

A BRIEF POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT SAN DIEGO

To begin with, let us say that by a "political history," we intend something more than a history of electoral political activism. By "politics" we mean to include everything that affects the way people live together in society—the "body politic." This is to be understood in contrast to the bourgeois use of the word to refer to the carryings-on of the party politicians and, by extension, to the activities of the left.

Thus, for us a political history of the university deals with the entire question of how the institution fits into the social structure of American society and the forces which have made what it is today.

We live in a society that ignores history, that devalues experience, that thrives on spectacle and immediacy. But it is important that we know what has gone before, that we learn from the past, and that we realize that progressive campus and community activists today are part of a larger movement—a movement to build a better, more livable and a more free world. As students, our part in this movement generally focuses on the University—where we work, live and study. But we are not isolated from what goes on around us, the issues of the world reach us—in the work we do and in the work the University does. And the campus is situated physically and socially within a larger community, in which we also work, live and study.

This history addresses some of the struggles that have been fought at UCSD—issues such as university complicity in the Vietnam War, institutional racism, collaboration with the CIA—and some struggles that continue today. Protest, struggle, movement building, creating viable alternatives to a "sick society" (or even just visions of these)—these are a vital part of our experience as a community. We've protested the anti-human orientation of the University; we've protested oppression around the world; and the University's role in

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that oppression; we've protested research aimed at increasing profits at people's expenses or just plain killing people; we've protested the lack of socially productive work engaged in by the University; we've protested the firing of good professors and the elimination of human services; we've invested large quantities of our energies into creating alternative institutions and an alternative culture—on campus and in the greater community—both to learn how to live and work differently, and to provide positive examples and inspiration and sustenance for ourselves and others. And we're still protesting, still working, still building.

This history covers highlights—but it should be remembered that for every rally or sit-in there were meetings, educational work and organizing that went on, which made these actions possible. Similarly, although—for convenience in presentation—this history divides events by issues, it must be remembered that the issues coexisted, were fought together and interacted. These are not single-issue movements—students were organizing around a wide variety of different issues at all times. To speak of the "Anti-War Movement" or the "Anti-CIA Movement" ignores the fact that the fight for Lumumba-Zapata College and the Graduate Student Union took place at the same times. And that these fights, in many cases, involved the support of many people also working on behalf of other issues.

This year, we have decided to prioritize recent UCSD history—the entries at the beginning of this section occurred since 1990. The remaining history can be found in chronological order from UCSD's

inception to 1990 in the pages following this recent campus history.

**The University Center Board, 1977-1993
A Case Study in Power, Politics and Paternalism at UCSD**
by Chris Burnett

The history of the University Center Board (UCB) and its ultimate demise exemplifies a familiar pattern of resistance and control; resistance by students and control by the administration which is typical of what any student should expect to experience at UCSD when challenging "established" structures of power. As the UCB's last Chair, I will do my best to explain the significance of the conflict which existed between the Board and the administration during the last years of the Board's 15 year history. My role in the UCB originated from my involvement with the student run Co-ops on campus which, historically, has had an antagonistic and confrontational relationship with the Administration. It was this relationship which taught me that the UCSD administration was not interested in, in fact, *hostile to*, the idea of students controlling their own assets and businesses in a framework that promoted cooperation and solidarity. The root of this controversy is both political and economic.

Politically, the Co-ops are the only student organizations strong enough to defend themselves because of their financial autonomy. No other student organization on campus, including all three student government boards (UCAB, AS, GSA), are realistically capable of defending themselves legally to protect their rights and responsibilities. The Co-ops are a buffer to absolute bureaucratic control by the UCSD

Administration. Furthermore, their cooperative ideology of organization is antithetical to that promoted not just by

the Administration, but by our entire society. Having a university organized hierarchically, with students who take orders without question, is far more efficient in terms of business operation and control generally. The Co-ops very existence is proof that alternatives exist.

Economically, the Co-ops are competitive and cheap. Competition results in loss of revenue to the University run businesses. The spaces they occupy could feasibly provide close to \$2,000,000 in revenue annually for the Office of Undergraduate Affairs by: 1) raising rents to outside contract vendors (such as McDonalds) in comparison to what the Co-ops pay and 2) taking a percentage of gross revenue from outside vendors. Also, the Co-ops are free to donate their money to whom they please.

It is important to note that both the UCB, formerly the Student Center Board, and the Co-ops came into existence at the same time and involved many of the same people. Among students, the relationship between the two was very positive for close to 10 years. Various actions by key administrators quickly changed this relationship. In the Fall of 1990, Administrators decisively increased their attack on the student run Co-ops.

In the Fall of 1991, I was delegated the responsibility of representing the Co-ops on the University Center Board. I was *not* extremely enthusiastic about the idea of becoming a junior bureaucrat on the UCB, but it was essential to have representation on the board since it dictated much of the framework that the Co-ops had to work under at the time. Four years of experience working with the Co-ops allowed me to

represent their interests. As tension grew between the Co-ops and the administration, it became imperative to secure a co-op majority on the board. It was through the efforts of numerous people that, by winter quarter of 1992, this had been accomplished.

In Spring of 1992, I was elected to the position of Chair of the University Center Board. Putting aside that principled anti-authoritarianism, I marched onwards and joined the ranks of the rank and file.

The best introduction to those final and glorious days is given by a position statement made by the UCSD University Center Board in the Fall of 1992 entitled "The UCB and Student Control over Student Facilities and Self-Assessed Fees":

In May 1972, the Regents of the University of California passed a resolution in which the Regents claimed that the assets of student government bodies — such as the Associated Students (AS), the Graduate Student Association (GSA), and the University Center Board (UCB) — are owned by the University, even though the fees are assessed on students by students for the purpose of student activities. In effect, the result of this action by the Regents at UCSD has been that the Regents now control millions of dollars worth of student fees under the pretense that administrators know better than student's representatives how student dollars can best be spent. In the past year, administrators at UCSD have blocked expenditures of student fee monies, as well as required student government boards to spend money even when students voted against the allocation of funds. It is in order to change this situation of taxation without representation and unchecked administrative authority that the University Center Board felt compelled to file suit against the Regents to gain control over its own funds for the purpose of obtaining an independent legal opinion regarding student government rights and responsibilities. This paper seeks to review the history of student government at UCSD, the way in which the University Center Board arrived at its decision to file suit, and its ultimate goals for student government autonomy at UCSD.



Jim Carruthers—went from Wendy's fry guy to University Centers Director in a matter of weeks

The establishment of student self-assessed fees at UCSD

UCSD admitted its first class of undergraduate students in the fall of 1964. The following spring, undergraduates approved the institution of a \$2.50 per quarter fee for the purpose of funding student activities. Over time, this AS fee has increased to its current level of \$13.50.

In 1968, the San Diego Student Center Committee, an advisory body to the Associated Students, urged that a referendum be held on the campus in which both graduate and undergraduate students would vote on a self-imposed fee to finance the construction of the first of three proposed "Cluster Student Centers." In May 1969, students voted to approve the proposed Student Center fee of \$6 a quarter. At the time this fee was approved, it was understood that students were to maintain operational control over these facilities. As the AS president remarked a month prior to the election, (Triton Times, April 11, 1969), "Control over these facilities should be solely with the students."

Student Center, and the Che Cafe Facility are maintained and administered. The University Center Board, a board constituted by a member of each college council, a Coop and Enterprises rep, a SAAC rep, a graduate student rep, and an associated students representative, is charged with administering this fee. Unfortunately, however, control over student union facilities at UCSD has not remained solely, or even primarily, with the students.

Regents Pass Item 513, Take Control Over Students Funds

Unilaterally, and without prior consultation with AS-UCSD — or, for that matter, any student governance board — the Regents, on May 18, 1972, passed a resolution in which the Regents stated that "the Associated Students on the several campuses of the University are official units of the University exercising authorities concerning student affairs by delegation from the Regents, the President, and the Chancellor." In other words, student government boards have no independent existence from the University administration. Some of the more established student

government boards were able to fight this take-over attempt. The AS at UC Berkeley quickly obtained an exemption from this policy. The Board of Control at UCLA (a board whose functions of maintenance and administration of facilities parallel those of UCSD's University Center Board) spent \$20,000 in 1974 to obtain a legal opinion from the law firm Latham and Watkins. *The Latham and Watkins opinion concluded that AS-UCLA was an unincorporated association and that the Regents had no right to dissolve the association or to require it to spend or not spend its money in any particular fashion, apart from any express or implied agreements between the Regents and AS-UCLA.* Subsequently, the Board of Control at UCLA negotiated a Memorandum of Understanding with the UCLA Administration, granting students a high degree of autonomy, with only limited oversight from the UCLA Administration. Other campus student governments, such as those at Davis and Riverside, have also negotiated formal or informal agreements in which students retain the authority to spend their fees as they see fit. While student direction at these campuses hasn't been perfect, it has had markedly better results than the direction exercised by unaccountable

campus administrators on our campus.

Student Government Autonomy at UCSD

To date, student governance boards at UC San Diego have not obtained an agreement recognizing the right of students to control their own funds. Contrary to the UCSD Administration's claims that student governance boards are "merely advisory," however, student governance boards have exercised a significant degree of authority at UC San Diego.

This is particularly true of the University Center Board (previously known as the Student Center Board). According to the 1977 Student Center Board Charter, written by UCSD alum Marco Li Mandri, the Student Center Board was made subsidiary to AS-UCSD to ensure that students did not "lose control of a student facility." Although the UCSD Administration claims that the University Center Board had only advisory authority, all Student Center Board and University Center Board decisions

"advisory" authority was always accepted by the UCSD Administration might have continued for much longer, except that the UCSD Administration decided that it wished to either increase its control over the student Co-ops or eliminate them entirely. The first confrontation directly involving the UCB occurred in February 1990, when Vice Chancellor Joseph Watson rejected a lease agreement made by the Co-ops and the University Center Board. Eventually, a negotiated settlement was worked out: in September 1990, Watson stated that the UCB and the Co-ops could enter into a space agreement, signed solely by the UCB Chair, UCB Vice Chair, and the Co-ops, provided that specific Administration concerns were taken into account. In November 1990, space agreements between the UCB and the Co-ops were approved and signed.

**Administration
Circumvents Student-Run University Center Board**

After the resolution of the 1990 dispute, all might have been well, but in November 1991, the UCSD Administration — rather than address its concerns about the Co-ops to the University Center Board, as had been history and practice on the UCSD campus since the Co-ops began — decided to circumvent the Board entirely and threatened to shut down one co-op, Groundwork Books, in 30 days without gaining the approval of the University Center Board to do so or even hold a hearing in which the Co-op would have the right to defend itself against the Administration's charges.

The UCB responded by passing a resolution on Dec. 2, 1991, in which it proclaimed its opposition to unilateral UCSD Administration action and pledged to establish its own fact-finding committee to determine whether any actions against the Co-ops need to be taken. Of course, the UCSD Administration ignored the UCB resolution and sought (unsuccessfully) to shut Groundwork Books down on December 19, relenting only when media attention was brought to bear and Groundwork served notice that a suit would be filed.

Subsequently, on January 13, 1992, the UCB "earmarked" \$5,000 towards obtaining a legal opinion "regarding the UCB's rights and responsibilities similar in scope to that obtained by AS-UCLA from the law firm Latham and Watkins."

After the administration break-in of the General Store Coop two days later, the UCB voted to stop payment of the Director's \$67,000 salary, as both his actions and public statements demonstrated that he did not consider himself to be an employee of the University Center Board; unfortunately, since the UCB does not have a separate checking account, money continued to be deducted from the UCB's account.

On February 10, 1992, the UCB's request to spend its own money on legal counsel was denied. Chair Molly McKay thus tried to get assistance from University Counsel. However, although Ms. McKay asked five questions, she only received three responses. The two unanswered questions were the following:

Who gave the UCSD Administration signatory power over funds generated from the University Center fee?

What is the basis for denying the UCB access to University Center fee funds to cover its legal expenses incurred in serving the interests of the UCSD student body?

To this date, the UCB has received no answer to either of these questions. As a result of being denied access to legal advice by both independent and university counsel, the UCB, on April 6, 1992, created the UCB Legal Committee, composed of the entire voting membership of the Board, for the purpose of "retaining independent counsel in order to do whatever it deems necessary and proper to enable the UCB to obtain full

I strongly recommend you disestablish the University Center Board and replace it with an advisory body which understands and respects the necessary conditions and limitations upon student participation in campus governance.

control over University Center Fee funds." This move to obtain counsel was backed by more than 90% of all undergraduate voters in an April 1992 A.S. referendum measure which asked, "Should student governance boards be able to hire, with student self assessed fees, outside independent legal counsel?"

After additional attempts to obtain University legal advice and an unsuccessful search for pro bono help, the UCB turned to the community to obtain either donations or a loan to start its legal case. In October 1992, the UCSD Coop organization, the United Cooperative Association (UCA) agreed to lend the UCB \$5,000 for the purpose of pursuing legal action to access its own funds. The UCA agreed that should this attempt be

unsuccessful, it would give up its claim to be repaid; the UCA further agreed that it would not place any restrictions on how the donated funds could be used and that the UCB would incur no obligations by accepting the funds. With \$3.3 million

of student monies at stake, the UCB accepted the UCA's offer and filed suit against the Regents in Superior Court last November, to obtain the authority to spend University Center Fee funds in order to obtain an independent legal opinion regarding the UCB's legal standing. In December, the UCSD Administration finally permitted the A.S. (annual budget: \$700,000) to use its legal funds to pursue autonomy, but it still blocked the UCB from exercising this right. Hence, the UCB continued to pursue its case in Superior Court.

Goals of litigation

The UCB does not see litigation as an end in itself, but rather as a means to the end of obtaining a reasonable level of student control over the facilities that students pay to maintain. Such control would include the right of student government officers to sign checks and to exercise supervision over administrative personnel hired with student funds. The UCB recognizes, however, that with any rights that we obtain, whether obtained in court or through negotiations, we must accept the responsibilities attached to those rights. Among the limitations we recognize are the following:

* We are bound by our Charter to the will of the UCSD Student Body, including referenda votes.

* We are bound by our Charter to obtaining approval of our budget from the AS and GSA.

* Our maintenance of the Price Center, Student Center, and Che Cafe facilities is constrained by the original purposes of these buildings; we cannot deviate from these trust constraints.

* We recognize our responsibility to ensure that services and enterprises in the Price Center, Student Center, and Che Cafe facilities be operated for the benefit of the UCSD community.

* We are bound by normal business practices for public institutions, including public audit, and our commitment to full disclosure of our activities and transactions.

We readily and proudly accept that we are part of the UCSD community and that this places requirements and constraints upon us; we accept and work within these whenever possible. But we are a separate entity, administered separately under our own Charter and bylaws. And while we can accept many special conditions of our existence, we cannot accept unilateral dictates relative to our internal administration by the Regents or any other party. Currently, we are engaged in negotiations with the UCSD Administration, the Co-ops, AS and GSA. Together with all of these groups, we must establish, as was established at UCLA 19 years ago, a "framework of reciprocal consolation and in a spirit of cooperative effort toward the solving of mutual problems."

In January of 1993, events surrounding the UCB proceeded at a fast pace. On January 26, the Regents (as well as Chancellor Richard Atkinson, Vice Chancellor Joseph Watson, Assistant Vice Chancellor Tommy Tucker and University Center Director Jim Carruthers) were

officially notified by judicial summons that a lawsuit had been filed against them by myself and the University Center Board (an unincorporated association). The purpose of the lawsuit was to obtain Declaratory Relief regarding the UCB's rights and responsibilities over the expenditure of student self-assessed fees for the purpose of obtaining an independent legal opinion. A very simple declaration.

On February 4, 1993, nearly one week after being served with the lawsuit, and acting on advice, or perhaps direct orders, from Gary Morrison (Deputy General Counsel for the Regents), Joe Watson unilaterally "disestablished" the University Center Board and replaced it with the "University Centers Advisory Board." In a letter to Joe Watson on February 3rd, Gary Morrison writes:

The prosecution and defense of cases such as this are frivolous and a waste of University funds. Indeed, this lawsuit is such an outrageous flouting of the authority and responsibility of the Chancellor and the Regents to manage campus affairs that I strongly recommend you disestablish the University Center Board and replace it with an advisory body which understands and respects the necessary conditions and limitations upon student participation in campus governance.

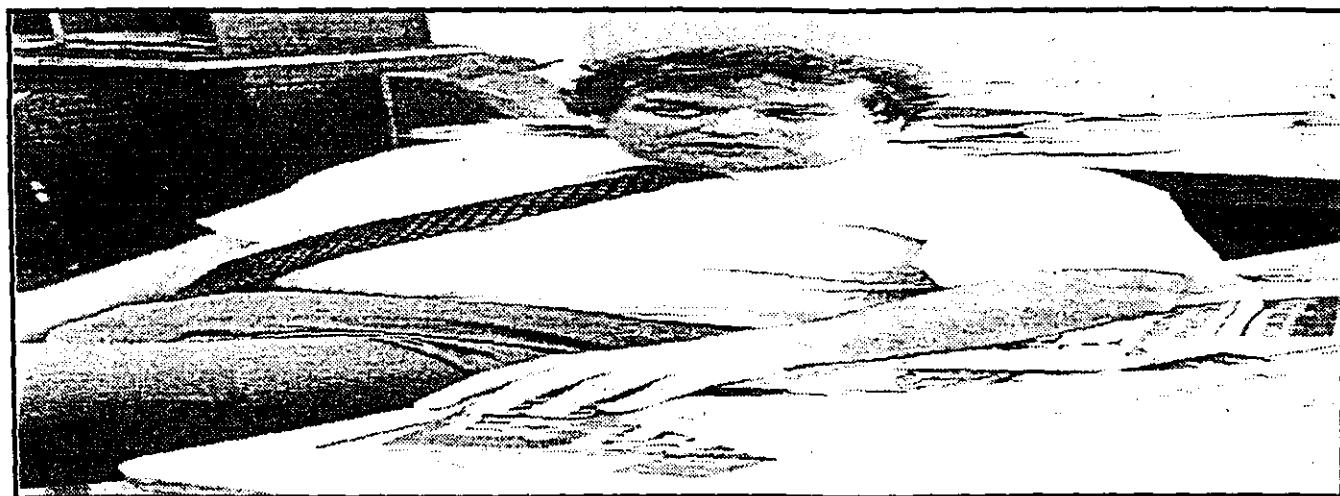
The "advisory" board created by Watson was to be comprised of three new voting members (Academic Senate, Alumni Association, and Staff association), all of whom do not pay the \$37.50 per quarter student fee. Watson also saw fit to eliminate the Co-ops & Enterprise representative from the new board entirely.

everything he could to stabilize it. But more importantly, a decision by the court in favor of the UCB would have had state wide implications by 1) acknowledging that students have a legal right to control their own monies, 2) setting a precedent for other student associations to follow, 3) changing the internal structure at each UC campus in terms of their financial powers and, of course, 4) prohibiting the Regents from unilaterally "disestablishing" student associations.

Other forms of protest originated in the constituents represented on the UCB. Seven out of nine UCB representatives voiced their opposition to Administration policy regarding the UCB and had full endorsements from their college councils or other governing body. For example, Patrick Carroll, president of the Graduate Student Association, wrote:

I have no option but to recommend that Council oppose your action in the most stern manner possible. This may involve the GSA joining with the UCB in a class action suit against you and your office, and the withdrawal of all graduate participation in campus committees in protest. At the very least I am sure that Council will refuse to legitimate, through Graduate Student Association participation, 'your' proposed replacement board.

The general student population at UCSD, although expressing a rather passive interest through the electoral process one year earlier did not seem too interested in taking action to prevent the deterioration of the UCB. This, however, cannot be blamed on an amorphous body of "apathetic" students which has often been described to exist at UCSD. I



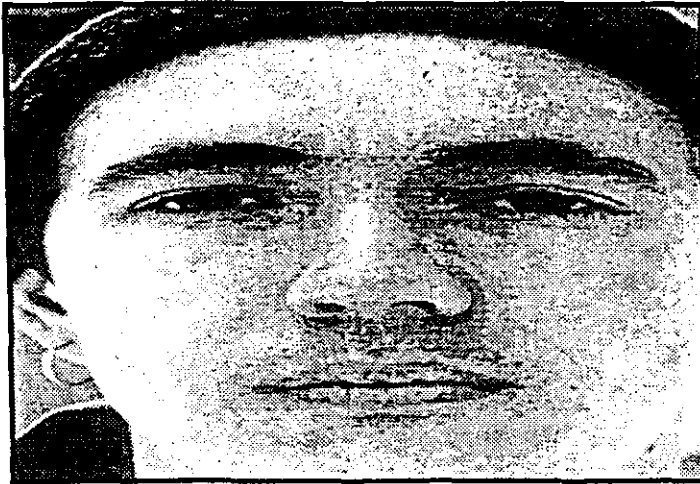
At this point, the future of the University Center Board rested entirely with the Superior Court whose decision two months later would mark the end of its 15 year history. Judge Wayne L. Peterson's decision on April 26th not to grant the UCB any relief in the course of the litigation process confirmed the possibility that, in the coming years, students throughout California may find themselves politically and economically powerless. At UCSD, Administrators were permitted to seize control of student's self-assessed fees and the facilities funded by those fees.

