new indicator

Published at UCSD By the n.i. collective

February 2002 35th Year of Publication

An Interview with the Provost of Sixth College

The theme, vision and purpose of the Sixth College is suspect and seems to blatantly underrepresent the problems that technology presents us with as members of an endlessly diverse community. This interview with Provost Wienhausen reveals two crucial issues concerning the focal points of the Sixth College's attention or lack thereof to technology and its social aspects: 1. the benefits and dangers of technology are constructed through a middle-class lens, 2. there is a lack of concern for the ever-widening gap in access to certain forms of technology among certain groups of race and class. Sixth College's vision of trying 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," is glaringly absent from the following interview. Instead of challenging students to examine their own lives as constructed from classed, raced, gendered and sexually oriented positions and again challenging them to look at education and technology as inaccessible to certain peoples, Sixth College encourages a self-examination, an almost insular approach to self-reflection through technology that emphasizes issues of intellectual property rights, privacy and business.

ni: What is the vision of UCSD's new Sixth College, and will there be room for criticism of technology?

GW: ... You were concerned about the critical, you know, being critical about this

and I said that's actually at the core of what we want to do because we want to enable students to live in a society that is very much dominated and determined by technology that for many of us looks like a black box. Right? And so there are several ways of reacting to this and one is to either embrace it without really understanding what this all means, or to say all this is evil. And I think if we really want to graduate students who will become leaders, and that's I think what we have in mind, right? We have to enable them to, to understand the technology and have experience with the technology so that they truly understand the big questions that we are faced with. Privacy, right?

Let me also give you another example that I wasn't aware of until I talked to a person in computer science, actually, who said that ...even the worst thief, when he or she breaks into a house, he or she knows ... that it is against the law. He said, we are dealing nowadays with people who, hackers who break in[to] your computer, and think that that is just fun. They don't have a sense that that is unlawful. So I'm not saying that we have to deal with new ethics, because there should be nothing new. The question is still the same, right? That somehow we don't seem to have a sense - I don't know what happened ... that we on one hand say that breaking into a house is unlawful, but breaking into somebody else's computer is okay and

So the professor was struggling with this

and he said, you know, we really need to deal with these ethical issues ... And really I was glad that he was talking about this because, again, when you go to people in computer science and think you only have those nerds and you will be surprised how much aware those people are about the societal, sociological, cultural issues that this technology is throwing at us. And most of us are not aware of this ... So what we have in mind is to talk about this, to think about this, but what we also want to do in the College is enable students to use this really in their daily lives. Remember that we also talked about digital literacy. What does that mean? How do we teach this? I need to be aware of this when I want to function in today's world, right? How important sound, how important a picture is and what it actually does to me. It is used as a rhetorical argument. I think we cannot graduate students anymore who can just write a beautiful paper. And so I don't have an answer to this, but that's what we have to deal with... I gave you the example of you taking a picture of me, and then doing something with it and claiming that that's how I spent my weekend. And you know, you telling me that's artistic freedom, right? I made up the story and I say no this is, you are ruining my name. See if I just talked about this in class and I give people a paper, but if it happens to me my gosh, okay?

So this is at the core of what we try to do in Sixth College and the other thing that we forgot - the art and the creativity. I

also, I believe art and creativity is not just with technology and cultural expression. I really believe that how we identify ourselves ... comes so often through artistic expression, music, colors. Not the way I dress, but also how I decorate my personal space. And I'm looking forward to have students come to the College who help think about what this means for themselves and how we can translate this into community that is very active. And it is a Sixth College community, but it is also bigger than Sixth College; by inviting the campus and by inviting the outside community to come to us and participate. I have no concrete examples because I also think for me this is a very rich, it's a rich theme that I think allows everybody who comes in to see and interpret in a different way. What we hope to provide here at Sixth College is an environment where different ideas and different interpretations can flourish depending on, you know, when the students are here and what kind of students we get, we might see a very different kind of Res. life activity, student life activities, or programs that students want to create. But I also think that technology allows a form of artistic expression that is new and that I would like students to encourage to play with ... I think that statistics is obviously not my strength, and I'm just kidding, but I just look at home and I see how differently the kids are using this and expressing emotions and playing with this. And then

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The New Struggle for Diversity

Regent Ward Connerly, along with the American Civil Rights Coalition, is proposing an amendment to the California Constitution that would make racial classification or inquiry unconstitutional in CA public institutions. The proposed amendment is called the Racial Privacy Initiative. This initiative would make it illegal for the UC system to consider the racial and ethnic backgrounds of its applicants. Currently this information is used to ensure the racial and ethnic diversity of the campuses. Because this is being proposed as a California Constitutional amendment we are forced to address the previous statements of the Supreme Court regarding the value of diversity in education. As Justice Powell stated in Regents of the University of California vs. Bakke, "it is not too much to say that the 'nation's future depends upon leaders trained through wide exposure' to the ideas and mores of students as diverse as this Nation of many peoples." Removing the system that indicates the racial and ethnic background of incoming students is both disrespectful of diversity and of the goals of higher education.

In 1995 the Regents passed two proposals, SP-1 and SP-2, which stated: "Effective January 1, 1997, the University of California shall not use race, religion; sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin as criteria for admission to the University or to any program of study." Proposition 209, which ended affirmative action, was passed just one year later in 1996. In the

Spring of 2001 both SP-1 and SP-2 were rescinded causing Atkinson to state that, "This is a great day for the University of California and the people of California." The rescission of these measures were meant to, "send a clear and unequivocal message that people of all backgrounds are welcome at the University of California," according to Regent Judith L. Hopkinson. The proposal by Regent Ward Connerly offers an interesting counter-position to the praise of the rescission of SP-1 and SP-2. The attempt now seems to be to remove all mention of race in order to avoid any further discussion of affirmative action or race-based consideration. The effort to promote diversity, once praised after the rescission of SP-1 and SP-2, is now being shoved into the waste-basket of assimilation. Instead of diversity, the initiative will attempt to place us all into a melting pot, where race is no longer of value, regard or consideration.

Regent John Moores also supports the proposal and as of date, the President of the Regents, Richard Atkinson, has not stated his opinion on the proposed amendment.

Here's the pitch for the American Civil Rights Coalition's Racial Privacy Initiative: "'Tired of being asked? It seems like every time we fill out a government form, the snooping bureaucracy wants to know: "What are you?' 'What's your 'race'?' Why should it matter to the government? You can help California have the chance

to vote in the California November 2002 ballot to end the 'silly little boxes' and preserve our racial privacy by voter initiative." These questions headline the organization's webpage dedicated to the campaign for the initiative. What is frightening about this pitch is that it tries to appeal to one's sense of privacy and disdain for government intrusion. What it assumes is that these questions are not for one's protection, but instead for the snooping bureaucrat who for some reason loves to know your info. These "silly little boxes" help protect our individual rights guaranteed to us by the Constitution. Therefore, what is the meaning of this initiative? Or better yet, what is its history? The Supreme Court of the United States recognizes that the consequences of past discrimination have not been undone. "If racial discrimination was reconciled by the courts," according to Justice Powell, "then they would have to find new ways of reviewing cases that have racial components." Meaning that the impact of race is still present in all levels of society, especially in constitutional and legislative matters. This initiative assumes that race, as a category, is a nuisance, bothersome to the process of admissions. In fact, 'silly.'

Education has largely been regarded as a necessitating a heterogeneous environment dependent for its value upon the diversity of its students, faculty and pur-

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inside

The Saga of the Sheds

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Letters... well, one

Dear New Indicator.

Thank you for your February 2001 issue. It was enlightening. In reference to "What is Fascism?" I question your use of the word. According to the article, "the very paradigm of Fascism" is a state which "Employs the language of moral supremacy to justify its brutality, uses deadly military and economic force to maintain world dominance, imprisons its citizens for dissidence, oppresses its workers into unorganized subservience, and dictates the popular vote by filtering the information accessible to the public through distribution channels under private control," which sounds suspiciously like Soviet Russia--a decidedly un-Fascist state. What you've described is a totalitarian state which is an unfortunate touchstone of last century, but not one invented by Mussolini or Harry Truman nor most manifest in the US. The tyrant of the century awards might feature Castro, Sadaam Hussein or Stalin (they might even give Mussolini a run for his money), but there wouldn't be many Americans there (though Governor George Wallace certainly comes quickly to mind). So, call the US state tyrannical, oppressive, callous and racist. but don't use definitional slight-of-hand to convince us George W. Bush is Mussolini.

I would even venture the accusation that you intentionally misuse a loaded term like "Fascism," to imply that the capitalist US state is the devil without having to actually make or support the state-

I found it to be dishonest and manipulative in ways that would make even Tom Brockaw blush. Just an opinion. Sincerely, Levi Barnes

Dear Reader,

Thank you for taking the time out to read and consider the article in detail. The New Indicator Collective appreciates your critical eye. Nonetheless, we disagree with your points of contention. We will attempt to address them as a totality.

You state that the description of Fascism given "sounds suspiciously like Soviet Russia - a decidedly un-Fascist state." It is true that there are a lot of tactics shared by Soviet Russia and the "classical" Fascist states. Indeed, every state that has employed violence to accomplish its aims (i.e., all of them) has a great deal in common with the Fascists - and not surprisingly, considering that imprisonment, censorship, and execution are obvious and effective deterrents against power challenges. What the list of institutional behaviors was intended to point out is a common thread of hierarchical control. The Fascist state's choice of propaganda (that of superiority), its imperialistic rampaging, its intolerance for organizational structure other than itself, and its obviation of the popular vote are all integral to its fundamentally pyramidal nature. None of the items listed characterizes Fascism, but together, they provide a rather effecAn effective test must, of

course, fail when the government in question is not Fascist. Your example of the Soviets is a good one, in fact. A problem arises almost immediately if you attempt to apply the conditions to the USSR: it is not clear to whom they should be applied, even at a specific point in time. Lenin? Trotsky? Stalin? The Party, which was often at odds with its ostensible leaders? The Cheka, a brutal secret police (and predecessor to the KGB) that was essentially beyond the control of the Party? The kulaks, a powerful capitalist force within the peasant economy? The industrial unions who fought the Bolsheviks tooth and nail in the early twenties? Post-revolutionary Russia is a story of competing forces vying for power, especially in its early days. They often shared interests and tactics, but they definitely did not fall into the sort of top-down power structure inseparable from Fascism. Thus, it is impossible to discuss their techniques of oppression as a single political force. Let us suppose, however, that there is

some over-arching power organization the "Soviets" - one can ask meaningful questions of. Something like this is no doubt possible, although the answers are decidedly more ambiguous than they would be for a strictly hierarchical governmental system. Did the Soviets employ the language of moral supremacy in their propaganda? Certainly, an important recurring theme was the moral supremacy of Marxism and its derivatives over other forms of government. However, the stress was on the superiority of the political system, not the people. In fact, much use was made of the very real contrast between the institutionalized racism present in capitalist nations and the relative lack thereof under the Soviet regime. Did the USSR use deadly military and economic force to conquer the world? Absolutely, although one could argue that near the beginning, at least, the focus was more on ideological conquest than on literal control - the ultimate desideratum of Fascism. Did it imprison its citizens for dissidence? Yes. Did it oppress its workers into unorganized subservience? Yes and no. At the time of the October Revolution, the soviets - workers', peasants', and soldiers' councils - were a central

driving force in precipitating governmental change, and controlled a huge portion of the political capital Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, and others wielded against one another. Over time, however, these more or less independent bodies found their power being devolved to the Party, sometimes through bloody oppression and sometimes through quiet absorption. Did the Kremlin dictate the popular vote by filtering information through privately controlled channels? They certainly did control the flow of information, although their pri-

The point of the preceding discussion is to demonstrate the undeniable ambiguity that arises when the conditions listed in the article are applied to Soviet Russia. They are not so ambiguous for pre-war Germany and Italy, or, we would argue, the current power structure of the Wash-

mary means of effecting electoral out-

comes was the threat of violence.

ubiquitous in Western propaganda, usually in the form of prescriptions for "responsible" replacements for foreign economic, social, or political systems. The article details the places where deadly force has been used for the purposes of conquest -

ington Consensus. Moral supremacy is

usually the acquisition of economic control - by the United States and other European powers. (The ostensible ideological conquest of neoliberalism disguises a demand for economic restructuring conducive to appropriation of national resources by wealthy corporations and individuals.) The United States imprisons its citizens in droves - more than 2 million people at last count, a fraction of the population unrivalled on the planet. A majority of the imprisonments is for engaging in economic activities that do not fit into the system of corporate capitalism - drug trade, ignoring capitalist property con-

structions (i.e, "stealing"), and the like. Does the U.S. oppress its workers into unorganized subservience? Witness the current, rather pitiful state of the American Labor Movement and its long history of bloody and oppressive treatment by the military, the police, and their faithful partner, Corporate America. The U.S. government permits companies to threaten its workers with their livelihoods if they dare contest their paymasters, except for a very narrow range of "acceptable" forms of protest that keeps unions just happy enough to keep voting for the Democratic Party. Finally, it is obvious that information is filtered to us through privately controlled media sources, since all major news sources are corporations that have a

As for your contention that Sadaam Hussein is a candidate for Tyrant of the Century, we agree that he has been ruthless to his people and the people of neighboring countries. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the weapons he used against Kurdistan, Iran, and Kuwait were supplied by the United States for slaughtering Iranians in the first place - and that the brutal food and medicine embargo against the Iraqi people ("Oil for Food") that persists to this day has been spearheaded by none other than Uncle Sam.

strong stake in a particular world-view.

The article also never said anything about G.W. being Mussolini - on the contrary, he's just another bureaucrat serving a much larger and more powerful political machine, selected for his ability to carry out institutional objectives effectively.

The United States is a smarter kind of Fascism - one which co-opts that which it cannot control. We encourage you to read Howard Zinn's People's History of the United States for a remarkable account of the power organization of the U.S. and its historical behavior as an institutional tyrant. The inheritors of Fascism need not be led by a single, bloodthirsty autocrat, and, unfortunately, that makes their hierarchical nature less obvious and more difficult to contest - and arguments concerning their nature subtler.

"Fascism should more appropriately be called corporatism because it is a merger of state and corporate power." -Benito Mussolini

the new indicator

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articles and letters are welcomed. please type them and send them to: ni@libertad.ucsd.edu

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the views expressed in this publication

In our last issue, we listed the date as "February 2001" when it was really February 2002. This issue is also from ebruary 2002, so don't get too confused.

we need your help.

