

# THE GADEFLY

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We at THE GADFLY are dedicated to absolute freedom of expression. We are a medium for underrepresented voices based in Middlebury, Vermont. We are an independent publication and forum for discussion not officially associated with Middlebury College. Our aim is to disseminate radical viewpoints on the local to the global scale, across a wide range of topics.



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We have more articles on our blog: [middleburygadfly.blogspot.com](http://middleburygadfly.blogspot.com). Read all that we have to offer, as well as engage in a dialogue with us over any of the articles we've posted. Whether you agree or disagree, we want to have a discussion with you. The Middlebury community needs to realize that there is more than just the conservative/liberal dichotomy.

# Middlebury Dis/identifications: Building an Anti-Institution Campus Movement - (the gadfly)

I am writing this article to bring other activists into a conversation that has already begun among students who are working toward revolution and liberation, and who see all systems of oppression and privilege as irrevocably intertwined. I am writing this article for all of the radical activists who have ever felt disempowered or silenced after requesting institutional support for their causes. I am writing this article because, as an anti-oppression activist, I believe that the institution of Middlebury is systematically co-opting, regulating, neutralizing, silencing, and marginalizing our movements. When we want to make big waves at Middlebury, it can be nearly impossible to get authority figures to support us. The reason for this is that we are struggling for survival and liberation within an institution whose goals are often fundamentally at odds with our own. I am writing this article because I'm angry, and because, as Audre Lorde once wrote, "anger expressed and translated into action in the service of our vision and our future is a liberating and strengthening act of clarification, for it is in the painful process of this translation that we identify who are our allies with whom we have grave differences, and who are our genuine enemies."

Let me start by defining what Middlebury is, exactly, because I think we students often forget. Middlebury is a corporation that disproportionately admits and hires heterosexual, able-bodied, cisgender, English-speaking white people with U.S. citizenship and no criminal background. It both benefits from and perpetuates oppressive ideologies of racism, sexism, capitalism, ableism, imperialism, and the gender binary. A corporation's primary goal is to accumulate wealth. In a racist and sexist country, making profit typically

requires perpetuating systems of power like white and male privilege. As a corporation, then, Middlebury would not exist today without oppressive systems like capitalism, white supremacy, and patriarchy. I am not arguing that Administrators intentionally perpetuate these systems. But first and foremost, Administrators are accountable to the corporation, and they want to preserve a particular image of this corporation that will lead to more profit. This means that for things like safety and access, Administrators typically will not go beyond compliance with government regulations. For example, why would they make old buildings more wheelchair accessible if the ADA doesn't require it? The issue is not whether these are "nice people" who run our school; the issue is accountability, and the connections between Middlebury and the vast systems of power that structure all of our lives.

In the context of this corporate landscape, we cannot expect the institution to protect us from experiences of marginalization and violence in the classroom, in our dorms, and in the dining halls.

Think of the most successful activist campaigns in the past few years, and think of how they were presented to both the Administration, and to the general community: carbon neutrality, all-gender housing, and student printing budgets come to my mind. While these were all important victories that were achieved in spite of great institutional resistance, what these campaigns have in common is that they either save money for the corporation, or prevent potential lawsuits on the basis of discrimination (which also saves money). In order to be considered "successful" activists, we are often forced to perpetuate the common-sense logic of capitalism: goals like accumulating endless profit and competing with other higher-ed corporations are not questioned, and we ignore the human costs of exploited staff members and investments in unsustainable or oppressive markets.

For those who are or have been directly marginalized by capitalism, putting a dollar value on our activism can be degrading, oppressive, and marginalizing. But on a more systematic level, being forced to quantify

our activism effectively silences radical or minority causes, whose goals may not save Middlebury enough money, or may not fit into this monetized system at all. The causes that lose out are the ones that overtly challenge Middlebury's whiteness, male supremacy, and able-bodied privilege: causes with labels like "Diversity", "Social Justice", and "Sustainability" receive funding and institutional support because they lead to increased prestige and profits without forcing anyone to critically interrogate privilege and oppression. Ask yourself: if a top Administrator is presented with two campaigns - one that advertises experiences of racism in the classroom to incoming students of color, and one that advertises the racial diversity of our student body - whom do you think will get funding and support? Institutional support always comes with strings attached, which forces students to become accountable to the corporation, rather than to the political causes or marginalized populations we are supposed to be fighting for. Collaborating with Administrators limits our options in terms of the goals we can pursue and how we can achieve them. As someone who believes that capitalism is thoroughly enmeshed with all other systems of oppression, the goal of my activism is not to make Middlebury wealthier or more competitive, but rather to make it a more accessible environment with a more equitable power structure.

When activists work within Middlebury's institutionalized avenues of change, we are forced to structure our organizations on a vertical-power model, like a corporation, with something mimicking a board of directors that makes decisions about how to spend money and what causes to support. This corporatized system of activism forces members of the same clubs to compete with one another for organizational power, which often silences and marginalizes those who do not win positions of authority. Corporatized activism also serves to pit entire clubs against each other in competition: environmentalists, prison abolitionists, and anti-racists compete for funding for symposia, speakers, parties, and club budgets, instead of collaborating to make the most effective, cross-cutting events and clubs possible. As a result, many radical activists who have been denied funding harbor resentment against students

and organizations whose projects help Middlebury gain some "green prestige" or "diversity points", but which don't significantly improve the quality of our lives. The thing is, there *is* money at Middlebury, but most of it is spent on things like paint jobs and renovations. Our activism need not be a zero-sum game. We need to stop resenting the people whom the institution privileges, and start blaming the institution itself for pitting us against one another, for forcing us to see our causes as mutually exclusive, for spending money excessively and irresponsibly, and for using the empty promise of funding to neutralize radical critiques of power.

The lack of diversity among our organizing strategies shows that this institution not only structures and regulates our movements, but it has even limited the possibilities we can imagine for a better campus, and for a better world beyond Middlebury. I want to argue that the only way to combat the control that Middlebury has over our bodies, movements, and imaginations is through a radical dis-identification with the institution. In other words, we need to start thinking about what it would mean to work outside of these avenues that are designed to produce profit and prestige. While we should respect the efforts of institutional players like the Chief Diversity Officer and the Sexual Assault Oversight Committee, we should do so with extreme skepticism and distance, acknowledging that we are accountable to different causes.

