

**INSIDE:** Mary Hartman on Nicaraguan Elections  
 Students Fight Fee Increases Across U.S.  
 Strike at U-Mass

# new indicator

Volume 15, Number 12

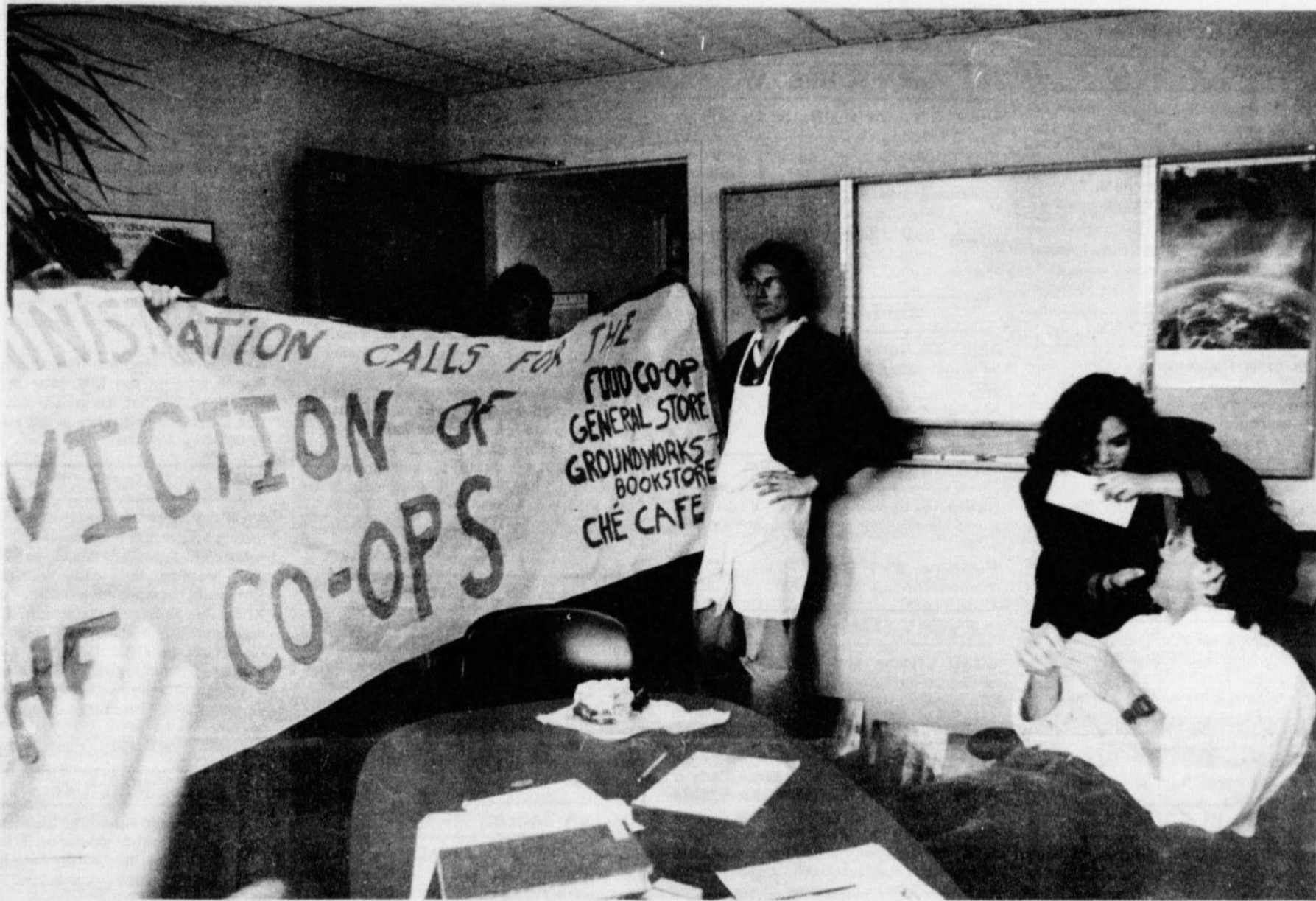
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## UCSD Co-ops Stand Up For Student Rights

Confronted by growing public outrage, the administration has softened the tone, if not the content, of its eviction threats against the student co-ops. Declaring the locks on co-op doors to be "interim construction locks," University Center Director Jim Carruthers told co-op members that the university will put its own locks on co-op doors while waiting for the lease issue to be resolved. The co-ops have had their own locks on their doors since 1980, when a UCSD police officer was caught stealing cash from Groundwork Books after gaining entry with a university-supplied key.

The University Center Board (UCB) and the co-ops negotiated a lease which both parties find satisfactory. It gives the administration three keys to each co-op for access in case of emergency, but otherwise gives each co-op control over its own keys. What makes the administrators insist on having their lock on the co-ops' doors? When asked, they are deliberately vague about what they have in mind. "It's a facilities management issue" has become Carruthers' favorite slogan recently. The recent experience of the Che Cafe, forced to put a university lock on its door in spring 1988, is less vague. Collective members were immediately locked out of their own building, as Carruthers tried to limit the restaurant's hours of operation and restrict events programming.

This was later seen to be merely the first stage of a larger effort to destroy the Che Cafe completely. The Che was soon required to fill out a "blue form" to get administration approval for programming in its own space. These "blue forms" would often sit for over a month on administrators' desks before being acted on. The Che was next forced to sell tickets through the box office. This required the collective to pay two people from the Price Center to do work members used to do themselves as volunteers. The box office people were often unable to provide prospective patrons with information about events, and were sometimes rude. The university also took its time paying musicians and sound technicians, where the Che used to just write them a check at the end of a performance. One sound technician still had not been paid by the university more than a year after his gig.

Today, due to strong community support, the Che is surviving. But it has had to rely upon programming events at locations other than the restaurant, and on the sale of sandwiches to the Food Co-op to make-up lost sales from greatly reduced hours of operation. The administration's behavior towards the Che shows why the other co-ops feel that giving up control over access to their facilities would be the beginning of the end for them.

