



# Radical Review

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## A Reflection on March 4th

In order to have a well functioning democracy you must have an educated public. This is a truth which we are very much aware of. The continual deterioration of the school system and the current crisis are evidence that there is a problem and something must be done about that problem as it continues to get worse. The problem is at Sacramento, and D.C., but the problem is also right here in Fresno as well as every other city and university. The problem lies in the very structure of this system and in order to try and fix this problem we must challenge the root of it. The growth of the administration is a symptom. As we see more and more administrators being hired and paid six-figure salaries with regular raises, we see faculty who have to teach to larger class sizes and who have been denied their contractual raises for most of the last decade. The administration views the university as a business and their primary goal is to make a profit. Their bad investments are largely a part of what has gotten us into this mess. How many millions have been lost because of the Save Mart center? Who is going to have to pay when Campus Pointe proves to be the same cash drain? The administration has misplaced priorities and is not fit to make decisions which affect the university and entire community. This is why we have declared our independence and are drafting our own constitution to take back our campus and give power to the students, faculty and staff so that we can make our own decisions rather than having them handed down from Welty's ivory tower.

On March 4th when 80 students, alumni and community members entered Vice President Dr. Oliaro's office on the second floor of the Joyal Administration building, we were taking back public space and asserting our power. Our entire lives we have been told what we can and can't do, we are forced into tiny boxes where we do not belong and can never really fit. If we want to build a better world we have to take control of our own lives and our own destinies, taking back our university is a beginning step towards this. For those 8 hours, that office was our space, and we transformed it into what we wanted it to be at that moment. We wanted it to be a space where we could be alive and breathe; so we conversed, we danced, we lived and when the group decided to leave, we left. We were accused of misconduct, of creating a disturbance, but what greater disturbance to students education is there than furloughs, fewer and larger classes, and constant fee hikes meaning another part time job? Is this not administrative misconduct when the funds are going towards hiring more administrators, giving current administrators hefty raises, non-academic construction projects, lawsuits caused by administrative negligence, and so on and so on? And the administrators really don't seem to get it; they don't understand the importance of education to the community or democracy.

This was a non-violent action, no one was hurt and nothing was damaged, the only threats made were made by the administration. One woman brought her children with her to the sit-in; Dr. Oliaro told her "my wife is a social worker, I should call CPS on you. You should be more careful with your children." She defiantly told him that she was there because she wishes one day to have the chance to go to college, and for her children to go to college. She explained to Oliaro that she had brought her children with her because this is what Rosa Parks, Cesar Chavez and Martin Luther King did and said you should do, she wanted to raise them as conscious individuals who are not afraid to stand up and fight for their future. It has been said that occupations are an act of desperation, but these are desperate times which call for desperate measures. We can no longer sit idly by hoping that the administration will somehow magically solve the problems that they have created. We must take action now before it's too late. Chancellor Reed has instructed each campus to take this crisis as the perfect opportunity to "restructure" the CSU system with fewer students and more corporate sponsors. We have decided that Chancellor Reed is partially right; this is the perfect opportunity to do some "restructuring", so we are creating a structure free from the dead weight of overpaid administrators. A democratic university is where the people who do the work of teaching, staffing and learning decide how they will teach, staff and learn.

- CSUF Students



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## The Struggle is for Democracy



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

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

Democracy is what we learn about in our schools, in our Universities. Democracy is what we fight for. The current facade will not do. With un-elected individuals making decisions that dictate our lives, conditions are ripe for a democratic revolution. However, change must come from the bottom; from the people. Organic movements must not fall into the trap of settling for bureaucratic change. Asking the state to appease the masses with more money, or for the passage of legislative bills will not liberate anybody; it will not bring about Democracy. Change must come from the bottom in order to truly liberate the masses.

Bureaucratic reforms will not liberate because they will not liberate the oppressors or the oppressed. For to bring about true Democracy, all people must be liberated of all unjust authority. Bureaucracy in itself is incompatible with democratic principles. Its reform does nothing to bring about democracy because it does not liberate the people from the bureaucracy or the bureaucracy from itself. It merely changes the way it operates. However, this liberation cannot be brought about by the bureaucrats themselves, for “it is only the oppressed who, by freeing themselves can free their oppressors” (Freire).