Given that Administrators are accountable to the corporation, it is not surprising when they co-opt, exploit, and neutralize the efforts of radical student activists. Personally, I have routinely had my ideas co-opted by College employees, only to see them passed off as the gifts of a benevolent institution. I have been asked to put in long hours of unpaid labor for the goal of improving Middlebury - have completed research, staff workshops, and outreach campaigns that, frankly, are in the job descriptions of Administrators - and when my help was no longer needed or it was seen as forcing Middlebury beyond compliance, I have been told to be quiet and go home. In the classroom and in meetings with Administrators, I have been made

to feel ridiculous, naïve, and immature for holding radical anti-capitalist and transfeminist views, and for making "impossible demands". I know I am not the only one who has experienced this treatment. If this has been your experience, let's vocalize and share our dissatisfaction, and turn it into something transformative.

We need to acknowledge that the revolution will not be funded - it will not come from the top-down, but from the ground-up. Instead of working with people who do not respect me and who want to keep me from dreaming big, I'd like to work directly with my communities to find ways of organizing outside the institution to build trust, love, accountability, and transformation in ways that aren't defined by profit, prestige, and privilege. This is the conversation that I want us all to have.

This article was not meant to be an exhaustive critique of activism at Middlebury. But for those activists who have ever felt silenced and marginalized by the institution, I think we need to face some uncomfortable truths about our activism. First, we need to be more transparent about the fact that Middlebury would not be here without capitalism, white supremacy, and the stolen land it occupies. We need to question what it means to fight for acceptance, liberation, accessibility, and justice within such a corporation. We need to ask what it means that we, as anti-oppression activists, benefit from the social, cultural, and material capital that this oppressive institution hands to us. Second, we need to restructure our movements, and redefine political success as something more powerful and pervasive than a policy change or a Council. We need to rely less on institutional patronage as a means to our ends, and build community alternatives to colluding with authority, while being realistic about the fact that this community entirely renews itself every four years. Finally, and most importantly, we need to renegotiate the connections among our movements and the institution. In seeking out the radical possibilities for anti-institution collaboration, we need to demand - not request - that this experience we have purchased is not a damaging one. We need to turn

our dissatisfaction with the institution into positive change by spreading guerilla art, staging sit-ins, storming Community Council meetings, organizing labor and academic strikes, speaking the truth to prospective students and Administrators, and shouting out our stories of how this institution has marginalized us.

What we need to do is stop trusting and identifying with Middlebury, Inc., and start being proud of our identities as wing-nuts, as rabble-rousers, and as pissed-off radicals.



## Food Insecurities - Amelia Furlong

**W**hen food prices peaked in 2008 the developing world, as is the case in many economic disasters, was hit the hardest. Food insecurities in Asia and Africa were increased by the high prices, especially in places where drought had already made food production an impossibility. The outward flow of migration from the developing world provided remittances to some families, but migration also had negative effects on families. Even though the price of food has slowly fallen since 2008, food prices at local levels have remained high. This, combined with the economic meltdown of the last couple years, will have devastating effects on developing world. The silent victim of this global crisis is women, the demographic that has been most severely affected. Women are the ones who have had to go without food most often, have the least diverse diet and who have had to make the greatest sacrifices in search of affordable food. In a world that already leaves women far behind men in terms of political power and autonomy, they are also the ones who must pay for the commodification of food, and who are made to starve when Western policies have made food impossible to buy.

All over the world, women are the last to eat and eat the least. Women often have a low position in society

in developing nations. Even before the 2008 crisis they were the last to eat. As men are migrating out of developing countries or to urban areas women are becoming the heads of households in traditionally patriarchal societies. Yet a woman who runs her own household is still as likely to eat last and least as in a male-run household. This is because women prioritize the needs of their children and husbands above their own. Not only do women eat less, but they eat less diverse and therefore less healthy diets. In a study done on food insecurity and gender in Ethiopia, at the peak of the food crisis men ate 4.1 different foods while women ate only 3.6.

Women in these developing countries were inconvenienced and strained by high food prices. They had to spend more time searching for food at lower prices and oftentimes had to travel far distances in order to find affordable food. In Bangladesh, women were often stopped from travelling to different markets because female mobility is restricted. If one of the ways to measure autonomy is by access to mobility and resources, this is an example of the way the autonomy of women is stifled to the extent that they must fear starvation and the starvation of their children.

To cope with these harsh conditions women must often go without meals or limit the portions of their and their children's meals. It is Western policies that can largely be blamed on these food insecurities.

Price speculation and the commodification of food is one of the leading causes of these mounting prices. Another contributing factor is the trade-off occurring when crops such as cassava and maize are used for biofuels instead of food. The land used for biofuels as opposed to food production could also be a contribution to this trade-off. The International Food Policy Research Institute predicts that if policies toward biofuels consumption remain as they are, the price of maize, sugar, wheat, cassava and oilseeds will dramatically increase.

Perhaps the most devastating contributor to rising food prices is climate change, which is responsible for

droughts in many parts of the world. Although the roots of climate change cannot be blamed entirely on the West and Western policies, it is a global challenge that must be met and solved by the world community, a challenge that so far few have risen to meet. The global community then is responsible for the food shortages and resulting high prices that changes to the environment necessarily bring about.

It is not just women who suffer from starvation, and all who must face the realities of food shortages deserve aid. However, in communities where food is being rationed and women are receiving the shortest end of the stick, it is time for global attitudes toward women and their place in society to shift. Women can no longer bear the brunt of global crises just because the society in which they are from treats them as second-class citizens. Food insecurity limits women's abilities to demand higher statuses in life, as the worry about how to afford or find the next meal distracts women from seeking political and economic power. As the developed world struggles to deal with the best way to confront the food crisis and to aid those who are starving, it must consider the plight of women and the empowerment they must achieve before they are able to confront a society which tells them they are not worthy of having equal proportions of food as a man.



## Border Tales - the gadfly

Since human greed and territorial nature created the idea of a border centuries ago, the world has become increasingly defined by borders and the policies that surround them. As natural borders—such as rivers—drastically change environments, artificial borders—such as the US-Mexico border—drastically change human existence. A look at the border policy of the most powerful nation in the world is a good exercise to connect with the vast implications and hypocrisy of border and immigration policy.

When the white man arrived in America, we (I am a white man) encountered the native population, who believed that like the air and the water, land was not something that could be owned. Exploiting this belief, we swept away cultures and civilizations from coast to coast, and then drew lines on the land to signify what was ours. As we defined ourselves to be a beacon of hope, the masses arrived, and increasingly, we have looked to those lines on the land to keep them away.

