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A Tribute to Tommy Tucker

Since Tommy Tucker, Assistant Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs since 1983, has finally retired, we at the new indicator have decided to publish a tribute to him, listing some of the valuable services he performed for students during his 18 years here.

He was hired in September, 1983, after a task force (of 5 staff, 2 students, and 1 faculty) convened by Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs Joseph Watson decided that we need a "first rate" student center, even though the existing student center had been built only a few years before and a survey taken in spring of 1982 showed that 2/3 of the students approved of the student center as it was. Watson hired Tucker over the objections of 90% of the student body to implement this plan and to increase administration control of the SCB (Student Center Board - a precursor to UCAB) by adding non-student members to it . Once at UCSD, he convened the UCPBAC (University Centers Programming and Building Advisory Committee), composed of 5 staff members, and 5 student members, who represented the views of the entire campus through their constituencies of AS, GSA, the college councils, the commuter student council, and the SCB. He didn't invite the Student Affirmative Action Coalition or the co-ops to join this committee, because he was afraid it would get so big that it would become "unmanageable."

In November, once the UCPBAC was well on their way to creating a proposal and referendum for a "first rate" student center, he decided that it was time to free up some of the money in the student center budget by closing the Coffee Hut (now known as the Che Café), which at the time housed the Che Café and the Guardian. He was unsuccessful in this attempt, but he would try many more times in his career to get rid of the pesky Che Café.

Under his direction, the UCPBAC split into subcommittees addressing conference/meeting rooms, food services, recreation services, co-ops& enterprises, media center, general space, office space, and the bookstore. They crafted a proposal for a $9.1 million "first rate" student center which would contain a little over half as much space as students said they needed, many stores, and plenty of fast food restaurants. The $9,150,000 dollars would be borrowed and eventually be paid back as $22,390,005 worth of student fees (we still pay more interest than principal on that loan -- for the fiscal year ending August 30, 2001, we paid off $246,000 of the principal and $583,573 of the interest).

He made the entire student center staff, including his personal secretary, pass out literature during the week before the election, and formed a group called "Students for the Referendum" with 2 students to prevent the Committee for Responsible Spending from getting any money with which to publicize their point of view.

Tommy Tucker back in the day

The push to pass this referendum included threatening the Women's Center's space when they refused to endorse the referendum, extending the voting period to 5 days instead of the standard 2, stuffing ballot boxes with blank ballots to get a higher voter turnout, and claiming that instead of needing a 2/3 vote with a turnout of 25% of the undergraduate students and 25% of the graduate students to pass, the referendum only needed a simple majority with 20% turnout. Of course, this change was not announced until the election results were tallied and it was discovered that barely 21% of the student body had voted, and that the referendum had passed by a narrow 54.4% to 45.6% margin.

Also to pass the referendum, students were told that the new "first class" student center would include many things which never materialized, including a cultural center, a co-op education and resource center, and tripled floor space for co-ops. This also raises questions about whether the referendum which Tucker and Watson tried to push through last year would actually include any of the things which the students on Watson's committee said they wanted in it.

The next major thing that Tucker did for students was a series of attempts to close down Groundwork Bookstore. In August 1984, once he had begun negotiating with the UCSD bookstore to get them into the "first class" student center, he told Groundwork that they had to stop selling textbooks or they would be shut down. (Coincidentally, Vice Chancellor Watson is now trying again to give the UCSD

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U.S. intervention in Columbia may be entering a new stage

On January 9, 2002 Colombian president Andrés Pastrana announced that the government was pulling out of peace negotiations with the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia- Ejército del Pueblo (F.A.R.C.-E.P.) and giving the rebel army 48 hours to clear out of the 15,000 square mile neutral zone ceded to them in 1999. Pastrana's actions portended a dangerous escalation in a civil conflict that has plagued the country for five decades. Fortunately, the government backed off their bluff and agreed to resume negotiations, but the incident the danger that this stand off poses for millions of Colombians. In the last ten years the conflict taken 35,000 lives and displaced 1.5 million; in addition, 1 million Colombians have fled the country.

The negotiations were hung up on three key demands of the F.A.R.C.-E.P.. The first was the grounding of warplanes that were flying over rebel encampments; the second was the dismantling of roadblocks around the neutral zone, where paramilitaries exact taxes on civilians bringing goods into the area; and, lastly, official recognition of the F.A.R.C.-E.P. as a wartime belligerent, thus granting observance of the Geneva Convention. The last demand alludes to the U.S. State Department's labeling of the F.A.R.C. as a terrorist organization, which makes them a potential target of an indiscriminate war against terrorism. Intervention in Colombia's conflict is nothing new to the U.S., which has sided with the government under the pretenses of a War Against Communism and more recently a War on Drugs.

Who is the U.S. arming now?

The current stage of U.S. intervention in Colombia began in 1989 when George Bush Sr. declared an international war on drugs. With the Cold War winding down, policy makers needed a new justification for militarizing Latin America, but there was no longer the political will to put U.S. soldiers in harm's way. Therefore, most assistance has come in the form of intelligence sharing and gifts of arms. This proves problematic because these tools have not always fallen in the hands of honest or beneficent governments, and few questions are asked as long as politicians at home can sell themselves as tough on drugs. Throughout the Nineties, Peru's president, Alberto Fujimori, and his right hand chief of intelligence services, Vladimiro Montesinos, were recipients of such aid and poster children for the success of a strong arm policy against South American narco-guerrillas. Since then, Fujimori has fled in exile to Japan after authoring an election fraud in 2000, and Montesinos has been jailed and accused of organizing death squads, smuggling arms, trafficking drugs and bribing elected officials.

Despite warning signs of corruption and human rights abuses in Colombia's armed forces, the U.S. congress passed a $1.3 billion dollar military aid package in 2000 as part of Plan Colombia, president Andrés Pastrana's revitalization project for the country. This makes Colombia the third largest recipient of U.S. military aid behind Israel and Egypt.

Who is this aid going to? The army that is supposed to root out drug traffickers and extinguish the U.S. drug problem at its origin is linked to paramilitary forces that are responsible for grave human rights abuses as well as drug trafficking. These paramilitary forces are referred to as the sixth division in Colombia's army- there are only five official divisions- and Human Rights Watch states, "Colombian army brigades and police detachments continue to promote, work with, support, profit from and tolerate paramilitary groups, treating them as a force allied to and compatible to their own." Paramilitary groups were responsible for over three quarters of civilian murders and disappearances in 2000, and H.R.W. reports that up to October of 2001 paramilitary forces committed

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What is fascism?

At the end of World War I, Europe was in shambles. Its economic, industrial, and social infrastructure had been ravaged by years of bombing, wartime industrial strain, and deadly blockades – and many people were looking for solutions to the catastrophe, searching for something that could make their lives hopeful again. There were a good number of Socialist and Communist movements that broke out across the continent; the 1917 Russian Revolution was possibly the most famous. Several right-wing nationalist movements also emerged at the time, employing xenophobic and racist propaganda techniques to shift blame onto minority groups. Through impassioned rhetoric, heavily laden with pseudo-historical mysticism, they advocated the use of violence as a means of reestablishing an imagined pre-war Golden Age.

In Italy, the primary reaction to the appearance of progressive political strength took the form of a group who identified themselves as "Fascists", led by a former socialist, Benito Mussolini. Their doctrine was one of military conquest and the enforcement of hierarchical power structures through state violence. Mussolini, in the entry he coauthored for the 1932 Italian Encyclopedia, described Fascism:

> The Fascist accepts life and loves it, knowing nothing of and despising suicide: he rather conceives of life as duty and struggle and conquest, but above all for others — those who are at hand and those who are far distant, contemporaries, and those who will come after...
>
> Fascism, now and always, believes in holiness and in heroism; that is to say, in actions influenced by no economic motive, direct or indirect…
>
> After Socialism, Fascism combats the whole complex system of democratic ideology, and repudiates it, whether in its theoretical premises or in its practical application. Fascism denies that the majority, by the simple fact that it is a majority, can direct human society; it denies that numbers alone can govern by means of a periodical consultation, and it affirms the immutable, beneficial, and fruitful inequality of mankind, which can never be permanently leveled through the mere operation of a mechanical process such as universal suffrage....
>
> The foundation of Fascism is the conception of the State, its character, its duty, and its aim. Fascism conceives of the State as an absolute, in comparison with which all individuals or groups are relative, only to be conceived of in their relation to the State. The conception of the Liberal State is not that of a directing force, guiding the play and development, both material and spiritual, of a collective body, but merely a force limited to the function of recording results: on the other hand, the Fascist State is itself conscious and has itself a will and a personality -- thus it may be called the 'ethic' State...."

Mussolini faced some daunting opposition to his assumption of power, however. Italy's workers were becoming increasingly organized against exploitation under a Capitalist economic order that was failing miserably to provide for the people's needs in the wake of the World War I. Through massive agricultural strike campaigns, factory occupations, land seizures, and political organizing, laborers managed to secure a tremendous amount of control over their economic lives. Along with the Socialist and Catholic Parties who helped represent them in the government of Rome, workers won major improvements in wages, public services, and land rights. Socialist Revolution was impending, so Mussolini stepped in to take power before a people's movement preempted him. He organized a private army of primarily young, middle-class World War I veterans whose anger about the difficult times they returned to at the end of the war was easily harnessed for violent political ends. The Black Shirts (Camicie Nere), as they were called, killed hundreds of prominent Socialists, crippled cooperatives and unions through strike-breaking and violence against their organizers, colluded with the police and army to crush peasant protests, and generally terrorized labor movements all over the country in the years between 1919 and 1922. Mussolini took advantage of the Black Shirt squadrons' success, and made a series of ingenious political maneuvers that eventually put him in the position of dictator ("Il Duce"). He spent the mid to late 1920's dismantling the legal rights of Italian citizens, brutally oppressing all sorts of opposition (including a remarkably resilient underground Communist movement), isolating the Vatican, and wresting control over the media.

