# new indicator

Published at UCSD By the n.i. collective

December 2001 34th Year of Publication

## Sixth College: how to promote business through art & culture

Why did you come to UCSD? What exactly did you think you would get from an education from UCSD? Does the college you chose to attend at UCSD reflect your personal and academic interests? If not, do you think it should?

The Sixth College is currently in the planning stages. It is scheduled to open in 2002 and has been proposed as a college which will focus on culture, art and technology. Only first years will be admitted in the Fall of 2002 and transfers are scheduled to be admitted in the Fall of 2004.

As the planning of the Sixth College advances, it is necessary to evaluate the proposed curriculum in order to determine the function and direction of this new college which is scheduled to commence courses in the Fall of 2002. The following article relies heavily on the Sixth College's "Detailed Academic Plan."

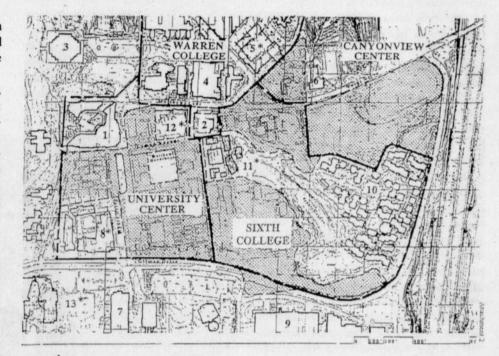
Every college has a theme in order to attract students, faculty and administration. The theme of the Sixth College, as it is stated in the Academic Plan, is to "help students to see their own and other cultures not as givens, but as products of this synergistic interplay amongst art, technology and the human adaptation" (18). In this case, what is being called "human adaptation" is culture, which "finds material expression through art and technology." The goal of the college then is to develop this connection between culture and art and technology, and then to assist students in "incorporat[ing] tech-

nological and artistic innovations in a coherent way"(20). This goal is achieved through learning "both inside and outside the classroom"(18).

The Provost of the Sixth College, Gabriele Weinhausen, received her Ph.D. in Biology from the Westfalische Wilhelms-Universitat, in Munster, Germany. "She is currently the co-Principal Investigator of the Howard Hughes Undergraduate Science Enrichment Program and co-Director of the doctoral program in Mathematics and Science Education offered jointly by UCSD and SDSU."

Information available to students interested in learning more about Provost Weinhausen may be found on the UCSD website in two documents. The first describes Weinhausen's belief that the key to enhancing student learning is through technological application. The second is an article describing the future of U.S. Universities, in which the author states, "the distinction between the proprietary and the nonprofit, and between education and training, is blurring. Almost all colleges, and not just the private ones, now see themselves in overtly competitive terms. Schools market; students shop"(wwwmill.ucsd.edu).

So the Sixth College is being constructed as a competitive, profit-earning business; one which functions more like a trade school than the critical education one might expect when applying to and paying for a UCSD education. What hap-



pens when the line between the inside of the classroom and the outside becomes blurred? According to the Academic Plan, this blurred line will provide the opportunity for the Sixth College's corporate partners, investors and collaborators to use your research as their own.

The first required course in the threequarter Core Sequence for the Sixth College is titled "Evolution of Culture." It has been constructed as a survey course spanning 13,000 years of human history. It will focus on "hallmarks of cultural changes and evolution," which include: transportation, weapons, food production and animal domestication, writing and political organization.

One might wonder how 13,000 years of 'cultural evolution' might be covered in one quarter. But a more important question might be asked at this point – what definition of 'evolution' is being promoted here? Should culture be rated in terms of 'animal domestication' and animal industrial complexes, or in weapons, stealth bombers and industrial prison complexes?

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# Noam Chomsky: the new war against terror

October 18, 2001 - Transcribed from audio recorded at The Technology & Culture Forum at MIT

Everyone knows it's the TV people who run the world [crowd laugher]. I just got orders that I'm supposed to be here, not there. Well the last talk I gave at this forum was on a light pleasant topic. It was about how humans are an endangered species and given the nature of their institutions they are likely to destroy themselves in a fairly short time. So this time there is a little relief and we have a pleasant topic instead, the new war on terror. Unfortunately, the world keeps coming up with things that make it more and more horrible as we proceed.

#### Assume 2 Conditions for this Talk

I'm going to assume 2 conditions for this talk.

The first one is just what I assume to be recognition of fact. That is that the events of September 11 were a horrendous atrocity probably the most devastating instant human toll of any crime in history, outside of war.

The second assumption has to do with the goals. I'm assuming that our goal is that we are interested in reducing the likelihood of such crimes whether they are against us or against someone else.

If you don't accept those two assumptions, then what I say will not be addressed to you. If we do accept them, then a number of questions arise, closely related ones, which merit a good deal of thought.

#### The 5 Questions

One question, and by far the most important one is what is happening right now? Implicit in that is what can we do about it? The 2nd has to do with the very common assumption that what happened on September 11 is a historic event, one which will change history. I tend to agree with that. I think it's true. It was a historic event and the question we should be asking is exactly why? The 3rd question has to do with the title, The War Against Terrorism. Exactly what is it? And there is a related question, namely what is terrorism? The 4th question which is narrower but important has to do with the origins of the crimes of September 11th. And the 5th question that I want to talk a little about is what policy options there are in fighting this war against terrorism and dealing with the situations that led to it.

I'll say a few things about each. Glad to go beyond in discussion and don't hesitate to bring up other questions. These are ones that come to my mind as prominent but you may easily and plausibly have other choices.

#### 1. What's Happening Right Now?

Starvation of 3 to 4 Million People

Well let's start with right now. I'll talk about the situation in Afghanistan. I'll

just keep to uncontroversial sources like the New York Times [crowd laughter]. According to the New York Times there are 7 to 8 million people in Afghanistan on the verge of starvation. That was true actually before September 11th. They were surviving on international aid. On September 16th, the Times reported, I'm quoting it, that the United States demanded from Pakistan the elimination of truck convoys that provide much of the food and other supplies to Afghanistan's civilian population. As far as I could determine there was no reaction in the United States or for that matter in Europe. I was on national radio all over Europe the next day. There was no reaction in the United States or in Europe to my knowledge to the demand to impose massive starvation on millions of people. The threat of military strikes right after September....around that time forced the removal of international aid workers that crippled the assistance programs. Actually, I am quoting again from the New York Times. Refugees reaching Pakistan after arduous journeys from AF are describing scenes of desperation and fear at home as the threat of American led military attacks turns their long running misery into a potential catastrophe. The country was on a lifeline and we just cut the line. Quoting an evacuated aid worker, in the New York Times Magazine.

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### What is anarchism? of a group resides in the group, not elected repre-

If you ask 100 anarchists what anarchism is, you will get 100 different answers -- there are as many types of anarchism as there are anarchists. Keeping this in mind, it seems rather silly for one anarchist to write an article about what anarchism is, but I want to at least give a basic introduction. Hopefully, upon reading this, people will be inspired to talk to people and develop their own anarchist theory if they haven't done so already.

The main basis of most, if not all, types of anarchism is anti-authoritarianism (which includes anti-capitalism, since capitalism is both authoritarian and exploitive). The word "anarchy" comes from the Greek prefix an (without) and word "archos" (ruler/authority). Anarchists are not only against governments and states, but are also against hierarchy and oppressive relationships in general.

Most anarchists would agree that anarchism has three major points to it: liberty, equality, and solidarity. Liberty, the idea that people are free to pursue their own good in their own way, is important because individuals need liberty in order to flourish and grow. This is also beneficial to the community because people strong people build strong communities. If liberty is essential for individuals to develop fully, then equality is essential for genuine liberty to exist. There can be no real freedom in a society build upon oppression, because those at the top will have more freedom (like they have more of everything else) than those at the bottom. When anarchists advocate equality, however, we are not saying that everyone should get the same size chunk of bread, and we are not saying that everyone should have the same opportunities to grab some bread. We are talking about what Murray Bookchin called "equality of unequals," which recognizes the differences between individuals in terms of need and ability, but refuses to allow these differences to be turned into power. Solidarity and mutual aid are also important to anarchists. We are not advocating a society where everyone is just trying to get what's best for themselves, and not helping others (that's capitalism, not anarchism!). We envision a world where people work together as equals to achieve common goals. Solidarity also means that we stand up for and defend each other, like the Industrial Workers of the World slogan, "an injury to one is an injury to

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For more information about anarchism. see infoshop.org and spunk.org

#### the new indicator

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# The struggle of co-operatives at UCSD

UCSD has a unique history of student run co-ops. The fact that some co-ops still exist at UCSD is the result of student protests, legal battles, many thousands of hours of bureaucratic meetings, and a constant struggle with an administration that makes every possible attempt to close, restrict, or take over the co-ops. There have been numerous attempts to destroy each and every co-op that has existed at UCSD

Many campuses around the country have housing cooperatives and some have food co-ops, but there are very few that have a radical bookstore co-op, a restaurant/venue, or a co-operative general store that sells school supplies. In fact, we used to have even more co-ops at UCSD. There used to be a recycling co-op, a record co-op, a computer co-op, a bike co-op (which is now no longer a co-op but still exists as a privately owned business) and some others.

#### Outline of Co-ops and their struggles

The Ché Café (Cheap Healthy Eats) was formed in 1980, and is a vegetarian restaurant and venue for alternative music In addition to this, there is an organic garden behind the building and many leftist political organizations meet there. In July of 2000, administrators and campus police attempted to illegally lock the members of the Ché Café Collective out of their building. Members of the Ché Café Collective and Sad Diego activist community were able to occupy the building for three days (over the Fourth of July holidays) before contacting their lawyer and stopping the administration's harassment. There is still a pending grievance against the administration for their actions in this

Groundwork Bookstore was established in 1974. Groundwork aims to make aims to create a social awareness through making alternative leftist and progressive literature available. The most recent attempt to close Groundwork was in 1991 when administrators attempted to lock Groundwork out. Members of Groundwork Bookstore and other students protested vigorously and were able to keep the store open.

The General Store was formed in 1980 to provide a student run, cheap source for school supplies and textbooks. In 1993 the administration locked up the General Store Co-op for the "crime" of selling textbooks cheaper than the Price Center Bookstore. In 1991, the University Centers administration signed a contract with the soon to be opened Price Center Bookonly source of text books on campus Between 1991 and 1993 administrators demanded that the General Store stop selling (cheap) textbooks, and when the General Store refused campus police eventually locked them out. Students broke the window of the store and occupied the building until they were able to receive legal assistance. As a result of this incident, students in the Co-ops were able to negotiate a contract with the administration called the Memorandum of Understanding. This contract gives the co-ops a certain degree of autonomy from the

The Food Co-op was created by students concerned with their roles as consumers and employees at the University. It offers healthful natural foods. Rejecting the style of profit-oriented services, the Food Co-op presents a top quality, low price alternative to "fast-food" and UCSD

The Recycle Co-op had a long history of providing students with high quality recycling services (more materials were recycled than are currently and paper was separated by color to enable better reusage). Unfortunately, one member of the co-op decided to sell the co-op to the university. As a result, over time we have seen a decrease in the quality of service and the amount of materials that are recy-

The Vinyl Co-op was a cooperative record store that specialized in hard to find independent and alternative music. It started out in the Student Center and thrived for a year before moving to the newly opened Price Center where rent was too high and it eventually folded.

Students organized the Bicycle Co-op in order to provide inexpensive alternatives to cars on campus. Many used bikes were available and many students were able to volunteer and learn how to fix bikes. The bike co-op was sold to a private businessman when student involve-

Students organized a computer co-operative in order to provide technical assistance and low cost materials. This co-op failed due to a lack of sufficient space.

Originally, KSDT, the student run radio station, was a self-proclaimed Co-op. Over time their constitution was changed to alter their status as a co-op, but their main goals of fostering independent music and providing a student run resource have continued on to this day.

Other failed attempts at co-operatives on campus have included housing cooperatives, farming cooperatives, and larger scale grocery cooperatives.