Our southern border, which was once abstract, has come to separate one of the wealthiest nations from one of the poorest nations in the world. Before the border existed, the man two feet north was no better than the man two feet south, but today, that difference of four feet might be the difference between wealth and poverty, food and starvation, hope and desperation. All because of a line and our laws to define its significance.

The legislative line of order versus liberty is hopefully balanced, but it is more often stumbled over when defining the rules of our border. As immigration into the U.S. increases, citizens sometimes feel that we are losing order and that "our" land should not be "theirs" too. This ideology is often rooted in racism and fear. The notion of protecting "our" land has been given life through much legislation dating back to as early as the Chinese Exclusion Act or as recently as Arizona's SB1070. Essentially, this type of legislation makes our borders less permeable, and allows us to send more and more immigrants across that line. The irony of this ideology—that has become the centerpiece of US immigration policy—is remarkable.

The U.S. is located on land that we stole through violence in the Mexican American War. The U.S. came to prosperity on the backs of stolen humans from another continent. One of the driving forces of our economy today is the cheap and hardworking undocumented labor force, a product of the line we drew so long ago. But still, despite all this, our policy towards immigrants is self-righteous and overtly seeks to protect "our" land for ourselves.

This hypocrisy expands beyond the line from Tijuana to the Gulf of Mexico. It exists in every border laid out on this earth. Can we truly own land? Can we acquire it fairly? Is the security that we feel from a line in the dirt worth the tremendous divide that it unequivocally creates among humans? The root question is whether borders are justified in their existence.



## A Palestinian State: No Freedom of Movement - the gadfly

*"Nothing shall be done that may prejudice the religious or civil rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine" - Balfour Declaration, 1917*

**D**espite the intention of the 1917 Balfour Declaration, existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine have consistently been denied their civil rights. Palestinians have been under strict regulations in the form of checkpoints, curfews, closures, and physical boundaries such as roads and blockades that have hindered the formation of a vibrant Palestinian civil society. The Israeli-Palestinian Agreement in 1993 (Oslo I) served as a framework towards a two-state solution whereby Israel and Palestine agreed to, "strive to live in peaceful coexistence and mutual dignity and security to achieve a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace settlement." Oslo included in Article 8, "Public Order and Security," that "Israel will continue to carry the responsibility for defending against external threats, as well as the responsibility for overall security of Israelis for the purpose of safeguarding their internal security and public order." On the ground, the enforcement of security became the strict establishment of separate roads for Israelis and Palestinians along with harsher restrictions on permits. A fundamental component of social

order is the freedom of movement. Described as the matrix of control, Israeli regulations deny Palestinians freedom of movement through militarized regulations that directly prevent the emergence of an effective civil society within Palestinian territories. Throughout the peace process security concerns have resulted in the establishment of checkpoints with harsher permit systems, separation in the form of highways, bypass roads and curfews. These security measures have been in the interest of Israeli's safety and have become methods of indirect control over Palestinian civil society.

Also I marked the beginning of highly restricted movement within and around Occupied Territories. Oslo served as an interim-agreement to facilitate the establishment of a Palestinian state that could peacefully coexist with Israel. The agreement sought to establish a valid Palestinian state, ensured the withdrawal of the Israeli military, and also ensured the deployment of Israeli troops in Occupied Territories. These practices were important measures of ensuring security. During the time of Oslo, Israel had been victim to a suicide bombing, attacks and stabbings. Soon it was common for Israeli cars to be stoned when crossing Occupied Territories. An increase in uprisings during 1987 until 1993 instilled fear among Israelis. Thus, the legitimate use of force over the Palestinians in order to maintain security was regularly employed.

In September 1995, the Oslo II agreement set-up a framework that would divide the settlements into blocs: the West Bank was divided into Areas A, B, C, and D and Gaza was divided into Yellow, Green, Blue and White Areas. Oslo II began the total redeployment of the Israeli military in the areas that were strictly Palestinian settlements. These divisions worsened the constraints on movement between settlements. The break of the Second Intifada (2000-2004) resulted in severe enforcements on closures and curfews in Occupied Territories and established roads for Israelis with secondary routes for Palestinians.

Checkpoints serve as barriers between the areas within Occupied Territories. About 50,000 settlers live in

each area and are required to present their permits in order to cross the checkpoints. Israeli troops staff checkpoints and are in charge of controlling the movement of persons and goods. By 2004, there were 48 staffed permanent barriers and 607 blockades. Palestinians apply for permits through the Civil Administration on the basis of age, sex, employment, institutional affiliation and political activity. Israelis are issued cards with blue plastic holders, Palestinians carry orange, and Gazans carry red holders. Additionally, political prisoners are also issued a different color. Based on criteria authorized by the Civil Administration, permits control access to cross certain checkpoints and roads.

Restrictions placed on movement through the use of checkpoints indirectly prevents Palestinians the access to resources, jobs and healthcare. After 1991, strict sanctions on Arab employers who were required permits resulted in a significant decline of the Palestinian workforce in Israel. Stories of Palestinian sending for an ambulance and the ambulance not being able to cross the checkpoint or blockade are commonly heard. Palestinian women have given birth at checkpoints. Moreover, the restrictions on movement undermine a flourishing Palestinian civil society. The humiliation the checkpoint system instills in the Palestinian people is detrimental. For a pregnant woman to have to give birth at a checkpoint because she is a potential security threat highlights the extreme measures taken on the restriction of movement by the Israeli military.

Systems of roads are constructed throughout the Occupied Territories to maintain separation between Israelis and Palestinians. There are twenty-nine bypass roads that cross West Bank settlements in order to connect Israeli settlements. Israeli settlements are built along the highways and the Green line. Palestinian construction is prohibited nearby. Highways and bypass roads fragment Palestinian settlements, creating disunity and isolation. A civil society becomes impossible to garner when there is such a divide among communities. Palestinian settlements are cut off from one another making inter-relationships,



mobilization and attaining resources nearly impossible. The construction of roads has connected Israeli settlers while fragmenting Palestinian settlers.