During the two months after the "disestablishment", prior to the April 26th court date, numerous forms of resistance and protest to Watson's action took place. Legally, the UCB attempted to obtain a Temporary Restraining Order in order to maintain the status quo until the case went to court. This failed, but the board continued to meet and conduct its business. It was quite evident to me at this point that the courts were not interested in stepping on the toes of the Regents, especially on behalf of undergraduate students. Part of this may be explained by the fact that Judge Peterson was a former Navy man with a very conservative history. He was not going to rock the boat. In fact, he was probably doing

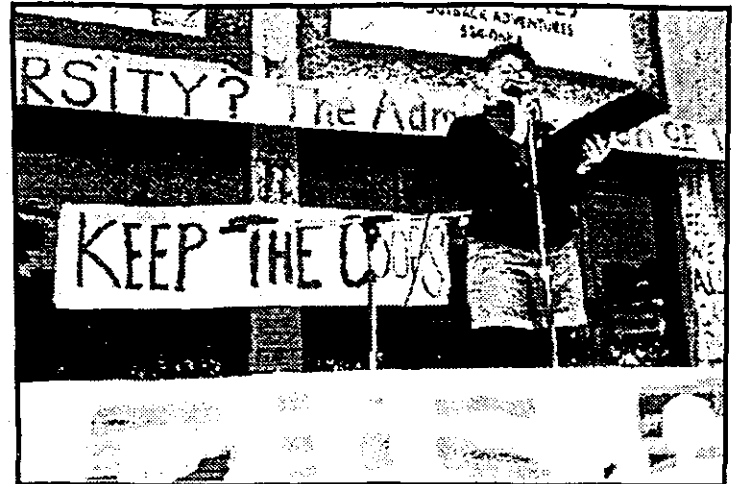
Asst. Vice Chancellor of Exterminations and Pizza Delivery, Tommy Tucker

think that students generally realized how powerless student government at UCSD was and avoided the personality politics of the Associated Students like the plague (it often seems that the AS are the only ones who take themselves seriously at UCSD). I can't say that I have much hostility towards this attitude. Until students have control over their own organizations and have some substantial power to exercise within them, then it will be next to impossible to organize people to resist the excessive brand of authoritarianism that the UCSD Administration bathes itself in. Also, it is only fair to acknowledge that the students involved in the UCB/Co-op/GSA/AS struggle with the Regents needed to do much more to involve a larger number of students. Had there been more civil disobedience and popular unrest inside the campus during this two month period. I strongly believe that the fate of the UCB would have been drastically different; a fact which even our lawyers recognized from the beginning.

Following the courts decision on April 26th, Watson and company went on the attack. At one of the first meetings of the new "advisory" board (UCAB), composed of the more self-motivated youngsters, the administration gave the new board the option of 1) covering the costs of



Christopher Burnett



Molly McKay

the Regents legal fees, \$38,000, from the student funded budget or 2) paying approximately \$2,500 to fund a lawsuit against myself to recover the \$38,000. In a vote which was well hidden from public view, the reported result was that the new board would fund the lawsuit against myself (I later discovered that the then AS president Mike Holmes, who favorably voted to pursue the UCB lawsuit, voted to go after me for the Regents costs. Andrew Clark, the fifth representative did the same. So much for solidarity in student government.)

After presenting the two "choices" to the Advisory board, Watson, in his characteristic style, assured his victory regardless of what the students had to say. That is, he took the \$38,000 from the UCAB budget and pursued to file a motion against me using student funds (my name being the only one listed on the lawsuit as an individual). This motion can only be characterized by what is known as a SLAPP suit: a Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation.

SLAPP suits are politically motivated lawsuits which are not intended to be won but to serve as a tool of intimidation. According to Michael Lee, a SLAPP suit victim at UC Berkeley, "[a SLAPP suit] is a tactic to intimidate activist and citizen groups into silence, to chill others who may hold the same opinions and either attempt or are considering publicly voicing those opinions. Likewise, victory for those filing SLAPP suits is not measured by receiving monetary compensation for alleged damages, but to what degree the action has had in successfully intimidating an oppositional movement into silence."

University of Denver researchers Penelope Canan and George Pring who coined the term SLAPP during their nine year long ongoing study of these lawsuits define SLAPP suits as "attempts to use civil tort action to stifle political expression. SLAPP's are filed by one side of a public, political dispute to punish or prevent opposing points of view. They are an attempt to privatize debate." SLAPP suits are characterized by four indicators: 1. Politically active defendants, 2. Charges of defamation, conspiracy, interference with business, discriminatory nuisance, or abuse of process, 3. Huge money damage claims out of proportion to realistic issues, and 4. Inclusion of "Doe" defendants to spread the chill.

On July 16, 1993, the Regents lost their motion attempting to recover \$38,000 in legal costs incurred during the lawsuit with the UCB. In her final comments to the court, UC Regents lawyer Jennifer Kelly states:

"...and, your Honor, even if you are disinclined to award defendants all of their attorneys fees and costs, we ask that you at least allow a nominal sanction in order to deter students from bringing these frivolous actions in the future."
(emphasis mine)

To what extent the Regents succeeded in intimidating the more active students on campus I cannot judge, but it is clear from Kelly's words that the main intention was deterrence. A "nominal sanction" would have

concretized this goal. After denying sanctions to both parties, Judge Peterson made a rather surprising comment to the Regents counsel:

"...I don't share your view that the lawsuit was brought frivolously or based upon shifting sands. I think that students have a right to bring this action and particularly characterizing it as an action in Declaratory Relief; secondly, quite frankly, and you may tell your clients that this is the court's humble opinion, perhaps if the matter had been dealt with internally in a more classical way that the students would not have been put in the position to file this action."

At this point, the struggle over the University Center Board ended. However, the issue of student control over their self-assessed fees and the facilities funded by those fees remains. The decision by judge Peterson was specific to one entity, the UCB, and does not impact future struggles which may arise over control of the funds. In fact, this case could still be taken to an appeals court within the state or to a federal court for violations of First Amendment rights of freedom of association. Although, the biggest problem to such a strategy is locating a reliable source of funds. It will be for a new generation of activists who are interested in these issues to decide what the best strategy will be.

In my opinion, it would be unwise to use the legal system in any capacity until there exists a well organized body of people who are willing to put much more on the line than their signatures. Without popular support and a thorough willingness to resist an extremely paternalistic administration, the prospects for self-governance at UCSD in any capacity are bleak. Strengthening those organizations which promote self-governance, such as a student union independent of the Regents, will probably yield the best results in the long term. Student governments, such as the AS and GSA, which exist because the Administration allows them to exist is extremely problematic.

Student government's primary function is to assimilate and quell dissent which may find other creative solutions outside the confines of the always present school bells. Student government at UCSD is analogous to an institutional bullet proof vest worn exclusively by the Office of Undergraduate Affairs. It is the politics of acquiescence; a buffer to significant and fundamental change.

Promoting cooperation and solidarity among students, faculty, staff and community members is essential before any real change within the University will take place. Unfortunately, this will become extremely difficult so long as the demographics at UCSD represent a narrow spectrum of class and ethnic backgrounds. The class war being waged within the University is becoming more apparent everyday. Working with groups interested in diversity and access, are intrinsically suspect of "friendly" administrators, and have a creative spirit for change is probably the best course of action to be taken in the coming years.

Watson, Tucker, Carruthers vs. the UCSD Co-ops 1991-1994

On November 11, 1991, University Centers Director Jim Carruthers, at the behest of Assistant Vice Chancellor Tommy Tucker and with the approval of Vice Chancellor Joe Watson, sent the five retail co-ops a memo. This memo set in motion a two-and-a-half year legal battle, costing both sides over a hundred thousand dollars each in legal bills. The outcome significantly changed the structure of student governance and signified yet another era of hostility between the UCSD administration and UCSD student body.

Carruthers' memo alleged that the co-ops had a history of illicit financial activity; rescinded the student organization status of the Groundwork Books collective; mandated that Groundwork would immediately become a "contract vendor," adminspeak for a Crown Books/Wendy's clone; mandated that the other four retail co-ops undergo an immediate audit by the UCSD administration; and that these four co-ops would turn over their checking accounts to the administration and become auxiliaries of the University Centers.

The Co-ops, since their inception, had always had a relationship with the University Center Board, a student appointed body which oversaw the maintenance of the Student Center, the Ché Cafe, and the Price Center. Although hostilities between the UCB and the co-ops frequently existed, the sentiment was that student fee funded facilities should be overseen by student officers. Since the Co-ops paid rent and reported fiscal activities to the UCB (and its administrative employees, including Carruthers), the November 11 memo came as a slap in the face both to the co-ops as well as the UCB. The UCB was essentially being relegated to an advisory role. The pro-Cooperative UCB of November 1991 would not support the marionette activities of Carruthers', so he simply overstepped them.

What followed can only be called a war. Groundwork refused to accept Carruthers' dictates; the remainder of the Co-ops followed suit. In December, after the fall quarter had ended, Carruthers attempted gestapo tactics against Groundwork to force it to become a contract vendor or else. When his flurry of memos and threats went nowhere, Carruthers threatened police intervention and shut the power off in Groundwork while a group of thirty Co-opers huddled inside, refusing to give in. The next day, Carruthers relented and signed an agreement with Groundwork to work toward a "solution."

The causes of this conflict are complicated. For one, because of reduced rent (shouldn't student fees help keep the prices lower at student businesses?) and competition, Regental Stores on campus were running near the fiscal red. Textbook sales at Groundwork and the expectation of textbook sales at the General Store played a major role in the UCSD Bookstores near insolvency. There were also the frequent hostilities between the various co-ops and the administration, many

which are outlined above. The Co-ops also posed a legitimate liability to the administration. This issue of liability became the crux of the entire ensuing conflict:

During the Spring of 1991, the Co-ops created the United Cooperative Association (UCA), a corporation which attempted to unite the co-ops and provide legal flexibility the University was not willing to grant the co-ops. One of the first things the UCA did was begin processing payroll for the co-ops. Carruthers and his predecessors had made a decision that no non-UCSD students would be allowed to work at the Co-ops as paid employees. The Co-ops were committed to employing and servicing students; the non-students the admin. objected to were mainly former and recently graduated UCSD alumni. Non-students were essential to providing extra backbone for the busy, lucrative, and complicated businesses.

This was the crux for why Groundwork was signaled out in Carruthers' November memo. Nearly all Groundwork employees were being paid through the UCA. Even though Groundwork had been authorized to function as a student organization—as it had historically been considered by the administration—Carruthers illegally rescinded

Groundwork's status. This allowed him to threaten the collective with eviction.

In January 1992, just after school recommenced, Carruthers changed his mind and told Co-op counsel that Groundwork was still a student organization. To rescind a student orgs. status, proper procedures are called for. Threatening memos and slum lord tactics are not listed in the Policy and Procedures Manual as appropriate steps. Carruthers did acknowledge however that the UCB's motions were subject to his overrule—this would prove significant for months to



General Store Co-op—shortly after break-in

come. First, in a December resolution, the board had voted to publicly condemn Carruthers and have then Chair Molly McKay draft a disciplinary letter to be placed in Carruthers' file. The admin. all but laughed at the UCB, setting in motion the UCB's own fate. During budget preceding several months later, the board voted to eliminate Carruthers' salary—since as a paid employee of the student body (his salary came directly from student self-assessed fees), he should do what they people who paid his salary wanted. Tommy Tucker again overruled the board, calling the UCB "an advisory board."

Meanwhile, the Co-ops had been contacted regarding audits. All of the Co-ops, in a show of openness both to the student body and the admin., agreed to the audits. However, due to the tense nature of the relations between the Co-ops and the administration, the audits didn't run smoothly. Misunderstandings occurred. These misunderstandings led to the most severe violation of student rights since Watson terminated Lumumba Zapata college. And how ironic that he should be one of the puppet masters now too.

On the eve of January 15, exactly one year after American pilots began the decimation of the Iraqi population, Tommy Tucker along with several of UCSD's finest broke into the General Store Co-op and

changed its locks. Why they did it stemmed from a miscommunication between General Store staff and the UCSD accounting office. The General Store was fully willing to submit to an audit of its books, an audit that cleared the General Store later of any fiscal improprieties. Rather than settle things rationally, Tucker decided to escalate the war.

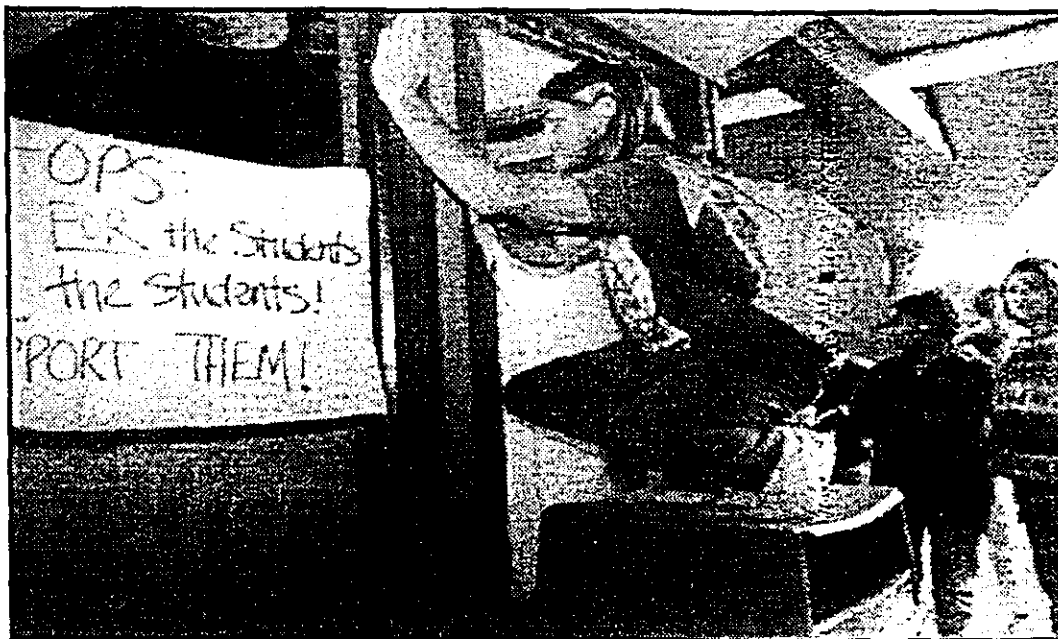
The Store's alarm service notified General Store employee Randy Corpuz that its alarm had gone off. Corpuz called the UCSD police who told him "we have no information of the alarm having gone off." Luckily, Corpuz became suspicious and summoned General Store manager Jeff Corbett to accompany him to campus. Once they got there, they were unable to enter the General Store because of the changed locks. So Corbett and Corpuz had to break into their own business. After doing so, they phoned about thirty members of the Co-op community who massed at the General Store within the next few

seizure, reseizure by the police, and ultimate reclamation by the UCSD student body. Co-ops and students huddled in each of the Co-ops all night expecting retaliation from the administration. The t.v. film crews waited too, hoping to catch footage of cops beating students. Nothing happened though.

The next day, the legal team for the Co-ops won a restraining order for the General Store against the UCSD administration: the first student organization to gain such a court order in the history of the University of California.

Word came from on high to Watson and his underlings after the telecasts and news of the restraining order spread system wide: time to negotiate.

During the next eighteen months, several hundred hours as well as large stacks of dollars were spent in the negotiation process. The Co-



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hours. And all before 4:00 a.m.

The next morning, tension was high. The General Store changed the locks the Tucker and Co. had put on the building and opened for business as usual. So did the other co-ops.

At ten-thirty a.m., most of the co-ops who had assembled during the night had gone off to work at their own co-ops or left for classes. Tucker arrived with four armed members of the UCSD police, who forced the remaining co-ops and General Store staff out of the building. Unfortunately for the cops, classes were letting out. A crowd of about four hundred students surrounded the building. The cops cowered inside, thinking the doors were secure with the locks they had put hours before. Television crews, summoned during the night to report on the proceedings, arrived just in time to watch the UCSD police routed from the building as the students surrounding the General Store broke in or entered via the doors which had been unlocked by General Store staff possessing the right keys. The police disappeared; Tucker vanished. The nightly newscasts all ran coverage about the break-in, the

ops jointly filed a grievance against the administration which along with the restraining order put teeth in the Co-ops attempt to bargain a sane future at UCSD. The Co-ops' historic relationship with the UCB had been all but terminated. Once the leases each of the Co-ops had signed with UCB expired, the administration would attempt to evict each and every one of them. (The administration at one point tried to convince the Co-ops that their two year leases were invalid since Carruthers hadn't signed them. Whether or not this was part of a conspiracy to rid the campus of the Co-ops is unknown. The administration eventually, after delivering eviction notices in October 1992 to each of the Co-ops, agreed to let the original leases stand.) This meant that by July 1, 1993, negotiations had to be finalized. And it took nearly eighteen months for an agreement to be finally reached.

The Co-ops had had a sweet existence through November 11, 1991. They'd enjoyed subsidized (General Store, Groundwork Books, Food Co-op) or free (Ché Cafe, Recycle Co-op) rent. All trash and electrical costs had been covered. All payroll, except for that which the Co-ops

contracted to the UCA, had been run by the administration at a very low recharge cost. Worker's compensation costs were almost nil. And the administration's liability umbrella had been extended over all of the Co-ops' activities.

Things are no longer that easy. Early in the game, Tucker steered the Co-ops away from the UCB and suggested an arrangement with the Associated Students. Now each Co-op (except for the Recycle Co-op which as of this writing is still in limbo with regard to its status) is signed onto the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). The MOU is lengthy document which spells out the relationship with the administration and status of the Co-ops. Each Co-op now pays its own liability insurance, utility and trash costs; subcontracts payroll; covers worker's compensation for its paid and volunteer employees; pays for increased rent (the Ché has two years free rent and then will begin paying rent for the first time in its history); and has its own non-profit status. Furthermore, the Co-ops are closely scrutinized by the Associated Students to make sure they comply with the MOU. Leases for the Co-ops' spaces on campus are dealt with by UCAB (the board that replaced the UCB after the latter filed a court case against the administration protesting the administration's flagrant trampling of student control over student assessed and student fee funded facilities and administrators). The Co-ops have retained their student organization status, but at a great cost; moreover, the A.S. can at any time terminate a Co-op's student organization status if it feels the Co-op is not in compliance with the MOU.

The future is unknown. The months of exhausting negotiations and expensive legal bills have all but killed the Co-ops and their member. Nevertheless, all have persevered and appear to be moving towards solvent and hopefully lengthy futures. It is uncertain what the changes brought on by the MOU will mean to the collective spirit of each Co-op and the Co-ops in general. The relationship between the Associated Students and the Co-ops has so far been edgy; most Co-ops don't trust student leaders who may feel free to interpret the MOU in ways lethal to any particular Co-op... especially when these student leaders are so chummy with various members of the administration. Hopefully, as new students become aware of the Co-ops, their history, and the diverse and rewarding opportunities they offer, they will help strengthen these student run businesses and reform the petty bureaucratic tendencies of many Associated Student members.

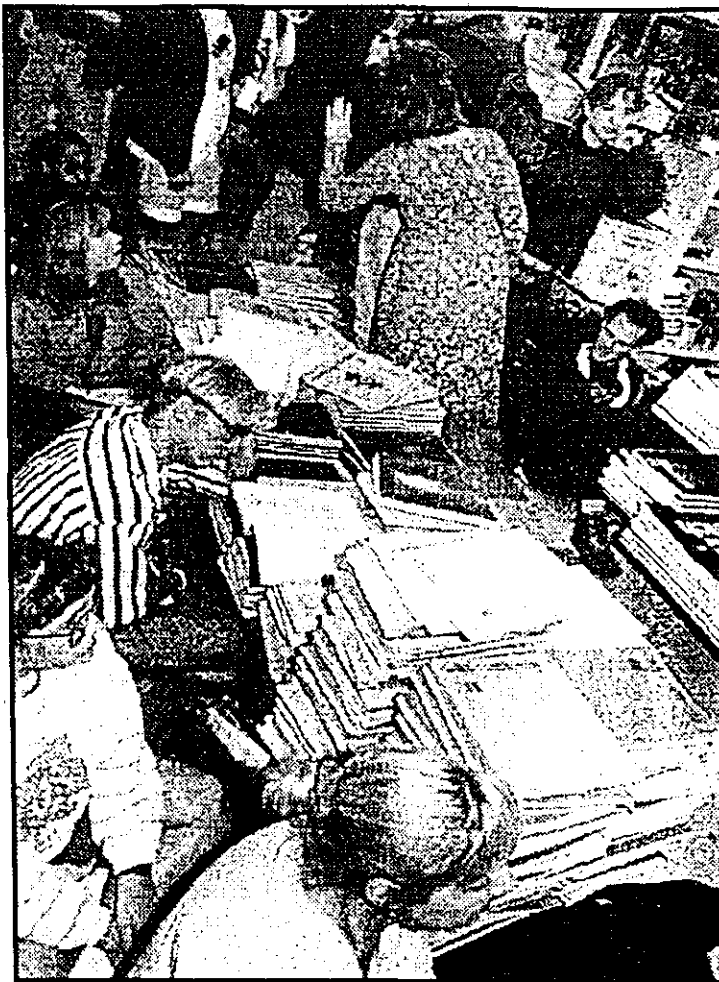
And more importantly, the Co-ops must work together to make sure each survives the years to come. The war between the administration

and the Co-ops did not come out of nowhere. The administration's reasons do have some validity: inappropriate bookkeeping methods as well as liability concerns did exist with the old relationship between the Co-ops and the administration. However, the former stemmed from antagonisms administrators had fostered with each of the Co-ops. Rather than creating an environment of student run businesses aided by benevolent, progressive elders, a hostile environment of fear and competition existed. Because the Co-ops hurt Regental businesses (cheaper prices because of efficient, caring labor) and because the Co-ops educated the campus community to the wrongdoings of the administration (read the sections on RIMAC, the UCB and the HIGH PRICE CENTER for examples), they became targets. Tucker and Watson didn't like the fact that Co-ops weren't willing to just play their roles in the show with a smile. Remember that these people think we're going to school at Disneyland, and they don't like Mickey Mouse's shady activities duly noted and passed down to new generations of students. You will decide whether or not they get away from it from now on.