A larger issue than this has emerged: will students lose all control

over their "self-assessed" fees to the administration? The UCB, comprised of appointed student representatives, is charged with allocating space in student fee-funded buildings on this campus, and the administration is trying to usurp their authority by making eviction threats against the co-ops. The UCB has expressly forbidden the administration to evict the co-ops, and has vowed to refuse to allocate the co-ops' space to any other organization should the administration evict the co-ops anyway.

The Graduate Student Association has adopted a resolution calling upon Chancellor Atkinson to uphold the decisions of the UCB, and implement the UCB/co-op approved lease. The Associated Students are expected to vote soon on

an identical resolution. The co-ops will be asking all academic departments at UCSD to also adopt this resolution.

Meanwhile, the dispute is attracting attention in Sacramento. The University of California Students Association and the California State Students Association (representing the California State University system) maintain legislative lobby offices there. In the wake of recent massive student fee increases, approved at several UC campuses under questionable elections procedures, the lobbyists and the state legislators are looking at administrative manipulation of student fee elections, and the impact of these fee increases upon economic access to higher education.

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## Unifying weekend in Washington sets the stage for future struggle

The student mobilization for the National Organization for Women (NOW) Rally in Washington, D.C. represented an important turning point for the Progressive Student Network (PSN). The rally and march to the Supreme Court had the largest turnout of PSN activists to any national action to date and the leadership was provided solely by the Women's Caucus!

Many PSN women had left the previous NOW mobilization of last April feeling less than empowered by the experience, 1400 miles is a long way to travel to feel lousy. The PSN analyzed and discussed and then discussed some more to determine just where and how we had gone wrong. Hindsight gave all of us the vision to see how we wanted the November weekend to take place. The Women's Caucus learned that assuming the events of that April weekend would revolve around women does not make it so.

Energy generated by the Women's Caucus meeting in Urbana last July provided the enthusiasm for the creation of a position paper on reproductive freedom and plans to coordinate a Student Meeting, Contingent and March in D.C. The women of the PSN were resolved to travel to D.C. and determined to broaden the agenda by infusing anti-racist, anti-classist and anti-homophobic perspectives into the reproductive rights demands. So we set in motion our own pro-active agenda for the weekend, taking nothing for granted this time.

Sometimes even the best laid plans don't assure success, at least that's what we were thinking as activists began to file into the church basement where the meeting was held. Perhaps getting all sixteen of these different organizations in one room hadn't been the best idea. Yet as woman after woman speaker gave their solidarity messages we began to relax. In each speech there was an echo of the last. Looking around the room during the small group discussions and seeing people talking excitedly will be one of our most vivid recollections. The ideas we exchanged there in that room will fuel our energy in this struggle.

At the student contingent the next day we concentrated on getting our message out by distributing our position paper and selling more than 300 "Abortion is Not the Only Issue" t-shirts. Our huge "Students United for Reproductive Freedom" banner in rainbow colors could be seen clearly to mark our gathering place. Later in the afternoon we assembled behind the banner

"I absolutely loved the PSN march to the Supreme Court, it was the most unifying, active and important part of the whole weekend."

Andrea Askowitz,  
Progressive Student Alliance,  
University of Pennsylvania

and prepared to march.

Marching across "the Mall" from the Rally site, heading for the Supreme Court, all 600 of us must have been a sight to see. As Andrea Askowitz from the University of Pennsylvania-Philadelphia Progressive Student Alliance explains, "I absolutely loved the PSN March to the Supreme Court, it was the most unifying, active and important part of the whole weekend." And women from Northwestern University's Peace Project added, "The feeling of actually doing something and focusing on the Supreme Court gave us all a sense of why we were in D.C." The security provided by the women of PSN was fantastic as the march progressed militantly to the Supreme Court steps. Once we arrived we chanted as our second banner was unfurled. The Supreme Court was successfully "Condemned due to insensitivity to Women."

So many women in leadership, so many people turning out for a mobilization, so much unity and collectivity and so many scared looks on cops' faces! What a combination! The PSN is in great shape now, and to make all our work a continued success we need to be looking towards the future. Someday soon we will see as much women's leadership in PSN mobilizations for anti-intervention issues or anything else we decide to struggle for. Until then we can enjoy the memories of a powerful weekend.

Editorial by the Women's Caucus of Progressive Students at UIC.

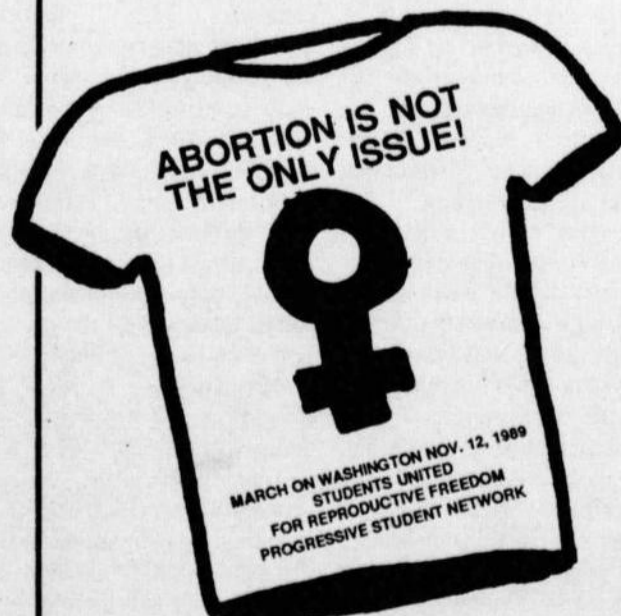


Guerrilla theater was a popular activity at the November 12 march as many people dressed up and performed skits to emphasize their points. Bush, Rehnquist, the Church and the State were all favorite targets of satire and ridicule.

photos by Alix O'Gorman



## RAINBOW REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM T - SHIRTS



Four-color women's symbol on front with "Abortion is not the only issue!" and commemoration of Nov. 12 Rally for Women's Lives.

### Back reads:

We demand: access to safe, legal abortion, effective birth control, sex education and AIDS treatment; full economic rights for all women; end sterilization abuse; reproductive freedom for lesbians, gays and bisexuals.

100% cotton. Size: Large or X-Large.

Send \$10.00 plus \$2.50 postage and handling to:

PSN, 1031 N. Wolcott, Chicago, IL 60622.