When trying to understand the role that Co-ops have played on this campus it is important to realize that most of the people involved in starting co-ops were involved in student government as well. As a matter of fact, there was not a clearcut distinction made between the co-ops and the student governments. Although student fees pay for the university centers, students don't usually have the final say in how their money is spent. Historically, students have fought for independence of student government and the right to spend student fees. These struggles even led to court in 1993 when members of the University Centers Board (the group that allocates space and monies within the Price Center, Student Cooperative Center and Ché Café) attempted to establish their right to decide how the University Center fee was spent. Although their legal battle failed and the University Centers Board was subsequently dissolved and replaced by a new board with completely new members - the University Centers ADVI-SORY Board - for their insubordination one of the outcomes of the organization



around this push for autonomy of student fees was the contract with the Co-ops. The reason behind the contract was to give the co-ops a degree of safety from a historically hostile administration. Even so, the effects are broader. In effect, the legal agreements between the co-ops, student governments and administrations delineate student control over certain parts of Student Fee Funded Facilities. Decisions made concerning the space that the Co-ops occupy are almost entirely made by students in the co-ops and student governments. Administrators directly oversee most other spaces in the University Centers. The co-ops are a step towards greater independence of student governments and student fees. In fact, there is even a part of the co-ops' contract that states that the administration will work with and aid the student governments' attempts to become independent. In section VI (page 15) of the MOU it states:

Autonomy: The UCSD Administration is committed to the concept of AS and GSA becoming organizationally, financially and operationally autonomous if the AS and GSA so choose and if the AS and GSA accept the necessary responsibilities associated with those decisions. In summary, when looking at the his-

tory of struggle between the students and administration, it is possible to understand the co-ops as the battleground for a higher degree of student decision-making power. The reason that they are systematically targeted is due to the simple fact that they are a large area in which the administration has less control than they are comfortable with. The struggle between students and administrators is not due to a desire on the part of the administration to hurt students, rather they assume that students do not have the ability or right to make important decisions (even though we are considered adults according to law and that this is a public institution). This view probably stems from the historical treatment of students as probationary adults. Also, since administrators are here for : much greater span of time than students, they easily lapse into the belief that the university belongs to them more than to the students. It is natural for someone to feel frustrated that someone who will not even be here 4 years from now will make decisions that will affect those who will be here 10 years from now. On the other hand, it is important for students to gain control of their governments and fees because it is their resources that support these institutions (administrators included) and because the best representatives of students are students.

# **Labor Notes**

This is the first edition of a new column that seeks to inform readers of current events in labor struggles. It covers campus and local issues.

Unionized employees at the Hotel del Coronado ratified a contract between the Hotel Employees Restaurant Employees (HERE) International Union Local 30 and the management company that runs the hotel. Wage increases, benefits, employee rights such as workload protection, and a neutrality agreement were won in the agreement. The negotiations took nearly a year, and workers were threatened for their involvement and opposed by management-hired union busters. The neutrality agreement they fought for, which allows the local to organize unrepresented workers also at the hotel, is a historic first for a hotel worker's union in North America. Congrats to HERE Local 30!

The Association of Student Employees at UCSD (ASE/UAW Local #2865) is holding a letter campaign to oppose any legislation introduced in the state or federal government suspending the rights of international students or preventing them from attending California universities. ASE/UAW played an important role in convincing Senator Feinstein to back off her proposed 6-month moratorium on student visas. Current proposals single out students from various nations. and Feinstein and Representative John Kyl (AZ) have proposed monitoring systems for international students and their families. Do not let xenophobia and paranoia intrude on the education of international students and the diversity of our campuses. ASE members can help protect the rights of these students by signing a letter. You can contact ASE via email: aseuaw@igc.org

The National Labor Relations Board found the San Diego Union-Tribune in violation of the National Labor Relations Act. There were at least eight different code violations, and a "Notice to Employees" was ordered to be posted in the paper's offices. The notice details the violations and informs the workers of their rights. Please support the boycott of the San Diego Union-Tribune until they negotiate a contract with GCIU Local 432-M, which represents 140 pressroom

After the successful campaign for the right to unionize janitors at the UC San Diego campus, Students for Economic Justice are helping UTC janitors organize a living wage movement. Janitors and students took action at the UTC mall on November 13, protesting in front of the main entrance. Six mall janitors were fired by the contractor used by Westfield UTC, one of whom is a single mother with three children. Students and janitors demand the reinstatement of the six workers and a new contractor with fair business practices.

More than 1,000 members of unions died in the collapse of the WTC towers. Tens of thousands will be laid off by the airline, restaurant, and hotel industries in the following months. Congressional relief to businesses in the aftermath of the attacks does nothing to aid these workers in paying their bills or supporting their families.



The General Store Co-op is a student-run store which was founded in 1980 to offer students a less expensive alternative to the high Price Center. As a student cooperative, we try to provide the University community with the best quality merchandise at the lowest prices. And we succeed!

items such as selected essential school and office supplies, household and personal items, stationer and gift wrap, clothing (including UCSD logos), and food and snack tems -- all of which range from .5-25% less than anywhere else on

are guaranteed to cost less than at the UCSD bookstore. The General Store Co-Op is located in the Student Cooperative Center, in between the Food

Co-Op and KSDT.

858-534-3932

We also sell textbooks, which

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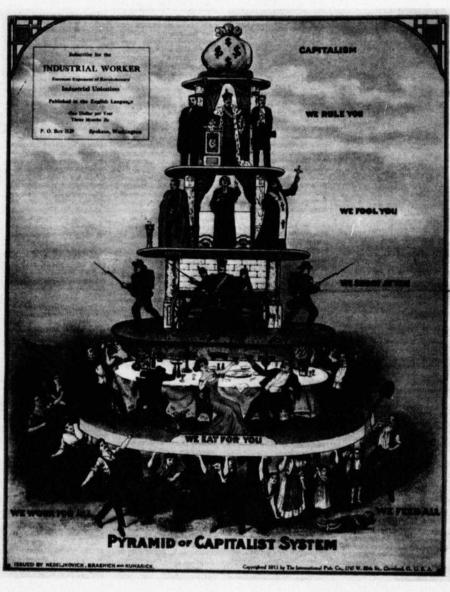
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For more information about anarchism, see infoshop.org and spunk.org

#### the new indicator

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# The struggle of co-operatives at UCSD

UCSD has a unique history of student run co-ops. The fact that some co-ops still exist at UCSD is the result of student protests, legal battles, many thousands of hours of bureaucratic meetings, and a constant struggle with an administration that makes every possible attempt to close, restrict, or take over the co-ops. There have been numerous attempts to destroy each and every co-op that has existed at UCSD.

new indicator

Many campuses around the country have housing cooperatives and some have food co-ops, but there are very few that have a radical bookstore co-op, a restaurant/venue, or a co-operative general store that sells school supplies. In fact, we used to have even more co-ops at UCSD. There used to be a recycling co-op, a record co-op, a computer co-op, a bike co-op (which is now no longer a co-op but still exists as a privately owned business) and some others.

#### Outline of Co-ops and their struggles

The Ché Café (Cheap Healthy Eats) was formed in 1980, and is a vegetarian restaurant and venue for alternative music. In addition to this, there is an organic garden behind the building and many leftist political organizations meet there. In July of 2000, administrators and campus police attempted to illegally lock the members of the Ché Café Collective out of their building. Members of the Ché Café Collective and Sad Diego activist community were able to occupy the building for three days (over the Fourth of July holidays) before contacting their lawyer and stopping the administration's harassment. There is still a pending grievance against the administration for their actions in this incident.

Groundwork Bookstore was established in 1974. Groundwork aims to make aims to create a social awareness through making alternative leftist and progressive literature available. The most recent attempt to close Groundwork was in 1991 when administrators attempted to lock Groundwork out. Members of Groundwork Bookstore and other students protested vigorously and were able to keep the store open.

The General Store was formed in 1980 to provide a student run, cheap source for school supplies and textbooks. In 1993 the administration locked up the General Store Co-op for the "crime" of selling textbooks cheaper than the Price Center Bookstore. In 1991, the University Centers administration signed a contract with the soon to be opened Price Center Bookstore guaranteeing that they would be the only source of text books on campus. Between 1991 and 1993 administrators demanded that the General Store stop selling (cheap) textbooks, and when the General Store refused campus police eventually locked them out. Students broke the window of the store and occupied the building until they were able to receive legal assistance. As a result of this incident, students in the Co-ops were able to negotiate a contract with the administration called the Memorandum of Understanding. This contract gives the co-ops a certain degree of autonomy from the

dministration

The Food Co-op was created by students concerned with their roles as consumers and employees at the University. It offers healthful natural foods. Rejecting the style of profit-oriented services, the Food Co-op presents a top quality, low price alternative to "fast-food" and UCSD Food Services.

The Recycle Co-op had a long history of providing students with high quality recycling services (more materials were recycled than are currently and paper was separated by color to enable better reusage). Unfortunately, one member of the co-op decided to sell the co-op to the university. As a result, over time we have seen a decrease in the quality of service and the amount of materials that are recycled.

The Vinyl Co-op was a cooperative record store that specialized in hard to find independent and alternative music. It started out in the Student Center and thrived for a year before moving to the newly opened Price Center where rent was too high and it eventually folded.

Students organized the Bicycle Co-op in order to provide inexpensive alternatives to cars on campus. Many used bikes were available and many students were able to volunteer and learn how to fix bikes. The bike co-op was sold to a private businessman when student involvement fell.

Students organized a computer co-operative in order to provide technical assistance and low cost materials. This co-op failed due to a lack of sufficient space.

Originally, KSDT, the student run radio station, was a self-proclaimed Co-op. Over time their constitution was changed to alter their status as a co-op, but their main goals of fostering independent music and providing a student run resource have continued on to this day.

Other failed attempts at co-operatives on campus have included housing cooperatives, farming cooperatives, and larger scale grocery cooperatives.

When trying to understand the role that Co-ops have played on this campus it is important to realize that most of the people involved in starting co-ops were involved in student government as well. As a matter of fact, there was not a clearcut distinction made between the co-ops and the student governments. Although student fees pay for the university centers. students don't usually have the final say in how their money is spent. Historically, students have fought for independence of student government and the right to spend student fees. These struggles even led to court in 1993 when members of the University Centers Board (the group that allocates space and monies within the Price Center, Student Cooperative Center and Ché Café) attempted to establish their right to decide how the University Center fee was spent. Although their legal battle failed and the University Centers Board was subsequently dissolved and replaced by a new board with completely new members - the University Centers ADVI-SORY Board - for their insubordination one of the outcomes of the organization



around this push for autonomy of student fees was the contract with the Co-ops. The reason behind the contract was to give the co-ops a degree of safety from a historically hostile administration. Even so, the effects are broader. In effect, the legal agreements between the co-ops, student governments and administrations delineate student control over certain parts of Student Fee Funded Facilities. Decisions made concerning the space that the Co-ops occupy are almost entirely made by students in the co-ops and student governments. Administrators directly oversee most other spaces in the University Centers. The co-ops are a step towards greater independence of student governments and student fees. In fact, there is even a part of the co-ops' contract that states that the administration will work with and aid the student governments' attempts to become independent. In section VI (page 15) of the MOU it states:

Autonomy: The UCSD Administration is committed to the concept of AS and GSA becoming organizationally, financially and operationally autonomous if the AS and GSA so choose and if the AS and GSA accept the necessary responsibilities associated with those decisions.

In summary, when looking at the his-

tory of struggle between the students and administration, it is possible to understand the co-ops as the battleground for a higher degree of student decision-making power. The reason that they are systematically targeted is due to the simple fact that they are a large area in which the administration has less control than they are comfortable with. The struggle between students and administrators is not due to a desire on the part of the administration to hurt students, rather they assume that students do not have the ability or right to make important decisions (even though we are considered adults according to law and that this is a public institution). This view probably stems from the historical treatment of students as probationary adults. Also, since administrators are here for a much greater span of time than students, they easily lapse into the belief that the university belongs to them more than to the students. It is natural for someone to feel frustrated that someone who will not even be here 4 years from now will make decisions that will affect those who will be here 10 years from now. On the other hand, it is important for students to gain control of their governments and fees because it is their resources that support these institutions (administrators included) and because the best representatives of

# This is the first edition of a new column that seeks to inform readers of current events in labor struggles. It covers campus

and local issues.

HERE Local 30!

Unionized employees at the Hotel del Coronado ratified a contract between the Hotel Employees Restaurant Employees (HERE) International Union Local 30 and the management company that runs the hotel. Wage increases, benefits, employee rights such as workload protection, and a neutrality agreement were won in the agreement. The negotiations took nearly a year, and workers were threatened for their involvement and opposed by management-hired union busters. The neutrality agreement they fought for, which allows the local to organize unrepresented workers also at the hotel, is a historic first for a hotel worker's union in North America. Congrats to

The Association of Student Employees at UCSD (ASE/UAW Local #2865) is holding a letter campaign to oppose any legislation introduced in the state or federal government suspending the rights of international students or preventing them from attending California universities. ASE/UAW played an important role in convincing Senator Feinstein to back off her proposed 6-month moratorium on student visas. Current proposals single out students from various nations, and Feinstein and Representative John Kyl (AZ) have proposed monitoring systems for international students and their families. Do not let xenophobia and paranoia intrude on the education of international students and the diversity of our campuses. ASE members can help protect the rights of these students by signing a letter. You can contact ASE via email: aseuaw@igc.org

The National Labor Relations Board found the San Diego Union-Tribune in violation of the National Labor Relations Act. There were at least eight different code violations, and a "Notice to Employees" was ordered to be posted in the paper's offices. The notice details the violations and informs the workers of their rights. Please support the boycott of the San Diego Union-Tribune until they negotiate a contract with GCIU Local 432-M, which represents 140 pressroom workers.