An unjust exercise of authority is the act of oppression. This act results in preventing the people from being more human and free. The University should be a place of facilitating humanity and freedom. This effort to suppress freedom and humanity in itself denies the oppressors’ own freedom, and is carried out by an unjust authority. True democracy, where the power lies with the people collectively, extends freedom to *all* and liberates society from unjust authority. Therefore, bringing about true democracy is the only way to truly liberate. This is the task of the oppressed and this is what they fight for.

We must not accept the Democracy that is often falsely associated with “representatives” and occasional visits to the ballot boxes. This type of “democracy” implies that the people are not capable of managing their own affairs; it is rather insulting. However, true democracy does not stop once voting is over. “Democracy is not a spectator sport,” a wise woman once said. It is not putting faith into your “representative” and letting them do as they please after you’ve elected them. True democracy is where the people in an organic, collective body come to make decisions based on consensus and equality. True democracy is where the people, collectively, are their own representatives and manage their own affairs. Everybody who has a stake in decisions being made, has equal power in making them.

This is true Democracy, and this is what the struggle is for.

- CSUF Student

## Capitalism

Once again capitalism has created severe crisis, and the crisis now cuts into the university. It is not possible to understand the continuing privatization of public higher education without understanding the more general logic and system of capitalism within which the privatization occurs.

You would think that the Great Depression would have marked the last, tragic days of free market capitalism. But, as Marx once said, “history repeats itself, first as tragedy, then as farce.” Surely it is a farce that we are here, once again, falling over the economic precipice. But historic repetitions, tragedy or farce, are never identical. This time the state has socialized the losses of the most brazen financial speculators in US history. The fallout from their new, complex financial instruments—“financial weapons of mass destruction” to use Warren Buffet’s homespun phrase—continue to drain value out from the economy. The police, guardians of wealth, have also been transformed. Squads of SWAT teams and riot troops armed with all matter of high tech weaponry constitute a new paramilitary force in all major cities. And a gobbledygook of federal agencies—nsa, nsc, fbi, cia, atbf, fisa, homeland security—surveil us. Along with increased policing powers, the last thirty years have seen the building of a massive prison-industrial complex, warehousing millions of citizens. And, finally, a unique form of now completely corporate owned and operated media use the daily shit of pop culture and censored news to deliver the uneducated, de-politicized, gullible public, like lambs to the slaughterhouse. Otherwise, the current capitalist crisis is being played out by the usual disgusting cast of characters: ordinary Wall Street pigs, stock market speculators, greedy CEO’s, and huckster Republican and Democratic politicians.

What never changes is the goal: the endless accumulation of wealth in a small number of hands.

Politically, achieving this goal requires the reversal of the minor gains made by ordinary people during the New Deal. The formula is simple: cut taxes, deregulate corporations, smash unions, and shrink the welfare state. Each tactic has one main effect: to redistribute wealth upwards. The program is non-partisan. It has been developed and carried out by conservative and so-called liberals, Republicans and Democrats. Clearly, Obama is no exception. No matter, the success of this project is breathtaking. Berkeley Professor Emmanuel Saenz has found that income inequality in the US today now exceeds that which existed prior to the Great Depression with the top .01 percent of US income earners taking home 6 percent of total income. The top ten percent take home 49.7 percent of income, a figure higher than the previous 1927 peak. According to a recent IRS study, in 2007 the 400 highest-earning households in the US averaged \$345 million, a figure 31 percent higher than the previous year. What is more startling is that they paid an average tax rate of 16.6 percent, ten percent less than middle class folks. The income of the top 400 was "earned" from sales of stocks and bonds which is taxed as capital gains at a fraction of income earned from labor. (The top individual income earner in 2007 was hedge fund trader John Paulsen who pulled in a cool \$3.7 billion dollars in personal income.)