# A Reproductive Freedom Agenda

At the 3rd meeting of the Women's Caucus of the Progressive Student Network, we discussed at length the ways in which we, as a predominantly white student activist network, could incorporate a broader perspective and an anti-racist perspective into our reproductive rights work. The following draft of a working position paper is a result of that discussion. While our "position" remains largely on paper, we are committed to working towards a time when our practice will better reflect the policy of this paper. As guides for this paper, we referred to *Women Under Attack*, Chapter 1, "What is Reproductive Freedom" by the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA), ed. Susan E. Davis (Boston: South End Press pamphlet no. 7, 1988), and the Principles of Unity from the Reproductive Rights National Network (R2N2).

We recognize that our position on Reproductive Freedom isn't original, that it comes from more than two decades of dialogue and struggle in the women's movement. It is our hope that this paper reflects that struggle and will help guide us in carrying the struggle forward, even though at this moment in the summer of 1989, our primary battle is to defend our already limited right to safe and legal abortion.

## ABORTION IS NOT THE ONLY ISSUE

A working position paper on Reproductive Freedom by The Women's Caucus of the Progressive Student Network

The continuing struggle to define, defend and expand reproductive rights has been portrayed as a single issue, focusing on the legality of abortion, without regard to any other aspect of our reproductive rights, or the social, economic and political contexts in which abortion exists. This limited portrayal does not account for the fact that access to abortion has been denied to women of color and low-income, poor and working and young women before and more so after the Hyde Amendment was passed in 1977. The current attack on abortion rights is one aspect of a larger attack on reproductive freedom and fertility control, and must be viewed in the context of a system of oppression that divides women on the basis of race and national origin, class, sexual



preference, age, and physical condition. Unless we begin to challenge this system, the struggle for reproductive freedom will only benefit women already in positions of privilege.

It is our belief that without an inclusive definition of reproductive freedom, and an understanding of the history of the struggle for reproductive rights and of the women's movement, we will only perpetuate divisions which exist among women. The following points are what we consider as preconditions for reproductive

freedom, without which it cannot be considered that complete reproductive freedom exists.

- We must have access to safe, legal abortion, effective birth control, reproductive technology, sex education and accurate information about AIDS and funding - from the federal or state government, University or private insurance - for our reproductive rights. Our legal rights exist in the abstract and nothing more if we don't have access, funding and support. We oppose the Hyde Amendment, parental and spousal notification, or any other legal barriers.

- We must have full economic rights if we are to have reproductive rights, including equal wages for women, adequate housing, quality public health and child care, welfare benefits, and education for ourselves and our children. A woman's decision to have a child should be supported and guaranteed, as should her decision not to have a child.

- We oppose all forms of sterilization abuse, and the genocidal use of sterilization against women of color and Third World women. The decision to become sterilized must be based on informed consent, and sterilization must not be used as a form of population control.



- Lesbians and bisexual women must have full reproductive freedom, without homophobic oppression against us. We must have the freedom to choose our sexual preference, and the right to become mothers as well, including access to artificial insemination and adoption, with our right to custody equally recognized and respected.

- Ultimately, women will not have complete reproductive freedom until all forms of oppression against us have been eliminated. As long as racist oppression exists, women of color will not have reproductive freedom, and likewise with sexist oppression.

- Reproductive freedom for women of color internationally is linked to their rights to self-determination as women and as nations. Overpopulation is not the cause of the world's problems, and we must fight against genocidal policies and practices being used under the guise of family planning. We must also fight against this view within the women's movement in the US.

Using this definition as a guide to our work, we hope to represent the interests of all women. We recognize that this definition of reproductive freedom originated from a long and difficult struggle both within the women's movement and against our oppressors, and it is our hope that by adopting it, we are respecting and learning from that struggle, and not attempting to take credit for it. We also recognize that in practice, our work only represents who we are: a student organization with predominantly white and privileged membership. Thus we do not claim to speak for the entire women's movement, nor can any other individual or organization claim to speak for the entire movement or for all women. Women are a diverse group with vastly different backgrounds, and there are as many voices as there are individuals. Furthermore we believe that this diversity can be a strength - not a weakness - if we practice respect for and acceptance of our differences. Any individual or organization that claims to speak for all women in effect is perpetuating divisions between women; racist oppression, class oppression and homophobia.

We are a student formation, and our purpose is to organize among students and youth. We believe in a grassroots approach to our organizing, using a variety of tactics, from militant direct action to lobbying our elected officials. Building coalitions and alliances where we have common ground is central to building unity and eventually achieving a unified voice for the women's and reproductive rights movements. This means not just asking for endorsements of our rallies and events, but participating equally, working together from the beginning - before deciding the politics of our work - with women and organizations with whom we don't always share the same perspective, or backgrounds.

The movement for women's reproductive freedom and for our liberation did not end when the Roe vs. Wade decision was handed down. It is our task to learn from the history of that struggle; from the failures as well as the victories, and it is our sincere hope that we can contribute both to carrying out the day to day tasks and to carrying the struggle forward in the interests of all women.



## Joining the Progressive Student Network

If you would like to receive information about chapter affiliation, or PSN structure and activities, just write to the address below.

This four-page special reproductive freedom issue has been published as a supplement to the Jan.-Feb. 1990 issue of the Progressive Student News. Ad rates: \$5 per column inch. Published four times a year by the:

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# Students Fight Fee Hikes,

## N.I.C. NOTE:

*Deteriorating services. False advertising. Outrageous prices.*

*These are some of the charges students are making against the industry of higher education.*

*Since 1978, tuitions at American public universities have risen 23 percent in constant dollars. Private school tuitions have risen 35 percent. In return, students say they get fewer professors, fewer course sections and more registration headaches. Many also claim that they must spend more than the advertised four years in school to complete an undergraduate degree.*

*Student leaders today are applying the same standards to their schools as consumer advocates apply to merchants, landlords and service professionals. They are demanding a quality product in exchange for their tuition dollar.*

## Universities' "Huddled Masses" Fight Class Overcrowding

By Christopher C. Blanker

(NSNS) As students pay skyrocketing tuitions, many are taking action against a trend they fear is damaging the quality of their education: overcrowding.

