



# Radical Review

**Radical - The root practice of freedom and community beyond rhetoric.**

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## Democracy at the University

The current student activism at CSU Fresno and around the state was brought about by the continuous defunding of California's public higher education system which results in a raise in student fees, layoffs of quality professors, layoffs of workers, and the elimination of academic programs. These problems sparked a state and nationwide movement to resist the continuous de-funding and de-prioritization of public higher education in our country. However, here at CSU Fresno, this movement has organically evolved into something very different: a movement seeking to bring about Democracy at the University.

We recognize that more funding to the UC, CSU and community college system would be beneficial, but more money merely gives the oppressors at the top of the bureaucracy more money to oppress the masses with. Currently, CSU Fresno students pay roughly \$2,300 and get absolutely no input on where this money is spent. Furthermore, we as students do not get to decide *who* spends our money. The spenders are not elected and are not accountable to the university public. This begs the question of what kind of public higher education institutions we have in this state. The definition of oligarchy is: "a form of government in which all power is vested in a few persons or in a dominant class or clique; government by the few". This fits alarmingly well for the form of governance at CSU Fresno, and surely higher education institutions across the state.

Currently, a façade of democracy exists. There are multiple bodies that the administration claim represents democracy such as the University Budget Committee and the Curriculum Committee. However, these bodies are merely *advisory* and have no binding power. On top of that, the student representation is at the absolute minimum and most students aren't even aware that these bodies exist. Of course, there's no reason they should be, for these bodies are not worth their time. Staff members, who keep the university running, are completely shut out of these bodies and offered no input in the governing of the University.... A revolution for Democracy is needed.

For months, students have been agitating the administration(s) in Fresno, and around the state to bring about just and democratic conditions at the University. However, concerns have mainly revolved around budget cuts (which result in a host of other issues). This nearly misses the point. Just conditions at the University mean that those who make up the University (staff, faculty and students) should run it, and those that have nothing to do with the learning, teaching, or maintaining of the University, should not.

For this reason, a group of students, faculty, and staff united to produce a new, Democratic Academic Constitution for CSU Fresno. The constitution lays the foundation of how a democratic University would be ran. However, recognizing that a democratic University includes input from all sectors of the University, this document should be viewed as an open-ended document and will organically evolve to the needs of the masses with the direct participation of the masses.

If we intend to teach students to be critical thinkers, it's a logical conclusion that these students will critically think about the way in which their institution is ran. The Constitution takes the governing of the university from the hands of oligarchs and puts it into a democratic body that gives full, equitable and direct participation to all sectors of the University. This is democracy. If in this country, we claim to be democratic, it is time our institutions become democratic. If we continue to teach democracy in our schools, our schools must be run democratically.

- Matt Ford & Raj Singh



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## Radical Review



**CSUF Library Study-In  
11/20/09**

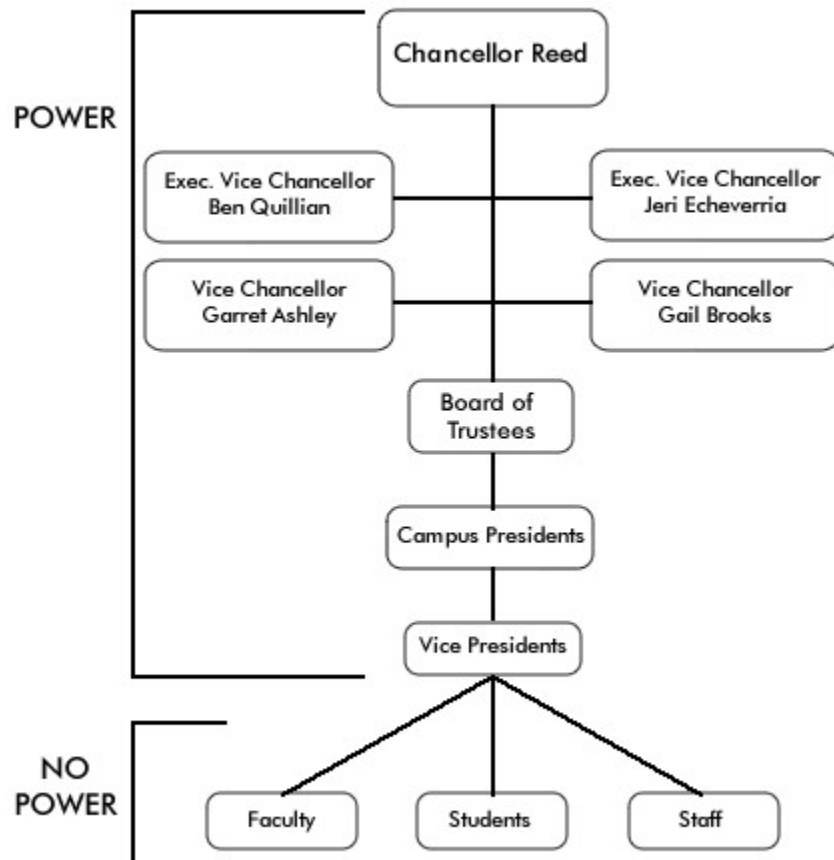
**“True democracy is where the people, collectively, are their own representatives and manage their own affairs.”**

## Academic Constitution Principles

- All major University decisions will be made by a General Assembly made up of staff, students, and faculty, with equal representation from each academic department and program
- Full & Equitable representation from all students, staff and teaching faculty as well as every academic department and program in the General Assembly.
- Members of the University community should collaborate with one another and form democratic participatory bodies to facilitate responsible, transparent, democratic, and shared governance
- Students will be encouraged to take an active role in their learning and governance
- Staff will be encouraged to take an active role in their workplaces and in governance
- Administration will be elected by University community
- Number of Administration and nature of their office will be determined by University community
- Administration will serve in a supportive role to students & faculty and provide equitable distribution of resources to meet needs of University community as directed by an elected General Assembly of the University
- Administration will provide complete transparency in all matters pertaining to the University
- The University should promote solidarity and social cohesion.
- Access to equitable, quality, education is one of the bases for the full development of a human.
- The University should help to develop the ability of humans to cooperate in democratic, participatory organizations.
- The University should work in collaboration with other democratic participatory organizations in the community (elementary and secondary organizations, junior colleges, neighborhood councils, local governance, popular assemblies, etc.) in order to extend the opportunities for university education to all qualified persons.