RIMAC

The Multi-Million Dollar Rip-off (no longer wonder how that \$75 got tacked on your fees)

On May 17, 1988, UCSD Vice Chancellor Joe Watson gave birth to RIMAC, acronym for a multi-million dollar recreation facility. The charge letter for the RIMAC planning committee bears that date, and makes it clear that Watson had already decided to build something before his committee's first meeting. Assistant Vice Chancellor Tom Tucker, who had already endeared himself to Watson by building a shopping mall between the Chancellor's offices and the police station, was chosen to chair



the new committee's meetings. Initially there were 22 members, of whom 9 were students, and most of the rest administrators. To comply with a set of UCSD policies called *Guidelines for Student Funded Facilities*, only the student members were allowed to vote, but several factors were carefully exploited by the administration to assure that students had no real control over the RIMAC committee:

1. students do not have the resources to hire independent consultants, and thus lack the ability to generate or defend their own proposals. For this reason, students' roles on these committees is often reduced to pointing out "typos" in documents submitted by administrators;

2. administrators get paychecks for attending committee meetings, and do not have to worry about their grade point averages. Student committee members are not so fortunate, and were frequently absent from meetings. This further diluted their presence; and Tom Tucker maneuvered the meetings he chaired so that important decisions were frequently made by "consensus" or "mutual understanding"

rather than by taking a vote.

The UCSD administration thus managed to completely dominate the RIMAC design process. Because of this, RIMAC now had to be "sold" to students, to use the word that keeps popping up in RIMAC meeting minutes. The committee spent \$2,600 for campaign flyers, more than ten times the total amount permitted for referendum campaign spending in an Associated Students (A.S.) election. When questioned about this, the administration proclaimed that the RIMAC committee is somehow "neutral" with respect to its own referendum measure, and that its campaign flyer was strictly "informational."

Despite its "neutrality," the committee apparently felt that sports enthusiasts needed "information" more badly than others: over 75% of the "informational" fliers were distributed directly to the intramurals, intercollegiate athletics or the Physical Education department.

Running a special election cost about \$8,500 more than putting the referendum on the ballot in the regular A.S. spring election, but the higher ratio of RIMAC supporters likely to turn out for a special election was irresistible to the committee.

"Elections Coordinator" Randon Woodard, himself a RIMAC committee member, was hand-picked by the RIMAC committee to run its election. Both before and during the election, Woodard told A.S. and Graduate Student Association (G.S.A.) members that the A.S. Election Bylaws would govern the conduct of the RIMAC special election. But later, when complaints were filed charging massive and systematic violation of these Bylaws, Woodard decided that the Bylaws did not apply, after all. Thus, the administration changed the rules of its game as necessary to get its referendum to pass. Some of the more blatant campaign irregularities:

- There was no defined campaign period, and the RIMAC committee began actively campaigning more than a month before the election;

- There were no defined campaign spending limits. *Guidelines for Student Fee Funded Facilities* requires that the same amount of money spent by the administration on any printed material concerning a referendum measure be allocated to students with opposing points of view. The administration interpreted this to mean that half the amount they spent should to a "pro" campaign, and half to a "con" campaign, since their campaign flyer was strictly "informational." The fact that this would have allocated three times as much money to the "pro" side as to the "con" side of the debate, didn't matter much: they never publicly advertised that these funds were available, anyway;

- RIMAC's campaign flyers were systematically placed at the polling locations. When people complained about the RIMAC flyers at the polls, the administration removed the

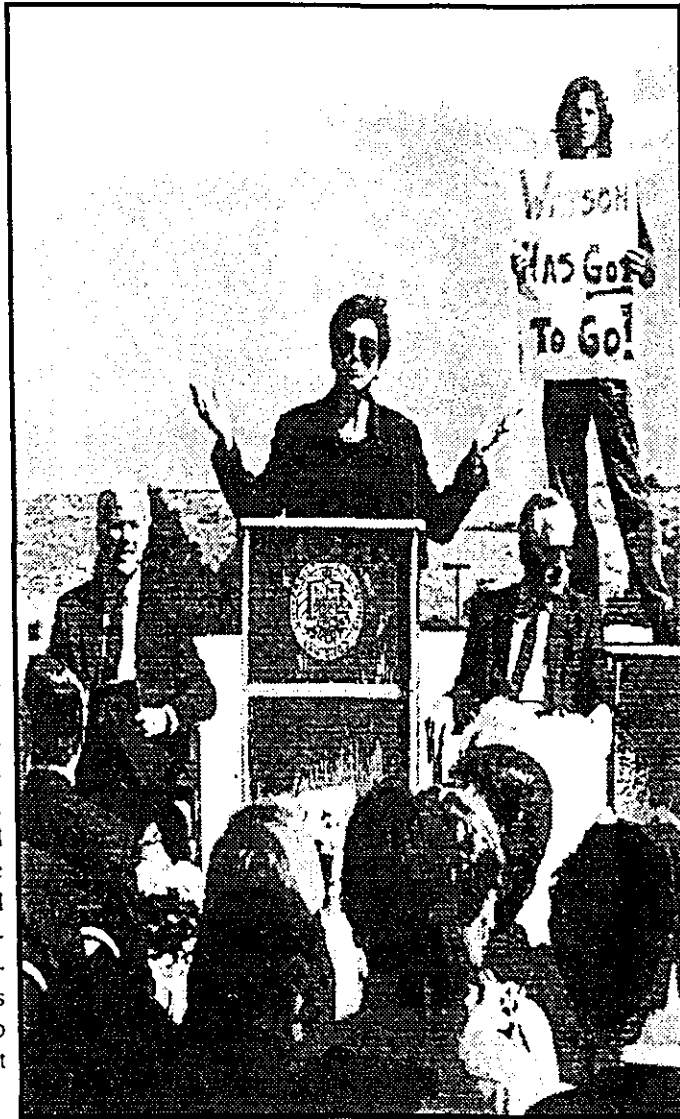
flyers, saying that they hadn't put them there and that they ought not to be there, but that no campaign violations had occurred, nevertheless;

- Poll workers were instructed to give these flyers to anyone requesting more information about the RIMAC referendum measure.

These violations were cited in a complaint to the A.S. Elections Manager filed by James Field. The complaint asked either the A.S. Elections Manager, or Randon Woodard (as "Elections Coordinator"- a position which does not exist anywhere on paper) to nullify the

election, and to bar RIMAC committee members from further electoral activity for one year. The administration's response was that *Guidelines for Student Fee Funded Facilities* and *Guidelines for Student Fee Referenda* are the only election rules which applied. These rules contain no language at all regarding specific campaign practices, and were intended to supplement existing regulations, not replace them. Seeing no response to James Field's complaint within the 2-day time limit specified by the A.S. Election Bylaws, Andy Howard filed a complaint with the A.S. Judicial Board charging the A.S.

Elections Manager with official mismanagement of the election, owing to her failure to punish the campaign violations listed in Field's complaint. He claimed his intent was not to penalize the A.S. Elections Manager but to demonstrate that the administration was applying the A.S. Elections Bylaws arbitrarily, and selectively to the RIMAC Special Election. He argued that the administration had assigned jurisdiction over his complaint to the A.S. Judicial Board when it claimed that the A.S. Election Bylaws governed the conduct of the special election, and accused the administration of trying to change the election rules retroactively after being confronted



with its own violations of those rules.

However, the judicial board never addressed this argument. The board interpreted section (2) of *Guidelines for Student Fee Funded Facilities* as requiring A.S. Election Bylaws to be followed, but only insofar as the Bylaws speak explicitly about the establishment of fees. From the starting point it chose, the judicial board could have seen the authors of section (2) as intending that fee referenda campaigns should at least meet the minimum requirements the Bylaws place on all referenda campaigns. The board might also have wondered about the purpose of section (3), since its interpretation of section (2) makes (3) redundant. Choosing to do neither of these things, the A.S. Judicial Board could not claim jurisdiction over the complaint.

Chris Cabaldon, a consultant to the California legislature's Assem-

bly Subcommittee on Higher Education, sent a letter dated February 7, 1990, to campus newspapers and student governments throughout the University of California and California State University systems. (The RIMAC election was held February 6-8). According to the letter, administrators' claims that RIMAC-type fee measures won't seriously impact the availability of financial aid, are "patently false." Such claims had appeared in the "neutral" RIMAC committee's "informational" campaign flyer. The Subcommittee is currently considering proposed amendments to a bill, ACR 49, aimed at curbing university administrators' abuse of student fee referenda to fund their "pet projects." *The New Indicator* has not yet seen the current version of the bill, but Cabaldon and lobbyists for the statewide U.C. and C.S.U. student associations tell us that it may include provisions to ban administrators from having anything to do with student fee referenda or from participating in any way in the planning or management committees for student-funded facilities, provisions to prohibit students from voting-in fee increases for future students without also assessing themselves, and restrictions upon the uses of self-assessed student fees. James Field and Andy Howard plan to continue their effort to overturn RIMAC which they see as motivated by two major issues:

1. The administration's "hijacking" of student fee elections, and of buildings bought with student fees;
2. The decreasing accessibility of UCSD to low-income students.

Both men are stressing that they are not taking any position against the need for sports facilities. Says Howard, "What we are concerned about is clean, fair elections, and student control over student-funded facilities. These are issues that all students ought to be able to agree about."

Unfortunately, all legal efforts to void this fee have failed. The A.S., after much arm wrenching (via threats by Tucker) bowed and refused to have a vote to eliminate the student assessed fee. You're going to be paying for it, like it or not. But just remember that Randy Woodard's teddy bear persona just barely covers the visage of well-paid mercenary. And the next time they try to shove a fee down your throats with the slogan "vote yes but make the younger kids pay"—don't buy it.

The Gulf War

In January 1991, the U.S. bombed Iraq and killed women and children. In protest, students and other community members began a sleep-in outside the Galbraith Hall Library. Many of these people also began the first UCSD housing co-op, the infamous™ Random House® located near that big cross on Mt. Soledad.

Fee Hikes

Fees have gone up more than 250% since Ronald McReagan left office. Thanks for missing those payments on the American American Express card, pal.

Los Angeles Rebellion/Riots

On Thursday April 30, as the streets of Los Angeles filled with looters, flames, L.A.P.D. and National Guard, students took action on the UCSD campus. First, a group of five hundred students marched around the campus shouting "No Justice—No Peace." They surrounded the UCSD police station and pounded the the doors until the cops came out and made everyone disperse. One casualty: a Bookstore window. That night, Chancellor Atkinson held a town hall meeting to discuss the days events. Students, dissatisfied with the



U.C. administration's responses blocked off La Jolla Villa Dr. that night as a sign of protest. The next day, a crowd of five hundred slunk onto the I-5 and blocked traffic for several hours. Chancellor Atkinson made a cameo appearance, the news cameras came, and traffic resumed just in time for the Friday evening rush hour. One thing was learned: blocking freeways is a good form of protest. Imagine what kind of standstill things will come to next time.

Lumumba-Zapata vs. Thurgood Marshall A Brief Personal History of UCSD's Third College

What we presently know as Thurgood Marshall College was something different many years ago. The history of this corner of UCSD is surprisingly important. If one digs deep enough the roots of this revolutionary epoch can be exposed. "Revolutionary" because for conservatives, the events surrounding this twenty-five-year-old college's conception are an embarrassing blemish; a blemish which has since been suffocated by mounds of unsightly political make-up.

The fruits of conservative labor can be easily observed on today's campus. A simple glance around the Price Center or any other "student center" will reveal not the slightest wrinkle of resistance on these facades. This is largely because today's university students are unfamiliar with concepts like "autonomy" and "empowerment;" concepts that Marshall college's first students mastered and crafted into a radical pragmatism.

The past has been forgotten and so has the students' struggle to construct a university where social responsibility and free-thinking were prerequisites for matriculation. In order to not let the past of the UCSD campus remain buried in an unmarked grave I decided to resurrect the short history of this important period. It all began when a new college was introduced to UCSD.

In 1968 two colleges were functioning - Revelle and Muir - and the blueprint for a third was becoming an academic and structural reality. Little did its architects know that it would soon become a political one as well. Then-provost Armin Rappaport asked the Black Student Council (BSU) and the Mexican American Youth Association (MAYA) for advice on what the nascent "College III" should provide. Unlike most "advisory" committees which tacitly understand that this type of report must conform to the interests of the Regents, these freshly empowered groups organized together and drafted a detailed proposal of not just "suggestions" but vehement

demands:

"We demand that the Third College be devoted to relevant education for minority youth and to the study of the contemporary social problems of all people. To do this authentically, this college must radically depart from the usual role as the ideological backbone of the social system, and must instead subject every part of the system to ruthless criticism. To reflect these aims of the college, it will be called Lumumba-Zapata College. To enhance the beauty of the name we demand that the architecture be of Mexican and African style; and that its landscape be of the same nature." (B.S.C-MAYA demands pamphlet, 3/14/69)

These constituents called their coalition of black and brown students the Lumumba-Zapata Council. They outlined an enrollment plan which insured that a very different quota would be established for the college's student body: one-third African-American, one-third Latino, and one-third "other". The governing body of the College would be a Board of Directors comprised of the campus' students. The constitution would authorize the student directors to make all final decisions, including the hiring of faculty.

An historically disadvantaged student body with the authority to influence the structure of university politics threatened the La Jollian status quo. Picture La Jolla in late 1960: an affluent community of old money and more on the way, a place that resisted change and voted for Reagan. Until the early sixties this Protestant/Christian culture prohibited Jews from owning property within its city limits. Now, in the midst of this calm the hurricane was closing in.

The name of it was enough to strike fear in the hearts of the wealthy homeowner's: Lumumba-Zapata, the surnames of modern revolutionaries. Patrice Lumumba was a Pan-Africanist who became prime minister of the Congo after leading his country to independence from Belgium in 1960. Soon after this declaration the country fell into civil war. The U.S.-backed United Nations refused after long deliberations to provide monetary aid to the Lumumba government therefore forcing him to appeal to the Soviet Union. He lost all support from the United States after going to the Communist regime's bargaining table. He was assassinated shortly thereafter, thus becoming deified as a symbol of resistance for oppressed persons throughout the world. Emilio Zapata became a similar symbol, but in a different region of the Westernized world. He led two bloody revolutions in his homeland Mexico. The goal of the first was to liberate the people from the presidency of Porfirio Diaz after which he installed Madero. President Madero proved to be no better, so Zapata renewed the Revolution. After vanquishing Madero's government he institutionalized agrarian reform.

UCSD Chancellor William McGill attempted to thwart the Lumumba-Zapata Council's surging force in its earliest stage. The pretext: "hyphenation does not appeal to me... It would also be more appropriate to suggest a single American minority figure." Malcolm X College was not an option either.

More substantial and obvious reasons for not recognizing the college began to surface in meetings between the students and the Reagan-sponsored university Senate. During a meeting on May 7, 1969, the Senate's refusal to endorse the Lumumba-Zapata Council's proposal galvanized a "spontaneous" walkout. Students marched to Revelle plaza where other frustrated students and passers-by began to collect. After a motivating speech by graduate student Angela Davis, enraged students shattered the glass entrance door of the Registrar's Office and crammed into the small building. They demanded that the terms of their proposal be recognized before the

FACT:

The General Store has the lowest prices for candy, soft drinks, notebooks, condoms, backpacks, and calculators on campus.

FACT:

The General Store consistently beats the Bookstore's prices on textbooks.

FACT:

The General Store is run democratically and solely by students and is always looking for new, hard-working collective members.

FACT:

The General Store is the place for all your film developing needs.

FACT:

The General Store keeps its prices low by keeping its overhead low.

FACT:

The General Store doesn't pay people to snoop around in search of shoplifters, unlike the Bookstore.

The General Store Co-op

located in the Student Center



SHOP CO-OP! FUCK HIERARCHY!

office could return to "business as usual". Only ninety minutes later, the Senate conceded to a generous resolution proposed by Silvio Varon, a biology professor, which ended the takeover. (Historically, it has been referenced to as the Varon Resolution). Unable to agree on a name, both parties settled for the chronological title "Third."

In September of 1970 the freshly-painted Third College opened its doors, boasting an enrollment composition very close to the

Committee proposed that Joseph Watson could remain provost only if he were willing to agree to work with a ten-person board that voted by majority. Each member, including Watson, would have a single, equal vote. After Chancellor McElroy (1972-1980) approved of this proposal, Watson volleyed out a charge with his trump card: he resigned. Under extreme pressure from the Regents, McElroy had but one solution. He claimed there was no "alternative but to move

UCSD Chancellor William McGill attempted to thwart the Lumumba-Zapata Council's surging force in its earliest stage. The pretext: "hyphenation does not appeal to me.... It would also be more appropriate to suggest a single American minority figure." Malcolm X College was not an option either.

suggested prescription. The event stirred the nation's attention. Liberals from around the country lauded the principles of Third, for they were something unprecedented in state universities. Yet the opinions and support of liberals were marginal in the eyes of policy makers.

Traditional academics seemed to have an influential bearing. They began attacking Third's radical admissions policy with fusillades of criticism ignited by fear more so than reason. William Buckley's National Review carried one of the first such attacks, "applicants for admissions have really been selected on the grounds of militancy rather than academic promise (Oct 6, 1971)." Others considered Third's policy a "reconstitution" of the university. Robert Novak, a syndicate columnist, criticized McGill and UCSD's undaunted professors with comments that smacked with racism. One statement clearly revealed this. Novak reprimanded the UCSD administration for "giving black and brown students veto power over faculty appointments and promotions in their new Third College."

Fredrick Douglass, in his Autobiography of Fredrick Douglass: a Slave Narrative, recalls his master's wrath after he had discovered that his wife was teaching the young house servant how to read. The slaveowner declaimed: "You give 'em and inch, they'll take an L." In contemporary terms this means: "For every level of freedom you grant an oppressed person, that person will be liberated a hundred fold". Almost two centuries later this truism became the same nightmare to La Jolla and its national counterparts that it was to Douglass' captor. Between the years of 1969-1972, UCSD's students of color were granted the most devastating and effective weapons against systematic oppression: education and autonomy.

Third college's function under the Varon resolution remained intact until 1972. Public opinion, Governor Reagan's budget cutbacks, and plans to build a fourth college combined to give leverage in favor of the Administration's defense against Third.

Early in the year of 1972, the Regents claimed they had never officially approved a college with an autonomous Board of Directors composed of students. From the vantage point of the Regents, Joseph Watson was the formal provost and the Board was simply an advisory council which Watson had the luxury to listen to or turn a deaf ear against. This was a blatant violation of the bylaws dictated by Third's constitution, but the Regents did not care. Watson then confirmed the Regent's claim; he stated that he held exclusive power over the Board of Directors.

At this point, the Board diplomatically asked Watson to resign. He refused, claiming that he could only follow orders from the Regents of the UC. On May 10, 1972, the Lumumba-Zapata Steering

faculty, students, and programs into other colleges and dissolve Third College" unless Watson returned on his own conditions. Watson did.

The students' vision to revolutionize the university has since dissipated. Watson was not strong enough to think independently. Instead he allowed himself (in exchange for several important promotions) to be the Institution's puppet. Through Watson's facade the university successfully guided Third College away from autonomy and towards a traditional infrastructure. If you take a walk through the Thurgood Marshall campus you can witness for yourself the burial of these generation-old principles. It might even come as a surprise that the possibility for student autonomy was once a realistic goal. The defeat literally shows on the walls. The Mexican and African architecture is far from what Lumumba-Zapata's procreators demanded. Today the remnants of the 1970's ruthless masterbatory aesthetic shape the lecture halls, research facilities, and administrative offices and consequently flog the human senses. These "modern" buildings are a replication of a concrete jungle - the greatest affront to the cultures they shamefully represent.

The prescription for a student body of traditionally underrepresented students needs a refill, but neglect has only led to illness. The sickening efforts of Watson and the Administration have not helped recruit and retain a student body where students of color are substantial. Instead, the numbers are insignificant. Also, budget cuts and rising educational fees have damaged the retention of an already dwindling population.

But it is not over yet. Despite adverse conditions, Thurgood Marshall students should still be proud of what has grown from its strong roots. No matter the moment in its short history, there has always been a dedicated group of students fighting for change. The difference between now and then has been the size of this dedicated group. Back then it was proportionally larger. Almost mainstream. Today, the attempts to make change are not nearly as visible. The same goes for the history. Lumumba-Zapata's heyday has become more clouded with temporal distance and student apathy.

A Renaissance is needed. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall's methods to incite change were much different than Patrice Lumumba's and Emilio Zapata's. He used litigation. They mobilized masses. One thing that each of these legends has had in common is an unyielding struggle against the oppressive culture in which they were embedded.

Another, is that neither accomplished his goal within a single day. Their successes were produced through *organization*- an achieve-

ment which required long days and nights of planning dedicated to the service of their cause.