The overcrowding of America's colleges and universities, they say, is more than an inconvenience. Students at such schools as the University of Rhode Island, the University of Texas-Austin and Rutgers University (NJ) argue it is robbing them of instruction, detouring them from the courses they want to take, and prolonging their college careers by a semester or a year.

The most direct cause of overcrowding on many campuses has been the decline and misuse of state funding of education. Some student leaders also see the root of the problem in the growing role of corporations in financing higher education.

"There's a real crisis in the higher education system," says Julianne Marley, executive director of the United States Student Association. "Public universities are providing an education for fewer people, with less quality and at a higher price."

### Rhode Island Students Protest Overcrowding

On January 25th, 500 students at the University of Rhode Island (URI) in Kingston marched to protest the loss of faculty and services that have accompanied massive state budget cuts.

Student anger grew earlier this fall when the Rhode Island Legislature cut \$1.6 million from URI's budget. The school must now cut another \$1.4 million by June 30th. The cuts have forced the school to halt new library acquisitions, reduce the number of student jobs on campus, and cut courses from the catalogue.

"A lot of students say they cannot get into the classes they need to graduate," says Stephen Greenley, editor of URI's student newspaper, *The Good Five Cent Cigar*. "They say they need to go to the [URI] extension in Providence to complete requirements."

At the demonstration, students emphasized their concern that as enrollment at URI expands, the school has failed to hire new professors and open new sections for popular classes. The result has been too many students taught by fewer and less capable instructors.

### Students Fear Professors "Teaching by Proxy"

The protest at URI is only the most recent example of students acting to protect their investment of thousands of dollars in tuition.

Warren Fletcher, director of the California State Student Association, cites a number of schools in the California State University system that have accepted a flood of new students, but have provided little expansion in services.

"Clearly, in California, we have a problem where there are a lot of people who want to attend school but the services can't handle them," says Fletcher. "The state Legislature needs to expand the school system."

Scott Pruitt, a member of the Florida State Body of the Student Presidents, sees many of the same problems of understaffing and overcrowding in Florida's public universities. As the size of classes grows, explains Pruitt, students' access to professors is cut off. In some cases, professors never meet students, read their papers, or grade their performance; graduate student teaching assistants are their only link to the student body.

### Teaching Versus Research

Leonard Minsky, executive director of the National Coalition for Universities in the Public Interest, sees rising tuition rates and decreasing services as a result of schools rushing for research dollars. The trend, he says, affects public and private universities across the country.

Minsky argues that changes in tax and patent laws from 1978 to 1980 encouraged corporations to invest their research dollars in universities. Schools, eager to attract these dollars, began spending more on departments appealing to industry — like chemistry and computer sciences — and less on humanities.

Unfortunately, even the science and math majors lose out eventually, says Minsky. Schools must bid against industry for the services of prestigious faculty members. Once on staff, these professors do little teaching and drain the departments' budgets for hiring additional instructors.

### Five-Year Degree Becoming the Norm

The overcrowding problem also has forced many students to spend more time in school before they can graduate. Many students find that they cannot get into the courses they need to complete core requirements or their majors within the traditional four years.

A study soon to be released by the U.S. Department of Education shows that students are taking longer to complete their undergraduate education than in the past.

The study compares high school graduates who went directly to college from the classes of 1972 and 1980. Of the class of '72, 31 percent completed their college degree within four years. For 1980 graduates, that number fell to 22 percent. Student leaders around the country agree that for many, undergraduate education is becoming a five-year program.

At the University of Texas at Austin, students recently took steps to address this problem. Over the past year, hundreds of students at UT staged demonstrations to protest the lack of classes in required courses. Many seniors complained of their inability to graduate on time.

The shortage of classes, say students, is the result of a student-faculty ratio that has risen to 22-1 — well above the 17-1 typical of major state universities.

The student protests appear to have moved the university to action. The school announced January 8th that it has added more than 8,800 seats in the spring semester to the undergraduate classes most sought by students.

### Students Campaign for State Funding

As in Rhode Island, the growth of class sizes and the difficulty of getting into required courses is often a direct result of reduced and misapplied state spending, according to student leaders. Students in several states are taking action to convince legislatures to re-evaluate public spending on colleges and universities.

At the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, thousands of students stayed out of classes for a week last semester in a campaign to restore state spending for higher education. The boycott followed a massive protest on the steps of the Massachusetts Statehouse October 18th in which students from 29 state colleges and universities protested higher education budget cuts that have totaled roughly \$96 million in the last three years.

At Rutgers, the state university system in New Jersey, students have focused their attention not just on the amount, but also the way in which state funds are spent by administrators.

The Coalition for Affordable Rutgers Education (CARE) last semester released a report on how the university spends money and how resources can be better used for quality teaching, says Mike Kirkbridge, a leader in Rutgers' student government.

"Students at Rutgers find it extremely difficult to get into the classes they need," says Kirkbridge. "The state needs to 'reprioritize' how it spends its money to meet the needs of students and professors."

Currently, a New Jersey Senate subcommittee is investigating Rutgers' budget and spending practices. CARE plans to present its information packet to the subcommittee within the next several weeks.

While many student leaders from around the country identify overcrowding as a serious problem on their campus, it often is presented only as a footnote to problems of rising tuition and lack of state funding for education.

That trend may soon change, however. A student conference held at Syracuse University last fall focused on the action undergraduates can take to improve the quality of teaching. That gathering resulted in the creation of a new campus organization, Undergraduates for Better Education, committed to addressing the issue of decreased services.

The National Coalition for Universities in the Public Interest also will conduct a conference this spring at Oberlin College in Ohio. There, the focus will be on the corporatization of the university and how students can fight increasing tuition and declining services.

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# Anarchism and "the left"



By Keith Preston

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In addition to the false but well-worn stereotype of anarchism as an ideology of terrorism and chaos, many people, including many professed anarchists, continue to make no significant distinction between anarchism, or libertarian socialism, and the other schools of radical political thought commonly grouped under the heading of "The Left".

The failure of many anarchists to develop a more thorough critique of authoritarian forms of radicalism has weakened the anarchist movement's position as an alternative to those progressive ideologies which accept the state, political parties, and hierarchy.