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kris, adrienne, kellen

position of the new indicator collective

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we fucked up...

We also fucked up and spelled "Colombia" as "Columbia" on the front page. Sorry,

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Inside the Concrete Box: Fascist Architecture at School

Touring your local university or high school you may be surprised to find fascism exists not only in certain policies, but also in the architecture. That's right, fascism in the architecture. There is a myth that modern architecture is a part of a progressive movement that reflects the advancement of democratic society. Certain works in modern architecture, however, are oppressive in how they limit people's behavior, and can be likened to fascist architecture from the regimes of Hitler and Mussolini. The quality of life on campuses is lowered when people are surrounded by these monolithic concrete structures, which are out of scale with human proportion. Fascist architecture inhibits privacy, the sense of ownership, and individuality, all of which are fundamental to a democratic society.

new indicator

This essay explains how fascism found its way into school architecture, with particular attention to UCSD and Chanarral High School. These schools host good examples of fascist architecture that deserve critical examination, because these fascist elements have a strong negative impact on students' personal liberties, education, and psychological development. It is also important to understand that there are alternatives to designing schools, and so this essay concludes with an analysis of school architecture and design that promotes democratic ideals.

An examination of fascist elements in architecture requires a brief explanation of fascism as a sociopolitical phenomenon. According to the World Book Encyclopedia, "[Fascism] involves total government control of political, economic, cultural, religious, and social activities" (Hurst 51). Controlled by a dictator, fascist governments force the individual to surrender their whole being to the state. The belief is imposed that by giving up control of the self to the government, the individual will be better off. "Fascism is extreme nationalism," comments Gary Vargas, history instructor at San Jacinto College (pers comm 7 Nov 01). The government processes you for state approval and if you do not conform ethnically, politically etc. you face jail time, torture, and or execution. Secret police are employed to take out any dissidents (Vargas). These tactics result in an overall sense of paranoia in the public. In a fascist regime, people lack the fundamental rights offered in a democratic society such as the right to privacy, free expression and ownership. So what does fascist architecture look like? By first looking at architecture under fascist regimes we will be able to understand the parallels in our own architecture.

When Hitler rose to power in the 30's, so did the proliferation of neoclassical architecture in his regime. Hitler's architect, Albert Speer, designed many of his classically-styled buildings such as the proposed Berlin Dome (fig 1) and Zeppelinfield in Munich (fig 2). Hitler embraced architecture that alluded to the Holy Roman Empire, a past that his followers never had. He fantasized this grand past to promote a strong sense of nationalism, to create a past heritage that would make his rule legitimate in the eyes of his followers (Curtis 351). Modern architecture in Germany was already present at the beginning of Hitler's regime, and so it was considered a social evil against nationalistic ideals (Curtis 361). Anything that was avant garde was considered degenerate and foreign. This is why progressive schools of architecture such as the Bauhaus were forced to relocate and eventually close shop.

At the beginning of Mussolini's regime in Italy, modern architecture, particularly a style called Futurism, was embraced.

Futurism's characteristics were dynamic. sleek and machine like. Futurism survived because it reflected fascist Italy's ideals of revolution and progress (Hughes 92). See the modern lines of the Fascist Building (fig 3). Much later in his regime, after seeing Speer's work, Mussolini followed suit with modern classicallyinspired buildings (Hughes 105). Projects under Mussolini include the Palazzo della Civilta Italiana by Guerrini, Padula, and Romano. Here tradition is inescapable, the Roman architectural elements of the arch and arcade are still present, but have been reduced to simple forms (fig 4).

The architecture of Hitler and Mus-

solini share the element of Power. One

favored classicism and the other accepted a more modern approach, but both shared an affinity for buildings with monstrous proportions that dominated the individual. The Berlin Dome that Albert Speer proposed (but never built), looks like the State Capital building in Washington D.C. on steroids; it shows the intended role of fascism in Germany, to intimidate and stamp out dissent (Fig 1). The people look like fleas crawling up the steps. Long corridors and wide walkways are supposed to affirm and direct you to the strength and power of the state. This immediately sends the message that your voice cannot be heard, only that of the one who is in power. Architect and writer William Curtis has an excellent description of fascist architecture, "Nazi monuments were a bit like Hitler's oratory: forceful, repetitive, but ultimately banal. They tended to deaden opposition with statements of overwhelming conformity and force" (335). If we look at Albert Speer's Zeppelinfield (fig 2), it has perfect symmetry and the columns are in formal repetition stretching over unending length. They stand in perfect line like the Nazi's army formation. The columns are like the fascist symbol of bundled sticks, power-

authority of Zeppelinfield. Through these characteristics of repetition and large scale, the hierarchy of power is established. The architecture dictates how you connect with other people. People have no voice in such an oppressive atmosphere and are at the command of authority. So what is the connection between fascism and modern architec-

Modern architecture, beginning in the

less if only a few, but together in mass

numbers, unbreakable. Instead of columns,

repetition is represented in the architec-

tural element of the arch in the Palazzo

della Civilta Italiana (fig 3). It carries the

same amount of weighted dullness and

mid-18th century and catapulting into the 20th century, was based on breaking free from traditional concepts of design. Architects of the modern movement had many different motives for this departure. Architects with socialist ideals wanted to create an architecture for all people to enjoy, not just the aristocracy. Italy's fascist architects wanted a new architecture that would reflect their country's revolutionary goals. Remember that the fascist regime of Mussolini favored modern architecture. Hughes points out that modern architecture has no particular political association

In Shock of the New, art critic for The Times, Robert Hughes, argues that ironically, the over scaled neoclassical buildings that Fascist rulers admired found their way into modern architecture across the ocean to America, under the guise of the "Architecture of Democracy" (108). Some architects believed that architecture should be reduced to simple forms without the unnecessary details of moldings,

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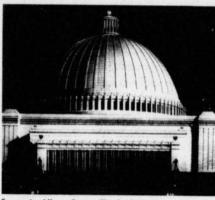


figure 1 - Albert Speer The Berlin Dome

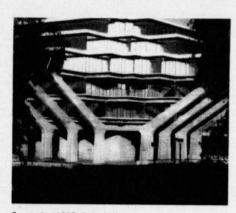
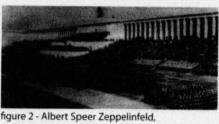


figure 8 - UCSD Geisel Library



Nuremberg, 1934



figure 9 - UCSD Geisel Library



figure 3 - fascist building



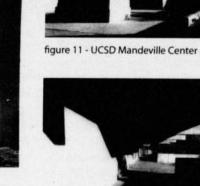


figure 12 - UCSD Mandeville Center

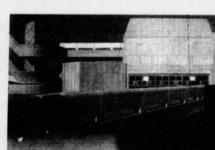


figure 4 - Pallazzo della Civilta Italiana

figure 5 - Hayward Gallery, London

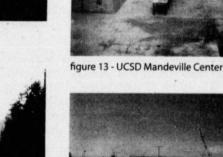




figure 14 - Chaparral High School



figure 7 - UCSD Library Walk

figure 6 - UCSD Library Walk



figure 15 - Chaparral High School

Diversity: continued from page 1

suits. In fact, the second provision of the rescission of SP-1 and SP-2 states that. "the University shall seek out and enroll, on each of its campuses, a student body that demonstrates [and] encompasses the broad diversity of backgrounds characteristic of California." But this new proposal would erase all racial classifications making it impossible to ensure a diverse student population and education.

References: SP-1, SP-2, Spring 2001: http://www.ucop.edu/ucophome/commserv/ Proposition 209: http://www.cadap.org/text.html

Racial Privacy Initiative Proposal: http://www.acrcl.org/rpi.htm Campaign (5 reasons): http://www.acrcl.org/rpi_campaign.htm Petition: http://www.acrcl.org/petition.htm

> For more information please contact Diane Schachterle of the American Civil Rights Coalition at 916-444-2278 or feedback@acrcl.org

Architecture:

continued from page 3

friezes, acanthus and arabesque designs to name a few. They saw beauty in pure form, in utilitarianism. They had a more rational approach to design, one that was based on logic instead of based on emotions and sensuality (Hughes 165). These concepts stem from the Bauhaus and international design of such architects as Le Corbusier, Gropius and Adolf Loos. When fascism arrived in Germany many architects from the Bauhaus were forced to relocate and so moved across the ocean. Through their influence in the U.S., architecture began to take new shape in America. In the architects quest for progressiveness, important concepts pertaining to the psychology of humans were overlooked.

One version of a modern architecture that came to America in the 50's and 60's and that has fascist overtones is appropriately named Brutalism. The principle is to show a brutally honest expression of a building's material and construction. Some characteristics are exposed plumbing, conduit, and above all massive planes of unfinished concrete (fig 5) (French 112). This cold and drab environment is not one with which humans readily connect with or have a sense of belonging, yet students are exposed to them everyday at school. These buildings are concrete ships hovering above nature and people, and that impact upon personal liberties.

The University of California, San Diego hosts prime examples of brutalist fascist architecture and design. These buildings silently dictate how students and teachers should behave. Tom Neeley of Nightcap, a UCSD art magazine comments that Library Walk is an elongated path which was designed by UCSD planners as a social gathering place, but as he says "they do little to promote community as few people can take pride in large expressways" (fig. 6) (10). People naturally form communities but the school architecture forces people to isolate themselves and to keep moving. It is as though the university does not want you to associate with other individuals and form groups. They lack connection with their surroundings.

The trees alongside Library Walk are in perfect line formation, like soldiers aligned next to monotonously placed concrete blocks (fig 7). This unnatural formation looks like the trees are getting a dose of discipline. This shows that nature is not excluded from the hand of fascist architecture. There was not even an effort to make their growth look natural.

Library walk leads you to Geisel Library designed by William L. Pereira. FAIA (fig 8). It is an eight story concrete structure unique for its diamond shape. Its base looks like the ribs from a skeleton, where did all the warmth and flesh go (fig 9)? It is no wonder you do not see too many groups gathered near this building because it is alien and quiet.

Looking at the architecture of Mandeyille Center, you would never guess it hosts the Visual Arts Department and University Art Gallery (fig 10). There is no indication that creative minds are at work except for the paint splatters on one wall. The first floor, below ground level, is comparable to an indoor prison gym, ideal for playing solitary hand ball (fig 13). How do students get inspired in an area that feels like they are being observed or watched from above in their cells? Maybe it is a good thing and what will come out of it is a wealth of outsider art from student prisoners. It is fascist because the architecture is designed so that expression of student work is limited (fig 11,12). Second, it is a conformist atmosphere. The diversity of

campus is not reflected in wall to wall concrete. Are the bare walls supposed to be art? Is this post modern intellectualism? If this is the case, it is a pretty long installation, isn't it time for a change?

High school campuses are not excluded from fascism. With the trend of high school shootings, there is an increased desire for maximum security - hence an increase in architecture resembling maximum security prisons. Chaparral High School's architecture is a prime example of the unfortunate reaction to the trend in school violence (fig 14 & 15). Before entering the campus one must pass through 10 ft high, floor to ceiling steel gates (fig 16). Through these gates are 150 ft long corridors. Like spokes of a wheel these 150ft long corridors all lead to the center administration building. (fig 17). The head office watches over all of the classrooms for any suspicious activity. In actuality it inhibits a sense of privacy and establishes a hierarchy of power. This architecture supposedly keeps kids contained inside the building and any bad kids out.

Comments from a student and teacher are evidence of disgust with the campus. Shayla Anderson, a junior, would like to take the bars off the gates and include more windows along the corridors because the campus does feel closed off. "It feels like a prison!" were her first words. Mr. Burdick who teaches at Chaparral, he revealed the unfortunate nickname students call their school - South Riverside

Why do we impose this prison architecture on our students who have committed no crimes? Prisoners have little if any rights and their jail surroundings reflect that. While high schoolers are not afforded all the rights of a 21-year old, they should not be reduced to prisoner status. They deserve some respect. Security guards and teachers will bring up the idea that long corridors are necessary for surveillance and that such a layout with high gated entrances will reduce violence. However, Peter Bauvelt, Board Chairman of the National Association for School Safety states that there is no evidence of stopping shootings from the installation of security devices. Daniel, a student at Chaparral, believes that architecture is not a deterrent for violent people. If people are mad enough they will erupt in any setting and if motivated find ways around security.

The architecture at Chaparral denies students their rights to privacy and individuality, which is clearly fascist. Gary Vargas, who teaches night classes at Chaparral, says the school system is selling the idea that this form of architecture is for your own protection and for the benefit of the entire school. It remind us of the paranoia we have of students erupting into violent outbursts. The architecture tells the students that they are mad men and watched. It reinforces the fear that students are ticking time bombs ready to explode at any minute.

David Carter in Environmental Interaction cites environmental psychologist Newman, "Clearly defined boundaries between public space, semi-private areas and private territory are essential for the well being of inhabitants" (138). At Chaparral, students and teachers have given up their private space because of architecture that does not allow people to claim it as their own. This leads to another point - the importance of individuality.

Carter explains that privacy "includes all behavior designed to set the individual apart." How can students and teachers as well as their individual classes set themselves apart in a homogenized setting (fig 17)? They do not distinguish themselves from being math, science, or arts centers. There are no places to display student work. These bare gray stucco corridor

walls are not easy to connect with because they do not reflect the diversity in all of us. Just like at UCSD, even nature is put into place like a machine, notice the strict linear placement of trees (fig 17). Schools are supposed to be institutions for higher learning but what exactly are the students learning? The freedom of democracy or the conformity of fascism?