## CSU Power Structure

*Current CSU Power Structure. Do you see a problem with this?*



What is academic success at a University? I believe it is to transform large numbers of young students into well-rounded, socially-conscious, productive members of our society. The new CSU Graduation Initiative, championed by Chancellor Reed and Vice Chancellor Echeverria, will define academic success as simply graduating with a degree in four years.

The very basis of their measure of success is flawed. Success is measured, solely, by percentage of students graduating. The total number of graduating students is not taken into consideration. When the goal of getting more students into Universities is taken out of the equation, access and the quality of University of education is severely reduced. This is because the purpose of the University becomes reaching the chosen graduation targets rather than improving the service for the students and local community.

The Initiative outlines multiple ways to increase graduation rates. Greater emphasis will be placed on online courses, thus reducing the need for faculty involvement in teaching students. Students will be kept “on track” to graduate on-time by an automated, online counseling website; eliminating the need for human, academic counselors. The current standards for the English Placement Test (EPT) and the Entry Level Math exam (ELM) will be lowered in 2011, in order to decrease the number of students required to take remedial courses. Underprepared freshman needing to take remedial courses will be required to enroll in an Early Start Program in 2012, which will consist of drastically shortened courses.

The current EPT and ELM standards are analogous to a score of 550 on the respective SAT exams. The Initiative will lower the standard to a score of 500 on each SAT section. The CSU estimates that this will move them from 51% to 60% proficient in English among freshmen and eliminate the remedial requirement for approximately 5000 students<sup>1</sup>. This is an artificial manipulation of a vital student assessment, and also an unethical deprivation of fundamental knowledge by claiming to relieve thousands of students of the “burden” of remedial courses.

The accelerated remedial program will cause many issues for students. First, they will be forced to pay the much higher Summer-session tuition rates; which may not be possible for the socio-economically disadvantaged students. Secondly, the shortened course length will give students less time to learn the material which forms the foundation of the rest of their college courses. A 16-week semester-long course will be condensed into 6 weeks during the summer. Students not able to grasp the basic material in a short period of time will, undoubtedly, struggle with all advanced courses that follow.

This policy further illustrates Reed’s plans to reduce access to University education for tens of thousands of young Californians. All 23 CSU campuses have been commanded to reduce enrollment, citing recent state budget cuts as the reason. Next semester alone, over 40,000 qualified, high school graduates will be rejected from the CSU system. These students will be rejected from the only system created to give them all a quality education. Instead, they will have to choose a vocational program that trains them to work in an industrial machine in which the “bottom line” is the controller of their fate.

The Initiative will force students to rush their personal growth, their college experience, and their future. Students will have to choose a major before they begin college and will be prohibited from switching majors if they discover their true passion during their journey. This will eliminate intellectual curiosity. The quality of University education will be destroyed. Not only will Universities be academically demolished, but our communities will be left with under-educated young adults with meaningless degrees. The Initiative will rob college students of their potential to become the next great thinkers, artists, and leaders of our communities.

- Raj Singh

1. <http://www.calstate.edu/bot/agendas/Mar10/EDPOL-Early-Start-PowerPoint.pdf>



**CSUF Library Study-In  
11/20/09**

**“...the purpose of the University becomes reaching the chosen graduation rates rather than improving the service for the students and local community.”**

# Gambling With Your Money

On April 4<sup>th</sup>, reporting in the LA Times, Jack Dolan attempted to explain the situation in California regarding public Higher Education. While protests and resistance at Colleges and Universities across the state have been re-occurring, “administrators have tapped funds meant for classrooms and students to cover some extraordinary costs: losses on ill-timed real estate deals, loans to high-ranking officials and an ambitious construction project.” (L.A. Times: April 4)... Dolan continues by saying that these decisions are made “without wide student knowledge or public oversight”. Examples:

-“At UCLA, student fees are being used to save a plan to renovate Pauley Pavilion, home of the school's legendary basketball team.” From the \$185 million upgrade to the gym, which includes cushier seats, a high-definition scoreboard and expanded locker rooms, \$25 million came from student fees. The student Regent, Jesse Bernal, was dismissed from his post after expressing discontent with the use of student fees for this project, without student knowledge.

-“At Cal State Sacramento, administrators used general fund money to cover an investment that went bad”. The University invested \$35 million in a commercial office building off campus. The University planned to hold classes in one section and lease the rest of the building to generate revenue (sound like the student rec center at CSUF?). Then the real-estate bubble burst and the building was left sitting empty. University President Alexander Gonzalez paid \$5.6 million to keep the building out of foreclosure. This money came from the General Fund, which is a combination of student fees and tax dollars, “which is more commonly used to pay professors’ salaries and other day-to-day costs of educating students”, explains Dolan.

-Cal State Sacramento has also given President Gonzalez \$233,000 in personal loans which was used for, among other things, a \$27,000 stove in his new house.

Bob Samuels, in an interview with Amy Goodman, explains how the UC lost over \$23 billion in the last two years by investing in toxic assets and real estate. To cover these costs, the UC lay's off teachers, cuts class sections, and raises its student fees.

These examples of gambling with public money, and using it for non-academic purposes are only a small part of a much larger vicious trend in the privatization of public services. Accompanying this is a steady raise in salaries of administrators. According to Samuels, at the same meeting that approved the 32% increase in student fees, the UC Regents voted on millions of dollars in increased salaries and bonuses to administrators (DemocracyNow).

Here at Fresno State University, the situation is no different. The administration is engaged in all of the above gambling practices, while using the public's money. Misappropriations by administrators have taken hundreds of thousands from academics. The 2007-2008 CSU Institute Tax Form 990 revealed that the CSU has prioritized seeking funds for construction of buildings rather than seeking funds to prevent faculty lay-offs, elimination of class sections, fee increases or closing enrollment. There are even reports that the CSU is using future student fee increase revenue as collateral for new construction bonds. Others have shown the use of assets such as buildings for collateral for more construction bonds.