This failure has created confusion in the minds of many newer, less experienced anarchists as well as persons who might be otherwise sympathetic to anarchist principles and goals.

All authoritarian statist approaches to "socialism" have consistently proven themselves to be cable of nothing but tyranny and treachery of the vilest sort.

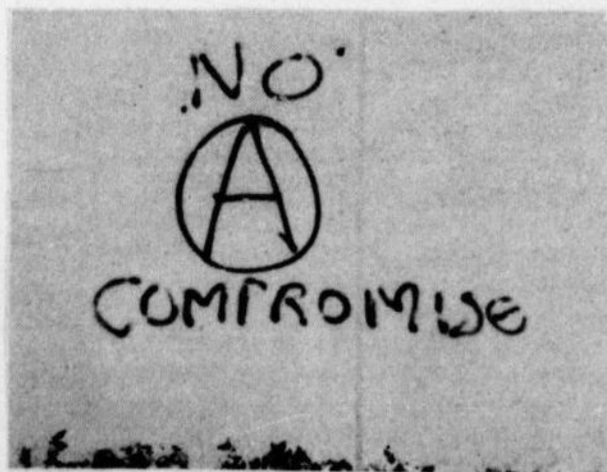
Every time that anarchists have attempted to form any sort of alliance with the authoritarian left, the result has been the same subversion of libertarian principles, the victory of the counter revolution, and the deaths of thousands of anarchist comrades.

Even today, when the lessons of the Russian, Chinese, Spanish, and Cuban revolutions should be foremost in the mind's of anarchists, many brothers and sisters remain silent as the futility of the conventional left becomes ever more apparent.

While many of these comrades profess to understand and oppose the insidious nature of Leninist ideology, their actions speak louder than their words.

Witness, for example, the abundant anarchist support for the so-called "national liberation" movements of the third world. Never mind that whenever these movements have come to power the end result has almost always been the oppression of workers, peasants, indigenous peoples, and of all the groups whose freedom anarchists are the champions.

It is a great tragedy that anarchists fall



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into the trap of the rest of the left. During the 1920's and 1930's, many leftists praised Stalin's regime as "The Paradise Regained", while Uncle Joe was at the same time liquidating workers and peasants and forming alliances with none other than Adolf Hitler.

In the 1960's, Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Mihn, and Mao Tse-Tung, became the latest left wing saviors as no one but the brain dead Trotskyists could any longer see any positive features in the Soviet Regime.

Today, with the Chinese state shooting student protesters in the streets and Cuban workers receive death sentences for attempting to form independent unions, leftists in search of a Mecca have turned toward the latest third world nationalist paradise, Nicaragua, which is ruled by a nine man military junta and has suppressed strikes and peasant land seizures, jailed dissident and union activists, forcibly removed indigenous peoples from their homelands, supported the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, imposed censorship and military conscription.

Many anarchists have also adopted the contemporary leftist infatuation with vanguardist, guerilla forces such as El Salvador's FMLN and the African National Congress (ANC).

While anarchists have, quite rightfully, opposed the murderous right wing regimes of Chile, El Salvador, and Guatemala, which maintain power because of their loyal service to the imperialistic objectives of the U.S., there has been a noticeable silence concerning authoritarianism and oppression from nationalist regimes of the left.

There is little difference between Mussolini's conception of Fascist Italy as a proletarian state revolt against larger European capitalist powers of the era (England and France) and the nationalist rhetoric of the "national liberation" movements of today.

What is needed is a wider realization that anarchism and all forms of state socialism are not only separate, but diametrically opposed perspectives.

Anarchists demand the immediate and complete abolition of the state. State socialists of all varieties past and present, Jacobins, Blanquists, Marxists, Leninists, social democrats (fascists)- not only accept the existence of the state but view the state as the primary tool through which their goals can be achieved. State socialists call for nationalization of the means of production. Anarchists call for workers control. Statists favor hierarchy and centralization. Anarchists favor decentralization, direct democracy, and direct action.

The Bankruptcy of the left establishment has been made all too obvious by the recent revolts in Eastern Europe and the failure of Soviet, Chinese, and "social democratic" Western European Economies.

Anarchists should be seeking to explore the highways to the future, not to take the wrong detours of the past.

# ANARCHIST ECONOMICS

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It has been a long time since anarchists have bothered to give serious thought to political economy. Simply put, anarchists believe that in the absence of authority and hierarchy, working people will exercise direct local control over the means of production and enjoy the full benefit of the product of their labor.

Many anarchists have taken for granted that goods and services will be freely exchanged without recourse to money or the pricing of commodities. That all will continue to produce as before without the need of incentive or profit. The exact form that this will take, however, will be left up to the free people themselves.

It was Karl Marx who coined the term capitalism. Intended as a derogatory term, capitalism is used to refer to a system where by the surplus value of labor is controlled by a non-working capitalist class.

The laborer who produces all wealth is directed by the holder of capital, who of course holds his position by law. The guiding principle of production is the maximization of profit for the non-working capitalist.

The drive to maximize profit results in the continuous improvement of the means of production. Previously unimaginable luxuries are produced in abundance and become accessible to the average worker.

This drive to maximize profit for the capitalist inevitably creates a conflict between laborers who want to realize the full benefit of the product of their labor and the capitalist who seeks to maximize his share.

At the disposal of the capitalist is the apparatus of the state with all its courts, prisons, police and militia men, all ready at his beckon call to break the self organization of the workers.

The downfall of unserious students of Marxism and anarchism has been that they have been eager to throw the baby out with the bath water. More serious students of socialism know that exchange and profit are not in themselves evil.

It is merely a matter of socializing them or putting the wealth into the hands of the people who produce it.

To be against capitalism is not to be against economics. Economics involves the exchange of goods and services between independent producers or groups of producers. The motive in any exchange is to get something of more pressing value than what one is giving up.

If one continues to give up more than one receives in return he or she will simply stop producing. This is a fact of human nature which is unlikely to change should government cease to exist. Exchange economy will continue in some form with or without a state.

"From each according to his ability to each according to his need." is a belief held by some anarchists. Its literal implementation, however, is not synonymous with anarchism.