In Germany, another post-WWI incarnation of Fascism arose in the form of the National Socialist German Worker's Party – the Nazis. Adolf Hitler stood at the head of the political movement, preaching a form of nationalistic tribalism that demanded the destruction of the State's "enemies", primarily Jews and Marxists. His party took advantage of the improving economic conditions of the 1920's and the subsequent decline of the 1930's to raise public support, using manufactured historical imagery and explicit advocacy of Social Darwinism in its propagandizing. The Nazis took every opportunity to undermine the power of the broadly supported (though divided) German workers' movements, employing extensive violence against its leaders as well as more conventional techniques of political exclusion. Eventually, it was able to wrest power completely for itself and establish a military dictatorship that silenced dissent and resistance through the use of death camps and a staggeringly sadistic secret police. Within a few years, the Nazis began their plan to secure world-wide military control by allying themselves with Mussolini and the Japanese Imperial government. Together with a number of nationalist movements in other European nations, they initiated a full-blown genocide campaign (later known as "The Holocaust") designed to wipe out Jews, Gypsies, and dissident populations in Germany in the process of occupying the entire continent. The Polish invasion of 1939 sparked the beginning of World War II, and Europe was soon laid to ruin for the second time in twenty years.

The war was won by the Allies, but Fascism did not die. While Mussolini and Hitler disappeared along with their Croatian, Hungarian, Romanian, Norwegian, Japanese, French, and British counterparts, Franco's brutal Fascist Falange Española Party in Spain (also created to oppose successful worker's struggles of the 1920's and 30's) maintained some semblance of neutrality during the war and thus avoided destruction. Neo-Nazis and other post-war Fascism-advocacy groups have waxed and waned across the globe in the fifty years since then, periodically posing serious threats to minority populations. Fascism also continued to live on after 1945 in a new, unexpected way: American economic imperialism. Taking many lessons directly from the Nazis, and devising new techniques of oppression and control when necessary, the USA rapidly took advantage of the dominant position it was left in after the war to start organizing the world according to its own economic and military interests.

Advocates of the new Western imperialism assert the supremacy of the State when they beat the drums of "law and order". Government must enforce their vision of Right and Wrong with courts and billy clubs. In their unflinching self-exaltation as moral guides for the planet, Western economic powers demand subservience from less powerful nations. They push their agendas through institutions such as the WTO, IMF, and World Bank, by threatening economically weak countries with further disaster if they do not implement "Washington Consensus" policy. Nations who do not comply are invaded or bombed into the Stone Age (Vietnam, Grenada, the former Yugoslavia, Panama, Iraq), mercenaries are paid to wage war on them (Nicaragua, Iran, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine), their people are starved to death and denied medicine by blockades and embargoes (North Korea, Iraq, Cuba), and their governments are manipulated or simply overthrown via assassination and bribery (Chile, Mexico, Ecuador, Greece, Italy, Colombia, Peru, Russia). Western elites regularly demand the enforcement of Democratic ideals in societies whose staunch commitment to justice and egalitarian treatment under the law puts the US's own political system to shame – or, more often, whose slaughter and pillage was largely funded by the US until just before their designation as official enemy. The policy justification given by those who ultimately control our government — one can read it daily in the international business press — is that foreign governments often do not understand the needs of their people and are doing them a disservice by not enforcing American Capitalism, which will, of course, save them in the end. The justification given by those who actually officiate in our government – which one can see on television and read in The New York Times every day – is an abridged version of the same argument, cleaned up with "emotionally potent oversimplifications" for the general public's less indoctrinated ears. The doublethink reaches levels of histrionic absurdity one would think impossible in such a free society if it didn't come out of Tom Brokaw's mouth five nights a week.

The United States is in a unique domestic policy position as a Fascist government. Through all its cruelty, it must maintain the outward appearance of democracy to keep the support of its voters. In order to imprison and disenfranchise large recusant sectors of the electorate – primarily oppressed minorities – it must pass laws that target those populations in only indirect ways. The so-called "drug war" has been the primary mechanism for doing so in recent years. Foreign policy fosters the influx of drug traffic into poor regions of the US, where people of color (and others) may be rounded up by the millions and caged in human warehouses when they are caught responding to their hopeless economic prospects by taking advantage of the lucrative drug trade ubiquitous in their shattered communities. Even public schooling is used to maintain the subjugation of socio-economically disadvantaged populations: financial dependence on local property taxes ensures that poor communities can afford only highly impoverished school systems. Potential dissent is also curtailed through the fine tuning of economic control over major media sources. Those companies who demonstrate superior greed – paying workers as little as possible, crushing competition, ignoring costly environmental, cultural, and other eminently human concerns – are rewarded for their behavior by being given hand-outs in the form of public airwaves or monetary subsidies, as embodied in such legislation as the 1996 Federal Telecommunications

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the new indicator

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Tucker:

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bookstore a monopoly on textbooks on campus by trying to force all professors to order their class books through the bookstore instead of Groundwork or the General Store) When this didn't work, he tried again in 1987, joining with Lynne Peterson and Joe Watson to suspend Groundwork's student organization status because of the existence of the non-profit Groundwork Resource Center.

Since he had done such a good job getting the students a "first class" student center, in May of 1988, he began trying to get an athletic facility for the students. The RIMAC advisory committee was hand-selected in May of 1988, comprised of 9 student and 13 non-student members. Tucker, as chair of this committee, controlled its direction, and often made decisions by "mutual understanding" instead of taking a vote. Due to the lack of student input, passing the referendum would be a hard task, but he was up to it. $2600 worth of "informational" flyers about why the students need to vote yes were printed up and distributed primarily in the existing athletic facilities and to sports teams. They were also put out at polling booths, and poll workers instructed students who had questions about the referendum to look at the "informational" flyers. Since the flyers were "informational," of course, there was no need to provide the required matching funds to students with opposing views. They campaigned for a month, and, much like last year's referendum, falsely told students that the fee increase would be covered under financial aid, despite a letter from the state legislature stating otherwise. The referendum passed by a slim margin with just barely a 20% turnout and only as many stuffed ballot boxes as was necessary. He successfully deflected the attempts of some pernicious students to recall the election and hold fair elections, and made his resumé even more impressive by having pushed through a second fee referendum.

As if that wasn't enough of a service to students for one year, he tried to get rid of the Che Café twice in 1988. During the school year, he unsuccessfully tried to close them for alleged health and safety violations, and, during winter break, the police department sent them overdue notices for a bill they had never received. The police had erroneously billed them for police services at a concert in November, and Tucker had intercepted the bill before the Che Café could get it. His copy of the blueform for the concert was also more correct than the official copy, since the official copy didn't include any mention of the police services, and his had all the information about the Che Café hiring police to provide security for their concert.

The overdue notices were sent over winter break, and threatened to put a hold on the registration and academic records of the Che members if they didn't pay the bill. When the Che called the police department and were told that the misunderstanding could be cleared up if they sent a memo, they did, but the police never got it because Tommy intercepted it too. Che members tried to set up a meeting with him to resolve the issue, but he cancelled the meeting, opting instead to deal with the issue much more effectively by calling and harassing other Che members.

This stretched through most of January, and in June, 1989, he tried again to rid the campus of that annoying Che Café. The Che Café was ordered to shut down over fictitious accounts of drinking and drug use. They were told to cancel their next show, a benefit for San Diego Straight Edge, an organization which promotes a drug/alcohol-free lifestyle, and all Che members were banned from campus. They held the concert anyway, and 7 police cars with 5 police officers and 7 CSO's arrived to stop this nonsense. The patrons engaged in what Che members called "proper civil disobedience procedures" by sitting on the floor while the band played so the police couldn't walk through them.

Having failed to get rid of Groundwork and the Che individually, the next step was to try to get rid of all the co-ops at once. In 1990, he tried to evict the co-ops for not signing a contract which would give the administration and police keys to all the co-ops. The co-ops were naturally wary of this arrangement since the administration was always trying to shut them down, and since campus police had been caught breaking into Groundwork at night and stealing money ten years before.

The next attempt to help students out by getting rid of those bothersome co-ops was in 1991. University Centers Director Jim Carruthers had suggested to Groundwork that they look into doing their own payroll since he didn't want to spend the money to do payroll for the co-ops anymore. When they acted on this suggestion, he and Tucker decided to make good on Tucker's threat to "take immediate action to eliminate Groundwork Books", over the objections of the University Centers Board. They declared that all of the co-ops had to complete financial audits within 30 days, and that they had to give up their student organization status within 90 days (although Groundwork only got 30 days). When this didn't happen, Carruthers posted a notice that Groundwork was permanently closed. Groundwork members immediately occupied their store, and the University Centers Board voted to fire Carruthers.

In mid January, 1992, angered by their refusal to complete a financial audit, Tucker decided to break into the General Store in the middle of the night. Surprised that he set off the alarm, he called the alarm company pretending to be a co-op member, and they called the real co-op members at 1:30 am to tell them what was happening. When they go to the store, they discovered that he had changed the locks, so they broke the locks and opened for business as usual the next morning. At 10am, Tucker had the police clear out the store, and they dragged out ten co-op members and patrons, and one baby. Co-op members grabbed whatever they could and clung to furniture and merchandise trying to stay inside. By 11 am, they came back with 200 students, broke a window, climbed inside, and proceeded to occupy their store. They ended up filing a restraining order against Tucker and his cohorts to keep them from interfering with business again.

In February 1993, the UCB (University Centers Board) tried to hire legal counsel for advice, and were promptly "disestablished" by Vice Chancellor Watson. While Watson claimed that this "disestablishment" had nothing to do with the fact that the UCB was beyond the control of the administration and that Tucker had not succeeded in getting non-students on the board, Tucker explained that "the key is that [we were] not getting good recommendations from the current board." They created the University Centers Advisory Board (UCAB), which, as the name implies, is an ADVISORY committee, not a decision-making one. UCAB was made up of representatives from most of the same constituencies that the UCB had been, except for the conspicuous absence of a co-op representative and the addition of representatives from the staff association, the academic senate, and the alumni association.

Four months later, Tucker and his cohorts decided to evict all the co-ops. The co-ops, AS, GSA and the administration were in the process of negotiating contracts outlining what their relationships would be, and the administration refused to sign the same version of the contracts that the AS and GSA had signed with the co-ops, opting instead to order them out. They ended up backing down, however, and all of the parties involved signed contracts which they still use to this day.

During the 1999-2000 school year, he made a half-hearted attempt to get students to pay for yet another student center, but most of them didn't even realize that there was a referendum going on, and it didn't get anywhere near the requisite turnout.