In the past, "empowerment" and "autonomy" have been achieved through organization. Organization is a necessity. No matter the name, the students of the college tucked into the corner of the UCSD campus must always be effective organizers, for this is the only means to the end. And, despite the rejection of its name years ago, as these actions grow in frequency and flourish in numbers, the roots of this college will be strengthened and its essence restored. It will again become Lumumba-Zapata. (Alexi Villedroun)

**[Smith vs. Regents] vs. You
An elephant labors to give birth to a mouse**

The root of this phony "legal" rip-off is your known, natural desire to ignore government leaders as you attend to your immediate personal and student goals. As a result of Smith vs. Regents (SvR) you can get a gigantic refund of a \$1.37 a quarter for the years 1989 to 1993. That is, you can if you were a student then, which is unlikely. You have to spend a great deal of time applying for it which, even if you qualify, will make your time worth far below the minimum wage. It is like paying \$1.37 for a quarter, two bits. Besides, you would have to pay the parking pigs while you fill out the forms. In the meantime, the judges, lawyers and the administration laugh it up on your money, paid to them at far above minimum wages. Consider the costs as well as the benefits (\$1.37) and you can see that the bottom-line is the millions paid to the "elite vanguard" of legalists as they bickered over this and other, equally incomprehensible cases in court. Nothing designed by attorneys and administrators, neither this case nor any other, is meant to meet your needs-just theirs.

What other effect on students did SvR have?

The administration has applied a "political" test to defund several popular student organizations. One, The Committee for World Democracy, only had to change the name of their film series from "political" to "educational"-the films were the same. Some "politically correct" groups that were not denied funding extended a "brass handshake" of help to groups destroyed in the attacks by the administration. Members of some groups immediately started showing up in the "protected" media organizations as a result of the exemption of the media by the administration's "divide and conquer" tactic in applying SvR. Exempt facilities became a hotbed of frenzied activity as students sought to respond to attacks. This media member suspects later attacks as soon as the administration finishes off non-media "undesirable" organizations.



The same kinds of student groups and their activities were previously attacked in Berkeley; the students revolted and hundreds were arrested in an apparently successful effort to defend the right to free speech and association for students in 1965. The book, "The Berkeley Student Revolt," details the causes, the history of actions and has a real multitude of commentaries from experts in social sciences, administrators, the elite of the rebels and other participants and onlookers. However, the most important understanding that comes from reading

about the rebellion and reading the legal papers regarding SvR is a general understanding about phony court cases. At that time, it was the administration that attacked student rights. This time the attack appears to originate from the "students'" attack on the administration. However, in SvR, the administration is more like a boxer that threw a "Golden Gloves" fight for a "golden handshake." The real parties of interest, the real contenders, the students and their organizations didn't even appear in the court ring.

The carefully crafted illusion of "non-partisan" neutrality of the "legal" proceedings starts to disappear when you realize the defendants of record, the officers of the courts and the plaintiffs all want exactly the same thing now as the administration did in 1965. Arlo Hale Smith, apparently the son of San Francisco's District Attorney, Arlo Smith, and a few other students brought a small (\$1.37) claims action against the Regents, the Associated Students and some university officials. Strangely enough, in another "rigged" court fight, the same DA stood mute as another judge dismissed charges against former San Francisco dick Thomas Gerard. He was charged with illegally collecting and selling to foreign governments information on many of the very same groups whose on campus presence is affected by the administration's witch-hunt and "non-political" loyalty oath. The basis of dismissal was the refusal of the FBI to release all its records to the dick's defense. There are many people in prison, even on death row, whose defenses claim they were denied records and had evidence with-held. Its too bad they weren't a bunch of dicks.

The administration wants an end to students having any say in matters that affect them on campus where they live-if spending 16 hours a day there can be called living. They want to crush students into something between soldiers and "civil" servants as far as the non-existence of political and social rights are concerned. What

they would really like is a whole campus of marine generals who claim to have no political opinions except to say, "my job is to kill anyone the President tells me to kill."

A quote from the court's opinion shows one way the "defense" threw the case:

"Moreover, as applied by the ASUC, the "partisan political" rule actually permits the use of mandatory fees to fund a great deal of activity

that is indisputably political and even "partisan" by any reasonable definition. Indeed, the ASUC's executive vice-president testified at trial that the rule has been interpreted to bar funding only for the campus Young Republicans and Young Democrats...denying funding to the Young Republicans and Young Democrats as 'partisan,' borders on the absurd."

To justify this opinion, the court selects a "reasonable definition," which, as will be seen, when compared to all previous legal definitions, it plucks out of thin air:

*A "partisan" is generally defined as "one that takes the part of another: an adherent to a party, faction, cause, or person . . ." (Webster's Third New Internat. Dict. (1982) p. 1647.)

The use of this definition shows the court relies on your ignorance to maintain its illusion of neutrality; it relies on your not paying attention

to anything but yourself. Although the word partisan is used as an adjective in the rule, the court uses a noun definition and not even a legal one at that. There is a whole set of citations in *Federal Words and Phrases* that define "partisan". The encyclopedia-sized legal dictionary is one ultimate authority on definitions for law. However, the courts and the attorneys for both factions chose to ignore the legal definitions. The reasonable perusal of the "real" definitions indicate that supporting parties that run candidates for public office or supporting either side of any measure already placed on the ballot for election is "partisan political" and nothing else is, certainly not the student groups under attack.

"Statute prohibiting joining or supporting any "partisan" political organization, faction or activity... refers exclusively to activities on behalf of political parties and does not extend to any cause which might express a view on any issue of public concern..."

"...partisan political purposes,' do not include purposes merely to advocate adoption of constitutional amendment or passage of bond issue or of tax levy; and committee organized for such purposes was not, within meaning of that statute, a 'political party, committee, or organization."

"...presidential primary election contests were to resolve intraparty disputes and select competing candidates within each party, and were thus not 'partisan' within meaning of...law"

"...Democratic Party fell within the definition of 'partisan political organization' prohibited from endorsing candidates for judicial office."

A "partisan election" must be an election wherein at least one candidate represents a party which fielded candidate in the last presidential election - in re. exempting participation in political campaigns as or on behalf of an independent candidate in a partisan election for local office...

The court, without any objection from the attorneys from either faction in the dispute, considers that the Spartacus Youth League's nonpartisan status "borders on the absurd" even though its statement of purpose and its actions do not show it has "fielded candidate[s]" or supported ballot measures.

The Young Spartacus League (sic) "seeks to build a revolutionary socialist movement which can intervene in all social struggles armed with a working class program based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, as part of a disciplined revolutionary movement."

What borders on the absurd is the court's opinion.

The court claims that to require Republicans and Democrats to support each other is a double burden on Constitutional rights regarding freedom from "Compelled Speech" and infers that to require students to support each other is also a burden on the same rights. However, there is nothing at the university that benefits every student. Why should a chemistry student pay compulsory fees to support classes for literature majors that he will never take? We need student unity to provide, and fund, the facilities for our diverse interests.

On the contrary, why should anyone pay to support the activities of the Institute of Religious Studies since supporting a religious faction is barred by law. Supporting the "study" of several religious factions just multiplies the burden.

If students should not be compelled to support "political" groups and their activity, particularly when they do not approve of it, remove all CIA, ROTC, military, and other political group influence from campus. Students pay mandatory fees for 30% of the university expenses. Why should students pay to support the political activities,

including assassination, death squads, sabotage, espionage and other attacks of the above mentioned groups now using university facilities? This is particularly important since the overtly political presence makes the universities, their faculty, staff and students military targets for foreign governments, their sabotage, espionage and other attacks.

What is the "strict scrutiny" the court claims to apply in this matter to constitutional issues regarding "compelled speech?"

A regulation satisfies the First Amendment if:

1 it furthers an important or substantial government interest

The only interest the court really considers is its own, the most minute and insubstantial interest of the bar association.

2 [the] government interest is unrelated to the suppression of free expression

There is no place with less freedom of speech and more suppression of free expression than the immediate presence of the officers of the courts-try expressing justifiable contempt even to an ass-fault Gestapo pig on campus-or a CIA assassin in your class-or a military "serial-number killer"

3 it only incidentally burdens speech

The courts burden speech up to and including murdering anyone that effectively expresses opposition to it-no mere incidental burden.

4 [the] incidental restriction is no greater than is essential to the furtherance of that government interest

Any restriction on expressing justifiable contempt is essential to the furtherance of the interests of the bar association, the only interest the courts really consider

5 it is neutral on its face

The self-serving regulations of the courts are as neutral as saturated solutions of NaOH or H₂SO₄.

Construct the logical opposites of this list of 14 student organizations for which the government wishes to deny funding by this action and understand what is opposed:

Amnesty International
Berkeley Students for Peace
Campus N.O.W. (nat. org for women)
Campus Abortion Rights Action League
Gay and Lesbian League
Progressive Student Organization
REAP (Radical Education and Action Project)
Spartacus Youth League
Students Against Intervention in El Salvador
Students for Economic Democracy
UC Sierra Club
Greenpeace Berkeley
Conservation and Natural Resources Organization
UC Berkeley Feminist Alliance and Women Against Sexual Harassment

Here is a further list of ideas objected to in cases cited:

[no] prayer in public schools.
"...advance a gun control or nuclear weapons freeze initiative..."
consumer protection
government and corporate accountability
economic and social justice
Equal Rights Amendment
the environment

Other groups mentioned in cited cases:

(CAL)PIRG

"a group that supports the nuclear freeze initiative," "organizations that support the [proposed Equal Rights Amendment]."

- "organizations...demonstrat[ing] against the policies of the...administration,"
- "[o]rganizations that oppose construction of the peripheral canal,"
- "[o]rganizations that support gay rights legislation,"
- "a group that supports abolition of the death penalty."
- "organizations that oppose U.S. aid to the government of El Salvador,"
- "a group that advocates replacement of our current form of government with a revolutionary socialist regime,"

The courts and its officers, especially the lawyer's bar, is in favor of our current form of government, i.e.. in favor of itself.

The administration, grateful recipient of "golden handshakes" and pay raises (from fee hikes) also appears to be in favor of oppression, regardless of its false stance of defense in Smith vs. Regents.

Complicity with the War Machine 1967-1972

Since its inception, UCSD has played an important role-as does the entire UC system-in the maintenance and support of the U.S. war machine. UCSD trains engineers and scientists for work in the military-industrial complex, does research in a wide variety of fields under "Defense"-related contracts, and in general served, and serves, as a bastion of the U.S. war apparatus. However, students, as well as others in the UCSD and the San Diego community have worked to expose and stop this collaboration.

The most common attack these protesters faced-and one we still face-is that activism threatens to "politicize" the University. Feigning "agreement with your goals" but "deploring your methods" liberals and conservatives alike race to denounce you. In defense of their action they will raise the two icons: Academic Freedom and Rational Discussion.

Translated into plain terms, academic freedom is the unquestioned right of the faculty to do what it damn well pleases (so long as someone will pay for it) without regard for the consequences. This is a far cry from the original progressive content of academic freedom as a freedom from the political repression of dissident research and teaching. Now, academic freedom has taken on a repressive dimension of its own. Thus, for some people "rational discussion" is based on the absolute proscription of anything which might be called action. Thus Defense Department-funded research (you know DoD funds it not out of the goodness of its heart, but with an eye towards its ultimate use) is protected in the name of "free inquiry." Professional apologists for racism and imperialism are supported by their peers in the "marketplace of ideas" as though rational discussion had some magical power to change the world without offending those with a stake in the status quo.

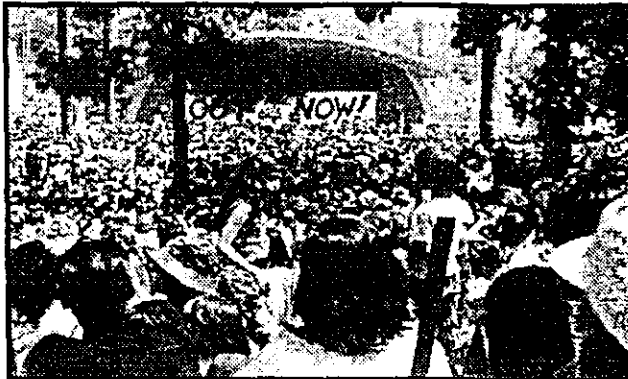
The University-"Educator of tomorrow's leaders," "conscience of the nation," and the "well-spring of technological progress"-is, by its very nature, a political institution. This is not to say that it shouldn't be. Rather, the University must recognize its social/political responsibilities and direct itself toward the building of a truly better place-not for its military and industrial masters (all the while proclaiming its commitment to humanity), but for all people.

Opposition to the war machine at UCSD was initially focused upon military recruiters. In November, 1967, students protested war-related recruitment and picketed a Dow Chemical Corp. (makers of napalm)

recruiter. Students, and some other members of the University community, were to continue protesting Dow, Marine, Navy, etc., recruiting through the next several years. In February, 1969, a group of students and faculty attempted to bar recruiters from the Naval Aviation Corps and the Marine Corps Officer Training Program from entering the Office of Career Educational Planning and Placement. Military recruitment-tolerated and encouraged by the University even during the height of the Vietnam War-supported U.S. imperialism, argued the 60-80 people who actually blocked the entrance, and thus could not be considered part of the University's function as an educational institution.

Eight students were selected by the UCSD Administration and were tried by the University via Student-Faculty Conduct Committee. All eight were politically active on campus, and six were known by the Administration as members of the UCSD Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). This tactic of isolating student activists from larger groups of students, for suspension and/or prosecution, is one that has since been used frequently by the Administration. Asked whether or not the students and faculty present at that action had used up all other alternatives to barring admission to recruiters, one student replied to the committee hearing the case:

"What you are saying is that speaking out can be politically effective. This is not true. In a society that is dominated by a ruling class you have to take direct political action... The people whose interests are served by imperialism hold political power... You do not hold any political power except by organization with other people to directly attack institutions that maintain the power of the ruling class."



Members of the hearing committee, and of the Academic Senate, expressed liberal sympathies with what the students stood for (the idea) but objected to the fact that they had stood

for it (the action).

In one of its typically "strong" moral stands, the Academic Senate passed a resolution drafted by the Committee on Academic Freedom, seeking to reach decision on the Marine incident "without prejudicing the legal, or treating the moral and political implications of the Marines." The Academic Senate attempted to protect faculty contracts with the DoD under the guise of "civil liberties." During the meeting at which the resolution passed, Chancellor McGill warned that changes in the recruiting policy would affect research funds of some faculty. And Dr. Munk, Chairperson of the Senate, announced that he received funds through the Office of Naval Research and did consultant work of the military and did not intend to sever his connections.

And so the Academic Senate passed its resolution designed to protect faculty contracts with the military/industrial establishment, and did so under the hypocritical guise of "defending civil liberties" and "academic freedom." Professor Herbert Marcuse's response to this performance is worth quoting:

"The emptiness of this resolution, and its silence on the issue which caused it, indicates the extent to which the academic community represented by the Committee on Academic Freedom surrenders to reactionary political pressure... The resolution fights the symptoms of campus unrest instead of the causes. Calling for the protection of any activity not in conflict with existing regulations may itself be violating the principles of that education which is the great and civilizing business of the University... The principles of education in and for a free society rigidly precludes the right to



Student hunger strike on the Chancellor's lawn demanded democratic governance for Lumumba-Zapata College.

proselytize or recruit for organizations which prepare and train, not for the protection and improvement but for the annihilation of life, for killing and aggression."

The struggle against war research continued throughout 1969-70. In November, a CIA recruiter was forced to leave campus by students, and 500 students rallied against Marine recruitment. That year, led by SDS, 40-50 students and a professor went to the Contract & Grants Office, "liberated" and published in the Indicator a file documenting secret and classified research at UCSD, including CIA work. (University officials have frequently expressed commitment to an open community of inquiry, and claimed that classified and secret research is contrary to the purpose of a university.) 6 students were selected for disciplinary action as a result of this action. In April of 1970, students protested recruiters from the Naval Electronics Laboratory (operated by UCSD in collaboration with the Navy at Point Loma).

Also in April, 200 students occupied the Institute for Pure and Applied Science at Muir College for about 2 days, demanding an end to CIA and DoD contracts, the closing of the Naval Electronics Lab, the release of all current contracts and grants and an end to classified research and consulting by UCSD personnel. In May, 150-175 students occupied the AMES Dept. in Urey Hall-blending into a crowd of 500 supporters outside the building at the end of the day in order to avoid identification and prosecution. May 11, 200 people staged a sit-in in the APIS (Applied Physics and Information Science, now EECS) Department, again protesting UCSD complicity with the war machine, and joined supporters at the end of the day once again.

Around this time, 2,000 students and community members demonstrated at the Naval Electronics Lab in order to call attention to this direct link of the University with the war machine. Slow moving pickets resulted in many NEL employees not making it to work, or being hours late. Following these actions, some faculty not involved in war research began to realize that the student charges had some substance. Resolutions were introduced in the Academic Senate calling for severance of DoD ties, and a resolution calling for amnesty for those arrested for participation in the building takeovers was also introduced. It failed, and instead a note was sent from the Academic Senate to the judges in the trials resulting from the sit-ins, asking that they bear in mind that strong moral convictions lay behind the actions of those on trial. (Those selected for prosecution were tried in the courts this time, since the Student-Faculty Conduct Committee had proved to be "too lenient" on prior occasions.) While the majority of the faculty retreated once again into the realm of the ideal, many of the students were left to face the

reality of academic suspension, and the court trials that resulted in jail sentences for some.

Spring of 1971 saw 3,000 students and community members attempt to shut down NEL, following a Crazy Times article urging them to do just that. NEL had difficulty operating that day, and our budget (i.e., Crazy Times's) was frozen by then Acting-Chancellor Paul Saltman for "incitement to riot." No charges were ever brought against us, but we had to put out an issue out of our own pockets, secure a lawyer, etc.

Opposition to war recruiting and research continued. November 1, 1972, 200 students stopped a Navy recruiter. November 7, 250 students protested Marine recruitment, and one professor was disciplined for his part in that action.

The foregoing has only been an outline of some of the protests and demonstrations. The background of organizing, and the educational work done around UCSD complicity with the war machine made fewer headlines, but it was substantial and part of a period of international student "unrest."

Equally important were student strikes-one to protest the brutal suppression of demonstrators in Berkeley who were protesting the UC Regents' decision to close People's Park, and another in the Spring of 1970 protesting the invasion of Cambodia and the shooting of students at Kent State and Jackson State universities. This latter strike has come to be called the National Student Strike of May-June 1970, and included the participation of faculty, labor and community groups, as well as strikes and protests at a vast number of universities, colleges and high schools.

And you should know about the teach-ins and demonstrations against the Vietnam War which created an atmosphere in which UCSD's complicity could-and had to-be attacked. You should know about the other struggles that were waged, struggles for increased access to the University, struggles for a relevant education, the struggle for Lumumba-Zapata College.

Lumumba-Zapata 1969-1972

In the 60's, Blacks, Third World groups, and other concerned people were engaged in struggles on many campuses to establish Black Studies, Ethnic Studies, Third World Studies and other programs (e.g., urban studies, mass communications, etc.), relevant to their history and needs. Following the Berkeley Free Speech Movement of 1964-65, there was also a widespread student concern for taking control of their

educational destinies.

In March of 1969, following efforts (unheeded) at "going through the right channels", the Mexican-American Youth Association (MAYA) and the Black Student Council (BSC) presented the Lumumba-Zapata Demands to the UCSD Administration. These demands called for orienting the new third college towards the needs of third world students, through an academic program directed towards those needs, through an enrollment which would be primarily people of color and poor whites, and through governance of the college by its students, staff and faculty. Faced with inaction by the University, students occupied the Registrar's Office in May of 1969, prompting an Academic Senate compromise.

The Third College (known, although not officially, as Lumumba-Zapata College) reflected the governance structure demanded by the students and offered programs in Urban & Rural Studies, Third World Studies and Communications-all of which were supposed to ultimately obtain departmental status. Students, staff and faculty directed the college through the General Assembly and an elected Board of Directors until 1972, when Provost Joe Watson began violating the L-Z principles of governance and the L-Z bylaws (which had been officially accepted as the College's governing charter), and overruling popular decisions. The Asian American Student Alliance, the United Native Americans, MEChA and the White Caucus called, in May, for Watson's resignation. Many of the college's faculty (about 2/3) joined in this call, and students and faculty began picketing Chancellor McElroy's office in support of the call for Watson's resignation and the Lumumba-Zapata principles.