Curfews have been issued in Palestinian settlements by the Israeli military as a method of security. This has proved to be a repressive security tactic against Palestinian life. Curfews function as collective punishment. Curfews allow the military to restrict entering and exiting an area under curfew and can last anywhere from a few hours to a few weeks. Palestinians refer to curfews as *man' al-tajawwul*, an Arabic expression meaning "banning of movement." Curfews were commonly used during the Second Intifada as a means of repressing uprisings and violence. Loss of jobs was a consequence for areas that were under curfew. Data has shown that from September 2000 to June 2003 employed dropped 50% in areas under curfew. Additionally, schools have been forced to close for long periods of time due to absences of students and teachers. Curfews are still a legitimate security measure employed by the Israeli military. These measures hinder the prospects of an effective civil society by denying Palestinians their basic rights through confinement. The divisions that are caused by checkpoints and roads are only furthered by the social and political isolation caused by curfews.

The formation of a civil society relies on basic freedoms that allow for freedom expression and movement. Israel's interest in maintaining security has restricted basic freedoms, which has severely harmed the social and political fabric of the Palestinian people. Civil society among Occupied Territories cannot emerge when freedom of movement is denied. Apart from the immediate effects on movement, the morale of Palestinian nationhood is at risk. Unity and self-determination are values that strengthen civil society. Restrictions on movement through separation and control has divided and humiliated the Palestinian people. The civil liberties of Palestinians are absent from the current social and political reality. The peace process must reconsider what a two-state solution means for such an asymmetrical structure of power. There must be a shift in Israeli's interest for

security otherwise Palestinian civil society will not flourish.

*Juliano Mer-Khamis, actor, director and political activist, was killed on April 4<sup>th</sup> in the Palestinian city of Jenin. He ran the Freedom Theatre in Jenin, which sought to empower Palestinian children through expression. There must be justice for Juliano and those who are suffering due to this enduring crisis.*



## Reification - The Self-Alienation of Bourgeois Consciousness - TYH

**W**e live in a capitalist system founded upon economic relations, where the commodity structure has "penetrated society in all its aspects and remolded it in its own image". The essence of this condition is that our actions, rather than appearing as our authentic, creative presence in the world, become labor - an alienated *thing*. Losing all of its organic dynamicism, human activity is *reified* - given a 'phantom objectivity' disconnected from the individual - and man's social relations are perverted into the sterile relations of commodities. This reification transforms society into a system of economic production and consumption, and man into a sum of exchange-value and capital. Human social existence becomes necessarily alienated from its true nature.

As Georg Lukács writes -

There is both an objective and a subjective side to this phenomenon. *Objectively* a world of objects and relations between things springs into being (the world of commodities and their movements on the market). The laws governing these objects are indeed gradu-

ally discovered by man, but even so they confront him as invisible forces that generate their own power. The individual can use his knowledge of these laws to his own advantage, but he is not able to modify the process by his own activity. *Subjectively* - where the market economy has been fully developed - a man's activity becomes estranged from himself, it turns into a commodity which, subject to the non-human objectivity of the natural laws of society, must go its own way independently of man just like any consumer article

It is clearly demonstrated how the concept of reification is not only useful for students of Marxist political economy, but is of value for any serious critique of modern society. The reification of social relations under capitalism perverts our very experience of the world. In man's estrangement from authentic being through the objectification of his activity, he comes to view the interactions of these reified objects as the true nature of social existence. He becomes subjugated to the quantitative calculability of the commodity structure, and seeks to understand himself solely through this rational, 'scientific' system. "Just as the capitalist system continuously produces and reproduces itself economically on higher and higher levels, the structure of reification progressively sinks more deeply, more fatefully and more definitively into the consciousness of man". Capitalism thus produces a false consciousness that *constantly reasserts its own self-alienation*. Lived, authentic experience is lost to the rational mechanization of reified forms, governed by laws and systems we believe to be objective.

Thus, the pervasive alienation of modern existence exhibits itself not only in the ostensibly economic sphere. Capitalism has perverted every aspect of society, as well as modern man's *very consciousness*. The modern role of science is a clear example of the distorted nature of bourgeois consciousness. We live in an age of sterile positivism, where the majority of the educated population holds faith in the ability of science to understand human activity as a rational, logically approachable system. Science, however, does not hold the privileged position that it so often claims. Rather than engaging objective existence, our

modern quasi-positivism is in fact concerned only with reified forms. This is especially evident in the social sciences. False bourgeois consciousness has historically reproduced the structure of economic reification in the practice of psychology and sociology. By objectifying man's thoughts and activities into scientifically interpretable *things*, these disciplines have further alienated modern man from his experience of the world. Lukács would regard these false relations, these structures of modern consciousness, as symptoms of capitalist commodification. In regarding man as a psychological and sociological construct, we have further distanced ourselves from the organic, creative free play of human existence.

Exploring the reified structures of distorted consciousness calls us to reexamine the nature of our own presence in the world. While the institution of liberal arts education professes an ideal of lofty personal striving and emancipation from unreflective, self-imposed immaturity, here among the self-satisfied sons of wealth and comfort we seem far more content to *constantly reproduce* reified social relations, rather than transcend self-alienated bourgeois values towards fullness and authenticity of being.

Modernity is an age of estrangement, where man's objectified activity has been given alien autonomy and power over him. Fullness of meaning, strength of voice and authentic being-towards-death - these values have no place in the false bourgeois consciousness of modern capitalism, where humanity is governed by rational, deterministic laws concerned only with the *reified* form of man. It is clear that we must attempt to rise above this false consciousness to the phenomenological standpoint - and accordingly strive to recover our being from capitalism's self-imposed alienation.



# Resisting Gendered Salaries - the gadfly

**W**hile the college claims that it values all of the disciplines that make the liberal arts so vibrant, they clearly construct a hierarchy in the pay grade. As a private institution we are extremely secretive regarding salary issues; however, we openly admit that Economics, Computer Science, and Arabic necessitate a "market-based premium" and are consequently the highest paid disciplines on campus. Since these fields are male dominated, do they inflate statistics of gender bias in faculty salary, or in fact do they reinforce and further perpetuate the ill founded devaluation of women's work?

With the industrial revolution the labor force became gendered into what we now view as "traditional" gender roles. Instead of working on the family farm, men began to take jobs in cities, assuming their responsibility as breadwinner, and women stayed home to take care of the kids and complete the housework: men's work was paid, women's work was not. Of course gendered occupations are heavily raced and classed as well. Black men have continually faced limiting social conditions that make it exceedingly difficult to integrate into the labor force. The racist critique of the black family as matriarchal has been used historically for us to abandon social support mechanisms in favor of futile policy that encourages marriage.