In spring of 2000, having gone for quite a few years without trying to help the students get rid of those annoying co-ops, Tucker again focused his sights on the Che Café. Using similar tactics to those from 1989, co-op advisory Randy Woodard began to accuse the Che of allowing drinking, drug use and fighting at concerts, steadfastly refusing to provide any documentation for any of the alleged incidents. The Che were ordered to make all future concerts 18+, and they insolently responded by insisting that they have always been and always will be all-ages. They were told to cancel all summer programming, and, a few weeks into winter break, Tucker decided to try to change their locks like he had done to the General Store in 1992.

Having learned to not break into co-ops himself, he made Matt Xavier do it. A Che member caught Matt breaking into the building, ran to Groundwork, and came back with some Groundwork members for backup. The co-opers refused to leave the building, and called dozens of co-op members, ex co-op members, and community supporters to come help. They staged a three day occupation of the Che, complete with bands, free food, and lookouts on the roof with walkie-talkies. The administration eventually had to back down, and the Che resumed normal operation.

When school started again in the fall of 2000, the quest for a third student center began in earnest. A new administrator, Gary Ratcliff, was hired as the new University Centers Director to help pass a referendum for it. Tucker and Watson convened a committee to draft the referendum, but student opposition was highly organized from the beginning. They got Tucker to step down from his role as co-chair to an advisory role, and got reps from the SAAC and the co-ops added to the committee. When MEChA asked for representation, however, they were completely ignored. While the good student government-types were trying to draft the referendum, the pernicious students who opposed the referendum made presentations to them about topics such as the history of fee referenda at UCSD, regulations for student fee funded facilities, and autonomy of student government. Watson dismissed student input as "inappropriate noise", and, when a member of the committee said that the committee belonged to the students on it, Watson yelled at him, saying "THIS IS MY COMMITTEE!!" multiple times. Watson's committee decided that the fee would be $214.20 a year, and would fund a new student center next to the Price center (furnished with $3000 sofas and $200 fake plants), NCAA Division 2 athletics, and more.

The opposition forced the elections committee to have a set of written election rules before the election began, and they got the administration to disclose how much they were spending on propaganda and grant them the matching funds required by the regulations on fee ref-

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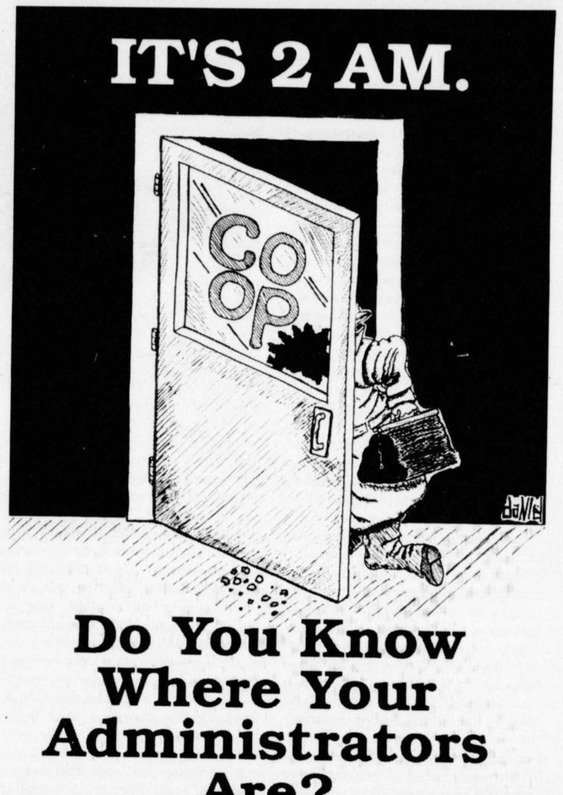

Do You Know Where Your Administrators Are?

Columbia:

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the overwhelming majority of massacres attributable to any group. Furthermore, paramilitary groups have been known to directly target human rights defenders.

The largest paramilitary group, Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia, boasts over 11,000 troops financed by the same drug trade that Plan Colombia promises to curb. Furthermore, many police and military officers "moonlight" as A.U.C. paramilitaries, augmenting their paltry salaries many times over. The A.U.C. are headed by Carlos Castaño, a major landholder and notorious drug trafficker who has evaded justice for years. In many cases, villages are cleared and people displaced ostensibly to combat guerrillas and their sympathizers, while the real motive is to increase the landholdings of powerful individuals like Castaño. Clearly, the financing under Plan Colombia is a boon to paramilitary groups and a setback for institutions that promote democracy and human rights.

Paramilitary violence is not the only quandary that Plan Colombia creates. The U.S. has also waged ecological warfare in effort to eradicate drug crops in the dense Amazon jungles of Colombia. This consists of the aerial dusting of thousands of acres with herbicides, destroying legal crops that are the food supply for indigenous and peasant farmers. Fish die and livestock fall ill due to the indiscriminate spraying, and children develop skin rashes and eye infections. This strategy further endangers the fragile Amazon ecosystem by pushing farmers and drug cultivators further into undeveloped areas.

A war on drugs?

These human and environmental costs would be difficult to justify even if the U.S. sponsored war on drugs proved successful, but illicit drugs are still bountiful and cheap on the streets of U.S. cities. In fact, throughout the Nineties the price of cocaine and heroine dropped to one third of its price when the war on drugs was declared. So why are $19 billion spent yearly to strengthen domestic police forces, militarize the border with México, and arm corrupt militaries abroad all in the name of an unwinnable war on drugs? Donald Rumsfeld, the U.S. Secretary of Defense has even confessed that illicit drug use is "overwhelmingly a demand problem." Indeed, the illogic of the war on drugs is a problem with the laws of supply and demand. If drug crops abroad are destroyed while the demand at home is maintained, then it becomes even more profitable a business for those whose crops are spared. The increase in price due to a decreased supply and a steady demand encourages poor farmers to abandon legal crops; this trend is accelerated by transcontinental trade agreements that pit small farmers abroad with the state subsidized agricultural giants at home. This is perhaps why drug production has increased in Colombia even though 200,000 acres of crops were destroyed in 2001. Furthermore, coca crops are a protean target, when one plantation is destroyed another pops up on the opposite hillside or across an international border. This is how Colombia became the largest exporter of cocaine into the U.S.. In the late Eighties and early Nineties a tough eradication policy in Peru, then the major exporter, reduced coca crops by 203,000 acres, yet in that same period Colombia's crops increased by 204,000 acres. Thus, Plan Colombia similarly threatens the human security of neighboring Venezuela, Peru, Brazil and Ecuador by transferring their drug production over international borders.

Many of the Colombian soldiers implementing Plan Colombia were trained in the U.S.

What about regional stability?

Once the logic of the war on drugs is sunk, policy makers are quick to justify their actions by invoking the threat to regional stability that drug trafficking presents. A publication of the Institute for National Strategic Studies states, "The expanding nexus between the insurgents and drug cartels is a major threat to Colombia's sovereignty." The "Strategic Forum" goes on to warn of the "destructiveness" of narco-guerrillas that threaten to break Colombia into "anarchic regions" and "damage the region's economy and stability [and] foster insurgency in neighboring countries." This think tank for U.S. defense policy proposes a set of frightening solutions to Colombia's insecurity, such as "implementing legislation to protect the military and police from constant charges of human rights violations during periods of extra-constitutional rule." Such measures are the product of the national security apparatus that is more concerned with justifying its existence than guaranteeing human security in the Third World. The regional security argument fails to distinguish between the motives of insurgents and drug traffickers; furthermore, it ignores the fact that instability and violence predate the F.A.R.C.-E.P. and the boom in the drug trade. This ignorance was typified by President Clinton's drug tsar, Barry McCaffery, who attributed Colombia's civil strife to "struggling over money out of drug production."

In fact, the F.A.R.C.-E.P. are often at odds with drug traffickers, who for the most part have large land holdings that displace peasant and indigenous farmers. Furthermore, it is the ultimate goal of the F.A.R.C.-E.P. to eliminate the illegal drug trade by legalizing drug consumption and thus making cultivation unprofitable.

Today's violence and instability in Colombia date back to the period between 1948-53, known simply as "La Violencia" when 200,000 people died in a civil war between the nation's Conservative and Liberal political parties. After a brief military dictatorship the two warring parties united in a monolithic front that excluded alternative parties, weakened democracy and concentrated the nation's wealth in ever fewer hands. The failure of democratic institutions and the promise of the Cuban Revolution inspired the emergence of several guerrilla armies of which the F.A.R.C.-E.P. and the E.L.N. (National Liberation Army) are the only survivors. The advent of Colombia as a major producer of cocaine and heroine only added fuel to an already combustible political environment. Those who simply characterize the F.A.R.C. as a terrorist organization that hides behind politics in order to make money from kidnapping and drug trafficking fail to recognize the systemic problems facing the Colombian polity.

The F.A.R.C. origins in U.S. intervention

The U.S. has been involved in the war against the F.A.R.C. since their inception in 1964. On May 18th of that year, then President Valencia declared the initiation of Operation Marquetalia, intended to crush the so called "independent republics" that Communist Party members had created in the region of Tolima; according to the Communist Party these enclaves constituted an "agrarian self-defense movement" with no aspirations of sovereignty or aggression against the state. Nonetheless, Valencia sent 16,000 troops armed and trained by the U.S. to take over the hamlet of Marquetalia, which was defended by 46 men and 2 women armed with shotguns and outdated rifles. The narrow escape of those 48, who later went on to form the F.A.R.C.-E.P., has become legend, and one of them, Manuel Marulanda, is the current leader of the movement.

The F.A.R.C.-E.P. maintains that war was thrust upon them despite their good faith efforts to seek a political solution to the conflict. This was the case in 1984 when both sides signed the Uribe Accords and a truce was declared. The F.A.R.C.-E.P. then entered the political arena with the Patriotic Union Party, and, in a betrayal of the truce, paramilitary and state forces murdered 2500 of the party's members and supporters. Thus, the conflict was revived and the F.A.R.C.-E.P. grew to a formidable army due to financing from taxes levied on illicit drug cultivators and traffickers.

The F.A.R.C.-E.P. seeks revolutionary political changes in their nation that range from institutional reforms to economic policies. These are outlined in the Bolivarian Manifesto (named after Simon Boilvar), a plan perhaps best described as Marxism light. The proposed institutional reforms include an independent justice department headed by an elected attorney general, a unicameral parliament and an independent electoral agency. Economic reforms range from privatization of the nation's natural resources and public services- though limited capitalism would be permitted- allocation of 50% of the national budget on social welfare with an additional 10% dedicated to scientific research, a sliding tax scale that would demand more from the richest sectors of society and a protectionist foreign trade policy. Above all, the Manifesto calls for a political end to the civil war and the achievement of these goals through the electoral process.