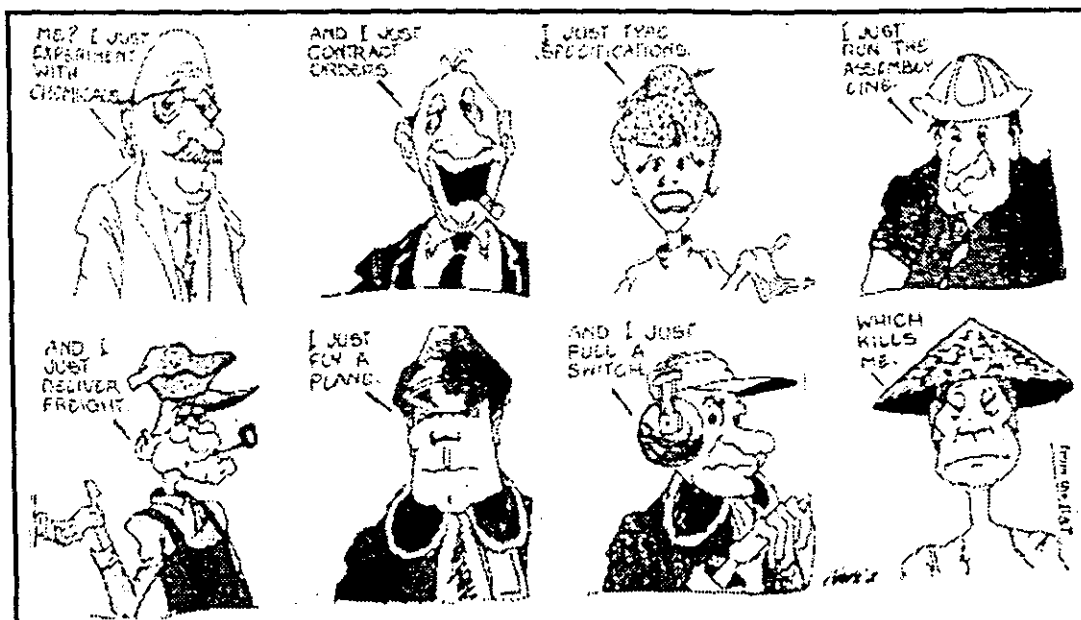
The Lumumba-Zapata Steering Committee was formed during May to carry on the struggle to defend the L-Z principles. Under the growing pressure, Watson resigned on May 24th. May 25th McElroy stated that the Provost should have absolute rule over the college and threatened to dissolve the third college if it did not submit. The L-Z Steering Committee rejected this and urged that the search process for a new Provost be halted, pending the resolution of the governance question. Watson withdrew his resignation in early June as students protested McElroy's solutions: "We reject control from the top through a black, brown, or red, or yellow person," stated the L-Z Steering Committee. Although the Black Students Union did not support this strike, within a couple of years they, too, were saying Watson had

"prostituted" the interests of the college.

The Administration triumphed in this struggle, at the expense not only of the L-Z principles, but also a large number of the college's students. During the next year Watson was to express "concern" over the decrease in enrollments and the increased attrition from the third college, a condition that was later reversed only through the total abandonment of the last shred's of the College's history and purpose. The results of the L-Z struggles are still at UCSD, reflected in a Communications Program that was denied support in terms of faculty and other resources until the Administration was able to force a new coordinator (psychologist, Michael Cole) on the program and divert the program from its emphasis on critical analysis (although some emphasis remains)-the program has now become a department, only because communications students, organized as the Communications Students Union, refused to give up and eventually (after years of pressure) the Administration gave in; reflected in the Third World Studies and Urban & Rural Studies programs that are but a shadow of the vital departments they were intended to be; reflected in continued struggles at the third college for increased recruitment of minority students, for rededication to the Lumumba-Zapata principles, for recruitment and retention of faculty, etc.

And, in the Spring of 1981, students active in campus affirmative action groups once again presented the Administration with a set of demands. A sit-in at the Chancellor's office took place resulting in the arrest of 34 students, while more than 200 supporters demonstrated outside. Although the Chancellor consistently stated that he was more than willing to consider the demands, and negotiate, he consistently refused to engage in serious discussion, or consideration of the demands, during negotiations.

Thus, the Administration has been unable to totally suppress the demands of Third World students for a relevant education, access to the University, and for a degree of control over this institution; just as they have been unable to foist a name onto the third college to finalize the dismantling of the Lumumba-Zapata principles (they've tried many times and the students and faculty keep voting down all "compromise" names! Thus, fourth college has a name-"Warren"-while third still doesn't.). As long as institutionalized racism continues to exist in the educational system, people will, and must, continue to work to eliminate it, and beyond this to compensate for the immense damage it has



inflicted both on the minority communities and to the entire society.

Across the U.S., experiences like those of L-Z College illustrate some important historical lessons. Throughout the mid and late '70s, the absence of a massive, organized student movement gave the power elite a freer hand to "roll back" many of the progressive reforms of the 60s and early 70s. This process is presently continuing. When you win (often hard-fought) reforms "within the system" while leaving the system intact, the reforms must be vigilantly and militantly defended and extended or else our rulers and their supporters will probably succeed in eroding, co-opting or destroying what was gained. Of course, any good labor organizer or militant worker could tell you this, but students in this country, unlike many others, have not developed anything like a national student union to provide the needed continuity.

Student Cooperative 1974-1977

In March of 1972 Chancellor McElroy discontinued the Associated Students (A.S.) following a referendum in which students voted overwhelmingly for a voluntary A.S. membership fee. Because the A.S. (like the current A.S. and all A.S.s in the UC system except Berkeley's) was, and still is, legally nothing but a committee of the Administration, delegated its powers by the Regents, McElroy was able to do this. He then had himself advised on the allocation of the campus activity fees (established by him, with approval of the Regents, to replace the now-voluntary, and uncollected, A.S. fee) and on student opinion by a succession of committees. The Student Life and Interest Committee (SLIC) evolved into the Undergraduate Student Council (TUSC) which, in 1974, formed a Model Building Committee to make a national study of student "governments" and to design a new progressive student "government" for UCSD. That committee proposed the Student Cooperative, which was adopted by TUSC in May of 1974, and approved by the Chancellor.

The Cooperative was initially an advisory committee to the Chan-

cellor. However, the Student Cooperative represented a dramatic break from traditional student "representation," and was based on a non-hierarchical form of participatory self-governance (somewhat like New England town meetings). Weekly general assemblies were open to all students, to set policy, vote on allocations, make appointments, elect officers of the assembly (and various committee, etc.—all subject to the Chancellor's acceptance of the "advice." Administration figures show that a large number of students participated in the Student Cooperative, with meetings frequently involving 100 students or more and literally thousands attending at least one meeting during each year. However, the Administration's hostility towards the Cooperative was scarcely concealed. It quickly became obvious that some types of Co-op decisions were beyond the reach of the Chancellor's veto. An open general assembly of the student body was an excellent forum and tool for students to use to begin to organize themselves against many Administrative policies and to press for the changes they wanted. The Administration's mouthpiece *Triton Times* (now *Guarddog*) condemned the Cooperative for being "unrepresentative." The Co-op organized around both on and off-campus issues, and played a significant role in community efforts to stop North City West and the University Town Center.

The Student Cooperative was certified by students as their "official student government" in April of 1975, by a better than 60% vote of just over 35% turnout. Chancellor McElroy refused to recognize the results, citing a "low turnout." Interestingly, the Chancellor's concern that at least 50% of UCSD's students turn out in a referendum (an arbitrary requirement with no equivalent in state or federal law) was discarded in 1977, when he felt the conditions to be ripe for decertification of the Cooperative. The Co-op held a dual status—as "unofficial student government" (i.e., advisory committee to the Chancellor), and as a registered student organization (independent of the University, like any other student club or organization). In addition, Administration memos show that the Administration was unsure as to whether it had the



potential to become autonomous, which helps explain why the Chancellor required the Cooperative to register itself along with all other "non-governmental" student organizations. (The current A.S. is not a registered student organization. It's officers are legally "volunteer" employees of the University.) For these, and other reasons, the Administration entered into a very thorough destabilization campaign against the Cooperative.

Student Cooperative support in 1975-76 for the Graduate Student Union demands and the Anti-CIA Coalition intensified Administration opposition to the Cooperative, as did the adoption of the Student Unionism Amendment (to the Student Cooperative Constitution) in the Spring of 1976. The Unionism Amendment was adopted in order "to more accurately reflect its relationship to the administration/management and to the students," and the organization was henceforth known as the Student Cooperative Union. The Unionism Amendment was yet another example of how the Chancellor's control over his "advisory committee" was being eroded by students.

The Amendment, unlike the original TUSC report proposing the Cooperative, was never approved or disapproved (officially) by the Chancellor. He just wasn't consulted. The Cooperative's assembly simply exercised its right, shared by all registered student organizations, to define itself (and its constitution) in accordance with its own rules, desires and needs. Over the summer of 1976, the Chancellor established, and funded with some \$5000 of student registration fees, a committee to draw up "alternative government proposals" to be put before students in a referendum. This was done despite the lack of any organized student opposition to the S.C.U. Interestingly enough, the three proposals drafted by the committee, which Chancellor McElroy unsuccessfully tried to put to students in a Fall 1976 railroad attempt (in violation of his own charge letter to his Election Board, which itself protested, as did many others), did not include the Student Cooperative Union—and not one of them was able to garner the 350 signatures required by the Elections Board rules to get on the ballot for the March 1977 referendum. The Administration also froze S.C.U. budget allocations to over 100 student organizations that Fall.

Throughout the Fall and Winter of 1976-77, S.C.U. energies were drained fighting the budget freeze, combating the intense red-baiting, misinformation and vehement propaganda campaign of the *Triton Times*. And fighting administration plans for a rigged—and single issue—referendum. Eventually a referendum was set for Winter 1977—a Comprehensive Referendum to consist of wide-ranging polling of students on a wide variety of issues, including the nature of student governance. In February of 1977, the Elections Board attempted to keep the S.C.U. off the ballot, using the technicality that although its petition had been signed by over 600 students (250 was the required number), this had been as part of the Comprehensive Referendum Petition—a wide-ranging set of questions put forward by S.C.U. activists that was to form the bulk of the Comprehensive Referendum. The Elections Board also refused to accept the Comprehensive Referendum Petition, on the technicality that separate ballot arguments for each question had not been submitted. Eventually, the Elections Board was forced to place both the Comprehensive Referendum questions and the Student Cooperative Union on the ballot by mounting student pressure and continued petitioning. The preamble to the Comprehensive Referendum Petition is illustrative of S.C.U. philosophy:

The Student Cooperative Union has a basic assumption: Participatory democracy, open and accessible to all members of society, is the only legitimate process for making political decisions. When there is common access to participation in

the extent our universities (and other institutions) are removed from such access, they are not democratic. Freedom cannot be delegated.

The work of democratizing the University requires developing priorities for short-term and long term change. The Student Cooperative Union or any form of central student organization we may adopt, needs to receive, and work to implement, mandates from the whole student community. Therefore we, the undersigned members of the Student Cooperative Union, hereby petition the Elections Board to enter the following questions onto the comprehensive referendum ballot without any changes in their wording.

The March Referendum, conducted under highly questionable circumstances, was the final blow in the anti-Union campaign. Conducted by an Elections Board whose chairperson was an avowed candidate for A.S. President months before the referendum took place, the conduct of the referendum was so blatantly illegal that the President of the San Diego ACLU chapter warned, prior to the opening of polls, that if the referendum took place under existing conditions a lawsuit could result. To this date it is not known what the actual results of the referendum were, what the effect of the unannounced extended polling hours and unannounced cafeteria-line voting booths were, and what, if any, effect the gross campaign violations by proponents of the A.S. model and by the *Triton Times* had upon the results. The administration—which tabulated the results without any students present—alleged that the A.S. received 51% of the vote (with a 30% turnout), and the *Triton Times* proclaimed this a land-slide and referred to the "high turnout."

A lawsuit was filed by S.C.U. activists as a result of the referendum, but was later withdrawn due to the inability to organize sufficient resources and support to pursue the case—the volunteer attorney from the National Lawyers Guild was matched against a host of lawyers flown down from Berkeley by the Regents, money for court fees was a barrier, etc. However, the *Acardi doctrine*—a Supreme Court decision requiring agencies of the government (which the University is, as is spelled out in Article IX, Section 9 of the state constitution—read it!) to "scrupulously observe rules, regulations or procedures which it has established. When it fails to do so, its actions cannot stand and the courts will strike it down"—may still someday be a viable weapon against the University.

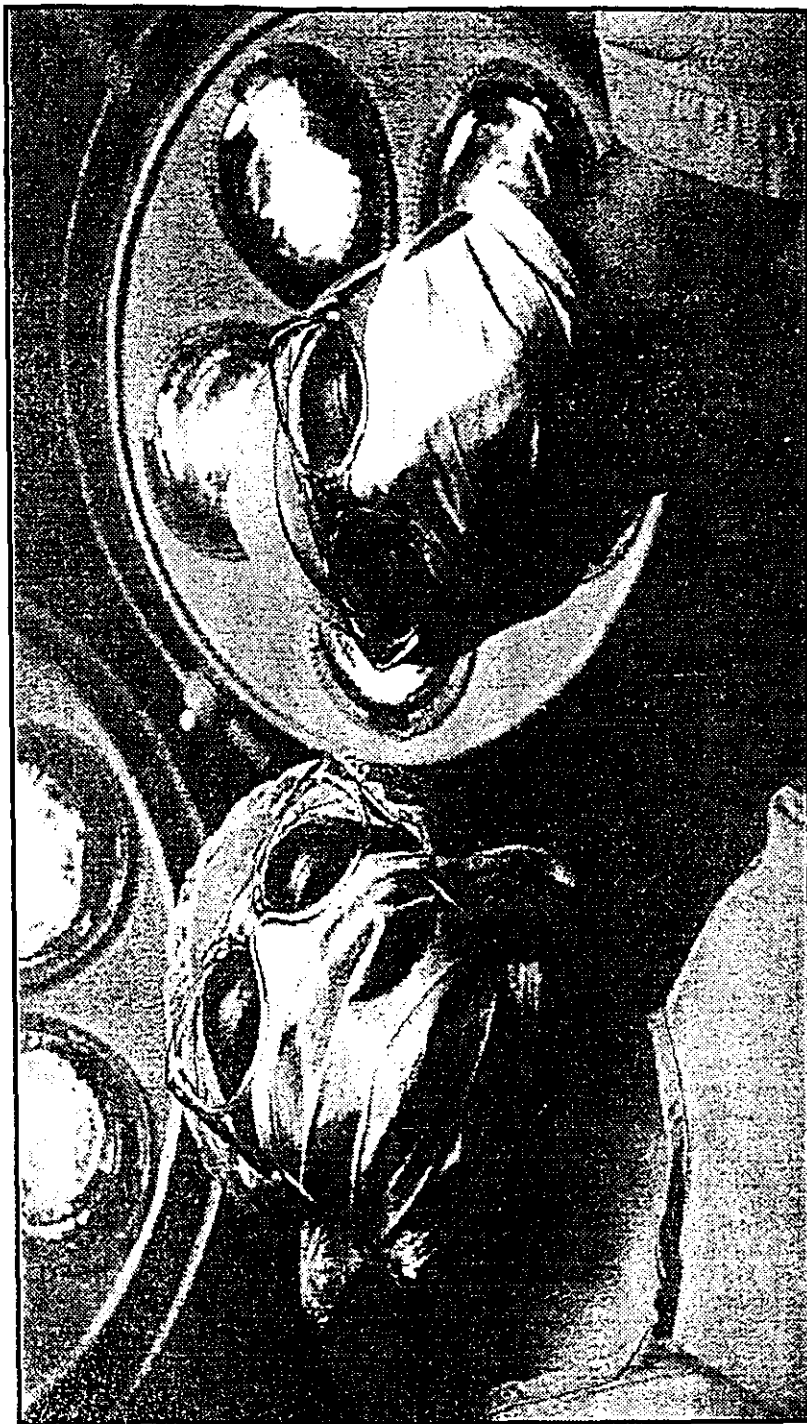
Union organizers have continued to work on a variety of issues since the Referendum, and are working to build a student union outside the framework and limitations of "student government." Toward this end, S.C.U. activists formed a caucus of the Educational Workers Industrial Union (I.W.W.) which maintains that no student representative body established by a school administration is legitimate. The S.C.U. has, since late spring 1977, conducted a long-term study group on relations between the university and America's "intelligence" agencies: CIA, NSA, FBI, etc. Under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), S.C.U. has obtained thousands of pages from these agencies and from the university, detailing those parts of the relations that are not classified. The documents are available for research purposes through the S.C.U., P.O. Box 16989, San Diego, CA 92116 and have recently been purchased (on microfiche) by the Central University Library at UCSD.

Graduate Student Union 1975-76; 1982

The Graduate Student Union was formed during May of 1975. Calling for 50% minimum TA employment for each year a graduate student was in a program, contracts, no increases in student/TA ratios,

got an opinion?

The New Indicator wants to hear it. We may not be *The Nation* nor *Maximum Rock and Roll*, but with a circulation of 8,000 per issue, we ain't peanuts in Pete Wilson's shite either. If you'd like to contribute to UCSD's oldest tabloid media (twenty-five plus years and counting), give us a call at 534-2016. We're especially looking for writers to cover campus news, film, theatre, A.S. philanderings, Regental politics, etc. So if you're verbally inclined, please get involved.



support. Over 400 members and supporters picketed the Board of Overseers (a group of wealthy businessmen who advise the Chancellor) and asked to speak to UC President David Saxon, who was addressing their meeting that month. Saxon refused to meet with them. The Student Cooperative and the Academic Senate endorsed the G.S.U. demands, and the G.S.U. scheduled a work stoppage for June.

The work stoppage began June 3, with well over 1,000 people attending a noon support rally. Some classes were cancelled as over two-thirds of UCSD's graduate students stayed out. The G.S.U. pointed out that the funds to meet their demands were readily available, and led a march of almost 800 members and supporters past the Chancellor's office on June 4, chanting "Meet Our Demands."

In September of 1975, the Graduate Student Union issued a report

to Governor Brown and the UC Board of Regents, discussing the plight of UCSD's graduate students, the G.S.U. demands, and how those demands could be addressed. That report noted that, in 1975, UCLA and UC Berkeley maintained a 40:1 student/TA ratio, while UCSD maintained a 51:1 ratio. The report further noted that despite official system wide commitments to correct this imbalance, UCSD was slipping further behind. As the report noted, some departments at UCSD suffered under a 72:1 student/TA ratio, resulting in a situation where many departments began to hire TAs for less than the half-time salary they were supposed to receive.

The G.S.U. report noted that, despite being 110 positions under the UC Master Plan's standard that year, UCSD was slated to lose 32 additional TA positions that quarter—all this while graduate student

However, as the University faces increasingly difficult economic difficulties it will be tempted to cut back on T.A. funding. Graduate Students will then find that the only way they can defend their interests is through unionization.

workloads were increasing by 33-100% and many TAs were being forced to choose between providing a minimally adequate level of instruction to their students or progressing in their studies. The University had at its disposal the means to meet the G.S.U. demands. For example, at almost every other university system in the country, tuition and fees of graduate students working on federal research grants are taken out of that grant. UCSD, in 1975, spent \$170 more per student on General Administration than the average UC campus, and \$100 more per student than UC Riverside, the second highest campus. The G.S.U. report recognized other potential sources for the necessary funds, as well:

There is no need-and no justification in the present economic context-for the state to provide UC administrators with free, ultra-luxurious housing on top of all their other prerequisites. The University should not be providing million-dollar homes free of charge to administrators whom it pays salaries of \$50,000, at the same time as it is demanding rent increases from graduate students whom it pays less than \$5,000. It is contrasts like these that make the University's pleas of poverty sound like the rankest hypocrisy...

"We do not accept the notion that an administrator with a \$40,000 salary is in exactly the same boat as a maintenance worker or secretary who makes ten thousand a year, or a teaching assistant who makes five. We do not think that a 'cost-of-living' increase that will be used to buy a third car, or a second house, or another thousand shares of stock is at all the same as one that will be used to buy food, to pay rent, or to pay for child care. We take seriously the idea that, especially in a time of economic crisis, resources should go to the people and programs that need them the most, and we think that, everything considered, those who already have the most have less need for more...

"In several letters between University Hall and the Academic Senate's University Committee on Budget and Interdivisional Relations, the Academic Senate specifically states that TA salaries should be given highest priority in budget proposals by the administration. Nonetheless, only half the necessary appropriation was put forward as a highest priority item by University Hall...

"We can see no more urgent need at UCSD than the immediate rectification of the current crisis in graduate student employment. Money from these sources can be used right now for this purpose, if the University of California begins to set education-and not administration-as its highest priority, and if it begins to see graduate student employment as a necessary means for meeting the demands of quality undergraduate education...

"Today is September 19th. On September 22nd the members of our Union will have to decide what action to take in the face of severe layoffs and unacceptable working conditions throughout our campus... We have come here to persuade you to act-to act to stem the immediate crisis which is developing at UCSD, and to act to take account of our needs in next year's budget which sits before you.

"We know that you can help us, because we know that you have helped others in situations that seemed much more 'impossible'-as when you found the money to continue paying the maintenance costs of the Chancellors' mansions after the Legislature refused to appropriate it. Now we are asking you to act on behalf of the University's most advanced students-who also happen to be the University's most poorly paid employees. And the answer which we will take back to the graduate students of UCSD from this meeting today will not be either 'They can,' or 'They can't,' but either 'They will,' or 'They won't.'"

They didn't, and the Graduate Student Union held a work-stoppage in November 1975, following which negotiations with the Administration began. The G.S.U. won yearly contracts for all graduate student employees, a no-layoff guarantee for academic year 75-76, the allocation of all work-study appointments at a 50% FTE (Full Time Equiva-

lent) level, and the mechanisms for graduate student policy making in regard to work loads, but were unable to resolve several other issues.

In January, 1976, the G.S.U. called for work-to-rule (work only during paid times, etc.) and in April affiliated with the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). Although the organization continued for some time, a variety of factors led to the G.S.U.'s inability to win its objectives, and those gains which were made have since been eroded by the Administration.