After the successful campaign for the right to unionize janitors at the UC San Diego campus, Students for Economic Justice are helping UTC janitors organize a living wage movement. Janitors and students took action at the UTC mall on November 13, protesting in front of the main entrance. Six mall janitors were fired by the contractor used by Westfield UTC, one of whom is a single mother with three children. Students and janitors demand the reinstatement of the six workers and a new contractor with fair business practices.

More than 1,000 members of unions died in the collapse of the WTC towers. Tens of thousands will be laid off by the airline, restaurant, and hotel industries in the following months. Congressional relief to businesses in the aftermath of the attacks does nothing to aid these workers in paying their bills or supporting their families.



dent-run store which was founded in 1980 to offer students a less expensive alternative to the high Price Center. As a student cooperative, we try to provide the University community with the best quality merchandise at the lowest prices. And we succeed!

The General Store Co-op is a stu-

The General Store Co-op carries items such as selected essential school and office supplies, household and personal items, stationery and gift wrap, clothing (including UCSD logos), and food and snack items -- all of which range from .5-25% less than anywhere else on campus.

We also sell textbooks, which are guaranteed to cost less than at the UCSD bookstore.

The General Store Co-Op is located in the Student Cooperative Center, in between the Food Co-Op and KSDT.

# Sixth College:

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These innovations are offered as events that represent, "shifts of understanding... linked to significant convergences between the arts and technologies...as key historical events that revolutionized ways of inhabiting the world"(3). In what way do these events "revolutionize ways of inhabiting the world"? And further, what is the connection between calling such events "hallmarks of cultural changes and evolution" and how do these events find expression through art? Certainly these 'hallmarks of change' have been represented in art through resistance pieces, wherein such events and technological innovations are repudiated as evolved ways of inhabiting the world.

But the focus of this college is not to find art as a vehicle for resistance, but instead as a tool of cultural production in alliance with technology, and to learn to distinguish between cultural products as valuable agents through their ability to

The second quarter is titled "Case Studies" and focuses on specific events and developments as "Agents of Change." The events that have been proposed as possible agents of change to be discussed are illuminating: the development of time measurement, gunpowder (inseparable from the origins of modern warfare), the printing press, the discovery of electricity. recording images, and the Internet (3). These 'agents of change' are also used as examples of "key historical events that revolutionized ways of inhabiting the world." One is left to wonder at the decadent use of 'revolution' and how 'inhabiting' will be used in the context of the college curricula.

These agents of change have influenced the lives of individuals in many ways, but as tools for social advancement, each are instruments for promoting business and ultimately a capitalist economy. Herein the danger lies: Will the new Sixth college be used as an alternative business school, one in which students are taught the arts in order to promote business to the detriment of cultural representation?

These kinds of technologies would ultimately prove valuable for creating a more egalitarian culture, however agents of change are not being studied in this way in the Sixth College, they are being evaluated instead as agents for business.

The third quarter course, "Working Forward (Creating Future)" enables the application of the theory learned in the previous two quarters. In this course students will be taught to "assess both the processes and results of hypothetical scenarios" in order to determine which technologies "show promise of becoming agents of change in the future"(3). The course will then "[require students] to work on projects that incorporate technological and artistic innovations in a coherent way"(3). It is unclear what type of projects will be encouraged, and how students will be graded on assessing which technologies (not art, mind you) "show promise" as "agents of change in the future."

What is also alarming is the use of "coherent" as a determination of such agents of change's chances for success. What is a 'coherent' technological and artistic innovation after all? And who determines this distinction? If one is being graded on understanding what coherent means, one must also be aware of the definition. This may be a simple question which on the surface seems unimportant, but in the world of business, 'coherent' is associated with profit earning. Then as agents of cultural change, are profit-

earning innovations being privileged over innovations which are humanitarian in scope and not-for-profit?

If there is any doubt as to the privileging of the business model for evaluating agents of change, the Academic Plan includes a statement titled, "Sixth College Partners and Collaborators." The Sixth College, according to the plan, "will work closely" with various groups including Sixth College's "partner" the "California Institute for Telecommunications and Information Technology"(9). The goal of this partnership is to "develop mutually beneficial programs" both for the college and its partners and collaborators. And in order to promote this effort, "the distinction between 'in the classroom' and 'in the field' will be blurred"(9). "Students will learn about technology, use it in and outside the classroom, and provide feedback to CAL(IT)"(9). That's right, provide feedback to CAL(IT). What feedback means in the context of this college is left undefined, leaving this to be interpreted and defined by the Sixth College's 'partners,' at the expense of the students.

In effect, students of the Sixth College will be forced to do research for CAL(IT) and its associates in exchange for course credit. This is what the planning committee for the Sixth College calls mutually beneficial. Indeed, the exchange rate for USCD students' labor is also made explicit in the addendum: "the Sixth College upper-division practicum will also benefit from this partnership because the institute as well as the industrial partners will provide research and internship oppor-

Students will pay fees and tuition in order to give free research and labor to university investors and corporate collaborators. Don't expect your ideas to be your own, the idea of patent rights for the student suddenly becomes heightened as the blurred line between inside the classroom and out also lends itself to the line between company researcher and student. Will the corporate partners own your research and any inventions born out of that research? CAL(IT) is described as a "partnership

between UC San Diego and UC Irvine, [which] seeks to ensure that California maintains its leadership in the telecommunications and information technology marketplace." How will CAL(IT)'s goal to maintain California's leadership in this marketplace affect education in the Sixth College? Who will gain from this? Is this a leadership that should be valued? Will CAL(IT), and the Sixth College as a partner of CAL(IT), help economic equality in California or will the student help the rich maintain their capital? And why would CAL(IT) be interested in educating students on the value of certain cultural 'agents of change'?

The California Institute of Telecommunications and Internet Technology (CAL(IT)2) was made possible by an initiative proposed by Governor Gray Davis in 2000, as a means to "help the State provide new capabilities to important market segments poised to be transformed by the new Internet and prototype ways to monitor and manage growth anticipated in the coming years." CAL(IT) itself is partnered with over 40 companies which are not listed by name on its website. However, the advisory board of CAL(IT) is comprised of executive personnel from New Enterprise Associates (a venture capital fund with the "largest vc fund in history"), Telcordia, Rockwell International Corporation, Applied Minds, Alliance Pharmaceutical Corp., a former Executive Director of the National Research Council, a member of the President's Information Technology Advisory Committee,

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The World Food Program, the UN program, which is the main one by far, were able to resume after 3 weeks in early October, they began to resume at a lower level, resume food shipments. They don't have international aid workers within, so the distribution system is hampered. That was suspended as soon as the bombing began. They then resumed but at a lower pace while aid agencies leveled scathing condemnations of US airdrops, condemning them as propaganda tools which are probably doing more harm than good. That happens to be quoting the London Financial Times but it is easy to continue. After the first week of bombing, the New York Times reported on a back page inside a column on something else, that by the arithmetic of the United Nations there will soon be 7.5 million Afghans in acute need of even a loaf of bread and there are only a few weeks left before the harsh winter will make deliveries to many areas totally impossible, continuing to quote, but with bombs falling the delivery rate is down to 1/2 of what is needed. Casual comment. Which tells us that Western civilization is anticipating the slaughter of, well do the arithmetic, 3-4 million people or something like that. On the same day, the leader of Western civilization dismissed with contempt, once again, offers of negotiation for delivery of the alleged target, Osama bin Laden, and a request for some evidence to substantiate the demand for total capitulation. It was dismissed. On the same day the Special Rapporteur of the UN in charge of food pleaded with the United States to stop the bombing to try to save millions of victims. As far as I'm aware that was unreported. That was Monday. Yesterday the major aid agencies OXFAM and Christian Aid and others joined in that plea. You can't find a report in the New York Times. There was a line in the Boston Globe, hidden in a story about another topic, Kashmir.

#### Silent Genocide

Well we could easily go on....but all of that....first of all indicates to us what's happening. Looks like what's happening is some sort of silent genocide. It also gives a good deal of insight into the elite culture, the culture that we are part of. It indicates that whatever, what will happen we don't know, but plans are being made and programs implemented on the assumption that they may lead to the death of several million people in the next couple of weeks....very casually with no comment, no particular thought about it, that's just kind of normal, here and in a good part of Europe. Not in the rest of the world. In fact not even in much of Europe. So if you read the Irish press or the press in Scotland...that close, reactions are very different. Well that's what's happening now. What's happening now is very much under our control. We can do a lot to affect what's happening. And that's roughly it.

#### 2. Why was it a Historic Event?

National Territory Attacked

Alright let's turn to the slightly more abstract question, forgetting for the moment that we are in the midst of apparently trying to murder 3 or 4 million people, not Taliban of course, their victims. Let's go back...turn to the question of the historic event that took place on September 11th. As I said, I think that's correct. It was a historic event. Not unfortunately because of its scale, unpleasant to

think about, but in terms of the scale it's not that unusual. I did say it's the worst... probably the worst instant human toll of any crime. And that may be true. But there are terrorist crimes with effects a bit more drawn out that are more extreme, unfortunately. Nevertheless, it's a historic event because there was a change. The change was the direction in which the guns were pointed. That's new. Radically new. So. take US history.

The last time that the national territory of the United States was under attack. or for that matter, even threatened was when the British burned down Washington in 1814. There have been many...it was common to bring up Pearl Harbor but that's not a good analogy. The Japanese, what ever you think about it, the Japanese bombed military bases in 2 US colonies not the national territory; colonies which had been taken from their inhabitants in not a very pretty way. This is the national territory that's been attacked on a large scale, you can find a few fringe examples but this is unique.

During these close to 200 years, we, the United States expelled or mostly exterminated the indigenous population, that's many millions of people, conquered half of Mexico, carried out depredations all over the region, Caribbean and Central America, sometimes beyond, conquered Hawaii and the Philippines, killing several 100,000 Filipinos in the process. Since the Second World War, it has extended its reach around the world in ways I don't have to describe. But it was always killing someone else, the fighting was somewhere else, it was others who were getting slaughtered. Not here. Not the national

In the case of Europe, the change is even

more dramatic because its history is even more horrendous than ours. We are an offshoot of Europe, basically. For hundreds of years, Europe has been casually slaughtering people all over the world. That's how they conquered the world, not by handing out candy to babies. During this period, Europe did suffer murderous wars, out that was European killers murdering one another. The main sport of Europe for hundreds of years was slaughtering one another. The only reason that it came to an end in 1945, was....it had nothing to do with Democracy or not making war with each other and other fashionable notions. It had to do with the fact that everyone understood that the next time they play the game it was going to be the end for the world. Because the Europeans, including us, had developed such massive weapons of destruction that that game just have to be over. And it goes back hundreds of years. In the 17th century, about probably 40% of the entire population of Germany was wiped out in one war.