Despite the professed good intentions of the F.A.R.C.-E.P. they have drawn scorn from the international community for their tactics and targets. Though their record in no way matches that of the paramilitaries, H.R.W. reports that they were respon-

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Democracy Now returns to radio

At a time where most accessible media is controlled by large corporations, independent sources of news are extremely rare and important. The medium of radio provides many opportunities for independent media. It has the potential to reach large audiences across a wide class spectrum. It is in this light that the recent victories of dissident voices at Pacifica Radio should be seen.

Pacifica Radio (KPFA) started in Berkeley in 1949 as a community radio station committed to peace, freedom of the press, and radical journalism. Over the past fifty years it has grown to the nation's first listener-supported, community-based radio network, including: KPFA Berkeley (94.1), KPFK Los Angeles (90.7), WBAI New York (99.5), KPFT Houston (90.1), WPFW Washington, D.C. (89.3) and nearly 60 affiliates in 27 states.

From the start it has been a major voice of dissent towards American foreign policy, from the Korean War and Vietnam, to El Salvador, Nicaragua to Afghanistan and as such has come under fire.

The list of important thinkers who have spoken on the air at Pacifica Radio is impressive. Some of the more notable speakers include: Alan Watts, Allen Ginsberg, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Virginia Maynard, Bertrand Russell, Che Guevara, Ginny Z. Berson, Lady Smith Black Mambazo, Mumia Abu Jamal, and Amy Goodman.

More recently Pacifica Radio has been the battlefield in an attempted corporate takeover of the only independent radio network in the United States. In December of 1999, the Pacifica board changed its bylaws to make itself completely self-selecting as opposed to being democratically elected by membership audiences. The members who did this were businessmen in real estate and accounting, a home-construction industry lobbyist, a financial entrepreneur and a member of a corporate law firm with a specialty in union busting. The new board proceeded to fire more dissident and radical members of the stations and the board.

Democracy Now, Pacifica Radio's most popular news show and its host, Amy Goodman were first harassed, then censored and then kicked off the air despite large listener protests.

Pacifica's board was sued by listener-sponsors, by local advisory-board members, and even by five of its own directors, for misconduct. Pacifica was also the subject of legislative hearings at the municipal, state and federal level initiated at the behest of constituents. Pacifica management ordered the arrest of its members and donors, many thousands of whom protested, wrote letters, and boycotted the Pacifica fund drive in order to force its leadership to resign.

Democracy Now continued to broadcast from "exile" in New York and distributed its daily two-hour show over the internet to many radio stations nationwide. KPFA in Berkeley continued to broadcast Democracy Now but all of the other five Pacifica stations took it off the air.

More recently, a legal settlement was reached in which an interim board was created out of five dissident members, five previous board members and 5 membership-elected members. This new board elected dissident member, Leslie Cagan as the new Chair, mandated that Democracy Now be broadcast and started the process

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Argentina Erupts: an analysis of a popular uprising

by Marc Silverstien

The Boiling Point

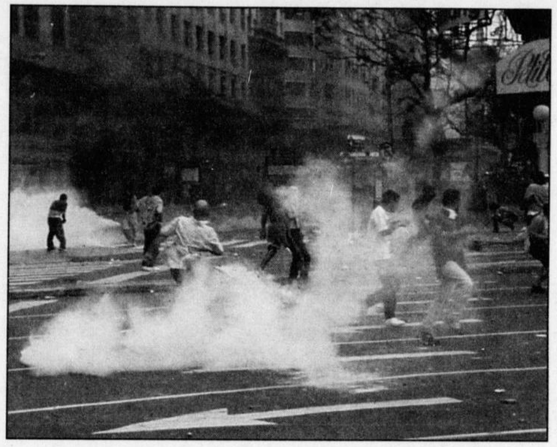
The events began on Tuesday, December 18 and spread to the suburbs of Buenos Aires on Wednesday. Food riots and other examples of direct action were reported throughout northeastern Argentina, in Buenos Aires, Cordoba, Rosario, and looting occurred at several stores and supermarkets. Thousands of poor Argentineans banged pots and pans and demanded food outside of businesses, only to face state repression. Stores were counseled by the government to not give out food independently, but often the clamor of the people forced them to. Argentina is Latin America's third largest economy, but in recent years has been in serious economic crisis. The week prior to the rioting a general strike and road blockades were gaining in momentum. The unemployment rate of the country is 20% and 2,000 people a day fall under the poverty line. The militancy of the past few weeks is nothing new. In 1989, there were massive protests and rioting against unjust economic policies, which helped topple the government.

These food riots quickly turned into massive anti-government demonstrations, as over one million people in Buenos Aires, out of a population of 2.7 million, marched through the streets demanding an end to the neoliberal economic policies of the International Monetary Fund and the 2002 austerity plan. In order to pay back I.M.F. loans, poor nations are forced to accept Structural Adjustment Programs (or S.A.P.'s), which mean the gutting of social services and infrastructure. Argentina is in $155 billion debt, and the liberalization of the national economy has meant suffering for the vast majority of Argentineans.

When the government began to see the insurgency for the threat it really was, it immediately tried to crack down on the revolt. Confrontations between demonstrators and police in Cordoba and La Plata became common, and led to the deaths of 28 people, hundreds of injured, and thousands of arrested. It's unfortunate that these 28, who died fighting capitalist globalization just as much as Carlo Guiliani did, aren't given nearly as much attention in activist circles. On Wednesday, the government declared a 'state of siege'. Assembled groups of three or more people were made illegal, and all constitutional rights were disbanded. The army decided not to aid in the repression of the populace, and this led to a serious crisis. At this time many cabinet ministers resigned, and Argentina was in utter chaos.

On Thursday, the President Fernando De la Rua, and the Economy Minister Cavallo, adamantly pro-privatization, resigned after two years in office. De la Rua fled into a helicopter to save himself from the anger of the demonstrators surrounding the Presidential Palace. The "Pink Palace", Argentinean equivalent to the White House, was taken over by the people. There was an air of defiance, but also of hope as the corrupt administration was toppled. This looked like a potentially revolutionary situation and the question became: What are we going to do next? Various answers came from various places.

Hundreds of demonstrators clashed with security forces outside of the Congress building. Argentina's congress



named Eduardo Duhalde president (the fifth within two weeks) on January 1, 2002 to serve until 2003 presidential elections. This is clearly a move to maintain capitalist social peace, and to prevent an insurrection. Duhalde, an old style Peronist, was forced to make cautious statements and to make some sort of concessions to the people, with empty platitudes about "populism". Hundreds of police surrounded the Plaza de Mayo to quell the unrest. Duhalde is a former governor of Buenos Aires whose government was frequently charged with corruption. Jorge Ocampo, a 38-year old electrician said, ``The problem is that there aren't any alternatives; our political leaders are all either scarred by charges of corruption or seen as part of the system." It's clear that nothing at all will be changed through electing a new ruler, and that what's required is complete social transformation.

S.A.P.ping the Lives of the People

Privatization in the 1990s under Menem led to massive layoffs, and price increases for public utilities, such as electricity and phones. The IMF made it clear that they were not going to lend Argentina money. In December 2001 people not wanting their pesos to be devalued, rushed to the banks to convert the pesos to dollars on a one-to-one rate. Economy Minister Cavallo made a law limiting the withdrawals to $1,000 a month, angering the middle class. This is one reason why the middle class joined the demonstrations. Very few people in Argentina have money in the banks, and the impoverished masses are making more radical demands than the middle class; fighting for the end of capitalist injustice and for a really democratic, humane, and just society.

Mark Weisbrot, co-director of the Center for Economic and Policy Research, a Washington D.C. based think-tank writes: "For 20 years now, Latin America has followed Washington's advice and slashed tariffs, swallowed IMF austerity plans and sold off tens of billions of dollars of state assets to foreigners." When Argentina was forced to "peg" its currency to the dollar, which made the peso overvalued, it made it nearly impossible to escape recession. A mild recession was turned into an international economic crisis created directly by the IMF.

In 1999, the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) approved the use of S.A.P.s. It was approved as part of a $2 billion pilot experiment. The "budget cuts" that President De la Rua promised the IMF were not fully pushed through, so the IMF, which has lent Argentina $18 billion since 1999 decided to end financial aid. The IMF demands fiscal austerity, which hurts the poor most of all and demands that social services be sacrificed to the business interests and financial investments of multinational corporations.

Which Way Forward?

It's imperative that the people don't fall into the dead-end of social democracy or reformism. It doesn't look very likely that the government will succeed in enforcing a military dictatorship onto such an ungovernable populace, so their only other option is to use social democratic politicians who vaguely promise change and reform and claim to be on the side of the people. This is just another tactic used to pacify the unrest, and once their power is consolidated they will build up a highly powerful police state to make sure nothing like this ever happens again. This happened in Bolivia, in 2000. There was a near-revolution; with most of the country shut down by a general strike, and road blockades throughout most cities. The town of Cochabamba won a victory over corporate takeover of their water, but unfortunately they eventually gave in to the reformist pleading for 'order'. As some of the graffiti from Paris May '68 said, "Those who make revolutions only half-way merely dig their own graves".

The Communist Party and the trade union leaders of the C.T.A. (who "don't want things to get out of hand") will opportunistically try and recuperate this insurrection, but it is to be hoped, considering the inspiring fact that few party banners were to be seen in the streets and that much of the organizing was spontaneous, that they will not succeed.

As anarchists, where do we stand? How can the mass of working people form a dual-power to the state and organize their society along lines of direct participatory democracy, social equality, and mutual aid? What forces in Argentina already exist that have a coherent theoretical understanding of anti-authoritarian principles and tactics, and how are these principles and tactics going to be popularized and agitated for?