There are alternatives to fascist architecture at school that we can embrace. San Jacinto College serves as a good example. Its open layout allows students and teachers to feel like they are not under surveillance (fig 18, 19). The buildings and surrounding design is down to a human scale that students can interact with. There are areas for privacy and for claiming territory which are important for the well being of individuals (fig 22). Even nature is allowed some freedom, as it isn't confined into concrete holes (fig 21). The administration building doesn't dominate above all the others; each building carries its own importance and uniqueness. The architecture does not scream supreme formalism; it has curved areas, areas that are unpredictable, asking you to linger and socialize, to be a part of your surroundings. All is not perfect, however, as the school lacks public art works such as sculpture or murals that could reflect

The Ché Cafe and other buildings that make up the older section of UCSD contrast greatly with the Brutalist fascist works on campus. All buildings that make up the older part of campus are 2 stories or lower, which does not overwhelm the individual. Since they are made of wood, they serve as immediate link to the warmth of nature compared to the coldness of concrete. Surrounded by scattered eucalyptus trees, the Ché blends in harmoniously. Ché Cafe is the only building on campus with murals, and it represents progressive ideals through this community art (fig 23 & 24). It speaks to people, unlike the quiet walls of Mandeville. This shows that there is actually warmth and presense of people on campus. The architecture is a reflection of the people there and their democratic ideals. The students who run the Ché are active and equal participants in their envi-

Improving the quality of campus life for UCSD starts with providing areas for students and teachers to identify with their space and set them apart. Their individuality can be showcased in permanent display areas. At Mandeville Center, murals can be painted by art students that would reflect the diversity of the campus. Student art work can be rotated around campus. To make them active participants of their surroundings and to integrate nature with the campus, a gardening club with volunteer students could plant trees and flowers native to California. James T. Hubbell, a local San Diegan architect known for his organic architecture, comments on how we can feel connected to our surrounding structures. He suggests that we consciously use materials that reflect a human touch or craftsmanship (2 February 2002). Instead of something mechanically made and placed such as the concrete 'headstones' of Library Walk, why not a mosaic put together by students that people could walk on as they go to class?

Chaparral high school must deal with balancing the safety and personal freedom of students. This can be achieved by replacing or concealing concrete fencing with dense trees, which would act as shade for sun and privacy, and overall be more aesthetically pleasing. A less expensive option would be to have green space inside campus, that means tearing at least half of the concrete pavement to have low maintenance trees, bushes, and flowers in

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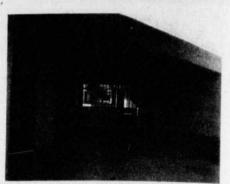


figure 16 - Chaparral High School



figure 17 - Chaparral High School



figure 18 - San Jacinto College



figure 19 - San Jacinto College



figure 20 - San Jacinto College



figure 21 - San Jacinto College



figure 22 - San Jacinto College

A.S. reforms student organization funding guidelines

ex-A.S. officer explains why it's not enough

With the AS election only a month and a half away, the graduating members of the current council ought to be preparing their good-byes, so-longs, and parting shots. Continuity in the representative student government of UCSD is a sparse thing, and alumni involvement is rarer still. Much depth of understanding is lost or worse: students often are asked to rely on administrators to provide historical perspective. Consider the frequent clashes between student and administration interests, and the maxim that the history is written by the winners. With this in mind, it should be clear that AS officers responsibilities do not end when the diploma arrives. So when the current AS council approved a major change in the AS bylaws regarding student organization funding, we asked Matt Powell, last year's AS Vice President of Financial Affairs to comment.

MP: The Associated Students recently passed Bill 167, a legislation reform bill submitted by Sierra Catcott, Jeff Dodge, Kevin Hsu, and Sam Shooshtary. I was the AS Vice President of Finance before Sam Shooshtary, the Associated Students' Financial Controller the year prior to that, and the principal funding officer for two student organizations in my first two years at UCSD. As a result of all of these experiences I have a privileged position as far as understanding UCSD's financial process and legislation.

ni: Can you explain the new legislation in

MP: The new legislation changes the student organization funding advisory board (SOFAB) from consisting of senators to seven students from various student organizations. They will be appointed by the Associated Students President, VP of Finance, VP Internal and some councilelected committee co-chairs to serve from one Spring quarter to the next. The groups represented will include seven out of nine sub-divisions: Academic/Educational, Political, Greek/IFC/Panhellenic, Cultural/ SAAC, Religious, Pre-Professional/Health Professions, Social, Recreation, and Ser-

ni: So what do you think of all this?

MP: After reviewing Bill 167 I was struck by a number of serious issues that this new legislation raises. It is intended to give student organizations more autonomy as far as their funding is concerned. While good in principle, this bill is a poor execution of that ideal.

ni: A total failure?

MP: To be fair, the bill has a number of qualities that are to be commended. As opposed to the previous system, the new one has students from organizations making the recommendations for fundni: Have there been problems with includ-

ing student organizations in the past? MP: One of the major criticisms of the old system was that it had people who were not necessarily directly involved in student organizations making decisions with hun-

dreds of thousands of student dollars. On the surface, this new legislation addresses this problem by using members of the organizations to be funded. The problem is, though, that these representatives are appointed by a core group from the AS Council who, again, may have no direct involvement with student organizations themselves.

ni: AS often has trouble filling appointments-do you see that effecting this pro-

MP: In addition to perpetuating the problem of decisions being made by those who do not necessarily have direct, relevant

knowledge, the appointment process adds potentially negative complications. There is nothing in the legislation to say that the applicants must have the endorsement of any additional organizations from their area (e.g. an applicant from one recreational club that the other recreational clubs may not even know is applying gets an appointment that implies "representation" of the other recreational clubs).

ni: The legislation doesn't address that? MP: In fact, there is nothing in the legislation that requires the applicant to have endorsement of his or her own organization. Taken to a logical conclusion, this problem could lead to a SOFAB board of enthusiastic, convincing, and completely uniformed people playing with more than two hundred thousand dollars. The worstcase scenario would be a board full of people with ulterior motives, biases, and the implicit authority of being the sole representative for a substantial group of organizations.

ni: In that scenario, is there any recourse for students'

MP: Another problem is the removal of a person from that representative role. Short of waiting for the person's term to end, organizations are not afforded any explicit means of addressing misrepresentation. To be fair, this concern was valid within the old system, but then the person in question was a senator elected by the universitywide vote. In this case, an appointed representative who does a poor job may go unchecked for the length of his or her term if there are no groups informed, vocal, and patient enough to push changes through the AS red tape

ni: Speaking of elections, what are the implications of this legislation for student organization involvement in the upcoming

MP: This recent bill has many implications for the upcoming elections. In this new system many of the top positions, such as President, VP Finance, and VP Internal have a direct role in picking the representatives who will make the financial recommendations for student organizations. While every year candidates meet with many organizations and promise to do their best to support those they meet with, this year there exists a distinct possibility for candidates to make promises of appointments in exchange for votes or endorsements.

ni: Do student organizations usually endorse candidates?

MP: While organizations traditionally have not been very partisan, allowing individual members to make independent decisions, this will likely change as groups feel they may be rewarded with a very influential appointment.

ni: Is that ethical? Or against AS policy? MP: While it is each organization's prerogative whether or not to endorse a candidate, slate, or party, the potential for what is fundamentally a bribe makes all such endorsements suspect. As such, Bill 167 taints all such interactions between candidates for executive positions and student organizations - a connection that should remain open, objective, and free from suspicion. Students have the right to trust their funds to a government that is not tied to unfair obligations incurred while campaigning, but under the new legislation there can be no real assurance of

ni: A major part of the student organization bureaucracy is the role played by the SOLO advisors, who are non-student full time employees, and are the major point of contact between many student organizations and the AS and the University Administration. How will the advisors be effected by this legislation?

MP: The biggest concern as far as SOLO advisors are concerned is the role they could potentially play in advising the selection committee. They would, in all likelihood, be consulted by the committee as a reference, and this would create an opportunity for personal bias to enter the

ni: Are there incidences of bias?

MP: A number of different organizations have experienced the personal bias (both positive and negative) of advisors, but under the old system this was never worse than an inconvenience or better than a slight time-saver. Under the new system, if a highly qualified applicant was not in the good graces of a given advisor, the advisor's influence could eliminate that person as a candidate.

The reverse of that situation could easily be imagined. If an unqualified applicant or worse, one with strong biases, were well liked by the advisor, an appointment could be made that negatively affects hundreds of students. The fact that advisors are paid, non-student staff only further complicates the fact that this system uses "representatives" chosen by a non-representative pro-

ni: This way this new system divides representation between SOLO categories suggests that each category is in competition with the others. Where do these categories MP: A long time ago SOLO divided stu-

dent organizations into several groups and appointed advisors over each group. This set-up allowed advisors to become more knowledgeable in the concerns directly related to their sub-division of groups. The new legislation maintains these divisions, and rightly so. Each category contains groups that tend to put on the same type of event (e.g. sports clubs needing to use RIMAC or a field, social groups reserving large rooms on campus, educational groups bringing in speakers). While there is obviously a lot of overlap between groups and events (e.g. a sorority putting on a sports event), the majority of events fall within a fairly common set for each sub-division. Due to this fact, the continued use of these divisions within the new representation system makes sense for two reasons. The first is best given by example. The sports representative would be more likely to know if another sports organization's request is accurate or reasonable based on past experience with similar events, as would each of the other categories. The other main advantage to this division is that some of the various sources of funding within AS are marked specifically for events within those categories (e.g. sports, cultural, etc.). The main concern is that the legislation only requires seven representatives out of the nine categories, effectively eliminating any representation for about twenty two percent of the organizations up for funding. ni: What happens if a few of the seven

form some kind of faction?

MP: One valid concern is the potential for a group of students from various organizations to align in such a way as to try to dominate the funding committee. While this scenario is unlikely, it is not wholly impossible. The selection committee has no way to know what ties a student might have that he or she neglects to bring up on an application or an interview, and there are no explicit means of removing a representative who would abuse the system. ni: So you see a remote but definite oppor-

MP: I believe there are few people who would be capable of the subtlety necessary to sway the votes without being obvious, but having met with hundreds of student organizations and representatives I know that there enough people to stack a committee who would make extremely convincing applicants, yet incredibly unfair representatives.

tunity for some kind of unfair deal-mak-

ing between representatives?

ni: Are there other avenues abuse might

MP: A much more subtle form of abuse is more likely. Once representatives are chosen, the groups that have connections with those representatives -- personal friendships, co-sponsored events, or anything else -- will undoubtedly benefit from the process.

ni: Any guesses as to which groups will be treated best?

MP: Which groups those will be depends entirely on who the representatives are. However, certain groups are likely to be at a severe disadvantage in this process. Newer groups, many of which have fresh ideas and innovative events that would truly benefit the campus, will probably see less funding because the board will simply be unaware of the group. This differs from the old system because many new groups meet extensively with the VP. Finance who can see to it that the board is adequately informed.

ni: You've raised several significant concerns that this legislation does not address. What changes would you recommend to further improve this new system?

MP: The first major change that should be made is to create a representational system of nomination. A special meeting should be held by all organizations within a specific category, and each student organization should be allowed two voting members. At this point anyone from the organizations would be able to apply, but these candidates would be voted on by the body of members to come up with two or three official nominations to be given to the selection committee. While not a flawless system, at least this would lead to a more representative board.

ni: What else?

MP: The second change would be implementing a method for removal from office that is up to the organizations, not the Associated Students. This could be another vote by the same group as before, or it could be a similarly constituted group called together by a petition signed by 15 or 20% of the principal members of all groups from that category

ni: That seems to address both the problems in the AS appointment process and the potential for bias coming from SOLO advisors. What about the potentials for AS

MP: Election by-laws should be reconsidered, specifically outlining that proposition of votes in return for appointment, whether explicit or implied, would be grounds for immediate removal from the election or office.

ni: So, in conclusion, you think this legislation can be made to work?

MP: Overall, Bill 167 is a well-intentioned attempt to address some of the issues with the old funding system. However, it falls short in the execution of many of its ideals in ways that are potentially harmful to student organizations.

Tales of a Sapphire Queen

doin' here? I never seen you up in here

"Oh hey girl, your outfit's fly. I just rolled up in here on that token ride trip

and I'm here to get my TA'in' on."

"Oh really, what's your name den?"

"Last name Venus, first name Hottentot. I'm 'bout to turn this place out ya know. Get to know the ladies, break a few hearts and to school this matha, since I'm the only "real" sista up in here ya know. I have to live up to my expectations, like the tales of a sapphire queen, knawimine? I've heard mad stuff about this place, people be up in each other's business and the like. Feels like dis is the spot. After all, after that first TA meeting, boom, I got folks peaked. Like, 'who's dat girl and all'. It's only the first week.

I've got my eyes set on a couple a honeys. Like Dat one over there, that tall blonde cutie you see. What's her name girl?"

"Oh yeah her, her name is Stacy. Don't mess with her girl, her man's overdere."

"Hmph, I'm not sweatin' him, I'm fittin' to give her the full lesbian experience. She won't know what to do wid dis! Now tell me, how 'bouts that honey over there, you know a sista needs a little Asian persuasion once in a while!"

"Oh dat girl right there, her name is Mutya. You best be careful with her, she's got a lot of partnas. They be watchin out for her 'n stuff. And besides, not just any person can flip her switch. She's serious, but she's also known for her mad jokes,

"Yeah, whatever. A bitch is a bitch and I can flip any bitches switch. It just takes a little bit of Maxwell with a simple kiss and den boom! I'm not worried Attall. I just need a little time, some Divaness and we's good to go. Besides these people know who I am. They see me comin' a mile away. Fro faded, tits jaded, booty never wayladed. I gots my stacks and I know my niggas got my back. After all this is my mission, to kiss, blip and dismiss the honeys. To reinforce the myth that black women need sex like money. They need to know who we be from the jump. Whatchout! Say somethin'! You know I aint frontin'. I got my shit out dere for everybody to see. It's all about getting' dat nut 'cause these damn tricks are not for kids. They's for me to handle. Because I am a

She must be a freak. Black woman walkin', talkin' with her hips, pursin' her lips. Fro fine, curves defined, parting the wind as she moves on in. Intothe lives of people, not so familiar with as wine. She's brown all over, reminiscent of coco butta. A hypnotic fragrance mixed with vanilla and brown suga. She saunters through the halls, pleated slacks, fully stacked, not market bought and a smile that can't be taught. She must be a freak; she's a black woman walking.

"I don't know, but check her out. She can't be up to no good...even he's got a wood."

From the looks of her, she seems to know no fear. If you get too close you may surely shed a tear. Because after all, this freak of the week works on all kinds. She twists the minds of unsuspecting foes and then drops them with their luck, surely she's a ho. She's up to no good, which is only part of being misunderstood. But nevertheless, we must warn the others, for they're all possible lovers.