During the winter of 1982, in response to Administration efforts to reduce the level of support (in terms of Teaching Assistantships) to graduate students in the Literature Department, some students on the Graduate Student Council (and others) attempted to organize students to fight against that proposal. The administration, backed off under this threat, and organizing efforts were unsuccessful. However, as the University faces increasingly difficult economic difficulties it will be tempted to cut back on T.A. funding. Graduate Students will then find that the only way they can defend their interests is through unionization. Many grad students at Berkeley have recently won union recognition (with the help of an attorney who was an undergrad here during the GSU period). TA's and RA's at the University of Oregon have held together a local of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) for many years now, greatly improving conditions and winning a succession of 2-year contracts. TA's at the University of Michigan and at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, have had more rocky (but very informative) union histories. It can be done though.

As noted elsewhere in this Manual (see page), UCSD-and the University of California system as a whole, has a long history of collaborating with the CIA. Many of the CIA's actions have become widely known, and most people now realize that the CIA was, and is one of the United State's major instruments of exported repression. CIA research has been done at UCSD in the Economics department, by Scripps Institution of Oceanography researchers, at the UCSD-affiliated Naval Electronics Lab, etc. In addition, the CIA has long used UCSD as ground for recruitment.

"CIA-OFF CAMPUS!"

1975-76

Since the mid 60s, CIA recruiters have felt obliged to make themselves scarce, or at least inconspicuous, on American campuses. In 1970 one was prevented from recruiting from UCSD and had to leave campus. In 1975, following CIA consultations with various UC personnel, a UCLA secretary revealed that the University had system-wide plans for "affirmative action" recruiting of women and minority students for the CIA. Several protests on UC campuses followed. The Student Co-operative promptly passed a resolution demanding full disclosure of all UC-CIA connections, and their termination. The Chicano Studies Program made a similar statement, while the Third College Council issued a statement opposing "any cooperation with the CIA." The Academic Senate voted down, in a mail ballot called after a "straw vote" at a Senate meeting had passed it, a similar resolution two-to-one, and Chairperson Attiyeh of the Economics departments admitted he was working on a CIA contract in his "spare time." The

Anti-CIA Coalition was formed in November, and 700 people rallied November 25, and along with several other student groups met with UC President Saxon to question him about UC-CIA ties and many other issues. After he failed to adequately respond to the CIA issue, students followed Saxon who still pretending ignorance of the situation took an aimless 30-minute walk around campus, pursued by students chanting



"CIA Off Campus," "Saxon Off Campus," "Lumumba, Zapata, Allende," and "Asesino" (assassin). He was finally driven off campus in a police car.

Ten students were charged with violating University regulations, by allegedly impeding the progress of a University official. In February, following the refusal of the District Attorney to prosecute, they faced University disciplinary hearings. During those hearings, over 300 students rallied in protest of ongoing UC-CIA complicity, and in support of the ten, prior to marching to the scene of the hearings and disrupting them. The hearings continued at the State Building, downtown into March. When President Saxon testified 200 students picketed the hearings. Eight of the ten were placed on University probation, and thus temporarily constrained as activists. All ten were either active in the Steering Committee of the Student Cooperative or in the Natty Dread (now new indicator) Collective, or were active in both. They were singled out from over 700 demonstrators. Meanwhile, the hearings had diverted energy from the organizing efforts, and from the fight against the CIA.

Following these actions, CIA recruiting was quiet until 1977, when 70 or more students protested against the printing of a CIA recruitment ad by the Triton Times (now the Guardian), and then marched to Career Planning and Placement to trash the CIA applications.

In 1978 over 700 pages of documents detailing relations between the University of California and the CIA were released under the Freedom of Information Act to Nathan Gardels (a UCLA graduate student who filed the FOIA request after the Statewide Anti-CIA Conference held at UCSD in May, 1976). Several more documents, as well as large portions of the released documents, were withheld. The Student Cooperative Union, which has a copy of the released documents, has noted that one of the most interesting things about the documents released is the information that was not. Conspicuously little exists regarding UCSD-CIA ties. It is known, for example, that Richard Attiyeh (Economics) has done CIA research (see page), no mention of this occurs in the documents. In addition, recent information indicates that a large grant received in 1979 may be CIA-funded maritime surveillance.

When Richard Attiyeh was made Dean of Graduate Studies and

Research, his installation was picketed by anti-CIA students.

Research into UC-CIA ties continues, as does CIA recruiting through the Career Planning and Placement Office.

Divestment-South Africa

1977-78

As is mentioned elsewhere in this manual, the UC system maintains substantial investments in corporations that do business with the racist South African regime. Almost 60% of those voting in the 1977 Comprehensive Referendum favored divestment. Over 400 students rallied against UC investments in South Africa-part of a state-wide wave of rallies, sit-ins and arrests-during the first week of June, 1977. The wave of protests was in response to the Soweto Massacre. In November of 1977, when UC President Saxon made his first visit to UCSD since the Anti-CIA Coalition confronted him in 1975, 70 or more students picketed, protesting UC investments in South Africa. Teach-Ins and forums have been held on this issue and picket lines have occurred at several Regents meetings, as part of the state-wide divestment movement-a movement that continues to this day. (See the article on the Student Movement for an update on 1984-85 anti-Apartheid activity at UCSD.)

Decent Daycare Now

1978-79; 1981

The UCSD Daycare Center, established as a result of student initiative several years ago, is dependent on a combination of student, state and parental monies. In 1978, the Registration Fee Committee-with encouragement from the Administration-voted to eliminate student registration fee funding of the Daycare Center, despite a petition signed by more than 4,000 UCSD students. Early Spring quarter, a small one-day sit-in at the Chancellor's office was staged by parents, demanding funding of Daycare. The demonstrators then marched to Chancellor McElroy's home, but he was not in.

May 10, following several articles in the new indicator describing the need for, and operations of, the Daycare Center, a three day sit-in at the Chancellor's office began. The sit-in, 150-200 strong, ended with 21 arrests, as McElroy ordered the office cleared. (The 21-the number for which the demonstrators had determined there would be enough funds to cover legal costs-plus another parent arrested later, were prosecuted through the courts.) As the arrestees were led out of the



office, 700 supporters demonstrated outside the Chancellor's office. About 150 students jammed a reg. fee meeting soon after, and the bucks came through.

During the summer the administration, in a blatant act of retaliation, fired Daycare Center Director Josie Foulks. Well over 100 people rallied in support during the summer, and ongoing protest as well as AFSCME support through the grievance process resulted in her reinstatement in October of 1978.

Students voted overwhelmingly in favor of continued and ex-

expanded support of Daycare through student fees in a campus-wide referendum held in March, 1979. However, the current Daycare Center remains inadequate, as it can accommodate only a few of the children in need of its services. And despite the inadequacy of the existing Daycare Center, the administration continued to attack it.

In Spring of 1980, a move was made by some administrators to eliminate student funding (through Registration Fees) of the Center. The Reg. Fee Committee has persisted in refusing, every time the issue is raised, to make funds available for expansion. And in March, 1981, the Reg Fee Committee initially rejected a request for an additional \$16,000 allocation to replace CETA (a federally-funded training program) funding for two Daycare Center staff persons. This funding was later reconsidered after intense lobbying of student members of the Committee, at a meeting in front of 50 daycare supporters. Without adequate daycare services many women and many poor parents are unable to attend the University, and thus the administration's long-term opposition to maintaining and expanding daycare services can only be viewed as an attempt to keep working class students and women from receiving an education in large numbers.

Student Fees 1978-79

Winter, 1978, saw the resignation of three representatives to the Registration Fee Committee (the Administration/student body it dispenses the Registration Fee), following the failure of a walkout by the student members of that committee to secure a degree of control over the Registration Fee. During the summer of 1977, it had been learned, the Vice Chancellor's office (Student Affairs) spent Registration Fee monies without consulting the committee. The student walkout demanded return of the funds, and concurrence of the Reg Fee Committee with the Chancellor prior to the expenditure of any Reg Fee funds. The walk-out failed when it became clear that the Administration would not yield on any points, leading to the resignations of three of the seven student members. The Graduate Student Council reaffirmed its appointment, following his resignation, and formally withdrew graduate students from participation pending acceptance of the demands. By Fall, 1980, however, a few token reforms (such as eliminating the staff co-chair of the committee and assuring the committee that it would be consulted prior to the expenditure of funds) had restored this situation to normality.

Tenure & Education 1978-81

Tenure has long been a problem at UCSD, with skilled professors being denied tenured positions because of politics, sexism or racism, or because they devoted too much time to teaching. In 1973 Professor Madrid, Literature (and also important to Chicano Studies and Third World Studies), was denied tenure by the Administration despite department and student support. In the midst of protests over this action, Madrid accepted a tenured position at the University of Minnesota.

In May, of 1976, 20 student groups mobilized to prevent re-accreditation of UCSD until the University showed a commitment to education. In addition, students protested cutbacks in Humanities and Social Sciences, as departments lost TAs, faculty were fired and the Communications Program faced extinction. A large rally protesting cutbacks in the Literature department was held on May 27.

Similarly, in April, 1977, 150 students protested cutbacks at UCSD. Following protests resulting from the denial of tenure to Sociology Professor

Will Wright, among other professors, and the appearance before the

State Legislature of UCSD students protesting UC tenure practices, the California State Assembly Ways & Means Subcommittee on Education and Assembly Post-Secondary Education Subcommittee, chaired by Assemblyperson John Vasconcellos, held hearings on education during November of 1978 at UCSD. Several students spoke to the issue of discriminatory tenure practices, the plight of interdisciplinary programs and the University's systematic downgrading of education. The Students Autonomous Union (I.W.W.)-which was an ad hoc group formed by SCU activists-presented a statement, endorsed by most major student organizations, demanding a thorough investigation into tenure practices; the UC budget; and racism, sexism, and political favoritism in all aspects of the University-a demand that was not addressed. In May of 1979, 300 students attended a rally protesting the denial of tenure to professors Robert Edelman, Mike Real, Emory Tolbert, and Bud Mehan. Mehan and Edelman subsequently received tenure, Real is now teaching at San Diego State, and Tolbert was again denied tenure in 1981 amid much student protest.

But several other faculty have been denied tenure-often for reasons that border on the absurd. Professors have been denied tenure at UCSD only to be offered tenure positions at other institutions, such as UC Berkeley. There is a tendency for those denied tenure to be progressive, and to encourage critical thought by their students. Changes can be forced-following the May rally, and the march to Saltman's (Vice Chancellor-Academic Affairs) office that followed, Mehan (TEP) did receive tenure. Following student organization in defense of Claudio Fenner-Lopez (Communications/Visual Arts) he received Security of Employment (the equivalent of tenure for lecturers).

Yet the fact remains that students have no input into the tenure process, even though its results determine the type of education we will receive by determining who will teach. And, although officially teaching, researched, and "community service" are weighed equally in tenure decisions, in fact teaching counts only slightly, while community service counts not at all.

This has led many students to conclude that students and education are of only secondary importance to the University. Six out of ten entering students do not graduate, according to official University statistics. This occurs despite the fact that-again according to University statistics-most of the students who leave UCSD go on to graduate from another college, and that UCSD's entering students have the highest "qualifications" (in terms of test scores and grade points) of any entering class in the UC system. If UCSD truly cares about education, it doesn't seem to be doing a very good job of carrying it out.

The Western Association of Schools and Colleges was confronted with these statistics and other information when it came to UCSD in February, 1981, to do its 5 year report, part of the ongoing process of keeping UCSD accredited. Their report contended that "Undergraduate student discontent does not lie very far beneath the surface of a relatively placid campus..." noting that a "common undercurrent" was the assertion that UCSD is run for research, not education. The report noted that attention needs to be paid to the needs of "academically disadvantaged" students for support services, and the needs of the Communications Program. The report also stated that faculty instructional performance deserves greater recognition in tenure decisions, and noted that UCSD does not offer due process protections to students.

The Accreditation team had met-as part of their two day campus visit-with representatives of the Communications Student Union, the Black Student Union, MEChA, United American Indian Students and the Asian American Student Alliance who raised, and documented, most of these issues. These groups, and others, have a long history of

battling the administration over educational issues. While the Communications Students Union continued to battle for departmental status for the Communications Program, and on behalf of student interests within the program, affirmative action groups have begun once again to vigorously press their demands for justice in education.

Fight for Justice in Education 1979-81

Ever since the administration smashed Lumumba-Zapata College in 1972, and intensified its campaign of attrition which has succeeded in reversing most of the gains made prior to that point, students have been resisting the decimation of their programs and their faculty. In Spring of 1979, the issue of Lumumba-Zapata began to resurface. In balloting to choose a name for the third college, Lumumba-Zapata came in a strong second, and was removed from the run-off by the third college Administration. This led to a boycott of the balloting, and the third college remains without an official name. Following the boycott, signs began being modified to reflect the college's original name.

In November of 1979, over 200 students—mostly students of color—rallied and marched to the Chancellor's complex to present their demands to the Chancellor Search Committee (which was meeting there, behind closed doors, in early deliberations to choose UCSD's current chancellor). They were protesting the racist admissions and hiring practices of UCSD, the administration of the Equal Opportunity Program, etc. 60 placard-carrying students picketed the Chancellor's complex for well over an hour, chanting "We need doctors, lawyers too," "Lumumba-Zapata will never be defeated," and "We demand change." The Search Committee refused to listen to the demands, however, until after their meeting had concluded, at which point they allowed the protestors in and broke up the meeting.

Although the Search Committee paid no attention to the needs of Third World students, ultimately selecting a Chancellor who stated that "I really don't want to see minority programs that are in some sense defined as more closely tied with the social sciences," affirmative action groups continued to organize around their needs. When the Western Association of Schools and Colleges Accreditation Team visited UCSD, affirmative action groups presented them with documentation pointing to the declining numbers of Third World students and faculty at UCSD, and spoke of the need for improving recruiting programs, the development of support services, and the need for developing and strengthening programs in ethnic studies.

Throughout the 1980-81 academic year, the Black Student Union

organized around the issue of tenure for UCSD History professor Emory Tolbert. Tolbert, the only Afro-American professor in the History department, had initially been denied tenure two years before, in 1979, and was coming up for his final reconsideration. Letters of support from hundreds of students and student organizations were submitted, and hundreds of students participated in demonstrations around the issue.

On May 29, 1980, members of the Third World student groups presented a set of demands to Chancellor Atkinson. These demands addressed a wide variety of issues, including revision of the tenure process to add input by students in the process; the establishment of programs in Asian-American, Black and Chicano studies; the hiring of more American Indian, Asian American, African American and Chicano professors; tenure for Tolbert; the creation of a Third World Student Center to fill a portion of the needs Lumumba-Zapata College had once met; making University recruiting programs accountable to Third World Students; and other reforms.

When the Chancellor refused to seriously consider or negotiate the demands, students occupied his office on June 2nd. 250 students jammed the Chancellor's Complex for two and a half hours; arguing with the Chancellor, occupying the office, and demonstrating outside in support. Chancellor Atkinson had the UCSD campus police-backed up by the San Diego Police riot squad—make arrests at 2:30, just two and a half hours after the protest began. 34 students were arrested at Atkinson's orders, and taken to County jail for booking. A week later campus police filed charges against a New Indicator Collective member who was participating in covering the events.

Two days later, on June 4th, students demonstrated in support of the demands and those arrested. 400 students rallied on Revelle Plaza before marching to the Chancellor's Complex where students surrounded Atkinson, pressing their demands. Eventually, the students dismissed Atkinson, it having been made clear that he was absolutely unwilling to even consider student demands. As B.S.U. member Daryl Ellis noted in a press conference before that demonstration:

"Chancellor Atkinson has made the statement that he feels sorry that students felt a sit-in was the only way in which they (the students) could get their grievances met. Throughout this year, and previous years, we have gone to meetings with the Chancellor, we addressed our concerns through the proper channels, we have written letters... We've had petitions circulated... Yet they still overlooked student outcry and student demands and just went along with what they planned to do originally... The arrest of the 34 demonstrators was unnecessary... If he had any intentions of dealing with us on



our demands on a sincere level, he (Atkinson) would have had no reason to have us removed. If he would have negotiated with us, then we would have left once those negotiations had been finalized."

The Chancellor's determination to ignore student grievances was proved both by his decision to terminate Tolbert despite his qualifications as a teacher, and his decision to press for harsh penalties against the 35 students arrested in connection with the occupation of his office. Eventually, charges against the 34 were dropped, as part of a settlement including probation and small fines.

These demands have not been pressed since that time, and campus affirmative action groups have been relatively quiet. Yet despite the abortive nature of this demonstration, it represents the most determined effort since the Lumumba-Zapata strike was broken to force the University to pay some attention to the needs of Third World students. And similar efforts have met with some success at other UC campuses, such as UC Los Angeles, and UC Santa Cruz. And the issues behind this demonstration and these demands have not gone away, but continue to fester under the surface. Third World students are thus faced with the alternatives of watching their numbers at UCSD decline to nothing, or uniting with each other and with other progressive forces to fight to overturn the University's priorities.

**Repression, the Klan & Police
1979-80**

But other issues were continuously being fought as well. San Diego Students for Peace confronted military recruiters several times during the year-Marines, Navy, all recruiting with University resources through the Office of Career Planning and Placement. Students continued to work in the tradition of the Lumumba-Zapata demands, and continued to oppose repression.

During June of 1979, the Administration froze the funds allocated (through the Student Advocate Program to the Organizing Support Group (S.C.U.) to print the 1979 Disorientation Manual-compelling the New Indicator Collective to absorb the costs, and seriously depleting its funds. Following publication of the manual, some professors, certain AS officers and the UCSD Guardian attacked the manual-some calling for the suspension of those students working on the manual and the freezing of the new indicator budget. Those efforts were successfully resisted. Also, during the summer of 1979, organizations found their access to the campus typesetter, xerox machines and mimeograph machine being restricted, with administrators demanding prior approval over all material. Several organizations refused to cooperate with these restrictions, and this refusal-combined with the difficulty of enforcement-has resulted in these regulations no longer being enforced.

1979-80 also saw increased Klan activity in the San Diego area. UCSD students-many organized in the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression-organized to stop the Klan, and attempted to stop them from holding a scheduled rally in Oceanside. With the decision of local KKK leader Tom Metzger to run for Congress-and

the decision of local Democratic Party officials to not mount a serious opposition-local organizing efforts focused on attempts to stop Metzger. 2,000 students rallied against the Klan, and disrupted candidate Metzger, in an appearance at San Diego State University that spring, including several students from UCSD. Metzger won the Democratic primary, and was defeated overwhelmingly in the general elections, as students-and many in the community-continued to organize not only for Metzger's defeat, but for the defeat of the KKK as well.

**Chancellor Search
1979-80**

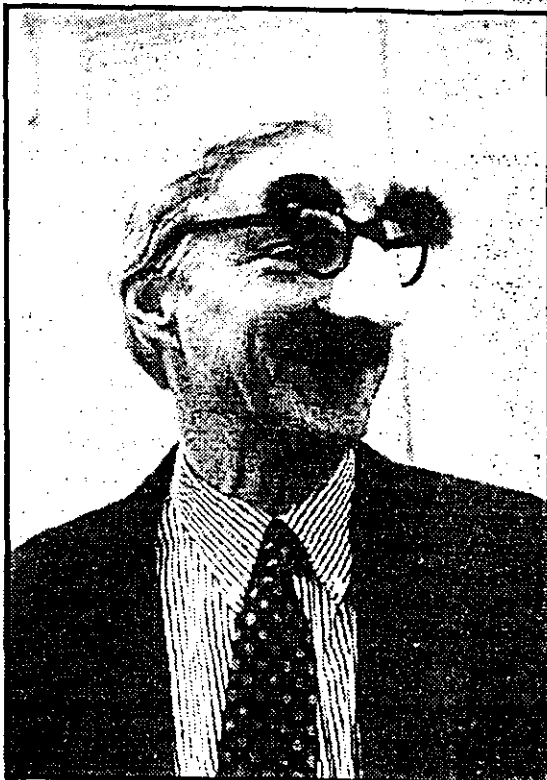
The Chancellor is the head of the campus-the chief management honcho. Pretty much what he says goes. Thus, it was Chancellor McElroy, then just freshly arrived from his National Science Foundation directorship, who worked with then-provost Watson to crush Lumumba-Zapata. It was McElroy who intensified this campus's attention towards research, at ever-greater cost to the educational program, and it is the Chancellor who is charged with making sure this campus runs smoothly. In May in 1979, McElroy began a major reorganization designed to eliminate a challenger from his administration.

McElroy announced that he was going to remove research from the purview of Academic Affairs (then held by Paul Saltman, no great friend of education).

McElroy refused to go into his reasons, McElroy's secretary accused Saltman of mismanaging research funds, and new indicator sources indicated that large secret research grants-the lifeblood of this institution-lay at the root of the conflict. The Office of Contracts and Grants was slated for dissolution. Vice-Chancellor Saltman resigned in response to the loss of control over research, and appealed to friends in the Academic Senate. McElroy, forced to appear before the Senate-a body he never did get along with-came off poorly, and was forced to retreat on his reorganization plans. The Academic Senate, in June, held a mail ballot which voted 2-1 no confidence in McElroy. UC President Saxon and Chancellor McElroy announced that the vote meant nothing to them, and McElroy resigned in August '79-effective June, 1980.

President Saxon then instituted a secret Chancellor Search process (including token student representation) which refused to release the names of candidates or discuss the selection process with any student groups. Several organizations, including the A.S. Council, protested, and Affirmative Action groups picketed the Chancellor Search Committee in November, 1979. Eventually, Richard Atkinson, director of the National Science Foundation (like McElroy before him) was selected chancellor without even having set foot on the campus. After his selection, in an attempt to mollify the campus, Atkinson visited UCSD and announced that he would have participated in a public search process anyway, and announced a strong commitment to "national security."