Since a horrible economy has made it increasingly more difficult to live on one income, a persistently growing number of households have more than one provider; however, men still make more money than women. As a society we will never let a women's job exceed the pay of that of a man, we are constantly involved in the devaluation of their work. "Official explanations" for salary discrepancies of Economics, Computer Science, and Arabic keep us from asking why the markets are so situated in the first place. It is not that the market demands a premium for these fields which just happen

to be dominated by men, but rather it is precisely because they are dominated by men that such a premium is granted.

Should we really care to have the greediest professors or should we rather strive to attract those academics with a dedicated passion towards teaching? What if we hired the kind of economists who are critical of increasing income inequality instead of in support of it? Taking the appropriate stance on these issues would dramatically shake up the demographics of our departments, providing us with diverse and invigorating perspectives that inspire us through the compassion of educators committed to liberation.

For some reason our market-based logic fails to hold up on the student end. Why is it that we are not presented with a differential pay grade based on our major? The college blatantly undervalues most of our disciplines and it is time that we reflect such back to them to demand equitable pay for all of our professors instead of perpetuating commonsensical groundings for an oppressive pay scale. For all future tuition bills we must pay only 80 percent with a stipulation that the remaining balance will linger empty until the school stops treating our professors as such. Let us mobilize and act collectively with our peer institutions. With enough joining this movement our schools cannot possibly fail to listen. Together, in solidarity, we shall resist rather than collude in the oppression.



# Queerness in the Age of the Straightjacket -nate kerr

**W**hen talking with other students about the label "Queer", an idea that pops up in conversation after conversation is the desire to eschew political consciousness in relation to sexual-object choice. This is understandable in some sense; the term

"Queer" to many has overt political, theoretical and social underpinnings, that is when it isn't written off as an outdated and offensive term for which we now have a "better" and more "neutral" alternative in the acronym of LGBT.

"Why should my sex life be political?"

"Why, as a (Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Pansexual etc) identified individual, should I have to ascribe to a political ideology for which there is no heterosexual equivalent?"

These are, of course, important questions to address. Why should a minority group, demarcated by something as arbitrary as sexual preference, be asked to ascribe to a whole set of politics, presuppositions and stereotypes when we do not ask the same of our heterosexual counterparts?

This line of questioning misses a crucial point; namely, any claim to or classification of identity is an inherently political act, and the classifiers "homosexual", "heterosexual", "bisexual" etc, were all conceived, brewed and assembled within political contexts.

Foucault locates the creation of the homosexual—and of sexual identity more broadly—in the late 1800's. It was at this point that acts of sodomy, adultery or prostitution suddenly ceased to be sporadic behaviors or activities and became discursive behaviors constitutive of identity. Thus from "sodomy" was born the "sodomite," someone who engaged in an act or acts of sodomy which suddenly bestowed him with the burden of an identity. Those classified as "sodomites", "adulterers" and so on could now be punished politically and socially, as the unmarked (and assumedly untainted) individuals of high moral standing could justify their right to dominance by contrasting their discipline, morality and purity against that of the debased and newly-identified sexual deviant.

And LGB politics has continued in much the same vein since then, using the bondage of identity to engage in

identity politics (at times to great effect and good use), demarcating themselves from the unwashed heterosexual masses and demanding rights as Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual individuals. (I leave Transgender out of this list since homonormative identity politics has seen fit to abandon the Trans fight in favor of "respectability", using a mantra of "First the few, later the many" to justify co-opting and subsequently disenfranchising transpeople).

It is far too late to divorce sexual identity from the political. Heterosexuals too engage in a hetero-identity politics, it is simply because they dominate the political system that a white, heterosexual identity politic is rendered invisible, a convenient way of naturalizing a systematic control that is anything but natural.

There can be no claim to a "natural", "apolitical" sexuality; no such identity exists or has existed within modern Western social-political discourse. Instead, Queer Folks ought to embrace the political nature written into our bodies, our identities. Denying the role that social and political power has played in our creation is a fruitless road, one that renders the very recent ascension of the dominant hetero/homonormative identity politic "natural", i.e. invisible; and ultimately, the denial and rejection of the political within our Queer bodies is a deliberate ignorance of our creation, past, present and future.

This is not, however, a call to identity politics. The identity politics of white, middle-class homonormative "activists," with their calls to solidarity, unity, are ultimately a dead end. We've seen this tension between a Queer political activism and a hamstringed, straight-jacketed homonormative LGB activism play out in the fight for Same-Sex Marriage. Queers who questioned the idea of marriage as a "human right" (as opposed to, say, access to education, housing, healthcare etc, issues that the homonormative "Human Rights Campaign" does not concern itself with) were demonized by the HRC and homonormative public figures like Dan Savage, cast as opponents of the struggle for the "human right" that marriage supposedly is.

The label of "Queer" has been shed by the mainstream gay movement, its culture co-opted and reappropriated for a white, elite, normative and bourgeois consumer audience. Corporate sponsored Pride Parades, the support of Dov Charney and his chauvinist-anti-fat-softcore-porn-fueled t-shirt empire, empty promises of queer-for-profit pop stars (are you there, Gaga?), this is what is left to us by the lepidopterist that is identity politics.

What, then, is a satisfactory answer? If we cannot ignore the queerness of our bodies, of the bodies of everyone we know, but cannot fit into identity politics, what avenue is left open to us?

It is by finding an activism that fits our own lives and bodies, by constantly doubting "common sense" politics and ideology, by not supporting something just because we are told to, that we can realize a reinvigorated coalitional politics and not be lulled by false consciousness. Instead of opening our campuses up to the ROTC because of the repeal of Don't Ask Don't Tell (is the military now vindicated, washed clean of all its crimes because of this newfound "tolerance?"), why are we not rejecting the presence of the Military Industrial Complex on our campuses? Instead of getting riled up about same-sex marriage, why do we let Republicans hamstringing healthcare legislation and tear down or privatize welfare? The systematic and ruthless war being waged against American citizens and non-citizens alike by white, male, heteronormative capitalist interests affects all of us, and, whether Queer or straight, white or non-white, normative or subversive, it is our task now to recognize oppression when it is presented to us, even if it is wrapped up in an appealing little package. What is the cost of buying into dominant political narratives? Are we any more free without DADT? Are we better people because we can marry (and who, exactly, among us actually has access to that "right?"), or are all of us getting fucked as we congratulate ourselves on the success of our identity politics?