The most well-known and most established anarchist group in Argentina is the

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Fascism:

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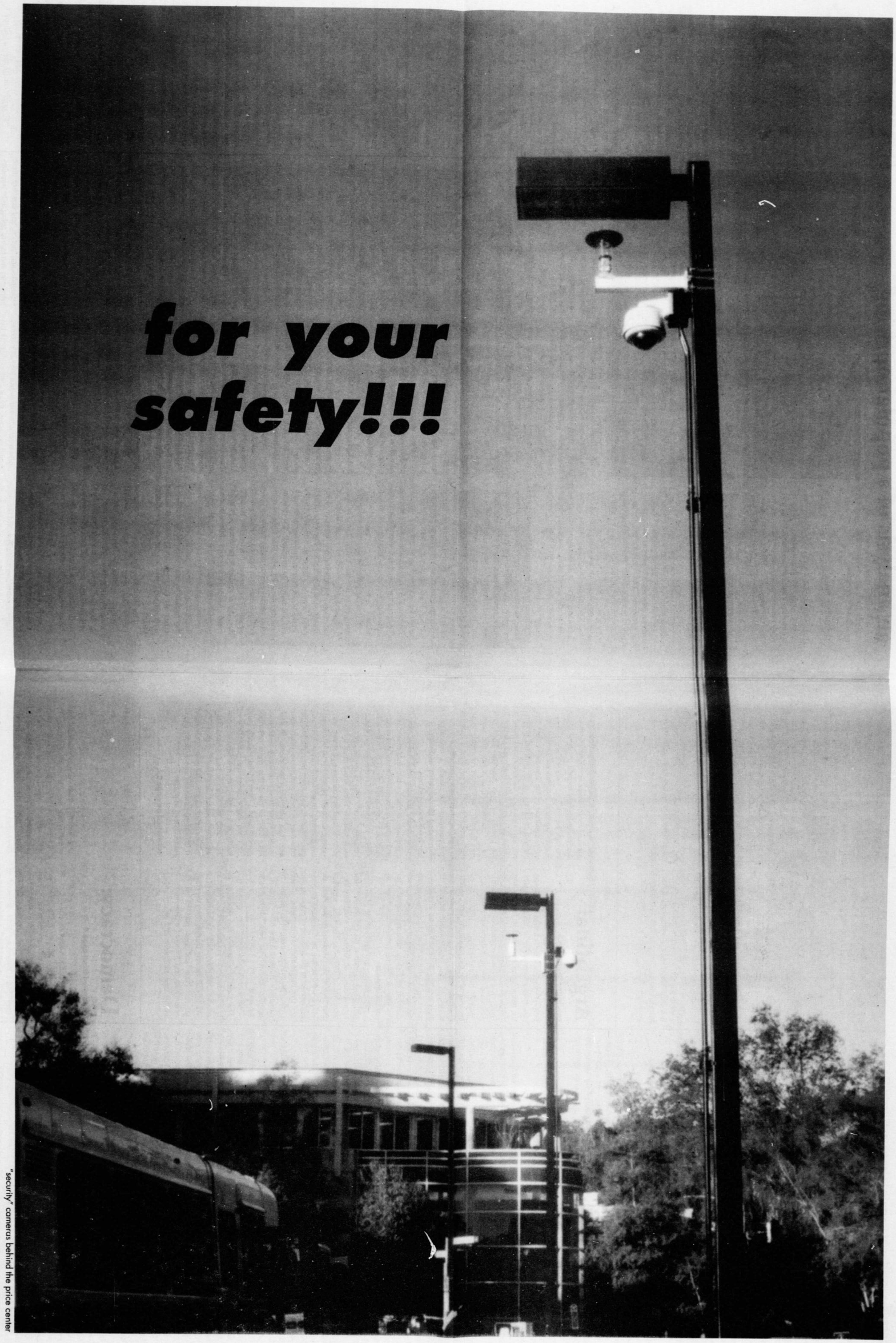
Act. Smaller organizations like community radio and television, which are not as rabidly Capitalist, are given little or nothing and are thus left in highly unfavorable economic positions. The corporations that do receive enormous gifts inevitably try to avoid broadcasting criticism of the institutions which grant them power, and instead focus on advertisement and "entertainment" (read: distraction) in their programming. The cycle begins anew when the profiteers inevitably trounce their competition.

A governmental system 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, is the very paradigm of Fascism. No one country (or company) runs the game completely, but the United States and a very small number of enormously powerful extra-governmental economic interests hold most of the cards. Today, those who oppose Fascism have a battle of unprecedented difficulty to fight, as the small group of people who have replaced Hitler and Mussolini can now make superficially plausible claims about their commitment to democracy. To obfuscate the truth and distance themselves from their crimes, they hide behind illegitimate power structures, such as the Corporation, and wield dubious legal constructs designed by Capitalist ideologues, such as Intellectual Property. We can no longer combat their lies with violence, either: classical Revolution has been made obsolete by the advent of unopposable weapons, and participating in Fascism's bloody techniques of dominance would undermine the movement's legitimacy as one that ultimately serves people. We must resist our oppressors through steady nonviolent, grassroots organizing — however frustratingly slow progress may be. Civil disobedience and property destruction can also be effective, but their use must be carefully deliberated because of the enormous political and human risks it creates. Furthermore, mainstream media outlets in the Western world are now completely inaccessible to modern activists – so we must be shrewd in disseminating information and gear our educational tactics towards self-organization and the construction of viable alternative economic and social orders. A shift towards informational resistance could be the step we need to take to overcome Fascism. Given the extraordinary dedication, ingenuity, and determination of the millions of activists participating in our causes world-wide – not to mention the billions of ordinary people who are all subject to the same repression, waiting silently for the opportunity to seize freedom – there is great reason to maintain hope, despite the colossal hurdles we must still overcome. Our dream is that peoples' awakening to the lie perpetrated by Fascist power structures will continue to grow out of the fruitful seeds sown in the 19th and 20th centuries, among which one can count the Civil Rights Movement, Feminism, the Labor Movement, Socialism, Anarchism, and Environmentalism.

"Pessimism of the intellect, Optimism of the will."
Antonio Gramsci



"security" cameras behind the price center

Student Organization Interview:

UCSD International Socialist Organization (ISO)

ni: What are your goals as a Student Organization at UCSD?

ISO: The International Socialist Organization organizes at UCSD with the goal of uniting student and worker activists around many different social justice issues. Right now, between the global justice movement and the anti-war movement, the activist political climate is in many ways centered around youth challenging the system. We are lucky enough to be in a position of having San Diego branches both at a university (UCSD) and a community college (City College), which gives us an opportunity to work both with the students here and the primarily working/commuter students at City. It's easy to see UCSD as particularly apathetic or inactive, as many people may tell you, but the truth is, a lot of great political work is done here and we are trudging along just like every other campus in the country.

Basically, our goal is to provide an alternative to mainstream Republican/Democrat politics and the views the corporate media tells us to accept. We have tried to reach out to people around us by providing a new framework for looking at the world, from the perspective of the majority of its inhabitants. Between our work and the work of the many other dedicated activists here, I believe we have begun to do just that.

ni: How does your student organization work to realize these goals?

ISO: The ISO does a number of things on a consistent basis. We hold regular meetings, which sometimes hold the structure of forums, every week. We also set up information tables with our newspapers and literature a few times a week to get the word out - look for us by the east entrance to the Student Cooperative Center. We try to get involved as much as possible with other student groups in terms of political issues or events on campus. Right now we're very focused on working with the Campus Peace Coalition to oppose the war as well as the racism and civil rights crackdowns that have occurred here in the US. We also put on larger events when possible. Last year we hosted a production of Marx in Soho, a play by Howard Zinn. This quarter we're expecting a tour of major voices on the left to come that's being organized by the International Socialist Review, our bi-monthly magazine. That should be on February 28. Our general strategy is to try to be involved in as many pertinent political causes as possible, focusing on those that will radicalize the largest number of people.

ni: What does it mean to be a socialist?

ISO: As socialists, we believe that the root cause of many of the injustices we face in the world lies with the profit system. We recognize that human behavior is influenced heavily by social circumstances, and therefore that a system based on profit will inevitably beget greed. Knowing the history of revolt and revolution around the world throughout the industrial period, we call for revolutionary action on the part of the working class to change the system and create one of equality. In the aim of striving for that goal, we organize socialists into a revolutionary party, which is run democratically, that can help encourage the struggles to grow, and move beyond simple reforms. Instead of living in a world where a small wealthy elite controls our destinies, we want to live in a world where we can make decisions for ourselves, through democratic, bottom-up, decision-making processes.

ni: How old is the UCSD ISO organization?

ISO: We've only been on the UCSD campus since Fall of 2000. Since then, we've essentially doubled in size and have been involved in a very large number of student events. I'd like to think we've wet our feet here and, in fact, have already dived in completely.

ni: When do you meet and where?

ISO: We meet every Thursday night at 7pm, usually in the Cross-Cultural Center. Our meetings generally consist of a presentation and discussion on a particular political issue, followed by discussion about organizing our specific work on campus.

ni: How many and what sort of events do you put on?

ISO: The number varies but we always try to have something in the horizon like a forum, protest, or concert. We often host student forums either in the Price Center or in large conference rooms to address a broad issue, and try to get other student orgs to participate as well. Our last forum was on the alternatives to war and went very well, with speakers from the Campus Greens, CalPIRG, and the Graduate Student Union. Besides our joint work, we host large events centered around socialist politics a couple of times a year. In particular, we help organize and build a Regional ISO conference in LA, which this year will be held on March 16th. These events are opportunities to have political debates with all sorts of activists from Southern California and to learn more about socialist politics.

ni: Is there anything you would like to add?

ISO: The history of people standing up to those who do them injustice is long and rich. It's very important that we maintain that tradition. It's the tradition of the Paris Commune, the rent strikes in the US during the Great Depression, the ghetto uprisings in the late 60s, and the revolt happening right now in Argentina. It is the responsibility of anyone who sees injustice in our system to stand up to it in some way. Otherwise, we cannot move forward.

ni: How can interested students contact you?

ISO: People can reach us by email at isosandiego@yahoo.com. For more information about what we do and where we stand, go to: internationalsocialist.org
And finally, come to our events, attend a meeting, or pick up our newspaper at a table.

from the ISO: Rebecca Anshell

Tucker:

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erenda. The administration spent over $10,000 on promoting their referendum (not counting the $10,000 they paid an architect to draw "preliminary sketches" for their literature), but the students, not as experienced at squandering money, only managed to spend $5000.

A record 33% of the student body turned out to vote in the election, and it failed by a 3-2 margin. Tucker had planned on retiring after pushing this referendum through, but, unfortunately, he had to retire having only forced students to accept two student-fee funded facilities.