Students picketing a reception honoring Chancellor Atkinson-in protest of the undemocratic and secret search process-were ejected by



UCSD Chancellor, Richard "Dick" Atkinson

Council and the Student Center Board (whose members were invited to attend the reception, sponsored by UC President David Saxon) had voted to boycott the event, and many A.S. officers were in the picketline. Police ejected the demonstration without issuing a warning or requesting demonstrators to leave. A committee established by the Chancellor as a result of outcry over the police action-in which several students reported unwarranted physical force or violence from police-found that UCSD did not have sufficient regulations governing police conduct at demonstrations.

That committee drafted up an extensive set of regulations which immediately drew the wrath of UCSD police chief Hugh French. Those regulations would have restricted the right of police to use surveillance equipment at demonstrations, would have required prior warning by police before demonstrations were surveilled or dispersed, and would have established procedures for filing grievances against UCSD police for misconduct in such circumstances. Although many people criticized the regulations as an undue infringement upon the rights of students-by requiring prior notification of rallies, giving police undue latitude, calling for Undergraduate Affairs personnel to monitor demonstrations, etc.-the Administration has to date been very slow to implement the proposed regulations because of police objections to any restrictions upon their conduct at demonstrations.



Police conduct at demonstrations has long been questioned by activists, as has their ongoing surveillance and harassment of campus activists.

**Police Strike Out
1980-81**

March of 1980 saw UCSD police arrest graduate student Kevin O'Connor for posting leaflets publicizing the showing of the film "State of Siege" by the Committee for World Democracy (which sponsors a weekly Friday night Political Film Series on campus). Although posting on campus-other than on bulletin boards-is technically against UCSD policy, that policy had never before been used to arrest someone. Instead, the administration arranged for the removal of the posters they found offensive. However, in O'Connor's case an arrest resulted, and he was held by UCSD police for over an hour before being released. A number of organizations protested this action of the police-including such groups as the Graduate Student Council, the ASUCSD Council, AFSCME, the Progressive Coalition, the UCSD Food Co-op and the Chinese Students Association, to name but a few-and protested police policy requiring people to provide identification on demand, contrary to state and federal laws, and enforcement of posting regulations.

Following this incident, other students came forward to tell of police harassment, including Chris Ajagu-former Chair of the Graduate Student Council. UCSD Police, it seems, arbitrarily stop people who look "suspicious"-including one woman walking across the Mandeville Parking lot at 10:00 one morning-and ask them to identify themselves. According to UCSD Police Chief Hugh French, his force must engage in constitutionally questionable actions, and use their powers of intuition, "in order to deter thefts." In addition, his force does not keep

records of the number of people harassed in this manner.

Some organizations have also raised the question of campus police surveillance of campus activists. Every demonstration is attended by at least two police officers, who are busy taking pictures of all participants "in case anything happens." These pictures, the new indicator revealed years ago, are kept by campus police and forwarded, upon request, to Undergraduate Affairs which keeps detailed charts and files on the activities of both individuals and groups. It appears that a good deal of resources are thus expended keeping track of campus activists. This has led to a move to establish a Police Review Board to create some community control over campus police, and redirect their priorities.

Perhaps the most spectacular abuse of police power, however, occurred in May, 1980, when a UCSD police officer was apprehended burglarizing Groundwork Bookstore. Although the police officer apprehended resigned, Groundwork has evidence indicating that other police were involved in robbing the bookstore over a long period of time. UCSD police claim the right to enter any office or other room at UCSD, regardless of whether they have any cause to believe that a crime is occurring there, and go through files, etc. The extent to which this "right" has been exercised is difficult to determine-but it is a matter of concern to many on campus.

And, in the midst of what the UCSD Guardian termed a "rape epidemic," campus police initiated an investigation into the New Indicator Collective at the request of the Pacific Telephone Company. While police declined to investigate most of the attempted and actual rapes on campus, and remained unable to even begin to investigate the burglaries and thefts that have become a part of campus life, they vigorously pursued their investigations of the Collective, finally recommending to the San Diego City Attorney's office that prosecution take place. The City Attorney then filed criminal charges against one member of the New Indicator Collective for allegedly participating in the publication of material allegedly inimical to the profit interests of Pacific Telephone (then a subsidiary of ATT). As the Collective noted on June 9: "this action raises serious questions as to the motivations of campus police and the city attorney, when serious violent crime goes uninvestigated while trivial alleged infractions of the law are vigorously pursued." These charges were eventually dismissed.

**Incompletes Under Attack
1980-81**

The issues of political harassment of students by the Administration, Students' due process rights, the ideology of assembly-line education and Incompletes, as well as the University's practice of holding secret meetings were raised by an unprecedented administrative attempt during this year to change one student's grades, and retroactively change University policies.

Until 1981, students had been permitted to take a grade of "Incomplete" (I) in a course and make it up (and receive a final letter grade) at any point prior to graduation. At the instigation of the Council of Provosts in 1977, the Academic Senate decided to "lapse" the I (which appeared on the transcript) to an F one quarter after the I was assigned, pending its replacement with a letter grade-a change which replaced the

Every demonstration is attended by at least two police officers, who are busy taking pictures of all participants "in case anything happens." These pictures, the new indicator revealed years ago, are kept by campus police and forwarded, upon request, to Undergraduate Affairs which keeps detailed charts and files on the activities of both individuals and groups. It appears that a good deal of resources are thus expended keeping track of campus activists.

earlier practice of lapsing Is to Fs on the transcripts at a date agreed upon between the instructor and student when the Incomplete was taken.

However, on November 24, 1980, Joseph Watson, then Provost of the Third College, asked the Academic Senate's Committee on Educational Policy (CEP) to change 8 grades received by one student (through the completion of Incompletes and the correction of clerical errors) to Fs, alleging that the Academic Senate's policy on Incomplete grades had been violated. In the course of the CEP's consideration of Watson's request, the Registrar in blatant violation of University regulations changed the grades in question to Fs, "pending action by the CEP."

During the CEP's deliberations it became clear that the student in question, Montgomery Reed (aka R.M. Reed Kroopkin)-long active in the New Indicator Collective, and in student and community politics, and formerly a co-chairperson of the Student Cooperative Union (roughly equivalent to a 'co-President' in the current ASUCSD structure)-had complied with University policy as practiced by the Registrar's office, and that his completion of Incompletes after they had "lapsed" was in no way unusual. It was also established that Provost Watson had long had political antipathies toward the student whose grades he had challenged, and had previously attempted to use the Incompletes as political levers.

The CEP's deliberations on this case-which dragged throughout Winter Quarter of 1981-received much attention from the student press. (See new indicator and UCSD Guardian back issues for a blow by blow account. Both the Graduate Student Council and the Associated Students Council protested the CEP's consideration of Watson's request, stating that no changes in the processing of Incompletes should be implemented retroactively. Ultimately, the CEP decided to change existing policy so that Incompletes could no longer be completed after they had "lapsed".

In the meantime, the CEP began evicting students and others who wished to observe their meetings. The first to be evicted was a new indicator reporter. The next week, the CEP evicted a UCSD Guardian reporter and a representative of the Associated Students Student Advocate Program. February 9th's meeting of the CEP was attended by several students and UCSD and San Diego area journalists. These included reporters for the local TV news affiliates of ABC, CBS and NBC, the San Diego Evening Tribune, the new indicator, the UCSD Guardian and also the chairperson of the UC Student Body President's Council, the UCSD Associated Students President and Vice President and other A.S. Council members, as well as representatives of the A.S. Student Advocate Program. A total of approximately 30 "uninvited guests" were ordered to leave the meeting. When the students and journalists were ordered to leave the meeting, all but one refused to do so, which resulted in the CEP leaving the room and meeting in a conference room adjacent to the police station behind a line of police who barred access to all who were not "invited" to the meeting. The students and the press contended that meetings of the CEP-and meetings of all University committees-were required, under state law, to be open to press and public; the University contended that it was not a state agency, was not bound by the state law or the state constitution, and could thus hold closed meetings if it so desired.

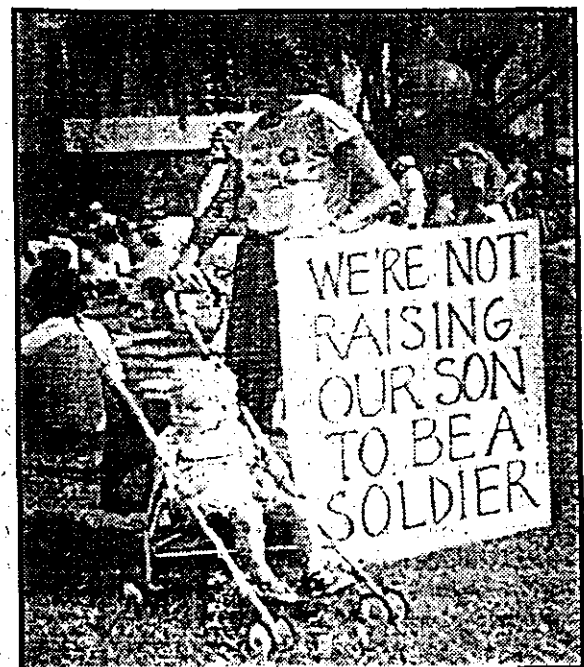
Student and press representatives again attempted to attend the

CEP's meeting of February 23rd, but were again barred access to the conference room by the police station by armed campus police. The CEP then allowed students to attend its next two meetings, where it made the decision referred to above, and on March 9, 1981 conducted an open hearing on the Incomplete issue. At that open hearing A.S. representatives, Provosts of UCSD's colleges, and others all spoke on the need to reform policy regarding I grades, and move to a more realistic, and flexible, policy than the interim policy adopted by the CEP (and still in effect). The Academic Senate's Executive and Policy Committee then reaffirmed its commitment to closed meetings, and the CEP stated that it would eventually reconsider the Incomplete policy. Subsequently, the CEP confirmed its decision to lapse I's after 1 quarter.

No Draft-No War 1980-82

When the press and government began beating the war drums, following the seizure of hostages in Tehran, students at UCSD began organizing to confront the racist hysteria being whipped up, and to explain the historical roots of the problem. In November, more than 400 students attended a rally in defense of the rights of Iranian students, and in January of 1980, more than 300 people crammed into the Humanities Auditorium for a teach-in on Iran and Afghanistan.

With Carter's call for draft registration, 200 students attended a meeting called by Night & Fog Action (a San Diego anarchist grouping) to plan for resistance. Out of that meeting grew San Diego Students for Peace-with chapters at UCSD and San Diego State-which organize around the issues of the draft and militarism. A February rally at Revelle Plaza drew 3,000 participants-mostly students but including staff, faculty and members of the San Diego community. That rally included a march around the UCSD campus, a speech by Vietnam-era draft resistor David Harris and several UCSD and San Diego speakers



stressing the need for resistance. There were over a dozen simultaneous rallies at other California college campuses and other demonstrations across the country in the first large-scale opposition to registration and the draft.

March 22 saw draft protestors marching in downtown San Diego as part of protests across the country including one in Washington that drew 30,000 demonstrators for a march past the White House and other government buildings-500 strong. In April, following the aborted U.S. military adventure in Iran, a rally of 200 students was followed by a sit-in at the campus Post Office, and an occupation at San Diego State of SDSU's R.O.T.C. office.

Over the summer, students worked with community groups to leaflet San Diego post offices and hold three rallies. July 21, the first day of registration, 400 or more picketers lined the sidewalks in front of, and across from the Pacific Beach post office, while the few coming in to register were met with leaflets and arguments opposing registration. Teach-Ins on alternatives to registration were held, and most San Diego post offices were leaf-letted during the two weeks of registration. Friday of the first week saw a picket line of 200 at the downtown San Diego post office, and a blockade of post office doors, following the announcement that less than 50% of San Diego's draft-age men were registering. A victory celebration August 1-celebrating the failure of registration-at the downtown post office was marred by the arrest of three S.D.S.P. members for trumped-up charges such as "illegal riding." However, less than 55% registration was reported by the post offices for the two week period-and this figure included dogs, children, nonexistent persons and others who registered despite not being eligible.

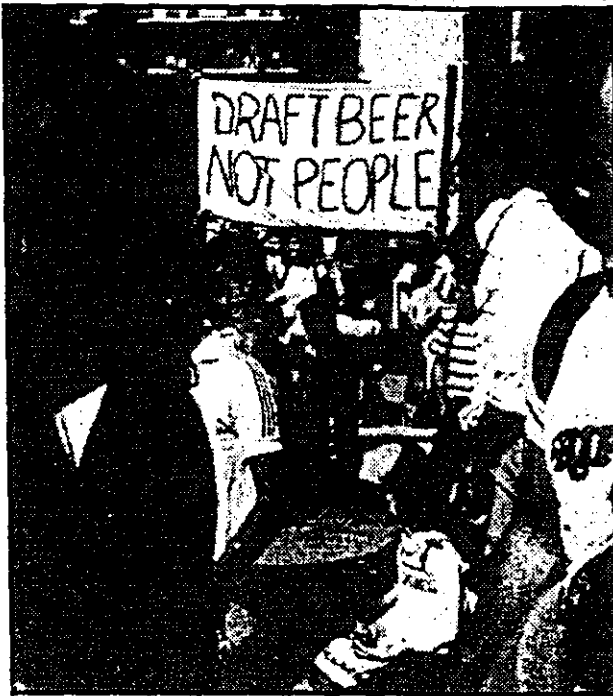
In October of 1980, the Progressive Coalition and the Students for Peace Resistance Center co-sponsored a demonstration against war research at UCSD, a demonstration that culminated in a walk around UCSD during which offices actively engaged in research for the Department of Defense were identified. About 100 people attended that demonstration.

And November 3rd, members of Students for Peace and other organizations joined with several hundred community members to protest Ronald Reagan's election-eve campaign appearance. At that rally four S.D.S.P. members, and two members of the National Organization for Women (NOW), were arrested on a variety of trumped-up charges, most of which were later thrown out by the courts.

In January of 1981, anti-war activists again leaf-letted the post offices. 200 people-including many from UCSD-picketed the downtown post office on the first day of registration, and Students for Peace members, and other activists, once again went to the Post Offices to leaflet and discourage people from registering from the draft. By Selective Service's own admission, the January registration proved even less successful than the summer registration period in which, according to most estimates, less than 75% registered. After January, SSS estimated that less than 70% of those required to register had done so. Thus, even by Selective Service's own-highly inflated-statistics,

registration was a dismal failure.

January 20, as Ronald Reagan was inaugurated, 300 students attended a counter-inaugural demonstration on the Revelle Plaza. That rally, co-sponsored by Students for Peace, MEChA, the Black Students Union, the Women's Resource Center, the ASUCSD Council and the



College Councils, warned of the dangers a Reagan presidency represented. Members of the Progressive Coalition hung an effigy of Ronald Reagan from a tree adjacent to the Plaza during the rally. Students and community people in Berkeley had rioted upon learning that Reagan had been elected.

In February, a week in solidarity with the people of El Salvador, saw hundreds of people throughout San Diego attend rallies, teach-ins and other events. At UCSD, two rallies drew over a hundred people apiece, opposing U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

April 16 & 17 saw two rallies, sponsored by the campus chapter of the Moonie-affiliated Collegiate Association for the Research of Principle (CARP), favoring U.S. intervention in El Salvador protested by

enraged students. While 40 rally organizers, speakers and supporters called for U.S. intervention April 16, 150 students gathered to protest the affair, chanting "U.S. Out of El Salvador" and drowning out Moonie speakers. The next day saw a Moonie rally of 50 supporters-many from Los Angeles-confronted by 250 students who chanted slogans such as "Fascists off campus" and "No Draft, No war, U.S. Out of El Salvador" throughout the affair, CARP went on to sponsor two sparsely attended showings of a film favoring U.S. intervention which were not protested.

In the wake of May 3rd's nation-wide demonstrations opposing the Reagan budget and U.S. Intervention in El Salvador, demonstrations that saw 10,000 march in San Francisco, 60,000 or more in Washington, and other demonstrations across the country, 500 or more from throughout San Diego demonstrate in protest of the first 100 days of the Reagan administration. The demonstration was preceded by a march of 250 people through downtown San Diego, and culminated a month of forums and other activities concentrating on specific aspects of the Reagan program. The Coalition which sponsored these activities was initiated by Committee Against the New Right and Students for Peace-SDSU activists, and many members of the UCSD community attended the demonstration.

May 15th, 200 or more students attended a rally and 300 participated in a day of activities-designed to raise consciousness about the war in Vietnam, and the movement against it. Speakers pointed to the similarities between how the U.S. became involved in Vietnam and how it was becoming active in the conflict in El Salvador, spoke of the need to oppose the U.S. moves in El Salvador, and the need to remember-and be proud of-the movement against the war in Vietnam. In addition, the rally kicked off a campaign to place a plaque on the Revelle Plaza in memory of George Winne, a student who immolated himself May 4, 1970, on Revelle Plaza in protest of the war in Vietnam. The Revelle College Council has refused to allow the plaque to be

placed on the plaza, although various organizations including the A.S. Council have endorsed it.

Spring quarter also saw UCSD students vote overwhelmingly (by an 8-1 margin) against continued subsidization of military recruiting at UCSD by student fees. Despite this vote, the Career Planning and Placement office continues to bring military recruiters to campus, publicizes their visits, offers staff support for the scheduling of campus visits by military recruiters and the scheduling of appointments with them, etc. The director of CPP has made it clear that he will not voluntarily cease spending student money to subsidize military recruiting, arguing that he is offering a "service" to UCSD students by bringing them here.

June 19, students from UCSD joined the UC Nuclear Weapons Labs Conversion Project, the Student Body Presidents' Council and other organization in a protest in Los Angeles opposing continued University of California management of the Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos Labs, at which every nuclear warhead in the U.S. arsenal has been designed. 200 demonstrators attended the meeting of the UC Regents at which the contract was re-approved, and held placards and chanted slogans calling for conversion of the labs to peaceful purposes or severance of the University's ties with them, and calling upon the Regents to allow public discussion of the issue, etc. Opposition to the University's management of the labs is expected to continue, especially since the new 5-year contract allows the University to terminate the contract at any time it sees fit-providing adequate notice is given to the Defense Department.

Activities continued around these issues during the next year, both on-campus and off. Demonstrations were held at UCSD against nuclear weapons, numerous forums and debates were held around this question, and the question of continued U.S. intervention in El Salvador, and many campus activists worked with off-campus activists to build educational activities and demonstrations city-wide around the issues of the U.S. military build-up. Although some of these activities tended to get drawn into the trap of building with the Democratic Party's "left" wing, and seeking to present the democrats as some sort of alternative to the Republican party and Reagan.

June 12th saw local demonstrations in conjunction with the massive

Watson opposed student involvement in what he termed the "day-to-day decision-making" and promised to give student opinion what he ominously termed "proper weight." Since he assumed power, he has followed through with this "vision."

national demonstrations against Nuclear war. 250 people marched from the Convair plant downtown into Balboa Park, demanding conversion of war plants to peaceful production.

Over the summer campus activists became involved in protests against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and war of genocide against the Palestinian people, 300 people marched June 28th at the Federal Building downtown in defense of the Palestinians and in solidarity with their struggle. Chants such as "Begin, Reagan, you can't hide; We charge you with genocide" filled the air for an hour as the demonstrators confronted the downtown lunch crowd with the reality of the Israeli genocide.

June 30th, the U.S. Attorney in San Diego announced the indictment of local draft resistor Ben Sasway, the first draft resistor to be indicted since draft registration was reinstated by former President Carter in 1980. 250 people-including many students-picketed the Federal Building July 1st in opposition to registration and the draft, and in support of Ben Sasway; during the picket Sasway turned himself in.

Soon afterwards, indictments began coming down against draft resisters throughout the country; although they were brought against only a tiny percentage of the over one million draft resisters throughout the country. On August 14 a rally was held in Balboa Park in support of Ben Sasway and all Draft Resisters, drawing between 700-800 people in the largest anti-draft rally in San Diego since the Vietnam war. Between 75 and 150 protesters turned out for the two and one half days of Ben Sasway's trial, and a candlelight vigil of over 400 people was held the Sunday after Ben was imprisoned at the Metropolitan Correctional Center to await sentencing on October 4.

Students and community members are continuing to organize resistance against the draft, and against U.S. intervention abroad; just as hundreds of young men are refusing to register every week throughout the country.

Vice Chancellor Search "Watson Equals Mobutu"

Shortly after Chancellor Atkinson arrived on campus, he began plans for reorganizing the UCSD administration. Simultaneously, then-Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs, Richard Armitage, resigned. The Chancellor decided to reorganize Student Affairs by placing the offices of Admissions, the Registrar and Recruitment under its auspices, and gave the "new" unit the curious title of "Undergraduate Affairs" (curious because the unit continued to deal with both graduate and undergraduate students). Soon thereafter, amid rumors that controversial Third College Provost, Joseph Watson, had already been selected for the post, a "nation-wide search" for a Vice Chancellor to head the new unit was begun.

This search, conducted by a joint student-faculty committee, yielded only one serious candidate from outside of the Southern California area. Amid continuing statements from Chancellor Atkinson that he could not foresee Watson not being selected, many students began expressing their reservations about Watson, and recalling his part in the suppression of Lumumba-Zapata College and his efforts to use his position as Provost to harass students and faculty with whom he had had political disagreements. Student concerns that Watson would be unwilling to listen to students, and to work on their behalf, became more prevalent

as Watson went through the interview process.

