future. Many of my children's daycare providers will no longer be caring for my children who have taken many months to love and trust their teachers and will now have to re-adjust as half of their class will be gone on account of the elimination of daycare provided to the children of faculty and staff. The university has demonstrated a strong disregard for students and employees with families and students of colors in the wake of recent budget cuts. My ability to continue my education as a PhD Literature student and to seek a teaching position in under-represented communities has been severely threatened.”

*-Martin Garcia*

the contract, service workers were promised a pay increase of 4% (with further increases each consecutive year). Although valiantly struggled for, the total pay increase will nowhere near provide service workers with a wage they can survive on. In effect, these pay cuts have undermined all the gains of January's new contract—gains struggled for precisely because of how necessary they were. What the UC is doing is truly vile and borders on the spiteful.

The pay cuts and furlough system have been promised to only last for 1 year. Despite reassurances from administrators that renewing such a furlough system again would be an arduous process, the likelihood that pay cuts will return for the next year are strong as some of the impact of the budget shortfall this year has been cushioned by the temporary Federal Stimulus. In all likelihood, a similar federal stimulus will not exist the following year, thus increasing the need to slash salaries.

### Continuing Injustice for Marginalized Communities

We can't say it enough: These cuts have a particularly devastating effect on those that can least afford being cut. Programs that were established to outreach to communities of color and other systemically marginalized communities have been repeatedly threatened and crippled or terminated with severe funding

## 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.

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.
- 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.

reductions or staff layoffs. Departments with some of the highest proportions of students of color have been cut severely including staff eliminations in the Community Studies Department and layoffs of invaluable lecturers in Latin American and Latino Studies Department. Despite UCOP's new 'Blue & Gold Opportunity' program, designed to increase access to financial aid, and perhaps other future projects to expand outreach to prospective marginalized students, budget cuts have already undermined any meaningful results that could have been produced by these programs. For instance, the removal of UCSC's director of EOP directly reduces resource access and personnel capable of providing much needed outreach and retention services for low income students. There is a seemingly uninterrupted stream of staff layoffs in practically every retention and resource center particularly vital to students of color. And these cuts will likely continue to happen at every campus as, among other cuts and other reasons, they are more easily accepted among existing UC students that may not directly benefit from retention programs or may be more preoccupied with current budget woes that directly damage their personal education. Cuts targeting students of color and students from other marginalized communities are particularly worrying; coupled with the increasing cost of attending the university, the proportion of historically economically disadvantaged students unable to access higher education will increase dramatically.

In May of 2009, in response to cuts that disproportionately damage students of color, several students from the Student of Color Collective (SOCC) participated in a hunger strike that continued 4 days. Previously, the Office of Student Affairs had revealed plans that could decrease enrollment and retention of students of color (see page 20). The anticipated negative impact on the already fragile number of students of color struck serious concerns among many students. The hunger strike culminated in stabilizing the American Indian Resource Center and ensuring further talks with students of color to try to avoid campus-wide "errors" in the future. Despite the struggle and successes of the hunger strike, a lack of an overall perspective on how budget decisions target students of color prevail among those that administer the UC.

### Current Reduction Breakdown

The most recent figures regarding the two year budget reduction --that is this past academic year and the coming year-- depict a "budget shortfall" close to \$813 million due to state funding reductions (~70% of the \$1.15 billion). The remaining budget reduction (~\$337 million) is derived from various sources, none directly due to state funding reductions. According to previously disclosed estimates, \$122 million dollars result from "underfunded enrollments," and the rest have been described as "mandatory costs". Over this two year period, UCSC will receive over \$50 million in cuts.



## Budget Cuts: Part II

Despite the UCOP's press released, the UC budget remains functionally non-transparent. Numerical values the UCOP and the state provide as evidence supporting the need for budget reductions are unclear at best. Given a simple understanding of arithmetic, one can easily deduce the state funding shortfall differs based on which report one reads. Digging through budget publications can be frustrating, tedious, and disillusioning due to ever-changing values and estimations. In short, the budget breakdown is not only confusing, but misleading in its presentation. The reality of the matter is that numbers can be easily changed and arranged (whether purposefully or unconsciously) in order to supplement the argument that the administration needs to justify its actions. Although budget cuts are visibly evident, the manner in which cuts are managed can be wholly exploited to meet the agenda(s) of the personalities and forces that direct this university (ie. the regents & the administration). While the motivation and consciousness held by those in charge may be unclear, the disconnection between their priorities and the reality of the situation for those of us painfully impacted by these cuts is devastatingly obvious: those at the bottom suffer the most, while those at the top largely "suffer" pain vicariously through sympathy rather than meaningful losses.

### How the University Plays Out

As well demonstrated by the article "Welcome to the Machine" (page 4), the university as an entity is considerably difficult to describe. The tautology surrounding budget issues compounds these difficulties even further. UCOP mixes its use of antiseptic words like "shortfall" with words that conjure dramatic images like

### 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.



- 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

“crisis” --the former to obscure pernicious impacts and the latter to justify cuts. And indeed, while there is a crisis of state funding for the UC, about 30% of the \$1.15 billion shortfall does not directly involve the state. Beyond the non-phenomenal contraction in state funding, there is a whole history of mismanagement and a lack of foresight that also accounts for our current situation. As administrators’ salaries continue to rise --well documented over the past several years-- their inability or refusal to equitably manage and distribute the UC’s resources has greater consequences for those who attend, staff and teach at the UC. This too is well demonstrated by the aforementioned AFSCME 3299 contract battle, where administrators and regents failed to perceive ‘living wages’ as a necessity to an educational institution’s sustained functions. It is us — students, workers and educators — whose needs and roles should form the foundation guiding the university’s spending and planning.

## UC Rhetoric

While AFSCME 3299 continues to struggle for some nominal level of transparency through year old public records requests and what should be an unnecessary lawsuit issued last July, the rhetoric the UCOP continues to abuse is ironically more apparent. The UCOP and regents expect unsubstantiated numbers to be trusted and disregard healthy criticism of their actions. More importantly, we are expected to trust the conclusion drawn from this shoddy book-keeping as simple fact, rather than opinion. The UCOP may invite people to provide insight and alternatives, yet these shared thoughts must confine themselves to the UCOP’s basic logic. However, it is this ‘basic logic’ that guides decision-making at the top of the UC — and has landed us in this “crisis”. This veiled messaging incites natural curiosity among skeptics, but largely subdues the majority of the population from understanding their place as stakeholders.

The approach the administration has taken in response to budget reductions, in itself, follows a path remarkably linear and ineffective in resolving the situation. It is this hierarchical thrust downward, with each step down cutting blindly without a greater perspective, that defines the dishonesty of the UC, regardless of the presence of honest individuals. Starting from the distant throne room of the president and regents, cuts are passed down the administrative ladder. Each administrator looks downward to cut, content with the knowledge of their own job security and without an understanding of what their peers are cutting. To further blind administrators, they naturally understand only parts of the grand picture in which the president and the regents are basing decisions. Conclusions drawn by each administrator individually may result in harmful system-wide patterns. For instance, with budget reduction deadlines quickly approaching, the dean of each academic division sought to cut the peripheral edges of their divisions without the realization that, combined with the rest of campus, educational programs that students of color relied upon

were almost all universally and disproportionately cut. These hierarchies established within the administration of the UC help support the divide created by institutionalized racism.

## Whose University?

The hierarchies of the UC, aforementioned, deeply connect the veins of the university with that of the budget cuts. The relationship between administrators/regents and the rest of the university retains this hierarchy beyond the simple formality to establish a sustained and working university. It is understood that administrative tasks, such as structural and financial decisions, exist and must be addressed within a large complex university system. Yet, the functional priority of management is lost in our current system.

The austere beauty, the legacy, and the function of the UC relies not chiefly on the administrators or regents. Nay, the fundamental purpose of the educational institution is to provide the implied quality education. Thus, priorities therein and management of such must rely on an understanding of the true structure of education. Primarily, students retain their right to education and all other inherit necessities that enable it. As a logical corollary, those that directly enable the existence of the educational environment establish a necessary mandate. Without educators and workers that maintain the basic functions of campus, no education or research would be possible. Finally, administrators/regents compose a tertiary layer, neither directly involved with the day to day function of education nor designed to be the primary benefactors of the educational directive. Albeit the case for administrators can be made, that a body without a head cannot function, such analogies remain dissonant from the truth: the primary and secondary tier are directly causal in the creation of administrative tasks and must exist in order to fulfill education physically. In short, the mandate of education, within the definition of the university, overwhelms and diffuses current corrupted notions that establish high market salaries and job security for admin-



labor practices” on the part of the UC. Specifically, the UC was failing to negotiate in good faith, using such illegal tactics as deliberate 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.

istrators alone. It is clear that administrative choices inflicting greater damage upon students, workers, and educators, relative to themselves, are blatantly paradoxical to education. Despite the fact that individual students are temporary residents of the university system, the combined forces of students, workers, and educators create the dominant university populous best defined as those with an immediate stake in the well being of the university, or stakeholders. Although stakeholders may not currently hold a defiant and powerful treatise of it's own, it is clear that such an argument, if unadulterated, would differ substantially from that of administration and regents.

## Organizing Stakeholders

There are divisions among stakeholders. There are different groups of workers, different echelons of educators, and different identities of students. Each group of stakeholders holds their own history, their own understanding of the implications of budget cuts, and their own tactics which they may feel comfortable employing. Despite attempts to forge solidarity and coalitions, success of such has been limited. Currently, it seems many groups prefer to retain autonomy in order to better qualify their individual concerns. Despite these necessary concerns of autonomy, an understanding as a broad coalition must coalesce to forge an equitable university system. The fundamental problems of the UC will not be changed otherwise: institutionalized racism, corporatization, poverty wages, and budgetary threats will not be abolished without a serious concerted effort. To seek change in one aspect means a system wide revolution of the UC.

Despite difficulties and beyond necessity, there is an even more powerful motivation for solidarity: we all suffer under the divisive priorities set at the top. But, we are the university, and our collective will can change it. Whether it's crisis or shortfalls that characterize the budget, there is no good excuse for gutting programs, creating inequality and clearing opportunities, especially as stakeholders continue to be marginalized. Administrative priorities, their lucrative salaries, their comfortable job security all come at the expense of stakeholders as a result of the flawed prevailing notion that the structure and hierarchy of the UC, as it stands, is necessary and natural.

Tactics will change and adapt as the union of stakeholders diversify. Hopefully this article may guide unified stakeholders to retain a strategy and consistent voice calling for the systemic overhaul of the UC among ever evolving demands. Furthermore, it may be of substance to acknowledge that the value of higher education and the value of the economy created by the UC can be clearly demonstrated without the harmful onslaught for university prestige alone. The inherent value of public education and free academic research that the UC creates is worthwhile on its' own accord.

## The Struggle Within

The terms exploited by the administration, perhaps unknowingly, in its description of the budget, disarm individuals fighting for education. The numbers used by administrators can make sense, but the difficulties of working to fix the budget within such terms misses the point. A paradox is formed in the process, in which personal values of education and human rights are cast aside by the immense complexity and futility of fighting budget cuts in order to understand and work in unison with administrators to balance the budget. In other words, two opposed groups of victims form: those stakeholders that understand the paradox and refuse to succumb to it, and those that see the other group as unwilling to compromise and understand the devastation of the budget "crisis" and the failing economy. The problem is that both groups have important points. Compromise is sometimes a valuable tool for affecting change and opening minds, yet it is equally important that we not be blindsided by shiny numbers and submit to the status quo. The fundamental issue is not numbers or individual personalities, but the overall structure of the university! Thus, the fight to organize around is the corrupt system, yet still be wary of tactics and ideologies carried by individuals that may halt progress.



## Stand Up or Fall Down

Admittedly, it seems counterproductive to fight the logic of budget cuts when the existing rhetoric of those in office overpowers the voice for change. Using the rhetoric and numbers from the perspective of administration and regents, it is abundantly clear that budget cuts are necessary. To protest and cause disruption may seem foolish and mute in sensible language. However protest and disruption are only tools to argue and deny the "truth" of this rhetoric. It is to defy the logic that things are set in stone, not to deny the possible existence of financial woes. It is to defy continued undemocratic forms of governance and continued support for the disconnected individuals at the top.

We are on the precipice looking down towards potential ruin. If we are to avoid this and if we seek a future brighter than that of which the budget cuts offer us, we must defy those that tell us to leap in faith to the fatal depths that they have created.



### 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

# The UC Corporate Hustle

by Gazuedro

The UC creates education as a commodity and shapes itself to resemble a for-profit corporate structure. It defines itself through expansion and brand influence, better known as 'academic prestige'. The UC is supposed to function as an institution of education and research in the public interest. However, this public interest is in tension with its reliance on private economic interests for financial support. Private and military funding run deep within the university and ultimately form the motivation and foundation for the management of the university. Rather than a bastion of education, the UC is a site of corporatization.

Regents' and administrators' decisions follow a predictable pattern, an enforcement of their flawed dogma that the UC's capital interests form an educational bedrock. Capital investment and expansion direct the course of university spending and demand precedence over quality education. For instance, the UCSC administration, while expanding in upper campus (see LRDP) and Silicon Valley, continues to repress the formation of an ethnic studies department despite decades of outcry from students. The capital sourced from contracts, grants and donations from corporate sources and military interests empowers the administration to further promote these projects. Furthermore, these funding sources motivate regents and administrators to cater to corporate research. However, such capital interests contradict the basic nature of free academic inquiry; they lead to biased management and subjective research goals. It fundamentally undermines what Noam Chomsky describes as the "free floating intellectual," academics that "may occupy [themselves] with problems because of their inherent interest or importance, perhaps to little effect." An invaluable part of the mechanics of education.

In continuity with their dogma, the UC conducts the business of education to produce a commodity. Consequently, the UC produces ready individuals to join the corporate workforce. Although presently such employment may be beneficial for individual survival, it produces

a profound effect on the other end: a blind promotion of ethically reprehensible industries. For example, one may study bioengineering simply due to the intrigue biology may inspire, however this can easily contort to the creation of invasive monocultures under the banner of progress at the Monsanto corporation. Limited opportunities for the application of bioengineering results from the manufactured commodification of the field, packaged for existing corporate entities. The commodification of education also creates the need to produce something specifically "useful", dividing education into 'practical' and 'impractical' pursuits, such as studies into physics as opposed to literature. The divide we see both deteriorates the 'impractical' pursuits by dissolving funding & reducing its' market value, while 'practical' pursuits retain or gain funding at the cost of corporate manipulation. In short, the philosophy of pedagogy is not simply challenged by UC dogma, but authoritatively adulterated into commodity without consent.

Corporatization redirects the normal functions of educational institutions in order to capitulate to corporate influence. The UC brand retains high recognition, largely as a function of corporate influence, through unnecessary university expenditures.

These include exorbitant spending for executives, renowned professors, and 'practical' research, rather than spending on qualities that develop individuals and maintain educational spaces, such as retention centers and departments like community studies. Instances, such as state budget cuts (see page 25), aid this process by removing 'unnecessary' programs and organizations and replace them with interests that benefit corporations, such as British Petroleum's energy research or Novartis' pharmaceutical pursuits.

We are unwilling consumers of corporate education. The administration only acknowledges our concerns as long as they don't challenge the fundamental UC structure. As consumers, our concerns and history remain immaterial to the UC machine. However, this brutal contrivance must not remain unchallenged. Dissent must exist in spite of squelching.



*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 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

# LRDP

# Lives of Regret, Degredation, and Pollution; an Exposé

## DISCLAIMER:

This article should be a book. There is no way to analyze this expansion process without extensive details and concrete examples. To make this reader-friendly, we have sacrificed many details, examples and perspectives in order to present a brief introduction to a complex, misunderstood, inaccessible and interconnected issue. We will provide most of our research in citation form at the end of this article. Use it! Arm yourselves with knowledge for the coming resistance!

## What do you we mean by Long Range Development?

When we walk around UCSC, College 9 and 10 for example, it's easy to forget that these new, modern buildings are preceded by a long history--before fences went up and redwood trees were cut down, before cement was poured and set. The processes which made way for these constructions have not only environmental/ecological ramifications, but also spill into budgetary and institutional spheres, ultimately controlling the distribution of resources at UCSC.

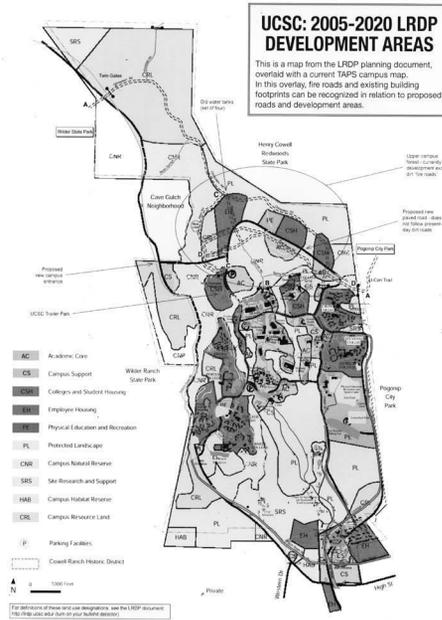
The College 9/10 buildings haven't been around forever, and neither has UCSC. This university changes each year, sometimes radically, and growth is a major part of that change. This is not the kind of growth we see in the forest, but an infrastructural growth that is malleable to changing educational systems, scientific research institutions and the investment plans of larger infrastructures.

And so, the history of campus development is paralleled by histories of resistance. There are those who have struggled to defend the beauty and uniqueness of a vulnerable habitat and the scarce resources of Santa Cruz County: students who have tried to stake out a space for their educational aspirations; faculty and staff committed to their work but often undercut by the administration's priorities; Santa Cruz residents who have fought tireless legal battles with the UC.

## But wait, What is the LRDP?

The UCSC 2005 Long Range Development Plan-

--approved in September 2006 by the UC Regents--is the prospective general plan for the physical expansion of the UCSC campus to accommodate an increase in student enrollment. The LRDP's approval has paved the way for the construction of 120 acres of previously undeveloped (though certainly not undisturbed) land on upper campus; 85 acres of which will be impenetrable surface (aka. concrete). Enrollment is expected to increase by 4,500 students, bringing UCSC's undergraduate population to 19,500 full-time students by 2020. The stated goal of the LRDP is to expand UCSC's capacity for academic, research and professional programs and increase graduate student enrollment.



## What form does growth take?

The LRDP is an "envelope" for growth, meaning that it sets the outer limits for projected growth at UCSC. It fills over 100 pages with overviews of plans for the physical future of our campus. Along with the LRDP come many other documents; especially important is the Environmental Impact Report (EIR), which addresses some of the impacts this expansion entails. The EIR is a 900 page analysis addressing how expansion would impact the environment, including air and water quality, impacts to flora and fauna, and community changes like traffic and housing. The way in which the EIR addresses environment and infrastructure is insufficient and does not guarantee the mitigation of future environmental impacts. These insufficiencies have significant consequences for our academic and local communities; they obstruct our ability to learn and create at a University in the forest.

Beyond these shortcomings, neither the LRDP nor the EIR include analysis of a number of major elements of UC life. In fact, **NOTHING of the process for approving expansion directly or thoroughly addresses our academic experience, the economics of expansion, and the maintenance of campus infrastructure as a whole.** There seems to be no clear understanding of the interdependency of all these elements and systems which make up UCSC and the environment of which it is a part. The approval of each new phase of the LRDP gives the administration authority to carry out expansion, but in light of this interconnectedness, what's actually being approved isn't even a plan at all. Furthermore, there are no safeguards to see that the administration pairs construction with efforts to

coffee farmers, a vast improvement over the \$0.55/lb poverty wage offered by the conventional market.



## 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 workr's 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.

## 2005

- January 20: UCSC Students

maintain what is already here: a unique campus culture and academic quality, a delicate redwood ecosystem, and a thriving community. Even the UCSC sewer system is under-maintained, yet it too continues to expand even as it falls apart. If we learn anything from the history of UC expansion, **we should know that the Regents and administration will not completely fulfill their mission statements but will continue their efforts at substantial downsizing of student and academic programs and recklessly unsustainable use of resources.**

### So...how does this growth happen?

These massive documents grow out of Chancellor-appointed planning committees, the UC Regents, their environmental lawyers and councils, and the occasional LRDP/EIR public hearing. After the council receives public comment, they go back and revise the EIR, ostensibly to fit the concerns voiced by various parties. Their language, however, is vague and offers no tangible mitigations or language binding the administration to community concerns. In fact, there are many instances within the EIR where, though it is noted that the environment will be greatly affected in a given way, mitigation will be pursued only "when feasible" (2005 EIR), making an already narrow and shallow commitment to the legacy of UCSC and its surroundings even less meaningful as it is entirely unenforceable.

This is of great concern to us. **Those in charge of approving and directing expansion are not accountable in the ways many people assume them to be.** Despite the hundreds of concerns expressed at EIR hearings, the articles written in response to the LRDP planning process, many of the concerns have not been confronted since 1999 and there's no reason to believe they will be any time soon (Meister's Thesis, VIII). These concerns are serious and identify Long Range expansion's great political, ecological and academic significance for the communities it affects.

### Let's break it down.

**The LRDP does NOT address existing or future academic and economic infrastructure or the maintenance thereto. NOR does it contain adequate and concrete plans for dealing with environmental impacts that result from growth. It does NOT bind the administration to expanding in a responsible manner. However, once approved, it gives a mandate for expansion regardless of these shortcomings.**



### Environmental Effects:

So, the LRDP and EIR do address environmental impacts, but they are deeply flawed, incomplete, and non-binding. They describe many of the catastrophes that will accompany expansion, but leave out a great many more, and in no way hold the University accountable for dealing with these effects. Let us start with the illusion of the "Green" movement (see Environmentalism as Green Consumerism article). The UC hopped on the "Green" band-wagon in 2007 when they signed the "American College and University Presidents Climate Commitments" ([www.presidentsclimatecommitment.org/](http://www.presidentsclimatecommitment.org/)). This requires them to abide by the U.S. Green Building Council's LEED "Silver Standard"; in turn,

**Sidebar A:** Henry Cowell logged acres of the redwood forests for lime kilns before he sold the "devalued" second growth forests to UCSC. The current forest is now vulnerable to further destruction. As a result, we have the LRDP and its many certifications for construction, including what they like to call "green building".

The fancy name for "green" is LEED (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design). LEED is one of many mitigations; a little gold star on top of the UC report card that does not immediately recognize forest destruction or species degradation. It only promises reductions in building impacts disguised behind "green" vocabulary, while at the same time supporting corporatization as a mechanism to sustain education. The destruction of the forest today leads to a reconstruction of academic life with its contradictory values of environmental protection and academic integrity and value. They are replacing eco- and educational-systems with capitalist-systems, a large cycle of destruction that receives very little questioning or resistance from the people who are disempowered by it.

they qualify for state and local government initiatives and marketing exposure so long as they build "Green" (whatever the fuck that means) ([www.usgbc.org/leed](http://www.usgbc.org/leed)) (\*\*See Sidebar A\*\*). Also sitting atop the "Green" band-wagon is the "UC Policy for Sustainable Practices and the Climate Action Compact," which contains the "GHG (GreenHouse Gas) Reduction Plan" ([www.epa.gov/climatechange/emissions/index.html](http://www.epa.gov/climatechange/emissions/index.html)). The

UC wears these "Green" certifications as a shiny Green Badge of Courage, and the whole time, they are being paid for by you, yes, *you* and your steadily increasing student fees. Now these certifications, and many more, are a lot of official validation for so-called sustainable and environmentally friendly growth. But they reek with obvious contradictions.

First off, the development over the huge diversity of vegetation and animal/insect species is a blatant, in your face, violation of environmentally friendly construction. We would lose a beautiful and valuable habitat with second growth Redwoods, Douglas Firs, mixed Evergreens, Dwarf Redwoods and Hardwoods. Many of these species are on the decline, like the Calypso Orchid and the Doloff Cave Spider in Porter Caves. And many of them are on the verge of extinction, like the Burrowing Owl, and Meadow Foam which is one of only two populations in the country (see list of

### Against War (SAW) forms.

- April 5: SAW leads its first major action as students successfully kick military recruiters out of a campus job fair.
- 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.
- 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.

flora and fauna affected).

Secondly, as the population of Santa Cruz grows, there will be more vehicle trips and heavy traffic on already dense streets. The CO2 emissions will be incredible and will be a direct violation of the 2009 California Environmental Quality Act (<http://ceres.ca.gov/ceqa/>). The water strain on the City of Santa Cruz will also burden our quality of life as 571 MILLION gallons of water/year will be needed for 21,000 students (a little over the prospective number of 19,500). Housing will not be sustainable or affordable since landowners will take full advantage of the high demand. The City could not hold the number of people suspected, eventually leading to overcrowding in homes and buses, noise pollution, and increased commuter traffic; The EIR itself points out that 13 intersections will likely fail by 2020 (2005 EIR). What about all this is so "Green"?