This rendition of a Black woman walking onto a college campus as a new employee may be a little overboard in its delineation, but it is reminiscent of

"Ooh girlfriend, look at you, whatchu the subtle ways that these stereotypes inform our interaction, or non-interaction with a new face on campus. Not for a moment will I pretend that this manifestation referred to above is without its deep truths. It must be called out if we are to seriously consider what it means to unlearn our own racism. Especially, when the battle is to fight for adequate representation in academia, which in my experience and through the changes in curriculum is an ongoing process. Meaning, without prompting, some of us know the reasons why Blacks remain virtually invisible. However, when there is unexpected visibility of one or a few it renders a certain surprise, whether we are ready to admit this or not. Imagine the questions: who is she? What is her story? And man, how did she get here? Is she a product of the affirmative action package? This is that tricky space where we spend so much time thinking and theorizing about race, but when the challenge of relationship arises there are no practical tools to rely upon, such as a simple introduction. In turn, it becomes easier or just common place to talk about who she may be sleeping with. With this in mind, I want to locate this discussion particularly to the visibility of Black women in the academe by virtue of their sexuality. I think it is important to deal with the difference in gender and sexuality in that to talk about Black subjects often brings us to imagine Black male suffering and discrimination without considering the specificity of how Black women interchangeably experience racism and sexism. In our seminars, social circles and with our professors this conversation of how to imagine Black women may not be new, but we still act and respond in old ways. Maybe we consider ourselves removed simply because we are thinking about race in "radical" ways. Or maybe we feel removed, because some of us are not white. But no matter the recourse, how does it effect our behavior? I want to call attention to the necessity of remembering the work. To do, what Toni Cade Bambara calls, "the work of transformation," by holding to both its opti-

mism and ruthless vigilance.

The moment of this burden rests with a

pressing question that has stayed with me

since I have begun the process of coming

out. What does it mean for Black women

to have sex? And most importantly, what

does it mean to work against stereotypes

about Black women, such as the wanton

sapphire, and to still be able to have sex?

This leads me to consider what represen-

tation holds. For example, together with

a particular aesthetic, sexual deviance can

be an unquestionable assumption that fol-

lows Black women. I am specifically refer-

ring to the Hip Hop video girl image that

promises to sexually stimulate as well as

to confirm Black women's interest in per-

forming sex. We can easily think on the

style in which some Black women choose

to dress. Processed hair, tight jeans, hip

boots, and a collage of earthtone colors

contoured to her body with bright silver

jewelry set on the skin in ways that can't be

matched. She is sexy, hot, catches eyes

and prompts repulsion or desires that has

everything to do with how she disrupts

agreeable space. If her dress and do is

fitted enough, you may expect her to take

you home, but not to help you with your

homework. For this woman to have sex, it

is wrapped up in stories long riddled with

historical implications and, well, let's face

it, the expectation that she is doin' it with

somebody. There isn't much mystery in

dealing with the like, because the stage

has already been set for her role in life, no

matter what her life choices are. This is a

This duality of representation is what I consider the two spaces in which Black women are allowed to occupy in the cultural imagination. For instance, the first representation is the one I referred to as the video girl image, which can also be the ghetto fabulous Versachi/FUBU/ Hillfiger image. She is heterosexual, a seductress whose sexuality is, as bell hooks claims, "undesirable in the conventional sense,..but gains attention when it is synonymous with accessibility, availability and sexual deviance." She is also a wild woman who may possess some gift such as voice, poetry, voodoo or dance, but this would not measure as intelligence. This contemporary cultural image is consistent with, "a narrative of sexualization disassociated from whiteness." Meaning, this narrative is part of a 19th century past which created racist images to make distinctions between a female body who is black and body who is white. This was particularly important considering that black women's bodies served as commodities. Therefore, in order to make sense of their function and position a racist/sexist construction of their sexuality was necessary to justify the treatment of Blacks. This space proves to be considerably difficulty to occupy, since this is not the girl who

story my sister can tell over and over, even

though she has her Masters degree. This

expectation of the wanton Black woman

was again confirmed when a colleague of

mine, who is a white male, once said,

"you don't expect the video girl to teach

at a University, it's the afro, dreadlock

wearin' sista" that you expect." But what

if the afro, dreadlock wearin' natural sista

is a lesbian? Does she maintain her non-

threatening asexual position necessary to

take her serious in the classroom and

among co-workers? Can she still help you

with your homework, or should Mutya

beware? No matter the aesthetic choice or

politics surrounding Black hair, a queered

Black woman's body is dangerous, and

probably unimaginable. This is not to

privilege one aesthetic over another and

to claim that a particular representation

deserves more respect than the other does

by stating that only a "natural" Black

woman can earn higher education degrees.

After all I am only talking about the differ-

ence between myself (afro/political sista)

and my twin sister (processed hair/R&B

girl) who's intelligence is continuously on

trial just as much as mine. The issue is

the visibility of Black women by virtue

of their sexuality, or in some cases their

a-sexuality. I am interested in compli-

cating an already baneful problem by stat-

ing that relying on stereotypes to deal

with Black women's homosexual sexual-

ity only confirms the investment in imag-

ining Black women as sexual predators

and the duality in which Black women

are assigned to. Also, I am only treating

two styles that are confined to what some

would painfully call the "femme" posi-

tion, because to deal with the complexity

of different identities a lengthy discussion

on different sexual identities would have

to follow. I am simply relying on dichoto-

mous generalizations about Black women

in order for us to engage in different ways

of thinking about racism.

teaches sections in the University. The second representation is the politicized one. It is the position I seemingly occupy, given my Afro and visible presence on campus. The only misdirection is my serious Hip Hop tendencies, but even that can become academic. This representation holds the auspice of resistance. It also conveys the message that I am perhaps more serious and smarter than the ghetto girl, and that, although I have access (since Blacks are often classed by their race), it is contingent on some great feat of personal triumph. In short, the privilege of this assumption allows me

to justify my voice by virtue of my hair choice. The problem, like the video girl position, is that it is still dependent on narratives. This narrative embodies the "mammy" image, who is wise, nurturing, caring and most of all strong. The contemporary version is the strong black woman "oprahite," who has the capability of advancing in society and gaining the respect of her peers given that she remains a-sexual. Each representation is internally and externally policed. The disruption of these two spaces may prove to be emotionally difficult, taxing, and most importantly it may simply just go unnoticed. Also, among Black women, the policing can be harsh since there are definite rewards. We simply seldom stop to consider our own internalized racism. However, it's the common place, everyday external racism that primarily informs the ways we look interpret, and then relate to Black women in the academe. Racism provides that jump from noticing Black women's presence to talking about them without any personal information, because this information has already been provided for you through a long history of subjuga-

So far I have talked about the invis-

ibility and visibility of Black women in

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the academe through two general representations. I have argued that both these positions have a history and that racism informs them. Meaning, both representations are colonized positions. They speak to the very ways we are unable to imagine Black women as multiple, complicated, individual, and collective subjects. Also, even though a racist paradigm informs these two polarized representations, they both rely on heterosexual norms. As for the video girl, the display of her heterosexuality can easily be marked. In a sense, her choice of clothing and hair wear serves as the text to read in the stereotypes. In the same vein, "afro sista" can be easily read as an a-sexual being who gets her fulfillment through the joys of political resistance and teaching her children in section. But how do you read a Black lesbian? How does she disrupt and then again reaffirm that all Black women are untrustworthy? Even though a Black lesbian slips through both positions and has to work from different internal responses, such as, "does this outfit make me look butch?," racism still insists on the categorization of Black women. Her body is thrown right back into the paradigm after a momentary slip, but this time her sex is a bit more overwhelming. Especially, if she is the politicized one who is allowed visibility on college campuses. Her visibility on a campus assumes that somewhere merit came into play, which follows that she may be "smart," or deserve to be there. In which case her a-sexual status goes right out the window and she becomes the new sexual predator. Even more dangerous than the girl we pretend not to see on campus because she is smart and has the tendency to speak. But let's also take note, if the video-girl comes out, God help us!

My point is this, that although these dual positions are strained by heterosexuality, racism is the sounding board in which we contemplate, imagine, interact and talk about straight and queer Black women. It's a sort of language that goes unquestioned like a knee jerk response that is so natural that even when called out, we become invested in explaining away our racism by pointing out other people's dysfunction. I'm talking about the manifestations of rumors. Buzz talk that keep our ears peaked and interests fed. Rumors about Black women feed off our blood. They drain our spirits and disrupt the very effort we engage in to survive. Black women are not responsible for your

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Sixth College Interview:

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my middle son is...[she talks about her three boys as models of the Sixth College students]...I would like students to use this, as a way of expressing themselves. One of the ideas we are tossing around is to ask students to do a history of their first year here by using images and basically creating an electronic portfolio. You know, taking pictures and reflecting on this and seeing how they changed and how they developed. And I believe that this medium allows possibilities that, you know, just by writing we wouldn't have.

So these are just ideas. Nothing is cooked yet, because I mean what I said and that is, if we want to create a community then we have to allow the group for which we want to create the community to participate and they are coming in Fall [02]. We can only do that much and we can create a framework and then we have to see what are the students doing with it, and we have to listen to them, it's very important that we listen to our students

ni: Will [the students] be part of the cur-

riculum decisions? GW: So the college, you know we have the core sequence, and when they come in Fall we have to have something for them... So then what I envision is, yeah, again we are listening to the students too, and say what worked what didn't work, what should we change? You know, the third quarter which is the one for the core sequence where we have will be a very interesting one, if we can pull it off, where we want that students work together as a team, and where we hope that they go out in the community and identify communal issues that they believe are big enough and interesting enough and issues that will shape the future of this community...And then we ask them, report about those issues, deal with those issues, how would you represent those issues? So that everybody understands why they are important and how they are important.

... So I can actually see very different ways of dealing with that assignment. And one would be to come up with a short play, where I would um, present, represent an issue in a very artistic way. And for students to understand that artistic expression is a very important possibility of talking about and making people aware of a social issue, a racial issue...So those are big ideas that we have and I do not know when reality takes place, and when we think of that, I do not have 10 students I have 300 students, how do I deal with this? Sometimes the biggest and brightest ideas just, you know, you say I could do this for 30 students but can I do this for 300 students? But we really want to also rethink, how do we teach in the core sequence? You know, if we complain about the fact that students cannot work together or that they cannot communicate or that we limit how we communicate to just one form and not allow a variety of methods and forms. So if we are serious about addressing this, how do we design a curriculum that allows students to practice those kinds of skills? I don't have an answer to this so I just tell you that we have big ideas and I can also tell you that I'm excited about the people we hired because I think they are willing to engage, not only, they signed on because they want to think about this and they want to see what can we actually do within a university as a small unit...

ni: Do you have a list of the faculty that have signed on?

GW: Well, you have met Hillel Schwartz who will be critical because he is the Director of the core sequence. And as the Director of the core sequence he will help, and I have to be very careful, because

he will not tell faculty what to teach in those different quarters, but we have to help faculty to think outside the box and present the material not just in the usual way. Meaning, if we want interactions and engagement inside the classroom, how do we achieve this with a hundred students? So we need people who are willing to think about this and he needs to be the person who can pull this out of them and can keep them excited. He will also teach, but he also needs to keep the faculty engaged and keep the faculty creative and excited. He will or we have hired two members of the so-called writing program and the writing program is really too narrow a description, because I think this is the curriculum support program, this is the group that thinks about how we teach digital literacy what does this mean. What kind of assignments do we need to give the students, how do we support the students to do this? How do we train TAs to

So all of this needs to be developed by Fall

['02]. So, and then we have faculty who

signed on to teach in the core sequence.

and then we have faculty who have signed on to be affiliated with the College and we want to create programs and special seminars that allow those faculty to interact with the students. And we have some ideas there that are very much uncooked, but um, probably too uncooked to talk about. But maybe come back in a year and then we'll show you what we have done because, um, what really amazed me was when you talk to faculty, and often you hear at UCSD here that faculty is not interested in students, and that they are just interested in their research, but I was amazed to hear very often the wish faculty expressed to be more involved with students and with students lives outside of the classroom. And ... they didn't know how to, and so what we need to think about is, what possibilities can we create for faculty and students to interact in a meaningful way? And there will not be, again, not one-size-fits-all. You know, what works for one faculty will not work for another one and sometimes even one faculty has different needs or different times available... You know, one year he or she may have tenure pressure, you know, there's no time to do anything but making sure that you prepare...[and] do your research so that you really have a strong file to get tenure. But then there may be a time where you really have time during your career, where you really have time to focus on new adventures and just new things, and if we provide opportunities for faculty to interact. One idea is that we have a seminar, now I am talking anyway, but to allow students to reflect what they have learned, to share with other students, and talk about what they have learned in other classes, what the meaning and importance of that is. So it would be very informal setting, but what it would do is it would allow, say a biology student, to help a literature student, a history student, understand what is going on in his or her classes and the biology student would only be successful in doing this if he or she learns to express the content of those classes in a way that is accessible to a professional, so to speak, which I think is a very important skill...And so, how do I see a faculty member involved? I think, you know, a faculty member needs to facilitate these kinds of interactions. And so I don't know if we can pull those things off but I think

ni: I just have a couple more questions that we can probably get through pretty quickly. The devices that will be used in class, they are both handheld and ..

GW: Yes, so we don't know yet... ni: Who are they being supplied by?

GW: Well, okay, so that is the big issue

.. Hewlett Packard ... provided, as a pilot project, handheld devices, I can show it to you....this is the jornada and they are being distributed right now to incoming CSE students...and just tells me that you are here...okay let me just describe it to vou cause we are running out of time. So, um. Bill Griswold in Computer Science, has developed software that works with these jornadas that is called active class, and the idea is and that's why we got this equipment grant from Hewlett-Packard, the idea was that when you have a class of 300 students or more, then how do you communicate with students in this class? How do you make sure that not just the front row, where the active kids are that they communicate with you? How do you allow the more, the shy students to communicate to you that, you know what, I didn't get what you just said, or communicate a question to you. So active class allows students to do this, to type in a question and, I, the instructor can see the question. So I don't have to identify, you know, [as] this is the stupid girl from the back row again, but I can express the ques-

ni: Have you guys thought about how that

might change the classroom dynamics and that it could be possibly negative?

GW: Yes, and so that is exactly the experiment that is going on. So we don't know the answers to this but you know our idea is unless we do it, and do this experiment...unless we do it, and actually see what's happening we can not say its good or bad, or its stupid, and so what... [there is a Professor and a grad student studying the interactions going on with students and faculty in CSE, through these jornadas, and possibly whatever they might be doing and wherever they might be on campus]... they are doing field work and they are watching what's happening in the classroom and allowing us to see what is the impact. How does it change the dynamic, um, we don't know the answer

So this is really an experiment. The other thing that you can do with this, with active class, and the other one is active campus,...this device allows information channeled to me, what I can do is, and that is already partly done by Bill, I can walk across campus [and basically find out what building you are looking at]...The idea is, there are several ideas, one is can we change interaction in the classroom? Is it good or bad? The other one is allowing students basically to make the walls of the campus transparent, to see what is happening in those buildings [on campus], who is in those buildings [and what they are doing]..