This should not be surprising for those on campus, for the administration shamelessly shoves it in our faces. Currently, there is construction underway in three campus locations: the aquatics center (costing over \$6 million) on the northeast corner of campus, University High on the South West corner, and a smaller project on the West side of the Henry Madden Library. Countless individuals stroll by these money pits and do not make the connection of where the money comes from. In fact, these projects are celebrated by the administration as well as their obedient puppets on campus (I wont name names).

Aside from the projects underway, the Administration has completed investment projects with funds meant for academics such as the Save Mart Center, which is currently being debated in court as to whether it serves an academic purpose or not due to unpaid property taxes. The University claims the center is exempt from the tax, because it is for educational purposes. In 2005, county assessor/recorder Robert Werner says that up to 65% of the center is for non-educational purposes (we contend a much larger percentage than that).

Campus Pointe, which will include luxury living, a movie theater, department stores, offices and a Hiatt hotel, is built on public land (the Universities land) but all projects are privately owned. This means that the University will be receiving massive amounts of revenue, none of which will go to the taxpayers, students, which own the land. To be more precise, on April 22, 2010 the Fresno Bee reported, “Campus Pointe is expected to bring the university \$1 million in annual rent to help pay off debt from the \$103 million Save Mart Center construction”. The problem here, is that those who made the bad investment in the Save Mart Center which resulted in the debt being covered by Campus Pointe were not students, faculty or workers, and were not elected by the University community, so they had no right to make these decisions. This is a case of illegitimate authority.

**“The University public in Fresno, and around the state, is not informed, nor included in the decision making process”**



**CSUF Walkout  
10/21/09**

The project has already shown corruption, as the Fresno County Superior Court ruled that a former CSU Trustee had a "conflict of interest" in the movie theater project. The housing will not serve housing purposes for the working class, as explained in the City Council meeting on April 1, 2008, by the Assistant City Manager, Bruce Rudd, when discussing the housing units at Campus Pointe, "Of these 144 units, 20 percent will be affordable", he says.

We also have another case alarmingly similar to the Cal State Sacramento situation: our "Student Recreation Center". This building also holds classes in some sections while others are rented out to vendors to "generate revenue", exactly like the building at Cal State Sacramento mentioned in Dolan's piece; exactly like a business.

The most alarming aspect that all these situations share is the lack of public input and knowledge about these projects and the funds being used. The University public in Fresno, and around the state, is not informed, nor included in the decision making process. Worse, is that our tax money, student fees and public land are being used for these non-academic investments. Individuals making these repulsive decisions are not elected by the public, nor accountable to the public. These individuals are also making six-figure salaries for a job that doesn't consist of research, teaching, learning, or maintaining (which is every legitimate aspect of a University).

This corporate model has pervaded our University, as well as other Universities across the state, nation and globe. Jack Dolan's piece in the LA Times was but a small glimpse into the whole picture. This "whole picture" isn't just of California. In Europe and South America, the masses are resisting the privatization of Universities and public services in general. Greece was in revolt in December, today it's Thailand. It is now your duty to discover the whole picture, right here at Fresno State, because this is indeed your University, and they are using your money. When the picture becomes clear, as well as the injustices accompanying it, it is your duty to resist it.

- Peter Petit

\*\*As this article goes to print, the UCLA administration is announcing that upon the release of the LA Times article by Jack Dolan, UCLA has decided to not use \$15 million of student fee money for their campus construction project..... The CSU has still done nothing.

## Wet Back - A Poem by Neto

Subhuman. Second Class. Subjugated.

I am the wet back

I migrate die in vans evaporate into the desert sand. Drown into the Rio Grand.

I am the wet back

Minute men killing my next to kin modern day KLAN

I am the wet back

Modern day slave working for less than minimum wage

I am the wet back

I do for a living what you won't do

I am the wet back

I do it, not cause i choose to, but because i HAVE TO

I am the wet back

With my hand, i serve and feed the masses

I am the wet back

I don't exist, yet i pay taxes

I am the wet back

Victim of the Bracero program

I am the wet back

Scapegoat, mutilated by uncle sam

I am the wet back

A national threat, getting shot by HR4437's/instant 187

I am the terrorist

Those involved in 9/11 were legal immigrants

Citizens like the PRESIDENT

I am American

I am white, i am black, i am Mexican

I live i die, i lose i strive, i have a right to pursue happiness, LIFE

I am a wet back, an immigrant

I am a terrorist, an american

i am man, i am womyn

i am HUMYN



**CSUF Library Study-In  
11/20/09**

**"...our tax money  
and student fees  
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investments."**

# End Casualization of Academic Labor

This report is in support of an attached resolution proposing a direct challenge by the California Federation of Teachers (CFT) to the casualization of academic labor in higher education. The report will focus on the phenomenal growth of contingent faculty in higher education as a function of corporatization of education, and as a key factor in all of the issues facing members of the CFT working in higher education.

Its main thesis will be the assertion that we can no longer afford to let excellent efforts such as the FACE Campaign to languish under limited, peacemeal support, and we can no longer allow our ranks to be divided by “fulltimer/parttimer” issues. The time has arrived for all faculty and their organizations to mount an open, frontal, grassroots-based challenge to the casualization of academic labor, and to make that challenge part of any demands stated in defense of the future of Public Education

NOTE: Some people have expressed confusion at the use of the term “casualization”; it is used here to clarify and emphasize that the key to the problems of “part-timers” is not that they are part-time, but that their relationship with administrations is “casual”; they can be let go without cause, without even being fired. They are simply not rehired. A growing number refer to themselves as “at-will”, or even “at-whim” employees.

## A. A brief history of adjunct faculty in higher education

Being a teacher in higher education today is not what it was yesterday. As Joe Berry points out in Reclaiming the Ivory Tower, before 1970 the proportions of full-time tenure track (FTTT) to contingent faculty were approximately the reverse of today's. The majority of university or college faculty held full-time positions; more importantly, most attained the security of tenure, and adjunct faculty, used mostly to fill specialty positions or temporary shortages, often received the same rate of pay per class and many of the same work conditions as full-time tenure-track (FTTT) teachers.