But during this whole bloody murderous period, it was Europeans slaughtering each other, and Europeans slaughtering people elsewhere. The Congo didn't attack Belgium, India didn't attack England, Algeria didn't attack France. It's uniform. There are again small exceptions, but pretty small in scale, certainly invisible in the scale of what Europe and us were doing to the rest of the world. This is the first change. The first time that the guns have been pointed the other way. And in my opinion that's probably why you see such different reactions on the two sides of the Irish Sea which I have noticed, incidentally, in many interviews on both sides, national radio on both sides. The world looks very different depending on whether you are holding the lash or whether you are being whipped by it for hundreds of

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years, very different. So I think the shock and surprise in Europe and its offshoots, like here, is very understandable. It is a historic event but regrettably not in scale, in something else and a reason why the rest of the world...most of the rest of the world looks at it quite differently. Not lacking sympathy for the victims of the atrocity or being horrified by them, that's almost uniform, but viewing it from a different perspective. Something we might want to understand

new indicator

#### 3. What is the War Against Terrorism?

Well, let's go to the third question,

'What is the war against terrorism?' and a side question, 'What's terrorism?'. The war against terrorism has been described in high places as a struggle against a plague, a cancer which is spread by barbarians, by "depraved opponents of civilization itself." That's a feeling that I share. The words I'm quoting, however, happen to be from 20 years ago. Those are... that's President Reagan and his Secretary of State. The Reagan administration came into office 20 years ago declaring that the war against international terrorism would be the core of our foreign policy... describing it in terms of the kind I just mentioned and others. And it was the core of our foreign policy. The Reagan administration responded to this plague spread by depraved opponents of civilization itself by creating an extraordinary international terrorist network, totally unprecedented in scale, which carried out massive atrocities all over the world, primarily....well, partly nearby, but not only there. I won't run through the record, you're all educated people, so I'm sure you learned about it in High School. [crowd laughter]

#### Reagan-US War Against Nicaragua

But I'll just mention one case which

is totally uncontroversial, so we might as well not argue about it, by no means the most extreme but uncontroversial. It's uncontroversial because of the judgments of the highest international authorities the International Court of Justice, the World Court, and the UN Security Council. So this one is uncontroversial, at least among people who have some minimal concern for international law, human rights, justice and other things like that. And now I'll leave you an exercise. You can estimate the size of that category by simply asking how often this uncontroversial case has been mentioned in the commentary of the last month. And it's a particularly relevant one, not only because it is uncontroversial, but because it does offer a precedent as to how a law abiding state would respond to...did respond in fact to international terrorism, which is uncontroversial. And was even more extreme than the events of September 11th. I'm talking about the Reagan-US war against Nicaragua which left tens of thousands of people dead, the country ruined, perhaps beyond recovery.

#### Nicaragua's Response

Nicaragua did respond. They didn't respond by setting off bombs in Washington. They responded by taking it to the World Court, presenting a case, they had no problem putting together evidence. The World Court accepted their case, ruled in their favor, ordered the...condemned what they called the "unlawful use of force." which is another word for international terrorism, by the United States, ordered the United States to terminate the crime and to pay massive reparations. The United States, of course, dismissed the court judgment with total contempt and announced that it would not accept the jurisdiction of the court henceforth. Then Nicaragua

then went to the UN Security Council which considered a resolution calling on all states to observe international law. No one was mentioned but everyone understood. The United States vetoed the resolution. It now stands as the only state on record which has both been condemned by the World Court for international terrorism and has vetoed a Security Council resolution calling on states to observe international law. Nicaragua then went to the General Assembly where there is technically no veto but a negative US vote amounts to a veto. It passed a similar resolution with only the United States, Israel, and El Salvador opposed. The following year again, this time the United States could only rally Israel to the cause, so 2 votes opposed to observing international law. At that point, Nicaragua couldn't do anything lawful. It tried all the measures. They don't work in a world that is ruled

This case is uncontroversial but it's by no means the most extreme. We gain a lot of insight into our own culture and society and what's happening now by asking 'how much we know about all this? How much we talk about it? How much you learn about it in school? How much it's all over the front pages?' And this is only the beginning. The United States responded to the World Court and the Security Council by immediately escalating the war very quickly, that was a bipartisan decision incidentally. The terms of the war were also changed. For the first time there were official orders given...official orders to the terrorist army to attack what are called "soft targets," meaning undefended civilian targets, and to keep away from the Nicaraguan army. They were able to do that because the United States had total control of the air over Nicaragua and the mercenary army was supplied with advanced communication equipment, it wasn't a guerilla army in the normal sense and could get instructions about the disposition of the Nicaraguan army forces so they could attack agricultural collectives, health clinics, and so on...soft targets with impunity. Those were the official orders.

#### What was the Reaction Here?

What was the reaction? It was known. There was a reaction to it. The policy was regarded as sensible by left liberal opinion. So Michael Kinsley who represents the left in mainstream discussion, wrote an article in which he said that we shouldn't be too quick to criticize this policy as Human Rights Watch had just done. He said a "sensible policy" must "meet the test of cost benefit analysis" -- that is, I'm quoting now, that is the analysis of "the amount of blood and misery that will be poured in, and the likelihood that democracy will emerge at the other end." Democracy as the US understands the term, which is graphically illustrated in the surrounding countries. Notice that it is axiomatic that the United States, US elites, have the right to conduct the analysis and to pursue the project if it passes their tests. And it did pass their tests. It worked. When Nicaragua finally succumbed to superpower assault, commentators openly and cheerfully lauded the success of the methods that were adopted and described them accurately. So I'll quote Time Magazine just to pick one. They lauded the success of the methods adopted: "to wreck the economy and prosecute a long and deadly proxy war until the exhausted natives overthrow the unwanted government themselves," with a cost to us that is "minimal," and leaving the victims "with wrecked bridges, sabotaged power stations, and ruined farms," and thus providing the US candidate with a "winning issue": "ending the impoverishment of

the people of Nicaragua." The New York

Times had a headline saying "Americans United in Joy" at this outcome.

Terrorism is not the Weapon of the Weak

That is the culture in which we live and

it reveals several facts. One is the fact that

terrorism works. It doesn't fail. It works.

Violence usually works. That's world history. Secondly, it's a very serious analytic error to say, as is commonly done. that terrorism is the weapon of the weak. Like other means of violence, it's primarily a weapon of the strong, overwhelmingly, in fact. It is held to be a weapon of the weak because the strong also control the doctrinal systems and their terror doesn't count as terror. Now that's close to universal. I can't think of a historical exception, even the worst mass murderers view the world that way. So pick the Nazis. They weren't carrying out terror in occupied Europe. They were protecting the local population from the terrorisms of the partisans. And like other resistance movements, there was terrorism. The Nazis were carrying out counter terror. Furthermore, the United States essentially agreed with that. After the war, the US army did extensive studies of Nazi counter terror operations in Europe. First I should say that the US picked them up and began carrying them out itself, often against the same targets, the former resistance. But the military also studied the Nazi methods published interesting studies, sometimes critical of them because they were inefficiently carried out, so a critical analysis, you didn't do this right, you did that right, but those methods with the advice of Wermacht officers who were brought over here became the manuals of counter insurgency, of counter terror, of low intensity conflict, as

it is called, and are the manuals, and are the procedures that are being used. So it's not just that the Nazis did it. It's that it was regarded as the right thing to do by the leaders of western civilization, that is us, who then proceeded to do it themselves. Terrorism is not the weapon of the weak. It is the weapon of those who are against 'us' whoever 'us' happens to be. And if you can find a historical exception to that, I'd be interested in seeing it.

#### Nature of our Culture

How We Regard Terrorism

Well, an interesting indication of the nature of our culture, our high culture, is the way in which all of this is regarded. One way it's regarded is just suppressing it. So almost nobody has ever heard of it. And the power of American propaganda and doctrine is so strong that even among the victims it's barely known. I mean, when you talk about this to people in Argentina, you have to remind them. Oh, yeh, that happened, we forgot about it. It's deeply suppressed. The sheer consequences of the monopoly of violence can be very powerful in ideological and

#### The Idea that Nicaragua Might Have The Right To Defend Itself

Well, one illuminating aspect of our own attitude toward terrorism is the reaction to the idea that Nicaragua might have the right to defend itself. Actually I went through this in some detail with database searches and that sort of thing. The idea that Nicaragua might have the right to defend itself was considered outrageous.

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# GROUNDWORK

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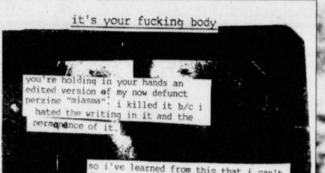
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> have three points to make on this. health, fronment, and the industry.

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

tampons and disposable pads contain harmful chemicals and substances that are no good for our vaginas, tampons are made out of rayon, which is a wood pulp derivitave. the rayon is heleached because in our society when something is white that means it is clean, pure, and sterile. tampons are far from clean. there is no sterilization process, they are made in grimey factories, stored in dirty warehouses, and transported in unclean vehicles. however, the folks who make them think that us ladies feel like we must put only pure snowy white things in our vacinas to counteract the filthiness of menstruation, so they bleach the rayon fibers.

the bleaching process leaves a poison called dioxin in the tampons. dioxin is short for tetrachlorodibenzodioxin (TYPON), dioxin is bioaccumulative, which means this chemical huilds up in our bodies - there is no way for us to expel it. dioxin causes birth defects, cancer, and headaches. in men dioxin can lower sperm count. it also weakens the immune system. the regulated "safe" level of dioxin found in tampons and pads is two and a half times higher than that of toilet paper. that doesn't make much sense to me as the amount of time a tampon or pad is in contact with your crotch is drastically higher than

the rayon fibers themselves aren't good for women. the rayon fibers shred in women's vaginas leaving not only rayon fibers behind, but also creating lacerations of the mucous removance which are conducive to the development of TSS. TSS is "S caused do to the growth of the staphylococcotsaureus or hacteria. rayon creates an ideal environment for the bi drowth of this hacteria. tampon applicators also "C scratch the vaginal walls creating an entrance to your on hlood stream for TSS division and other pleasant." CM blood stream for TSS, dioxing, and other pleasant

ested products there are surprising

miscarraiages, loss of hair, and paralysis.

tampons also absorb 90% of your vagina's natural secretions, which is linked to TSS. we have



walls produce their own fluid, which carries dead cells and other organisms out of your body, tampon absorption of natural fluids can disrupt this normal acidic environment, making you more



although disposable pads don't cause as many of the problems as tampons cause because you cant develop TSS from wearing them, they're still not the best thing you can do do for your body.
pads, like tampons, are bleached, which means pads contain disxingure wearing pads puts your vital parts in direct contact with dioxin for several days every feat

ALL & LIMINIA SHORBING AIRE

weeks. not too healthy.

INPI, FACHED COTTON TAMPONS

if you feel like you absolutely need to wear

tampons i would strongly recommend looking for

some of these. they're made out of cotton, so

you are getting away from the masty effects of

rayon in other tampons, and they're not bleached,

so there aren't any harmful chemicals like dioxin

being put into your body. they're still tampons,

and they are less convenient because they're harder to find and more expensive. a good place

to look for them would be a natural health foods

though, so you still have a risk at getting

an average woman will use between \$10,000 and 15,000 tampons or pads in her lifetime. that's a hell of a lot of trashe when you consider we're not just throwing away a tampon or a pad. we're throwing away rayon, dioxin, plastic applicators, plastic packaging, etc. about 12 billion pads and tampons are added to landfills or are incinerated each year in north america alone. in addition, many tampons (along with their applicators and wrappers) are flushed into our sewer systems. but no tampon, wrapper, applicator, or pad should ever be flushed. don't break up in the toilet or drain line.

tampons and their applicators are thrown into the cean with raw sewage and they then wash up on beaches by the thousdads.

caused serious damage to water treatment plan plastic applicators have and heaches, they effect wildlife where they wash up too, environmentalists are lobbying lawmakers to han plastic tampon applicators, claiming they pollute the ocean, kill fish and sea life, and wash



a some there free then ell other senting naphine

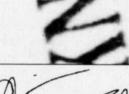


natural sea spor

they fit perfectly to the countours of your vagina and are very comfortable. the drawbacks of the sponge include the possibility of TSS, and i've found that when they start to get full they will leak if you laugh, cough, etc. so they're not for ladies with heavy flows. and if you're a

they can be purchased at health food store, art supply stores, and sometimes with cosmetics in a drug store. you can cut them to whatever size you need. it's probably a good idea to boil them hefore using them. if you are worried about having problems removing it, you can run some heavy thread though the bottom of the sponge and

hecome completely saturated you simply remove it, when you put it back in). you should probably



vegan you might be opposed to using them.

use that to pull it out. when they start to

rinse it out with warm water and mild soap (make sure you rinse it out REALLY well or it will burn water and rubbing alcohol. make sure you rinse it clean it really well at least once a day with super well this time, or the rubbing alcohol will set your crotch on fire. \*\* --- 8

hecause the insertion process is a bit

you get a little instruction sheetwhen you order

'm not going to go into all of the details right now.

24649

MEAT STRETCHING

MB A11



But sometimes it's the other way round ... daughter discovers

the new things first es, many a mother has been accessed o have her daughter come home from ollege or office with the news about lampax... It is so near and dainty.
t is worn internally, so it cannot be detected. It really sets you free every month from pins, belta and external

Why not keep young in spirit by long what the younger ones do? lampax has real standing, Perfected y a doctor, it is made of pure surgical

ton, very absorbent and compressed dainty, bygienic, one-time-due ap-ators that make insertion quick leasy. No chaining, no budging, no w, no embarrassing disposal prob-ble. No sanitary deodorant required.