Ultimately, what the goal is, this device allows me, no so what is the goal? We don't know. So all this will be watched and observed, you know, how are students using this? Does it increase the sense of community? Does it destroy the sense of community? How does it change how you and I interact? We don't know the answer...so it is an experiment we are engaging in, it's a sociological study. ni: And the students will be aware of

GW: Absolutely, absolutely. And you know maybe the answer is this is disastrous for the classroom...

ni: So Hewlett-Packard gave Sixth Col-

GW: Not Sixth College, it was computer science and we hope that we can learn from this and that maybe we can get some of the jornadas so that our students can use it. And that we can basically continue this experiment. So for me, the CSE students are nerds, I mean they are, it's much easier, they are less afraid of this technol-

ogy. They like to play with this. So the question is, what happens when you take this technology and put it into the hands of people like you and me? How do they respond? Is there a difference? And so, that is what we want to find out. The jornadas then, well this is a one-time grant [for 2001-02], and that tells you already that what we can do with the first class, the second class they probably will not get those...The issue is, do we really want to give the first incoming class these devices? At this point I don't even know if we can, because we need a continuation of the grant, and that's under discussion right

ni: So [these devices] will all be attached

[Earlier in the interview I asked Provost Wienhausen how Sixth College planned to increase diversity with their College. Wienhausen responded that it was by going out into the community, by 'convincing parents and students to come to UCSD' that they would increase diver-

ni: Basically, students will be admitted [to UCSD and Sixth College] based on the UC admissions process.

GW: Yes ... every file will be read and screened [by the UC system]. [She also said earlier, that Sixth College would be at the mercy of the UC admissions for the types of students Sixth College will get.] ni: Is the Sixth College supporting UC Regent Ward Connerly's [Racial Privacy] initiative to basically erase race from California state institutions and UC admis-

GW: That is the Office of the President's

ni: [The emphasis on community outreach is extensively referenced in the Proposed Curriculum of the Sixth College] How would the idea of a community be decided? Will there be a committee and will students be involved in deciding?

GW: Has to be. Um, this is for the students, I can not create a community without the involvement of a community, so this is ...the Dean of Students, the Dean of Res. Life, so these are the people who will create the structure that allows students to create and to participate in this commu-

ni: But as far as the communities that you will decide to work on, like you said, this will bridge the gap between the university and communities?

GW: Our students have to participate in

ni: And they will help decide which communities they will go into?

GW: umm. hmmm

ni: And the writing program will also take place in some of these communities?

GW: Well, the writing program is for the core sequence. But, I can see that when things are in place that many of us will be involved in one way or another in outreach. And which form that will take ... I don't know yet. So, we'll see. But student involvement is key. Has to be. And I think that this is what makes all of the colleges think that they really tick, that they are really for the students and by the students. And, we need to hire staff that understands that. It cannot come from top down. You know we need to hire staff that creates an environment that allows students to be the driving force. I think. We'll see. Big plans. So I hope that we achieve

The language of the construction of this college reflects the concerns and critical questions of the founders of the college. In the words of Henry Giroux, "how we [as teachers] fashion this [pedagogical] engagement, within what value-based

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The Saga of the Sheds

(or "What the Fuck is that Fortress Outside the Ché Café?")

many offices, storage areas, and other things are being housed in temporary structures and moved around every few years until a permanent space is built for them. The office/storage area for the Grounds and Maintenance is one of these things. It will eventually be in a parking structure that will be built sometime in the next decade, but, for the time being, it will need to move into a temporary space. And apparently, the parking lot/forest area barely thirty feet from the Ché Café is just the place to put it.

In the middle of Fall Quarter, Robert Clossin from the Campus/Community Planning Committee (C/CPC) contacted members of the Ché Café and set up a meeting to inform the Ché that 40 feet worth of sheds were going to be built practically on top of the Ché. Members of the collective voiced their concerns and stated that they did not want the sheds to go there. Mr. Clossin said that it was the only place that the sheds could possibly go, and assured the collective members that they would be involved in the decision making process, that they would be invited to all relevant meetings, and that it was reasonable to draw up a written agreement including a concrete date for removal of the sheds

A few months later, at the beginning of Winter Ouarter, members of the collective contacted Mr. Clossin to ask him when the C/CPC meeting at which the sheds would be discussed would happen, since he hadn't contacted them. He said that it had already happened, and claimed that the Ché had told him that there were no problems with the sheds. They requested an immediate meeting with him to get some sort of written agreement which would include a deadline for removal of the sheds.

In the meantime, Physical Plant Services (PPS) was moving ahead, removing everything that was in the path of the sheds, bulldozing the forest area, and erecting a "no parking" sign in the parking lot. They dug a large trench, and began running electrical conduit through it and up the side of the building. When members of the Ché asked what was going on, they were told that the conduit would go over the building, and into the other side, getting electricity from the Ché to power the sheds.

The Ché wrote up a proposal for an agreement, and met with Robert Clossin to go over it in mid-January. He said that it was reasonable, and that he would take it He never got back to them, despite the numerous attempts to contact him. The Ché was notified that he was no longer dealing with the situation, and told that UCAB chair James Lynch would contact them (which, of course, he never did). Many other administrators, including University Centers Director Gary Ratcliff did become involved, however, but often gave

Piecing together the information they had, they figured that the sheds would probably be installed on Monday, January 29th, so they erected a large barricade where the sheds were to go. PPS workers arriving Monday morning were greeted by a pile of logs, furniture, and wooden pallets, which later evolved into a fortress with four-foot walls and a lookout plat-

Nada Borsa from the C/CPC met with members of the Ché Café a few days later and presented them with a written response which answered only a few of their concerns, and basically just re-stated the University's position. They told her this was unacceptable, since it was not legally binding and did not have a deadline for removal of the sheds. She told them that this was impossible and that there was no way that a removal date could be set.

After nearly two weeks of the barricade, Gary Ratcliff, Chuck Morgan, and Nada Borsa met with members of the collective and indicated that they were open to a binding, written agreement, which includes a deadline for the removal of the

The Ché Café is one of the only places on campus where students and members of the off-campus community interact on a regular basis. UCSD is a public school, but the people who run it consistently interpret our responsibility towards the "public" as our responsibility towards corporate interests. Most departments and services on campus are funded in whole or in part by corporations. This limits the amount of involvement that a "common" San Diego community member can have

The administration has tried over the past twenty years to close down the Ché Café multiple times (the most recent of which happened only two summers ago). The administration is constantly trying to encroach on and inhibit the activities of the Ché Café. Their selection of the Ché Café as the only possible site for the sheds on a campus which is largely undeveloped is suspicious. (Yes, most of that land is "park," which supposedly cannot be developed, but the land on which the sheds are to be built is "park" as well.) At best, they don't care enough about students to take their voices seriously in these matters, and at worst, they are purposely trying to antagonize harass an autonomous

and politically motivated group. The gains that the Ché Café made by putting up a fight are significant in the light of the attacks that are constantly carried out by the administration against progressive and radical student groups. This shows what can be accomplished when we fight back and refuse to be moved. So next time they kick you out of your office in the media lounge, next time Matt Xavier breaks into your building, next time Joe Watson tries to shut down any

different (and conflicting) information to co-op, stand up! Get in their way! Build

barricades, break back in, raise your voice. don't follow orders! Progressive and radical students and student groups on this campus have a glorious history of struggle, of resisting attempts to silence or get rid of them, and we need to continue this tradition. In fact, this is only the beginning. (In addition to fighting back when attacked, we need to fight for what we want. We can effect change on campus pro-actively, and create more community spaces and more institutions and projects which empower students.)We need to struggle for MORE power over OUR university. We need more space for real community (i.e. not corporate community). This means more student control over OUR space. More co-ops, more meeting space, less office space and managers and more student empowerment.

In many ways, this is a microcosm of what is happening all over the world right The world economy and UCSD are both being increasingly structured in ways that benefit the few at the expense of everyone else. Oppressed people all over the world and progressive/radical students here both have long histories of resisting those who want to silence dissent. People all over the world fight back and take control of land and resources for the good of everyone. Students at UCSD fight back and retain control of our co-ops and student organizations for the good of students and the community. It is imperative that everyone take a stand when commu nity resources are threatened.

While it looks as though the situation with the sheds is probably quite close to resolution, this is far from the end. Despite the fact that this is a university, and is therefore ostensibly primarily for the benefit of the students, it is being run increasingly for profit. If those of us who are a part of the campus community do not do something to change this, no one else will. Why are student organization meeting rooms being rented out for corporate events or to outside organizations when student groups have no place to meet? Why does Qualcomm have so much control over the research that goes on in the Engineering School? Why do the C.I.A, A.T.F and military recruit on our campus? And why do our fees keep going up and up and up while our access to the resources on this campus keeps going down?

The sheds behind the Ché are just a small piece in the puzzle of privatization of public education, and public education is just a small piece in the puzzle of globalization and capitalism. But the common theme is that the trends toward a university and a world oriented toward providing benefits for the elite at the expense of everyone else is completely not acceptable, and that we need to resist this with all our strength and resolve.

Tales:

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racism. It is not our duty to be strong for you by becoming your teachers. If you need this from us, watch Oprah, but take responsibility for your language and realize where it comes from. It is a matter of collective exchange where we engage each other with open hearts. Even if the Hip Hop video girl had multiple partners, in this historical moment, would it reinforce to talk about her as a sexual deviant? Isn't part of our liberalism or "Baduizm" invested in breaking down oppressive sexual frameworks?

Finally, I call attention to myself as

an object, which is the result of the near impossibility of living as a subject in academia. My objective status or the state, in which I am objectified, renders an optimistic possibility, which is the prospect of marginality. I am not referring to a marginality that is forced upon me, I am referring to a space that I choose to contend for my subjectivity. It is a space where resistance may invoke, as bell hooks says, "a radical cultural practice." For those of us who are confronted with each other on a day to day basis in the interest of "doing the work of transformation," what would this radical cultural practice look like? Therefore, as a collective response to the ways rumors tear lives apart, resistance should call us to be thoughtful and vigilant in unlearning racism. This is all to say that in the dialogue above I recounted a lived experience. It is reflected through an exaggerated, but common, dominant lens that has yet to recognize or acknowledge different representations of Blackness. These are the ways that racist assumptions mark Black women. And for the sista who has a hint of Hip Hop, an overdose of ghetto flava, complicated by gender. and commonly read through her sex, she should expect that her presence will continue to challenge the problem of the visible/invisible Black body.

1 This quote is in reference to Toni Morrison's preface and description of Toni Cade Bambara in, Deep Sightings and Rescue Missions, 1996.

2 Passage from, Black Looks: race and representation, by bell hooks, 1992. It is part of discussion where bell hooks critiques popular cultural images of Black women in film: 65-66.

3 Gilman, Sander. L. "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature." Critical Inquiry 12 (Autumn 1985): qtd. in hooks

4 By "oprahite" I am commenting on Oprah Winfrey's position as an institution that serves to emotionally take care of middle-class [white] women. By white women I am referring to the dominant reflect tion of her audience members and as consumers of "O Magazine."

5 hooks, bell. Yaearning: race, gender, and cultural politics. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1990.

Sixth College Interview:

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projects and with what corresponding strategies and questions, defines much of our pedagogical practice." The engagement of these questions and strategies normalize what are otherwise particular concerns of a certain group of people. In this case the administration of the Sixth College. "Such normalizations," accord-

ing to Giroux, "are efforts to regulate particular ways of seeing the world and defining 'common sense'." This is true of any pedagogy in that the questions and strategies employed may be normalized as the 'common sense' approach to the material. The danger then lies in the apparent lack of concern for questions and strategies important to a diverse body of

students. Ideology - and pedagogical methods reflect ideological positions - should always be examined and questioned. The 'big questions' asked by a curriculum should not therefore simply address the pressing issues facing 'us' as a homogenous group of 'future leaders'. The big questions should challenge students to examine issues that they might, as products of a privileged position of education. never be faced with. Education should open one's mind, not close it tightly around the insular issues of one's own

future career in business. It is time that the construction of colleges and curriculum make student input integral. Change must always come from within, it will not come from the administration. Students need to be involved in the construction of this col-

The University: Past and Future

Masao Miyoshi is a Professor of Literature at UCSD. Miyoshi is the author of "The Ivory Tower in Escrow", several books, and editor of several critical collections. Miyoshi is currently teaching a graduate seminar in the Literature department entitled "University History".

new indicator

I originally intended to interview Miyoshi for his thoughts on the possible connection between the new Sixth College and the direction of the University in general. What follows is more a critique of the role of the University in the past, and the very specific, crucial role it should hold

ni: ... Is the Sixth College really any different from what's going on at the Univer-

MM: No, the Sixth College is more aggressively UCSD. There's no doubt about it. Third College, Thurgood Marshall...that college for example was quite different, and I took it very seriously when I came here. So initially I was assigned to Revelle and I switched to Third College so there was a pretense there anyway of being somehow different and so on, but I don't think that's there anymore...One thing is the art as resistance, because that is what you used in your article [NI December '01 Sixth College], that of course is what I would say too. But I mean, people might object to that, but they cannot object that art and criticism, cultivation of critical minds, that place is almost completely wiped out from this campus. Who will criticize what goes on on the campus for instance? Usually there are some faculty members...or a committee somewhere, somehow you find some space where you can make critical comments. On this campus I think it's almost completely up, (laughs), nothing there...Serious business, I would imagine, even for engineers and computer scientists. I mean why the hell shouldn't some people say to them, what could be a pretty serious consequence of culture, which is absolutely dominated by technology above anything else? And why they don't feel that is necessary is beyond me, certainly. But it's not just UCSD, but university everywhere almost is turning into that... ni: Is this different, well, I wonder what the university was set up for and as, (Miy-