## RADICALISM & CURRICULUM: TWO WORDS YOU WILL NEVER SEE IN THE SAME SENTENCE - Bos

Anyone who takes a political science or philosophy course at Middlebury College and expects a balanced curriculum, with readings ranging from radicals like Emma Goldman and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon to liberals like John Rawls and Peter Singer to conservatives like Edmund Burke and Thomas Hobbes to fascists like Mussolini and Franco, will be sorely disappointed. Instead, you will find readings by theorists ranging from Rawls to Hobbes, staying almost entirely within the mainstream political binary that consists of only two options. If you're lucky, maybe you will get three options, perhaps in the "suggested readings." Professors proudly declare that they have shown both sides of the issue, when in reality, there are almost always more than just two sides to any given issue. If you are exposed to a radical viewpoint, it will probably be a cursory read of Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, which your professor hastily dismisses as having not worked in reality. Your professor will conclude that you've covered all the radical viewpoints now (after all, Marxism is the only radical viewpoint, right?) and move on to the material that should be "taken seriously." But more likely, you will not even be exposed to any radical viewpoints at all, as was the case in Murray Dry's American Political Regime. You would never know from that class that radical labor unions had considerable power in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century United States, the membership of the I.W.W. numbering over 100,000 in 1923, until the government cracked down on radicalism in the First Red Scare.

Some departments, courses, and professors are better than others. You might read about prison abolition in a sociology course, and you might look at some radical views about art in an aesthetics course. But in most courses, especially those that are overtly about polit-

ical issues, this is unlikely. Indeed, a survey of introductory political science courses reveals Marx's *Communist Manifesto* and *Capital* as the only radical readings on the syllabi, and these in only two of six 100-level courses. Among the three 100-level philosophy courses offered, no readings presenting politically radical ideas appear on the syllabi. Between the two 100-level economics courses, again no readings presenting radical ideas appear on the syllabi...of course, economics courses don't even *pretend* to represent radical viewpoints.

This is an appeal for true balance in the curriculum. It is easy to ignore viewpoints outside the mainstream in the bubble that is Middlebury College, where we never have to come in contact with people outside of this insulated community. It is easy, but it is not right. When I chose to spend my undergraduate years at Middlebury, I expected an institution that values pluralism and encourages differing opinions. Instead, I found an institution that lives in a binary.



## Dedicated Towards What?

- the gadfly

**M**iddlebury College does not equally value all of its students as it is interested in crafting and applauding those who align with its informally maintained narrow mission. In the following passages we investigate a few topics of exploration to breakdown just what our institution does value and question our dedication towards distinction and domination instead of justice.

### Activism

President Liebowitz is eager to step up at any opportunity to applaud the efforts of our student activism on campus. He is quick to point out that the Environmental Council, which includes students, helped to

push a skeptical board of trustees into building our biomass plant to reduce our carbon footprint. In fact, he clings to that golden message so much that it got him into *Time* magazine as one of "The 10 Best College Presidents."

Liebowitz likes to tell of how enthusiastic he was when a group of students came to his office and informed him they wanted to enter the Solar Decathlon. He excitedly threw thousands from his discretionary funds behind the students. Additionally, he organized an all-star team of faculty and administrators to assist them in creating a stellar proposal. Due in large part to Liebowitz's emphatic support of this endeavor, Middlebury has been accepted by the United States Department of Energy as the only liberal arts college in the history of the competition. Students working on the project have been able to take a reduced course load since they are receiving credit for their dedicated work to the house. While the house will be built and displayed on the National Mall next fall, the students involved were told not to worry about their classes because the Dean that has been assigned to work with them will graciously ensure they receive appropriate accommodations to receive full credit for their work despite being off campus for most all of the semester.

Students are so passionate and determined to get their voice out on the issues they feel strongly about that ten percent of our student body will be traveling to Washington DC for the student climate activist summit Powershift. The Student Government Association graciously awarded thousands of dollars in "loans" so that the organizers could make reservations for bus transportation down to the event. I use the word "loan" hesitantly because it was kind of like the subprime mortgages that were given out to non credit worthy homebuyers that ended up destroying our world by causing an economic downturn so horrible that we were forced to shut down Atwater Dining Hall. There is no way that these loans will be paid back in full, but it is okay, there will be forgiveness because the event bolsters Middlebury's image. Dean Collado, while hesitating to meet with the Institutional Diversity Committee until six months into her return to the

college, despite holding the title as Chief Diversity Officer, nevertheless put her entire support right away behind the Powershift efforts. She even hosted a retreat with Posse and the environmental group Sunday Night Group to try to darken the average skin color of the Middlebury students headed down to Washington.

What is the common theme that holds all of these pretty images together? They are green, but more importantly, they get Middlebury College absurd amounts of press and recognition. While each of these endeavors are certainly fantastic and the accolades that accommodate them are undoubtedly deserved, to claim from this that Middlebury actually supports student activism would be omitting just as big of a piece of the story as our admissions does in their blatant propaganda to attract more and more students to apply to the college so that we can reject them and increase our ranking.

Let me put this as clearly as possible: Middlebury College does not care about student activism. Well, what do I mean? Didn't I just outline how impressive the administrations' support of student efforts has been? To be most honest I should add a modifier to the previous statement. Middlebury College does not care about student activism *unless* it serves to further the image of Middlebury that the administration has imagined. The school *does not* care about radical action that pushes us to uncomfortable positions where we must examine our implications and complicit actions of injustice. The school *does*, however, care that student activism comfortably conforms to perpetuate support for what the school *wants* to be seen as and not how it necessarily *is*.

When students demanded that the college to take action to address gender affirming policies and other social justice issues on campus, the administration hesitated to embrace the efforts. The college saw a rising power of students pushing for a Gender Council and further delayed action and eventually voted it down in attempts to dissipate student momentum and further marginalize issues of gender that make this campus an incredibly unwelcoming and discriminatory place for far too many students.

However, the administration was not quick to attempt to kill this grassroots, social justice oriented, policy change agent. First they wanted to squeeze Gender Council for all they were worth before setting them out to dry. The brilliant students were asked to give presentations to administrators who did not understand the issues being raised. These workshops were incredibly time intensive to prepare and made the courses the students were enrolled in very challenging to keep up with. The administration abused the students for their incredible work and failed to give them any recognition.