Now, even though Tucker has retired, his legacy continues. For the third year in a row, students will vote on whether they want to pay for yet another student center. It will be very hard to replace him, since people who can help students as much as he did are hard to come by. They may be able to find someone who will try repeatedly to get rid of the co-ops for us, they may be able to find someone who will assert that "the Guardian is a bunch of lies," "The Che Café is autonomous, about as autonomous as I am!" and that the UCB needed to be disbanded because the administration was "not getting good recommendations" from them, and they may be able to find someone to force students to vote to pay hundreds of dollars a year for shiny new facilities every couple of years, but to find someone who can do all of those things as well as he did will be quite a task. He is being replaced on an interim basis by Lynne Peterson, who had helped in quite a few of his glorious exploits, including helping shut down the Che Café in 1989 and holding up Groundwork's student organization status in 1987. All students are encouraged to go meet her - her office is in the Price Center.

Tucker will surely be missed, and all the students at UCSD who he helped so much wish him all the best in his retirement.

Argentina:

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OSL (Organizacion Socialista Libertaria) which has been active in labor struggles for many years now, and in radicalizing the working class. In the paper En la Calle, 'the voice of organized anarchism', they state: "We must throw ourselves fully towards building people's organisation, because if we the people are not capable of giving ourselves the society which we want and need, ex-President Menem is there waiting to be called, as a replacement part so that nothing changes, waiting like a wolf in the darkness to eat the carrion left behind by financial capital after the long neoliberal fiesta which burnt its last candle today."

The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo are struggling to redress the crimes and 'disappearances' of Argentina's military dictatorship of 1976-83. The OSL reported that five or six Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo were beaten up. The most promising answer to the question of organization are the burgeoning Argentinean soviets (Asambleas Populares). The people of Almagro, Buenos Aires have formed a popular assembly as a real alternative to the state.

In their "Declaration" they write: "(...) The state of assembly and mobilization (is) the only way to guarantee our right as workers, neighbors and Argentineans (...) We call all the neighborhoods of the Capital to create and take part in all the assemblies and forms of organization set up by their neighbors and organizations. And we call to create connection commissions (comisiones de enlace) with the assemblies already formed or about to be formed."

Among their demands are the immediate resignation of the Supreme Court, the immediate liberty of all political prisoners, and an end to the neoliberal policies of the IMF and World Bank, which starve the people of poor nations. Their call for a "convocation of a free and sovereign Popular Constituent Assembly in all the country, based on popular assemblies in the neighborhoods, factories, counties, and provinces" is clearly a radical one, demanding the solidarity and support of North American radicals.

A danger to keep in mind is that if a popular revolution becomes successful, and mutual aid counter-institutions are created on a large scale, the U.S. or the U.N. could militarily intervene as a "peace-keeping force". This is not as unrealistic as it sounds. There are numerous examples of states or coalitions of states intervening to crush popular revolutions and experiments in self-sufficiency (Nicaragua, Chile, Cuba). Apart from the Leninist take-over of these revolutions, there were also real practical experiments in self-organization, direct democracy and mutual aid. Keep in mind that Bush described Argentina as a "key friend and ally" and isn't too eager about the possibility of losing U.S. hegemony in Latin America. The truth is, Argentina is a materially wealthy country, and could provide the means of subsistence for every individual if organized rationally and with people in mind instead of profits.

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Democracy:

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of putting Pacifica back together.

On Monday, January 7, 2002, Democracy Now returned to Pacifica Stations with the notable exception of WBAI New York and KPFK Los Angeles. On January 14th Democracy Now returned to WBAI New York. KPFK Los Angeles airs Democracy Now at 6am but refuses to air it at its normal (and most popular) 9am time slot.

The return of Democracy Now to a wider audience is especially important as it is the only major news broadcast that is criticizing the war in Afghanistan. In fact it was the first and, so far, only nation wide news to report on the death toll in Afghanistan, which exceeded that of the World Trade Center and Pentagon in mid-December.

For more information about Democracy Now: www.democracynow.org

For more about Pacifica Radio: www.pacifica.org

February 2002 Events Calendar

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
27.	28.	29.	30. "Youth Out Loud" film screening. 12pm, Cross Cultural Center Gallery. U.C. State Prison. Prison Day of Action. Library Walk.	31.	1. Women, War, and Afghanistan Symposium 11:30: Lunch 1:00: Panel on Women and War 3:00: Panel on Women in Afghanistan, Photo Exhibit	2. MEChA high school conference
3.	4.	5.	6. "Patriotism and Dissent" Topics include the importance of dissent for democracy, forms of dissent, how dissent is endangered by the current administration, and how the media is limiting the range of discussing and making dissent appear unpatriotic. Info: eace@libertad.ucsd.edu	7.	8. LGBTA drag show "Divas in Denial" Price Center Theater 8:00 pm	9.
10.	11.	12. "Can You Say Vagina?" Cross Cultural Center 5:00 pm	13.	14.	15. Student Peace Action Network conference Claremeont, CA Info: www.gospan.org	16. Kaibigang Pilipino high school conference Student Peace Action Network conference
17. Student Peace Action Network conference Claremeont, CA Info: www.gospan.org	18. Student Peace Action Network conference Claremeont, CA Info: www.gospan.org	19. "The Haves and Have-nots" Cross Cultural Center mini-conference	20. "The Haves and Have-nots" Cross Cultural Center mini-conference	21. "The Haves and Have-nots" Cross Cultural Center mini-conference	22. UC wide LGBTIA conference, UC Berkeley	23. AASU high school conference UC wide LGBTIA conference, UC Berkeley
24. UC wide LGBTIA conference, UC Berkeley	25.	26.	27.	28.	1.	2.

Columbia:

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sible for 197 civilian deaths in the first ten months of 2001. The Colombian public was especially dismayed at the September kidnapping and murder of the former minister of culture, Consuelo Araújo Noguera, considered a senseless act with little political motivation. In a letter addressed to the F.A.R.C.-E.P. leader, Manuel Marulanda, H.R.W. pleaded with the forces to cease "the killings and abductions of civilians, hostage-taking, the use of child soldiers, grossly unfair trials, cruel and inhuman treatment of captured combatants, and the displacement of civilians." The kidnapping and murder of three U.S. missionaries in 1993, thought to be committed by F.A.R.C.-E.P. soldiers, did not help the their cause; nor did the killing of three U.S. human rights workers in 1999, which the rebels admitted was an accident. An apology was issued to the U.S. for the latter, a F.A.R.C.-E.P. spokesperson calling it a mistake comparable to the U.S. bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade. The collateral damage argument did not assuage the ire of U.S. policy makers who continue to keep the revolutionary movement on the State Department's list of terrorist organizations right alongside Al Quaeda.

A new stage in U.S. intervention?

Pastrana's sudden abrogation of the peace talks and ultimatum to the F.A.R.C. were perhaps meant as a reminder to the rebels of who the government has on their side. U.S. military aid and training have nearly sabotaged a lasting peace settlement in Colombia; and the continuing policy of intervention-whether under the rubric of the Truman Doctrine, the War on Drugs or the War Against Terrorism-shows a callous disregard for the human rights of all Colombians, the well-being of the nation's1.5 million displaced people and the legitimate reforms proposed by the F.A.R.C.-E.P.. U.S. policy toward Colombia doesn't hold up to scrutiny, and it seems as though politicians are preparing to put a new mask over their maquinations in Latin America, the War Against Terrorism. Yet, their motives are the same as Eduardo Galeano described them over a decade ago,

Throughout this century, Latin America has been invaded more than a hundred times by the United States. Always in the name of democracy, and always in order to impose military dictatorships or puppet governments that have rescued threatened capital. The imperialist system has no need for democratic countries. It needs countries brought to their knees.

U.S. intervention in Colombia is already a farce meant to protect U.S. investments and yoke the masses to unfair trade agreements. More military aid to Colombia under a war against terrorism would be a further setback to real development and democratization.

Argentina:

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After September 11, the U.S. government has a new arsenal of repressive legislation and a whole new batch of excuses with which to crush popular dissent. A popular revolution in Argentina could be conflated with "terrorism", and moral legitimacy for a military attack would be maintained in the eyes of 'Middle America'.

This would especially be bolstered by the fact that the people of Argentina might have to arm themselves in self-defense against any kind of imperialist attack. This is not unlikely; arms already play a part in the political scene, as anti-Duhalde leftists and Peronist supporters fought in the streets.

Hopefully these earthquakes will shake the rest of Latin America and help mobilize the people of Ecuador, Bolivia and Brazil, whose militancy is not in doubt. These countries are equally being fucked by the IMF and World Bank and only self-organization and practical self-sufficiency will be able to create a credible alternative.

If North American anti-capitalists remain in solidarity with the people of Argentina, and real links are built between the two continents, then Bush is going to have a hard time planning a military intervention in the coming struggles ahead.

For more information and the latest news in English and Spanish, check out:
http://argentina.indymedia.org
http://www.ainfos.ca

Student Organization Meetings:

Monday:
AASU
6:30-7:30 Cross Cultural Center

MEChA
5:00-6:00 Cross Cultural Center

Tuesday:
APSA
6:30-7:00 Cross Cultural Center

Wednesday:
KP
5:00-6:00 Cross Cultural Center

SAAC
3:30-5:30 Cross Cultural Center

Campus Peace Coalition
7:00-9:00 Cross Cultural Center

Thursday:
SEJ
6:00-7:30 Cross Cultural Center

Che Cafe Collective
8:30 Che Cafe

ISO
7:00 location varies
(usually Cross Cultural Center)

If you'd like your event or meeting time listed here, please email relevant info to: ni-events@libertad.ucsd.edu

A Novel in Process

by Stephanie Ritter

"Fuck." I slapped my hands against the steering wheel. I watched the cop in the rear view mirror walk back to his car. "I don't need this right now," I growled at his image in the mirror. Damn, I'm gonna be late. I looked at my watch. It was half past seven. The kids would be there at eight.

I started the car and pulled out into traffic, resisting the urge to peel out right there in front of the bastard, spraying gas and tire rubber in his face. The image of him staring up from his traffic-ticket book covered in gas and rubber made me laugh. I could just tear up the ticket and flee the state, like my mom would do, but then not fleeing is what makes us so different. Maybe she was just trying to make a point.