The "answer" could be found in the hundreds of pages from EIRs and legal battles between the UC and coalitions of City, County, and CLUE (Coalition to Limit University Expansion) that address all these issues. However, what we find extremely problematic is the vagueness and insufficiency with which water, traffic and housing are addressed in the EIR. These compliances are also brought by the UC in closed-door negotiations with the City while other issues lay hanging unaddressed. Currently, coalitions, like the CWC, and the public are addressing issues of water and the soon-to-be East Campus Infill project (which we will discuss later), which forces the UC to establish legitimacy in their plans. **However, the people must stay on their toes to fight the legal and political strategies of the UC Machine.**

### Academic Quality:

Expansion brings with it all sorts of changes, and the campus has to adjust. But expansion is rapid here at UCSC, and the foundations required to take on larger enrollment are not secured in advance. The overall result of this is the *contraction* of academic life. As the campus expands, new demands are put on it. But in the current model, resources do not expand at a suf-

ficient rate to meet these new demands; it turn, this gap decreases the value of existing academic infrastructure, further exacerbating the shortages. Over decades of expansion, academics at UCSC have changed to fit a new model, one which leaves behind the priorities of UCSC's founding vision. Today, this vision has been replaced with the necessity of churning out graduates and make way for ever-larger incoming classes.

At its most basic, the contraction which accompanies expansion has to do with the budget. As more students are added, the cost of educating them actually increases--this has to do mostly with the choice to divert resources from the maintenance of the campus as a whole in order to use those resources for expansion instead. In addition, **"a campus's average state funding per student declines with growth, and declines most sharply on the campuses that grow most rapidly."** (Meister, Eleven Theses on Growth, p.1) In this model, enrollment expands faster than educational infrastructure. This creates the *contraction* (see herbal abortions article) that has come to mark academic experience here.

**Sidebar B:** For each new student in the early 2000s, UC received about half the average cost of educating its existing students. (Full time enrolled students received about \$8800). However, we have experienced a significant downturn since then, which means that the average state expenditure would drop as well. Despite this, enrollment continued and still continues to grow. It seems that UC planners were aware that more students would mean less money, yet continued to justify higher tuitions every year. We can see here that UC expansion is intricately linked with higher tuition, and less funding per person and student programs. (May 2006 UCPB report, "Current Trends and the Future of the University of California," p. 48)

In the midst of the shortages which accompany expansion, the administration looks for new sources to fund the basic components of undergraduate education. This is part of

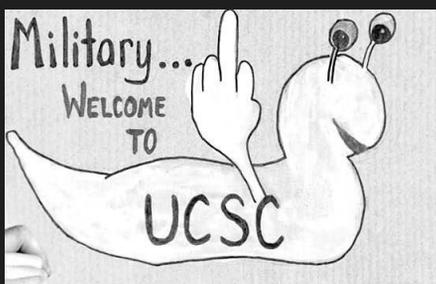
why we see increases in tuition on the order of 7 and 9 percent each year. **The UC's own Planning and Budget report argues that expansion increases tuition while decreasing program and per-student funding.** (See **\*\*Sidebar B\*\***) It was supposed to be free to attend UC! (See Welcome to the Machine



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

article) Now, who can and can't attend is largely controlled by the significant costs of attendance and the depletion of resources available to students as they try to work through their degrees. Tuition has a definitive effect on what it means to be a student at UCSC, who gets that privilege, and what purposes their time here ends up serving. **The overall effect of increasing tuition is to displace the cost of education onto a private market which increasingly defines the role of UCSC in our lives and our society.**

And still, with all these sacrifices, increasing tuition is not enough to make up for the costs of expansion: TA-student and Faculty-student ratios continue to decrease, depleting the very value of class-time. Marginalized programs are still cut each year (see The Budget Cuts article): students have fewer places to turn for academic support and fewer departments in which to build on their particular interests (an effect that is compounded by the Competitiveness Initiative featured in **\*\*Sidebar C\*\***). This all goes back to the type of expansion UCSC is pursuing. The driving force behind UCSC academics becomes "the need to gradu-



Development Plan in action. The newest addition to the Plan is the East Campus Infill Project. The Project commenced this past July 2009 and will prospectively be completed September 2011. The Project consists of a parking lot, two main entry roads and two 7-8 story apartment buildings that will house approximately 600 students. The site will sit on 3.1 acres of land between Crown College and the Crown-Merrill Apartments and is going to be built in preparation for the 19,500 expected students by 2011.

The East Campus Infill Project had its EIR public meeting on April 23, 2009. As I sat in the EIR hearing, there were several and very disheartening cumulative impacts to the proposed Project. Some unavoidable ones are the construction noise that will persist over the two-year period behind Crown College (are you a morning person?) and the change in visual character of the landscape. Some species will inevitably lose their homes, such as the nesting birds, bats, and the S.F. wood rats. The increased traffic flow around Crown College and the Apartments will awkwardly block access to the fire station by Merrill College and there is no clear picture of how vehicles are going to get from Crown College. Other major environmental impacts include the use of non-reusable resources, and damage to water and air quality. Finally, there was a question about how this Project will be funded given the astronomical budget cuts that have happened in the past year, including the \$350 million cut the UC made on July 1st, the coincidental start date for the East Campus Infill Project (see Budget Cuts article).

These buildings, roads and parking lot serves as the in-your-face and most recent example of the proposed LRDP. As we can see, they are ridden with flaws and vague mitigations that will destroy a valuable part of the forest and aid in the degradation of our overall health as air-breathing mammals. The construction process has started, so the buildings seem inevitable, but are they really? There has been some active (and passive) resistance to the LRDP in the past several years, especially in the past year, which means that resistance has no reason to stop.

**Side bar C:** In 2007, the Bush Administration created a new campaign to increase investments in research and development, to "strengthen" education and encourage entrepreneurship. The program is called the "American Competitiveness Initiative"; it financially secures science and research-based math lessons in public schools, starting with Kindergarten and continuing on until after high school. As part of the program, \$350 million worth of grants are allocated to high school graduates who wish to pursue research in the physical sciences and encouraged throughout their college career into government programs. We can see from this Competitiveness Initiative that the government is feeding the Academic-Military-Industrial-Complex at the age of 5.

ate the increasing numbers of freshmen who are already upon us while still preserving the possibility that a diminishing number of students can receive the kind of undergraduate education UC has traditionally promised under the Master Plan." (Meister, 7)

The basics of this process are complex and difficult to sort through, but the bottom line for those of us interested in pursuing an open academic experience while earning our degrees is clear: **The struggle over expansion is the struggle over our academic life here and the role our University plays in our lives and in society as a whole.**

### The Immediate Future:

As we start this 2009 school year, some of us around Crown and Merrill will hear loud noises every morning around 8am. If you happen to be any of these unlucky people, you would be happy to know that this is the sound of the Long Range

#### References:

- ~Irdpresistance.org
- ~2005 LRDP Official Website- Irdp.ucsc.edu
- ~LRDP Environmental Impact Report- Irdp.ucsc.edu/final-eir.shtml
- ~Strategic Academic Plan- planning.ucsc.edu/acadplan/docs/AcadPlan.Feb08.pdf
- ~"Terms and Conditions," on campus growth
- ~"Eleven Theses on Growth," Bob Meister
- ~Ordinance to Promote Sustainable Growth- ci.santa-cruz.ca.us/cc/election
- ~UCSC Silicon Valley Initiatives- svi.ucsc.edu/
- ~Bio-Info-Nano Research and Development- bioinfonano.org
- ~Endangered Species and Habitats- oatney.com/endangered\_species

- April 11: SAW kicks recruiters 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



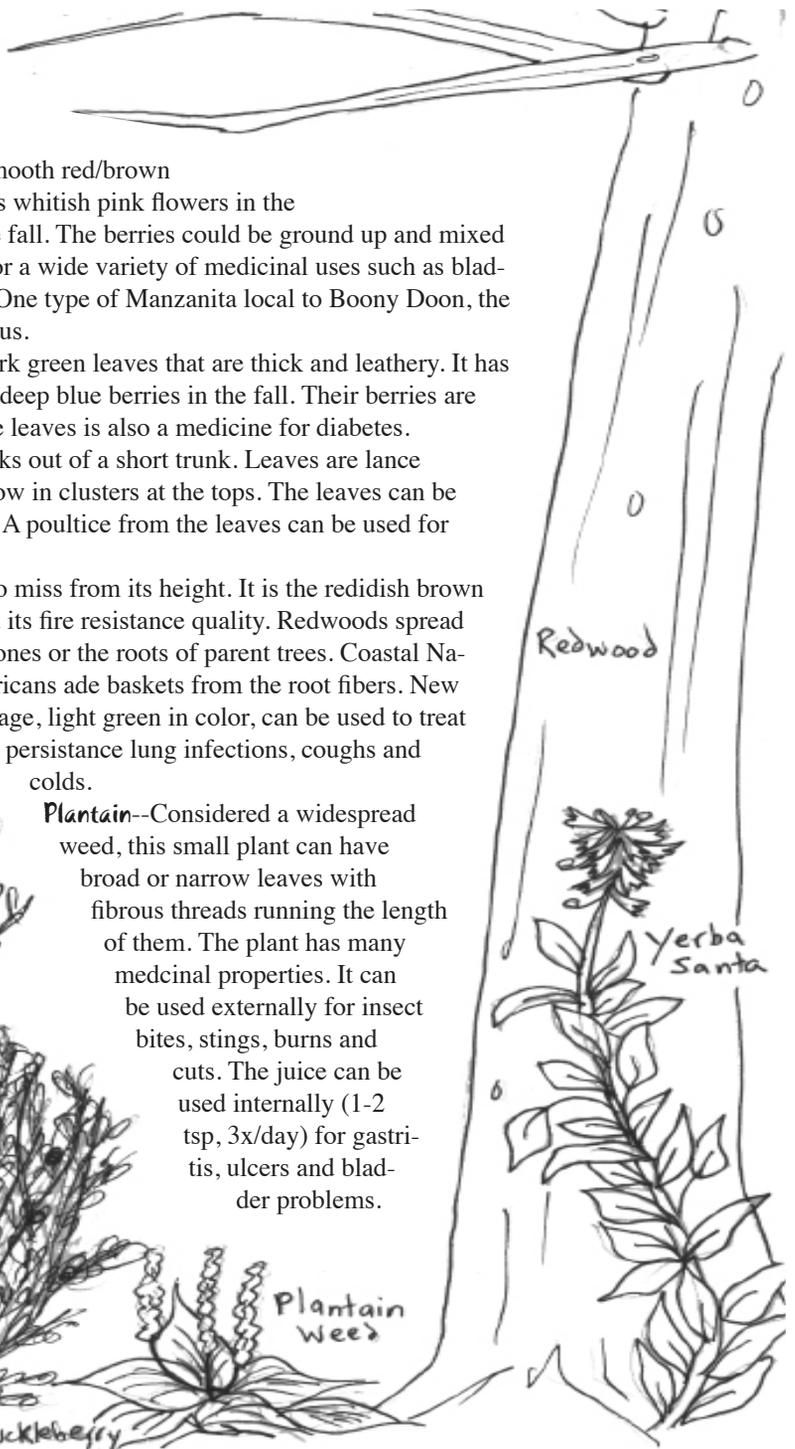
campaign ends in victory.

- 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

# PLANTS OF THE RED- WOOD FORESTS & THEIR MEDICINAL PROPERTIES



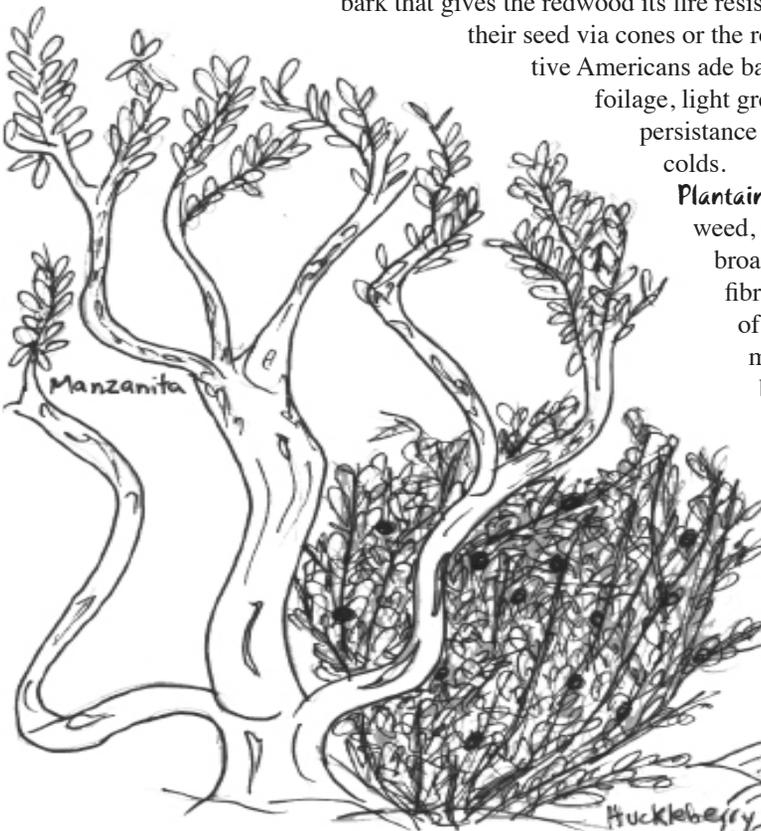
**Manzanita**-- this woody shrub/tree is characterized by its smooth red/brown peeling bark and its lighter green oval leaves. Manzanita has whitish pink flowers in the spring that mature into small red/brown edible berries in the fall. The berries could be ground up and mixed with water to ferment into a cider. The leaves can be used for a wide variety of medicinal uses such as bladder problems, urinary tract problems, headaches and sores. One type of Manzanita local to Boony Doon, the Silver-Leaf Manzanita, qualifies for endangered species status.

**Huckleberry**--this woody evergreen shrub has alternating dark green leaves that are thick and leathery. It has small bell shaped white flowers in the spring that ripen into deep blue berries in the fall. Their berries are delicious and can be used for baking or fresh. A tea from the leaves is also a medicine for diabetes.

**Yerba Santa**-- this tree grow up to 5ft tall and has many stalks out of a short trunk. Leaves are lance shaped, thick and sticky. It has soft lavender flowers that grow in clusters at the tops. The leaves can be boiled into teas that aid in coughs, sore throats, and asthma. A poultice from the leaves can be used for cores while a strong tea can be used for sore limbs.

**Redwood**-- The redwood is certainly hard to miss from its height. It is the reddish brown bark that gives the redwood its fire resistance quality. Redwoods spread their seed via cones or the roots of parent trees. Coastal Native Americans ade baskets from the root fibers. New foilage, light green in color, can be used to treat persistence lung infections, coughs and colds.

**Plantain**--Considered a widespread weed, this small plant can have broad or narrow leaves with fibrous threads running the length of them. The plant has many medicinal properties. It can be used externally for insect bites, stings, burns and cuts. The juice can be used internally (1-2 tsp, 3x/day) for gastritis, ulcers and bladder problems.



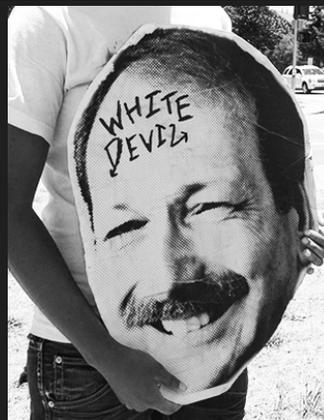
concrete infrastructural support for diversity at UCSC.

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

- 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.

(photo by Bradley Stuart / Indybay.org)



## 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.

# ANIMALS OF THE SANTA CRUZ WOODS

**Western Screech Owl**-- generally grey and white, but sometimes may be reddish brown. These owls hide in foliage and then drop down on their prey. Their pellets are compact, dark grey ovals composed of fur, feathers, bones, teeth, and chitin. Nests are almost always in deciduous trees such as oaks, cottonwoods, maples, sycamores and large willows, but also in cacti, Douglas-fir snags and junipers. In general, they require open forests with an abundance of small mammals and insect prey.

**Gopher Snakes**-- these snakes burrow in the ground, using their head like a shovel, moving dirt along their coils until they gain access to another animal's burrow, where they will find dinner, or a place to lay eggs or keep their eggs cool. In winter, Gopher Snakes hibernate, retreating to communal dens, sometimes sharing their lair with rattlesnakes, whipsnakes or racers. But in the breeding season, males vigorously defend their territories against all competing males.

**Marbled Murrelets**-- these are small, stubby-winged seabirds with webbed feet, perfectly adapted to Santa Cruz environment. In the early morning, they fly to the ocean to feed and return late in the day. They were first discovered in North America at the Big Basin State Park in 1974, and less than two dozen have been found since. There is an old redwood grove that is threatened by campus expansion, where the Marbled Murrelet is thought to live.

**Western Gray Squirrels**-- eat and obtain their acorns by gathering or robbing acorn woodpeckers. In autumn, they gather and bury each acorn in a 3-inch deep hole. The squirrel later retrieves the acorns by smell, but often they lose them, which helps the oak forest grow and spread. The squirrels use their bushy tail as a blanket on cold nights, and to balance themselves as they leap from tree to tree. It is safer for them in the trees; their predators usually catch them on the ground.



**Coyote**-- these adaptable animals can change their breeding habits, diet and social dynamics to survive in a wide variety of habitats. They travel over their range and hunt both day and night. They mate in February and dig a den under a tree, stump, rock, or in a bush. A pair of adult coyotes with young may have a territory with a diameter of about 30 miles. They mark this territory by urinating and leaving their scat in plain view on main trails for other coyotes to see. This scat is easy to recognize as it looks like hairy gray dog droppings.

## Declining Local Species

Dolloff Cave Spider	Pseudoscorpion
Ohlone Tiger Beetle	Red-legged Frog
Santa Cruz Kangaroo Rat	Burrowing Owl

• 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 check-point

established by Baytree.

• 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 all 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.

## Along Came A Spider...

At around four in the morning on November 7th, 2007, bleary-eyed UCSC administrators dragged themselves from their beds after a curious phone call. Something was afoot on Science Hill.

While they'd been slumbering, the first direct action resistance to the UC's plans to expand in Santa Cruz had been launched in the form of a tree sit, which became the most public and radical resistance movement against the LRDP. After four hundred people rallied and forcefully took over an autonomous space at the base of the tree sit, the movement had amazing potential to galvanize and radicalize everyone from environmentalists to political theorists. And it did...to a degree.

As members of the SC community, we oppose the LRDP. We oppose it for its direct effects on the environment and ecology, on structural and institutional processes, bureaucratic bullshit, and on our community and educational experience. Reflecting on all this, we feel it constructive to share our critique of the tree sit as an act of resistance that accomplished a lot, but ultimately did not go far enough in the struggle against UCSC's continued expansion. Our main concern with this movement is that it had no long-term strategy for building solidarity across divided communities, which we feel will be necessary if the next decade of expansion is to be countered. It also left out and isolated certain folks essential to long-term resistance. We write this to emphasize the importance of "campaign building". Direct action needs the foundation of a comprehensive "campaign" to build solidarity and resistance to UCSC's bullshit, rather than the other way around.

Let's be clear: before the tree sit, public discussion on the LRDP was limited to the bureaucratic terrain allowed for by UC lawyers and administration, and had neither the intention nor the capacity to build a social movement. Opposition to expansion had little political efficacy, as the UC dominated the playing-field. It lacked active outreach and education -- nobody really heard, let alone cared, about the LRDP until the tree sit. This is why we must recognize the tree sit as a valuable political action.

**Sidenote:** Just look at the administration's militarized response: the violence and squandering of resources it entailed in the name of maintaining control and pursuing its highly unpopular and totally shitty plans for expansion.

The sit exposed the UC's priorities and sparked awareness and radical perspectives on-campus (see **Sidenote**). These discussions addressed the political controversy over expansion, and questioned the nature of UC itself. These discussions are vital for building resistance to UC public relations and their undemocratic processes. The problem with these discussions in the construction of this short-lived resistance was who was turned off or left out and why, and what was missing in the building of a resistance movement.

Two main points come to mind: the need to build a broader "campaign" and the fragility of security culture. Firstly, before the tree sit sprang up, there was minimal outreach and education. Most every community in Santa Cruz is adversely affected by UCSC's expansion, and each of us could have been mutually vital elements in a long-term resistance, but building alliances with other coalitions on campus was not a priority. The organizers of the 2007 Student of Color Conference (SOCC), after a year pre-planning for their event, were continuously disturbed by "tree sit supporters", who either stole food or asked for donations at the Conference. We understand this as a perpetuation of institutional racism (white fucking supremacy!) whereby a mostly white, middle class, environmental movement dominates the spaces of other struggles. Direct action is most effective as the expression of a mass movement. The tree-sit's focus on autonomy over coalition-building marginalized students of color and failed to effectively challenge the system of racial domination and control. The autonomous actors who attempted to overturn this structure ironically reinforced it.

Secondly, there is security culture. We understand that it is important for some individuals to protect their identities out of legal, social, or political necessity. The style of security culture practiced at the tree-sit, however, led to a lack of transparency and an atmosphere of intimidation, often blocking discourse and the potential for solidarity. Sharing information about the LRDP was difficult -- only a small amount of people remained stationary at the autonomous zone, and they were largely unapproachable. The autonomous zone was an amazing space to share valuable information, but was unfortunately left dry. We emphasize this to reiterate our point about the importance of "campaigning", and to question the amount of energy that could have been spent on building a broad resistance movement over an exclusive environment.

Let's step back for a moment to emphasize the future. We have learned from the tree sit, but the LRDP continues. What's in store for the next ten years? Well, they've already cut down the trees for the Bio-Nano-Info-Tech Facility (December 2008), and the East Campus Infill Apartments started this past July (2009). The tree sit has not stopped expansion, but it has changed the game. How shall we start again? Do we still want to save the forest? We are fighting against one of the most powerful institutions in the world; we need to be on our toes. This fight will take more research, "campaigning," coalition building, and struggle if we are to stand against the latest slam the UC pulls.

We write this letter in opposition to the LRDP, and to the nature of the UC's institutionalized, undemocratic bullshits. We write in solidarity to understand and better revolutionize social movements, to question and topple all our common enemies: eco-destruction, corporatization, militarization, and all the systems that enforce them. There is room for a wide array of tactics in that unity, and room for criticism and differences; this is our base against expansion, domination and control -- a fertile resistance.



to provide food to Tree Sitters on Science Hill, who had ascended the night before. Students hold an autonomous zone beneath sit for two months after.

- November 9: First ever Student of Color Conference to be hosted at UCSC.

### 2008

- November 7: After a Rally against the LRDP at the Quarry, Students and Allies break down police barriers

- March 10- 14th: To commemorate the fifth anniversary of the Iraq War, Students Against War holds a week

against war in the Quarry Plaza, with a simulated Nuclear Waste Dump, educational, and a rally. On March 19th, UCSC joins other campuses in a Coalition To Free the UC action at the UC Regents meeting in Mission Bay, in conjunction with Direct Action to Stop the War.

- April 22: Students Against War holds an "Awards Ceremony" where the U.S. Army takes sweeping wins in categories such as "Most Money Poured Into Violent Gaming Industry" and "Most Homophobic"

# Environmentalism as Globalized Consumerism

Although environmentalists continually moralize about society's hypocrisy and irresponsibility toward the planet, the fact is that mainstream environmentalism dominates consumer culture, directly shapes contemporary lifestyle, and has emerged as a powerful moralizing project. To be green is to be virtuous, responsible, if not holy. Public discourse is underpinned by green values, and for politicians 'helping to save the planet' has become a hot-button issue. Most importantly, capitalist society appears to be restructuring according to an environmentalist imperative.

I will address the question: Why has capitalism come to embrace the ethos of sustainability, when as an economic system it has always been characterized by its commitment to raise productivity and expand production? Finally, I will address the consequences of green capitalism including the depoliticization and privatization of the environment. I will argue that green capitalism undermines the realization of concrete solutions to current environmental problems.

In an attempt to make sense of what drives the ascendancy of Green Capitalism, James Heartfield argues in his essay that the outward expression of anti-consumerism tends to coexist with a new obsessive fixation on that act of consumption. So although green consumerism appears to represent a rejection of materialism, in practice it is no less preoccupied with buying things than are those brand junkies chasing the latest fashionable product. Arguably, as Heartfield implies, shopping means more to green consumers than it does to the shallow brand-fixated consumers they so despise<sup>1</sup>. For a start, green consumers imagine that their purchases are meaningful ethical acts. Ethical shopping flatters us into believing that our everyday buying is actually doing good. Such ethical transactions represent a form of status affirmation. And as is the case with all forms of status affirmation, these green shopping habits are acts of social demarcation. "Through adopting the identity of an ethical shopper, someone who cares and who reflects on what they purchase, green consumers are self-consciously marking themselves off from their moral, and incidentally their social, inferiors," ar-

By Olive Oil



gues Heartfield. Their denunciation of their fellow human beings who wear cheap polyester clothes and eat fat ridden fast food is a modern-day version of the paternalistic lectures made by the Victorian do-gooders and by elite members of the aristocracy for centuries. Purchasing green has essentially become an indicator of wealth, shrouded under a grand package of classism and morality.

Ironically, green protest against consumerism doesn't represent

the rejection of consumption, but rather its moralization. From a sociological perspective, green consumption can be seen as a new form of conspicuous consumption. This is consumption for effect. Consumption apparently must no longer be an impulsive act of buying — rather it has become a massively over-analyzed experience, and both a moral statement and an affirmation of status and identity. Heartfield argues that in the nineteenth century, theories of commodity fetishism noted the growing tendency for people to live through things — commodities appeared to acquire a life of their own through the working of the market. In the world of green consumerism, the fetish of commodities acquires an unprecedented significance. Things are assigned human and ethical significance. Thus we have the stigmatization of certain products as 'evil' and the rendering of other products as 'ethical'<sup>2</sup>.