But any way you measure it, the success of the capitalists is clear. Between 1979 and 2005, the mean after-tax income for the top 1% increased by 176%, 69% for the top ten percent. The bottom ten percent gained 6%. Increasing worker productivity went almost exclusively to the top. Inequality in total personal wealth is significantly more severe with the top ten percent holding 80% of all financial assets and the bottom 90% holding just 20%. Among OECD (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development) countries, the US is now third in income inequality behind Mexico and Turkey. In 2005 the ratio of CEO to worker pay reached 262 times, meaning that a CEO earned more in a single workday (there are an average 260 in a year in the US) than the average worker did in 52 work weeks.

Tax cuts for the rich has been the primary basis for their increasing wealth. The top tax rate for the wealthiest Americans has dropped from 91% in 1960 to 35% today. But as noted taxes on capital gains (the source of wealth for the richest) have fallen from a high of 39% in 1936 to 15% today. W Bush's tax cuts—on earned income, capital gains, and inheritance—were the most audacious at a cost of 2.5 trillion dollars in lost revenue to the government between 2001 and 2010 and with 52% of the tax benefit going to the top 5% of the income spectrum. Inheritance taxes, greatly reduced, are proposed to be eliminated which would mean that rich kids who inherit millions or even billions would pay nothing in taxes while the rest of us who work would continue to pay taxes on income actually earned.

A corollary of reduced taxes is a declining public sector. Chief Republican political strategist Grover Norquist was perhaps the most straightforward among the lot when he stated in 2001 that the aim was to shrink the government "down to the size where we can drown it in the bathtub." But, as a general rule, people don't take kindly to being drowned. Thus, a law and order mentality is core to the capitalist logic. Because poverty, misery and crime go hand in hand, a correlate of the renascent capitalist project is the development of a prison-industrial complex. ("Lock the vermin up and pay them 63 cents a day for their labor.")

Thus the one area of government that has been a growth industry is prisons. The number of people in prison or jail or on parole or probation increased 300% between 1980 and 2000 to 6 million people while the number of people in prison increased 500% from 320,000 to almost 2 million. The US has the largest number of people incarcerated in the world both in absolute numbers and per capita. Class war is the parent of racism, and prison statistics reflect a highly racialized penal system with significantly disproportionate numbers of Latinos and African Americans in the cage. In California the costs to the rest of the public sector of segregating so many citizens has been dramatic. With a prison population of 170,000 (up from 35,000 in 1982) in facilities designed for 83,000 the state has dramatically shifted spending priorities. Thirty years ago 10% of the state's general fund went to the UC and CSU systems while 3% was spent on prisons. Now the figures are 11% for prisons and 7.5% (and declining) for universities.

But the historically unique player in the current tragedy is the Wall Street banker and the Federal Reserve. Bill Clinton's Treasury Secretary Robber Rubin who, prior to becoming Secretary, was the foreign currency trader at Goldman Sachs, helped push through legislation repealing the Glass-Steagall Act. This depression era law set up various banking regulations including a firewall between commercial banks, providing home and business loans, and speculative high risk investments undertaken by Wall Street firms. By removing it, all bets were on with all banks providing all manner of financial services whatever the specific risks or vulnerability of an institution as a whole.



**CSUF Library Study-In  
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**“What never changes is the goal: the endless accumulation of wealth in a small number of hands.”**

At the same time Republican Senator Phil Gramm of Texas pushed through legislation that made it *illegal* to regulate the new exotic financial instruments that were becoming popular cash cows for speculators: credit default swaps, collateralized debt obligations, mortgage backed securities, and other derivatives. The oracle, Fed Chairman Alan Greenspan, insisted that the market was perfectly self-regulating. Excessive risk taking would be offset by market corrections, and the whole machine would run like a perfectly en-souled cyborg.