People who desire to practice it should be free to do so. More importantly, those who do not must be free not to.

Instead, anarchism aims at the socialization of production, recognizing that no one inventor or financier can implement the most brilliant idea without utilization of countless ideas and efforts of others living or dead. Without the state to uphold the interests of capital remuneration may not be exactly equal but it would be much more so than it is.

This is quite the opposite of nationalization of the means of production as advocated by state Communists. This has proven to be less equitable than capitalism. Far from placing the product of labor into the hands of those who produce it, state Communism places all labor and goods at the disposal of a power elite.

Even money is not in itself evil. The free distribution of goods without recourse to money is the goal of anarcho-communism, but until this can be freely agreed upon, money is merely the tool of exchange. Communism can not be imposed by force.

No doubt some forms of money will continue to exist without a state because the state is not the origin of money or exchange. It can take the form of labor checks as suggested by Proudhon, gold or certificates for gold deposits, or even sea shells.

Legal tender, however, takes on entirely different characteristics. It becomes a threat to merchants who must accept it. The state can issue as many notes as it wishes, reducing the value of notes already in circulation and creating a hidden tax known as inflation.

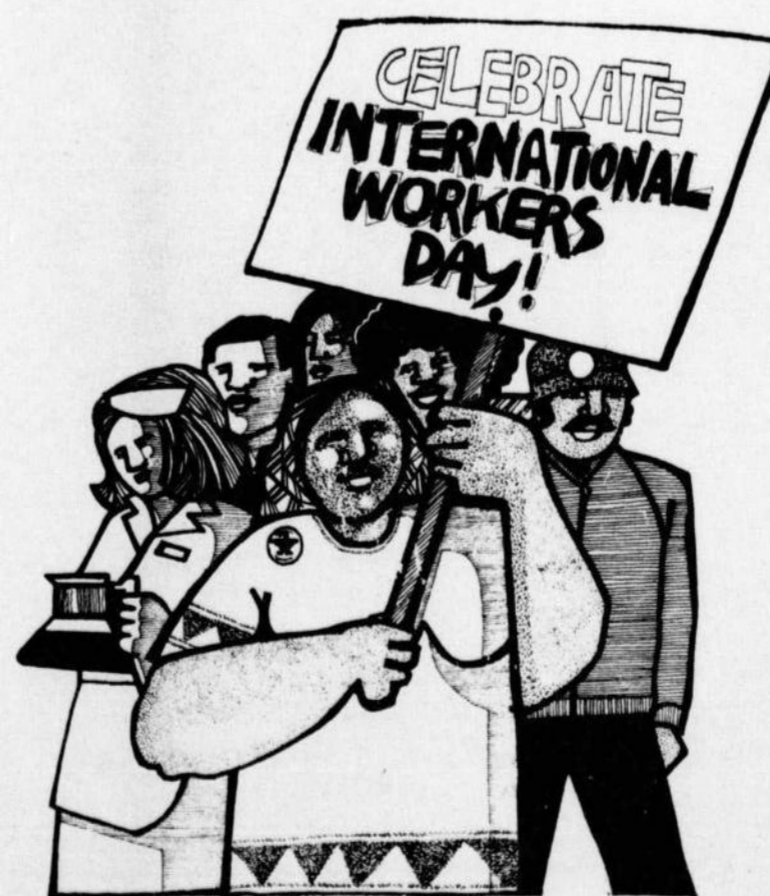
This facilitates exchange and the accumulation of capital. It changes the whole nature of savings and investment by severing the link between goods and tools of exchange. It creates a class charged with printing and accounting for the currency.

Economic arrangements in an anarchist society would be extremely diverse. Public utilities such as the water supply or subways may be communally owned and operated by the workers who call for frequent referendums to make policy decisions. Factories may be owned by employees each of whom own a share of the company stock.

Entrepreneurial individuals, partnerships, and associations of all kinds would manufacture, and distribute consumer goods and services.

The operating principle would be no restraint of association of trade. If some people were dis-satisfied with a communally run enterprise they would be free to offer an alternative and charge a fee. There would be no way to impose a monopoly. In the absence of monopoly there exists competition.

Convincing people that a society without government is possible will involve explaining non-governmental, non-exploitive, and non-hierarchical means of doing things we take for granted the government must do for us.



## Celebrate MAY DAY

the real one!





KEN Cinema • 4061 Adams Avenue in Kensington • 283-5909 THE PICTURE SHOW EVERY FRIDAY & SATURDAY AT MIDNIGHT

SOLARIS The Complete Uncut Version In Russian with English Subtitles Andrei Tarkovsky's original version of his science fiction masterpiece...

The Summer of Miss Forbes Jaime Humberto Hermosillo. Two young boys discover that their authoritative governess (Houree Schygulla) has an un-creditable and side...

A VERY OLD MAN WITH ENORMOUS WINGS Fernando Birri. A surreal and bizarre fable of an old man with wings (an angel, maybe) who turns up on a beach and is taken in by a poor couple...

CHE IS OPEN FOR LUNCH! 11:00-2:30 Monday to Friday Daily special such as Mousaka, Lasagna, Indian, Pizza, Soup and Salad

GROUNDWORK Books UCSD Student Center 1-5 to Gilman, left at wooden footbridge, right into parking lot 452-9625 Mon-Sat 11 am-8 pm

GENERAL STORE SCHOOL SUPPLIES CALCULATORS ART SUPPLIES BACKPACKS GREETING CARDS FILM DEVELOPING CLOTHING GREETING CARDS

RECYCLE CO-OP Recycle Co-op educates the community about our environment and provides drop points on campus for computer paper, newspaper, aluminum and glass.