Beginning in the 1970s, fundamental shifts began to be evident. California's Proposition 13, the opening cannon shot of what would only later be recognized as the war to de-fund and corporatize public education, opened the gates to a process that paralleled what was going on in corporate America. College administrations began looking for ways to increase flexibility of hiring and reduce labor costs in response to shrinking budgets. Not only did full-time hires shrink and the proportion of contingent faculty grow, the conditions of employment changed; for adjuncts, job security and such peripheral “luxuries” as health benefits and office space began to disappear at the same time as their wages shrank. Simultaneously, the workload on FTTT began increasing, and even the concept of tenure for faculty began to come under attack. (Additional sources: Tough Choices or Tough Times, Commission on the Skills of the New American Workforce, National Center on Education and the Economy, 2006, pp. 58-67; NY Times, 11/20/2007,

[http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/20/education/20adjunct.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/20/education/20adjunct.html?_r=1))

## B. Key features of the current status of contingent faculty

The primary fact of life for contingent faculty is not that they are part-time, but that they are disposable; they are at-will employees who can be dismissed with little or no justification by dint of the administration simply not offering them their position for the new semester. Secondary features include little or no office space, often little or no pay for non-classroom tasks such as office hours, committee work, professional development and campus involvement; sometimes even exclusion from these activities. Many community college contingent faculty in fact teach full-time by commuting to two or more districts (hence the name “freeway flyers”), working “part-time” in as many as three districts with few or no benefits and none of the stature given to other full-time educational professionals.

“... for adjuncts, job security... began to disappear at the same time as their wages shrank.”



March 4th Rally  
3/4/10

## C. Effects of casualization on quality of higher education

The process and experience of education, at any level, is shaped by a complex of factors which extends beyond the classroom, yet dynamically affects the classroom experience. Although contingent faculty have consistently been shown to work extremely hard to fulfill the highest educational standards, the effects of their status are undeniable:

“Despite our inferior pay and job security, we generally don’t cut many of the educational corners we might be expected to. We are no more likely to retreat to multiple-choice machine-scored tests, instead of time-consuming essays, than full-time teachers. Many of us keep office hours for free and give out our home phone numbers to students. .... Clearly we are doing professional quality work, albeit under unprofessional conditions.” Joe Berry, [Reclaiming the Ivory Tower](#), p.9

“The impact on our campus is the feeling of a two-tiered system – the haves and the have-nots. This creates an environment of exploitation of nontenured faculty to teach overcrowded classes and take on extra courseloads to secure their jobs. In the end, it affects the quality of education at the given campus”. Carolyn Kube, quoted in [AFT On Campus](#) article *The Shifting Workforce*, July/Aug., 2009

Moreover, from personal experience and from discussion with colleagues both contingent and FTTT, it is clear that the “at-will” nature of contingent employment exerts a mostly unspoken but nonetheless powerful effect on academic freedom and free debate on college campuses. Contingent faculty frequently express hesitation to voice concerns or to be associated with the voicing of criticisms of policies at their institutions, for fear of losing their section or class the following semester or even within the semester. Without security, there is no academic freedom.

In addition, the necessity for contingent faculty to otherwise supplement and secure their income severely limits their ability to participate in the web of meetings, discussions, social events and committees which form an indispensable part of the technology of education and the life of a campus, and which have a direct effect on the classroom. A side effect of this, the severe overloading of FTTT faculty with committee work terrifies already overwhelmed contingent faculty, who then maintain a careful distance from such involvements; they teach their classes, and they are gone.

## D. Effects of casualization on contingent faculty

Contingent faculty experience constant stress due to overwork, lengthy and sometimes multiple daily commutes under time pressure, isolation from their colleagues, lack of healthcare and retirement security, and unending worry over whether, and where, they will teach next semester. No less important, they suffer from a near complete conflict between their standards, desires and dreams as educators and the reality of their class status as temp workers. Although the author has no statistics to offer as documentation, it follows logically that burnout and depression are significant factors among contingent faculty, leading to the loss of excellent teachers who cannot stand the pressure.

In addition, the threat of losing their assigned course if enrollment falters, subjects adjunct faculty to inappropriate student pressure for lenient grading. This endangers educational standards.

## E. Effects of casualization on FTTT faculty

Full-time faculty are directly affected by massive casualization of the educational workforce. Since contingent faculty members tend to shy away from involvement in campus life as stated above, fewer people are available to participate in committees and other meetings, or to take on the assignments these generate. Since these represent communications and work which are absolutely essential to the ability of any college to fulfill its educational mission, they must be taken on in order to maintain campus sanity and even accreditation. Yet, it is usually a small fraction of mostly FTTT faculty who appear at meetings and take on responsibilities peripheral to their classroom duties; even other FTTT teachers see the danger of overwork and hesitate to put their toe in the water of involvement.

## F. The Destructive Spiral

The dynamic created by this polarization of faculty is destructive to all; there is a tendency for FTTT faculty to see contingents and less-involved full-timers as parasites with lower skills and standards than they themselves hold, having neither awareness of nor the desire for academic community and collegiality. There is sometimes an internalized sense of superiority. Contingents, colloquially referred to as part-timers, often tend to see their FTTT colleagues as snobbish, self-satisfied and complacent, blind to the struggles and problems of their contingent fellow teachers. There is often an internalized sense of oppression and inferiority. (If this seems harsh, please understand it is an attempt to paint a picture, with blunt language, of tendencies that are present among all of us to some extent, with no allegation of malicious intent on anyone’s part. Yet they are present and hurt us all.)

**“contingent  
faculty have  
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educational  
standards.”**

Such division is now being exploited to the detriment of all faculty, and the very concept of faculty security is under attack. The Kentucky Community and Technical College District recently eliminated tenure for all new faculty, and there is a measure before the Tennessee State Legislature to eliminate tenure statewide. (Sources: KCTCD website, and Tennessee State Legislature website)

With public education under direct assault, we can no longer afford to continue in disunity; the basis for unity is always found in the fight for equality.

**“With public education under direct assault, we can no longer afford to continue in disunity; the basis of unity is always found in the fight for equality.”**

#### **G. Effects of casualization on administrators**

While not the focus of this paper, most administrators with educational backgrounds desire the same outcomes as classroom teachers. Therefore, casualization has the same adverse effects on conscientious administrators as it does on frontline faculty. Conversely, the increasing tendency to corporatize education, addressed in greater detail below, pressures administrators to turn “to the Dark Side” and comport themselves like the increasing number of administrators hired from for-profit business backgrounds to direct public education institutions. When we hear our administrators describing themselves as CEOs and our schools/departments as Profit Centers, we are hearing the trappings of the corporate takeover of education.