We live in an 'economy of wasting time', where resources are devoted to initiatives that make little sense except as rituals of ethical intent, such as recycling. It appears that the canner capitalists figured out that scarcity increases price and manufacturing scarcity can increase returns. As a result, capitalists have reaped the benefits of manufacturing scarcity, turning the impending environmental crisis into a profitable economic opportunity.

Today, what is most striking is not simply the rise of the celebration of scarcity, but the growing tendency to commodify every aspect of life. Under the banner of green capitalism, more and more features of economic life are being reorganized and restructured. Everything from the emission of carbon to the air we breathe

• May 20: To end Prison Industrial Complex Awareness Week, Angela Davis speaks to packed audiences College 9/10.

• May 27: Students hold protests and an alternative teach-in against racism when David Horowitz, the neo-conservative writer, speaks on campus.

• June 6: Student & Worker Coalition For Justice and AFSCME 3299 workers hold rally and march calling for a



Fair Contract and Protesting the Inauguration of Chancellor George Blumenthal, who failed to provide public support for the campaign. after meeting mass police patrolling of the Inauguration, Students March down to the Bay and Mission intersection with intermittent pickets and shut down the intersection for 3 hours to call for an end to poverty wages in Santa Cruz. Graduation speakers also refused to speak in solidarity. (photo by Bradley Stuart / Indybay.org)

to the water we drink has been transformed into a commodity. Arguments for protecting nature are really a demand for the gradual securitization of the environment. Powerful forces insist on transforming every object of possible use into a value, in an attempt to subject them all to the influence of market transactions. The capitalist imperative for growth calls for the exploitation of everything and anything potentially profitable for the sake of business. The environment is simply another avenue for capitalist profiteering.

economy, a space for the development of new products to keep overproduction and overconsumption alive.

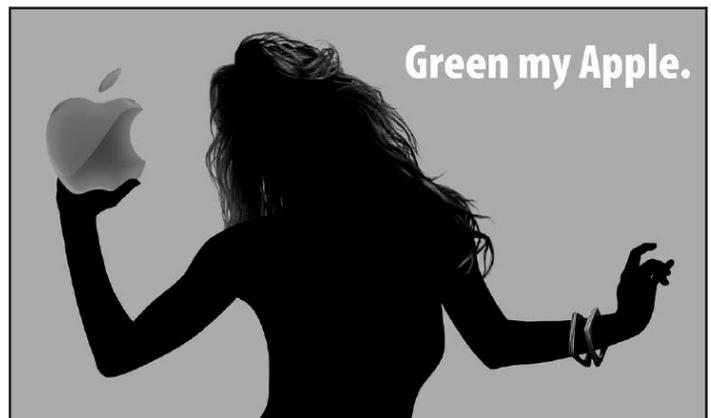
Environmentalism is not simply a question of personal change; reducing, reusing, recycling, and buying green products are not, in our current context, political activities. At best, Sandilands rightly asserts, such isolated actions forestall the inevitability of radical change to socio-environmental relations; at worst, these actions, however well-intentioned, are part of the problem. The privatization of environmental change shifts the burden of responsibility onto individuals and households, and away from states, corporations, and global political arrangements. The privatization of environmental change undermines both collective and individual resistance; it turns politics into actions such as squashing cans; morality into not buying over-packaged food items; and, environmental consciousness into carrying your own canvas bags to the grocery store. None of these actions challenge the capitalist imperative for continued growth! None of these actions makes public or co-operative the process of ecological restoration. None of these actions provoke serious examination of the social relations and structures that have brought about our current crisis. Rather, the idea that these actions are part of "saving the earth" would seem to turn attention away from subversive, collective, or public solutions<sup>4</sup>. Indeed, the imagined effect of green consumer purchases masks real environmental solutions under the false pretense that consumer choices will ultimately save us from environmental disaster.

Environmental politics are not, and cannot be, simply a question of lifestyle. Yet they are fast becoming entrenched in the private sphere; indeed, they are taking the shape of a progressively more intrusive moral code at the expense of sustained political critique. Green products sell a lifestyle that is described by such words as "responsibility", and that includes such activities as reducing, reusing and recycling. Although these latter actions might at least make people think about the legacy of overconsumption, they are individual changes that tend to be incorporated almost seamlessly



As a result of this capitalist restructuring, the environment becomes a question of lifestyle, it is depoliticized; it becomes a private matter, something that people feel they are helping in their daily lives, even though their daily lives have changed little, and even though social and economic relations destructive to the environment remain fundamentally intact. This capitalist restructuring allows for the greatest majority of people to participate in the decision-making process by way of voting with their credit cards. But purchasing power is a trifling, inconsequential means of participating in decision-making process. It accomplishes nothing in the grand scheme of things and instills in the consumer a false sense of personal righteousness.

In her examination of environmental privatization and family values, Catriona Sandilands argues that green consumerism is, actually, an oxymoron. "If the adjective "green" has any meaning at all, it includes reference to the systemic problems of over-production and over-consumption; the point of a "green" politics should be to show how consumerism is, itself, part of the problem"<sup>3</sup>. The implications of this stance are potentially wide-ranging; at the very least, however, "green" means consuming less for the affluent, not just consuming differently. Ironically, perhaps, the creation of these new green commodities may even exacerbate the problem; they represent an expanding market in a depressed



- July 14-18 8500 members AFSCME 3299 conduct statewide strike to call for a fair contract and an end to poverty wages.
- October 1st, 300 people picket and block traffic near the bookstore demanding justice for AFSCME workers
- November 1st, Subrosa Anarchist Cafe and Infoshop Opens-The downtown coffee shop/bookstore/ radical library serves as an open community space for student

activists, community members, and radicals.



- November 18-20th, Regents Meeting in San Francisco-AFSCME members, labor activists, and union leaders gathered in San Francisco to

demand a fair contract for University of California service workers. Union leaders from around the state were arrested after they refused to leave the public comment period.

- Winter, 2008/9 Cuts to Beach Flats Community-Amidst city budget cuts, the Beach Flats Community, a primary Latin@ community, experienced major cutbacks to community centerpieces including the community garden and community center, a wellspring of education and opportunity.

into daily household routines without other significant changes, and without planting the seeds of broader social or environmental transformation. Thomas Princen in "Confronting Consumption" calls this response "the individualization of responsibility." He argues that the prevailing American response to environmental ills "half-consciously understands environmental degradation as the product of individual shortcomings, best countered by action that is staunchly individual and typically consumer based (buy a tree and plant it!)"<sup>5</sup>.

Mainstream American environmentalists have embraced the notion that complex issues of consumption, consumerism, power, and responsibility can be resolved through conscious, uncoordinated consumer decisions. But individualizing responsibility does not work-you cannot plant a tree to save the world!

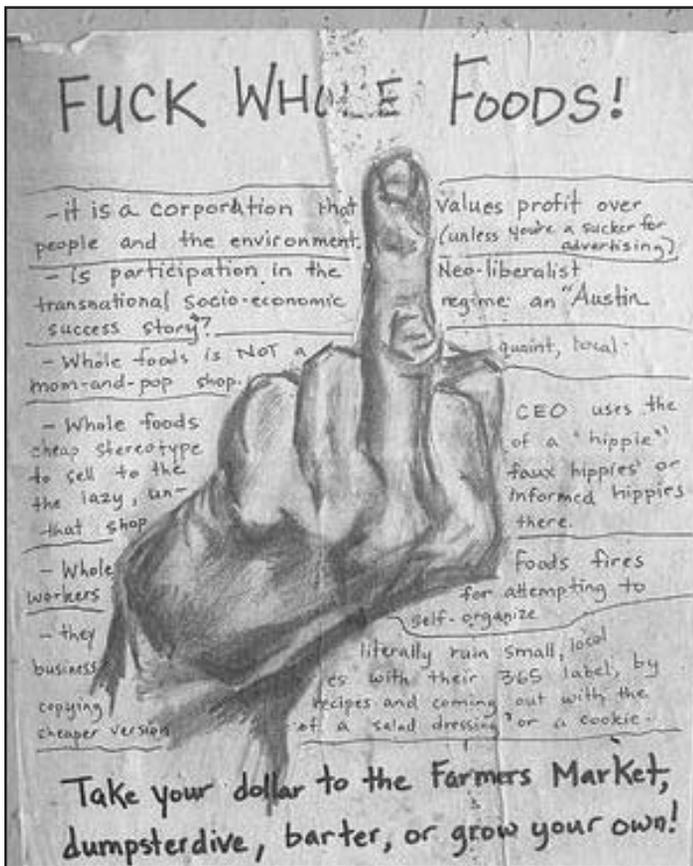
When responsibility for environmental problems is individualized, there is little room to think institutionally or collectively. Instead the serious work of confronting the mismanagement of the ecological biosphere falls to individuals acting as consumers<sup>6</sup>. As a result, institutional responsibility is altogether forgotten and individuals mistakenly believe it is ultimately their responsibility

to save the earth from environmental disaster. Government institutions and policy makers--the people that should take responsibility in implementing stricter environmental regulations and policies-- are essentially let off the hook. The structural imperatives of capitalism calling for constant economic growth and increasing production and consumption, and the dynamic ability of capitalism to commodify dissent are to blame for the individualization of responsibility in America.

Americans are most comfortable with the idea of consuming our way to a better world. Princen argues that "Americans seem capable of understanding themselves solely as consumers who must buy "environmentally sound" products (and then recycle them), rather than as citizens who might come together and develop political clout sufficient to alter institutional arrangements that drive a pervasive consumerism"<sup>7</sup>. One explanation for the elevation of the consumer over the citizen is the unceasing ability of capitalism to commodify dissent and sell it back to consumers. Corporate business has capitalized on America's growing environmental awareness by manufacturing popular belief that individuals are personally responsible for the present day condition of the environment because they consume the wrong stuff. But the problem isn't consuming the wrong product, it's consuming!

The individualization of responsibility in the United States is undermining our capacity to react effectively to socio-economic and environmental threats to human well-being. "Individualization, by implying that any action beyond the private and consumptive is irrelevant, insulates people from the empowering experiences and political lessons of collective struggle for social change and reinforces corrosive myths about the difficulties of public life"<sup>8</sup>. Confronting the consumption problem demands that individuals begin to understand themselves as citizens in a participatory democracy first, working for positive institutional and social change, and as consumers second. By putting so much emphasis on consumer choice, we divert attention away from the institutions and political arenas that matter and sever the possibility for energies directed towards positive change. If consumption is to be confronted, the forces and systems that work to individualize responsibility must be challenged.

- 1 Ferudi, Frank. "The Greening of Capitalism." <http://www.frankferudi.com/index.php.site/article/175/>. Nov. 18, 2008.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Sandilands, Catriona. "On Green Consumerism: Environmental Privatization and Family Values." Volume 13, Number 3. p. 45
- 4 Sandilands: p. 46
- 5 Princen, Thomas, Michael Maniates, and Ken Conca, et al. *Confronting Consumerism*. Chapter 1 pg. 1-20, Chapter 2 pg. 21-42, Chapter 3 pg. 43-65, Chapter 5 pg. 103-131. Cambridge, Massachusetts: p. 45
- 6 Ibid
- 7 Princen: p. 43
- 8 Princen: p.59



• December 9th, hundreds of Community Members and Students march from the Beach Flats Community Center to city hall to fight against cutbacks  
(photo by Bradley Stuart / indybay.org)



• December 14th, 2008 Tree Sit Ends-The 13-month tree-sit demonstration ended immediately after students left for Winter break. Students had been occupying the trees in protest of UC expansionist policies and the Long-Range Development Plan. After facing threats of legal action, protesters abandoned their redwood platforms above Science Hill. Following the protesters descent, UCSC cut down 48 redwood trees and 11 oak trees to make way for the construction of a campus biomedical facility. Due

# COMPOST!

By Frezknow

## Rot On!

Everybody who knows anything about gardening understands the benefits of well treated, nutrient rich soil. It is a fundamental component of survival for plants, creepy-crawlies, and micro-organisms – much like eating is for us humans. And much like eating, good soil may unfortunately raise an inconvenient bill. That is one reason many gardeners, for a very long time, have created their own compost from the bi-products of everyday, household activities; bi-products that are traditionally treated as waste by the bourgeoisie. Below are some tips on how to start composting at home, how to determine the health of your compost and some typical problems to avoid.

## Where to begin?

First of all, you don't need a garden of any sort to have a reason, or the capability for that matter, to make compost. It is in short supply and can be stored for a long time or given away as a gift or trade item. To determine if composting is a suitable activity for your dwelling, ask yourself the following questions: Do I have 15 minutes a day to devote to composting? Is there sufficient space to store compost matter at a desirable distance from my dwelling? Do I have access to yard waste (e.g. grass clippings, fallen leaves/needles, etc.)? Do I know anybody, including myself, that could use the compost I am capable of creating? If you answered in some form of a "yes" to each of these questions it has long since been time you begin turning waste into rich, nutritious soil.

## Build it from the bottom up.

Whatever structure you use to contain your compost heap, make sure it allows access on the top, sides, and bottom for the easy flow of gases. If your compost can't breathe, it will suffer. Shopping carts, I have recently learned, provide near perfect support for this necessity. Once you have made a structure and space available, start layering it in. The term "heap" is misleading in that it suggests that food and yard waste is thrown into a pile that magically turns into rich soil...but the truth is quite the contrary. Meticulous-

ly plan the composition of your compost. The first layer should be a dry, breathe easy material like straw, shredded newspaper, etc. If your pile is standing on the ground, place rocks or sticks first to allow for proper drainage. Next, add a layer of food scraps. The pattern of layering food scraps followed by dry yard waste should be repeated until the heap has reached a desirable size. Let it stand for several weeks before turning the matter over onto itself. Turn about twice a week for 1-2 months or until a dark, sweet-earthen smelling product with little to no identifiable trace of food scrap is present. It is now compost and ready to be stored or tilled into soil to be planted. It can also be used to create "compost tea," which should be self explanatory (you need a bucket, water, and cheese cloth or thin textile).

## Funk Off!

Trust your nose. If it stinks like shit, and you haven't added shit, there is a problem. Most likely the compost is decomposing anaerobically. This takes a long time and is usually undesirable. It may be too moist or suffocated by the structure or too dense of a particular layer of "waste." Ensure proper drainage for the compost by keeping it lifted at least an inch from the ground or on top of small rocks. Don't build compost in a sealed container. Don't make the individual layers too thick (you should be able to see some of the previous layer through the new one).

If it smells like shit, you also might have just put rotten food into your heap, which is ok. If it smells for more than a week it indicates a problem, but generally the rotten scraps will be overcome by the consumption of composting organisms. Also, to avoid smelling the rot far from the heap, keep it covered at all times by a generously thick layer of dry matter. This also helps to conceal the heap from scavenging creatures that can be harmful to household pets. Avoid adding too much dirt. When dirt becomes wet it can create a near impermeable layer that essentially cuts off the communication, water, and air of one part of the heap to the other. The compost critters need a liberal transportation network to efficiently and healthily metabolize our waste.

Above you have a very incomplete, but hopefully helpful guide to confidently begin composting at home. Of course, experiment, research, ask questions, and share your answers about composting with your communities to facilitate beneficial tactics for sustainable waste management and garden health.

to budget cuts throughout the UC-

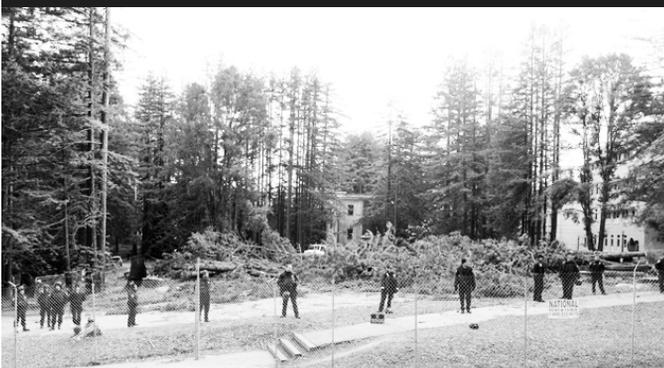
system the plans to build the facility have been put on hold and the land remains vacant and dead.

(photo by Bradley Stuart / Indybay.org)

2009

• January/February, 2009-AFSCME service workers settled their contract with the UC after a year and a half of negotiations and protest. The agreement included significant wage increases, a pay system that rewards seniority and a first time ever statewide minimum wage for their job classifications.

• February, 2009 Four Local Animal Liberation Activists Arrested by FBI-Café Pergolesi, a downtown coffee shop, snitched on four local animal-lib activists to Federal Agents who



# MAKE COMPOST!

Composting — recycling fruit, vegetable and yard trimmings — is easy, smart and fun. It saves you money and helps make Chicago green by reducing demand on landfills, saving water and helping garden and house plants GROW.

## Follow the Basic Compost 1-2-3

### 1. Chop

materials to help them break down more quickly.



### 2. Mix

“browns” (dry, woody materials) with “greens” (moist, green materials), and turn compost regularly.



### 3. Maintain

air and water balance by keeping compost as moist as a wrung-out sponge.



**Use Compost** when it looks like soil. Dig it into your garden ground or spread it on your yard and houseplant soil as mulch.

	Do Compost	Don't Compost
Browns	Fallen leaves	Meat, bones or fish
	Woody prunings	Dairy products or grease
	Untreated wood sawdust	Grains, breads or beans
	Black & white newspaper	Dog, cat or bird feces
	Fruit & vegetable trimmings	Plywood or treated wood sawdust
Greens	Young weeds	Diseased plants (in cold piles)
	Coffee grounds & filters	
	Egg shells	
	Citrus rinds	
	Tea bags	
	Barnyard manures	

## Education for Sustainable Living Program

Hey UCSC students, do you know what sustainability means? The definition heard most widely is “to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”. The Education for Sustainable Living Program (ESLP) gives students the opportunity to learn about this powerful concept while making change in our university. ESLP is an entirely student taught class that happens each spring quarter. If you feel like your education is not teaching you about topics you care about, do something about it.

Students who enroll in the class attend a weekly lecture series on many different

topics such as permaculture, food justice, and different types of activism. All students also participate in either a student taught discussion section (CRAFT), or an Action Research Team (ART). Students participating in a CRAFT meet weekly to discuss the weekly lecture topic, and other sustainability topics. ART students study a more specific topic in sustainability, and take on a project to improve our campus in that area. All the ARTs and CRAFTs are lead by highly trained student facilitators.

There are many ways to get involved in ESLP each with a different time commitment. If you just have a little bit of time, you can sign up for a 2 unit CRAFT. With

a little more time, you can participate in an ART. Students even more excited about ESLP can sign up to teach an ART or a CRAFT, or work year round to organize ESLP. ESLP is known as College 8, 61 for the CRAFTS, and College 8 161, for the ARTS. You can find us online at [eslp.envirolug.org](http://eslp.envirolug.org).

- Take charge of your education
- Learn in a community
- Learn how to make change at UCSC
- Make great friends
- Get UCSC credit for your activism
- CLEI 61 or 161

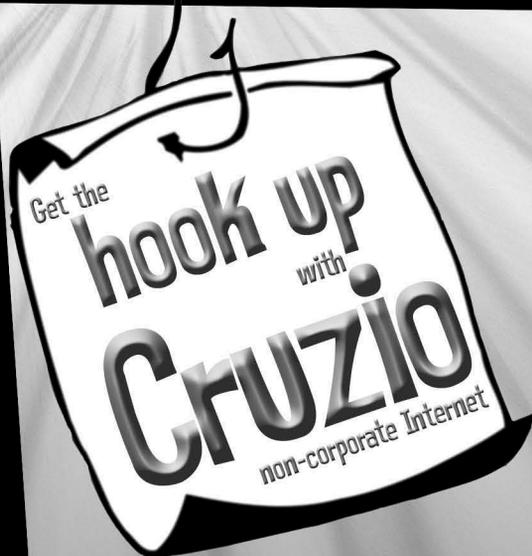
charged them under the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act (AETA). Each faces ten years in prison for attending protests against animal experimentation at the UC and allegedly publishing the names and addresses of UC professors who experiment on living animals.

• February, 2009 The Project/TWANAS Revival—Two radical, alternative, student-made newspapers resumed printing in the early months of 2009. Third World and Native American Studies Press

Collective (TWANAS) is a publication that works to create a world where diversity is respected and honored so that people of all races and ethnicities feel free to speak. The Project is an open collective of UC students working together to produce a newspaper with a focus on radical politics and activism.

• April, 2009 Kiddie Picket at Family Student Housing—Students living at Family Student Housing brought their kids out to Quarry Plaza to protest repeated rent increases and

deteriorating apartment conditions. Student activists held various forums with campus administrators and the press to demand fair housing and protections so that low-income students and families can continue to attend UCSC.



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**Forms of Domination:** Those interested in power over-utilize a variety of tools. Six master suppression techniques, or forms of Dominations, that have been identified by Berit As (a professor of Social Psychology at the University of Oslo) are:

- Making Invisible
- Ridiculing
- Withholding Information
- Damned If You Do And Damned If You Don't
- Heaping Blame
- Putting to Shame

These tools of the master are used to break one's spirit, to disempower, to confuse, to divide, to immobilize. These tactics are another assault on our humanity already laid bare through the devastating affects of institutional racism, patriarchy, classism and heterosexism.

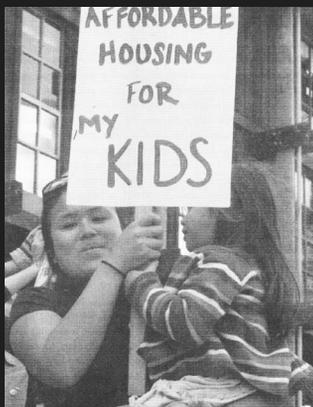
**Power & Liberation:** *What is Power? How does it work?*

Power is the ability to act. Power is not good or bad. It is how you use it and toward what end. Power unchecked or unaccountable can corrupt – it can also reveal...

Power is not a zero sum game – there is not a limited amount. Power is not set, it is relational. People power has the ability to alter the relationship.

**What kind of power do we need?:**

- Organized people – collectives, unions, coalitions, cooperatives
- Organized money – pooling funds, dues etc, collectively we have more
- Organized actions/votes – political power to persuade, convince, coerce just action



(photo by Laura Barringer)

• May, 2009 Walk-Out in Opposition to UC-Wide Budget Cuts-UCSC admins announced major cuts to student services and undergrad programs. These cuts were especially damaging to the social sciences, humanities, and the arts and threatened to obliterate the Community Studies Department. Two founding Latin American and Latino Studies professors, Susan Jonas and Guillermo Delgado, were given notice that their positions

would be terminated along with other staff and faculty members. Students mobilized in opposition to the cuts and in support of the faculty and Community Studies Department.

• May, 2009 May Day-Hundreds of students and community members braved the rain to celebrate International Workers' Day and speak out for immigrant rights. Students marched from campus to the Beach Flats.

• June, 2008 SOCC Hunger Strike-

# 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

"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.

## 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.

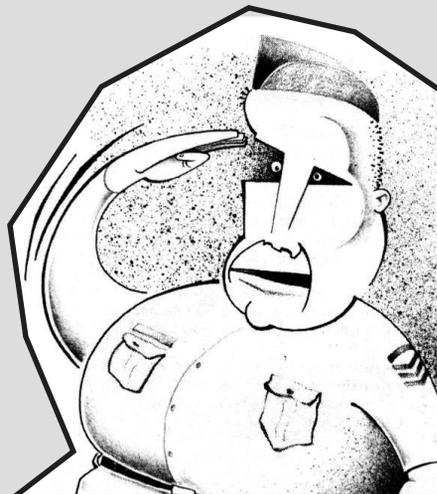
•The enlistment contract contains a clause that allows the military to alter any provision of the contract without even notifying you.

•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 Students of Color Coalition (SOCC) organized a four-day hunger strike in protest of budget cuts and in opposition to UC policies, noting that cuts are disproportionately affecting students of color and marginalized communities within the university. SOCC's demands included among other things making the university a safe sanctuary for undocumented students. SOCC also demanded that the university hire a full-time director of the American Indian Resource Center and Women's Center.



photo by Bradley Stuart / indybay.org)

-In August workers call for a vote of no confidence in President Mark Yudof. This leads to an UPTE strike and faculty walkout in September.

# Academia and Empire



The University of California is a prestigious and infamously “liberal” university (especially here at UCSC), presenting itself as an institution of progressive learning, academic integrity, and intellectual freedom. But we think it’s important to see our university’s role in society, beyond this lofty and liberal image. We think it’s important, as participants in this academic institution, to be conscious of our university’s role as an essential building block in supporting and perpetuating the strength of American hegemony and “Western civilization and democracy”; in other words, capitalism, imperialism, white supremacy and the pursuit of ever-expanding empire.

## The Military-Industrial-Academic Complex

Think of our militarized society as a pyramid that couldn’t stand without the support of all of its sides. The military, industry (corporations), and academia, while appearing to be institutions that function independently of each other, are three pillars that together uphold United States military dominance. Within the military-industrial-academic complex, the military is responsible for enforcing defense, in-

dustry (primarily, military-industrial corporations, i.e.: weapons contractors) is responsible for producing defense, and universities are responsible for providing the intellectual capital and research necessary to constantly develop our defense capabilities. In other words, American hegemony could not function without these three institutions working with each other and sustaining each other.

## To “Militarize Science” and “Scientize the Military”

*“Militarization of the university refers to the process and conditions in which a university’s people and resources have been mobilized to contribute to the military enterprise of the political elites, the Department of Defense, and the DoD’s contracted corporate subsidiaries” (BondGrahm, 2003).*

Our academic institutions provide a dual benefit to the military enterprise.