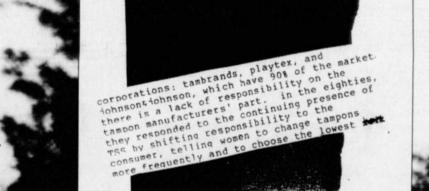
Wear Tampax in tub, shower, pool or ocean. Sold at drug stores and onion counters in three absorbencies tegular, Super, Junior. Introductory ize, 206. Economy package lasts

MPAX INCORPORATED BIL 23-W Person of the control of the control

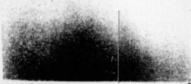
- 114

the industry

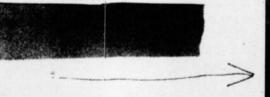
key word here, industry. let me define that. my dictionary says "commercial production and sale of goods." they're making money selling us their goods. they're making lots of money. 7 for a box of rayon inside cardboard tubes? never really used disposable pads very frequently, but i'm sure their price is far from reasonable. the tampon industry is worth about 9650 million in the united states alone. most of the money goes to three major



suitable absorbency, rather than try to make their products more healthy by removing the bleaching process, or offering more information on TSS than the tiny slip of paper that came in the box and was promptly thrown away, usually



these extravagantly high prices, unnecesary risks to our health, and excessive packaging are part of the exploitation of women by the tampon industry. most women, however, feel that they have no alternatives, and so they continue to use tampons and disposable pads. there are, however, numerous EFFECTIVE and DOACTICAL alternatives.



sten five: pin it all together

vour fabric sten seven: turn the pad inside out. now all the stitches should be inside of thepad, iron it flat. step eight: sew snaps on the wings of the pad (velcro works too) step nine; sew a line of stitches all the way

rest of the pad. sten ten: fold the insert in thirds andput it inside the pad.



the b keeper collects blood, it doesn't absorb anything. that means you get to keep all of your mob'secretions and they do trair intended job of

sten six: sew all the wayalong the outside edge of

through the pad to divide each wing from the

11 1

----

if that was all really confusing, you can send me a stamp and i'll mail you the pattern and instructions



the keeper is a small reusable menstrual cup. i've had mine for about 5 months. I like it.

eding your vagina healthy and infection free.

CONSUMERS' INFORMATION

420 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. own order use it for 10 years before it starts to fall the poart. The only reason you would have to replace it in that 10 yrs would be if you got pregnant the country of the poart. on use it for 10 years before it starts to fall

white white and can be seen to have a new one that's a different white white white had can be seen to see a month. As opposed to \$6 or \$1 his basis down to 25c a month. As opposed to \$6 or \$1 his basis down to 25c a month. you don't like the keeper you hve a 3 months poriod in which would can return it and get your money returned. CET THIS PREE GOIDE to become

the keeper doesn't have any scary dioxins or chemic-to nut in your body. however, there is a risk of ntracting TSS because the bacteria that causes TSS res to the latex that the keeper is made out of. he risk of contracting tas from a keeper is much

han that of a tampon. it's supposed to be compar

tiny risk, especially since your vital lube stuff isn'

the obher drawbacks of the keeper are it can be ifficult to get the hang of when you first get it

F AVI

hetter for the environment than normal disposable pads. they're madefrom sometype of soft material, which means that they don't go through a bleaching

process, so no dioxins or other chemicals messing un your hody. there is no risk of TSS from using these, they don't absorb all of your natural secretions, so the normal environment of your vagina doesn't get fucked up. if you're woman enough to wash your own pads, these are definite

enough to wash your own pads, these are definitely the way to go. the drawbacks are they are not as. convenient when you're out doingstuff and they're not as cool if you don't own a washing machine,

hecause hand washing only doesn'treally cut it.

you can either make your own or buy them. i've eard that glad rags makes some mighty fine pads, so if you're interested you can write them at seepersx inc.//po box 12648//portland, oregon 17712 and ask them for a catalogue, they have website, too: http://www.qladrags.com. don't be an asshole, if you write them for a catalogue

give them a stamp or two to mail it to you. you send me \$1 i'll make you a pad. or i can try to explain how to makethem here and you can make yourown pad if you're the handy with a sewing machine type of girl.

terry cloth

step one: cut out all of your pattern pieces. the liner fabric should be sewn around the edges so it doesn't fray.

step two: take the piecesof fabric for the back of the pad (there should be two) and fold the long edge in 1.5 cm. fold itso the "bad" side of the fabric is folded inside. then tuck .5 cm of that folded bit so that the cut edge is hiddeninside the fold. iron it to make it stay. ironing helps a lot.

step three: sew along your folded edge so that it will not come unfolded and unraveled. do this for hoth pieces. step four: take the big front piece and lay it on the table so the niceside is facing upwards. then place the two pieces that are sewn already on top of it all so all the edges match. it's good if the two hack pieces overlap. all of the nice sides of the fabric should be inside.

LEAD INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

1158 26th SANTA MONICA, CA 90403 to tell her what size you want. size A if you have had

\* she has a cool websile on this shienit at http://www.randomgirl.com/keeper.html

### Chomsky:

continued from page 5

There is virtually nothing in mainstream commentary indicating that Nicaragua might have that right. And that fact was exploited by the Reagan administration and its propaganda in an interesting way. Those of you who were around in that time will remember that they periodically. floated rumors that the Nicaraguans were getting MIG jets, jets from Russia. At that point the hawks and the doves split. The hawks said, 'ok, let's bomb 'em.' The doves said, 'wait a minute, let's see if the rumors are true. And if the rumors are true, then let's bomb them. Because they are a threat to the United States.' Why, incidentally were they getting MIGs. Well they tried to get jet planes from European countries but the United States put pressure on its allies so that it wouldn't send them means of defense because they wanted them to turn to the Russians. That's good for propaganda purposes. Then they become a threat to us. Remember, they were just 2 days march from Harlingen, Texas. We actually declared a national emergency in 1985 to protect the country from the threat of Nicaragua. And it stayed in force. So it was much better for them to get arms from the Russians. Why would they want jet planes? Well, for the reasons I already mentioned. The United States had total control over their airspace, was over flying it and using that to provide instructions to the terrorist army to enable them to attack soft targets without running into the army that might defend them. Everyone knew that that was the reason They are not going to use their jet planes for anything else. But the idea that Nicaragua should be permitted to defend its airspace against a superpower attack that is directing terrorist forces to attack undefended civilian targets, that was considered in the United States as outrageous and uniformly so. Exceptions are so slight, you know I can practically list them. I don't suggest that you take my word for this. Have a look. That includes our own ' senators, incidentally

#### Honduras

The Appointment of John Negroponte as Ambassador to the United Nations

Another illustration of how we regard terrorism is happening right now. The US has just appointed an ambassador to the United Nations to lead the war against terrorism a couple weeks ago. Who is he? Well, his name is John Negroponte. He was the US ambassador in the fiefdom, which is what it is, of Honduras in the early 1980's. There was a little fuss made about the fact that he must have been aware, as he certainly was, of the largescale murders and other atrocities that were being carried out by the security forces in Honduras that we were supporting. But that's a small part of it. As proconsul of Honduras, as he was called there, he was the local supervisor for the terrorist war based in Honduras, for which his government was condemned by the world court and then the Security Council in a vetoed resolution. And he was just appointed as the UN Ambassador to lead the war against terror. Another small experiment you can do is check and see what the reaction was to this. Well, I will tell you what you are going to find, but find it for yourself. Now that tells us a lot about the war against terrorism and a lot

After the United States took over the country again under the conditions that were so graphically described by the press, the country was pretty much destroyed

in the 1980's, but it has totally collapsed since in every respect just about. Economically it has declined sharply since the US take over, democratically and in every other respect. It's now the second poorest country in the Hemisphere. I should say... .I'm not going to talk about it, but I mentioned that I picked up Nicaragua because it is an uncontroversial case. If you look at the other states in the region, the state terror was far more extreme and it again traces back to Washington and that's by no means all.

### US & UK Backed South African

It was happening elsewhere in the world too, take say Africa. During the Reagan years alone, South African attacks, backed by the United States and Britain, US/UKbacked South African attacks against the neighboring countries killed about a million and a half people and left 60 billion dollars in damage and countries destroyed. And if we go around the world, we can add more examples.

Now that was the first war against terror of which I've given a small sample. Are we supposed to pay attention to that? Or kind of think that that might be relevant? After all it's not exactly ancient history. Well, evidently not as you can tell by looking at the current discussion of the war on terror which has been the leading topic for the

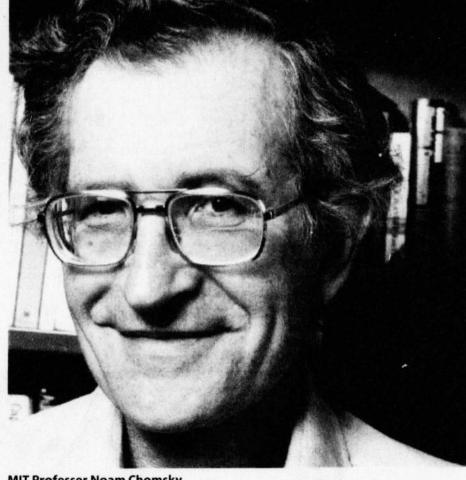
#### Haiti, Guatemala, and Nicaragua

I mentioned that Nicaragua has now become the 2nd poorest country in the hemisphere. What's the poorest country? Well that's of course Haiti which also happens to be the victim of most US intervention in the 20th century by a long shot. We left it totally devastated. It's the poorest country. Nicaragua is second ranked in degree of US intervention in the 20th century. It is the 2nd poorest. Actually, it is vying with Guatemala. They interchange every year or two as to who's the second poorest. And they also vie as to who is the leading target of US military intervention. We're supposed to think that all of this is some sort of accident. That is has nothing to do with anything that happened in history. Maybe.

#### Colombia and Turkey

The worst human rights violator in the 1990's is Colombia, by a long shot. It's also the, by far, the leading recipient of US military aid in the 1990's maintaining the terror and human rights violations. In 1999, Colombia replaced Turkey as the leading recipient of US arms worldwide, that is excluding Israel and Egypt which are a separate category. And that tells us a lot more about the war on terror right now,

Why was Turkey getting such a huge flow of US arms? Well if you take a look at the flow of US arms to Turkey, Turkey always got a lot of US arms. It's strategically placed, a member of NATO, and so on. But the arms flow to Turkey went up very sharply in 1984. It didn't have anything to do with the cold war. I mean Russian was collapsing. And it stayed high from 1984 to 1999 when it reduced and it was replaced in the lead by Colombia. What happened from 1984 to 1999? Well, in 1984, [Turkey] launched a major terrorist war against Kurds in southeastern Turkey. And that's when US aid went up, military aid. And this was not pistols. This was jet planes, tanks, military training, and so on. And it stayed high as the atrocities escalated through the 1990's, Aid followed it. The peak year was 1997. In 1997. US military aid to Turkey was more than in the entire period 1950 to 1983,



**MIT Professor Noam Chomsky** 

that is the cold war period, which is an indication of how much the cold war has affected policy. And the results were awesome. This led to 2-3 million refugees. Some of the worst ethnic cleansing of the late 1990's. Tens of thousands of people killed, 3500 towns and villages destroyed, way more than Kosovo, even under NATO. bombs. And the United States was providing 80% of the arms, increasing as the atrocities increased, peaking in 1997. It declined in 1999 because, once again, terror worked as it usually does when carried out by its major agents, mainly the powerful. So by 1999, Turkish terror, called of course counter-terror, but as I said, that's universal, it worked. Therefore Turkey was replaced by Colombia which had not yet succeeded in its terrorist war. And therefore had to move into first place as recipient of US arms.

#### Self Congratulation on the Part of Western Intellectuals

Well, what makes this all particularly striking is that all of this was taking place right in the midst of a huge flood of self-congratulation on the part of Western intellectuals which probably has no counterpart in history. I mean you all remember it. It was just a couple years ago. Massive self-adulation about how for the first time in history we are so magnificent; that we are standing up for principles and values; dedicated to ending inhumanity everywhere in the new era of this-and-that. and so-on-and-so-forth. And we certainly can't tolerate atrocities right near the borders of NATO. That was repeated over and over. Only within the borders of NATO where we can not only can tolerate much worse atrocities but contribute to them. Another insight into Western civilization and our own, is how often was this brought up? Try to look. I won't repeat it. But it's instructive. It's a pretty impressive feat for a propaganda system to carry this off in a free society. It's pretty amazing. I don't think you could do this in a totalitarian

#### Turkey is Very Grateful

And Turkey is very grateful. Just a few days ago, Prime Minister Ecevit announced that Turkey would join the coalition against terror, very enthusiastically, even more so than others. In fact, he said they would contribute troops which others have not willing to do. And he

explained why. He said, We owe a debt of gratitude to the United States because the United States was the only country that was willing to contribute so massively to our own, in his words "counter-terrorist" war, that is to our own massive ethnic cleansing and atrocities and terror. Other countries helped a little, but they stayed back. The United States, on the other hand, contributed enthusiastically and decisively and was able to do so because of the silence, servility might be the right word, of the educated classes who could easily find out about it. It's a free country after all. You can read human rights reports. You can read all sorts of stuff. But we chose to contribute to the atrocities and Turkey is very happy, they owe us a debt of gratitude for that and therefore will contribute troops just as during the war in Serbia. Turkey was very much praised for using its F-16's which we supplied it to bomb Serbia exactly as it had been doing with the same planes against its own population up until the time when it finally succeeded in crushing internal terror as they called it. And as usual, as always, resistance does include terror. Its true of the American Revolution. That's true of every case I know. Just as its true that those who have a monopoly of violence talk about themselves as carrying out counter terror.