People's Lawyer Robert Burns Affiliated with National Lawyers Guild, local chapter steering committee General practice with emphasis on personal injury • domestic landlord-tenant

UCSD Food Co-op • Natural Foods • Wholesome Snacks • Fresh Fruits & Veg Organically Grown • Vegetarian Shopping • Household Supplies

Spring 1990 Political Film Series Committee for World Democracy, UCSD Student Co-op Center, B-023B, La Jolla, CA 92037 (619) 534-4873 Recorded Information

Making: "Do The Right Thing" Captures the people, places and incidents during the making of Spike Lee's Do The Right Thing. April 6

I Claim Myself: The Sagon Penn Incident On the night of March 31, 1985 a routine traffic stop by San Diego police exploded in gunfire resulting in the death of a police officer and two wounded. April 20

\*The Wobblies MAY DAY CELEBRATION Brings to life an important chapter of America's labor history. From 1905 to World War I, members of the Industrial Workers of the World, nicknamed the Wobblies, traveled from coast to coast with solidarity as their slogan, and a goal of organizing the entire working class into one big Union. Tuesday May 1

The Lemon Grove Incident One of the earliest school desegregation cases in U.S. history, it examines the response of the Mexican American community in Lemon Grove, California, to a 1930 school board attempt to create a segregated school for the Mexican American children of the district. 3 Emmy Awards, (Best Documentary, Cinematography and Art Direction); Producer/Writer: Paul Espinosa; Director: Frank Christopher; 58 minutes; 1986

\*Atomic Cafe From the creators of Heavy Petting. A long overdue antidote to greasy Fifties nostalgia. Mind-boggling compendium of government misinformation aimed at selling nuclear war to the American public like a new brand of laundry detergent. This exceedingly timely exercise in healthy skepticism is often as hysterically funny as it is horrifying. Directors: Karen & Peter Rafferty; 92 minutes; 1982

Men's Lives Interviews men and women: workers, teachers, athletes, and students. Through these interviews, (interspersed with movie clips of heroes like John Wayne, football games and Superman comic books) examines how the American male is conditioned to aggressively compete, win and strive for material success at the expense of intimacy and communication. Directors: Will Roberts and Josh Hanig will be present. Academy Award winner-Best Student Documentary; 43 minutes; 1975

Frídays 7 p.m. TLH 107 FREE \* Special Tuesday screenings, same time and place. The Committee for World Democracy is a student organization that meets every Friday at 5:30 p.m. in room 208 of the student co-op center.

# An Open Letter From Mary Hartman

## Following the Nicaraguan Elections

Apartado P-125  
Managua, Nicaragua  
March 6, 1990

*N.I.C. NOTE: the author is a North American member of the Mary Knoll Order and a member of the National Commission on the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights in Managua. She has lived in Nicaragua for 27 years.*

Dear Friends,

Never in the history of any independent country have elections been carried out with the presence of hundreds of observers from the United Nations, the Organization of American States, Carter Center, Latin and North American and European parliamentarians plus 1500 international reporters to put to proof the political will of the Sandinista government. It was the first time also that a small poor country challenged in the political circle the super power of the United States.

The final result was a surprise (to put it mildly!) to all—to the FSLN, the UNO, the observers, major U.S. newspapers and to those responsible for the five national polls predicting a FSLN victory. How was it then that the opposition received the majority of votes?

Analysts have shown that UNO's theme was that if you vote for the FSLN the war will continue, the blockade will not be lifted, the economic situation will be worse. UNO also promised that within 100 days the inflation would be controlled, salaries raised, military service dissolved, transportation problem resolved, etc. So with the many promises of a near bright future plus the fact that the U.S. Congress had backed UNO with millions even before the elections this seemed to be the best choice. It was a vote of desperation for many who were tired and wanted an end to the war. Also the message from the White House a few months previously was if UNO did not win, the elections

would be considered a fraud—so people naturally concluded Nicaragua, like Panama, would be subject to a Marine invasion.

Jimmy Carter and all observers said the vote and count were done honestly. Daniel's speech at 6:00 a.m. Monday morning and his cordial visit to Violeta congratulating her and promise of collaboration to build the country made him the outstanding political figure of the world for his dignified response. He said the FSLN had placed all their efforts in the election to challenge the creativity, the intelligence of the people in a permanent struggle for their liberation, their independence, their self determination and social justice. We have opened up a new road where the war and the contra will disappear, where national interests will prevail above political intervention. Hopefully this will happen but as FSLN leadership said, "The democratization of society permits democratic elections but elections do not create democracies."

The FSLN electoral promises were based on the depth of the democracy they had created—political pluralism, mixed economy and non alignment. This had been a reality here since 1979 but could be deepened since the contra as a military force had been defeated and Bush's announcement two days before the elections that the U.S. would guarantee recognition of the new government regardless of the victor.

The FSLN remains the strongest political force in the country. UNO is made up of 14 political parties—small groups that are already bickering among themselves for a bigger piece of pie. Any number of people in the Christian communities who voted for UNO have come literally crying because they voted in anger against the FSLN, not believing the vote—one vote—would make a difference. One woman said, I voted for UNO because I couldn't get all the cheese I wanted. Many voted because they didn't want their sons to go to war and since Violeta was the U.S. candidate and U.S. was making war vs. Nicaragua, U.S. would stop fighting if its candidate won. It is not known either the amount of money that was given to buy votes though we have testimony from people who received anywhere from \$25 to \$200. As one of the *barrio* women said, "I couldn't ignore the offer. I needed the money. I was told the votes would not be secret—that was Sandinista propaganda and that if I did not vote for UNO it

would be discovered." All of this shows too, the weakness of the FSLN in not having sufficient contact with grass roots population.

What's the future? One cannot predict but some general observations can be made.

■ Both Violeta and Daniel have called for a peaceful transition and both said this can only be done with the demobilization of the contra. The contras in Honduras responded to Violeta with a loud NO—so Bush has sent someone to talk with them.

■ The National Guard and the Somocistas form part of UNO. Samuel Genie (was Somoza's chief of Security) has returned and threatened to physically eliminate the opposition.

■ Jose Somoza is returning and there is rumor that Tachito will too. Everyone fears that with these elements the death squads will function as they did before 1979.

■ Violeta announced a new money called the gold cordoba. Within 24 hours it was cancelled from an announcement in Washington. So you see who is giving orders here. One of her economists, Mayorga, announced that all land given to peasants will be taken away unless they can buy it for its full value. Also there will be no cooperatives—everything will be converted into private property. You can imagine the peasants' reaction!