Just like the biomass gasification plant, students pushed and pushed for Gender Council. Unlike the bio plant the students were never taken seriously with Gender Council. Just like the Solar Decathlon, the students involved in the Gender Council efforts put in so much time that it took away from their studies. Unlike the Solar Decathlon, the Gender Council students were told that their efforts were entirely "volunteered" and they were not to receive any course credit. Just like Powershift, Gender Council tried to be inclusive of all students on campus. Unlike Powershift, Gender Council did not have the administration bring in different student organizations from across campus and encourage them to participate.

As this evidences, Middlebury College does *not* care about student activism when it questions privileges and pushes for just systemic change. The administration relegates all race and gender work to a lower status of voluntary work without acknowledging that being able to access facilities is not about getting us in the headlines, but rather about a *method of survival* for our marginalized students. "Bad" kids do not ask tough questions. "Good" kids act as puppets for adults own agenda and massagers of the adults' egos.

### Literacy

In *The Disappearance of Childhood*, Neil Postman argues that with the invention of the printing press came the

invention of the child. A knowledge gap was created between those who had access to the "rational" world of written ideas and those who did not. Literacy was the key to adulthood and had to be earned.

Middlebury very much agrees with Postman in that they are sure to assign us way too much reading to feasibly actually complete, just so on Princeton Review rankings we can jump for joy when we are one of the top schools where "Students Study the Most." To make it out of Middlebury you have to be "literate" and thus on the path to becoming a successful adult.

However, it is not just important *that* we are literate, but rather also *what* we are literate in. "Good" kids do not read romance novels. When one was assigned to a Sociology of Heterosexuality course, students nervously made excuses why they were purchasing a romance novel in the stores. The less courageous students just went to Amazon. It feels so wrong to buy a romance novel because that is not what "good" kids read. We have all internalized this notion that we have to maintain a front of being a "good" kids because otherwise how else would we have ever gotten into Middlebury? One student admitted in class that she was so embarrassed by the cover of her book that she was sure to purchase in the self-checkout aisle so she would not be seen.

Romance novels may be bad, but worse is to be literate in the humanities. Despite Middlebury claiming that it wants us to be well versed in a diverse array of disciplines, the liberal arts rhetoric runs no deeper than lip service. "Bad" kids go out and change the world in ways that do not get Middlebury press. "Good" kids go out and change the world in ways that do. Ultimately, "good" kids go out to become "good" adults and make a lot of money (ethically or not is irrelevant) and donate it back in the form of a building to the school so they can be forever immortalized.

Preparing us to be "good" adults is all about preparing us to dominate. We may like that you can think, but while you are at it major in Economics so you do not just end up starting to think so hard that you begin

to undermine capitalistic principles that allow us to study drowning in such privilege.

The only students that are "good" enough to meet with the "holy" board of trustees are those involved in the Student Investment Committee. These students literally manage a few hundred thousand dollars of our endowment and are continually applauded by our administration for their success. The college holds them up as being the exemplary model of who and what a "good" Middlebury student is.

The Student Investment Committee knows their important role in helping "kids" grow up to be the successful adults that Middlebury wants them to be. A poster to recruit for the group reads: "Because being literate enough to read Kant does not mean you are financially literate enough to pick the right mortgage." By reading this article and working through my ideas it has been demonstrated that you are clearly literate, but just what type of literate are you? Is it the appropriate literacy to be granted adulthood by Middlebury standards?

### Protecting the PhD

"Adult status has to be earned so damn those "kids" whose intelligence positions them over me. They do not have a PhD yet and I will make that known." Of course our professors may not convey themselves as blatant as this, but undoubtedly the thought has crossed many of their minds. This, in turn, has shaped their action towards their students. In so doing, protectionary measures are taken to ensure the value of the PhD is retained.

If the measure by which we considered one to be an adult was put into question we would have a lot of previously "adults" fighting to regain the dominant status they thought that they had worked and deserved to acquire. Of course there is no one finite measure of adulthood and we should really be using plurals to take about the concept since there are so many various conceptions.

Just like other identities, the saliency of which basis



we use to position ourselves as adults or children varies on our situation. In the college setting, most certainly an important signifier of status and distinction is the terminal degree possessed by faculty. Once granted a PhD, these newly arrived adults are actively investing in ensuring child does not substitute in for the Ph.

Students may be encouraged to think critically in the classroom, but like all behaviors there is a limit we place on this. A student's capacity to think may be highly regarded until it reaches the point of competition with the instructor. At this point nervous energy invades and the defense of the border of distinction is on.

Many professors work to ensure that this point will never come close to being reached. They do so by having their students remind them of their doctoral status every time the students wish to address them. Such is like reminding Jane and Bobby to call Edwin's mom Mrs. Claudett. See Mrs. Claudett is a woman who has achieved "adulthood" and the "kids" Jane and Bobby are thus of a lower status and they must address her in a way that maintains such inequality.

This fact is internalized to such a large degree that at new faculty trainings at Middlebury a topic of concern is what the students should be allowed to call the arriving scholars. When one woman professor suggested that she wanted her students to call her by her name, others jumped on her repulsively. To use your first name in the classroom destroys a distance that faculty "work hard" to "achieve." It immediately allows the status of that person's "adulthood" in the academy to come into question.

The college creates stern policy against students earning credit for courses taught at community colleges. Likewise, online classes receive no credit. These policies are heavily endorsed by our faculty because they want to have written into bylaws the fact that students may not receive credit from a location where they may not necessarily be taught by someone with a PhD.

When one person gets challenged there is a frantic

response because we are concerned about a snowball being started that will soon upend the privileged position we know ourselves as occupying and put into question who we really are. Suddenly we are left without our signifier of distinction from the students and consequently are extremely uncomfortable by that fact.

Soon the growing ball of snow will be put on display in the construction of a snowperson. Snowpeople are vulnerable for they lack the clothing that would try to trick us into believing that they are a more significant being than they really are, just a mound of matter like us all, a mere mortal who will melt away come the wrath of a global warming.

## Languages

Although we may ostentatiously wish to believe otherwise, most people do not know what the heck Middlebury College is and could not care less about it. When people ask us where it is they immediately everyone must be a skier not the valedictorians of their high school. When people have heard of Middlebury, they talk about what great language programs it has.

Why is our language program so revered and what is its honest purpose? The fact is we do not learn languages at Middlebury to celebrate cultures, rather we merely learn languages to dominate them. "Bad" kids may be involved in actions that appreciate life (drugs, punk rock, skateboarding), but we must criticize such "immature hedonistic fools." We are "good" kids and that means we have no time to enjoy life, but rather must follow the correct disciplined path so that we may become proper adults who have the power to control and manipulate life.