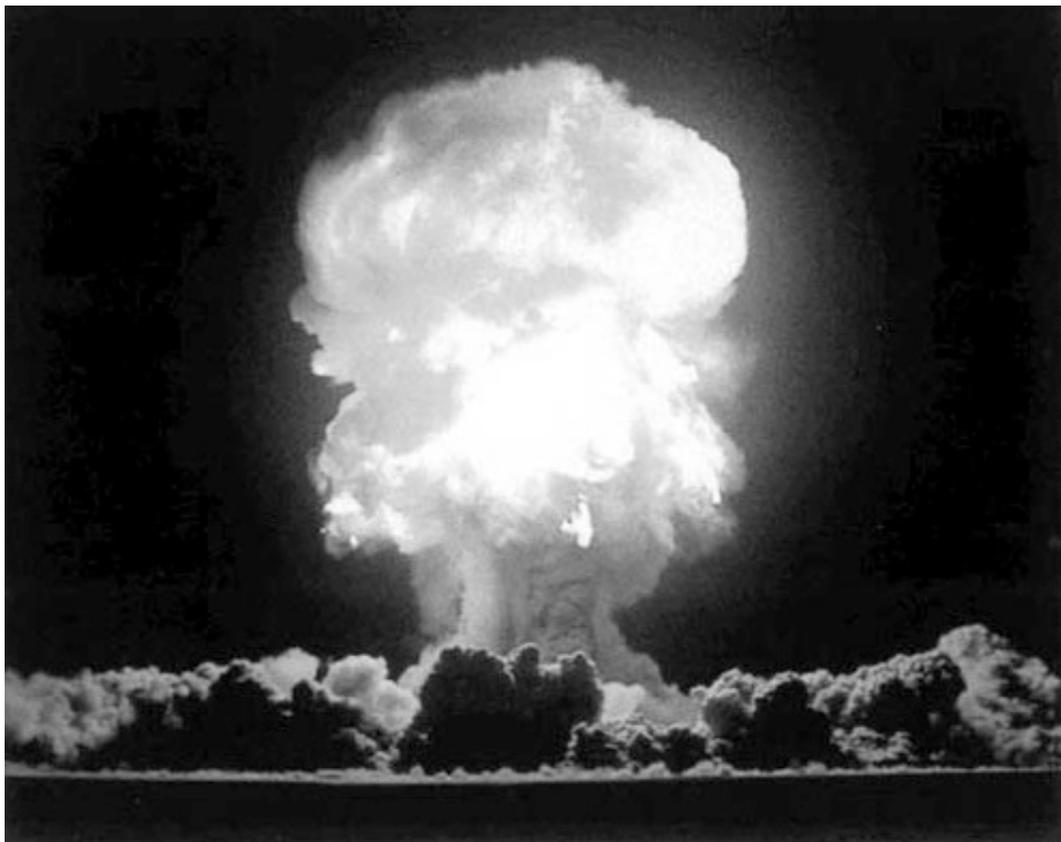
First is the continuous influx of new science and knowledge, allowing the Department of Defense to continuously advance the dominance of our military enterprise. Examples of this relationship can be seen throughout the UC-system, including here at UCSC, particularly in the Baskin School of Engineering. A 2003 study of the research relationships between the Department of Defense and full-time faculty at UCSC’s Baskin School of Engineering showed that at the time, 51% of faculty were currently engaged in a research project that was directly funded by the DoD (BondGrahm, 2003). Noting the limitations of this study – that it focuses only on the Baskin School of Engineering at UCSC, that it does not include full-time researchers, lecturers, visiting professors or graduate students, that this statistic does not refer to other war institutions such as war-profiteer corporations or other government bodies such as the Department of Energy of the Department of Homeland Security – it is safe to assume that a 51% rate of programs dependent on the military enterprise is actually a modest estimate of the extent to which academia relies on the military (for funding) and the military relies on us (for research). This shift in focus doesn’t stop at with the sciences; the effects on liberal arts programs go beyond the fact that every funding increase in the last two years has gone to science and engineering departments. Hugh Gunderson, a professor of Anthropology

at George Mason University specializing in nuclear culture, reports that “Robert Gates [Secretary of Defense] has said that cultural expertise in counterinsurgency operations will be crucial in the future wars he anticipates.” Gunderson expands on this idea, pointing out that knowledge is subtly militarized and bent in the way a tree is bent by the prevailing wind, and we come to accept that basic academic research and studies on religion, culture, language, violence and more “belongs” to the military.

The second benefit reaped by the military through this relationship is a system of indoctrinating and preparing students and faculty to create a system that will perpetually guarantee the military a future generation that is perfectly primed to work for the warfare state. Professor Charles Schwarz of UC Berkeley’s Physics Department has measured rates of military/military-industrial employment for graduates as high as 48% for physics, 34% astronomy, 58% atmospheric science, 28% applied mathematics, 64% aeronautical engineering, 43% electrical engineering, 34% materials engineering, 36% mechanical engineering, and 24% nuclear engineering (Schwartz).

## The UC and the Bomb

The University of California provides one of the most blatant examples of the intricate relationship between the military, corporations, and academia. Since the foundation of the Manhattan project, a term used to describe the development of the U.S.’s first nuclear weapons during World War II, the UC has overseen the nation’s two largest nuclear research facilities, serving as ‘manager’ to the Los Alamos National Laboratory (Los Alamos, NM) and the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (Livermore, CA). The UC managed the production of all 10,000+ nuclear weapons in the United States arsenal, and today manages their “stockpile stewardship” (constant upkeep of all the weapons in our stockpile, essentially turning them into new, more advanced and more violent bombs).



Thus we inherit a gruesome history as students (and funders) of this institution. With the responsibility of managing the creation of our entire nuclear arsenal, we are thus also responsible for all of their violent and disturbing uses. This includes the two atomic bombs dropped over Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II, resulting in over 200,000 acute deaths and generations upon generations of resulting suffering. It includes the 67 “test” bombs dropped on the Indigenous communities in the Marshall Islands, equaling an average of 1.6 Hiroshima-sized explosions over the Marshall Islands every day continuously for 12 years. And it also includes over a thousand of bombs detonated on the Western Shoshone Nation at the Nevada Test Site – the most bombed nation on earth – with 1,032 open air nuclear bombings and 21 sub-critical nuclear explosions. Today, the Nevada Test Site is the proposed site to hold nuclear waste, buried in a ‘geological repository’ in Yucca Mountain; this is despite the fact that Yucca Mountain is on a fault line, and that nuclear waste continues to be carcinogenic and radioactive for thousands of years. Clearly, there has been a trend of environmental racism inherent within our management of labs, in which communities of the color have nearly always been the targets of nuclear attacks and nuclear pollution. In the case of the nuclear weapons complex and UC management, this has especially been true of Native American and Indigenous communities. A blatant example of this is that 18 of the 20 proposed nuclear waste sites were located on Native American Reservations. How’s that for “let there be light”?

## Corporate Takeover

In 2004 and 2005, this relationship between academia and the military enterprise became an official triad with corporate industry when management of LLNL and LANL was put up for bidding the first time since the Manhattan Project. The decision to put the labs up was a result of a history of shady and incomplete management by the UC Regents over the labs, including security breeches, lost or stolen classified material, and improper storing and handling of radioactive material. However, the UC Regents were able to maintain their grip on the world of nuclear weapons when they submitted their bid as a conglomerate with military-industrial corporations Bechtel, Washington Group International and BWX Technologies, forming a Limited Liability Corporation over the labs. They won this new contract, beating out a consortium between Lockheed Martin and University of Texas (two other institutions that relate to your life as a student at UCSC, with a branch of Lockheed Martin located up the hill from us at the top of Empire Grade, and with our new UC President Mark Yudof coming to us after being Chancellor at the University of Texas [see Fuck the Regents]).

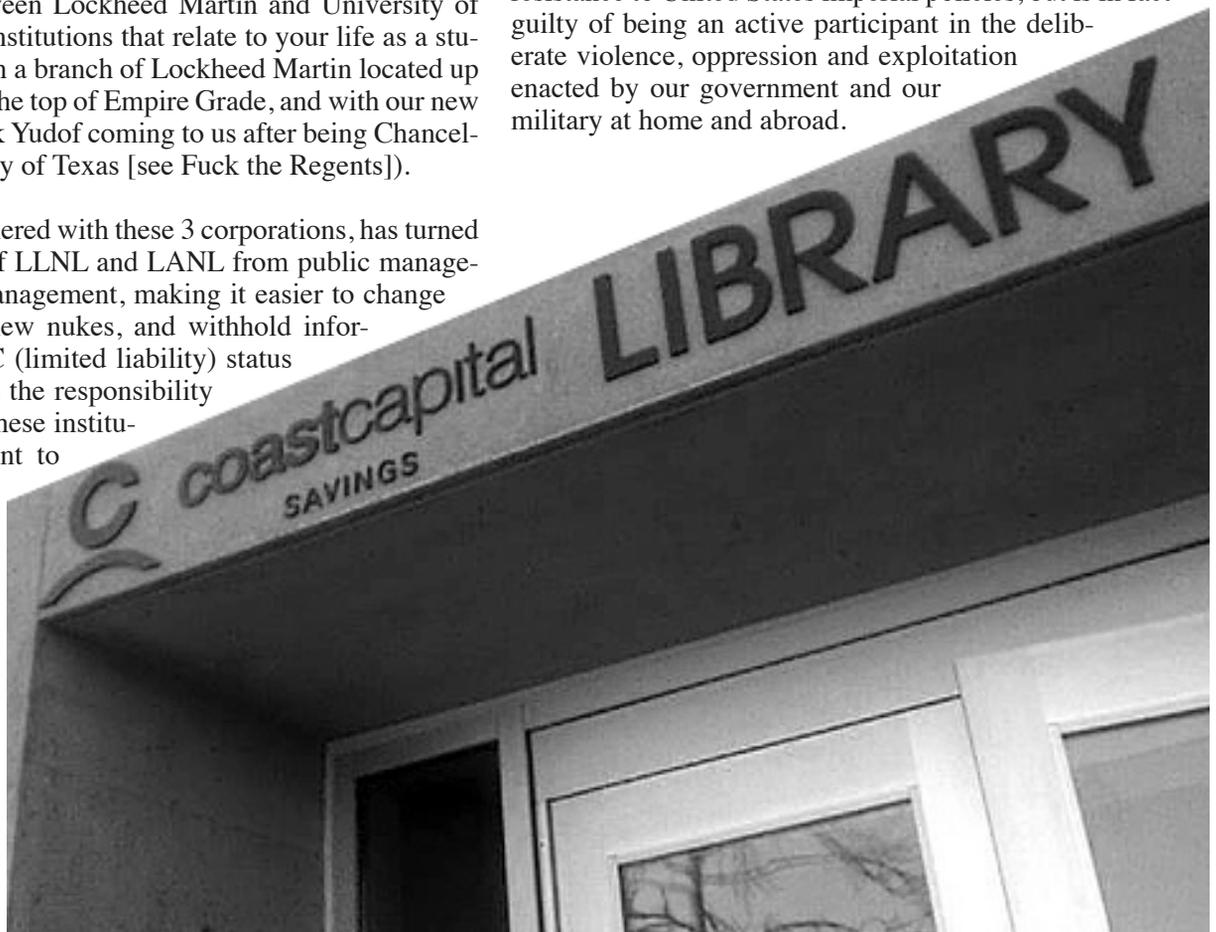
The UC, now partnered with these 3 corporations, has turned the management of LLNL and LANL from public management to private management, making it easier to change contracts, create new nukes, and withhold information. Their LLC (limited liability) status conveniently takes the responsibility off of any one of these institutions. It's important to

note the role our new "partners" play in society. **Bechtel** is a multinational corporation, and one of the largest war profiteers in the world, working on 20,000 projects on all seven continents since it was founded in 1898. Riley Bechtel is the 104th richest

man in the world, and served on Bush's "Export Council to advise the government on how to create markets for American companies overseas." Examples of projects Bechtel has worked range from nuclear reactors to oil pipelines to "rebuilding infrastructure" in Iraq. They are most notoriously known for their involvement in the privatization of water in Bolivia, leading to mass protests known as "The Cochabamba Water Wars." **BWX Technologies** seems to "specialize" in the management of nuclear weapons facilities, operating not only at LLNL and LANL but also at the Y-12 National Security Complex in Tennessee and the Pantex Plant in Tex-

as. **Washington Group International** was acquired in 2007 by URS Corporation for 3.1 million dollars, and now functions as the "Washington Division" of URS. This provides another tie to the UC, because URS Corporation was contracted for part of the Long Range Development Plan here at UCSC (see LRDP). To make it even more incestuous and complicated, Board of Regents member Richard Blum used to reside on the URS Board, but resigned in 2005 after being called out for a conflict of interest (see Fuck the Regents).

As you can see, the UC is very much guilty of being intricately involved in this Military-Industrial-Academic paradigm, working closely with the Department of Defense and multi-national, for-profit corporations in many instances, such as military research in our science programs and the UC management of nuclear weapons labs. As a result, the University of California is not only guilty of a lack of vocal resistance to United States imperial policies, but is in fact guilty of being an active participant in the deliberate violence, oppression and exploitation enacted by our government and our military at home and abroad.



### Resources/references:

- The Baskin Study by Darwin Bond-Graham, 2003
- <http://www.corpwatch.org/index.php>
- Addicted to War by Joel Andreas
- If You Poison US: Uranium and Native Americans by Peter H. Echstaedt
- "Publish and Perish: Integration of University Science with the Pentagon" by Charles Schwartz (1988, Science for the People)

To learn more, take UC & the Bomb – a 5 unit course all about this complex – in Spring 2010! Contact [mclbluebox@riseup.net](mailto:mclbluebox@riseup.net) for information during Winter 2010.

# FUCK THE REGENTS!

**What do politicians, financiers, lawyers, mass media, software, and military contractors have in common? They are all represented by the wealthy elite managing our Universities through the Board of Regents. So who the fuck are the Regents anyway?**

The Regents are the ruling board of the University of California, written into the California Constitution (Article IX, Section 9). The Board of Regents gives their 26 members “full powers of organization and governance” over the UC system. Their control extends over all 10 campuses, five medical centers, three affiliated national laboratories, and a statewide agriculture and natural resources program. So who exactly are these people that are making the decisions that affect the wellbeing of the UC’s 220,000 students, 180,000 faculty and staff, more than 1.6 million alumni, and an \$18 billion annual operating budget?

Is this system of governance over the UC supposed to somehow represent the desires that students, faculty and staff have for their university? Is one single student supposed to accurately represent the values and desires of not only the students, faculty and staff on their campus, but all 10 UC campuses?

As if the undemocratic structure of the Board of Regents isn’t bad enough, the makeup of the board is equally offensive, being generally composed of the business elite of California – some of the wealthiest people

in the state and even in the nation, with some of the most powerful jobs and connections in the corporations and industry that dominate the state. This is ironic considering the fact that the Constitution itself states that “the university shall be entirely independent of all political and sectarian influence and kept free there from in the appointment of its Regents and in the administration of its affairs.” Does the Board of Regents have the capability to effectively create a University system whose goal is giving back to the community of California, when only one class of people are represented in the decision making?

The personal histories of those on the Board clearly show that, in fact, the political scope of those of the Board is narrow, representing only the ruling elite. Here’s some dirt that has been dug up about a few key regents in the last few years. But **this is just the tip of the iceberg**, so we encourage you to dig deeper, and learn the true interests and investments of the people that are making decisions about our university on behalf of us. Visit <http://ucop.com/> as a place to find out who else is on the Board of Regents to begin your research!

**“Who exactly are these people that are making the decisions that affect the wellbeing of the UC’s 220,000 students, 180,000 faculty and staff, more than 1.6 million alumni, and an \$18 billion annual operating budget?”**

•Members appointed (not elected) by the governor of California to serve 12 year terms – that’s right, 12 fucking years!

•There are also 7 ex-officio members, which are basically assumed positions, consisting of the Governor (good old Arnold), the Lieutenant Governor (John Garamendi), speaker of the assembly, superintendent of public education, the president and vice-president of the UC Alumni Association, and the President of the UC (Mark Yudof). Despite the fact that these 7 members have voting privileges, none of them attend the regular meetings except for Garamendi

•The Board also consists of **only one student regent**. This student, who is chosen by the board, serves a two-year term with only one year of voting privileges.

## BIOGRAPHIES

*Our award for TOP SCANDAL(s) goes to **Richard C. Blum!***

Meet the infamous Richard Blum: wealthy financier, Democratic Party insider (seen sitting behind Obama at the Inauguration), husband of California Senator Diane Feinstein, and a self-proclaimed “Tibetan Buddhist and Philanthropist.” Wow Dick, that’s quiet a resume! But it gets worse, and more complicated.

Blum’s most recent top-secret scandal involved his real estate firm CB Richard Ellis, his other company Blum Capital Partners, and his wife up on Capital Hill. When congress convened this year, Feinstein pioneered a bill that distributed \$25 billion in taxpayer money to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, a private business created by congress to insure “financial stability” – or, to maintain the status quo of the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer. In turn, the FDIC (via Feinstein) awarded CBRE (a.k.a. Blum) **a contract allowing them to sell foreclosed properties at compensation rates higher than industry norms**. At the same time, Blum Capital Partners was purchasing over 10 million shares of CBRE. Blum and Feinstein have profited over \$13.7 million from this debacle. (“Love and Larceny,” John Harding, April 29 2009).

Another infamous scandal of Dick’s involves his previous role as vice-president over URS Corporation, a war profiteer corporation that is making millions of dollars off of the “rebuilding of Iraq” through its Perini Construction subsidiary. URS also made millions off of being contracted to work on “design and construction services” at Los Alamos National Laboratory, one of the nuclear weapons labs managed by the Board of Regents. Then, in 2007, URS was bought out for \$3.1 billion by Washington Group International – a corporation that just a few years prior entered a contract to co-manage these nuclear weapons labs with the UC, Bechtel and BWX Technolo-

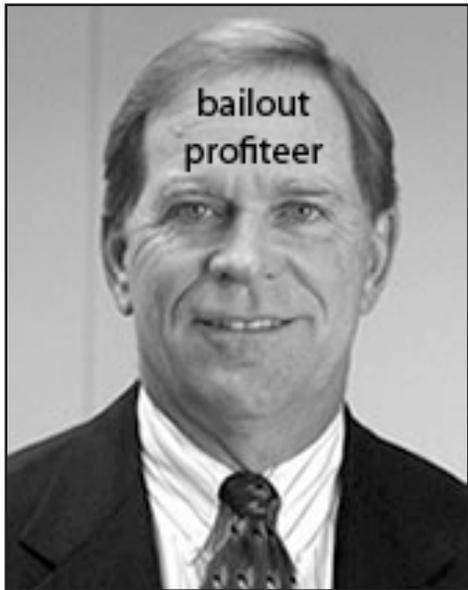


gies. Sadly, Rich no longer works for URS, because in 2005 he was called out for a conflict of interest and had to step down after URS was contracted to do development work for UCSC's Long Range Development Plan. Dear Dick is one of the best (and most infuriating) examples we have of those revolving door politics where there is so much overlap between politics, corporations and their wealthy leaders that the supposed lines between them are too blurry to see.

And the award for MOST LIKELY TO GO SWIMMING IN A PILE OF (OUR) MONEY goes to Russell Gould

As of July 9th, 2009, we now have a brand-new Chairman of the Board of regents – Russell Gould. Gould was appointed to the Board in 1998, and formerly held the positions of Vice Chair and Chair of Finance for the Board. Gould got his degree in political science at UC Berkeley and has been representing for the crooked politics of California ever since, with a resume that includes Director of the Department of Finance of the State of California from 1993 to 1996 and prior to that, Secretary of the Health and Welfare Agency from 1991 to 1993.

The gold star on Russell's resume is his employment with Wachovia Bank as Senior Vice President. Wachovia was once the fourth-largest bank in the United States based on total assets; however, in 2008 Wachovia found itself in the middle of a nasty Battle-of-the-Banks when both Citigroup and Wells Fargo attempted to



buy out Wachovia in light of its looming failure. Initially Citigroup made an offer to Wachovia with government support through the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and then soon after Wells Fargo submitted an even higher offer of \$15.1 billion in stock, claiming they did not need the government guarantee that Citibank opted for. Although Wachovia's stocks had fallen

97% in 2008, the battle was still ruthless to gain ownership of its assets because in the world of banking, the bigger the better, and this financial crisis provided a unique opportunity for the world's banking monopolies to bloat themselves to new extremes. In the end Wachovia sold itself to Wells Fargo, completing the merger on December 31st, 2008. And all this came just before Wells Fargo hit the Bailout jackpot, being one of the first banks to receive a government-funded financial bailout, and being the bank to receive the biggest amount of money in one shot - \$25 billion dollars. So

Long story short, Wells Fargo buys out Wachovia for \$15.1 billion, hits the government up for a bailout jackpot of \$25 billion, and our UC President Gould finds himself sitting atop a huge fucking pile of (our) money.

through this merger, our new UC President Gould finds himself, through his still current Vice President position at Wachovia, essentially sitting at the top of a huge fucking pile of gold.

The award for BEST AT MONOPOLY goes to Norman J. Pattiz!

Norman Pattiz was appointed by Governor Gray Davis and his term expires in 2015. Pattiz got his start in the business world by founding Westwood One in 1974 – America's largest radio network organization. Westwood One is a major supplier of traffic news and sports programming on local TV stations, and its empire includes NBC Radio Network, the CBS Radio Network, CNN Radio, and Fox Radio News. Pattiz has a history of being caught up in financial election scandals: for example, his company had to pay over \$75,000 in fines for violating election laws. Pattiz was also nominated to the Broadcasting Board of Governors (oversees government broadcast like The Voice of America) by President Clinton, which suspiciously came



after over \$300,000 of campaign donations to the Democratic Party and a backing of Hilary Clinton's bid for Senate. While on the BBG, Pattiz was chairman of the Middle East Committee, serving as a driving force behind the creation of Radio Sawa and Alhurra Television, the U.S. Governments Arabic-language radio and TV services to over 22 countries in the Middle East, to supposedly counteract "Islamic Extremist News" in the Middle East.

Clearly, this big-time media mogul is not someone you'd want to be on the bad side of, seeing as how he controls so much of American media. Apparently all of Pattiz's knowledge and experience of the media made him qualified to be a Regents, and not only that, to be the Regent chosen for the Chair of Oversight of the Department of Energy's UC-managed nuclear laboratories (Los Alamos National Lab and Livermore National Lab).

And the award for EVERYBODY'S BUDDY goes to Paul Wachter!

Paul Wachter may not be someone you've ever hear of before, but he is Governor Schwarzenegger's money-man, and one of the most powerful political insiders in the state. He got his start in the world of the super-rich as the founder and Executive Chief Officer of Santa Monica-based company Main Street Advisors. This "financial, strategic and asset management"



company is so exclusive that according to a statement of economic interests forms Wachter filed with the FPPC after becoming a UC Regent last year, only 11 clients to the firm were listed, paying the company more than \$10,000 a year.

Multiple clients from Main Street Advisors were directly connected to Governor Schwarzenegger himself, most notably the “Shriver Blind Trust” – as in Maria Shriver, Schwarzenegger’s wife, and a member of the Kennedy Family. Wachter is also the manager of the blind trust into which all of Schwarzenegger’s investments were liquidated when he became governor, which is required of elected officials to avoid conflicts of interest. Schwarzenegger’s financial holdings were briefly and partially disclosed in 2003 during the recall campaign, revealing a financial empire of tens of millions of dollars invested in securities, private equity funds, and over 100 business ventures. Not surprisingly, many of these business ventures were in partnership with Wachter. Given Wachter and Schwarzzy’s buddy-buddy relationship, it’s hard to see how Wachter could act as an independent, disinterested manager of the governor’s assets in his position. In fact, it was Schwarzzy himself that nominated Wachter to the Board of Regents in 2004.

And the award for MOST LIKELY TO LEAVE THE UC FOR AN EVEN HIGHER SALARY goes to Mark Yudof!