#### **H. Total effect**

The sum of these effects is that, in all of our efforts to carry out our mission as educators, the destructive role of the casualization of the academic workforce constantly stands directly in the way of our ability to fulfill those efforts.

#### **I. Relationship to other trends: lean manufacturing, privatization, and economic crisis**

The changes and challenges we experience here on the ground are controlled and shaped by agendas being pushed forward at the highest levels of our society. These, in turn, are propelled by changes in technology so fundamental their effects are undeniable and irreversible. This section will attempt to treat key elements of these agendas and changes in summary form:

##### **Lean Manufacturing**

The shift from mostly full-time, secure faculty staffing to mostly contingent faculty is not an isolated trend, nor is it coincidental that it began in the 1970s. The concept of continual flexibility of staffing with the shortest possible lead-time comes directly from techniques of Lean Manufacturing (specifically Just In Time supply), pioneered by Toyota. While the basic ideas of Lean have been around for over a century and were clearly articulated by Henry Ford, a quantum leap in technology was required to bring it to the foreground, just as the industrial revolution was unleashed by perfection of the steam engine. It was the microchip-computer-telecommunications revolution of the 1970s that first fully realized the necessity and potential of Lean in modern business. (Wikipedia’s article on Lean Manufacturing is quite good, and worth reading.

See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lean\\_manufacturing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lean_manufacturing))

From the ‘70s on, we have seen astounding changes. As first manufacturing, and then services became increasingly automated with the application of computer control, the world effectively shrank, borders became increasingly invisible for the flow of capital as well as manufacturing and communications, the first homeless families and beggars began to appear as factories increasingly operated without people, unsupportable wars were pursued, mental facilities were closed and gentrification began to transform low-income neighborhoods in large and small cities.

The list could go on, but for this report the important phenomenon to note is that in this period the attitudes of the corporate world (which first pushed public education to the fore in the United States to fill its growing need for huge numbers of educated workers), switched from support of public education to neglect, and then to antagonism.

##### **Privatization**

Antagonism took the form of an interest in privatization, or corporatization of education. Hardly an isolated trend, this parallels the intrusion of corporations into every hitherto public aspect of American life: healthcare, military services up to and including combat, our government’s computer systems, water and other critical utilities, sports and cultural venues, even our parks and other natural treasures have all come under great pressure to perform as profitable ventures or been converted outright into corporate ventures. Driving all this has been a continuous drop in profit rates for manufacturing, documented for the first time in a revealing report, *The Deloitte Shift Index* ([http://www.deloitte.com/view/en\\_US/us/About/Catalyst-for-Innovation/Center-for-the-Edge/article/f142fcb75ef22210VgnVCM200000bb42f00aRCRD.htm](http://www.deloitte.com/view/en_US/us/About/Catalyst-for-Innovation/Center-for-the-Edge/article/f142fcb75ef22210VgnVCM200000bb42f00aRCRD.htm))

This drop has driven investors and corporations to pursue any and all avenues to expand profitable investment, and education is now on the counting-table to be put up for sale. For a thorough, concise discussion of privatization in education, see Oakland high school teacher Steven Miller's article *With Malign Intent*, available on line at <http://www.thefrustratedteacher.com/2008/11/corporate-education-or-education-as.html>.

### Economic crisis

The worldwide economic crisis, which is now descending on California public education via the decimation of the State budget, is a direct outcome of the above process. While we could spend hours discussing this (the author teaches a two-hour workshop on the subject), a short treatment will have to do here.

Manufacturing and service industries no longer need large numbers of workers to produce; every manufacturer has at least a section of their plant which runs without people, and many factories operate almost devoid of human intervention. While these same corporate producers absolutely need consumers with money to buy the goods produced, they are incapable of employing workers they don't need, and labor costs are the great variable in any branch of industry, regardless of country. As far back as 1995, this has been documented by authors such as Jeremy Rifkin, in his book *The End of Work*. They also cannot, will not, pay to educate workers they don't need, and so education becomes less an avenue of supply for them and more a means to profitable investment, as shown by *With Malign Intent* cited above.

In case we ever doubted it, their interest is not in developing the full potential of all humans, but in whatever makes billionaires richer. Anything that doesn't do that is on the chopping block.

The great financial crash of 2008/09 is not a result of bad banking practices, but rather of the growing inability of American workers of all sorts to participate in the market economy. Simply put, without so-called "ninja" and "liar" loans the housing industry and real estate investment market would have collapsed at least 3 years before they did. Although there has been, and still is, plenty of bad behavior by those with their hands in the piggy bank, the truth is, this is how our system works in the age of electronics. There is no basis for any real recovery, regardless of any temporary recovery of profitability.

### J. Where we stand now: the corporate world goes all-out

Although many will no doubt be unhappy to hear this, and some may reject it as alarmist "left" rhetoric, what has been laid out above amounts to a state of class warfare. All things of use or necessity to the vast majority of people are being cut, increasingly becoming available only to those with money to buy them. Our government is deeply entangled with corporate forces seeking to control its actions and policies in favor of corporations and the billionaire class which controls them. These forces are orchestrating massive propaganda campaigns to confuse everyday Americans and to attempt to develop popular support for the drastic measures implied by their inability to offer Americans jobs, livable income, health-care or education. (*The End of America: Letter of Warning to a Young Patriot*, Naomi Wolf, 2007; *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, Naomi Klein, 2007)



March 4th Rally  
3/4/10

**“How can we best reach out to our fragmented, disillusioned, dispirited, overworked colleagues to help them become energized and involved in our mutual salvation?”**

#### K. What we must accomplish: from defense to offense

Even leaders we trust and admire are unable to confront these forces openly without risking their political and, it now appears, even physical futures. Anyone who has followed the Healthcare Reform debates can see the storm being whipped up at the behest of insurance companies who know their profits and future fortunes are on the line. The exclusion of Single Payer proponents from this debate has left it polarized between the corporate free-market forces and their shock troops on the one hand, and what might have been a good fall-back position, the “Public Option”. Single Payer should have been the hammer to drive back corporatization. Instead, the effort was merely to hold corporate healthcare at bay, a defensive action.