I remember that trip as if it were part of a dream. The hot rain on the dry landscape. The ocotillo rising in wavy lances toward the sky and the cacti thick and green against threatening gray clouds. We drove through thunderstorms on the way out of New Mexico and through Arizona. My mom was driving 75 miles an hour when she was pulled over in Arizona. The cop's lights blazed behind us as she pulled to the side of the wet freeway. Cars sprayed the driver's side window with waves of water as they passed. The cop came to my window and tapped on the glass.

"Damn, where did he come from?" my mom exhaled after the cop had gotten back into his car.

"He was on the overpass, Mom. He was hiding, no one could have seen him in the rain," I said, trying to ease the blow of the ticket.

"Well, Sara, what do you think? Should I keep the ticket and pay the fine, or toss it out the window and never come back to Arizona?"

"Are you serious, Mom? What would happen if you had to come back to Arizona?"

"If they caught me I'd probably get arrested for evading a ticket. But that's all."

"That's all?" I asked horrified. "What would we do if you got arrested?"

"I guess we have our answer then," she said as she smiled at my sleeping brother and me.

In hindsight it seems like my mom's erratic behavior was actually an attempt to teach us kids how to behave. Interesting tactic, I thought, but a little weird. I guess that's where I learned my own teaching style. I was in a teaching situation where I could absolutely not be erratic. Everything had to be planned and coordinated before hand, nothing spur of the moment, unless the kids' behavior demanded it, and even then there were rules for handling that.

Part 1

Chapter 1

I rode my bike home the next day with the summer breeze dancing on my skin. The sycamores that lined the streets in the neighborhood around the school swung their giant limbs like children imitating gorillas. The quiet swishing of leaves filled my ears and the sounds of angry children dissipated in my head. Only two more days, I thought. It was the last week of school and we had abandoned trying to teach instructional materials the Friday before. The kids were wound up but still courteous. Tyler and Calvin were the only ones that seemed to have trouble containing their anxiety about the oncoming summer.

Tyler had had an off day and had spent most of it outside hiding under the bushes that formed a wall around the school. At least he hadn't tried to run, I thought. It was a relief that I hadn't had to call the Sheriff, as was often the case when Tyler tried to run away. As soon as he was off school grounds I was no longer allowed to have any contact with him, my only choice was to call the police and have them bring him back to school or send him home. His mom was never happy about that. She already worked two jobs and had been recently fired from her last. Her life wasn't easy and playing the good mom was even harder with an ex-husband who tried to bribe Tyler away from her. At six years old he already had a gas-powered scooter and many other toys a kid his age might not be ready for. Tyler's behavior always changed the day after he saw his father, and the bushes were his usual place to recuperate.

If Tyler's behavior was unsettling, Calvin's was irredeemably violent. He had thrown a chair, which had then hit one of the substitute aids in the leg. She stared in shock as a lump the size of a tennis ball formed on her leg. At least none of the kids had been hurt. Calvin's behavior cooled down when we asked him to go and play on the playground. He played alone while one of the staff watched him. As long as we don't interact with him when he escalates he always brings himself back down to earth. I always try to ignore him and avoid eye-contact when his behavior becomes out of control.

I remembered the day when Miss Rodney was absent and a substitute who didn't understand this rule replaced her. Miss Lucas was training for her special education degree and was a welcome replacement. Throughout the morning she told me about her experiences and explained that she loved special ed because "special ed kids are always so sweet and polite. They call me Miss Lucas and always say thank you."

When I came back from lunch that day, Miss Lucas was no where to be found. I passed Calvin on the way to the classroom. He was playing handball, shouting at the wall with each slap of his pudgy hand on the ball. He was taking a cool down.

"What happened to Miss Lucas?" I asked Mr. Teneal.

"She freaked out," Mr. Teneal told me, as we talked apart from the kids who sat reading. Mr. Teneal seemed to always give me bad news with an expressionless face. The only sign of emotion I found on that blank slate was the almost boyish excitement I found in his eyes. He was an ex-cop and I could just imagine him gossiping with his buddies on the force about people they had arrested or shot with the same glimmer in his eyes.

"She was playing cards with Calvin, Daniel and Crow, and Calvin didn't like the way she played," he whispered. He looked around the room to see if anyone was listening.

"I don't know what kind of training she's had, but she certainly couldn't handle them."

"What happened?" I asked, trying to get to the point.

"Calvin called her a bitch when she made them play by her rules. She put down her cards and stared at him - waiting for something. And you know how Calvin gets when he doesn't understand something. She was being totally unclear in what she wanted from him, by just sitting there staring at him, not even giving him a direction, so he threw his cards at her."

"Oh god," I said horrified, a sub who didn't follow the rules of the classroom was more detrimental than if we had had no sub. I could only imagine what had happened next.

"I know," said Mr. Teneal, "it gets worse. Miss Lucas started mumbling something like, 'I can't stand snotty kids like you, I want sweet kids that say thank you and may I.' She stood up and Calvin tried to knock over the table on her. But she didn't ignore him, she kept going on about what a brat he was and how he needed a good spanking."

"Didn't she hear anything we told her this morning?" My heart was leaping in my chest with anger. "Why didn't she just ignore?"

"I don't know," he replied, turning to the window to watch Calvin.

I felt sick to my stomach. My kids may have emotional and behavioral problems but none of them were spoiled brats, and none of them deserved to be told anything bad about themselves. If anything, this woman just couldn't handle following rules of conduct. She was acting like a child, and of course Calvin reacted. Special Education training is supposed to train you for situations like this. The classic rule of ignoring when a child will not follow directions is imperative to maintaining the classroom.

I loved my kids, and I knew that all they really wanted, despite their various dysfunctional personalities (which they are all painfully aware of), was to be loved in return. This is the type of unconditional love that parents, being around their child full-time, have so much trouble in giving, as would anyone. Not because these kids are not loveable but because every human being has a breaking point, a point where they can't take a repetitive behavior elicited by another human being anymore. That's why teaching Special Ed. classes is more than merely teaching required materials, it's teaching behavior and love. Miss Lucas would never be able to fit into such an environment because she couldn't teach love when she expected respect at every turn.

The remainder of the week passed smoothly. The kids had a ball with Field Day and all the other activities we had planned for them. On the last day of school six of my students graduated from the fifth grade. We led them out onto the playground with the rest of the fifth graders and one by one I congratulated them for their achievements and their five years of hard work. I had had a few of them for the entire five years of my career, beginning when they were first graders; others had come in later throughout the years. My entire five years of hard work with these students were gratified when one by one, after school they came and hugged me goodbye.

"Will you come and visit us in the sixth grade?" Daniel asked me as we walked toward the front of the school where the buses waited for them.

"Of course I will, Daniel. I'm going to miss you guys so much. I bet when you actually see me though you'll have already forgotten all about me."

He looked at me with slightly moist eyes. "No, I won't," he said quietly, shifting his gaze to his feet.

"So we promise to remember each other then," I said.

He smiled gratefully and climbed the steps onto the bus. How different he is now, I thought, after five years in the program than he was when he first entered.

Daniel's first day in my classroom was half way through his first-grade year. He had been transferred from school to school because his parents always ended up fighting with his teachers. I had quickly nipped that problem in the bud by sharing his parents' angry notes and phone calls with the principle and the special education office. By the time his parents were asking to remove him from my classroom, the district was well aware of their behavior. Too many moves in one school year, they told Daniel's parents. The district was willing to take them to court over the matter and the parents subsided. I had asked the district to place a restraining order on the parents so that they would not be allowed on campus at any time, and would not interfere with Daniel's learning. Now four and a half years later, Daniel's behavior had evolved immensely. He was a model student and ready to enter mainstream the next year.

I waved at Daniel and the other boys as the bus pulled out of the crescent parking lot.

They're really gone, I thought to myself, as the bus faded into the traffic in the distance.

Stephanie Ritter is a graduate student in the literature department at UCSD. She recieved her BA at UC Riverside in English.

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

"I Will Not Cooperate"

Transcribed from a speech given at a recent Food Not Bombs benefit show at UCSD

"I am a grad student at UCSD, which means I spend my days studying and teaching, writing and reading, eating, drinking, spending time with friends. I have the time to do these things because I do not have to worry about my ability to eat. Unlike most people on this planet, I have the luxury to develop myself creatively instead of having to struggle endlessly simply to ensure one more day's worth of sustenance. Why should I be afforded such a privilege? How can I justify my continuing to use it? At what point does my comfort become excess, an insult to those who are dying of starvation, cold, and war as we speak?

"I certainly do not "deserve" these comforts any more than those who break their backs under the hot sun, picking the food I will eat tomorrow. Some would say that neither I nor they "deserve" them -- it is only true that I have them, and they do not. They say that, in a perfect world, there would be no misery, but, in this one, I have no moral obligation to relieve suffering, even if I have the resources to do so. I disagree. If my mother were starving to death, would I be under no moral obligation to help to the extent that I could? Why does the fact that a fellow human being is in a faraway land, or that their pleadings are spoken in a language incomprehensible to me, or I simply do not know them, make them any less deserving of having their basic needs fulfilled? My humanity is a sham if I lie quietly in comfort while my sisters and brothers all over the planet, and in my own backyard, suffer and die like animals. It would detract from the meaning of my own life if I did not use the privileges I have been given to provide others with whatever margin of survival it is within my power to create.

"So it falls upon me to act. But I find myself encouraged not to. I am offered vast luxuries, if I would just quiet down and sit in some cubicle, working on constructing a world I do not want. At every turn, I am enticed to buy, to indulge, to hand my money over to corporations who will use it to taint elections, coerce populations, and poison our water in the pursuit of ever more profit. I am given apparent opportunities to assist those in need, but closer examination reveals no real long-term solutions, only creative ways to stimulate more dependence. I am offered success and power in exchange for my cooperation. The fact is, those who collect and hoard the planet's resources need me to support them. If the people of the political North -- you and me -- did not buy their overpriced trinkets and overnourish ourselves on their toxicfoods, they would have no money to dangle before the eyes of starving Mexicans. If we did not work for their corporations, they would have no one to build the pipelines that steal the Nigerian people's oil. If we did not design their weapons, they would not have laser-guided missles with which to slaughter impoverished Afghanis under the thin disguise of a war on terrorism. If we did not staff their prisons, and if we did not vote for their policies of domination, and if we did not acknowledge the legitimacy of their power, they would be obsolete. And it is at that point that real change can be made.