In March of 2008, the Board of Regents unanimously voted to welcome Mark Yudof as the 19th President of the University of California. So who is this Yudof, and why are all the



Regents so fucking excited to have him reign over the University of California? At 63, Yudof has had a long history in running public universities across the country. He served as president of the four-campus University of Minnesota from 1997 to 2002, and chancellor of the University of Texas system from August 2002 to May 2008. Before that, he was a faculty member and administrator at UT at Austin for 26 years, taking

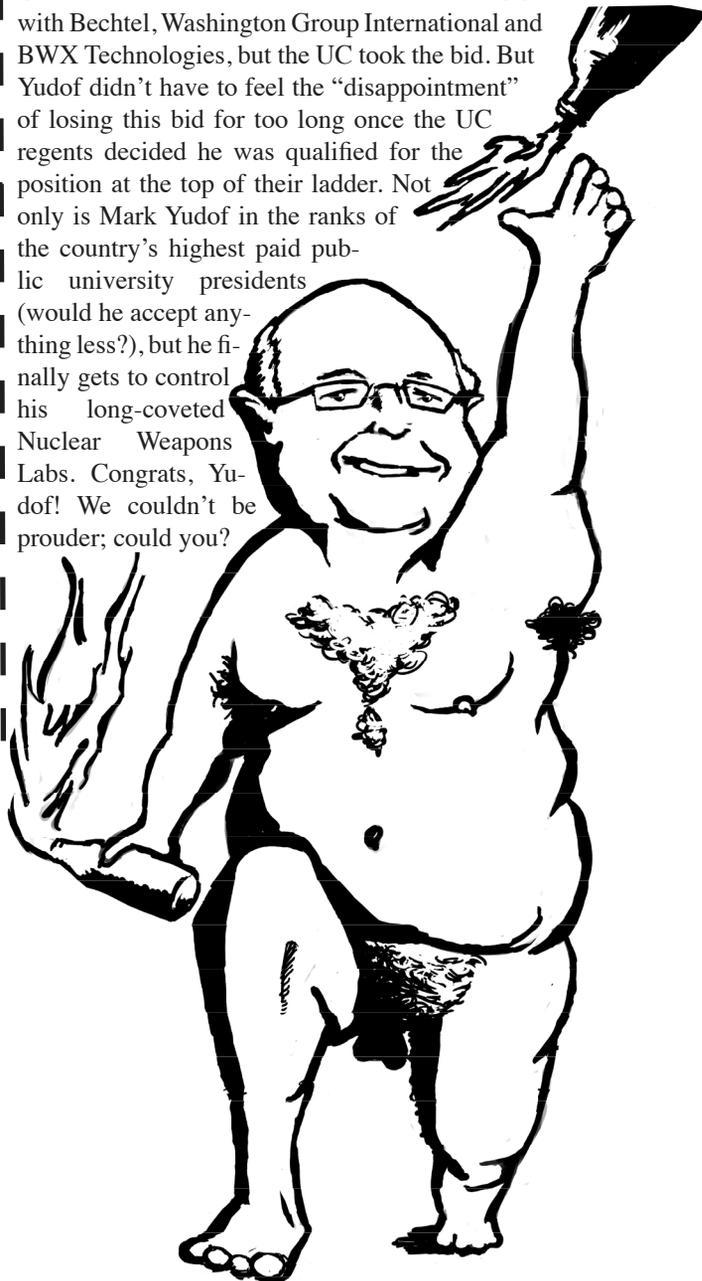
positions such as Dean of the Law School from 1984 to 1994 and Executive Vice President and Provost from 1994 to 1997.

Yudof’s employment history has, to put it mildly, been very well-paid. As Regent Blum described, “he’s expensive, but he’s worth it!” While President of U of M, Yudof enjoyed multiple raises, bringing his annual earnings from \$225,000 to \$350,000; never mind that 75% of U of M’s service workers were being paid poverty wages. In 2002, Yudof arrived at University of Texas, dou-

bling his salary and becoming the 6th highest paid chancellor in the United States with a salary at \$742,209 in 2007. And with his most recent move to the University of California, his salary increased even more, taking office on June 16th, 2008 with \$924,642, no bother to the budget “crisis”. Another perk to Yudof’s new job is residence in the Blake House, a Northern California mansion that has upheld a longstanding tradition of regal and lavish housing for University of California president’s. But poor Yudof is currently living in interim housing in Oakland at the cost of \$11,360 a month because the Blake house is under electrical and structural repairs that will cost between \$8 million and \$9 million.

Interestingly enough, Yudof’s previous employer, the University of Texas, was the main competitor for control over the UC-managed nuclear weapons labs. It was a close race between UT’s alliance with Lockheed Martin and the UC’s with Bechtel, Washington Group International and BWX Technologies, but the UC took the bid. But Yudof didn’t have to feel the “disappointment” of losing this bid for too long once the UC regents decided he was qualified for the position at the top of their ladder. Not only is Mark Yudof in the ranks of

the country’s highest paid public university presidents (would he accept anything less?), but he finally gets to control his long-coveted Nuclear Weapons Labs. Congrats, Yudof! We couldn’t be prouder; could you?



# FUCK THE REGENTS!!

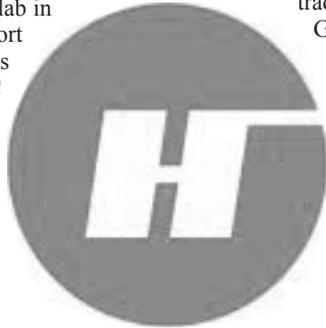


# Whom Does the Empire Serve?

Oil companies, defense contractors, corporations specializing in support for oil production or military logistics -- and the wealthy politicians they own. Keep in mind this is just a few of the biggest and vilest -- the list could go on and on.

## 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, received a no-bid five year contract to put out oil fires even before the invasion began. Received \$16 million to build a prison in Guantanamo Bay. VP Dick Cheney was Halliburton President and CEO until taking office and still holds stock options worth over \$10 million dollars. The Department of Energy's Los Alamos National Laboratory, the premier nuclear weapons lab in the US, selected KBR as the new site support services contractor. KBR, and Los Alamos functions as a subcontractor to the UC which manages the lab. In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, KBR won a \$500 million contract to rebuild US Navy facilities damaged by the storm. Halliburton and its subsidiary KBR have received billions of dollars in contracts due to natural disasters and wars.



## Chevron-Texaco...

...along with ExxonMobil, was part of Caspian oil consortium exploring untapped reserves in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan. Has since bought Unocal [Former Unocal exec Zalmay Khalilzad was appointed special envoy to Afghanistan after the 2001 invasion and previously served as ambassador to Iraq. He currently serves as the permanent United States Ambassador to the United Nations]. Former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice was previously on the board of directors for Chevron, serving as a special consultant on Central Asia. In Nov. 2004 the UC and Chevron-Texaco founded an "Alliance for Advanced Energy Solutions" to evolve technologies for economic and energy uses.



## Boeing...

...number two in the defense industry "Big Three". Makes 747s, "smart" bombs, fighter planes, 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. On Sept. 6th, 2008, 27,000 machinists went on strike demanding increased job security and compensation. Further struggles involved use of outside contractors and higher co-pays and deductibles. In 2005 Boeing donated \$150,000 to the UC Regents, which was then passed to UC extension programs in an effort to improve the 40% failure rate of the California subject exam for teachers (CSET) in math and science. One spokesperson for Boeing stated in regards to Boeing's donations, "This is a win-win for the company and the state. We have the potential to become better partners in the common chance to hire the students who are going to benefit from more qualified teachers." As of 2005, Boeing is the largest manufacturing employer of the state of California.



## Bechtel...

...has built oil pipelines in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Canada, Alaska, Columbia and Libya. Tried to privatize the water supply in Cochabamba, Bolivia in 2003 but back 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. Recently the UC has partnered with corporations Bechtel, Washington Group International, and BWX Technologies in it's management of Lawrence Livermore National Labs, and Los Alamos National Labs. They now form a limited liability corporation of management. On Oct. 29th, 2001, the EPA fined Bechtel \$30,383 at the Idaho Natl. Engineering and Environmental Lab for not keeping records of any service being performed. Bechtel was in part responsible for helping to develop (and profit from) the atomic bombs dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima.



## 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, \$20.7 billion in 2004, \$19.4 billion in 2005. Former Lockheed VP Bruce Jackson chaired the Coalition for Liberation of Iraq, which promoted the Bush war plan. LM has a facility in Santa Cruz County at the Lockheed Martin Missiles and Space Company in Bonny Doon. The Trident and other missiles were worked on at this site. The company battled the UC for a contract to manage the Los Alamos Lab in 2005 and ultimately lost. LM has also made billions in Homeland Security contracts. Let's not forget the many environmental and health catastrophes that have resulted from Lockheed's many toxic facilities. For example, after perchlorate contamination was found in San Bernadino County's drinking water, LM tried to convince the EPA to lower perchlorate standards in H<sub>2</sub>O to save on clean up costs.

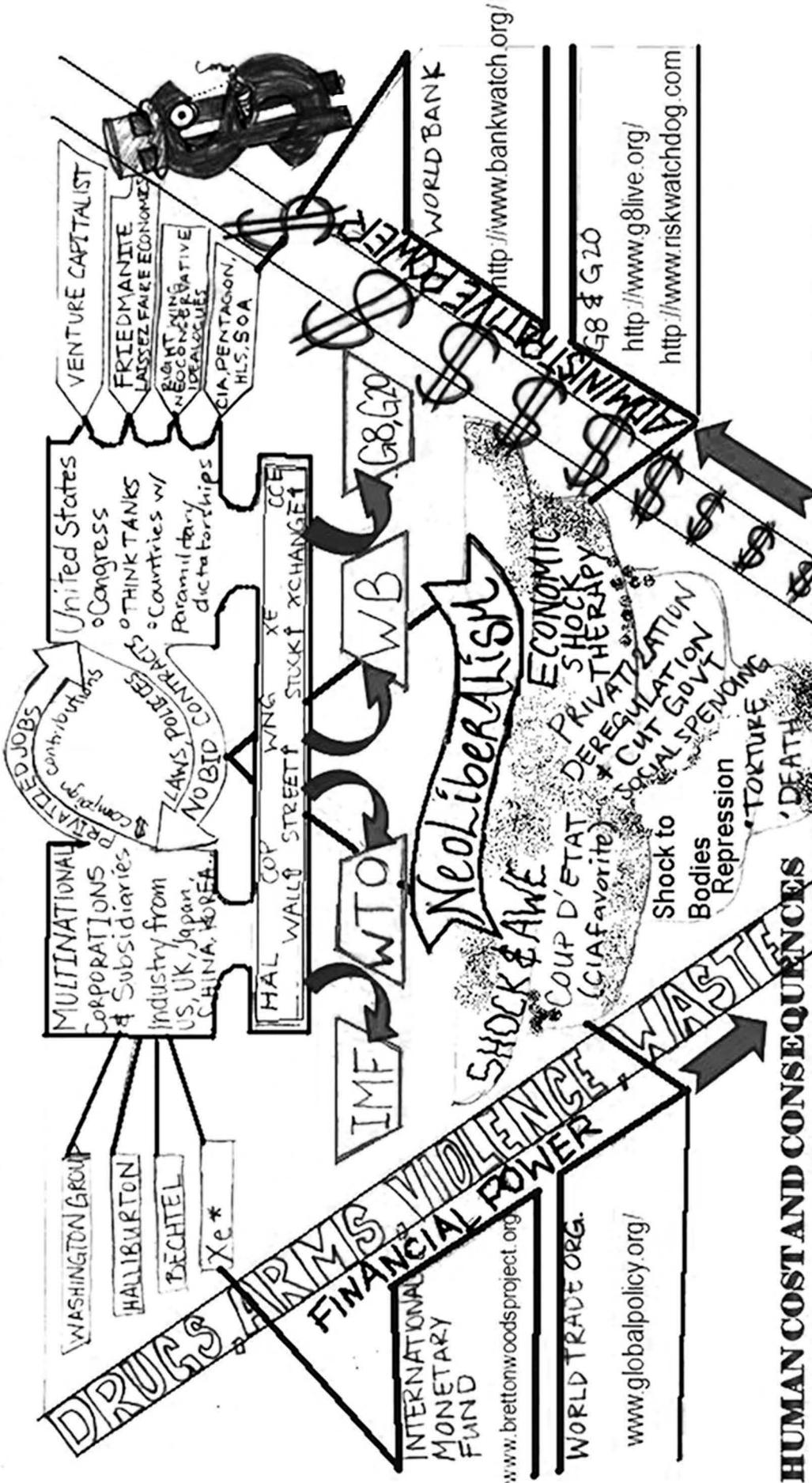
LOCKHEED MARTIN  
We never forget who we're working for™

## 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. For decades GE factories polluted the Hudson River as over 1.3 million pounds of PCBs were dumped into it. The company is ranked as the 7th worst polluter by the Political Economy Research Institutes Toxic 100 Index. While General Electric has previously been involved in nuclear weapons production, it sold its nuclear power plants in 1993 after the company was publicly scrutinized.



# Power and Domination of the Neoliberal Economic Structure



- HUMAN COST AND CONSEQUENCES**
- Increased Unemployment has followed every time Neoliberal policies are passed
  - Prices soar and poverty grows and only the wealthy can afford basic goods and services
  - Cuts in government accountability to citizens by cutting gov't spending for social services
  - Political, social repression of indigenous, women, children and workers through torture
  - Public land is privatized and those that stand in the way become los "Desaparecidos"

\* Blackwater rebranded

Source: <http://www.naomiklein.org/shock-doctrine>

# Talking About “Violence”

In Santa Cruz, we talk a lot about non-violence. Trying to figure out what that is and why we hear so much about it makes us ask...What is violence? What does it mean for us to talk about violence? What do we mean when we talk about it?

**“violence flows down the hierarchy all the time...but we don’t see that daily violence.”**

Certain UC students have faced very real, physical violence from police on campus. In the Fall of 2006, Alette Kendrick was handcuffed, dragged, and beaten by police at a protest that was planned in response to a visit by the UC Regents. In the fall of 2007, students were beaten by cops and pepper sprayed more than once when trying to bring food to tree sitters on Science Hill. In both of these cases, the students – who were not harming anyone – were called “violent” by campus authorities and various media.

When do we call an action, “violent”? Whose violence do we see as threatening? Whose do we accept as necessary and just?



Most of us have gathered that we live in a violent society. The United States has been at war since before most of us entered high school.

We’ve noticed the impressive number of cop cars on campus and downtown. We’ve seen people from those cars harass students and the homeless.

Our society operates according to a certain system, and that system is maintained by *constant* violence done against those with less power by those with more power, directly and indirectly. Another way of saying this is, violence flows down the hierarchy all the time.

This is most obvious to us on a global scale, but even in this bubble there are a lot of things we do everyday (pay rent, buy food, wear clothes...) that we do in part because if we don’t, we will probably have an unpleasant interaction with someone who wears a uniform and carries a gun.

But we don’t see that daily violence. It is invisible to us, though any violence going up the hierarchy - violence against someone with more power by someone with less power – is highly visible, and shocking to us.

If we are talking about violence,

and we do not happen to be people who face it every day, we are in a pretty interesting position. It’s a very privileged position. Most of what we hear about violence comes from similarly privileged positions.

So it’s a difficult conversation. It could be compared to trying to make a moral judgment on stealing when you have always had money to buy food and therefore have not been not obligated to steal it, and/or you are not clearly being stolen from (in terms of your rights, your time, your resources...) by corporations and the state. When you *are* in such a position, stealing may have another word, like, *survival*. And that may be the survival of your body, or the survival of your dignity. Many governments and corporations inhabit a position where their stealing is called *business*.

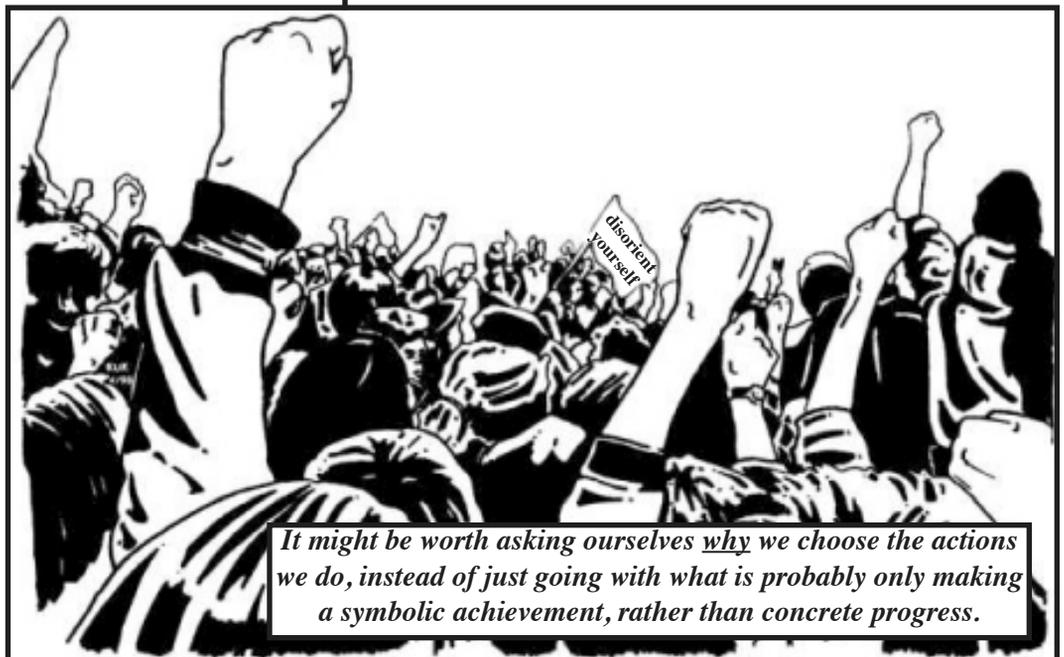
No one is bringing this up to advocate for or against violence. No person can decide for another what should be done, or not done, and when.

It may just be important to think about how we talk about violence and about nonviolence, and to think about who we are while we have those conversations.

**“... any violence going up the hierarchy . . . is highly visible, and shocking to us.”**

Many of us have had the privilege of taking part in marches, rallies, and other actions that are generally accepted as “nonviolent,” depending on how quiet they are and who is doing them (see p. [the free speech zone drawing]). And a lot of us have noticed that those things didn’t end the war, or stop trees from being cut, or keep our friends from facing unjust disciplinary action. And I don’t know how we could have done those things, or even how we can in the future.

But it might be worth asking ourselves *why* we choose the actions we do, instead of just going with what we already know is “appropriate,” and “nonviolent,” and probably only making a symbolic achievement, rather than concrete progress.



***It might be worth asking ourselves why we choose the actions we do, instead of just going with what is probably only making a symbolic achievement, rather than concrete progress.***

# Support the AETA 4

Defend Free Speech!



## Zip that lip—the AETA’s in town—

... or you’ll be brandished as a “terrorist” just like anyone else who has potential to be effective in public dissent. At least that’s what the current establishment would like us to understand—that forms of protest which manage to “damage or interfere” with American industries are the number one domestic terrorist threat. Specifically the reference alludes to the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act of 2006 (AETA) which at first glance attempts to add a terrorist enhancement to violent crimes against businesses that profit from their use of animals or animal-exploited products. But under further scrutiny it is clear that this act exceeds the bounds of ending violent actions and proceeds to limit

***The AETA has even been used to target non-violent sidewalk demonstrations and leafleting here in Santa Cruz***

non-violent dissent as well. We’ve seen non-violence land activists in prison for running a website that shared news on animal liberation and information about involvement in business ventures based in exploitation—namely members who ran the website “Stop Huntingdon Life Sciences” and probably more well known as the SHAC7. And most recently, the AETA has even been used to target non-violent sidewalk demonstrations and leafleting here in Santa Cruz, hardly the idea of massive property damage that the concept of eco-terrorism places in people’s minds when initially hearing about this legislation. In fact, no physical violence has been used as a tactic by animal enterprise resistance to date; the “violence” described by the legislation is purely monetary.

The AETA’s language aims at eliminating actions which places others in a “reasonable fear,” but this needs to be checked against the recent US political climate, where the idea of freedom has been whittled down to mere economic freedom. Since the entire goal of corporate power is economic, the only way people have power over corporations is through economic limitations and restrictions. There is no deeper social ethic underlying a corporation’s sole mission of profit the way there can be in human social interactions. An important question is how a “reasonable fear” is possible when the structure of business plays only on the fear of falling out of competition with others. By claiming a “terrorist” is the cause of economic instability, businesses can effectively denounce all forms of protest as “terrorist” activity, since the goal of protest is to support new ways of living and distance society from conventional and harmful ways. Will Potter of the

“Green is the New Red” blog mentions that “terrorist” is the most powerful word we have in our language. The abuse of sensual language in defining or redefining “terrorism” allows for people with power to manipulate everyone without power, factionalizing the public and weakening the power that people could assert in or over their own government. The overly broad use of “terrorism” places our political society in a condition where “extremism” is redefined as characteristic of anyone holding an oppositional view to the minority of industrial managers holding political power. The aim behind the AETA is to split social movements and to force the more moderate wing to condemn the more radical as “terrorists” at the risk of being labeled terrorists themselves if they do not.

Potter compares the similarities between elements of patriotism and “freedom” of today’s Green Scare with the oaths of loyalty and patriotism, public condemnations of communism, and naming names of yesterday’s Red Scare. Though many of these authoritarian hoops were jumped through, none ever protected anyone from their government and instead served to factionalize the public and breed distrust and fear. Potter envisions the AETA as “a solution looking for a problem;” already activists face fear simply discussing issues surrounding their lives now that they can be blacklisted as “terrorists” for their lifestyles and per-

***By claiming a “terrorist” is the cause of economic instability, businesses can effectively denounce all forms of protest as “terrorist” activity, since the goal of protest is to support new ways of living and distance society from conventional and harmful ways.***

sonal choices (or maybe “green-listed” might be more accurate).

On Nov 13, 2006, the AETA passed in the middle with very little House attendance similar-

ly to how the USA PATRIOT Act was passed. Representatives had been absent from the house celebrating a Martin Luther King jr. memorial for his own non-violent civil disobedience, when the AETA was signed in—by only six house representatives. How could only six have the power to pass such a powerful act? The AETA had been placed on a suspension calendar, used to pass non-controversial bills such as naming bridges or highways, and slipped by unnoticed. Ironically, the language of the AETA which attributes terrorism to “damaging or interfering” with in-

dustries and businesses would label Martin Luther King jr. as one of America's most high profile and highly celebrated domestic terrorists. (Not that Hoover's FBI didn't even consider him a subversive... And to add to that irony, the Reverend's close family has adopted a vegan lifestyle, continuing his philosophy of compassion for all life—are they then terrorists as well?!) It might be important to note the use of government repression during such human rights campaigns; agencies like COINTELPRO monitored and infiltrated radical organization structures, implementing divide and conquer tactics to set the conditions for a movement's collapse. Even today, if the strength of coalitions, such as those to end war or exploitation, dissolve and reform as internal enemies, the entire movement will suffer. After all, it has worked with the political structures of nations targeted by US interventionist exploits, to which it has introduced "freedom" and the God-given right of an American "democracy." Now that human rights campaigns have evolved into campaigns for the rights of all life to live, we see the American democracy machine fired up once again.

It is already embarrassing that the state has been targeting civilly disobedient and non-violent protestors as terrorists, but where the shame will really come is if the AETA is not overturned immediately. At that point we may have the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act alongside the Military-Industrial Enterprise Terrorism Act, the Educational Enterprise Terrorism Act, the Free Trade Enterprise Terrorism Act, and the X Enterprise Terrorism Act... The legislation is highly reproducible and has the potential to infect the nation, perhaps only amounting to relieving terror from those few in power who terrorize. With the current economic failure, where the common people have been hit the hardest, the people again will be stuck with the bill to cover state spending on silencing dissent and pursuing imagined "terrorists" rather than assuring the real health and safety of our communities. All the Hope and Change in the nation won't bring us out of the structure of funding our own self-surveillance and self-persecution on behalf of the nation's elite. The personal may be political, but there may no longer be any concept of "personality" once the personal becomes policed.

**AETA4 Update:** 4 animal rights activists, Joseph

******Ironically, the language of the AETA which attributes terrorism to "damaging or interfering" with industries and businesses would label Martin Luther King jr. as one of America's most high profile and highly celebrated domestic terrorists.******

Buddenberg, Nathan Pope and Adriana Stumpo and Maryam Khajavi (both UCSC alumni), who were arrested on charges of terrorism for staging demonstrations about animal welfare



and unnecessary animal testing, have been the first of the new terrorist-enhanced persecutions for eco-activism. With the upgraded enhancement, the US Department of Justice can lock up whoever it wants for over 20 years. The "Stop Huntingdon Life Sciences" anti-vivisection arrestees (SHAC 7) have already been forced into prisons as "eco-terrorists" simply for having a website that might or might not have been used at by anti-laboratory actions of questionable connections. The defendants have made motions to strike down the AETA with the goal of removing it from use by the Justice System as a tool of harassment and persecution. The Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR), Civil Liberties Defense Center (CLDC), and other civil defense attorneys currently are at work to protect American activists from the unlimited tyranny of the United States Government.

The defendants are people like you and me. Lawyers cost money. The Legal System is designed to exclude people without lots of money from participating or holding political power. Donate \$\$ and help friends pay the bills if you can, read up on grand jury repression, attend a local benefit music show, write to them or show your solidarity in other ways. Don't let the state repression apparatus fracture your community or your relationships.

If you have cash that you'd probably just otherwise spend on beer or pot, send it to:

The AETA Defense Fund  
PO Box 99162  
Emeryville, CA 94662  
More information at <http://aeta4.org/>.

**Resources & further reading:**  
<http://www.greenisthenewred.com>  
--Will Potter's blog, independent animal rights journalism.

AEPA 1992 (Animal Enterprise Protection Act)  
AETA 2006 (Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act)

**Alternative medias don't get funded through war-dollars.** (Try a few out)  
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# Neo-liberal Capital & Non-Profit Labor

by A. U. Fheben

## Neo-liberalism

People talk about neo-liberalism a lot these days. Most folks who use that word don't seem to like it too much, but despite the word's constant use, it often goes undefined. So let's start with a definition. Neo-liberalism, or the new liberalism, is a term coined by Milton Friedman in his book, *Freedom and Capitalism*. Friedman calls neo-liberalism a return to the classical economists of capitalism -- David Ricardo, Adam Smith, etc. Basically, the idea is that capitalism is the best possible economic model for human society, and it works best when left totally unregulated. But the important aspects for us are the policy prescriptions that Friedman championed: privatization of public resources, deregulation of the private sector, and cuts to social services.