Can we expect any better fate for the FACE Campaign, or even a repeal of the 2/3 Tax Rule, if left to the two corporate parties?

We are now in an era of what some call “sho-nuff politics”, and the stakes are the highest. It is increasingly clear that our leaders can only be as strong as we support, or force them to be. This is said in the same spirit in which President Franklin Roosevelt said to A. Phillip Randolph “Mr. Randolph, you must make me do it”, in response to Randolph’s query about FDR’s support for Negro emancipation. No longer can we wait for leaders to do for us or tell us what to do; no longer can we beg or plead; what is just now starting to take shape is a social movement which can drive forward our interests, the interests of the vast majority of Americans. This movement must redefine all issues, including education, to reflect the new polarity; a few hundred billionaires versus all of humanity. This will give true leaders a place to stand and a bully pulpit.

Our future is, truly, up to us, and our section of this movement must be built on defending the right of all to the highest levels of education and the right of educators to fulfill that mission.

#### L. The challenge: the central role of the contingent issue in the fight for higher education

The fight for public education is on. It takes different forms in different sectors: in K-12 education, standardized testing and charters have held center stage. In the universities, prior to the present, increasing domination of corporate funding has been the key thrust of privatization. In the community colleges, until the financial meltdown began in earnest there was no clear attack against their public nature, perhaps because the community colleges have traditionally very directly served the personnel needs of local industries.

Now, however, it is clear to all that very serious cuts are beginning. If the above analysis of the crisis is correct, there is reason to believe that they will continue and become much worse. It is clear that these cuts, drastically affecting all levels of education, are a catalyst and uniting factor we can put to good use. People are beginning to get ready for a fight, and some are already fighting for the cause of public education.

How, though, can we best reach out to our fragmented, disillusioned, dispirited, overworked colleagues to help them become energized and involved in our mutual salvation? Up to the present, there have been many efforts, often heroic, to improve the lot of contingent faculty. This report argues that the time is right for a direct and frontal challenge to the casualization of the academic workforce, and that such a challenge can play a vital role in invigorating a huge section of our fellows, both organized and unorganized. The author has already seen it in the responses of some of the part-timers he has asked about this idea; the response is unmitigated enthusiasm best paraphrased as “Hell, yeah! When do we start? I can’t stand this anymore.”

Such a challenge must explain to contingent and FTTT faculty alike, as well as to our communities, the destructive effects casualization has on us all and education as a whole. It must focus on the mutual benefits to all, of making full-time tenure-track positions available to the vast majority of college and university teachers. It must insist that all teachers, part- or full-time, be paid comparable wages per class or per hour of work, all must have security of employment with separation only for cause, and all must have comparable benefits including healthcare and retirement, with appropriate allowance for those part-time teachers whose other employment offers them such benefits.

If we take on the challenges facing us and confront them directly, if we take new ground instead of merely defending remaining ground, we can energize, unite and inspire not only our membership, but our entire communities.

For the CFT Educational Issues Committee,

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# The American Dream In The Name Of Progress: Perspective of an American Dream Disillusionist

## *The Irrational Mind: Progress*

"We are seeking an explanation for this 'progress' that goes against life. We are demanding that this kind of progress stop, that oil exploitation in the heart of the Earth is halted, that the deliberate bleeding of the Earth stop," said the U'wa people of Colombia in August of 1998, in response to an Italian company AGIP Oil signing an agreement with 6 Huarani communities to build 6 oil wells on indigenous lands (Mander & Tauli-Corpuz, 2006, 89). The foundation of international trade theory, globalization, and economic development strategies is imbedded on ideas of "progress," with the ultimate goal of international competitiveness to achieve maximum growth. Despite the fact the idea of "progress" is relative and arbitrary, it is perceived as an absolute inevitable truth, but this is false. Bertrand Russell elucidates this point when stated that "change is inevitable and progress problematic, because change is scientific and progress is ethical," based on a set of values (ed. Mander & Goldsmith, 1996, 224). It is imperative we not only question who this progress is for, but it is imperative we question the entire concept of progress, what it means, and what are its consequences, and should we begin to seek alternative systems of value.

Progress at the international level is measured on a scale of development, where underdeveloped countries are those whose GDP consists mostly of agriculture, despite it being self-sustaining subsistence agriculture, developing nations are nations whose GDP consists of manufacture, undergoing the industrialization process, and developed countries are those whose GDP consists of services and sales. The concept itself however is irrational and unrealistic, for if the entire world became "developed" and consumed as much as "first-world" nations do, then we would need more than five planets to sustain that level of consumption.

## *The Remote Control*

In order for large-scale societies, such as that of the United States and the other global powers, to globalize ownership, centralize control, and concentrate wealth in hands of a few, so that a few can dominate the many, it requires a strategy to first drive all nations to pursue the irrational goal of maximizing economic growth in the name of "development" and "progress". This process will then require mass effort to put an end to the political autonomy and economic organization of all small-scale societies. The process is then to be done through the system of faith in the culture of labor, consumerism, and technology and the system as it presents itself today, the free holy market, with the means that require de-valorizing, disrupting, and destroying the self-sufficient ways of rural and indigenous peoples and creating an economic dependency on the global market and a political dependency on centralized governments of nation-states, to provide secondary, industrialized, capital goods for their mere survival.

## *Propaganda and The Culture of Labor and Consumption*

During colonization in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, labor was forced as peoples were transported from their native lands to work for "development" projects, and as peoples were forced to pay taxes only payable in cash and therefore had to work to pay because if they didn't they would end with jail sentences or corporeal punishment that would lead to death. But today, labor takes on a new facade. Slave labor is no longer necessary because today it is voluntary. For instance, let's take a look at how the global powers were able to seduce indigenous peoples in "volunteering" to work. The global powers tactic was to get native peoples to reject the simple utilitarian material satisfactions provided by their own culture and economic structure by de-valorizing their culture of self-sufficiency (in regard to their basic needs such as shelter, food, clothing) and instilling in them a culture of consumption that they had to adopt.