When this historically refutable logic failed with the 1997 Asian crisis and the collapse of Long Term Capital Management and then again with the bursting of the dot.com bubble just past the turn of the millennium, Greenspan opened up the spigot and poured easy money into the system by slashing interest rates. The result was a speculative real estate frenzy and a virtual explosion in the high risk derivatives that financial capital loves to death, literally. The sub-prime mortgage crisis took the bottom out from under a financial house of cards and only the Bush-Obama bailout tag team (untold number of taxpayer trillions invested in Fannie-Freddie-Tarp-AIG-Wall Street-commercial banks) prevented a total systemic failure, for now anyway. Note that the exact same people run these banks; they face no significant new regulations and they are turning record profits on tax payer bailouts. Goldman Sachs had its best year in 2009 and set aside \$18 billion in *bonuses*, nearly enough to bail out California.

Now it is imperative to remember that capitalism seeks to integrate everything into its own sphere, the market, and thus place all value in a few hands. That is its nature. The university is not immune; far from it. Starting around the same time as Reagan, universities began to shed their public character and assume a corporate form. Class sizes began to increase. Programs began to be cut, especially in the humanities and social sciences. (Today in California there are proposals for eliminating some of these core university courses.) Universities became, to an even greater degree, a place to train technical specialists. Fees began to rise. A growing core of tenure track and tenured faculty began to give way to burgeoning ranks of non-academic education managers and an increasing number of part time and non-tenured full time lecturers. Taking the UC as a not unrepresentative example, over the past ten years, while enrollment has increased 40%, upper administration (management) has grown 100% while full time tenure track faculty has increased by only 23%. The managers pay themselves huge salaries with extraordinary benefits ranging from state supported travel and loan underwriting to free houses and cars. The current crisis merely accelerated already existing long-term trends.

But what was this vast army of education managers doing? As government support of the university began to slide, the managers stepped in with a variety of schemes that they claimed would replace lost public revenue. On the one hand they began cultivating ties with local rich donors and, in exchange for financial gifts, provided them seats on university boards allowing them a role in determining the path of the university. But, not surprisingly, the real money was in bank lending and construction. With the invention of private auxiliary corporations, the university management began to allow banks and bond traders to leverage the public university. Revenue bonds are designed to be self-financing. Funds generated by the new facility built with bond money are supposed to be the funding source for paying off the bond. Thus, for example, the Save Mart Center is funded by revenue bonds. But revenues have not met projections, and the university has had to lease land to local developer Ed Kashian to try to make up the difference.

Who is on the hook if the bonds fail? The banks, you know, will get their pound of flesh. Part of the answer lies in student fees.

The regular double digit fee increases for students play multiple roles for the banking elite. On the one hand they tend to put students deeper into debt even before leaving campus. Thus students provide a steady stream of future revenue for banks. More importantly, for the university management, greater future fee revenues improve the university's bond rating and thus their cost of borrowing. But, as the valley girls say, "whatever." If the Save Mart centers and other schemes fail, student fees will foot the bill. It's in the contract.

The lesson is that the university is one small node in a now comprehensive system of capital extraction, a system that, today in the United States is increasingly dominated by financial institutions. Those institutions, having wrecked the economy, are, as noted above, richer than ever, owned by the same scum, and facing no new regulations by their friends, "our" representatives, in DC.

**“Class war is the parent of racism, and prison statistics reflect a highly racialized penal system with significantly disproportionate numbers of Latinos and African Americans”**



**CSUF Walkout  
10/21/09**

What does this come down to for you and I as students, faculty and staff at CSU Fresno or simply as fellow citizens? The wheels of this machine are coming off. More people from all walks of life are glimpsing the true nature of an economic system that has required them to work so hard for a rapidly eroding sense of security. Now more than ever in our lifetimes, real, actual human beings and fellow citizens have a very difficult choice between two general options. A safer but possibly more irrational choice assumes that state sanctioned forms of political participation—letter writing, petitions, and legal protests—will deliver change adequate to this situation. A more dangerous, possibly more rational choice, is that radical, even revolutionary action is necessary. At the least, direct action may scare the political whores of the rich into restraining their patrons, raising their taxes slightly, and restoring the public sector, including higher education. At best, revolutionary action might displace the wealthy and replace corporate oligarchy with actual, participatory, direct democracy in all phases of our social lives. In a recent communiqué from a student occupation someone wrote: "A free university in the midst of a capitalist society is like a reading room in a prison." The special quality of this unrepeatable historical moment is that we are presented the rare possibility of escape.