■ Bush had promised Violeta not only an end to the war but lifting the blockade and huge sums of money to rebuild the country the contra war had destroyed. Two days ago he sent a message saying his priority now is eastern Europe and not to expect anything. Then he had the gall to tell Gorbachev to continue sending food and oil to Nicaragua (when 8 years ago this was the reason for the contra war.)

■ The FSLN said they will do everything within the law to protect the constitution because statements as above mentioned violates the constitution.

■ There's been absolutely no joy on the streets at a popular level with UNO people. This is probably due to the fact that they are not organized as a strong political party. Monday, the day following the elections Managua was like a morgue.

■ To build the economy we foresee the entrance of multinationals that will

exploit the people and natural resources. Elliot Adams has a small business in Honduras of buying lumber and has already made it known to Violeta that he's interested in the purchase of many valuable woods in Nicaragua.

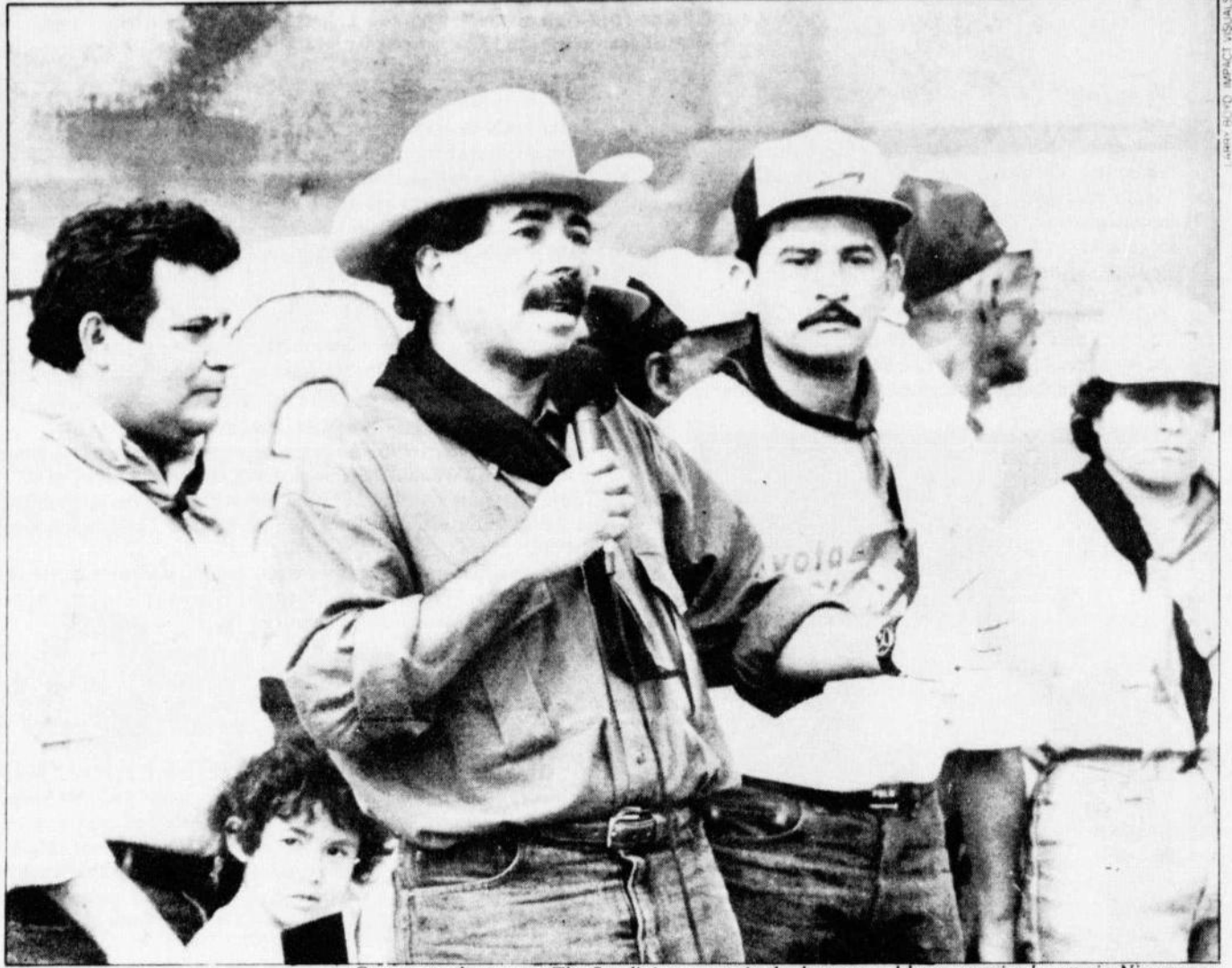
■ Our Human Rights office has received many denunciations by Sandinista activists who have been harassed by UNO people. Two people were killed and in one instance UNO people went to the family and offered to pay funeral expenses if they would allow an UNO banner placed on top of the casket. The family did not hesitate to tell the UNO representatives what they thought of them.

■ The new vice president, Godoy, announced yesterday that all foreigners working for the Sandinista government would be expelled. Godoy is having a problem with Violeta, so we do not know whether this was said to call attention or whether it is an UNO government decision. All the Cubans left the 26th and 27th so for example we have no doctor in our zonal clinic and Bluefield lost all the Cuban engineers who were building 1000 new homes after the destruction of the hurricane. It's understandable their leaving since in many of the campaign speeches they were threatened with death.

■ Since the U.S. is to be the new government here, the 20,000 Salvadorians and hundreds of Guatemalan refugees in Nicaragua feared they would be returned to their countries to die as has been the fate of so many who landed in the U.S. However, Daniel announced that Central Americans can have two citizenships so they all are going to be given Nicaraguan citizenship.

Certainly there will be difficult and bloody times ahead. Even though Violeta herself might want to strengthen this tiny democracy, she will be powerless to do so—for her decisions will be made in Washington. Though one rises every morning with a heavy heart, wondering who will be the victim today, the moral force of the Sandinista Revolution gives faith and hope that this option for the poor, though it be battered, will never die out. As Daniel said, "If this is a Good Friday for us there's always the glorious Sunday of the Resurrection."

Love to you all  
Maria



Ortega on the stump: The Sandinistas remain the largest and best organized party in Nicaragua.