Voluntary slave labor was achieved when the value of working for the sustenance of the self and one's community was replaced with the value of working for the progress of the nation, a concept so distant from the realities of the local people. This was done by propagandizing that work for "development projects" necessary for the "progress" of the nation, was "needed in order to attain "dignity" and a sense of morality" (Bodley, 1998, 98). In other words, the goal of the state was to disrupt and redefine a person's identity so that his/her identity could only be "dignified" in relation to his/her work for the state's and/or market's endeavors. Thus, by patronizing native people's identity, the state was and continues to be successful in recruiting labor for mines, plantations, and other industries that produce monetary benefits for the state and its role in the global market.

On the other hand, assimilation into the culture of consumption was done by elitist governmental expenditures on educational programs and social services. Educational programs propagandized the culture of consumption to children at school, in their books, and other media, and social services provided an artificial need for money to consume the unnecessary things provided by the global market itself.

The need for money and work, however became more of a reality for rural and indigenous peoples across the world, as native food sources were lost due to government imposed technological "innovations," and people's land-base were being significantly reduced as the result of elitist governmental officials of "developing" nations that buying the concepts of neo-liberal international trade theory.

*Elitist Government officials in Two-Third(s) World Countries*

Neo-liberal international trade theories, have been successful at seducing the two-thirds of the world with the extravagant 5-planet lifestyles of post-industrialized countries, such as that of United States, Europe, and the Asian Dragons. Most economists of today's large-scale societies, or global powers, advocate for economic development based on economic growth, in the two-third(s) world countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. However, as one can note this so called "progress," these aims at economic growth and false need to "industrialize to modernize," require mass production and export of primary products. Why mass production for the mass export of cash crops has become the priority of elite government officials in "developing" countries, is because it will rear the foreign exchange necessary to buy the sophisticated, manufactured goods necessary to industrialize, hence modernize.

**"And what goes unaccounted for is the exploitation of natural resources and the exploitation of people necessary to support the machine."**

And what goes unaccounted for is the exploitation of natural resources and the exploitation of people necessary to support the machine. The rural proletariat, then driven to produce profit, that is profit for the state, is seduced into accepting hybrid seeds and government subsidies that not only require expensive maintenance such as pesticides and chemical fertilizers, but the fact the seeds must be purchased again the following year. Native peoples as well as rural peoples are also forced into raising non-food cash crops when governments decide to implement regional agricultural programs in which native peoples must abandon their subsistence farming, used for survival, to provide profitable cash crops. If people were to resist these changes, which they did, they were harassed by agricultural extension agents.

According to Edward Goldsmith, as more and more land is required for the cultivation of export crops, the food needs of rural peoples must then be met by production from an ever shrinking land base, as good land is then devoted to cash crop, large-scale mass production (Mander & Goldstein, 130). Thus, at the expense of rural and indigenous populations, as they are left with infertile lands, steep slopes vulnerable to erosion, essentially devastated environments, they can no longer self-sustain themselves and henceforth become dependent on the global economy to provide for their basic needs. And as the food security of poor countries are threatened and become net-food importers, people flee their poverty in search for a plate of food or a job to pay for the survival of his/her family, in the slums of cities or in the nation of a global power.

*"Development" Strategy: The Free Holy Market*

International trade theory is founded upon neo-liberal ideas of wealth accumulation, based on Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," private property, and economic growth, but in practice it provides the greatest freedom for the big to drive out the small. It essentially takes the form of multilateral agencies such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, multinational corporations (MNCs), and foreign investors creating all the unnecessary things "developed" nations consume as they dominate over entire sectors and exploit the people working in them. This is able to be realized because when the factors of production (natural resources, land, industries, etc) are in the hands of outsiders that expect monetary returns for their investments, they have little regard for the consequences to those who live and survive off of such factors of production.

As has been conveyed, neo-liberal international trade does not provide economic growth for all, as it essentially disrupts the self-sufficiency of local rural and indigenous communities, thus creating international and domestic inequalities dependent on global market, but this also affects the urban proletariat whose work not only consists of inhumane conditions and pay, but lives in constant limbo as he/she gets displaced from contracting sectors to contracting sector, as multinational corporations (MNCs) arrive in developing countries driving sectors out. Once working in MNC industries, women and indigenous segments of population are exploited in industry work conditions, and city dwellers depend on the exploitation of the rural proletariat owing much to subsidies for the consumption of artificially low prices awarded to domestic food production. Furthermore, the pattern of industrialization has demonstrated numerous times that of benefiting foreign parent companies and the elite in the industry, not trickling down to urban poor in shantytowns, and so on (Todaro & Smith, 2009, 620). This can be seen by the 48 percent free trade zones or export processing, and export-oriented industries in Latin American and Caribbean, such as the *maquiladoras* in Mexico, which consist mainly of young women from the ages seventeen to twenty-three where health and safety regulations are ignored (ed. Mander & Goldsmith, 1996, 268), as well as the rise in shantytowns or slums of nations reaching the fully-industrialized-developed status, such as that of India.

When nations reject neo-liberal free trade practices required to achieve “progress,” intervention by the WTO, IMF, and World Bank also force such countries to adopt policies that create dependency on the global market, by re-vo-king or not granting aid. To illustrate, IMF and World Bank requirements for aid requires countries to dismantle tariffs and regulations that protect local products and abolish limiting entry of foreign agriculture and manufac-tured products and commodities, increase incentives to agribusiness to produce export crops for foreign markets rather than domestic consumption, encourage manufacturers to focus on assembly operations such as textile garments or labor-intensive (we know these as the multinational corporations’ sweat shops), low-value added industries such as electronics, computer chips, we know these as ipods, rather than support the [...] development for long-term stability (Mander & Tauli-Corpuz, 2006, 55). Thus eroding subsistence economies of indigenous and rural peoples who produce for domestic consumption, such peoples’ crops cannot compete with MNCs, best lands are used for cash crops and poorer lands for food crops, thus reducing food production, over exploitation of forests and mineral resources, lead to environmental destruction and displacement of indigenous and rural peo-ple, the migration to cities, to yet another world of exploitation, that of the urban proletariat.