MM: Well, okay, I mean two years ago, I wrote this article called "Ivory Tower in Escrow", and while I wrote it I was under the impression that this is a completely new situation, that is, the second world war of course put the university very close to the state, and then the cold war, of course, made it even worse, and then, this is a new development of that kind of series of events. I don't think that's wrong, I mean, that's quite right, but over the summer I was reading about the university in the medieval period kind of thing, and then I found out the university has always been in service for the state, the prince or priest...almost never has it been otherwise. Only in the nineteenth century, probably there was a period where during the [time] when the nation-state was recognized the university as a kind of liberal education, that kind of place, that kind of thought was available, certainly. In Germany especially in the early 19th century up to the late 19th, early 20th century, now, liberal education that idea itself, is the product of that, but then in the country of England, a liberal education is almost a joke because Oxford and Cambridge were totally in servitude to aristocracy and then, liberal education doing anything you want cause quite obviously you don't have to think about anything else, right? It certainly has nothing to do with job training or any-

oshi is laughing), and if it's any different

be so completely dedicated to the question of public service, and it's not public service, it's corporate service, actually, is understandable in one way. That is the corporation is so powerful that to be in the service of corporation is the only way these guys can stand what public service means, they don't have anything else. That's their limitation. The second one l think its a much more serious limitation. That is the role the university plays now is absolutely different from the role the university played in the Middle Ages, in the Renaissance, in the 18th century or the 19th century, where the university didn't really count. The university in the United States, for example, Harvard was created in 1636, that was the first university. Nobody cared a damn about Harvard, you know. There were only about a dozen students, one professor who was the president, his wife was the cook, and then one or two tutors. So it was very, very small, and that was in the early 17th century and even in the end of the 17th century there was only one other college, William and Mary, that's the only other university. And then the third one Yale, created in 1701, I believe, but altogether, very, very few students, very few professors, they weren't taken seriously at all, you know? And then throughout the 19th century the university was pretty much in a slump, I mean, nobody took the university seriously, so, how they were not important as a place for criticism, that argument cant be applied to this now. Because now there is almost no other institution, the university is absolutely central in production of knowledge, as well as technology, business, so on and so forth. And yet we're not doing our business our responsibility in other words So, I would imagine, finally my complaint about the university, in Escrow, "Ivory Tower in Escrow", you know, it's already sold out, that criticism is still valid, I think. Though the thing is probably we should still think about how to then create that space of criticism. That is what is important. That's why the Sixth College, to be completely preoccupied with the notion of graphic art or information technology is quite unfortunate. Information technology and art, is computer plus Hollywood. That's exactly what it is. It's very, very unfortunate. But this campus is a strange campus. I asked once Clark Kerr ... he is the one who created this campus, together with Santa Cruz and Santa Barbara, I said what makes these campuses different or all they all the same? ... Who decides? He thinks that the first chancellor, more or less has a lot of freedom apparently to choose what's going ...to be emphasized and so on. And this one was, the first Chancellor was York, the guy who still is

thing else, it is merely the creation of a

gentleman and no lady, either, just simply

gentlemen. So then even when somebody

serious as John Henry Newman, a Cardi-

nal and really a great mind actually, why

he says something like the business of the

university is to create a gentlemen. There

is a very interesting point in that. On the

one hand, it's true that he too couldn't

escape from the class identification, but

on the other hand Newman is not in the

least, he does not think that the creation of

gentlemen is great ... because for him the

final education is not really education but

the church, where they teach faith. That

is what counts. Now theology is no dif-

ferent, not comparable to faith, faith and

theology are two different things. Even

morality is not the same as faith. So for

a man like that to say the university is to

create a gentleman doesn't mean that the

university is great, that's all the university

can do. And once you start thinking about

all these things, then for this university to

ni: So McGill was second or third?

MM: McGill was second or third. He was the Chancellor in 1968...He was pretty bad, though

ni: (I laugh.) Yes he was.

MM: No doubt about that ... I would imagine that Atkinson is really the one who clearly marked this university as a university of technology and business. No doubt about that. I mean he was, in his own way, a very smart guy, I suppose, he had a lot of connections which he established I think in the National Science Foundation where he was the head, right? And then he came with all those connections...

ni: So, knowing all that you know about university history, do you think the university is really a place for students [to be criticall?

MM: Well, it depends on what kind of students. I mean, unfortunately there are so many students who think that criticism is totally unnecessary. They need just simply, business, career and occupation, right? So for those who are really for a professional occupation then this may not be a bad place. I don't know. I mean, I would go completely crazy, if I were a student here. But I do think that there aren't that many universities where you can really critically think though, nowadays....To fight against the university we have to know a hell of a lot about what really goes on. Otherwise how can we resist, and oppose, and those such things?...I'm not saying that we should liberate liberal arts education. I'm not interested in that. Liberal arts itself is a very suspect notion. But what I am saying is just simply create somehow a place where we can criticize and then we should encourage people to criticize what we've got, and then think about where we should go in the future. But where do you get anything like this? I mean, a department like this one [Literature], they pretend that it's a very progressive department. I don't believe that at all. It's very reactionary! (He laughs). So I tell them that, and they don't like to hear that. (laughs again).

could possibly happen?

ni: So do you see any spaces where this MM: Well, what I have been thinking about, I have been writing a book about this. But, up to the last summer, the last spring, I was almost completely dismissive, and then the only place you can find outside the university is the old style academy kind of thing, though the academy was an institution that goes back to the medieval period. And then the university was essentially a development of the labor unions, the faculty members were a guild and then they wanted to protect their own prerogative; which is the power to grant degrees to students. Although there are some variations, there are some universities which were founded by students, as a guild, so they are the ones who hired and fired the professors...but the medieval period obviously was Catholic...and so the real freedom, that was secular education, had no space in there. So during the Renaissance they started making up all kinds of places like this thing called academy, in various ways, and the main real thinkers belonged rather to the academy which didn't teach anything, they simply got together, talked and wrote books and so on. When the natural sciences developed, they too were not accepted by traditional universities, so they created their own academies, the British Society, the Royal Society...So I thought, is it possible for us to make something like an academy? Much more free than this kind of thing. but probably that's not possible because we'd have to get money from somewhere outside the institutional framework is not that easy either [to get money]. So then, is there any hope? So I started thinking about the question of ecology. Ecology,

which is much more total than economy meaning economy meaning money, business, is nothing but a sub-system of ecology. Once you accept that then the survival of the planet, not to say humanity, but the survival of the planet itself can be something people can all agree on. Very much like once upon a time, nation-state was the basis for culture and education. Now, it's not really it's a global economy, which can't possibly be on an inspirational basis, education cannot be for the promotion of global economy. Because global economy is no matter what - totally unfair and unagreeable, unequal, unjust. But ecological justice is something else. So I was thinking about, I still am thinking about that, that is, the planet as that totality for which we can devote everything to. And then agree on. And then the humanities, which are absolutely nothing now, I mean Literature for example is a joke, as far as I'm concerned, so is art. But then if you start basing all of that on something like the planet survival which includes really everyone, including the cockroaches and the rats, (laughs), as well as Africans and Asians, and all that. But not racially, not ethnically, but rather for the whole survival of man can we think of justice and critique and all that, but that's what I am

thinking.. ni: How do we rethink that when our own President denies this' MM: Because even those guys, even the corporation, no matter what they say they're included in the planet. They can't keep just simply destroying it. Because sooner or later they'll come around to them too. Although it is quite true that in that process they will try to survive much longer than others. They will first sacrifice the poor. No doubt about that. But at that point all we can do is just simply keep talking. I mean, now, it's very interesting today's [Feb 1, 02] New York Times had Nicholas Christoff ... he wrote something about in Afghanistan the people complain about how many people were killed and so on, but that's nonsense because if we had left Afghanistan they would have killed many more people. But this time we only killed something like 3000, 2000, 3000, 5000, whatever it is and from now on the deaths will be probably much fewer, and therefore we did ultimately the right thing. That's what he says. Now that's pretty dumb. Stupid! Now why is it dumb? Because, since when did we begin to start counting this collateral damage business? That's only because during the Vietnam War we complained and complained and then we did finally make some effect. People became much more sensitive about killing civilians even in Vietnam, even in Afghanistan. That's a result of all of that protest and all that. Now, this guy Christoff completely ignores that and finally he people and so this is a good solution. But before that there was an incredible, you know the murdering of Vietnamese, about 3 million, I mean that was there, so we just came out of this and started counting. So, that's how people forget, now we can just simply keep reminding all these things at every point...It's impossible to deny the importance, consequence, of what we do to our environment. In fact there are quite a few books that say something like we probably have only 25 more years. Well, if that is true then you do not care about your children? Even Bush will care...We should study [the destruction of the environment] and connect that with global economy and our consumptions...The way we are going, culture itself is not consumption, and there's nothing great about having a great culture, unless we take all of these things into consideration. That

may not work, but if none of these things

work then it will be good, because we'll

be gone and we won't have to see it ...

A Novel in Process

Back at home, I loaded my camping stuff into my car: a tattered bag full of clothes I only wear when climbing about in rugged places, my cooking stove neatly secured within the bag, several items of personal necessity discreetly tucked into the inside pocket, and a map. My goal was to drive 420 miles to Zion National Park and disappear into the canyon for a

I always have these thoughts about diving into some far-away place to disappear, especially when school gets out. I always dream about my vacations, and envision myself alone, but then when I am on wacation I start to feel insanely alone. Like everyone else has to have someone to travel with, so my traveling alone makes me feel conspicuously different. I think it's because all my life I've tried to do things on my own and people have always made me feel uncomfortable with it. Asking me questions like, "Aren't you afraid to go camping alone?" Or saving, "It's too dangerous for a girl to be alone these days." And I've never felt it to be a problem. But those fears are now at least permanently registered in my head.

My car was loaded. I shifted into first and pulled out of the driveway. Half an hour later I felt beads of sweat clinging to the back of my knees. Four hours later, my shirt was soaked through. I pulled over at a rest stop and stuck my head under the bathroom faucet. The puke brown walls covered in desperately scribbled messages loomed at me as I turned my head to douse the back of my neck. I pissed quickly and dove back into the car. The tweed seat fabric scratched my sweaty legs as I shifted into reverse and pulled out of the parking space. The sky was blazing with the sunset behind me, and an awkward thrill shot through my gut as I headed east, away from the sunset, away from home and into the night.

Another four hours passed before I reached Zion. The lights were off in the town, and the ranger station was vacant. I drove through the entrance and found the campground. It was pitch black except for the one light that lit the bathroom. I found an empty campsite and set up my tent in the dark. As I fell asleep I smiled. I was finally on vacation.

I awoke the next morning to the sound of raccoons raiding my campsite. My coffee pot had turned upside down and rolled across the soft dirt and now rested against my tent. I unzipped the tent door slowly, relishing the freedom of sleeping in a National Park, where bears and raccoons play and people are always in close proximity. I laid my head out through the door and looked up at the sky. "How beautiful." I pasped I had driven most of the drive through Nevada, the tip of Arizona and into Utah in the dark. Now I could see it fresh under the interrogating light of the summer sun. There were the aspens overhead, trembling with laughter at my late start. "Fine, I'll get up," I whispered, but they kept on laughing

The steps to Angel's Landing twist back and forth up steep switchbacks alongside a dripping stream. stood at the bottom and imagined the photograph could create with such a contrast of architecture. The red blocks of stone taken from the cliff walls and laid by human hands next to a stream created by erosion and weather seemed a study in harmony. I pictured my mom standing at the top of the steps, about to dive down, exposing her ability to fly upon the canyon winds. Then my picture was disrupted by a group of tourists toting cameras and disjointedly lurching down the steps. I climbed up the steps, only to pass by meeting a barrage of smiles and hellos from the strangers. and the ever-present anima shouting, "I'll never see you again" while turning cartwheels in my stomach. Saying hello to strangers always felt like saying hello to ghosts, they're alive when you see them and dead once you've passed them by.

At the summit I sat upon the roots of a massive oak tree that clung to the precipice of Angel's Landing with spindly, bulging tendrils. From this privileged spot I looked down into the valley below, saw the jade Virgin River winding slowly through and was overwhelmed by the height of the canyon walls. I pictured myself climbing them, as I had once thought I would. I calculated about five pitches to climb on the wall directly adjacent to Angel's Landing, the Great

I remember the last time I was in Zion I ran into a friend of mine whom I had met in Yosemite earlier that year. He was soloing one of the walls the next day. That morning around ten, I walked over to the wall and stared up at the tiny shadow of his gear bag, the two lines of green rope draping and dwarfed over the burnt red wall. I couldn't find him. Stupidly, I went and hiked the narrows and later that evening came back to find the wall empty of human signs. A week later I ran into my friend in the general store in Zion. He had taken a fifty-foot fall and barely missed whacking his head on the ledge below as his gear caught him and held him securely upside down while he regained consciousness. As I stood there looking for him, he was hanging by his harness at the end of his line. He had finished the climb that day and when I saw him again he was off to the Gunnison in Colorado.

I sat back and was relieved to feel the solid bark of the oak. I will never climb alone like that, I thought.

By the time I came back from Angel's Landing my campsite had become surrounded by the newly arrived amping hordes. As I approached my tent I realized that I hadn't put away the coffee pot that had awoken me that morning. Now as I looked at the tent the pot was conspicuously absent. I turned around and surveyed the nearby campers looking for any possible suspect who might have taken it. I spotted it being put

to use by a couple of guys dropping tea leaves into ts placket. Figuring it did me no harm to lend out the pot, I sat down in the tent and peeled off my hiking shoes, replacing them with a pair of sandals. I changed my shirt and applied some bandaids and then

went to retrieve the appropriated pot. "Hey girl," the guy nearest to me called out as I

Taken aback by his unreserved friendliness, I paused and called back a meek, "hey."

"Sorry about your pot, but I figured by the way you keep your campsite you wouldn't mind if it were borrowed for an hour or two. You want some tea? I'm making yerba mate.'

"Um, sure. What's yerba mate?"

'It's South American tea. It has a strong kick, so you better bring over your lawn-chair.'

Obediently I went and got my chair. I placed it next to the fire and watched the two men; both with brown hair and brown eyes attend to the tea. Their limbs were long and lanky and moved with steady graceful rements. The one who offered me the tea was taller than the other and wore khaki pants and a white tanktop that showed off his muscular arms. He had pale skin and had short light brown hair, while the other one had long, thick chestnut-colored hair, olive skin and tattooes on his forearms. The fire caught their features and drove shadows across their faces. Despite their differences they looked and moved like

The taller one brought a steaming cup of piss yellow liquid. The scent of wheat grass wafted from the cup. "What is this?" I said, slightly alarmed, slightly

"Like I said, it's verba mate, just drink it slowly. By the way my name is Justin, and that's Ryan." He pointed to his friend who was busy adding a log to the

From the fire, Ryan gave me a brief salute. I smiled

"I'm Sara. Where are you guys from?"