As David Harvey points out, these policy prescriptions, taken together, and analyzed from their emergence

within a specific point in the development of capitalism, represent a concerted attack on the power of working class and poor people, and the consolidation of class power in the hands of the wealthy. In the 1920s, Ricardo's and Smith's ideas were being pretty well heeded: the owners of capitalism were allowed to do pretty much whatever they wanted. In the 50 years between the stock market crash that ended the dominance of classical economic liberalism and Reagan's defeat of the Air Traffic Controller's strike that signaled the beginning of economic neo-liberalism, workers made great strides in gaining access to high quality education, creating strong social security nets, and ensuring public oversight of the doings of very wealthy. Since 1981, many of those steps have been undone.

## The Non-Profit

Non-profits, or not-for-profit organizations, have played an interesting role in many of these stages of capitalism. In the late 1800's, as industrial capitalism became dominant, wealthy industrialists like Andrew Carnegie and John Rockefeller needed ways to avoid paying taxes on the vast sums of money they were making. So they invented foundations. When Andrew Carnegie had finished firing Gatling guns into crowds of workers on strike from his iron plants so they would stop complaining about their kids starving, he would show his gratitude for their submission by having his foundation build the town a library or a new school. And he would write it off his taxes. As foundations became popular among the very rich, groups began springing up to take advantage of this organization of excess wealth. The non-profit was born.

During the sixties, as workers around the world fought for power, the non-profit became an even more important tool. In America, as groups like the Black Panthers and Malcolm X's Organization of African-American Unity developed new analyses of class power, the non-profit was relied upon heavily to divert revolutionary struggle over the control wealth, and the means of producing it, into more reformist struggle. The Ford Foundation in particular threw huge sums of money to the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), with the explicit aim of turning the civil rights movement away from revolution.

In our own time, foundations continue to provide tax shelters for the very wealthy, very large non-profits continue to shift the focus of social struggles, but in the context of neo-liberalism, we have a new kind of non-profit -- the NGO. NGOs, or non-governmental organizations, are called such because they do work often

considered to be the responsibility of government.

As Milton Friedman's calls to deregulate, privatize, and cut social spending are answered with a heavier and heavier hand, NGOs are springing up to fill the gaps left when the state leaves. As L.A. cuts it's funding to public schools, Green Dot, a huge non-profit funded by the Eli Broad Foundation (it's easy to see why Eli had some extra cash, he's on the board at AIG, the folks who got an \$80 billion bailout with your tax dollars), is opening 12 privately controlled, tax-payer funded charter schools. As governments around the world are forced to shut down breakfast and lunch programs due to IMF mandated neo-liberal reforms, OXFAM International is expanding its food program to never-before seen levels. As U.S. Presidents one after another destroy the institutions designed to regulate things like the derivatives trade, many finance corporations are starting side-project non-profits to do "public education", or provide "insider's advice" and "an objective eye." Charles Schwab has one, as does Lexington Finance Capital.

*The non-profit was relied upon heavily to divert the revolutionary struggle to control wealth, and the means of producing it, into more reformist struggle.*

## Labor Ideology

Now whether these shifts are good or bad is up to you to decide. However, the thing I'm most interested in is the shifting ideologies of the workers conducting the labor that is now being transferred to the Non-Profit and NGO sector. If you're like a lot of college folks, you probably know somebody who works for a non-profit. And you may or may not know somebody who works for the government in some capacity. The odds are really good that the public worker is in a union and the non-profit worker is not. Public workers have one of the highest levels of union density of any sector in the U.S. Economy. Non-profit workers have one of the lowest.

Who ever heard of a non-profit worker in a union?! Non-profits are the ones "doing the most good". (You've seen the Salvation Army trucks, right?) They don't need unions! Unions are for stopping big corporations!

It's been interesting to watch my friends graduate and move on to jobs around the country. Many have gone on to jobs in the non-profit sector. Not one has gotten a job in the public sector. For many of them the ideology that organizes their relationship to their jobs goes something like this: "My job could be better, but at least I get paid to do something I mostly believe in, so it could be worse." This seems to me to be the dominant ideology of non-profit labor, and a central organizing ideology of labor generally in neo-liberal capital.

This is very different from the ideology of many workers in the public sector. For many teachers, postal service workers, clerks and technicians, and service workers, the recognition that the government won't help people unless it's forced to is a basic part of their experience on the job. That's why they have unions: so that they can collectivize their power and make sure they have some say over what happens at work.

This drastic shift points to some interesting conclusions. This shift of the labor of unionized public servants to non-union non-profit labor is consistent with the general attack on workers and workers' power that is an underlying feature of neo-liberalism generally. Furthermore, this transformation of labor means that workers as a class have less say over the institutions they depend on. This shift in ideology has far-reaching consequences. The elevation and expansion of non-profit workers into what was once the "public sector" is also about setting an example. Why should any worker deserve a union to get help for their problems? Shouldn't they just seek out help from the non-profit?

There are lots of non-profits that do really important work around the world; I in no way want to undermine that fact. But you know what would make their work better, more responsive to the needs of communities, stronger in the face of cutbacks? You guessed it! THE UNION MAKES US STRONG!

*Public workers have one of the highest levels of union density of any sector in the U.S. Economy. Non-profit workers have one of the lowest.*

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# The Realities of War:

## *Why we need an Antiwar movement under Obama*

The richest 2% of adults possess more than half the world's wealth. The richest 10% own 85% of the wealth (Empire and Imperialism, James Petras On Rulers and the Ruled in US Empire by Kim Petersen) We live in a highly stratified world. Imperialism and colonialism have given way to globalization, and the new world order maintains the legacies of the systems that preceded it. At the most basic level, these inequalities in wealth are rooted in domination and control, in a global hierarchy of power.

The US is the richest and most powerful country in the world, a position derived from a legacy of genocide, intervention, and coercion. We live in a stratified capitalist system based on the exploitation of the working class at home and the subjects of the new US imperialism abroad. We live in a nation of elections which are supposed to represent our voices within a representational democracy. Those elected are entrusted to make policy. But who do they really represent? Has it ever been a government of the people? Elected officials are accountable to the special interest groups that provide the capital to run political campaigns. But what power does voting really grant the rest of us? Ideally we would have healthcare, strong environmental policy, free education, and a classless system. Instead we have torture, prisons, exploitation, toxic industry, and discrimination. Unless you benefit from trickle down economics and laissez-faire capitalist accumulation of wealth, the USA doesn't represent you.

Barrack Obama ran on a platform of change, but how much can he really do? What is he even willing to do? War

***...the U.S spends more on militarism than all other countries combined and has over 700 military bases worldwide...***

and imperialism have shaped the United States to be a world super power; the new administration inherits this legacy and has to face the entrenched powers that profit from it. The US spends more on its military than every other country in

the world combined, but the Obama administration has only increased the military budget which takes up over 50% of the federal budget overall. Business as usual is war: Obama's military policy is business as usual.

*The wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine are historically complex issues.*

### **Iraq:**

Death tolls: Iraqis Approx. 187,000, US troops Approx. 5000

The spread of neoliberalism has allowed for the privatization of almost all natural resources. As a result Exxon Mobil makes record-breaking profits, and Halliburton gets billions in no bid contracts to "rebuild Iraq". The reality of economic growth and record profits is devastating: millions displaced from their homes, kidnappings in the middle of the night, torture, lives lost and families destroyed. Iraq's infrastructure has been decimated, but the architects of this egregious war have yet to follow through on the rebuilding commitments they made in the beginning. The conditions are worse now than under the Ba'ath Party. An example being; on average Iraqis get about 4 hours of electricity a day. The invasion was justified by lies, and when those were exposed, the rationale shifted to liberation. But the war in Iraq isn't liberating Iraqis; it's killing them.

After the fall of Saddam, Iraqis began to come together in communities and elect representatives. The U.S denied this form of democratic government, and instead, US leaders opted for appointing warlords and business elites who pushed the US agenda. Ultimately, this war is about control over the resources of Iraq, and the subjugation of the Iraqi people. If the war were about freedom the US would have left long ago instead of staying in Iraq as an occupying force. The current timeline calls for American combat troops to withdraw by August 2010, leaving behind a residual force of 35,000-50,000 troops to train and advise the Iraqi security forces until a final pullout by the end of 2011. There are now about 130,000 U.S. troops in Iraq. This does not include the private mercenaries of Xe (formerly Blackwater) and similar operations. And of course, a network of permanent US military bases will remain in Iraq. All the while, we can certainly rely on the mainstream media to applaud the imperialist occupation.

## Afghanistan:

Afghanistan has historically been a land of conquest and battle, a buffer zone throughout British colonialism and the imperialism of the USSR. The US, too, has had a long-running interest in Afghanistan. In the 70s and 80s, the U.S military played a central role in assembling radical forces known as the mujahedeen to fight the Russians (remember the Cold War?). In 1981 millions of dollars and 96 tons of weapons went from the US to the new mujahedeen. Today, the mujahedeen is pretty well known in the US, but by its new name: the Taliban. Formed out of conflict within the mujahedeen, the Taliban rose to power in the 90s, and the US continued to support the organization in its new form, mostly via the CIA.

Yes, during the Cold War the

*The words freedom and democracy are hollow in reference to U.S intervention.*

US play a critical supporting role in the development of the Taliban and its rise to power. Then, following September 11, 2001, the US fingered the Taliban and one of its leaders, Osama Bin Laden, for the plane attacks. Again, there was a history: Osama Bin Laden had helped build the mujahedeen and the Taliban, and in his efforts he had built a relationship with the US (again, the CIA). So, to be clear: The US helped build the very organizations and leadership that were targeted in the so-called War on Terror.

And what has US retaliation (against a vague, formless enemy that it funded, trained and armed for decades) wrought? The effects of this new war--on top of the past decades of civil war fueled by foreign imperial powers--have been devastating. US-backed Warlords, Taliban leaders and US occupying forces are in a constant, violent struggle for power; mortality and suffering mark the daily lives of hundreds of thousands. There really are no options for the people of Afghanistan, where the infrastructure has been decimated by attrition, bombings, battles, drug trades and religious authoritarianism. Unemployment as of 2008 est. at 40%, which is why the opium trade is flourishing, and it remains one of the only viable means of income for many Afghans. As the bombings continue and the occupation intensifies, The Taliban grows. The Taliban offers retribution for the losses of war; it offers income; it is the only force capable of resisting a highly unpopular and violent occupation. This is not a good or necessary war. Violence and oppression is not the answer. This is a war that is only deepening the very history of imperialism and exploitation out of which it grows.

These realities are not featured in mainstream news coverage. While ex-Geneals give their expert opinions about the latest military strategy, the suffering, political meaning and histories of these wars are all obscured and suppressed. 18 veterans commit suicide each

day, even while the VA loses funding and refuses support to the returned soldiers who still carry the war in their bodies and minds

There are over 15 million Iraqi refugees--and well over half a million civilians have died due to the occupation of their country. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have drained the US economy and crippled public infrastructure at home: since August 20th 2009 \$900,594,599,024 has been spent on the war in Iraq, and some project that the overall cost of the war and occupation will total over \$3 trillion. Where does it go? Billions of dollars have gone to US corporations

which have notoriously left their contracts

unfulfilled. Many millions of dollars are completely unaccounted for--they've simply vanished. There's nothing democratic about this war; it doesn't represent or liberate any of us.

In this country, the military gets half of the national budget, companies too big to fail get bailouts, and yet there is no money for education or healthcare.



## Israel:

For decades, Israel has been conducting an illegal occupation of Palestine, and has continued to break international law, specifically UN security council Resolution 242, without being held accountable. Israel is also a significant ally to and client of the US. The most powerful lobby in American politics is arguably the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). Among other arrangements, this partnership entails \$7 million per day in US military aid to Israel and a lack of depth and balance in mainstream media coverage of the conflict in Israel/Palestine. US support emboldens Israel's expansion and settlement efforts, weakening chances for a fair and peaceful solution. Israel is able to enforce its subjugation of the Palestinian people and its policy of segregation with the political, military, economic and technological aid it receives from the US. Palestinians have been corralled and forced into ghettos suffocated by repression and violence. Palestine and its occupants are tightly controlled and heavily surveilled, subjugated to the constant presence of the Israeli military in their daily lives.

Checkpoints bisect Palestinian life, controlling movement to and from work, to visit family or the doctor, to shop.

The realities of Palestinian life are certainly not portrayed forthrightly in mainstream US media. Obama has stayed fairly consistent with Bush's policy towards Israel, except perhaps he doesn't boast as much about close relations with Israel. He barely takes a stand against new Israeli settlements, and when independent and official reports document the illegal expansion of Israeli settlements into what's left of Palestinian

***\$7 million per day in US military aid to Israel and a lack of depth and balance in mainstream media coverage***

land, Israel faces no repercussions.

The

alliance between the militarized governments of the US and Israel does not represent the Palestinians, nor does it represent average Jewish Israelis or Americans for that matter. Insofar as peace with justice is the best possible outcome for the majority of people living in Israel/Palestine, the military interests that the Israel/US alliance represent, and the violence that they cause, only hurt the people of the region.

What hope does the Obama administration represent when it sits atop all these histories of war and oppression? Obama had to run on a platform of change, but his administration pursues the same policies and rhetorical strategies that have formed the foundation of US power for decades. He gives grand speeches, but these are hollow words. Obama speaks of nuclear abolition, yet supports the manufacture of new plutonium pits production (footnote: Plutonium pits are the reactive core for nuclear weapons and a most vital element in the construction of nuclear weapons). Obama speaks of withdrawing troops, but he increases military funding, intensifies the war in Afghanistan, and never speaks of the permanent military bases US troops will continue to staff in Iraq for the foreseeable

***Obama speaks of withdrawing troops, but he increases military funding...***

future. We live in the age of re-branding. As a way to get out of the heat, war profiteering corporations simply change their names, political parties change their image, banks and finance corporations change management--but all this reorganization covers up the continuity: Imperialism is a systemic and oppressive feature of US society, and Barrack Obama does not represent any change in that regard. We need to look into the realities and not let some grandeur speech sway us into thinking that change can come from one man. A quote from Obama himself, "Change doesn't come from Washington, it comes to Washington", and **WE** need to bring it.

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# THE WHITEST UC

*Some reasons why our school is mostly white*

This University institution serves many purposes; providing an education is only one of them. A lot of us chose to pursue higher because we want to continue learning, or because we think getting a college degree is necessary to get the job we want and the salary we think we need. How do our aspirations match up with the historical construction and uses of institutionalized education, as well as the pedagogy or method of teaching it perpetuates? In America there is the commonly held ideal that you can “pull yourself up by your bootstraps” and cross the class line. But when you look at the institutions in place, this **myth of class mobility** is merely a smokescreen for the injustices and inequalities that shape the system. People from upper classes and income brackets have better access to education, further reinforcing the existing class systems.

## Structure:

Education is a tool of the elite class to secure the future of their offspring. (see pg. 4). Think about it. Who has access to schools, and how are they set up? There are funding gaps in k-12 education systems. Thank you Prop 13. Local governments provide almost half of the cost of K-12 education, the other half is generated by property taxes from wealthy communities, which means unequal resource distribution in schools. In the U.S there is an emphasis on local funding, this translates to a system of **racial apartheid in funding for education**. There is a blatant disparity between the resources available to inner-city schools and those available to schools in the suburbs—a disparity that is highly racialized. Some affluent suburban school districts spend two or three times more on the education of their children than either urban or rural communities can afford. This institutionalized racism pervades educations nationally. 22% of American children wake up every day in poverty, with a black child being 3% more likely to be poor than a white child. There are 2.3 million Americans incarcerated today. **African American people are 6 times more likely to be arrested than white people**, and 1 out of every 3 African American boys will spend time in prison in their lifetime. The funding hoarded for this type of institutional surveillance, discipline and punishment is completely disproportionate to the funding towards education, as \$50 billion a year is spent on the



Prison Industrial Complex. According to William Ayers, in the last 20 years California has built 20 prisons but only one school (2001). Institutionalized racism roots in the very way the education system is set up, meaning that a child's opportunities in life is limited based on their race and class.

## Effects:

Every person is a multidimensional being who has complex desires, needs, and capacities. Yet the way that children are taught is the same. K-12 **schools are set up as mini-factories**. Everybody is doing the same tasks; learning the same thing and doing the same assignments, and the product is how well you can regurgitate what you learned by passing standardized tests. This type of education offers few choices and strangles chances for poor peoples. This leads to the death of hope – apathy – as our needs are not met and we find ourselves struggling to “succeed” according to the standards of institutionalized education and the market. **When peoples needs are not met by the schools that are supposed to help them, they are left with few options. What's left?: “crime” (and the so-called criminal justice system), military service, and the Mc Shackles of the service economy.** But even if a person does make it through a general education, the odds of going onto higher education are still low, especially for those who are not white or middle/upper class.

**In higher education the cost of tuition is a major filter of who is able to attend** (see budget cuts pg. 25). Those who have the financial support of parents are more likely to succeed, while those who don't have the odds stacked up against them. Racialized ethnic status groups are underrepresented in higher education while overrepresented in prisons. Leading the UC to be dominated by white students. UCSC specifically is the whitest of the University of California corporation. Grants are an effort to alleviate the inequality of accessibility, but they are no real solution to the systemic inequalities of education in the US. Loans, of course, are another option, and another way to tie working class students to the market after graduation.

Even if you are able to pay for tuition and books, you still need to have money for the cost of living. Those dependent on parental income for room and board are able to focus their energy and time on their classes and schoolwork. Those who do not have the financial backing are forced to get a job, limiting the time spent on class work. In addition, those who do better in their undergrad are more likely to continue their education. Given all this, it's obvious those individuals who come from money are more likely to succeed.

## Pedagogy: Creating a Product

The teacher speaks, you listen; in K-12 you are not supposed to question what is being taught. Paulo Freire, in his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, speaks of this structure as the banking system. As the student, you are treated as a blank slate, and the teacher inscribes these lessons on you. Freire goes on to say how this is not an effective way of learning, because what students need is engagement and critical analysis of the world. At UCSC and other Universities professors do encourage a deeper analysis of the material given. Yet, we are still not taught to question why, or what materials are given. In K-12 education **the government decides on what is the appropriate knowledge to be learned in schools, the curriculum**, and makes sure that a teacher does not stray from that set curriculum, perpetuating a one sided view.

At the University there is a little more freedom for the

professor to choose what topics will be covered in the classroom, and what assignments will be done. Yet the system still requires us to submit to the legitimization and regurgitation of secondary school, only in a slightly more sophisticated form. Ultimately we are indoctrinated to not question this institutionalized knowledge factory. We are given many tools in institutionalized education, but questioning institutions of power is not one of them. We are still **not taught the tools to create, but to follow**, because of this **we become the perfect subjects**. A degree ultimately tells society that we are disciplined, good little cogs in the machine. As much as we may disagree with the way the classroom is set up we must comply in order to succeed according to standards. But there are still other ways that we can gather knowledge, and develop a broader outlook on life, and reality.



## Alternatives

There are alternative classroom settings in which students are more actively engaged in the formation and practice of their own education. We can take advantage of some of these alternatives offered at UCSC. For example, the Education for Sustainable Living Program offered every spring (see pg 42) involves student-led seminars and hands-on field study. These forms of radical pedagogy have produced some great results. Imagine the possibilities of learning when our creativity is not limited. Considering the nature of this article, do not take this as truth; analyze and take it into your subjective reality, and then share this knowledge, because you are just as capable of teaching and spreading knowledge as any professor. More importantly question everything and learn in a way that is most beneficial to you!!!!

### Burn Your Textbooks by Andrew Lowe

Students  
go home tonight  
and burn your textbooks  
and expect nothing less  
than fire from your teachers

these power point slides  
that have replaced the  
honesty  
of chalk  
make me sick to my stomach

it's so easy  
nowadays  
to pretend  
to teach  
to go through the motions  
to force feed us knowledge  
point by point  
bullet by bullet  
by bullet

we are killing ourselves  
falling asleep in class

when class should be like  
music  
with unsettling undertones  
of knowledge  
rising melodies of analysis

crescendos of debate  
  
this is how it should be  
  
instead  
there is only the metronome  
of space bars  
as students  
try frantically  
to copy down  
the slides

each second  
an opportunity  
dying tragically  
  
so tell me

where are the teachers who  
touch lives  
so completely  
we can not call what they do  
teaching  
but only alchemy

where are the teachers  
who refuse to follow the  
lesson plans  
but plant lessons like foot  
steps  
for us to follow

where are the teachers  
who treat us not like  
machines for copying  
power point slides

storing them in memory  
like computers  
printing them out  
like computers  
on to scantron tests  
that are graded  
by computers

where are the teachers  
who treat us like human  
beings

we must make way  
  
we must make way  
for a new generation of  
teachers  
who are sick and tired  
of the bullshit  
their teachers pretended  
to teach them

because what molded  
and transformed me  
the most in life  
were teachers

not textbooks

so tonight  
go home  
gather your textbooks  
burn them

take the ashes  
bring them to class

spread them on your desks  
and demand  
to be treated  
like more  
than a distraction from  
research  
than a mark  
on some graduate student's  
resume  
more than a number  
a product  
a grade

demand to be  
shown inside the fire  
of your teacher's hearts

or at least  
demand an education  
worth more  
than the price  
of a library card

our text books  
are kindling  
and I expect  
nothing less than fire  
from my teachers

because I would hope  
they would expect  
nothing less  
than fire from me

The same-sex marriage debate is frequently hailed as the civil rights battle of this generation. For now, I will overlook some of the problematic issues that come with this claim, and focus on what same-sex marriage means to queer individuals and its impact on (re)defining (or perhaps (re)enforcing) what it means to be “gay”. As we see more and more support for the legalization of “gay” marriage, we must begin to question what exactly is being fought for, and examine how this particular “fight for equality” has been diluted of all radical potential.

## A few definitions...

A few terms will be useful to understand in this discussion. **Heteronormativity** is the normalization of heterosexuality: the marginalization of non-heterosexual lifestyles and the inherent belief that heterosexuality is the “normal” sexual orientation. This includes the notion that people fall into easily distinguishable categories of male and female, and further that these males and females align perfectly with masculine and feminine gender roles. **Queer**: a word that often lies just out of reach of a concrete definition. Queer is sometimes hailed as an umbrella term, but usually used to discuss all that is not “hetero”: lesbian, gay, homosexual, bisexual, transexual, intersexual, transgender, asexual, pansexual, omnisexual, polyamorous, and a myriad of other forms of self-identification. However, the term queer can supersede sexual identity and is often used as a political statement against heteronormativity. **Cultural hegemony**: The control and dominance of one social group over all other social groups. Cultural hegemony institutes the rules, morals, and values of the dominant social group as the norm. **Marriage**: the holy union between a man and a woman. Just kidding.

## Same-sex or gay? WTF?!

Many people (both within and outside of queer “communities”) will happily sport an “Overturn Prop 8” rainbow bumper sticker without a question. Arguments to overturn Prop 8 aren’t without merit. When viewed in simplistic, broad terms, it only makes sense that marriage inequality represents the larger social inequality experienced by “sexual minorities”. Under the view that equality in marriage entails a general acceptance in society, support for “same-sex” marriage only seems natural for queer individuals, friends, and allies.

So, what’s so wrong with supporting “same-sex” marriage? Well, in order to answer that question, we need to de-construct (if only partially) the term “same-sex marriage”. Let’s first focus on the “marriage” part.

What exactly is marriage? As it has been made clear in recent media fervor over the subject, it depends on whom you ask, and political/religious affiliations can often play an important role. Regardless of the answer, taking a look at what marriage means socially and historically can give us a general sense of what it actually constitutes. In the “Western”, Eurocentric tradition, marriage has often been viewed from an economic standpoint. Historically, unions were decided based on what was most economically beneficial for one or both parties (read: patriarchal kinship groups) involved. These economic exchanges were/are inherently patriarchal, as is still seen in the majority of modern weddings. The

bride is still symbolically treated as a commodity, “handed over” by her father to her husband, with her name changed to ‘Mrs. (Groom’s name)’, symbolically stripping her of an independent identity. These traditions show marriage itself

***[Marriage] traditions show marriage itself as inherently oppressive, as they edify male dominance and commodify the female body. In a society structured around patriarchy (such as the one we live in), marriage works as a tool to reinforce this mode of domination.***

as inherently oppressive, as they edify male dominance and commodify the female body. In a society structured around patriarchy (such as the one we live in), marriage works as a tool to reinforce this mode of domination.

Let’s explore my continued use of quotations around the phrase “same-sex”. In discussions of marriages and unions between queer couples, we most often see use of the terms “same-sex marriage” and “gay marriage” (seriously--do a Google News search to see how many times phrases like “transgender marriage”, “queer marriage”, “bisexual marriage”, “transexual marriage”, and “inter-sexual marriage” come up. You might be surprised). This continual discussion of only “gay” or “same-sex” marriage accepts the dominant understandings of sexuality as binary. Other possible sexual identities/orientations between, outside of, and beyond the gay/straight dichotomy are ignored as possibilities in any marriage involving a queer partnership. Despite the myriad possibilities of personal identification, sexual orientation, and sex-to-gender mapping, “gay” and “same-sex” are used as umbrella terms for everything “non-heterosexual”. Terms like “gay marriage” and “same-sex marriage” come packed with a multitude of assumptions about what these partnerships may or may not be, further cementing our society’s hegemonic perception of what sexuality may and may not consist of.

So what happens for those of us who identify as bi/trans/pan/inter/etc.? This notion of “same-sex” and “gay” marriage only serves to marginalize those who challenge serial monogamy or who feel oppressed by a binary gender/sex system, thereby excluding many queer individuals (Fuck that!). This leads into another key word for the day: **homonormativity**.