In practice, from the will of global powers' to impose exploitation for their benefit, to the propaganda they spew, to the elitist governmental officials who yearn for “development,” “progress,” and modernization at the expense of its people, to the development strategies used, such as that of mass exportation of primary goods, and allowance of multinational corporations to exploit the urban proletariat in sweat shops; could progress perhaps be the com-plete opposite of what it implies, as it requires costs to our environment on which we so depend on, and entails our de-sensitization of humanity, as it requires the exploitation of our brothers and sisters across the world?

### American Dream?

The consequences of what globalization does to the third-world in the name of progress, is what drives people to migrate, not only to America but all the other global power nations as well in a search for a sense of a dignified life.

The rural proletariat, as impoverished, displaced peoples who seek a plate of food and an escape from the pov-erty of their lives because their self-sustained ways provided by the local small-scale economies were destroyed, migrate seeking for the dignified life the American Dream promises.

The urban proletariat, exploited, underemployed, underpaid by the unstable, benefit-only-the-wealthy owner in-dustries, having never been exposed and therefore detached from the self-sufficient culture of rural and/or in-digenous peoples within their “underdeveloped” countries, and having had an entire lifetime to be seduced by the education system and social pressures of achieving wealth within their countries, migrates North to seek a higher economic status.



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But as the immigrant arrives, he/she too is seduced by the shallow values and the extravagant, 5-planet lifestyle of the American. They begin to believe the fallacy that through capital they can achieve freedom, but this too is false because unless one was born in the cradle of wealth, one is going to have to sacrifice one's freedom to achieve the misconception of freedom and progress. This is when the American Dream transforms itself into the "get rich at all costs" perception and rarely is there one who can evaluate the truth as far as how one does get rich. The answer is through rip-off, exploitation. The concept of profit itself is exploitative, for it is wealth accumulation with the justified means of stealing from (by not paying what their labor is worth) and/or exploiting another for the benefit of oneself. In all illusion, the American Dream becomes the shallow game of let's pretend the ugliness of poverty has never existed and doesn't exist, and let's blindly, apathetically immerse ourselves on the quest to achieve a better economic status.

The American Dream illusionist lured into working to achieve accumulation of wealth is quick to learn from their oppressor how to oppress others to achieve that wealth, even if it may mean cheating their own family and their people. Thus, validating and sustaining the status quo, the system of classism, the sacrifice-all strategy –from our families to our communities, in order to achieve a "dignified" social status, rather than valuing the time and leisure he/she could be spending with his/her family and environment.

Is it not hypocritical to seek the very same concept that oppressed us, that has oppressed our people for centuries, and continues to do so? Last summer, I met a wise man who told me that the Quechua people of the Andes cannot see the world by not looking toward the past. This, he said, is because of what one is able to see and what one cannot see in the present. He said, "The future is behind us because we cannot see it, we cannot plan for it as it is unknown and unpredictable, the past however is right in front of us, we've experienced it, we can see it and must learn from it to shape the now." We are therefore going to have to look toward the past to not only better understand the system of values on which our problems are rooted, but to look into the real past to learn how our societies have survived for the thousands of centuries they have been on this planet, so that we can work and fight today for our freedom to re-create a new and healthy society for our planet and our brothers and sisters across the world.

- Briza Q'illu

**"They begin to believe the fallacy that through capital they can achieve freedom, but this too is false ."**

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# The Hypocrisy of Fighting Oppression with Oppression

Earlier this week, I saw and heard a womyn teaching her young daughters, conditioning their young daughters, with the very same standards of "beauty," they themselves were conditioned with. However, this is not the first time I've seen and heard this, it happens all the time and it is because womyn have learned from their oppressors so well that they themselves now oppress one another, so effectively it has lead to hundreds of deaths a year because of it.

This afternoon, I bumped into an old classmate of mine I hadn't seen in years, he was born in Mexico, immigrated when he was 5 years of age as his parents sought for a better life in the United States. He questioned what my plans were for the future and I responded asking him the same. He said, "I'm going to get filthy rich," the *American Dream* he called it. I asked him whether he cared about the fact that the lavish, 5-planet lifestyles of the American rich are at the expense of our own people, in that the manufacture of all their unnecessary things are made as the environmental and social costs of our people go unaccounted for. His response was, jokingly, "If a man offered me a million dollars to kill a hundred puppies, I'd say where's the gun?" Hearing this made me sick to my stomach. It is a shame that in the quest for the American Dream, those colonized, those oppressed, are willing to do the same atrocity to their own people. This reminded me, however, of Albert Memmi's analysis of why us, the oppressed, have such difficulty in de-colonizing our minds.

In *Portrait du Colonise*, Albert Memmi, wrote that one of the most difficult problems for the colonized (be it countries, women, peasants, etc) is to develop their own identity after a process of formal decolonization –identity no longer based on the model of the colonizer as the image of the true human being. To survive, the colonized must oppress the colonization. But to become a true human being he/she, him/herself, must oppress the colonized which, *within themselves*, they have become." This means that he/she must overcome the fascination extorted by the colonizer and his values and as mentally colonized, we must re-evaluate what one is and does.

Oppression whether it be rich to poor, humyn to nature, urban to rural, first-world to third-world, man to womyn, man to man, womyn to womyn, white to colored, colored to colored, etc. are reflections of society's worst capabilities. Recognizing this fact, however, serves us nothing if we never question the root causes of our oppression, if we don't recognize that oppression, like colonization, it is maintained not only by force and violence, but through emotional and cognitive acceptance of the hierarchical values, processes, and tools that are used to oppress us, and which can be realized through the centralization of political and economic power. We must, therefore come to the consciousness that if we seek new and better ways for our society to behave, we ourselves are going to have to fundamentally change how we think and behave.

And as we struggle for social justice in our society, we are going to have to seek new means at achieving our goals. We are going to have to seek the "soul active," as Ralph Waldo Emerson called it, that within us "sees absolute truth and utters truth and creates," out of which is to come the *reborn social soul*. Once we see truth, expose truth, we can then begin to build the society we envision. It starts with oneself, then the movement, and then society.

Once we've understood that our minds, our movement must be de-colonized, we can then move to making known the truths of our society and be able to effectively denounce our basic human problems, perceived as private troubles, as the true massive public problems that they are, and subsequently act to create institutions which meet our basic human needs by granting us, the people, the power to determine for ourselves what our needs are and how we envision having our needs met.

- Briza Q'illu

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