#### The Coalition

Including Algeria, Russia, China,

Now that's pretty impressive and that has to do with the coalition that is now being organized to fight the war against terror. And it's very interesting to see how that coalition is being described. So have a look at this morning's Christian Science Monitor. That's a good newspaper. One of the best international newspapers, with real coverage of the world. The lead story, front-page story, is about how the United States, you know people used to dislike the United States but now they are beginning to respect it, and they are very happy about the way that the US is leading the war against terror. And the prime example, well in fact the only serious example, the others are a joke, is Algeria. Turns out that Algeria is very enthusiastic about the US war against terror. The person who wrote the article is an expert on Africa. He must know that Algeria is

continued next page

one of the most vicious terrorist states in the world and has been carrying out horrendous terror against its own population in the past couple of years, in fact. For a while, this was under wraps. But it was finally exposed in France by defectors from the Algerian army. It's all over the place there and in England and so on. But here, we're very proud because one of the worst terrorist states in the world is now enthusiastically welcoming the US war on terror and in fact is cheering on the United States to lead the war. That shows

new indicator

how popular we are getting. And if you look at the coalition that is being formed against terror it tells you a lot more. A leading member of the coalition is Russia which is delighted to have the United States support its murderous terrorist war in Chechnya instead of occasionally criticizing it in the background. China is joining enthusiastically. It's delighted to have support for the atrocities it's carrying out in western China against, what it called, Muslim secessionists. Turkey, as I mentioned, is very happy with the war against terror. They are experts. Algeria, Indonesia delighted to have even more US support for atrocities it is carrying out in Ache and elsewhere. Now we can run through the list, the list of the states that have joined the coalition against terror is quite impressive. They have a characteristic in common. They are certainly among the leading terrorist states in the world. And they happen to be led by the world champion.

#### What is Terrorism?

Well that brings us back to the question, what is terrorism? I have been assuming we understand it. Well, what is it? Well, there happen to be some easy answers to this. There is an official definition. You can find it in the US code or in US army manuals. A brief statement of it taken from a US army manual, is fair enough, is that terror is the calculated use of violence or the threat of violence to attain political or religious ideological goals through intimidation, coercion, or instilling fear. That's terrorism. That's a fair enough definition. I think it is reasonable to accept that. The problem is that it can't be accepted because if you accept that, all the wrong consequences follow. For example, all the consequences I have just been reviewing. Now there is a major effort right now at the UN to try to develop a comprehensive treaty on terrorism. When Kofi Annan got the Nobel prize the other day, you will notice he was reported as saying that we should stop wasting time on this and really get down to it.

official definition of terrorism in the comprehensive treaty you are going to get be done. In fact, it is even worse than that. If you take a look at the definition of Low Intensity Warfare which is official US policy you find that it is a very close paraphrase of what I just read. In fact, Low Intensity Conflict is just another name for terrorism. That's why all countries, as far as I know, call whatever horrendous acts they are carrying out, counter terrorism. We happen to call it Counter Insurgency or Low Intensity Conflict. So that's a serious problem. You can't use the actual definitions. You've got to carefully find a definition that doesn't have all the wrong consequences.

But there's a problem. If you use the

#### Why did the United States and Israel Vote Against a Major Resolution Condemning Terrorism?

There are some other problems. Some of them came up in December 1987, at the peak of the first war on terrorism, that's when the furor over the plague was peak-

ing. The United Nations General Assembly passed a very strong resolution against terrorism, condemning the plague in the strongest terms, calling on every state to fight against it in every possible way. It passed unanimously. One country, Honduras abstained. Two votes against; the usual two, United States and Israel. Why should the United States and Israel vote against a major resolution condemning terrorism in the strongest terms, in fact pretty much the terms that the Reagan administration was using? Well, there is a reason. There is one paragraph in that long resolution which says that nothing in this resolution infringes on the rights of people struggling against racist and colonialist regimes or foreign military occupation to continue with their resistance with the assistance of others, other states, states outside in their iust cause. Well, the United States and Israel can't accept that. The main reason that they couldn't at the time was because of South Africa. South Africa was an ally, officially called an ally. There was a terrorist force in South Africa. It was called the African National Congress. They were a terrorist force officially. South Africa in contrast was an ally and we certainly couldn't support actions by a terrorist group struggling against a racist regime. That would be impossible And of course there is another one.

Namely the Israeli occupied territories, now going into its 35th year. Supported primarily by the United States in blocking a diplomatic settlement for 30 years now, still is. And you can't have that. There is another one at the time. Israel was occupying Southern Lebanon and was being combated by what the US calls a terrorist force, Hizbullah, which in fact succeeded in driving Israel out of Lebanon. And we can't allow anyone to struggle against a military occupation when it is one that we support so therefore the US and Israel had to vote against the major UN resolution on terrorism. And I mentioned before that a US vote against...is essentially a veto. Which is only half the story. It also vetoes it from history. So none of this was every reported and none of it appeared in the annals of terrorism. If you look at the scholarly work on terrorism and so on, nothing that I just mentioned appears. The reason is that it has got the wrong people holding the guns. You have to carefully hone the definitions and the scholarship and so on so that you come out with the right conclusions; otherwise it is not respectable scholarship and honorable journalism. Well, these are some of problems that are hampering the effort to develop a comprehensive treaty against terrorism. Maybe we should have an academic conference or something to try to see if we can figure out a way of defining terrorism so that it comes out with just the right answers, not the wrong a That won't be easy.

#### 4. What are the Origins of the September 11 Crime?

Well, let's drop that and turn to the 4th question, What are the origins of the September 11 crimes? Here we have to make a distinction between 2 categories which shouldn't be run together. One is the actual agents of the crime, the other is kind of a reservoir of at least sympathy, sometimes support that they appeal to even among people who very much oppose the criminals and the actions. And those are 2 different things.

#### Category 1: The Likely Perpetrators

Well, with regard to the perpetrators, in a certain sense we are not really clear. The United States either is unable or unwilling to provide any evidence, any meaningful evidence. There was a sort of a play a

week or two ago when Tony Blair was set up to try to present it. I don't exactly know what the purpose of this was. Maybe so that the US could look as though it's holding back on some secret evidence that it can't reveal or that Tony Blair could strike proper Churchillian poses or something or other. Whatever the PR [public relations] reasons were, he gave a presentation which was in serious circles considered so absurd that it was barely even mentioned. So the Wall Street Journal, for example, one of the more serious papers had a small story on page 12, I think, in which they pointed out that there was not much evidence and then they quoted some high US official as saying that it didn't matter whether there was any evidence because they were going to do it anyway. So why bother with the evidence? The more ideological press, like the New York Times and others, they had big front-page headlines. But the Wall Street Journal reaction was reasonable and if you look at the socalled evidence you can see why. But let's assume that it's true. It is astonishing to me how weak the evidence was. I sort of thought you could do better than that without any intelligence service [audience laughter]. In fact, remember this was after weeks of the most intensive investigation in history of all the intelligence services of the western world working overtime trying to put something together. And it was a prima facie, it was a very strong case even before you had anything. And it ended up about where it started, with a prima facie case. So let's assume that it is true. So let's assume that, it looked obvious the first day, still does, that the actual perpetrators come from the radical Islamic, here called, fundamentalist networks of which the bin Laden network is undoubtedly a significant part. Whether they were involved or not nobody knows. It doesn't really matter much.

#### Where did they come from?

That's the background, those networks. Well, where do they come from? We know all about that. Nobody knows about that better than the CIA because it helped organize them and it nurtured them for a long time. They were brought together in the 1980's actually by the CIA and its associates elsewhere: Pakistan, Britain, France, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, China was involved, they may have been involved a little bit earlier, maybe by 1978. The idea was to try to harass the Russians, the common enemy. According to President Carter's National Security Advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, the US got involved in mid 1979. Do you remember, just to put the dates right, that Russia invaded Afghanistan in December 1979. Ok. According to Brzezinski, the US support for the mojahedin fighting earlier. He is very proud of that. He says we drew the Russians into, in his words an Afghan trap, by supporting the mojahedin, getting them to invade, getting them into the trap. Now then we could develop this terrific mercenary army. Not a small one, maybe 100,000 men or so bringing together the best killers they could find, who were radical Islamist fanatics from around North Africa, Saudi Arabia... anywhere they could find them. They were often called the Afghanis but many of them, like bin Laden, were not Afghans. They were brought by the CIA and its friends from elsewhere. Whether Brzezinski is telling the truth or not, I don't know. He may have been bragging, he is apparently very proud of it, knowing the consequences incidentally. But maybe it's true. We'll know someday if the documents are ever released. Anyway, that's his perception. By January 1980 it is not even

### Sixth College:

continued from page 4

and four professors.

In addition to student involvement with CAL(IT) as part of the curricula, one of the upper division requirements is to take the Project Component. Students have three avenues for completing this requirement, among which the following suggestions are offered: construction of an interactive video game; development of a business plan for a product or service, and pitching the plan to a panel of business representatives; and, internship in a company, cultural institution or non-profit organization in which the student has significant responsibility (26).

The Sixth College contains tremendous potential for those students who wish to use UCSD resources in order to create art with technology. However, we may indeed witness the rupture of the definition of art in this century, as technology is seen as inseparable from artistic production, and may even bypass non-technological works of art entirely; changing the meaning of art as to only include those products which include technology in production. Perhaps, with the State's interest in "provid[ing] new capabilities to important market segments" to help California's leadership in the technology marketplace, technology itself will become the new artform studied in the Sixth College.

So maybe no one is shedding a tear for the exclusion of fingerpainting in this new artform, but what must be remembered is that as soon as art is defined through monetary means (art made with technology demands monetary resources) only those with money (& power) may be seen as the cultivators of art. And if this happens, and art is linked with cultural representation, those cultures who lack the power and money to create this new artform may be left in the cultural dustbin of history, one in which the powers that be are free to decimate certain cultures simply through

There may be no cultural representation for those without money and power in this new artform. Maybe the Sixth College should instead be used to expand the definition of art, rather than eliminating those forms which do not include wireless technology, internet access and the technological 'agents of change' of the future. Whatever the future may hold for the Sixth College, the possibilities for subversion abound.

In fact, the call for subversion is perhaps most important right now. The Sixth College is still in planning stages, and nothing is set in stone just yet. If we are the people who will be creating the cultural agents of change of the future, then it is up to us to decide right now, whether or not we want a college which will act as a playground for corporate investment and research. This is not a playground, this is our school. I hesitate to use metaphors of war, but I think that what we must do is envision UCSD as a battlefield, one in which the enemy is guiding our education with their capital interests in mind. If the Sixth College does not yet exist, then we have the power to change the curriculum and interests of the college. After all, don't you think you should have been asked as to what might be the most valuable area of research for a new college at UCSD? Why weren't you asked?

It is indeed time to mobilize. We must revolutionize the ways in which we and the administration and corporate interests inhabit UCSD...

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in doubt that the US was organizing the Afghanis and this massive military force to try to cause the Russians maximal trouble. It was a legitimate thing for the Afghans to fight the Russian invasion. But the US intervention was not helping the Afghans. In fact, it helped destroy the country and much more. The Afghanis, so called, had their own...it did force the Russians to withdrew, finally. Although many analysts believe that it probably delayed their withdrawal because they were trying to get out of it. Anyway, whatever, they did with-

Meanwhile, the terrorist forces that the CIA was organizing, arming, and training were pursuing their own agenda, right away. It was no secret. One of the first acts was in 1981 when they assassinated the President of Egypt, who was one of the most enthusiastic of their creators. In 1983, one suicide bomber, who may or may not have been connected, it's pretty shadowy, nobody knows. But one suicide bomber drove the US army-military out of Lebanon. And it continued. They have their own agenda. The US was happy to mobilize them to fight its cause but meanwhile they are doing their own thing. They were clear very about it. After 1989, when the Russians had withdrawn, they simply turned elsewhere. Since then they have been fighting in Chechnya, Western China, Bosnia, Kashmir, South East Asia, North Africa, all over the place.