- Mike Robe



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

## Fresno's Nazi Connection

Before Hitler began exterminating Jews, it was perfectly acceptable to be a Nazi in the U.S. and Fresno was no exception. This is what gave Karl Leonard Falk, Hitler's prized English propaganda writer, the confidence and feeling of security to settle in this town and teach economics at Fresno State from 1938 to 1948. He went on to become dean of social sciences for 20 years, head of the Fresno Housing Authority, and became president of Fresno State in 1969 when campus unrest called for his iron fist to squash.

Falk was born to two German immigrants who had settled in Berkeley. He graduated from Stanford in 1932 with a degree in German foreign language studies. From there he went on to the University of Berlin where he pursued his doctorate in Nazi economics. He was soon noticed by the fuhrer and the minister of propaganda Joseph Goebbels. They saw the value of a German speaking American and Goebbels personally paid for his entire education and the publishing of his doctoral dissertation. The dissertation was an attack on U.S. press which he perceived as run by and controlled by Jews, and the dangers of freedom of speech. He stressed the necessity of strong government censorship in order to silence any rabble-rousers.

Falk went on to write Nazi propaganda and host a radio show for the Reich while helping to distribute the propaganda in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and the United States. One piece he wrote had misleading stories meant to cover up that the chemical firm I.G. Farben who was manufacturing Zyklon B cyanide poison gas which was outlawed by international law. Between 1936 and 1944 one of the main gasses used by the gas chambers in the concentration camps was Zyklon B. Falk also wrote a piece for the Foreign Press Affairs on the necessity of German intervention in Czechoslovakia due to grievances by Germans there against the invading Bolshevik influence. One month later Hitler invaded and brutally crushed Czechoslovakia. By 1938 Falk's focus had shifted to anti-semitic housing policies, he fancied himself an urban planner but never really got his chance until 1950s Fresno. Besides Falk's propaganda writing he was also responsible for assisting and escorting the foreign press in Berlin. Falk's work helped to successfully conceal the Nazi activities.

Falk worked directly under Walter Funk, the Nazi Minister of Economics and president of the Reichsbank. Funk was later condemned of war crimes in the Nuremberg trials, Falk managed to slip away from his Nazi past when he came to teach economics at Fresno State in 1938.

Falk was easily accepted and well liked at Fresno State although evidence shows that he was still working for Hitler as a Nazi agent. In 1948 the Nazi Falk was made Dean of Social Sciences. Falk used his power and influence to become head of the Fresno City & County planning board in the early 50s. With power of eminent domain Falk began to reconstruct downtown Fresno into a symbolic center of political power. He destroyed all residential areas and many small businesses to create his dream of a strong center of courts and police headquarters with City Hall at the apex. This is surrounded by prisons and other governmental buildings (Fulton mall) creating a governmental world completely removed from the people. Falk removed large portions of Fulton and Mariposa streets in order to make way for his dream of a half-mile park with statues and martial music played over the public address system. This was all to be financed by Falk's First Federal Savings and Loan which was to be at the front of this park at Fulton & Tuolumne streets.

**"The lesson is that the university is one small node in a now comprehensive system of capital extraction"**

# Fresno's Nazi Connection

Falk's dream never came to be but Fresno's commerce nerve-center since 1880 was murdered as merchants fled north.

Falk was offered the position of president of Fresno State by Arnold Joyal (whom the current administration building is named after) but Falk declined. The unrest of '68 made Falk change his mind. Professor Robert Mezey was fired for publicly saying the government was lying about the effects of marijuana and professor Marvin X was fired when the school found out he was a draft dodger. Combined with the Vietnam protests, the campus was out of control and president Ness resigned and Falk brought in his iron fist. Falk immediately began firing the faculty he considered "radical", he fired 8 of the 10 faculty of the new ethnic studies program. He began changing the schools policies and organizational structure to get away from a democratic system and make a dictatorship possible. The *Collegian* printed a critical article about Falk and he chained the doors of the newspapers office shut. All of this was met with great dissatisfaction as students began rioting, smashing windows, shutting down Shaw and highway 180, and a computer lab was bombed.