Watson stated that he would not take action on grievances against Student Affairs units brought to him by students, and would not intervene on behalf of students in issues outside of his administrative control. He opposed student involvement in what he termed the "day to day decision-making" and promised to give student opinion what he termed "proper weight." (Since he assumed power, he has followed through with this "vision.") Watson did concede that students had little to no input at the Third College, which had been under his administration since 1970.

As a result of their interview with Watson, the Student Affirmative Action Committee directed their representative on the Search Committee to not support Watson. When the Search Committee made its recommendations to the Chancellor, every student on the Committee supported another candidate over Watson (as did a member of the faculty). Watson thus failed to secure the support of 5 of the 9 members of the search committee, which proceeded to unanimously recommend

Dr. Joyce Justus (a lecturer in Anthropology) for the position. Chancellor Atkinson announced his selection of Watson during the middle of Spring quarter finals week, despite the Search Committee's recommendation, and stated in a press release: "I am extremely pleased with the work of the Search Committee and that Joe Watson has accepted my appointment of him as Vice Chancellor." Atkinson went on to appoint Justus Assistant Chancellor for Affirmative Action July 1st.

Right-Wing Offensive 1981-82

1981 saw a revival of right-wing activities at UCSD, and nationwide. At UCSD these activities have focussed upon attacks against progressive groups.

The Committee for World Democracy—which sponsors a popular weekly political film series—has borne much of the brunt of the attack. In Spring of 1981, right-wing members of the A.S. Council were narrowly defeated in a bid to eliminate the film series' budget. Upset by this and other defeats, these reactionaries initiated a petition campaign attempting to mobilize campus opposition to the series' budget. Although they succeeded, through a variety of misleading tactics, in gaining signatures, more people signed a CWD-initiated petition defending the series budget, and the reactionaries were defeated.

Conservatives then attempted to make the Campus Activity Fee—which funds a variety of activities including media, student organizations, the A.S., etc.—voluntary. They succeeded in placing a referendum question to that effect on the A.S. budget in Spring of 1982, which was defeated two to one. At the same time, however, a number of right-wing candidates were elected to the most conservative A.S. Council in history; largely by default.

These new council members mounted a renewed attack against the film series and other budgets. They soon abandoned their other targets, concentrating their fire upon the CWD film series. As usual, this attack was carried out under the banner of fiscal conservatism, even while these same conservatives proposed and pushed through massive increases in A.S. bureaucracy and public relations spending. After much debate, the A.S. Council passed a Committee for World Democracy budget containing a slight reduction in funding from the previous year.

Not satisfied with this success, A.S. President Henry Chu—elected on the platform "Chu for You"—refused to sign large portions of the A.S. budget, including the film series, an illegal action that was later overturned by the administration. Chu then went on to illegally veto the Committee for World Democracy's budget for its political film series.

The spring also saw the publication of a right-wing journal called the California Review. Proudly proclaiming itself to be in the tradition of the House Unamerican Activities Committee (HUAC), the premier issue contained racist, sexist and homophobic smears, and a notable paucity of anything even resembling critical thought. The producers—armed with massive subsidies from right-wing national foundations and corporations—have threatened to inflict the Review on UCSD on a monthly basis, and hope to eventually expand to weekly production.

These attacks are part of a national attack against progressives, poor and working people. Only through uniting and fighting for real change can they be stopped.

In May of 1982, the Chancellor announced his intention to appoint a former CIA researcher, Richard Attiyeh, Dean of Graduate Studies and Research. This appointment drew immediate condemnation from students, as well as some faculty opposition. The Office of Graduate Studies and Research (OGSR) oversees all research and graduate studies on the general campus. As its Dean, Attiyeh is charged with

enforcing and developing University policies regarding research (including classified research), determines the extent to which the University will cooperate with the FBI and CIA in their attempts to gain access to University records on foreign scholars here, etc. Thus the appointment of Attiyeh has put a partisan of the CIA in a very powerful position, where he is in a position to exercise major influence on the University's direction.

The Associated Students Council passed a resolution calling on the administration to reconsider this appointment, as did several other student organizations, a number of graduate students and others. The administration, however, went ahead with the appointment despite the developing campus opposition.

Attiyeh took office July 1st, and Students were there to remind the Administration that opposition had not gone away. In an action called by the Student Cooperative Union (OSG), a press conference (which was well attended by the press, and received fairly good coverage) was followed by a brief picket of the OGSR office. Activists intend to continue to press the University on this issue; determined not to let this critical post be held by a CIA partisan.

Students Against Reaganism

In the fall of 1984, a small group of student activists organized Students Against Reaganism (STAR) to prevent Reagan's reelection. STAR worked with other campus groups (Young Democrats, Black Student Union, MEChA, etc.) to defeat Reagan on campus, if not in the election. STAR also hosted anti-U.S. intervention speakers, participated in off-campus events, and worked with other STAR chapters across the state, coordinating demonstrations against Reaganism on the different California campuses. A participant says, "STAR began to fall apart towards the end of Fall quarter as the result of 1) the election, 2) finals, 3) winter break and 4) lack of ideas on what to do now that the election was over. This lack of new ideas was definitely the biggest problem. STAR had basically decided on anti-intervention work, but we had no clear idea of how we could really be effective. We ended up putting on a few teach-ins and had some speakers, but there was no real enthusiasm for what we were doing. At one point we were doing them without any clear building purpose. We also spent little time getting more people involved."

The Progressive Student Alliance

After the winter break STAR changed its name to the Progressive Student Alliance (PSA), and hooked up with the national Central American Student Tour (CAST), formed a guerrilla theater group, and attempted to establish a sanctuary on campus for Central American refugees along with people from the CO-OPs and others. Instead of running a slate for the AS elections, progressives and leftists on campus, from the CO-OPs, the PSA, the alternative media, and the Third World student organizations, put referenda on the ballot that covered the issues of sanctuary, CIA recruitment on campus, U.C. investments in South Africa, and CO-OP housing, and won them. These referenda were then ignored by the A.S. Council.

Coalition for a Free South Africa

It was at this point in the spring of '85 that the PSA was contacted by a student from Berkeley who was down visiting her family in San Diego. She told them about what was going on up north, and asked if the PSA could put on some San Diego actions in support of the sit-in and strikes in Berkeley. The people who worked on the referenda to put on a rally demanding U.C. divestment from corporations doing business with South Africa. At this point there was roughly ten of us, none

of whom had worked on this issue on campus (quotes in this section are taken from "THE STUDENT MOVEMENT- Narrative of a Participant" from the '85-'86 Disorientation Manual)."

The first rally attracted around 2000 students who seemed to come out of nowhere. After a march to the Humanities-Undergraduate Library, it was renamed the Winnie Mandela Library and 240 people slept outside in front of the library that night. "We immediately realized our underestimation of the level of commitment that students have; if given the opportunity they will act. We had made the mistake of believing the media fostered myth that students are conservative or apathetic and do not give a damn about anything but getting a job once they get out.

The sit-in, which went from the scheduled one day to three weeks, gave many students their first exposure to politics outside of the boundaries of the Democrats and Republicans. Students who had never done anything more consciously political than vote were now discussing political theory, tactics, writing propaganda, planning out rallies, talking to the press, and discussing politics into the wee hours of the

Students began to build for a statewide protest against UC investment for the June regents meeting in Berkeley. The regents were to debate the pros and cons of divestment and then possibly decide whether or not to divest. The meeting though was actually set up to postpone the decision until July, when there would be no students around to put direct pressure on them. The June meeting was held at a time when Berkeley was out of session, and the other UC campuses were entering finals week. Consequently, there were not the thousands of students that the organizers, regents and police expected; and the regents put off the decision, as undoubtedly was pre-arranged, until their July meeting in San Francisco.

A former UCSD activist educated students about non-violent civil disobedience (CD) in preparation for the June regent's meeting in Berkeley, but at the demonstration, the organizers collaborated with the police to prevent demonstrators from effective direct action.

The July regents in San Francisco meeting had less than 200 people but involved more militant CD, and a number of UCSD students were arrested. Demonstrators used shanty-towns as mobile barricades, a



morning. The sit-in was the most politicizing experience that most of these students had ever had. The sit-in also created a climate that made it permissible, even fashionable, to be politically active and progressive on campus. It was also a very radicalizing experience for some students; most of them were exposed to communism, socialism, anarchism for the first time.

Most of these students were becoming politically active for the first time too. Students who one week earlier had only a faint idea of what was going on in South Africa were now reading books, doing research and printing up leaflets informing other students about what they had found. Other students had found out about a way to communicate with other anti-Apartheid activists from other campuses across the country via computers. Some students were involving themselves with providing food and soliciting donations out in the community for the people sitting-in."

Why the Coalition declined instead of grew is not fully understood though the blame is variably put on: wrong structure, burn-out, lack of action, co-optation by the administration, racism and sexism within the movement, left sectarianism, liberalism, and/or clique-ishness. But, "within two weeks there was roughly just a third of the original people still sleeping out. Many of the new activists began to disappear or show up sporadically, and the coalition's activities were sharply curtailed."

symbol of blacks under Apartheid, and when the police tried to round-up demonstrators on the crowded streets of San Francisco, a few passing tourists were also arrested. While the repression continued in South Africa, the regents voted to "investigate" the issue more.

The Coalition for a Free South Africa Year Two

During the summer, members of the Coalition, and other campus and community groups, including UCSD alumni who had been active in SDS in the late 1960s, organized a weekly study-group that read materials on the civil right's movement, and Kirkpatrick Sale's book on the Students for a Democratic Society, SDS. Coalition members also began organizing for October 11, the International Anti-Apartheid Protest. This one day strike in solidarity with political prisoners day in South Africa had educational programs on Apartheid and the UC connections. The strike was relatively successful and it renewed pressure on the regents to divest. On October 23, UCSD MEChA, the Coalition, and the Friends of Nicaraguan Culture drowned-out the ultra-right wing Contra, Arturo Cruz, by playing drums and chanting slogans like, "Cruz, cochino, fascista y asesino!" (Cruz, pig, fascist and assassin!).

On January 23, 1986, Archbishop Desmond Tutu spoke to a full crowd in the gym denouncing U.S. support for the "wrong horse" in South Africa.

After the speech, a racist preacher, Brother Jed, provoked a scuffle with students leaving the gym. UCSD police refused to arrest the racist. They tried to arrest a student, but were forced to let him go when they were surrounded by infuriated students- there's more of us than there are of them! The administration sought revenge by singling out a prominent black member of the Coalition, Russel Andalco, who carried his son through the scuffle. On February 10, he was charged with "lynching." The bitter irony of a black student active in the anti-apartheid struggle being charged with a crime that whites use to murder blacks was too much for the UCSD community, and massive support for Russel pressured the Dean Beverly

During the last few years, students across the state and country organized various conferences to build the student movement. From a statewide conference of university activists at Santa Barbara in 1987, the California Alliance of Progressive Student Activists (CAPSA) was formed to organize UC campuses across the state. The Alliance soon fell prey to sectarianism, as a small group controlled the steering committee. A conference at Rutgers University brought together students from all over the nation, but students decided not to form an umbrella organization or write a manifesto at that time. Third World students were under-represented at the conference, and a student movement that started out divided was doomed to fail. The Progressive Student Network organizes mainly in the Mid-west



Varga to drop the charges. The administration fired Varga the next year, partly because she dropped Russel's charges. She is currently appealing the administration's decision.

The Anti-War Action Committee formed in response to the US bombing of Libya and protested military, CIA, FBI, and INS recruitment. Ten to thirty students occupied the Career Center for three days. During spring quarter students erected a shanty town on Revelle Plaza to keep the apartheid issue visible and to bring consistent and irritating pressure to bear on the University to divest. The shanties were occupied through the end of June and graduation ceremonies, creating an embarrassment to the administration in the presence of all those visiting parents.

In the summer of 1986, after additional violent confrontations with students, the regents finally voted on a three year divestment plan. Even though the plan was flawed, it represented a victory to UC students in the battle for divestment.

Culture

Administrative attacks on culture increased after the United Paisley Army (they covered the campus with red paislies) was defeated; the drums on Fridays were harassed by police and bureaucrats, a Peep (wall-writer) was arrested creating psychedelic art in the HSS stairwell.

However, culture thrives and diversifies. In the spring of 1988, a group of mostly visual-art students organized a Sacred Land Dance to protest the forced relocation and abuse of the right to freedom of religion of Native Americans at Big Mountain. Many UCSD artists have responded to the AIDS crisis by combating bigotry and incorporating AIDS education into their art. The people that play drums every Friday in front of gym steps have organized The Rhythm Collective, and sponsor exciting educational programs. People continue to risk arrest to write their message on the wall...

Movement Building

and East Coast, but in last the few years, people have organized a small San Diego chapter. A movement is not lead by the few, and to choose one organization over the other is not the issue. Any movement must overcome internal problems, such as racism and sectarianism, and strive for a liberating process in order to link struggles and build a powerful student movement into the 1990s.

Bite The Hand That Bugs You

On May 21, 1987 while UCSD student Kristen Crabtree was taking pictures for the new indicator at a demonstration against CIA/FBI/INS, and military recruitment, a crazed FBI agent grabbed the camera strap around her neck, and refused to let go. Kristen bit the agent's finger in self-defense, but was arrested and charged with assaulting an officer. The administration claimed to support Kristen, but they cooperated with the FBI to allow UCSD student Patrick Scott to do an internship with the US Attorney/FBI where his job was gathering information on Kristen and her friends in order to portray them as "deviants" and defame them in court. Spying for credit!

The UCSD community was outraged at the conduct of the FBI, and the Kristen Crabtree Defense Fund was organized to help with the cost of attorneys. After lengthy pre-trial motions, where at one point the judge threw the case out and condemned the agent, Kristen finally accepted a deferred prosecution (without admitting guilt, she promised not to commit any crimes until this September when her case will be dropped, after that who knows who she'll bite next...?)

Ché Cafe Under Attack

Between 1989 and 1991, the administration has ordered the Ché Cafe closed on four occasions for no verifiable reason. The collective has remained open with the support of the campus and community, but is currently being censored. A ban has been placed on all Ché programs

ming (dances, benefits, lectures, etc.), with the threat of police force from the administration. The president of the American Civil Liberties Union in San Diego is now working with Collective members on a multi-million dollar lawsuit against the administration for political discrimination. The money from the suit should adequately pay for a new multi-level highly-modern restaurant, with a fifty-foot mural of Ché Guevara facing La Jolla Village Square.

If you have witnessed specific instances of political discrimination against the Ché, or you have been discriminated against yourself because of your association with the Ché, please contact the Ché. Coops have been attacked, but while defending themselves they have united and grown stronger. In spring of 1989 the fourth consecutive Coop Referendum passed by an overwhelming margin on the student ballot. The referendum called for autonomy for the coops from the University Center, making the old student center the Student Cooperative Center, and setting up an independent Student Cooperative Center board comprised of representatives from each of the coops to run it. But the administration ignored the student mandate and went ahead with its plans for the opening of its new Price Center.

The (High) Price Center

On April 21, a group of about 50 students rallied at the Hump to protest the grand opening of the new 20 million dollar Price Center. A pressing issue for many demonstrators was the way the administration closed down the Triton Pub to give the supposedly only liquor licence on campus (what about the Faculty Club?) to Round Table Pizza. But, students also recognized their complaints as part of "a continuing struggle to force the administration to respect student rights," as one organizer described it. This excerpt from an open letter from the United Cooperative Association (new indicator, February '89) was read during the rally:

"The Price Center was conceived, drafted, and packaged by the

administration without regard to due process and campus election regulations. Here's what happened:

"In spring of 1982, over two-thirds of students responding to the College Review Committee questionnaire approved of the Student Center ASIS (the highest approval of the nine services queried). A mere six months later vice-chancellor of Undergraduate Affairs Joe Watson, lamenting the lack of a 'first-rate' student center, convened a task force to give 'serious and thoughtful consideration to how interaction among students faculty and staff might be achieved.' (Naturally, the new Faculty Club stands this rhetoric on its head.) Given that the students were to be taxed to fund this new 'University Center,' we were graciously allowed two seats out of eight on the task force, chaired by current student center director Jim Carruthers.

"The resulting proposal, poorly reflecting student needs, interests (and budgets) was made available for public review for the incredible duration of two days before vice-chancellor Watson 'fully adopted the conceptual foundations' over the objections of 90% of those students reviewing the proposal.

"By spring of 1983, after a nation-wide search, Tommy Tucker was hired by the powers that be to implement the Administration's University Center. Tucker ran a campaign which led to a referendum on the issue. According to student activity procedures, new fees must receive a 67% affirmative vote from at least 25% of the undergraduate and graduate student population. After an unprecedented five days of voting (there had never been before of since more than two days allowed for voting), complete with (current assistant vice-chancellor) Tommy Tucker's illegal electioneering song and dance, the results were in.

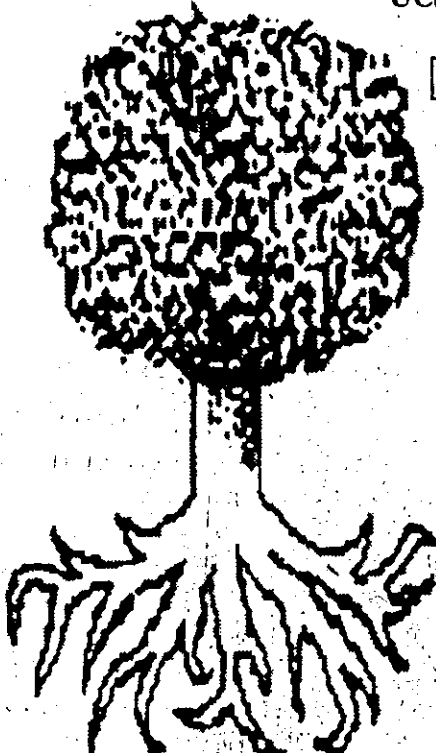
"In spite of the hard-sell campaign, when faced with such an unimaginative, insensitive plan, student's could manage only a collective yawn. The required number of students failed to appear at the polls, plus the measure lacked the required percentage of affirmative votes.

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Watson, in an amazing feat of democratic double-standards, declared that the referendum had passed with only a 21% student turn-out at 54% approval, failing the legal litmus test on both counts. The administration rationalized that the fee proposal was merely an increase of the existing fee, requiring lower percentages of both turnout and affirmative votes. To no avail students countered that tripling an existing fee, changing the

abruptly shattered).

The four arrested and Schoenberg were charged under the student conduct code for charges ranging from battery on an officer to vandalism ("popping balloons and running on a newly hydro-seeded lawn"). During the judicial board hearing of one of those arrested, Jeffrey Kyle, an abundance of witnesses testified that UCSD Police Officer David Rose fabricated his police report and lied during the hearing. Kyle was found innocent of battery and guilty of obstructing an officer, and he was given a written reprimand by the Dean. After an appeal the written reprimand was reduced to a verbal warning. Jeffrey Kyle is now living in exile in India.

Though the student conduct charges against Arnie Schoenberg were dropped, he is being singled out as an organizer of the demonstration and is being charged with resisting arrest and vandalism by the city attorney. The pre-trial date is set for October 11.

Cultural Unity Day of Awareness (C.U.D.A.)

On May 25, up to 500 people took part in a march and rally that brought the nationwide anti-racist and anti-sexist movements home to UCSD. The event was organized by a coalition of SAAC groups: the Women's Resource Center, the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA), the African-American Student Union, and the Asian-Pacific Islander Student Union, and other groups gave statements of solidarity.

The event sparked awareness of institutional racism and sexism on campus, which is demonstrated by the low enrollment and retention rates for students of color and the lack of classes dealing with people of color and all women, and the lack of a full-time coordinator at the Women's Resource Center. Chancellor Atkinson consented to hear students demands' at an unscheduled meeting but we have yet to see results. The event was partially inspired by an 11 day hunger strike at UC Santa Barbara which succeeded in winning an ethnic studies requirement there. Here at UCSD, if the demands for ethnic studies and gender studies are denied by the administration, students will be left with no alternative but to turn to more militant tactics.

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Carruthers and Tucker escorting a student who was caught having more than his \$37.50 worth of fun at the P.C. opening.

fee's name, and reprioritizing the fee's purpose in order to construct a \$20 million new complex was hardly just a fee increase. But the bureaucratic juggernaut could not be halted. From start to finish, the new (High) Price Center appears to have been an exercise in cynicism, adding valuable resume lines for the career bureaucrats at our expense."

Students were enraged at the blatant hypocrisy of the administration, and they marched to the Price Center with signs and musical instruments to make their voice heard. The police tried to prevent the demonstrators from entering the Price Center, and they tried to get the demonstrators' megaphone. To the amusement of all attending, the police chased Arnie Schoenberg across the grass as he shouted slogans through the megaphone. Many police (Keystone Kops) slipped and fell on the wet grass and into the fountain, but they were unable to get the megaphone from Schoenberg. Finally cornered by the police, Schoenberg handed the megaphone off to another demonstrator, and the police went on a berserk scramble for the megaphone, shoving anybody in their way, demonstrator or not, to the ground. In total, four students were brutally arrested (not brutal compared to what happened to Cara Knott or Saigon Penn, or what happens daily in the many parts of San Diego, but the benevolent image of the UCSD police was

Andy Howard before coffee...



Andy Howard after coffee...



Any questions...?

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