"Well, I'm from San Francisco, and Ryan's from New Mexico. But we both currently work in Santa Fe. How

"I'm from L.A.... unfortunately." Why do I always

"Why unfortunately?" Ryan called from the fire. "Have you ever been there?"

He shook his head.

"Well, maybe there's a reason." I paused and blew on the tea and took a sip. The taste knocked my head back and I realized it tasted overwhelmingly like "Don't drink too much if you don't like the taste, it

makes some people sick," Ryan said. "And dizzy, it's a kind of speed, you could say," Justin added.

I took another small, slow sip, enjoying the warmth and dizziness of the liquid speed.

"Actually, I think I always say that about L.A."

'What, unfortunately?" Ryan asked.

"Yeah. I guess the smog, the traffic and the highstrung personalities just get to me. It's really beautiful and unique, though. And I guess I'm just hard on the place. I like places like this better."

"A lot of people I know, actually. That's one of the reasons I'm here alone." Oh god, a quiet surge of panic fluttered through my body, my ankle twitched and kicked up a little sand. Should I have told them

It didn't matter, they both seemed to be settled into their chairs, quietly sipping their tea.

I fell asleep that night listening to the quiet clanging sounds of Ryan and Justin cleaning their campsite. I had been amazed at the absent-minded way in which they both walked around picking up assorted items of trash left there by previous campers. They reminded me of an old couple picking up after each other without even thinking about it. Their voices, fading as I fell asleep, were full of tender cadences which rose and shifted with the weight of their conversation.

I awoke to find the huge almond eyes of Justin staring down at me from above. His hands were on either side of my face, flat palmed on the ground, and his face looked backwards as I struggled to focus my vision. He had crawled through the tent door only as far as his head could poke through. His forehead was where his chin should be. He stared at me like he was trying to find a fish in a pond.

I jumped and slid out from under his head. I sat up on my knees on the other side of the tent clasping my sleeping bag to my chest and stared at him, not knowing how to put into words the anger I felt.

"What are you doing?" I demanded.

"Waiting to see how long it takes you to wake up when someone is staring at you. You know you really should work on your response time, its pretty lousy for someone so worried about being alone." He smiled affectionately and I knew this was all a joke to him, but I felt a sudden revulsion. This was really creepy. What did he mean, someone so worried about being alone?

"What makes you think I'm afraid of being alone?" "Well last night your body jerked when you told us you were alone. That's not the usual invitation for company - Tm here alone, and I want your company, stop jerking body!"'

He paused, stroked a piece of hair back behind his ear, and looked at me like he knew he'd have me by the end of the day. I was repulsed.

"Usually when a woman hits on us like that she's pretty confident about being alone that she can find someone to keep her company. But you, you weren't that way at all, so I just assumed that you told us that because you were subconsciously afraid."

"Jesus! Do you always analyze people you've jus met like that? And what the hell do you think I'd be afraid of? Guys like you, maybe?"

Justin stared at me, and then stopped smiling. "Look, Sara, I don't know what I was thinking. I just wanted

"Well, next time, why don't you just call my name rather than staring down at me like a crazed psycho. almost had a heart-attack. And I wasn't hitting on you guys, I just came to retrieve my pot.'

He backed out of the tent door and I made my wa out. We stood facing each other at arms-length, hi eves resting somewhere on my waist level, he looked up at my face apologetically.

"I really didn't mean anything," he said softly. "Some times I just don't realize what I'm doing." For the firs time, but certainly not the last, I was reminded of Cal vin's behavior after he had acted violently in the class room. Justin also reminded me of all those white guys I had ever met who thought they could get me into bed just by explaining that all guys are animals, and any guy who claims otherwise is lying.

I looked up at the sky, away from his face. Tufts o Cirrus clouds lay just above the rim of the canyon and inlight danced on the rock wall.

"Where's Ryan?" I asked, trying to talk about some thing else. Why I didn't run away from him right there, I will probably never know.

"He's at the ranger station looking at some maps." "Are you guys planning something?

"We thought we'd kick it around here for another day and then backpack to some hot springs to the North

"How long are you going for?" I asked. "Well the hike to the springs takes about two days,

we'll probably soak for a day and then head back the

next morning. So about five days." I looked back at the canyon walls. How could anyone want to leave this canyon? There's so much beauty and peace here, I couldn't imagine leaving vet.

"We've been here about five days already so we thought we should check out the backcountry." He leaned down and squatted. He was looking up at the canyon walls. "You're welcome to come if you want. I know I just freaked you out, and I am sorry. Maybe I can make it up to you..." his voice faded as if he decided not to say the rest.

I wondered how he thought he could make it up to me. "I'll think about it." I said, almost entirely dismiss

I heard someone walking toward us and looked to see Ryan walking into the camp carrying french bread and a half-gallon of orange juice. "We really rough it out here, don't we lustin?" he

"Nothing but the worst - O.J. and french bread. Have ou eaten?" Justin asked me.

I shook my head. "Hey, can I look at the ingredient for the french bread?" "Be my guest," he said, handing me the bag.

I quickly scanned the ingredients for dairy products "Do you mind if I have some?" I asked Justin. Ryan seemed to be completely out of the conversation by now. He was standing by his tent, neatly rolling his gear into tight bundles. He suddenly dropped to the ground and began to do push-ups. His muscles flexed under his tattoed skin. I suddenly realized that I was staring. There was something strange about the way

"He's really into exercise," Justin explained. "Anyway, that's why I offered. What were you looking for in the ingredients anyway?'

"Oh, I'm yegan." "No way, are you really? Isn't that hard?" Justin

Ryan grunted in disgust, apparently in response to our conversation. He was resting from his set of pushups, sitting cross-legged, his arms wrapped around his

I ignored the fact that Ryan was staring at us. After a few moments of awkward silence he went back to his push-ups. "Was it hard for you guys to buy that O.J. and french bread?" I asked Justin. "No. I guess I see your point. But what about other

stuff, isn't it hard to get enough protein?"

felt like answering. "Give me a break, tell you what, why don't you just watch what I eat today and you'll see how easy it is." "So you'll hang out with us, then?" he asked.

'Why wouldn't I?" "Well, I don't know. I thought maybe you would just go off on your own. I mean, after what happened."

"What happened?" Ryan asked impetuously. Justin glared at him and Ryan dropped the subject. ustin handed us some bread. We both quickly devoured

"Oh, my god, you guys hungry or what?" Justin asked, laughing.

I smiled at Justin, careful not to look at Ryan. decided to forgive Justin. He just hadn't realized how I would interpret waking up to see him staring at me. It was obvious that he regretted the incident. "Please, sir, can I have another?" Ryan asked shyly,

mimicking Oliver Twist. "No! You must lick your bowl first!" Justin yelled sardonically.

I looked around to see if any of the campers in close proximity had heard and then burst out laughing. I sat down on the picnic table and looked up at the sky as Justin handed me some more bread. I lay back on the table and let the laughter and sunshine wash over me

This novel is a work-in-progress. Another section will appear in the next issue of the new indicator.

Activist Vocab List!!!

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(note: this is a joke. j-o-k-e. as in "not to be taken seriously.")

New to the anti-globalization movement or radical student cliques? Here's some vocabulary to get

Revolution: The end goal of whatever you're doing. For example, when sitting in three hour meetings, remember to drop constant references to the revolution, to remind you why you're there. If anyone asks you what it is, don't be able to articu-

Revolutionary: A synonym for good. As in "this tofu tastes totally revolutionary!" or "wow, that sweater looks really revolutionary on you."

Corporate/Corporation/Administration: These are dirty words. Use them as insults. "God, Suzie, you're so... corporate!" "Give me back my tofu, you fucking administration!

Bourgeois: Another insult. Pronounced "boojwah," but often abbreviated to "boo-jee". Used to describe anything that's not "revolutionary." " This tofu has seasonings. That's sooooo bourgeois."

Privilege/privileged: Also insults. Used to discredit your friends. "You just don't understand because you're so privileged." Or "It's just your privilege that's making you act that way."

Oppression/oppressed: Used to give you credit. "I'm so oppressed. Check out my oppression."

Money: Never, ever, under any circumstances admit to having any. Constantly talk about how broke

Socialist/Anarchist: You are one of these. Pick one. It doesn't matter which. If you are a socialist, you will sell newspapers and the anarchists will talk shit about you for it. If you are an anarchist, you will wear all black and break windows of Starbucks and McDonalds and the socialists will talk shit about you for it. Either way, if you are one, you can't be friends with anyone who is the other.

Capitalism: The root of all evil. If something sucks, blame it on capitalism. "I can't find my other shoe! That's just the way things are in a capitalist

Smash the Statel: Something fun to say that doesn't really mean anything. Try yelling it; it's fun!

LET'S PRACTICE OUR NEW VOCABULARY!

1. Jack: "That dress looks really revolutionary on you, Alice. I'm really oppressed, and I don't have any money. Wanna...smash the state... with me?" Alice: "I can tell by your black clothes that you're an anarchist. That's so corporate. And smashing the state is such a bourgeois pastime. You're exercising your male privilege by asking me to smash the state with you. You can just go administration yourself! Wanna buy a newspaper?"

2. Katie: "Fuck, I just smashed the window of the Ché Café by mistake when I was trying to smash the window of Starbucks! I'm so corporate! I'm hopelessly bourgeois!"

Alan: "It's okay, that's just the way things are structured under a capitalist system. After the revolution, it'll all be better."

Now you try it:

At the revolution the other day, a tried to sell me a newspaper. Since I'm an ___ I wear _____ clothes and smash ______, so I wasn't interested in buying the newspaper. I told her, "Selling _ _ and you're just ." She replied that I'm only saying that because I'm _ which isn't true. I'm really really _ ___, and I have . She just doesn't understand __ I am. I mean, smashing is super That's what the _____ is all about, Yeah!

(because if I can't make fun of myself, I have no place making fun of anyone else....)

Interview with the OSL (Libertarian Socialist Organization) of Argentina

The new indicator conducted an interview with the OSL, an anarchist group who was integral in organizing the December uprising in Argentina. If you want the original Spanish version, email ni@libertad.ucsd.edu, and we'll email it to you.

What is the political philosophy of the Libertarian Socialist Organization (OSL)?

The OSL is a political anarchist organization. We say that there is a false belief that associates anarchism with chaos, terrorism, disorganization and fanatic individualism, and often with a musical rhythm or the current counterculture. Actually, anarchism has been and is one of the alternative ideologies of the oppressed and exploited classes.

Where anarchism has had influence in the course of history is in the groups made up mostly of workers and peasants. Anarchism was present in the peasant struggles in the Ukraine during the Bolshevik Revolution, in the collectivizations of land and factories in the period of the Spanish Revolution, and in the birth of the workers' movement in Europe. Argentina exempli-

Is it possible to have similar popular work without organization? In terror, in apathy, in inattention? Evidently not, and the collective action of resistance, dignity, and revolution of those at the bottom is the primary material after which anarchism has been modeled and which have been converted into tools for the liberation which is so integral to women and men. Nevertheless, it's not common to hear talk of libertarian organizations. Generally, people think that the anarchists only put together works of propaganda, and that the social transformations enacted were spontaneous, inevitable acts.

But there is a current in anarchism, inherited by the founders of the OSL declared by Bakunin, outlined by Malatesta, developed by the exiled Ukrainian group Dielo Trouda and compiled by the Uruguayan Anarchist Federation in 1955. It has been put into practice in Latin America, and promotes a profound critique of the fragmented state in which we find anarchism and of the imprecise theories that many times are empty of class and revolution.

This is part of the heritage that gave birth to the OSL, an anarchist product of the class struggle, a tool for political militancy; social and popular, class-based and revolutionary. The OSL does not cease to build itself because it doesn't rest in abstractions, but is a result of the experiences of the oppressed.

What do you think will happen in Argentina? What would you like to happen?

The future in this place is unpredictable. A period has opened in which the dominant classes cannot resolve the crisis and the popular classes don't have the necessary level of organization to implement another system of life. The confrontations succeeded, but without resolution. We have initiated a process that comes from a rich heritage of popular struggle, but which needs new tools to grow. All ways of opportunity have been opened for

the revolutionary forces.

We need to have ideological discussions in the neighborhoods in which we live so our popular organizations will have membership. We need to work with the rest of the organizations in the areas in which we have a presence to evaluate what succeeded and to make tools to confront the state terror and constitute a popular organization. It is a work of conversing, of seeing, of fighting against the lack of confidence in the collective, and against

Describe your ideal society.

The ideal society does not exist. Humans are in permanent conflict and anarchism does not mean the suppression of that conflict. We propose a society in which liberty of people is highly valued and in which the dominion of some over others is unheard of, a society in which the resources of society are at the disposition of all who need them

What happened in December? What role did the OSL play?

On the 20th of December, we reclaimed the streets, the public space, to make politics. Anarchists were found in the most absolute dispersion throughout. In the street skirmishes, individuals were seen collecting stones, and our militants shared the work of organizing barricades with other force, but talking in minimal expressions. The revolt in Argentina was a huge learning experience.

The role of the political organization of the anarchists during this was to participate in each and every new space that was opened, to maintain that which sustains us before a popular rebellion, and to propel the debates of organization and proposals for a program which would make a socialist, libertarian society.

What can Americans who want to help

We think that the best help that Americans can give to Latin Americans is to struggle much and hard there to make the U.S. government take their hands off our resources, stop intervening in Latin American politics, stop sending troops of nvasion, and make the U.S. embassies stop preparing state attacks and political crimes. Get them to dismantle the installations of U.S. bases in Argentina and Latin America and retire the marines in Salta, in Colombia, in Puerto Rico, in Panama. This is the struggle today. It is not only one struggle, for the mere presence of Uncle Sam in our land is oppressive. It is not a presence of help, it is one of exploitation.

In particular, the OSL counts on a series of projects that require financial help to be put together. In general, we ask revolutionary brothers and sisters that live in areas of the planet where it is possible to raise money by parties, concerts, and donations to put together a collection for individuals and collectives here.