Falk declared martial law and went to the Fresno County Bar Association where he revealed his secret past:

"A week ago I had a so-called confrontation with a group of minority students from our college and as well as from surrounding high schools...they were not interested in my answers to their questions...they told me to 'shut up'...[T]his is one of the reasons that public discussion becomes...staged demonstrations with propaganda and political motives...to seize control and to destroy present academic structure and use it as a base to overthrow 'bourgeois' America ...[T]hey know that I am aware of their motivations and tactics...They also reject forces of government...falling under the control of Marxist-Leninist and Maoist influences which have created problems of internal dissension ...In 1932...I witnessed first-hand the power struggle between Communists and Nazis...on the campus of the University of Berlin..."

[Fresno County Bar Association Speech by Karl Falk on 2/20/1970.]

He thought that his audience would support re-interpreting the first amendment and giving him the legal power to censor and silence the activists. Instead he simply publicly had given away his secret.

This is a very small part of the story. The fact that a Nazi who was a personal disciple of Hitler and Goebbel went on to have major influence in the shaping of Fresno is disturbing. How much of this influence is still effecting Fresno today? How much of Fresno State's current organizational structure and policy comes directly from Falk and indirectly from Hitler? Did Falk set the stage for Bonadelle's "Operation Rezone" which pushed Fresno north abandoning south of Shaw to poverty? Falk was responsible for giving the police greater power to enforce City Hall's wishes, does Jerry Dyer still benefit from the Nazi's design? These are all questions which we need to be asking, we must question authority, especially when it has roots tainted by Hitler's prized English propagandist.

- *Feral Fuego*

Most of this is based off of the research of Howard Hobbs. His full article, "Secret Life of An American Nazi" can be found at: <http://www.bulldognews.net/issues.html>

**“With power of eminent domain Falk began to reconstruct downtown Fresno into a symbolic center of political power.”**



**March 4th Rally  
3/4/10**

I recently read a fascinating study by Sylvia Federici, Associate Professor of Philosophy and International Studies at Hofstra University, connecting the witch burnings of 15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> century Europe to the rise of capitalism. Federici documents the forgotten history of the women's holocaust in relation to the origins of capitalism, heightened oppression of workers, and subjugation of women. The image of 'witch' in the contemporary mindset conjures up grotesque images of evil women in black hats, boiling cauldrons, ritual manipulations and mystical figures of myth, magic, and lore. But who really were these 'witches' and what can they tell us about the corporatization of education today. The witch burnings within Feudal Europe represented a holocaust fueled by state religious hysteria and fear in the murdering of scores of women, children, and sometimes whole villages. The witch burnings were really an attempt to destroy the power of 'the commons', to alter the way humans think, and to appropriate the bodies of women and workers as labor in service of building the empire of capitalism. Disciplined bodies and ritualized learning replaced the world alive with culture, magic and the possibilities of dissent. The witch burnings was a deliberate policy enactment by the ruling class to silence dissenting community voices. The shocking new clothes of the emperor's patriarchal order divided the people by race, class, and gender through shocking violence and inequality that mirrors contemporary campaigns of 'shock and awe'. Deep within our distrust of feminism and witches lies a history connected to contemporary higher education – a story about our emperor's new clothes – in understanding the relationship between predatory capitalism and the corporate privatization of higher education - a system capable of destroying its young, its talented, its human capital. California's burgeoning Prison Industrial complex is more than willing to capture the dissidents, the exploited, the low-wage 'low lying fruit' in order to preserve California's orchard of economic exploitation collapsed into deepening de-facto segregation and criminalization of those impoverished by systemic racism, sexism, and classism.

The CSU emperor's new clothes is represented by the unelected Chancellor Reed, board of regents, and appointed CSU presidents wielding their own 'shock and awe' campaign in the destruction of California's Master Plan for Higher Education as a common good, or public asset. The factory model of privatized education is profoundly alienating to students, faculty, staff, and the larger community. California's divestment in its human capital weakens access, quality and equity in higher education which in turn has serious consequences for the practice of academic freedom and democracy.