"So I will not cooperate. They want everyone to think that there is a united front in the war on the people of Afghanistan. Fuck you. I will stand in the street with a sign and undermine the lie that war can somehow assuage the anger that leads to acts of political violence. They want me to buy their beef so that they may cut down even more forests in order to graze more cattle in order to sell me more beef. Fuck you, I'm eating vegan. They want me to watch CNN for my news and repeat their lies about the benevolence of U.S. food drops. Fuck you. I will read Indymedia, study the press of the business elite, and let everyone I can know about how ridiculously inadequate 30,000 meals are when they are spread among millions of people -- and millions of landmines. They want me to think of my neighbors as the rich and the poor, the lazy and the hard-working, the white and the dirty. Fuck you. I do not acknowledge these categories. I will make speeches at Food Not Bombs benefits so that people may benefit from my knowledge, and contribute to undermining the oppression of the unprivileged.

"I hope you can take some part in that process. It is critical to the eventual obsolecence of capitalism that we construct a different sort of community than the bare skeletons we have been handed. But of course, there are still people with power who will try to prevent you from being effective. You can annoy the hell out of them, however, by undermining their support. Resist by noncooperation. Resist by teaching others about nonviolent resistance against oppression. Resist by taking the food that others would throw away, and making it available to those who need it.

"Tonight, you've already helped by paying your entrance fee. But your money is not nearly as useful as your body, your mind, and your voice. So, when the shows are over, and you go home tonight, think about ways that you can help change your community, locally and globally. There are a thousand ways to participate in the informational and structural war against imperialism that has been going on for hundreds of years -- and which is now in a critical stage, since it has inherited the task of no less than saving the human race from self-extinction. Let me leave you with a quote from a famous American political dissident, Noam Chomsky:

"If you go to one demonstration and then go home, that's something, but the people in power can live with that. What they can't live with is sustained pressure that keeps building, organizations that keep doing things, people that keep learning lessons from the last time and doing it better the next time."

The Labor Notes

An ongoing column examining local and university labor issues and events

Union organizing in Southern California has been making a comeback after a desultory decade and a half, and this last December workers in the state-wide UC system scored a major victory. Local 3299 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME, pronounced "af-smee") campaigned for a new contract that was accepted by the University of California on December 20.

The UC Contract Campaign kicked off in 1999 as the labor organization, which represents about 17,000 patient care and service workers employed by the UC system. Membership more than tripled in the first two years of the organizing effort, and the strong support among the workers for the union was the key component of the successful drive.

How good is the new contract? Well, the union now has power over the UC's ability to subcontract the workers' jobs, which signifies the defeat of one of the most exploitative strategies the UC had against unionization, and it spells the end of the practice of subcontracting to low-paying companies that deprived workers of benefits. Additionally, "casual" workers, who were not given more permanent employment with attendant benefits and rights, now have the option to become full-time permanent employees.

In fact, the list of the gains Local 3299 has attained with the new contract runs on and on. It will help provide a template for future contracts by organizing workforces at UC. Local 3299 won an across-the-board 2% wage increase, retro-pay for workers who had been misclassified, and made the UC agree to new safety measures and precautions. These are significant concessions from an employer notable for under-paying service workers and classifying people in positions that do not correspond to the type and amount of work they actually do.

The AFSCME campaign gained public visibility with their campus marches and rallies, such as the one held December 11 last year at UCSD. Last fall, union members approved a proposed wage increase that the UC promised, during negotiations, would only take 90 days to implement. The rally in December was organized when UCSD administrators said it would need two more months. After the demonstration, the UC management changed its mind, taking only 24 days for the wage increase.

Similar protests took place at the other campuses where hundreds of workers and participating students marched to union slogans in English and Spanish.

"When our people come out and speak out, it's impossible for UC to deny our credibility," said developmental technician and rally demonstrator John Martinez. "Getting active works."

Stories in Short

In the army now

The House of Representatives, apparently deciding that our country has not yet become fascist enough, are currently considering an act called the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 2001. This act would require that every male between the ages of 18 and 22 residing in the United States (and the colonies of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and Guam) enlist for six months to a year of compulsory military training and service. Females between the ages of 18 and 22 are allowed to voluntarily participate. Those who do not have a high school degree would be required to serve for six months more than they would if they had graduated from high school.

Participants would get to choose which branch of the armed services they want to join, and would receive basic military training in physical fitness, international relations, military tactics, homeland security, United States and world history, vocational training, and any other topic that the Secretary of Defense (or of Transportation if they are in the Coast Guard) wants them to. They could also be transferred to a federal or state community service program after completing their initial military training.

The same conditions that would disqualify someone from being drafted under Selective Service apply here, with the addition of an exemption for high school students and people who have undergone extreme hardship or have extreme physical or mental disabilities. Religious conscientious objectors would participate in all aspects of the training except for combat training. They could also be transferred to a federal or state community service program.

This program would be run through the Selective Service Agency, and participation in it would not preclude someone from being drafted once they're done with their compulsory training if the draft were re-instated.

If you're interested in working to end the war or stop this compulsory military service, contact the UCSD Peace Coalition at peace@libertad.ucsd.edu

Enron & the UCRP

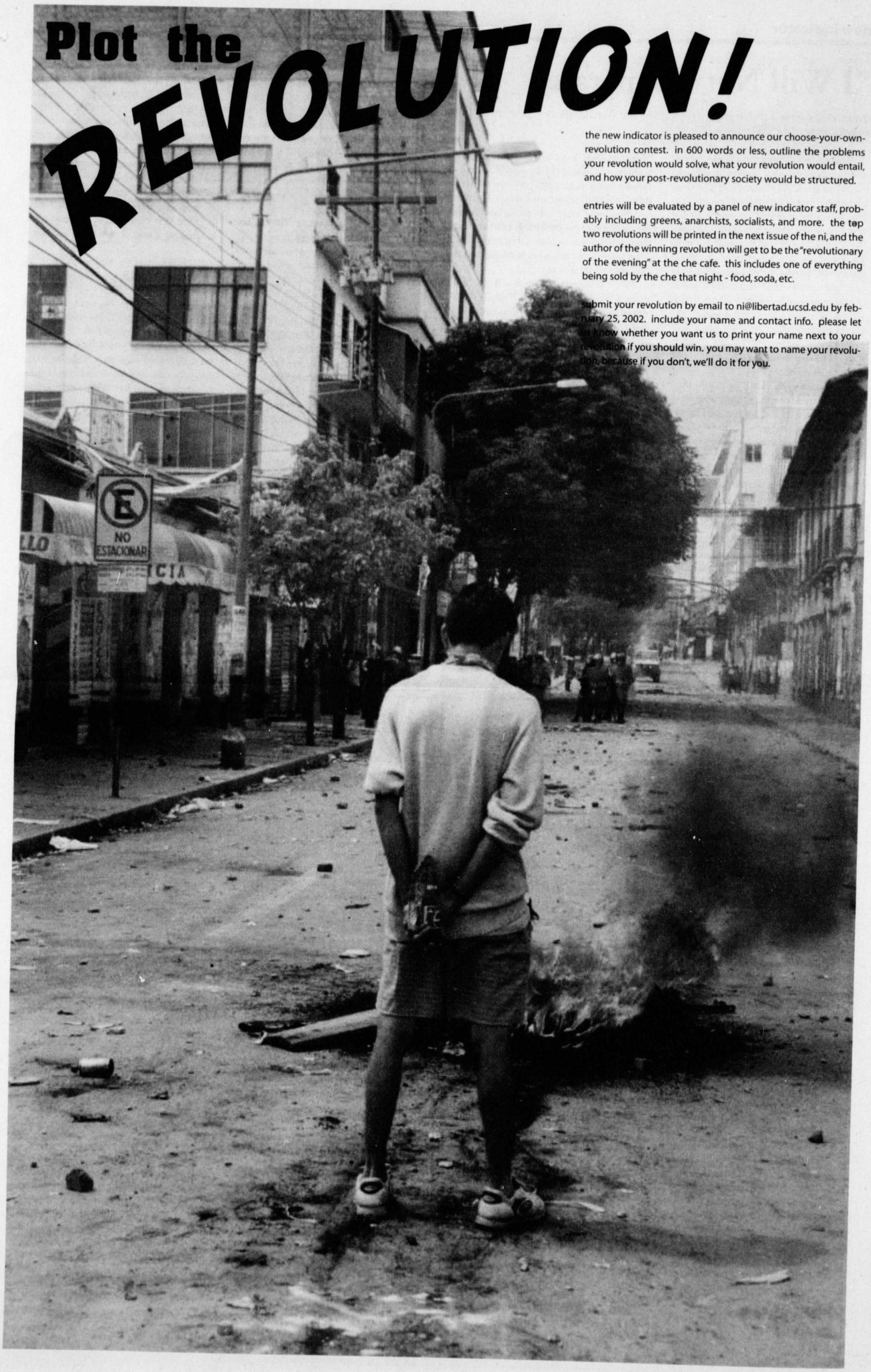
On December 21st, the University of California joined a class action lawsuit against 29 senior executives of Enron Corporation and the accounting firm Arthur Anderson. The suit alleges that the executives of Enron were engaged in insider trading which yielded them $1.1 billion.

The University of California had investments in Enron Corp. to the tune of $155 million. During its holding of Enron stock, the University lost $144.7 million of the value of its holdings in Enron Corp. A large portion of Enron holdings were in the UCRP (University of California Retirement Plan) and the losses to this account alone were $88 million. According to the University Treasurer, this accounted for only 0.7% of the total Retirement Plan investments, and therefore "the loss on the Enron holdings in no way affects the ability of the retirement plan to meet its obligations to its beneficiaries."

Last year, the University of California extended its contract with Enron to supply power to the UC campuses through March 2004.

Plot the REVOLUTION!

the new indicator is pleased to announce our choose-your-own-revolution contest. in 600 words or less, outline the problems your revolution would solve, what your revolution would entail, and how your post-revolutionary society would be structured.

entries will be evaluated by a panel of new indicator staff, probably including greens, anarchists, socialists, and more. the top two revolutions will be printed in the next issue of the ni, and the author of the winning revolution will get to be the "revolutionary of the evening" at the che cafe. this includes one of everything being sold by the che that night - food, soda, etc.

submit your revolution by email to ni@libertad.ucsd.edu by february 25, 2002. include your name and contact info. please let us know whether you want us to print your name next to your revolution if you should win. you may want to name your revolution, because if you don't, we'll do it for you.