## Homo-what?

Homonormativity is the process by which certain queer identities are valued as more worthy than others of acceptance— specifically those identities and practices that fall closest in line with the heteronormative social standard. Now that we’ve seen how “same-sex” marriage compacts a varied field of sexual identities into a binary system, we can explore other ways in which “same-sex” marriage further constructs homonormativity: through the prescription of heteronormative gender roles.

In this “same-sex” marriage debate, the media (especially the “liberal” media) loves to pick out certain same-sex couples as examples of how awesome and normal and functional same-sex unions/families can be (Is this supposed to be a surprise?). However, almost without fail, each

couple described is only done so in terms of how well they align with a heteronormative standard of how couples and families “should” operate. Queer couples with children are immediately assigned traditional gender roles of “mommy” and “daddy”. It is absolutely certain that not all, and not even the majority, of queer partnerships operate in this manner. What is important to note here is that the media portrays queer unions as acceptable only when they fall in line with heteronormative standards. Of queer partnerships, those that act the most “straight” are valued as more worthy of marriage than those that deviate from the heteronormative gender/power dynamics.

This trend is more apparent when it comes to a wedding itself. All too often queer couples that have decided to get married face the question: “So, who is the bride and who is the groom?” Heteronormative society is far more comfortable seeing two women at the altar if one is in a suit and the other is in a dress, because at least this pair seems to have adopted the “normal” masculine/feminine gender dichotomy. Couples that do choose to express themselves in this manner are valued more than couples that break the sex/gender barrier—and are hailed as examples that “same-sex” marriage can be just as “normal” and acceptable as its heterosexual counterpart.

**“Queer Marriage”: An Oxymoron**

You may be asking yourself, “So, what’s up? Isn’t the same-sex marriage battle better than no battle at all? If you don’t like marriage, then don’t get one! But those of us who want to marry our partners should be allowed to.” I can see where you’re coming from, but I don’t think we’re asking the right questions. This new “civil rights” battle certainly has its merits. But I would like you to consider the historical context of the “gay” rights movement. This year is the 40th year anniversary of the Stonewall Riots—what some deem as the birth of today’s movement. The riots evoked an outcry that resonated through communities across the country.



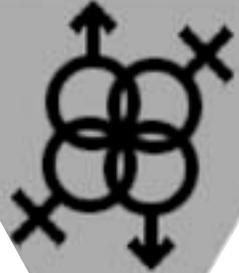
Fires, smashed windows, and overturned vehicles were the traits of direct action aimed at assimilationist tendencies, police brutality, and the dominant social system. Looking

*What started as a revolutionary moment, a moment when recognition and legitimacy were taken instead of asked for, has now fizzled down into a polite request for reform.*

to the current “civil rights” debate over same-sex marriage, we see that the fire that grew from the Stonewall Riots has mostly extinguished itself.

What started as a revolutionary moment, a moment when recognition and legitimacy were taken instead of asked for, has now fizzled down into a polite request for reform. This mainstream “same-sex” marriage battle is lacking in one of the basic tenants that Stonewall established: radical energy.

Here we can return to our original definition of “queer”, and explore its use as not only a description of sexual/gender-orientation, but also as a political title. When used in this sense, queer reaches beyond sexual practices and challenging heteronormativity; it seeks further to challenge those dominant systems infused with patriarchy. We have seen how marriage functions as a tool of patriarchy, but it is vital to realize the broader picture: patriarchy is not just something that is played out between individuals, but it is a characteristic of a broader capitalist society. Capitalism itself is dependent on patriarchy, with its inherent hierarchies,



**Sex**

*(Male/Female)*

Sex is the biological distinction between penis/scrotum/testes and clitoris/labia/ovaries. We are led to believe that being “biological,” sex is a natural, irrefutable and immutable reality of our world. There are, however, many people born each year with micro-“penises” and enlarged “clitorises,” with fused labia and undescended testicles. As for “secondary sexual characteristics” (all those parts we use to distinguish males and females that aren’t the sexy bits), puberty does not bring maleness equally to all “males,” nor femaleness to all “females.” One of my roommates has ovaries and breasts and a respectable beard she keeps trimmed to a chin-beard and sideburns. Another roommate of mine has breasts no bigger than her smiling cheeks, while many “males” grow C- and D-cups. Some of the least genderqueer men I know can’t grow a beard for the life of them. Let’s add onto this already blurred boundary between male and female the freedom we demand to shape our own bodies, through diet, exercise, scalpel, the piercer’s needle, the hormone needle, and the tattooists’ gun. At this point “sex”, that is to say bodies, become sites of reclamation.

**Gender**

*(Man/Woman; Boy/Girl; Butch/Femme)*

Gender is an iterative production of a social role expressed most evidently through dress, but also in speech, hobbies, career choices/opportunities, gestures, and nearly every mode of social expression available. Gender, through it’s repetitive production manifests itself in our very bodies. “Women,” through the types and amounts of food they consume, as well as the types and amounts they exercise, may build bodies that are very different from the bodies “men” build. Bodies are a site of overlapping resistance, in bodies sex and gender are revealed as simultaneous oppressive forces on not just what we can do, but even in the sort of body we’re allowed to do it in. But WHY is gender? Gender is a regulatory system, much in the same way that race is a regulatory system. Both are exploited by capitalism and both serve to support capitalist systems of dominance. Anticapitalist projects, therefore, are incomplete and inherently failures without considerations of gender. We need to not just bring women into the scene, or more women into visible, active positions, but instead refuse to be regulated by the biopolitics of gender.

to function (think: the sexual division of labor, the devaluation of “traditional” women’s work, power dynamics, etc.). Queer sexualities, which challenge capitalism’s hegemonic hierarchies, are a direct hit to the capitalist system. It is thus that a queer identity should seek beyond merely claiming queer as a sexual/gender orientation, and instead use it as a challenge to all forms of domination and oppression, especially those that foster the current global arrangement of power. In this pursuit, queer identity can find overlaps with other radical anti-statist and anti-capitalist movements.

**Assimilation as Commodity**

The political fervor that has been sparked over the “gay” marriage debate has led to a host of political action (and inaction) within reformist institutions and within our individual lives. In a capitalist/consumerist/shitty culture like ours, many of us tend to commodify our attempts at political (in)action. This can be seen not only in monetary donations to reformist institutions, but also in the plethora of anti-Prop 8 bumper stickers that yell louder than any of their drivers ever will. Prop 8 haters were probably also stoked to see



American Apparel’s latest trendy fashion statement: the “Legalize Gay” t-shirt. It adequately challenges heteronormativity by re-prescribing notions of homonormativity-- all for (maybe) under \$30! No, no, don’t take it to the streets... Actually, don’t worry about challenging cultural hegemony at

all– let the products you buy do the talking.

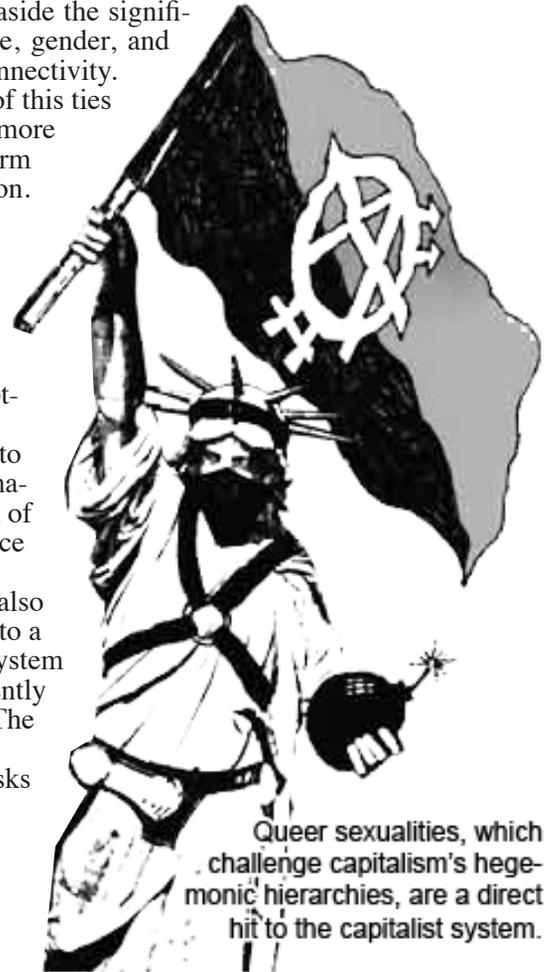
***... Actually, don’t worry about challenging cultural hegemony at all– let the products you buy do the talking.***

**Assimilation ≠ Acceptance ≠ Liberation**

The battle for “same-sex” marriage is NOT a radical challenge to heteronormative and homonormative notions of what is an acceptable sexual/gender orientation. The anti-Prop 8 campaign’s construction of homonormativity leads us to the realization that “same-sex” marriage only asks us to assimilate to a heteronormative mold. The legalization of marriage between “same-sex” and “gay” couples does nothing for the diverse queer “community” but split it into a tier-based system of who is most worthy to receive the economic and social benefits of a marriage. In this system, queer-identified individuals who attempt to make their partnerships replicate heteronormative couple-hoods are deserving of these benefits. Anything outside of this structure is still considered illegitimate. The assumption that marriage rights are equivalent to social equality overlooks continued (systematic and social) violence against queer individuals and assumes that the right to marry somehow means that trans-, homo-, and queer-phobias have become null, void, and outdated, and

also pushes aside the significance of race, gender, and class interconnectivity.

All of this ties into a much more expansive form of assimilation. If we look to “same-sex” marriage as the answer to social inequality, we are accepting not only assimilation to a heteronormative standard of sexual practice and personal identity, but also assimilation to a (capitalist) system that is inherently oppressive. The anti-Prop. 8 movement asks us to accept and sustain our current political and social structures, and work within those systems



Queer sexualities, which challenge capitalism’s hegemonic hierarchies, are a direct hit to the capitalist system.

for reform. It does nothing to question the legitimacy of patriarchy, capitalism, and beyond. This particular political movement is dominated by reformist institutions (Equality California, Human Rights Campaign, etc.), giving the movement an entirely reformist character and obscuring any radical potential. While the Stonewall Riots had begun to challenge these systems as a whole, the current anti- Prop 8 movement does not look deep enough into the existing power structures to find the root of this oppression.

So I say FUCK PROP 8, not because it promotes social inequality, but because it assumes that queer partnerships only seek to mimic hetero partnerships, while obscuring all other ways in which queer individuals are ostracized within heteronormative social structures. And I continue to say FUCK THE SAME-SEX MARRIAGE DEBATE because the broader queer struggle has been abstracted from its radical challenge to cultural hegemony, and instead only desires to assimilate to and accept dominant systems of oppression.

Go ahead-- **Check out this radical queer stuff!**

- <http://www.gayshamesf.org/>
- <http://homotopiafilm.net/>  
(a film by UCSC grad students of the History of Consciousness department)
- <http://www.lespantheresroses.org/>
- <http://bashbacknews.wordpress.com/>
- <http://tao.ca/~limpfist/>

# Confronting Patriarchy and Defining Sexual Consent

By Olive Oil

Let me preface this article by establishing that I am not an expert. I wrote this hoping to provoke more discussion around the subject of sexual consent because it is a subject that is oftentimes ignored, and cannot be omitted from discussions on issues of power and oppression.

Too often we forget to ask the right questions and to assert our boundaries before, during, and after sex. Compounding this lack of sexual forthrightness are rigid notions of gender roles and gendered behaviors. We have been conditioned as sexual and non-sexual beings to conform to a system of beliefs rooted in the ethos of patriarchy, sexism, and heteronormativity. This imposed system of power and ideology champions artificially constructed gender roles that in turn inform our sexual encounters. These gendered, socialized behaviors are the traits, characteristics, and behaviors we learn according to our birth-assigned gender.



In the current patriarchal political-social system, in which men, male-bodied individuals, and male gendered traits are valued over all others, the traits correlating with each gender serve to enforce the idea that power resides with men. Power is unequally distributed to males over females (and all other genders), and unfairly privileges male, male-bodied, and male gendered traits. This institution reflects the values, priorities, and views of men as a group, and the behaviors associated with it, more often than not, assume a “woman’s place” in the world is submissive, nice, and conforming role, corresponding to the social needs of a man. It also assumes that a man’s place is in a position of

control, knowing what to do--filling in the role of the hyper-masculinized stereotype of man.

On top of our gendered socialization, our interactions with our surroundings are strongly influenced by our personal privileges, ranging from gender privilege, racial privilege, class privilege, sexual orientation, size, ability, gender-orientation, and every other privilege out there. It seems that our ability to mentally see the world is partially reflected by our physical ability to interact with it based on what we can and cannot do, due to our respective privileges. With regards to sex, patriarchy or male-bodied privilege often utilizes sexual violence as a tool to maintain the power hierarchy over non- male-bodied or non-conforming individuals. This skewed power dynamic shapes how we as individuals interact with the world, and influences how we engage in conversations about sex and in the physical act of sex.

Conventional patriarchal norms often back sexual apathy. Deconstructing patriarchy as an oppressive socio-political system demands that we confront preconceived notions of gender and sex and that we wrestle with its pervasiveness in our daily lives. One small component in this greater discussion about confronting patriarchy, sexual violence and deconstructing gender: sexual consent. It is important to cultivate positive sexual relations as a means of confronting patriarchy. The rhetoric of consent offers an opportunity to confront socialized gender roles and behaviors and deconstructs patriarchy on an intimate level. The language of sexual consent has the potential to create a unique space in which we can cultivate healthy sexual relations and reclaim our sexuality.

While consent isn’t defined the same way by everyone, it is an ongoing process at each new stage of sexual intimacy that is only possible through direct and respectful dialogue between you and your sexual partner. For the purposes of this article, I will define consent as a mutual agreement between/among two or more people, involving complete awareness and coherence of the act and freedom from any manipulation, coercion, intimidation, or physical force. It is the act of willingly and verbally agreeing to engage in specific sexual conduct. For valid consent, all parties involved must have unimpaired judgment and a shared understanding of the nature of the act to which they consent, including safer sex practices. The person who initiates sexual conduct is responsible for verbally asking for the consent of the individual(s) involved. Consent must be obtained with each new level of sexual conduct. Having given consent on a previous occasion does not mean that a person has consented to any future encounter. The person with whom sexual conduct is initiated must verbally express their consent or lack thereof. Silence conveys a lack of consent. If at any time consent is withdrawn, the conduct must stop immediately.

Consent is hard to define because there are many different levels of communication--body language, flirting/innuendo, conversing, etc. The only way to be certain that there is consent is through explicit verbal communication. Verbal consent is not only a question of “do you want to fuck?” It also serves to inform your partner of your sexual

preferences, boundaries, likes and dislikes.

Consent is only consent if it's an affirmative "yes", not an ambiguous "yes", and certainly not a silent "yes", or an I'm afraid to hurt your feelings "yes". Discussing consent with your partner in an open and honest manner is a trust-building exercise and ongoing practice that intensifies intimacy. Affirming that both people want to engage in sexually intimate acts is exciting, even erotic!

Consent is also about NO. This means hearing that a person is not ok being sexually intimate with you, or being able to tell someone that you are not ok with certain actions, gestures, or behaviors. Consent is about the expectation that your partner, lover, friend, girlfriend, boyfriend, spouse, etc. will respect your choices, your requests and your answers to their questions without deriding you, manipulating you, or coercing you in any way. When engaging in sexually intimate acts with others, it is vitally important that you be aware of your words and behaviors so you don't act in any way that might manipulate your partners' behaviors or frame of mind. Sexual coercion, even if your partner doesn't explicitly say "no", is NOT consensual sex. Never assume that your partner consents to having sex. If your partner does eight keg stands at a ski and snowboard club party and is too fucked up to form coherent sentences, take that as a NO. Undermining your partner's choice is antithetical to mutual and consensual sexual relations. It is a breach of trust and a betrayal of choice to the nth degree. Whatever reasons your partner has for not wanting to engage in sex should be respected. Everyone has the 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.

Part of consent is corrective. In this world, our sexual choices are compounded by coercive forces that tell us how to behave. Our sexual choices are often undermined through a confusing dynamic of gender role socializations, sexual manipulation, and abuse and violence. Consent is a corrective practice in that it teaches us to assert our autonomy as individuals. As we wrestle with the coercive powers that be, engaging in sexual consent supports our efforts to transform our society into one based on consent, not coercion.

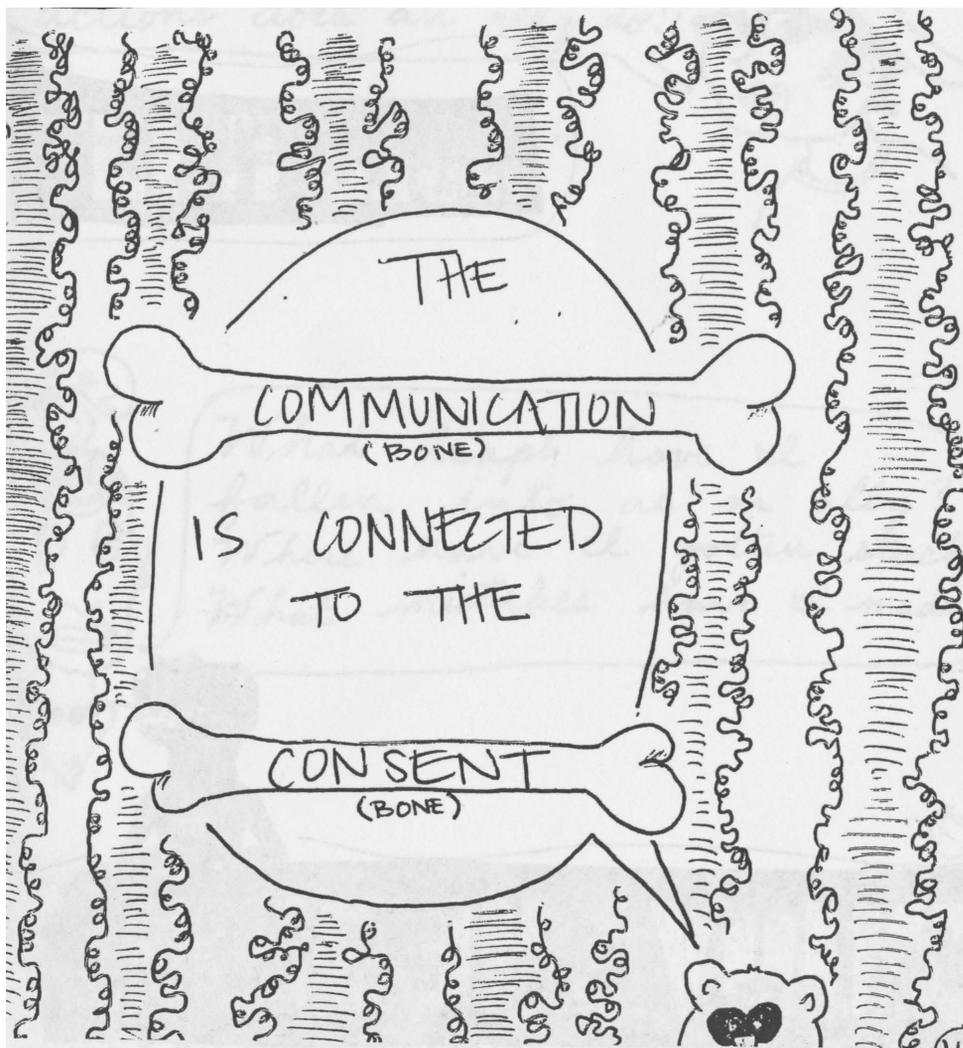
### Consent in the Community!

Practicing consent is constantly understanding our desires and boundaries and communicating this with others. 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?

-What signs do you look for if someone has a hard time verbalizing when something is wrong? Do you look for only verbal signs or are there other signs? Do you think it's possible to misinterpret silence for consent?



-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 or 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 ok or aroused by what you're doing?

-Do you check in as things progress or do you assume that

the initial consent means everything is ok? How might someone express that what is happening is not ok?

-Do you think talking ruins the mood?

-Do you think consent can be erotic?

It is important to talk about sex with your partner before you have it. However, engaging in an ongoing dialogue during sex is equally important. Try asking:

-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 erotic when you do ( ) to me.

-What do you like?

Defensa de Mujeres, Santa Cruz  
1537 Pacific Ave, Suite 300  
Santa Cruz, CA 95060  
Phone: 831-435-4030

Walnut Avenue Women's Center  
303 Walnut Ave.  
Santa Cruz, CA 95060  
Phone: 831-426-3062

Planned Parenthood, Santa Cruz  
1119 Pacific Ave., Suite 200  
Santa Cruz, CA 95060  
Phone: 831-426-5550

The Women's Center, UCSC  
1156 High Street (near campus main entrance)  
Santa Cruz, CA 95064  
Phone: 831-459-2072

Consent borrowed from The 2008 UCSC Disguide, "Let's Talk Consent" and The CLIT Collective and associated zines

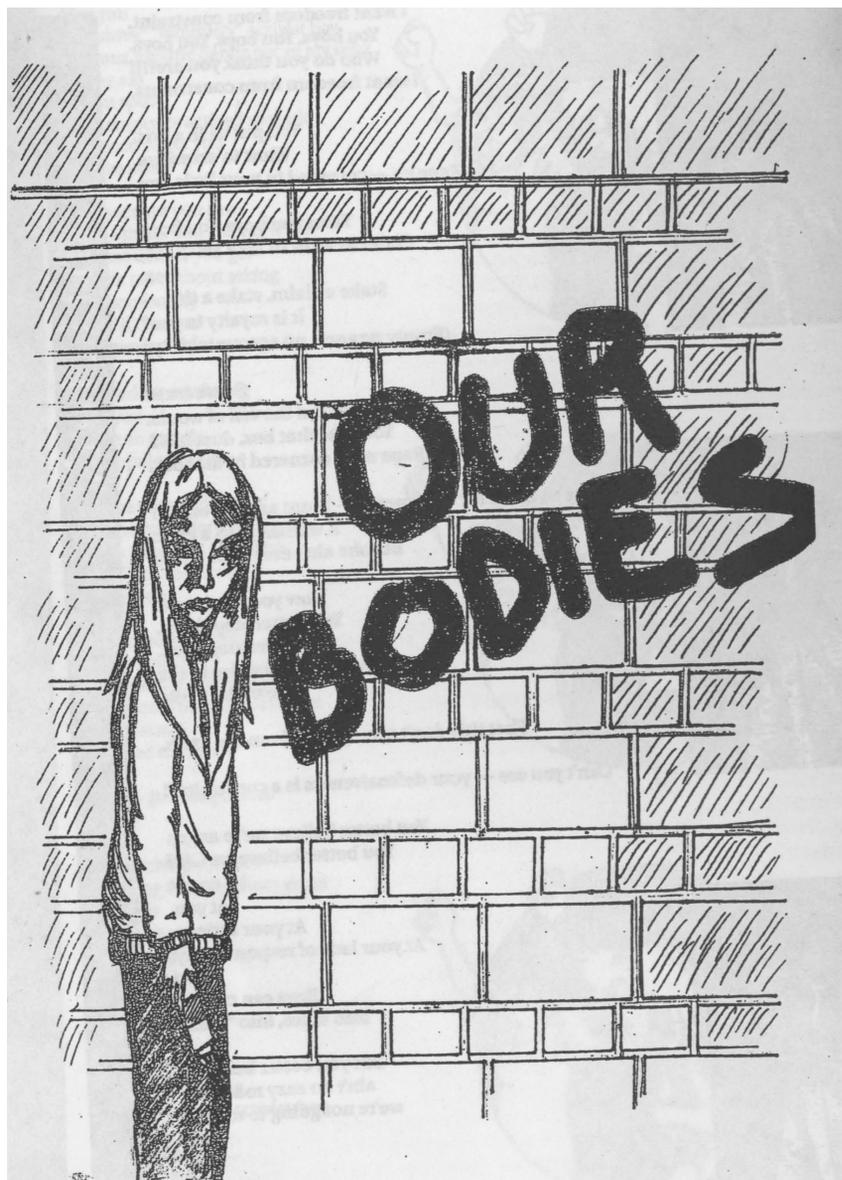
### Recommended Reading

- Men's Work by Paul Kivel
- The Will to Change by bell hooks
- Feminism is For Everybody by bell hooks
- The Color of Violence by Incite!
- Transforming a Rape Culture Anthology
- Sister Outsider by Audre Lorde
- Assata by Assate Shakur
- This Bridge Called My Back Anthology by Gloria Anzaldua
- The Courage to Heal by Laura Davis
- Trans Liberation by Leslie Feinberg
- I Never Called It Rape by Robin Warshaw
- We Don't Need Another Wave Anthology

### Local Resources

Santa Cruz Women's Health Center  
250 Locust Street  
Santa Cruz, CA 95060  
Phone: 831-427-3500  
<http://www.scwomenshealth.org>

Santa Cruz Community Counseling Center  
195 Harvey West Blvd.  
Santa Cruz, CA 95060  
Phone: 831-469-1700  
<http://www.scccc.org> www.scccc.org



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.