#### They Are Telling Us What They Think

They are telling us just what they think. The United States wants to silence the one free television channel in the Arab world because it's broadcasting a whole range of things from Powell over to Osama bin Laden. So the US is now joining the repressive regimes of the Arab world that try to shut it up. But if you listen to it, if you listen to what bin Laden says, it's worth it. There is plenty of interviews. And there are plenty of interviews by leading Western reporters, if you don't want to listen to his own voice, Robert Fisk and others. And what he has been saying is pretty consistent for a long time. He's not the only one but maybe he is the most eloquent. It's not only consistent over a long

there is every reason to take it seriously. Their prime enemy is what they call the corrupt and oppressive authoritarian brutal regimes of the Arab world and when the say that they get quite a resonance in the region. They also want to defend and they want to replace them by properly Islamist governments. That's where they lose the people of the region. But up till then, they are with them. From their point of view, even Saudi Arabia, the most extreme fundamentalist state in the world, I suppose, short of the Taliban, which is an offshoot, even that's not Islamist enough for them. Ok, at that point, they get very little support, but up until that point they get plenty of support. Also they want to defend Muslims elsewhere. They hate the Russians like poison, but as soon as the Russians pulled out of Afghanistan, they stopped carrying out terrorist acts in Russia as they had been doing with CIA backing before that within Russia, not just in Afghanistan. They did move over to Chechnya. But there they are defending Muslims against a Russian invasion. Same with all the other places I mentioned. From their point of view, they are defending the Muslims against the infidels. And they are very

time, it is consistent with their actions. So

### Why did they turn against the United

clear about it and that is what they have

Now why did they turn against the United States? Well that had to do with what they call the US invasion of Saudi Arabia. In 1990, the US established permanent military bases in Saudi Arabia which from their point of view is comparable to a Russian invasion of Afghanistan except that Saudi Arabia is way more important. That's the home of the holiest sites of Islam. And that is when their activities turned against the Unites States. If you recall, in 1993 they tried to blow up the World Trade Center. Got part of the way, but not the whole way and that was only part of it. The plans were to blow up the UN building, the Holland and Lincoln tunnels, the FBI building. I think there were others on the list. Well, they sort of got part way, but not all the way. One person who is jailed for that, finally, among the people who were jailed, was a Egyptian cleric who had been brought into the United States over the objections of the Immigration Service, thanks to the

intervention of the CIA which wanted to help out their friend. A couple years later he was blowing up the World Trade Center. And this has been going on all over. I'm not going to run through the but it's, if you want to understand it, it's consistent. It's a consistent picture. It's described in words. It's revealed in practice for 20 years. There is no reason not to take it seriously. That's the first category,

### Category 2: What about the reservoir

What about the reservoir of support?

Well, it's not hard to find out what that

is. One of the good things that has hap-

pened since September 11 is that some

of the press and some of the discussion has begun to open up to some of these things. The best one to my knowledge is the Wall Street Journal which right away began to run, within a couple of days, serious reports, searching serious reports, on the reasons why the people of the region, even though they hate bin Laden and despise everything he is doing, nevertheless support him in many ways and even regard him as the conscience of Islam, as one said. Now the Wall Street Journal and others, they are not surveying public opinion. They are surveying the opinion of their friends: bankers, professionals, international lawyers, businessmen tied to the United States, people who they interview in MacDonalds restaurant, which is an elegant restaurant there, wearing fancy American clothes. That's the people they are interviewing because they want to find out what their attitudes are. And their attitudes are very explicit and very clear and in many ways consonant with the message of bin Laden and others. They are very angry at the United States because of its support of authoritarian and brutal regimes; its intervention to block any move towards democracy; its intervention to stop economic development; its policies of devastating the civilian societies of Iraq while strengthening Saddam Hussein; and they remember, even if we prefer not to, that the United States and Britain supported Saddam Hussein right through his worst atrocities, including the gassing of the Kurds, bin Laden brings that up constantly, and they know it even if we don't want to. And of course their support for the Israeli military occupation which is harsh and brutal. It is now in its 35th year. The US has been providing the overwhelming economic, military, and diplomatic support for it, and still does. And they know that and they don't like it. Especially when that is paired with US policy towards Iraq, towards the Iraqi civilian society which is getting destroyed. Ok, those are the reasons roughly. And when bin Laden gives those reasons, people recognize it and support it. Now that's not the way people here

like to think about it, at least educated liberal opinion. They like the following line which has been all over the press, mostly from left liberals, incidentally. I have not done a real study but I think right wing opinion has generally been more honest. But if you look at say at the New York Times at the first op-ed they ran by Ronald Steel, serious left liberal intellectual. He asks Why do they hate us? This is the same day, I think, that the Wall Street Journal was running the survey on why they hate us. So he says "They hate us because we champion a new world order of capitalism, individualism, secularism, and democracy that should be the norm everywhere." That's why they hate us. The same day the Wall Street Journal is surveying the opinions of bankers, professionals, international lawyers and saying 'look, we hate you because you are blocking democracy, you are preventing ecobrutal regimes, terrorist regimes and you are doing these horrible things in the region.' A couple days later, Anthony Lewis, way out on the left, explained that the terrorist seek only "apocalyptic nihilism," nothing more and nothing we do matters. The only consequence of our actions, he says, that could be harmful is that it makes it harder for Arabs to join in the coalition's anti-terrorism effort. But beyond that, everything we do is irrele-

Well, you know, that's got the advantage of being sort of comforting. It makes you feel good about yourself, and how wonderful you are. It enables us to evade the consequences of our actions. It has a couple of defects. One is it is at total variance with everything we know. And another defect is that it is a perfect way to ensure that you escalate the cycle of violence. If you want to live with your head buried in the sand and pretend they hate us because they're opposed to globalization, that's why they killed Sadat 20 years ago, and fought the Russians, tried to blow up the World Trade Center in 1993. And these are all people who are in the midst of corporate globalization but if you want to believe that, yeh...comforting. And it is a great way to make sure that violence escalates. That's tribal violence. You did something to me, I'll do something worse to you. I don't care what the reasons are. We just keep going that way. And that's a way to do it. Pretty much straight, left-

#### 5. What are the Policy Options?

What are the policy options? Well, there are a number. A narrow policy option from the beginning was to follow the advice of really far out radicals like the Pope [audience laughter]. The Vatican immediately said look it's a horrible terrorist crime. In the case of crime, you try to find the perpetrators, you bring them to justice, you try them. You don't kill innocent civilians. Like if somebody robs my house and I think the guy who did it is probably in the neighborhood across the street, I don't go out with an assault rifle and kill everyone in that neighborhood. That's not the way you deal with crime, whether it's a small crime like this one or really massive one like the US terrorist war against Nicaragua, even worse ones and others in between. And there are plenty of precedents for that. In fact, I mentioned a precedent, Nicaragua, a lawful, a law abiding state, that's why presumably we had to destroy it, which followed the right principles. Now of course, it didn't get anywhere because it was running up against a power that wouldn't allow lawful procedures to be followed. But if the United States tried to pursue them, nobody would stop them. In fact, everyone would applaud. And there are plenty of other

#### **IRA Bombs in London**

When the IRA set off bombs in London, which is pretty serious business, Britain could have, apart from the fact that it was unfeasible, let's put that aside, one possible response would have been to destroy Boston which is the source of most of the financing. And of course to wipe out West Belfast. Well, you know, quite apart from the feasibility, it would have been criminal idiocy. The way to deal with it was pretty much what they did. You know, find the perpetrators; bring them to trial; and look for the reasons. Because these things don't come out of nowhere. They come from something. Whether it is a crime in the streets or a monstrous terrorist crime

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or anything else. There's reasons. And usually if you look at the reasons, some of them are legitimate and ought to be addressed, independently of the crime, they ought to be addressed because they are legitimate. And that's the way to deal with it. There are many such examples.

But there are problems with that. One problem is that the United States does not recognize the jurisdiction of international institutions. So it can't go to them. It has rejected the jurisdiction of the World Court. It has refused to ratify the International Criminal Court. It is powerful enough to set up a new court if it wants so that wouldn't stop anything. But there is a problem with any kind of a court, mainly you need evidence. You go to any kind of court, you need some kind of evidence. Not Tony Blair talking about it on television. And that's very hard. It may be impossible to find.

You know, it could be that the people

who did it, killed themselves. Nobody

#### Leaderless Resistance

knows this better than the CIA. These are decentralized, nonhierarchic networks. They follow a principle that is called Leaderless Resistance. That's the principle that has been developed by the Christian Right terrorists in the United States. It's called Leaderless Resistance. You have small groups that do things. They don't talk to anybody else. There is a kind of general background of assumptions and then you do it. Actually people in the anti war movement are very familiar with it. We used to call it affinity groups. If you assume correctly that whatever group you are in is being penetrated by the FBI, when something serious is happening, you don't do it in a meeting. You do it with some people you know and trust, an affinity group and then it doesn't get penetrated. That's one of the reasons why the FBI has never been able to figure out what's going on in any of the popular movements. And other intelligence agencies are the same. They can't. That's leaderless resistance or affinity groups, and decentralized networks are extremely hard to penetrate. And it's quite possible that they just don't know. When Osama bin Laden claims he wasn't involved, that's entirely possible. In fact, it's pretty hard to imagine how a guy in a cave in Afghanistan, who doesn't even have a radio or a telephone could have planned a highly sophisticated operation like that. Chances are it's part of the background. You know, like other leaderless resistance terrorist groups. Which means it's going to be extremely difficult to find evidence.

#### **Establishing Credibility**

And the US doesn't want to present evidence because it wants to be able to do it, to act without evidence. That's a crucial part of the reaction. You will notice that the US did not ask for Security Council authorization which they probably could have gotten this time, not for pretty reasons, but because the other permanent members of the Security Council are also terrorist states. They are happy to join a coalition against what they call terror, namely in support of their own terror. Like Russia wasn't going to veto, they love it. So the US probably could have gotten Security Council authorization but it didn't want it. And it didn't want it because it follows a long-standing principle which is not George Bush, it was explicit in the Clinton administration, articulated and goes back much further and that is that we have the right to act

unilaterally. We don't want international authorization because we act unilaterally and therefore we don't want it. We don't care about evidence. We don't care about negotiation. We don't care about treaties. We are the strongest guy around; the toughest thug on the block. We do what we want. Authorization is a bad thing and therefore must be avoided. There is even a name for it in the technical literature. It's called establishing credibility. You have to establish credibility. That's an important factor in many policies. It was the official reason given for the war in the Balkans and the most plausible reason.

You want to know what credibility

means, ask your favorite Mafia Don. He'll

explain to you what credibility means. And it's the same in international affairs, except it's talked about in universities using big words, and that sort of thing. But it's basically the same principle. And it makes sense. And it usually works. The main historian who has written about this in the last couple years is Charles Tilly with a book called Coercion, Capital, and European States. He points out that violence has been the leading principle of Europe for hundreds of years and the reason is because it works. You know, it's very reasonable. It almost always works. When you have an overwhelming predominance of violence and a culture of violence behind it. So therefore it makes sense to follow it. Well, those are all problems in pursuing lawful paths. And if you did try to follow them you'd really open some very dangerous doors. Like the US is demanding that the Taliban hand over Osama bin Laden. And they are responding in a way which is regarded as totally absurd and outlandish in the west, namely they are saying, Ok, but first give us some evidence. In the west, that is considered ludicrous. It's a sign of their criminality. How can they ask for evidence? I mean if somebody asked us to hand someone over, we'd do it tomorrow. We wouldn't ask for any evidence. [crowd laughter].

In fact it is easy to prove that. We don't have to make up cases. So for example, for the last several years, Haiti has been requesting the United States to extradite Emmanuel Constant. He is a major killer. He is one of the leading figures in the slaughter of maybe 4000 or 5000 people in the years in the mid 1990's, under the military junta, which incidentally was being, not so tacitly, supported by the Bush and the Clinton administrations contrary to illusions. Anyway he is a leading killer. They have plenty of evidence. No problem about evidence. He has already been brought to trial and sentenced in Haiti turn him over. Well, I mean do your own research. See how much discussion there has been of that. Actually Haiti renewed the request a couple of weeks ago. It wasn't even mentioned. Why should we turn over a convicted killer who was largely responsible for killing 4000 or 5000 people a couple of years ago. In fact, if we do turn him over, who knows what he would say. Maybe he'll say that he was being funded and helped by the CIA. which is probably true. We don't want to open that door. And he is not he only one.