Failure:

continued from back page

bers of the Supreme Court broke the law

and appointed Bush president, without any consultation with the Congress or the any regard for national or international public support, this appointed president used his illegitimate and fantasy mandate to unilaterally scrap the ABM treaty with Russia. Anyone who has read anything in detail about "missile defense" knows that it is primarily about military dominance and control and will result in an escalation of the nuclear arms race, putting weapons in space (also against an earlier treaty), and basically promoting instability and more desperate forms of violence throughout the world. Of course, to those who profit from war and instability, and to those who seek to dominate, these are all good things. But security is essentially not what they The interests of this illegal administra-

tion have been made abundantly clear time and again: the perpetuation and growth of an unaccountable, undemocratic corporate capitalist state, constant state of war (with wars chosen for their corporate interests) which means constant profits for the profiteers of war (Bush, Sr. of the Carlyle Group, Dick Cheney, and Donald Rumsfeld and the millions they made off of the fallout of the Gulf War, included), consistent disregard for international law and treaties, a brazen cartoon cowboy nationalist chauvinism, a total disrespect for the movements of the environment, labor, civil rights and global justice, a distaste for civil liberties and constitutional law, and more unemployment, lower wages, lost health care, lost retirement security, more racism, and more general INsecurity for American citizens and all other work-

As an individual who has embraced the philosophy of nonviolence, I oppose any militarism or war in general as crimes against humanity. Specifically, as a United States Marine Corps Gulf War veteran for peace and global socioeconomic justice and as a committed libertarian socialist, oppose any modern war, since modern war inevitably causes the death of numerous noncombatants (and therefore is illegal by international law as well as being an act itself of international terrorism) and the reasons for such war are inconspic-

uously tied up with imperialism and the dehumanizing profit based system inherent in capitalism.

Bush's current war, planned long before September 11, is serving as the bold faced rule rather than the exception to this claim. Organize against war and the further militarization of our society! Defend civil rights and liberties. Promote nonviolence, a peace economy, the universal necessity of the basic human rights of food, shelter, health care, and education for all. Let's listen to the opinion of those who offer an alternative vision of nonviolent and legal ways of dealing with terror: alternative visions put forth by Dr. Noam Chomsky, several respected Human Rights groups, the Green Party, the Catholic Church, the Global Justice movement and the majority of citizens in the world. Namely, work in a diplomatic fashion to bring the criminals to justice in an International Court of Law, honestly work towards investigating the root causes of the criminal act, and then after global democratic discussion and deliberation outline policy that will help resolve or eliminate the circumstances or issues surrounding such

Primarily, the easiest way to reduce terror in the world, as Chomsky has clearly stated, is to stop participating in it.

I encourage everyone to educate yourself and others: read Dr. Marx, Dr. King and Dr. Chomsky, and consider the medicine they prescribe. Dig deeper for second opinions. Use the resources so freely available to us most privileged people. Let's truly end all terrorism, including the state terrorism that dominates our culture and the world today.

Only a mass of us coming together and standing up to this madness will put an end to it. We must demand it and we DO have the power. If nothing else each of us can choose to embrace the philosophy of nonviolence and sharing in our daily lives: I believe that this does have an impact as well, even if we simply share those thoughts with one other person. Thank you all for listening. To thine own self be true. Good Night and God Bless Us, Everyone.

Student of Poetry & Political Theory, University of California, San Diego, Department of Literature

United States Marine Corps Gulf War Veteran for Peace and Social Justice

Architecture: continued from page 4

place. People need places to showcase their individuality, so the concrete walled areas of the corridors could serve as areas to showcase student's achievements and photographs of upcoming events. According to class subject, each department could have an area to display what they learn at school through examples of school projects. This would establish a sense of community and pride. This would also help in navigating around the school since, as Vargas comments, "it is easy to get lost on campus," given the monotony.

Fascist government takes away fundamental human rights and is paralleled in forms of modern architecture that embraces the principles of overwhelming scale and dismal planes of concrete. It is ironic that in our democratic society we have embraced a form of architecture that opposes free will. Under this type of school setting students are subjected to elements that dominate, dictate, and discipline. People have certain needs such as privacy, a sense of ownership, community, and individuality - civil liberties cherished in a democracy. School is a place to

learn about new ideas, meet and interact with different cultures; campus life should reflect those values. We need to embrace more architecture and design on school campus that promote democratic ideals, like that of the Ché Cafe at UCSD and San Jacinto College. To impose a jail-like setting on individuals who are supposed to be free is shameful. Fascist architecture in schools is degrading and reinforces a hierarchy in which the power of school administration takes priority over student education.

-Adrienne Dorig

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"There's No Success Like Failure"

Okay, I probably shouldn't have—but I did listen to our nominal president's State of the Union address. Usually, one must wade through all the congratulatory remarks and salutations before one comes to the first bold face lie in such speeches. Bush's lie came with the opening statement. It is worse than a lie, it is an absurdity and gives us a glimpse at skewed perception of the Bush/Cheney/Rumsfeld/Ashcroft regime.

"As we gather tonight, our nation is at war, our economy is in recession, and the civilized world faces unprecedented dangers. Yet the state our union has never been stronger."

First "our nation is at war": I agree, even though no nation-state has declared war on the United States and Congress has not declared war on any other nation-state (as required by the U.S. Constitution). I agree, even though, when it comes to the captive combatants from the "war," we refuse to grant them "prisoners of war," status, because, after all, this is not a real war.

For the sake of argument, let us agree that it is a war. Well, war, by most accounts, is a failure of foreign policy, politics and diplomacy. This is not the point of view of a radical. Any honest soldier, Marine, sailor or air warrior will tell you the same. So Bush is admitting that U.S. foreign policy has failed under his watch

Secondly, "our economy is in recession": well, that states the case for itself: the U.S. government has failed its people economically, once again, under Bush's watch. The U.S. has gone from record surplus into deficit spending in the matter of one year. We face increased unemployment, lost health care security, more homelessness.

Finally, the "civilized world faces unprecedented dangers": well, I have to agree with that as well, although since Bush does not define "civilized world," I suppose it is open to interpretation. For me, a "civilized world," is a the world of the people who desire peace, freedom, social justice and democracy. And yes, in that case we of the civilized world (pacifists, libertarians, socialists and liberal activist reformers) are facing the largest crisis of our lives. The enemy being those who embrace violence, repression, a disregard for human rights and support either undemocratic corporate or religious tyranny. Unfortunately, our own government

Okay, so the first sentence paints a grim picture: we have failed you politically, economically and socially. But then he goes on to say "The state of our union has never been stronger." I had to take a major double-take when I first heard these words. Failure, when it comes to national politics, does not seem to me to translate into "strength." A great leap of logic is necessary. Bob Dyan's words "there is no success like failure" come to mind. [insert applause here]

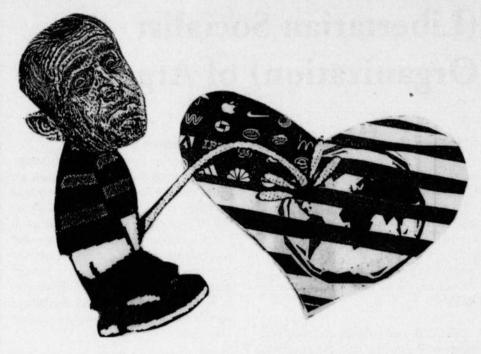
Bush does not seem to find any correlation between being at war (to the tune of proposed spending up to one billion dollars a day for killing, destruction and militarism) and being in a recession. He did not mention what was on everyone's mind: The Enron scandal, featuring his good friends, largest campaign contributor and several key members of his illegal administration. He did name some domestic proposals that make him sound like a democrat (such as unemployment insurance, extended health care, and Head Start funds). This proves that these issues are more important to people than his intended stated "cure" of more corporate welfare and other tax cuts for the wealthy

and more money for the war profiteers that he had been so outspoken about over the last several months. We will see if he is as good as the democrats at saying one thing and doing quite the opposite.

There were several lies about the current state of Afghanistan. The internal political turmoil between the various tribal "warlords" and drug-runners is far from over as recent reports have attested. The bombing has not ended. There is still a very urgent humanitarian crisis made exponentially worse by the bombing. We will only find out in time if they are "free of oppression," and to call the women of Afghanistan "free," even now is stretching things to the limit. Afghanistan will only truly be free when it is democratically run without any outside interference. This is a dream for the world, let alone Afghanistan.

The truth of the latest war is that the United States has killed more noncombatants than were killed in the acts of International Terrorism on September 11. The conservative count was estimated at over 4,000 Afghan civilians killed in December. It surely has increased since then. Combatant causalities (not humans, if you listen to the media) must number in the several tens of thousands at least. We killed a lot of people, displaced many more, and destroyed the infrastructure of the land of yet another very poor and oppressed people. We allied ourselves with known rapists, murders and war criminals, who did most of the dirty work. We failed to capture the alleged "masterminds" behind the acts of terror, let alone "bring them to justice." It is becoming more clear every day, that the purpose for all of this, all along, is oil and corporate interest in the area. The appointment as "special envoy to Afghanistan" of rightwing militarist and self-described national security "doctrine" scholar Zalmay Khalidzad, a former employee of Unocal and former leading advocate within that corporation calling for an oil pipeline through Afghanistan and friendly relations with the Taliban to serve such purpose, has left little doubt as to what the killing and destruction in Afghanistan is really about. The Taliban regime needed to be toppled because it was not complying with United States corporate interests, so it must be replaced with an equally internally oppressive, but externally submissive client regime. The strategic importance of having military forces and control of populations in Central and South Asia has been an historical given since empires were first dreamed up. Dick Cheney, the man whose heart does not work properly, and friends have nearly perfected the cynical manipulation of public good will for the purpose of making money off of carnage and oil. Now Bush wants more of the same.

Well, all the papers could comment on the morning after Bush's State of the Union is Bush's reference, nearly a declaration of war, on Iraq, Iran and North Korea (!?). Well, for those who have not been paying attention—the U.S. has been in a one sided war on the people of Iraq for over a decade now. Bombings and economic sanctions have killed millions, mostly children. This is all well documented. The U.S. did "finish the job" in 1991 because the "job," was to push the Iraqi military out of the Kuwait, in order to "liberate" the dictatorship there for corporate oil. The "job" was not to topple a government of a sovereign nation. People forget that, and they also forget that many of my friends, and possibly yours truly would have been killed if the Marines had advanced on to Baghdad that fateful February. They also forget that aside from this being impractical, reckless and uneth-



ical, such an action would also be illegal and hypocritical. Afterall, our pretense for being there in the first place was because Iraq "invaded" a sovereign state. Illegality and hypocrisy are the norm, however, in the United State's decade long cowardly occupation of Iraqi airspace.

The Iraqi infrastructure was totally disseminated by the end of the Gulf war. The U.S. dropped bombs the equivalent of seven Hiroshimas. Over 200,000 people were killed in the bombing. There has been no Marshall plan for Iraq. Iraq is not a threat and will not be any time soon. Why do the people of the U.S. hate the Iraqi people so much? (one CNN unscientific poll found over 60% would support an escalation in hostilities there). What has the government of Iraq done to the United States in the last ten years that even comes close to what the U.S. has done to the people of Iraq? It baffles, sickens and saddens me, and this is a deeply personal

Iran is another story. I encourage people to read recent history of this great land and its peoples. Our own CIA installed a brutal dictatorship there in 1954 (also well documented), once again to control oil interests, and we have been inheriting the fruits of that action since that event. Revolutionaries everywhere can learn much (lessons and mistakes) from the events of Iran in 1979. Perhaps one should review the contents of the Iran-Contra affair proceedings for some insight. It is also interesting to point out that the Iranian government were among the first to condemn the Taliban and the Taliban's version of Islam: they did this while U.S., for reasons of corporate oil interest, were praising the new regime of Afghanistan.

Finally, North Korea. This tiny country remained isolated for almost the entirety of its Stalinist (state capitalist) existence. In recent years, North and South Korea have made serious strides to a true peace, reconciliation and perhaps one day, unification. In February 2001, less than one month after he was selected president, Bush, perhaps due to ignorance and blunder, perhaps due to other reasons, single handedly disrupted/sabotaged that peace process and encouraged new hostility. Don't believe me, read the news articles of that time and decide for yourself.

Bush does not mention the Stalinist (state capitalist) regime of China (which has just entered the WTO as a major trading partner), the repressive Wahhabist (read Taliban-like) regime of Saudi Arabia (and if you want to look for fanatical pseudo-religious cult-like terrorism—look here first), or the state terrorism that Israel is using, under the leadership of war criminal Sharon, in its illegally occupied territories in Palestine (funded by your U.S.

tax dollars).

If nothing else the video find in December of Bin Laden hanging out with fellow gangsters and praising the criminals of September 11 and rejoicing in the recollection of an act of terror (not unlike Rumsfeld's near nightly fireside chats) proves the culpability of elements within the Saudi intelligence community and government. It was widely reported, but not at all emphasized or investigated that the man Bin Laden was talking to in the video was a cleric from Saudi Arabia who was smuggled into Afghanistan for the meeting by Saudi religious intelligence. 15 of the 19 alleged highjackers of 9-11 are from Saudi Arabia, as is Bin Laden himself, but there have been no calls for that government to prosecute those who support and fund such activities within their own borders; no ultimatum either for the Saudis to transform their own regime or face total annihilation, unless, of course, you listen to one dangerous senator from Arizona. Unlike John McCain, however-who remains a mental prisoner of war-I am not advocating that such polices need to be implemented, but merely pointing out the double standard and the standard hypocrisy. Each of these areas has nonviolent, democratic resistance voices (as did Afghanistan and Kosovo), but apparently Bush does not want to change the situation in any of these areas for the

On the domestic front there are very dangerous things happening for any hope of real democracy that may remain in our corporate capitalist state. I have to agree with Nobel Prize winning Afro-American novelist Toni Morrison in her assessment that we may be witnessing the "Nazification of our society."

Homeland Security-or the militarization of civilian life in the United States-a project decades in the works-has accelerated beyond the wildest dreams of every right-winger. Basic civil rights and liberties that have taken years of struggle and that were won with the very lives of our most courageous citizens and workers are being shredded and disregarded, starting with-but certainly not ending with-the overwhelming congressional support for the so called USA PATRIOT act and the unilateral decision by the executive branch for the use of military tribunals instead of courts of law. The campaign for a moratorium on the racist death penaltythe eradication of which is a sign of any mature civilization-has international support but has been pushed even further beyond rational consideration once again.

Here, once again, security is not on the minds of the powers that be. On December 12, one year after five mem-

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