History is replete with valiant peasant or people's movements that have fought the dehumanization of empire building. History's counter revolutions offered hope in resistance. One example was the 1964 Freedom School Movement which challenged the unjust social order of a deeply racist and divided Jim Crow South. Over two hundred volunteers, most white university students, came together with African Americans with the goal of transforming the unequal power structures within Mississippi, the most oppressive racist state of the union. The Freedom School Movement was a bold act of running a school without administrators, buildings, equipment, or money. Word spread from student to student filling classes. The curriculum was based on asking open ended questions about how a free society works. The answers were sought within the lives of students naming their realities and changing those realities through action. The Freedom School Movement was rooted in the practice of community, the free exchange of ideas, and the elimination of political disenfranchisement along class/race distinctions that reconstructed slavery through Supreme Court decisions like Plessy vs. Ferguson and the politics of separate and unequal. The Freedom School Movement recognized that schools were part of the dominant apparatus of oppression and that students were a force for social change within schools.

So as a professorate, what do we profess? I teach in Women's studies using a critical feminist lens that I would argue is vital for understanding how the politics of education are gendered, raced, and classed. Although Women's Studies, Chicano Studies, and African and Native American studies fight the growing shift to technocratic, standardized, and factory models of education, their ghettoization within larger university institutions means these departments must also fight the continual pull of co-optation by empire for their own academic survival. When higher education assumes a factory model it appropriates the bodies of students, faculty, and staff as labor in the continual reproduction of economic resources to buy the emperor's new clothes. Witch hunts of the 16<sup>th</sup> century targeted powerful, but disobedient, non-conforming women in order to draft a patriarchal capitalist state that alienated and reduced workers to form a dependent and exploited labor force. Disenfranchised women and workers have historically been silenced by the terror of empire and the struggle for their own survival. When higher education assumes a factory model it appropriates the bodies of students, faculty, and staff as labor in the continual reproduction of economic resources to buy the emperor's new clothes. Witch hunts of the 16<sup>th</sup> century targeted powerful, but disobedient, non-conforming women in order to draft a patriarchal capitalist state that alienated and reduced workers to form a dependent and exploited labor force. Disenfranchised women and workers have historically been silenced by the terror of empire and the struggle for their own survival.

**“The Freedom School Movement was a bold act of running a school without administrators.”**



**CSUF Walkout  
10/21/09**

## Emperor's New Clothes cont'd

“...exploitation of faculty using a divide and conquer strategy ... positions tenured faculty in conflict with contingent faculty...”

There is a parallel history over the last three decades in exploitation of faculty using a divide and conquer strategy that positions tenured faculty in conflict with contingent faculty constructing a professorate divided against its own communal academic freedom and collegiality. The move to increase contingent faculty under the oxymoron of ‘permanent temporary’ status is well documented by CFA (California Faculty Association). While student population entering higher education has grown over the last thirty years, there has been no real growth in tenured faculty; however, huge growth in contingent lecturers often represents up to two-thirds of teaching faculty. Contingency faculties are easily exploited and marginalized within the university. Elizabeth Hoffman, CFA lecturer and activist argued contingent means never getting job security, lowered salaries, increased teaching loads, and survival mentality which acts to silence the new majority faculty under the fear of non-reappointment. Indeed, over 216 contingent faculties were not reappointed at CSU, Fresno from fall of 2008 to fall of 2009. This represents a decrease of 30% of contingent faculty. According to the CFA, from fall 2008 to 2009, the CSU system lost 2,142 lecturers and only 61 tenured faculty. Managers and administrators increased from 2,000 positions in 1993 to almost 3,500 positions in 2009. Overall the 90s represented a 25% growth in student populations with only a 3% growth in faculty. Marc Bosquet, Associate Professor of English at Santa Clara University and founding editor of *Workplace: a Journal of Academic Labor*, argued because faculty job security is intrinsically linked to academic freedom and the practice of democracy, contingent faculty end up teaching in a climate of fear instead of intellectual honesty. Avoiding controversial material means faculty compromise a passionate and articulate advocacy for what it means to ‘profess’ or think critically and to teach students to do the same.