I mean, for the last about 15 years, Costa Rica which is the democratic prize, has been trying to get the United States to hand over a John Hull, a US land owner in Costa Rica, who they charge with terrorist crimes. He was using his land, they claim with good evidence as a base for the US war against Nicaragua, which is not a controversial conclusion, remember. There is the World Court and Security Council behind it. So they have been trying to get the United States to hand him over. Hear about that one? No.

They did actually confiscate the land of another American landholder, John Hamilton. Paid compensation, offered compensation. The US refused. Turned his land over into a national park because his land was also being used as a base for the US attack against Nicaragua. Costa Rica was punished for that one. They were punished by withholding aid. We don't accept that kind of insubordination from allies. And we can go on. If you open the door to questions about extradition it leads in very unpleasant directions. So that can't

#### Reactions in Afghanistan

Well, what about the reactions in Afghanistan. The initial proposal, the initial rhetoric was for a massive assault which would kill many people visibly and also an attack on other countries in the region. Well the Bush administration wisely backed off from that. They were being told by every foreign leader, NATO, everyone else, every specialist, I suppose, their own intelligence agencies that that would be the stupidest thing they could possibly do. It would simply be like opening recruiting offices for bin Laden all over the region. That's exactly what he wants. And it would be extremely harmful to their own interests. So they backed off that one. And they are turning to what I described earlier which is a kind of silent genocide. It's a .... well, I already said what I think about it. I don't think anything more has to be said. You can figure it out if you do the arithmetic. A sensible proposal which is kind of

on the verge of being considered, but it has been sensible all along, and it is being raised, called for by expatriate Afghans and allegedly tribal leaders internally, is for a UN initiative, which would keep the Russians and Americans out of it, totally. These are the 2 countries that have practically wiped the country out in the last 20 years. They should be out of it. They should provide massive reparations. But that's their only role. A UN initiative to bring together elements within Afghanistan that would try to construct something from the wreckage. It's conceivable that that could work, with plenty of support and no interference. If the US insists on running it, we might as well quit. We have a historical record on that one.

You will notice that the name of this operation....remember that at first it was going to be a Crusade but they backed off that because PR (public relations) agents told them that that wouldn't work faudience laughter]. And then it was going to wait a minute, you are sounding like you into insignificance. Thanks.

are divinity. So that wouldn't work. And then it was changed to enduring freedom. We know what that means. But nobody has yet pointed out, fortunately, that there is an ambiguity there. To endure means to suffer. [audience laughter]. And a there are plenty of people around the world who have endured what we call freedom. Again, fortunately we have a very wellbehaved educated class so nobody has yet pointed out this ambiguity. But if its done there will be another problem to deal with But if we can back off enough so that some more or less independent agency, maybe the UN, maybe credible NGO's (non governmental organizations) can take the lead in trying to reconstruct something from the wreckage, with plenty of assistance and we owe it to them. Them maybe something would come out. Beyond that, there are other problems.

### An Easy Way To Reduce The Level Of

We certainly want to reduce the level of terror, certainly not escalate it. There is one easy way to do that and therefore it is never discussed. Namely stop participating in it. That would automatically reduce the level of terror enormously. But that you can't discuss. Well we ought to make it possible to discuss it. So that's one easy way to reduce the level of terror.

Beyond that, we should rethink the kinds of policies, and Afghanistan is not the only one, in which we organize and train terrorist armies. That has effects. We're seeing some of these effects now. September 11th is one. Rethink it.

Rethink the policies that are creating a reservoir of support. Exactly what the bankers, lawyers and so on are saying in places like Saudi Arabia. On the streets it's much more bitter, as you can imagine. That's possible. You know, those policies aren't graven in stone.

And further more there are opportunities. It's hard to find many rays of light in the last couple of weeks but one of them is that there is an increased openness. Lots of issues are open for discussion, even in elite circles, certainly among the general public, that were not a couple of weeks ago. That's dramatically the case. I mean, if a newspaper like USA Today can run a very good article, a serious article, on life in the Gaza Strip...there has been a change. The things I mentioned in the Wall Street Journal...that's change. And among the general public, I think there is much more openness and willingness to think about things that were under the rug and so on. These are opportunities and they should be used, at least by people who accept the goal of trying to reduce the level of violence and terror, including potential threats that are extremely severe and could make even September 11th pale



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The Ché Café is located on the Revelle campus behind the Undergraduate library and down the hill from Stonehenge. We're the building with all the murals on it.

Collective Meetings are 8:30pm Thursday nights at the Ché Café. Open to all.

# Unjust conditions in maquiladoras linked to global trade

An event took place last week in the Middle East that will affect the lives of billions worldwide and millions locally, but it was not widely reported nor did it have anything to do with bombs falling in Afghanistan. This event was the new round of global trade negotiations undertaken by World Trade Organization in the capital of Quatar, an emirate in the Persian Gulf. The meeting took place out of the reach of protestors and has already been labeled the most important round of trade negotiations since the W.T.O. was established in 1993. This means that transnational corporations will enjoy the boon of trade liberalization while workers in the Third World will witness a deterioration of their working conditions, rights and environment. A report by the Los Angeles Times stated, "one lightning rod issue, the application of First World labor standards in developing countries, seemed to have fallen off the table all together." This means that more of the world's working class will be subjected to the working conditions prevalent in the maquiladora zone along the U.S./ Mexico border, the result of trade liberalization in North America; furthermore, the struggle for fair compensation and safe working conditions seems a far more formidable task in areas like Tijuana, Baja California where the maquiladora industry has transformed the landscape and the economy.

Maquiladoras are assembly plants that turn out finished goods such as televisions, cell phones or vacuum cleaners for transnational corporations like Panasonic, Sanyo and Sony. In fact, as a sign among the myriad assembly plants in Otay Mesa proudly displays in English, Tijuana is the "television capital of the world," turning out more than a million sets a year. The free trade zone along the border offers the incentive of cheap labor and little regulatory oversight while eliminating tariffs for export to the countries where their products are meant to be consumed. Since the inception of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994 Tijuana has experienced an exponential growth in the maquiladora industry, which at one point sustained over 3,700 plants and employed over 1.4 million workers, though these numbers have slightly fallen off. Sold as a blessing of trade liberalization, the jobs created by this industry still pay less than subsistence wages and subject workers, especially the 70 percent on the assembly lines who are women, to a litany of indig-

The application for an assembly line worker at Matsushita, the parent company of Panasonic, reveals the discrimination and harassment that women workers are subjected to from day one. Women are asked to state their religion, number of dependents, marital status, height, weight, if they are pregnant, and finally they must submit a recent photograph. As an advertisement for assembly line positions at a Panasonic plant bluntly states, only women between 16 and 35 need apply, blatant age and sex discrimination that encounters little legal recourse. Nonetheless, the offenses only begin there, and upon employment women are subjected to an invasive physical exam and a pregnancy test followed by another one month later. Pregnancy or other physical impediments result in termination. The maguiladora bosses are looking for people capable of working ten to twelve hours at a time performing repetitive tasks, and more importantly they need desperate workers who will accept low wages and fear reprisals for organizing.

Workers are paid by the day, and their shifts are generally based on a varying

quota of output with no hour limit. This often means shifts of ten hours or more six days a week. The average weekly wage for a maquiladora worker is about 550.00 pesos, or 60 dollars; according to 1998 figures, the margin for extreme poverty in Baja California is 840.55 pesos, or about 90 dollars. Even this meager amount is deceptive because in many plants workers are compensated with coupons that

absconded out of the Panasonic plant by workers curious to know what the warning label, written only in English, said. When the following was translated they had little doubt about the origin of the lesions and skin discoloration they suffer:

Short-term exposure to high concentration may cause brain damage. Long-term exposure can cause birth defects or

WAHNING
Short-term exposure to high concentrations may cause brain damage, Long-term exposure can cause birth defects or other reproductive damage, central nervous system damage, kidney damage and anemia. Exposure can cause skin and eye initial.

This product contains a chemical known to the State of Callian to cause birth defects or other reproductive harm.

Hermful if inhaled or ingested.
Use only with adequate ventilation or respiratory protection, Avoid contact with eyes, skin and clothing. Wash thoroughly as use and before eating, drinking or amoking.

In case of contact, flush eyes with water for at least 15 minutes and wash skin with soap and water. In the event of accidental ingestion, get immediate medical attention.

MADE IN USA

"Sparkle Paste" soldering paste used in maquiladoras

can only be redeemed in supermarket chains in which the maquiladora owners are invested. Usually the supermarkets are too far from work or home for workers without transportation and the coupons are redeemed in *aborrotes*, or corner stores, where devaluation is possible. According to paycheck stubs from the Panasonic plant, these company store coupons make up about one fifth of the total pay.

Sixty dollars in Tijuana does not buy much more than it does in San Diego because of the inflation caused by U.S. tourist dollars spent in the border city. This means families with only one income can barely afford to feed their families, much less pay for daycare or public school tuition. This is a devastating situation for the many single mothers who work in the industry while suffering from little legal empowerment to seek child support from absent fathers. In such cases women must find a second job in similar conditions while their children lack supervision and care at home.

Low wages and impertinent inquiries are not the only violations of workers' rights that occur in maquiladoras; the health of workers is constantly at risk by unsafe working conditions and toxic chemicals. Assembly lines are run at an unsafe pace and safety procedures are often bypassed to speed up production. This can lead to serious injuries to workers who desperately try to keep up while on their initial probation period. At a recent discussion given at U.C.S.D., Jaime Cota, director of the Centro de Información para Trabajadores y Trabajadoras A.C. (C.I.T.T.A.C.), spoke about the case of a thirteen-year-old girl whose hand was severed while working under such conditions in a textile maquiladora. It was her first day on the job and she was working to pay for her tuition and school uniform. These injuries are not uncommon, and there are rarely adequate medical facilities at the plants to treat them.

A small container of soldering paste used on circuit boards was recently

other reproductive damage, central nervous system damage, kidney damage and anemia. Exposure can cause skin and eye irritation.

This product contains chemicals known to the state of California to cause birth defects or other reproductive harm.

Harmful if inhaled or ingested.

Use only with adequate ventilation or respiratory protection.

Avoid contact with eyes, skin and clothing. Wash thoroughly after use and before eating, drinking or smoking.

In case of contact, flush eyes with water for at least fifteen minutes and wash skin with soap and water. In the event of accidental ingestion, get immediate medical attention.

Workers report that the on-site nurse for the Panasonic plant has recently offered workers pills for the ailments attributed to the toxic chemicals. They are not told what the pills are, and those who have taken them report no improvement.

These offenses are not limited to thou-

sands that work in the Matsushifa and Panasonic plants; they are endemic to the maquiladora system and the direct result of unchecked trade liberalization. The recent crisis north of the border has proven how vulnerable Third World workers are to the vicissitudes of the global market. Workers throughout the Tijuana maquiladora industry report abrupt layoffs and plant closings as the transnationals prepare for a declining demand for their wares. Before September 11, it wasn't uncommon to find a new job within three days; now the average is three weeks. This is devastating for those who can already ill-afford to lose even one day of work. Just as in the U.S., the factory owners are invoking the current crisis while protecting their profits. Meanwhile, the masses that were promised a share in the global economic boon by the W.T.O. are left to fend for themselves.

Nevertheless, the maquiladora sector makes up almost half of all exports from Mexico, and there are designs, such as President Fox's Plan Puebla-Panama, to model the entire Mexican economy on these exploitative assembly plants. La Jornada reported on November 17, 2001 that the Mexican Secretary of Labor, Carlos Abascal Carranza, intends to use the maguiladora industry as a model for labor relations throughout Mexico. Abascal affirmed that the maquiladoras are something that Mexican industry "should pride itself on," and that the sector has been unfairly "satanized" by false accusations of abuse. His announcements are a prelude to intended reforms of the Federal Labor Law, reforms that are being designed in consultation with the National Council of the Maquiladora Export Industry. Independent union input is absent from the dialogue. Abascal will bring his farcical neoliberal parade to Tijuana on November 26, where he will hold a conference of maquiladora owners and illegitimate unions. A protest by independent unions, environmentalists and global justice groups is expected

Please call or write the Panasonic human resources office in San Diego and demand to know why they are poisoning their workers in Tijuana:

> 2602 Hoover Av. National City, CA 19150 Phone: (619) 474-7980 Fax: (619) 336-2501

Information for this article provided by the Centro de Información para Trabajadores y Trabajadoras A.C.. For more information please e-mail Jaime Cota at cittac@hotmail.com.