# SEX In Three Parts

by Alexis Shotwell

**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 tongueful 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:

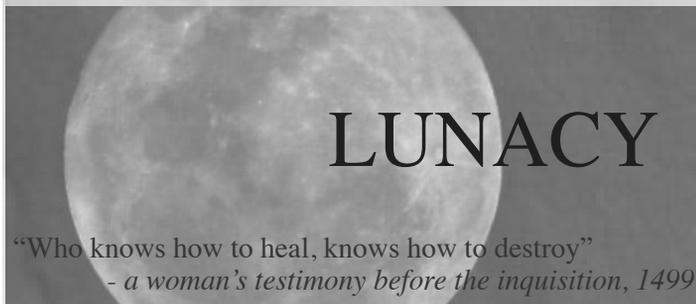
- 1) You both want to keep having sex, and with each other (brilliant!)
- 2) You want to and they don't (understand that you are perfect and wonderful, anyhow, and try not to argue too much with them) or b. they want to and you don't (be clear and firm, without being mean)
- 3) Neither of you want to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

# FERTILITY Cycles

There is a vast growth of info out there about how to keep safe and healthy, but it takes good investigating and thorough care to attend to the specifics of your body, which is living and sharing with others. This Guide contains info about fertility, safe sex, contraceptives, healing herbs, testing, and a long list of resources to check out.

This info which we are about to give you is meant to dispel myths about the female-bodied cycle as dirty, abnormal, or taboo. Our bodies are beautiful and strong, and this information is meant to highlight the power of female-bodies, dispelling systems of oppression that reinforce these taboo feelings.

This information is brief!! and further research is needed if you wish to pursue any of the practices we suggest with herbs or self-examination. Remember that each body is different, and results may range from person to person. Its great to have friends around when trying anything new out. Communicate well, be honest, and start answering your personal questions.



The uterus and period cycle is something that is often sidelined as offensive or gross. Historical evidence of this: the New-England witch hunts; modern day evidence: anti-abortion rallies outside clinics.

The following aims to briefly recap the menstrual cycle and fertility patterns. This info is not just for the female-bodied; bodies aren't quite that binary, so if you've got eyes and other parts, GET INFORMED! There will always be someone in your life that can use this information. Discourse is the expression of reality, and by talking we can make a world that we can REALLY rock out in.

It is important to keep track of your changing body and be in tune with certain aspects of your cycle that may seem out-of-whack or confusing. The more aware you are of your body's patterns, the more informed your decisions will be about, for example, whether or not to drop mad cash on the morning after pill, or whether you want to investigate the ALTERNATIVES. Keeping track of the cycle for a few months can blossom an awareness on how to plan/schedule and deal with day to day life. Keeping an eye out for the moon is an easy way to do this, because the human body

and the moon link up pretty well.

The manse cycle starts the first day of bleeding, which can last anywhere from a couple of days to a week. When bleeding stops, there are a series of "dry" days. These days may feel damp, if you're in a loving mood, but the dampness is usually clear and runny. After these "dry" days comes a series of "wet" days during which the body produces a creamy substance--fluid that helps swim the sperm towards the egg, signaling:



To get an idea of when you are likely to be ovulating, pay attention to the mucus-like fluid released by the body before, and usually during ovulation. It is usually white, creamy, or stringy (!!yummy). Check for this before peeing daily by wiping downwards with a finger (yours or someone else's!) to get a good idea of whats been brewing. Noting the consistency and color is important--arousal fluid can cause the same wet feeling, but it is less viscous and usually clear. Sperm\* can also be confused with ovulation fluid because they are both white and creamy. Paying attention to both substances will make the differences clear.

Ovulation happens anywhere from 12-16 days before bleeding reoccurs. The last "wet" day is the USUAL day of ovulation. While the eggs only live for one to two days, sperm can live for up to SEVEN DAYS if they are being kept warm inside the body, meaning most pregnancies start in the wide window BEFORE and AFTER ovulation. On the FOURTH night AFTER the last "wet" day, there is little to no risk of pregnancy, and this remains true up until the cycle starts up again. Menstruation can sometimes hide ovulatory fluid, meaning you can ovulate and bleed at the same time, so when the cycle starts again, a pregnancy can start.

## REMEMBER :

Ovulation can be triggered early or late, depending on circumstance. Cycles are most notably altered because of stress, which signals to the body that it is not a good time to get pregnant because of harsh circumstance, and menstruation along with ovulation decrease. This indicates the body's needs are not being met.

If you are taking birth control, this pattern is altered according to your prescription.

## HERBS that help!

Fun Facts!!\*One way to get sperm out of your system after sex is through kegel exercises. This consists of flexing your vaginal muscles (the muscles that stop and start your pee) over and over. Doing this exercise while you pee releases the sperm inside your vaginal lining (and will make sex better since your vagina will get tighter).

### COMMON CURES for YEAST

Yeast Infections: These are extremely common and can be triggered by all sorts of things: new sexual partners, underwear that doesn't such as let enough air flow, antibiotics, or a weakened immune system. They are so common in part because yeast is a fungus that always lives in your vagina (in addition to other places like your mouth). Yeast populations are generally kept in check by "good bacteria," but taking antibiotics or a pH imbalance will make yeast a little unruly. Generally, doctors will treat them with creams or oral prescription medications that will also kill off your good bacteria, therefore making you more likely to get another infection before too long. If you want to stay out of the health care office or just to save money, you can try a bunch of alternative treatments including sleeping with a peeled clove of garlic in your vagina, introducing UNFLAVORED yogurt that contains acidophilus (good bacteria), or introducing white vinegar (sticking your finger into some vinegar and then into your vagina). Do some research. Figure out what course of action is best for you.

Many of us have heard of Clinical Abortions— these are scary and expensive, and it is important to consult your doctor and your body before you undergo a clinical abortion.

However— hooray!-- there are healthier alternatives to abortions, which some of us have found effective.

This article is a mere starting point; please consult as many sources as possible before undergoing a D.I.Y.

herbal abortion. A back-up plan is CRUCIAL. Some herbs, like pennyroyal, are dangerous and sometimes deadly in large doses, so please approach your abortion with mindfulness and knowledge before undertaking such a task. Remember, herbal abortions are an ALTER-NATIVE to clinical abortions, and may not work all the time. Please consult the list of awesome resources on the next page for more information.



There are many herbs that work as abortifacients in various ways. These include inhibitors (which prevent the egg from attaching to the uterine wall), blockers (which prevent the egg from doing anything after it attaches), and contracting herbs (which force the egg to release from your uterus [my favorite]). There are foods and habits that can also help reject an unwanted pregnancy. These methods are not generally referenced in "traditional medicine," and this neglect reflects a long history of violence towards women, and towards self-awareness. Just as our education system neglects to teach foreign languages to young children, it neglects to teach health and sex education in terms of respect and consent (See Sex in Three Parts pg. 70).

A self-administered, herbal abortion is one way to avoid over-the-counter drugs and the anxiety of sitting in the waiting room at the clinic. There are lots of resources out there, but the one that follows comes from a well-respected pamphlet called DIY Guide II.

The remedy, the author suggests, works best either 10 days after your missed period or as soon as you suspect you are pregnant before your missed period. For most female bodies, this is when your belly is swollen, your tits sensitive, you pee more than usual, have food cravings and spotting, or may feel fatigued, nauseous, or euphoric. Be wary of your sexy body, take a deep breath, and keep reading.

Boil a pot of water.

Put ½ ounce (medium handful) of motherwort and ½ ounce of pennyroyal in 2-3 cups of boiling water.

Cover and steep in pot for about 20 minutes, then strain the leaves.

Simmer 1 ounce of blue cohosh root in 2 cups cold water for 20 minutes, covered, then strain.

Mix the pennyroyal-motherwort and the cohosh root mixtures together.

Drink piping hot, about ¼ cup of the secret weapon 4 or 5 times a day, or 1 ½ cups a day, a little every hour.

Take 2 goldenseal root capsules 3 times a day and chew fresh ginger and make fresh ginger tea all the time.

Pour some honey in it, hold a friend's hand, and dance when you bleed!

There are many other herbs that could be used for different reasons, and at different times in your cycle. If you want to consistently inhibit the egg from attaching to the uterus, use herbs like Rutin (*Ruta graveolens*), Cotton Root Bark (*Gossypium hirsutum*), or Queen Anne's Lace Seed (*Daucus carota*). For further blocking after the egg attaches, you could use Angelica (*Angelica atropurpurea*) or Pennyroyal. For uterine contracting herbs, you could use Black Cohosh or Wild Yam. Again, there is a wealth of amazing instructional information out there about herbal abortions and contraception, so consult these sources and check in with your strong and sexy body before experimenting.

## RESOURCES

**Herbal Abortion: The Fruit of the Tree of Knowledge by Uni M Taimat  
DIY Guide II**

**Walnut Avenue Women's Center: 175 Walnut Ave Santa Cruz, CA 95060  
#(831) 426-3062**

**Planned Parenthood: 1119 Pacific Ave. Santa Cruz, CA 95060 # (831) 425-1551  
Search FreeSkool Calanders for Related classes and Subrosa for written info**

# Unisex Restrooms Project

**Goal:** Create unisex restrooms that are safe and accessible for all campus members and visitors, including families, people with disabilities or attendants, and transgender peoples. *Please note that the UC nondiscrimination statement includes "gender identity" and is consistent with the California Fair Employment and Housing Act. Learn more at: <http://www.ucop.edu/ucophone/coordrev/policy/12-18-03.html>*

## Terminology:

- Unisex Restrooms: facilities labeled "Restroom" that any person may use.
- Gendered Restrooms: facilities labeled "Men" or "Women" that are sex-segregated.
- Single Occupancy Restrooms: facilities with locking exterior doors and no privacy stall inside.
- Single Stall Restrooms: facilities with usually unlocked exterior doors and one privacy stall inside.
- Multi Stall Restrooms: facilities with usually unlocked exterior doors and two or more privacy stall inside.

## Action Steps:

1. Take an inventory of single stall and single occupancy restrooms on campus,

including identifying which restrooms are wheel-chair accessible.

2. Post information on UCSC website.
3. Convert single occupancy restrooms to unisex with new signage that says "Restroom" instead of "Men" or "Women." Include accessibility sign when appropriate.



## Why is UC Santa Cruz lagging behind other UCs?!

**UC San Diego** - Inventoried and found 186 single stall or single occupancy restrooms. Converted 88 single occupancy restrooms from gendered to unisex. Listing of these restrooms can be found at the following page on UC San Diego's website: <http://link.ucsd.edu/Blink/External/Topics/Policy/0,1162,13561,00.html> Info from Gary Matthews, UCSD Assistant Vice Chancellor over Physical Plant Services.

The costs included the associated labor to conduct the inventory, which was complet-

ed by Custodial staff, as well as the signage and installation costs. The initial labor of custodial staff was not tabulated, as it was performed during their scheduled assignments. Identify and list locations was the assignment within the context of their duties to inspect all facilities. No additional cost was incurred for the initial assessment. Staff were assigned to assemble and input data into the Business Portal (Blink). About three hours total time was utilized @ \$50/hr. Cost @ \$150.00. Signs were purchased and installed for about \$30.00 per sign.

**UC Santa Barbara** - Converted 17 single occupancy restrooms from gendered to unisex and are investigating the feasibility of converting an additional 17.

**UC Los Angeles** - Identified approximately 30 single occupancy restrooms and has posted map locations and information about them at the following web page: <http://www.lgbt.ucla.edu/bathrooms.htm>

None of the three campuses have received negative feedback for their action. San Diego ran into obstacles with handicapped access signage that requires symbols for men and women, but the issue was resolved. Conversions consisted of signage changes and, in a few instances, installation of locking mechanisms. San Diego and Santa Barbara reported negligible costs to do their conversions.

# LOCAL MEDIA!

## FRSC 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.

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."

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

## 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!



see Student Organizations for some student created media! (see next page)

# STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

Included here are some important student organizations here at UCSC. However, the list of all the invaluable, radical, and empowering organizations is much longer than this! It's never difficult to find wonderful people in Santa Cruz to organize and hang out with.

## Student & Worker Coalition for Justice (SWCJ)

The Student & Worker Coalition for Justice is composed of students, campus workers, and organizers from the various unions on campus (see pg. 17). The purpose of the org is to build student awareness of labor issues on campus and student support for all workers in the struggles. SWCJ is a non-hierarchical collective, meaning there are no permanent leadership positions and everyone has equal power. Over the years it has proved an invaluable resource for the labor movement at UCSC, and new members are always welcome!

## newUC

Is a coalition of students fighting the corporatization of the UC. We seek to build ties with other organizations to fight the logic of scarcity. The newUC is still in its infancy stages, but has helped start a radical dialogue on campus.

<http://thenewUC.wordpress.com>

**TWANAS** has a 30 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**

## Movimiento Estudiantil Chicana/o de Aztlan (MEChA)

The Chicano Movement of the late 1960's helped spark cultural and historical pride in our people. Chicanas/Chicanos demanded to be treated as equals and denounced acculturation and assimilation. Brown pride began to express itself through poetry, literature, art and theatre. The contributions of the Chicano Movement are numerous and continue to be very valuable to our society. M. E.Ch.A was established at the Denver Youth conference in 1969 by student organizations (such as UMAS & MAYO) that came together to create one organization that would work towards the self-determination of our gente.

Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (M.E.Ch.A.) is a student organization that promotes higher education, cultura, and historia. MEChA de UCSC is committed to the liberation of nuestra raza's minds, bodies, and souls through educational, economic, and political empowerment. M.E.Ch.A. was founded on the principles of self-determination for the liberation of our people. We believe that political involvement and education is the avenue for change in our society. In the time of the new sun, los estudiantes of MEChA, los guerreros/as in other places, and la gente all over the world are here to claim our voices and our rights as humankind. Por la raza, habla el espiritu.

## Students Informing Now (SIN)

Our mission is to help promote higher education particularly in support of marginalized students, especially, but not limited to, AB540 students. We aspire to develop a safe environment and network where students don't have to be afraid to ask questions about their educational circumstances. By working collectively with the community, we aim to empower and inform, consequently bringing voice to those that are unjustly silenced. We aim to achieve these ambitions by employing popular education methodology; everything done without shame... SIN Vergüenza!

Vision:

- \*One-day there will be equal opportunities in education.
- \*Education will be free of charge.
- \*Eliminate barriers that restrict higher education to the economically and socially privileged.
- \*Advocate for a just immigration reform.
- \*Eliminate all forms of oppression
- \*Maintain S.I.N.'s legacy long after founding members have graduated

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

## Other Resources:

**SOAR** (*Student Organization Advising & Resource*)  
<[soar.ucsc.edu](http://soar.ucsc.edu)>

**El Centro** (*Chicano Latino Resource Center*)  
<[www2.ucsc.edu/raza](http://www2.ucsc.edu/raza)>

**AARCC** (*African American Resource & Cultural Center*) <[www2.ucsc.edu/aasl](http://www2.ucsc.edu/aasl)>

**AIRC** (*American Indian RC*) <[www2.ucsc.edu/airc](http://www2.ucsc.edu/airc)>

**AA/PIRC** (*Asian American /Pacific Islander RC*)  
<[www2.ucsc.edu/aapirc](http://www2.ucsc.edu/aapirc)>

**Women's Center**  
<[www2.ucsc.edu/wmcenter](http://www2.ucsc.edu/wmcenter)>

**Lionel Cantú LGBTI Resource Center**  
<[www.queer.ucsc.edu](http://www.queer.ucsc.edu)>

**ABSA** (*African/Black Student Alliance*)

**APISA** (*Asian/Pacific Islander Student Alliance*)

FSA (*Filipino Student Association*)  
SANAI (*Student Alliance of North American Indians*)  
MESH (*Mixed Ethnicities Student Headquarters*)  
SWCJ (*Student & Worker Coalition for Justice*)  
MIRA (*Movement for Immigrant Rights Alliance*)  
CJP (*Committee for Justice in Palestine*)  
e<sup>2</sup> (*Engaging Education*)  
Rainbow Theater  
The (GLBTIQ) Network  
CLIT Collective  
Sister Solidarity  
Coalition to Save Community Studies (CSCS)  
ISO (*International Socialist Organization*)  
SO (*Socialist Organizer*)  
Student Environmental Center

**The Project** is a quarterly UCSC publication created by an open collective or radical folk. We at TheProject hope to raise awareness regarding pertinent issues by presenting alternative views to what is presented by the corporate media, and through this, work to change commonly held beliefs. We feel that it is not only our right, but our duty as conscientious, active participants in our communities to educate others in an effort to improve our collective lives. The purpose of the collective is to document and inspire strategic radical actions that are relevant to local, regional, and global socioeconomic justice. We believe independent media plays a crucial role in facilitating dialogue, organizing mass mobilizations, and encouraging daily acts of resistance. You can submit content to: [theproject@riseup.net](mailto:theproject@riseup.net)

# DIY GUIDE TO SANTA CRUZ

(an incomplete list of independent local projects)

Meaningful projects begin with people who are motivated to put into action their desires for the kind of world in which they want to live. The more we create our own projects that are apart from and in some cases pose a direct challenge to the dominant institutions, the more vital and meaningful our world(s) will be for us. Here is a short list of some of these kinds of projects in Santa Cruz.

## The Bike Church

<http://bikechurch.santacruzhub.org>

Community Bike Shop and Tool Cooperative. Bike church volunteers are there to help you learn how to work on your bicycle. We encourage people to learn by getting their hands dirty and to familiarize themselves with the machine that they rely on to get them from place to place.

703 Pacific. 831-425-BIKE

## Cabrillo Bike Co-op

<http://www.cabrillo.edu/associations/bike>

Cabrillo Bike Co-op provides students and the community with tools, space, and education to use bicycles as a means of sustainable, low-cost transportation.

## Computer Kitchen

<http://computerkitchen.org>

The Computer Kitchen strives to reduce the amount of technology that ends up in landfills while providing a space, tools, and advice for people to work on and learn about this technology. *Open Wed & Sun. 703 Pacific.*

## Food Not Bombs

Food Not Bombs offers community meals open to all, to build community, reclaim public space, protest hunger, poverty, militarization, and all forms of oppression. *Wed at 4pm @ Farmer's Market & Sat at 4pm @ Sub-Rosa.*

## Free Radio Santa Cruz - 101.1 FM

<http://www.freakradio.org>

Free Radio Santa Cruz has been on the air since 1995 without a license, broadcasting 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 365 days a year, in defiance of federal regulations. Broadcasting programs unavailable on corporate controlled stations. *101.1 FM. 831-427-3772.*

## Free Skool Santa Cruz

<http://santacruz.freeskool.org>

Free Skool Santa Cruz is a completely grassroots, collective effort to create an autonomous, mutual-support network. It is a direct challenge to institutional control and the commodification of learning. *Free Skool calendars are distributed widely in public places around Santa Cruz.*

## Guerilla Drive-In

<http://www.guerilladrivein.org>

Santa Cruz Guerilla Drive-In is an outdoor movie theater under the stars that springs up in the fields and industrial wastelands. Beyond showing great movies and bringing a broad community together, GDI reclaims public space and transforms our urban environment. *Schedule online.*

## Santa Cruz Indymedia

<http://indybay.org/santacruz>

Web-based local news and info source, focused on local issues and the direct impact of larger issues on our community. On Santa Cruz Indymedia you can easily publish articles, audio, photography, and video. Your stories and analysis go right up on the newswire. *Online.*

## Santa Cruz Trash Orchestra

<http://trashorchestra.org/>

Santa Cruz Trash Orchestra is a performance and marching percussion band, whose instruments are composed exclusively of recycled and reclaimed materials, focused on anarchist and anti-authoritarian struggles and mutual support for groups making radical social change.

## SubRosa: a community space

<http://subrosaproject.org>

SubRosa is a space for art and radical projects run by a collective of volunteers from the local anarchist community. It offers anarchist books and literature, local, gourmet coffee, performance and a weekly open mic, gallery art by emerging local artists, and a garden courtyard social space. It also hosts the Anarchist Lending Library, free computers, and many free skool classes. *703 Pacific Ave.*

## Stop UCSC Expansion

<http://stopucsc.org>

The UCSC tree-sit has ended, but resistance continues. The tree-sit was one expression of an ongoing resistance to UCSC expansion, which threatens both the forested habitat around UCSC and local communities. Updates on the continuing resistance to the university's efforts to develop the forest and commodify education.

Of course there is much more going on around town than this short list encompasses. Keep your eyes and ears open; talk to others (word of mouth is the best way to find out what's going on) and look for flyers around town (a great DIY way to spread the word). Also, if you discover that there is that vital something not happening here, then do-it-yourself and spread-the-word (collaborate with allies with similar passions). Let's joyfully tear down the world around us and create something wonderful in its place.



brazen square dancing in the streets

# THE LITERARY GUILLOTINE

## WELCOME BACK STUDENTS!

204 LOCUST ST. 457-1195  
OPEN MONDAY THROUGH  
SATURDAY 10AM UNTIL 6PM

BY?

MARK TWAIN

OLIVER WELTON

L.B. LOOTY'S

Published by  
**JOHN LANE, THE BODLEY HEAD**  
NEW YORK and LONDON  
MCMIII

# Recommendations

Here's an assorted list of stuff that we as the Disguide Collective feel are noteworthy, important, or just plain cool. Peruse them, use them, open your eyes and disorient yourself!

## Books

<p><i>The Shock Doctrine</i>, Naomi Klein  <i>My Traitor's Heart</i>, Rian Malan  <i>Sexuality and Socialism</i>, Sherry Wolf  <i>Red Highways</i>, Rose Aguilar  <i>Eyes of the Heart</i>, Jean Bertrand Aristide  <i>Oryx and Crake</i>, Margaret Atwood  <i>City of Quartz</i>, Mike Davis  <i>Homage to Catalonia</i>, George Orwell  <i>Borderlands</i>, Gloria Anzaldúa  <i>The White Boy Shuffle</i>, Paul Beatty  <i>Race, Women, and Class</i>, Angela Davis  <i>Das Kapital</i>, Karl Marx  <i>What Is to Be Done?</i>, Vladimir Lenin  <i>Pedagogy of the Oppressed</i>, Paulo Freire  <i>Chomsky on Anarchism</i>, Noam Chomsky  <i>The Conquest of Bread</i>, Peter Kropotkin  <i>Making a Killing</i>, Bob Torres</p>	<p><i>Wretched of the Earth</i>, Franz Fanon  <i>The Dialectic of Sex</i>, Shulamith Firestone  <i>Sweetness and Power</i>, Sidney Mintz  <i>The Subversion of Politics</i>, George Katsiaficas  <i>The Unbearable Lightness of Being</i>, Milan Kundera  <i>The Strong Hearts</i> (zine series), Rod Coronado  <i>Anarchism and Other Essays</i>, Emma Goldman  <i>Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee</i>, Dee Brown  <i>How Nonviolence Protects the State</i>, Peter Gelderloos  <i>"The Coming Insurrection" &amp; "Cali"</i>, the Invisible Committee  <i>Last Year of Malcolm X: Evolution of a Revolutionary</i>, George Breitman  <i>Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison</i>, Michel Foucault  <i>The Possessive Investment in Whiteness</i>, George Lipsitz  <i>Native Americans and the Christian Right</i>, Andrea Smith</p>
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## Professors

Andrew Matthews (Anthro)	Gina Dent (FMST)	Eva Bertram (POLI)
Daniel Linger (Anthro)	Stewart Cooper (KRSG)	Bob Meister (POLI)
Carolyn Martin Shaw (Anthro)	James McCloskey (LING)	Nameera Akhtar (PSYC)
Sean Burns (CMMU)	Guillermo Delgado (LALS)	Travis Seymour (PSYC)
Jeff Bury (ENVS)	Flora Lu (LALS)	Aida Hurtado (PSYC)
Alan Richards (ENVS)	Gary Young (LIT)	Craig Haney (PSYC)
Bettina Aptheker (FMST)	Jody Green (LIT)	

## Music

Naked Aggression	His Hero Is Gone
The Voids	Baader Brains
Refused	Please Inform The Captain This is a Hijack
The Coup	Gather
The Blue Scholars	I Object
The Welfare Poets	Good Clean Fun
Quilapayun	Minor Threat
Do Make Say Think	Crass
The Books	Dystopia
Billie Holiday	Defiance, Ohio
Pop Bottle Bombers	a//political
Black Bird Raum	Anti-Product
International Noise	Antischism
Conspiracy	Contravene
Sage Francis	
Orchid	

## News

Democracy Now!	Indybay.org	The Project
Al Jazeera	Freak Radio	TWANAS
Tom Dispatch	101.1 FM	

## Poetry

<p>Juliana Spahr--This Connection of Everyone with Lungs  Richard Brautigan  Rumi  Andrea Gibson  Saul Williams  Kinetic Poetics (UC Santa Cruz Slam Poetry Team)</p>
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## *We Dedicate This To*

*Devin Cohee:*

*A fallen comrade. She was a revolutionary socialist who fought for social justice and the betterment of our society. She was an active member of the International Socialist Organization (ISO), Students against War (SAW), and Campus Anti-war Network (CAN). Devin was and still is an essential member of our activist community in Santa Cruz and other places her words and actions touched. She was a strong and passionate fighter whose determination and dedication allowed her to put worldly issues before herself. Devin lived everyday as if it was her last and led a hard life because of it. Drugs were used as an escape from her failing physical body and the fucked up realities we live in, which ultimately led to her demise and our loss. Devin will always be missed but not forgotten, she left a huge void that will never be filled, and if she was still here capitalism would have its ass handed to it.*

*Special Thanks to Susan Watrous  
Shay Wotring  
Alonzo Printing  
All former Disguide people  
Bradley Stuart*

**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.  
[disguide.wordpress.com](http://disguide.wordpress.com)**



# 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.