The production of knowledge embedded within complex historical, cultural and personal contexts gets internalized over years of experience and socialization into unquestioned social norms. These social norms become institutionalized in the political, social, educational, familial, religious, and economic structures of society. Each of these makes claims of truth. Below these claims lie gendered, raced, classed, and sexed ways of knowing clouded by systemic racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, and able-bodiedism that impact how we see the world, our lived experiences, and opportunities available to us. Critical thinking is about unpacking the hidden assumptions and unquestioned norms that serve to reproduce dominant power structures of inequality. To ‘profess’ or teach is a profoundly political and dangerous act because it asks critical questions about the purpose of education: Why are we here? What do we want? What are the alternatives? Where are we going? Will California’s higher education fall to a neo-liberal, market driven corporate empire with its privatization and predatory competition managing education for the production of profit? Ultimately the kind of university we build is intrinsically linked to the kind of society we want. Where are you positioned? What have you been taught? How have your opinions been formed? How much opportunity have you had to step outside your racial, cultural, or gendered position? What might you not know? Are your habits of mind really free, unencumbered from history, stereotypes, and privilege? What would ‘free thought’ look like and how might you get there? Participatory democracy declares boldly the aim of schooling is to find solutions to poverty, injustice, racism, sexism, classism, imperialism, and militarism. What if faculty, students, staff, and community came together to ‘profess’...to build a critical advocacy for educational equity, access, and quality that invests in the human capital and potential of California. What could our university become?

- Elizabeth Swearingen

March 4th Rally  
3/4/10



The Fresno State Community is already aware of many issues that are facing the students, faculty, and staff. Fee increases are forcing students to drop-out. Lay-offs have faculty frightened for their livelihood. Misappropriations by administrators have taken hundreds of thousands from academics. Oracle/Peoplesoft gained millions from conflicts of interest. Title IX violations by the athletics department have cost more millions. President Welty's recent editorial shined a light on a few positive events at the University however; our research has uncovered far more dark dealings by the University and CSU Board of Trustees.

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 budget cuts that students, faculty and staff are protesting. Funds that are being used for construction come from bonds and bank loans. Much of the bond money has been used for non-essential facilities like the Save Mart Center, Campus Pointe, the new football training center, and the new swimming diving facility currently being built next to the new softball field. Given declining enrollments, even new academic buildings may wind up being underused. If the CSU defaults on their loans, the banks will take control of campus buildings. There are even reports that the CSU is using future fee hike revenue as collateral for new construction bonds. The CSU needs to sell another \$300 million in bonds to pay for construction for this Spring semester. The CSU's poor credit rating has prompted Chancellor Reed to plan a second trip to NYC to again plead with executives at Moody's to improve their credit rating.

At a recent CSU Board of Trustees meeting on January 26th, a report was presented by George Ashkar on the financials from 08/09. During the presentation, a Trustee, who is a Certified Public Accountant, commented that he had reviewed the finances and concluded that it was "amazing that the CSU is solvent." He then praised the presenters for working their "magic" to keep the CSU afloat.

Locally, Fresno State departments are now actually ending up with excess money, generated by faculty lay-offs and mandatory furloughs. Millions of dollars of funds allocated for classroom teaching and research are unaccounted for. In some cases it appears that deans have returned monies to Academic Provost William Covino. There is no accountability for the moving of funds around the University. Distribution of money is handled by Welty and Provost Covino in an authoritarian power structure.

So what is being done about these unending abuses of power? Concerned students, faculty, and staff have started a movement that is rapidly gaining strength. Unite4ed is a grassroots alliance dedicated to putting control of the higher education system back into the hands of the University community, by establishing a democratic governance system. Our attempts towards discussions with administrators have been rejected, so we have declared our academic independence. We are taking our message to the people of the University community and ask for your active support in this most essential movement. Visit <http://unite4ed.org> for more information.

- CSUF Students



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**Radical Review**  
A Unite4ed Publication  
Volume 1, Issue 1  
March 11, 2010

# Radical Review

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