Any song that may be learned in our language classes should be utilized for nothing more than a mnemonic device that then allows us to progress to our next stage in becoming dictating adults. Most of our language classes do not even try to put up a façade that claims otherwise.

On one of the first vocabulary lists for students learning in Arabic is "United Nations." That of course is because we are explicitly teaching our "good" kids to become diplomats. The very Arabic they learn is incredibly classed and only used by high political officials. One student remarked that learning Arabic here and then expecting to be able to use it to talk to somebody on the street would be just like learning Latin in our Classics department and then expecting to fluently interact with everyone in Italy.

In Hebrew classes students are always debating Palestine and Israel. We actively teach that there is no other reason why one should desire to learn the language.

All of our languages are taught in a very elite dialect of the colonizer and never of the colonized. The locations of our schools abroad perfectly illustrates this point as well. We do not want to teach the dialect of some "powerless people" because then how will you be able to utilize the language to extract power from them?

Just as we as "good" kids speak the "proper" dialects of the languages we learn, so too is there immense pressure on students to speak "standard" American English. While we have a student body from all over the globe, it would be very hard to decipher that fact merely from how we talk. When the kid from Texas has the exact same "non-existent" accent as the kid from the Midwest, we are clearly devaluing a certain culture and placing one above another, but so too is that what Middlebury is always doing. As "good" kids we have been granted the duty to learn to dominate the world.



## Student Occupation in Glasgow: An Interview

- t h e g a d f l y

**F**or over a year, the British government has been cutting funding to public services, including university funding. Naturally, students are frustrated with the situation and do not want to see their education chipped away at because the government and university administrators do not deem certain aspects of it necessary. At Glasgow University in Scotland, this frustration has manifested itself as a student occupation of the Hetherington Research Club.

What follows is an interview, conducted via e-mail, with a student involved in the occupation. She does not speak for the whole occupation, but as an individual. It is a look into the anatomy of a student occupation and an example of what can be done through collective student power.

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**Middlebury Gadfly (MG):** First, tell us what you can about the Free Hetherington. What is it?

**Hannah:** The Hetherington Research Club (HRC) was, until last year, the postgraduate students' social club at the University of Glasgow. They ran various club nights and pub quizzes, and offered a space for postgraduate students to meet, get a drink, chat and learn from each other. Last year, the university shut it down, saying it was unprofitable and citing financial mismanagement issues. This meant the loss of a valuable space on campus, as although Glasgow Uni has two other student unions, neither offers the same relaxed atmosphere that the HRC did, and are geared more to undergraduates, drinking and club nights than they are to postgrads or to discussion and learning.

The building was occupied by students on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February, which means that at the time of doing this

interview we're coming up for our one month anniversary in occupation, which is pretty cool! As far as I'm aware, what we're doing is pretty unusual in terms of UK student occupations, although there are numerous other student groups in occupation around the country right now.

Having this building, run autonomously, provides students and staff at Glasgow Uni with a valuable physical base for meeting and organising to fight the savage budget cuts at the universities in Glasgow. Since the 1<sup>st</sup> of February, the Free Hetherington has been run by students on donations, and we're open 24 hours a day. We have two people stationed on the door at all times for security reasons and to let people in. We offer free tea and coffee to all comers, and provide two free cooked vegan meals a day, prepared on site by our amazing volunteer chefs and helpers. Every day we run events, from direct action workshops and legal awareness training for demonstrators to life drawing and sewing classes. We even have children's film screenings! Everything at the Free Hetherington is decided at meetings where anyone can come and have their say and we vote on proposals democratically.

**MG: Budget cuts at Glasgow University prompted the occupation, correct? Can you tell our readers what the current situation is?**

**Hannah:** The Tory-Lib Dem coalition government is cutting public services in a way that is just unprecedented in modern British history, and using the financial crisis as an excuse for cuts of an ideological nature. While Scotland isn't seeing the worst of this right now thanks to many of the issues involved being devolved to the Scottish Parliament, we have a general election here in May, which could see changes. As far as the current situation at the University of Glasgow goes, we're seeing extremely serious cuts proposed by senior management, who are proposing a "consultation" which will be overseen by the senior management team themselves before they confirm the drastic and frightening cuts that have been announced.

Currently they are proposing cutting the nursing

department entirely, despite it being one of the best in the country with an excellent employment record for graduates. They are also proposing entirely cutting the school of Slavonic Studies, the only course of its kind in Scotland, which would include getting rid of Polish, Czech and Russian. German might also be for the axe. The most extreme proposal for the School of Modern Languages and Cultures (SMLC) would see language provision reduced to just French and Spanish, leaving the West of Scotland entirely without a university which provides a range of language options. They also want to merge archaeology with history, losing jobs. The scrapping of the Department of Adult and Continuing Education is also on the table, and this department has an important role to play in the wider community and as an access route to university for those without traditional academic qualifications. At the same time as they are proposing such drastic cuts in languages - an area in which Glasgow excels - they are investing in the departments which make the most money from non-EU students' fees, namely medicine, business and economics, and new professorships are being advertised in these areas while staff are being laid off elsewhere.

The Free Hetherington provides a space to organise protests against this destruction of our education, and we've had fantastic support from a broad base. Last week around 3000 students marched on the university court where management was meeting to discuss these proposals, the largest student demo Glasgow has seen. There is serious and broad-ranging opposition to the cuts being made and we will keep fighting. This is not just about our own educations; this is about the principle of education for its own sake, and the education of those who will come to Glasgow Uni in the future.

**MG: When did the occupation start?**

**Hannah:** On the 1<sup>st</sup> of February, a group of students occupied the abandoned building by entering through an unlocked fire door. No criminal damage was caused in entering the building. People have been in the building 24/7 since then.

**MG: What are you hoping to achieve through this occupation?**

**Hannah:** We want to see an end to the drastic cuts at Glasgow Uni, and to the government's ideological decimation of our public services. We also want to see the HRC return to being a building for student use, not turned into offices as the University wants. Additionally, though, we are building on the activist community in Glasgow, and providing an important space for people to meet with each other, discuss issues and organise.

**MG: Does a particular political/social ideology dominate the occupation, or is there a wide representation of views and goals?**

**Hannah:** People here come from various political hues, from anarchists across numerous socialist denominations to people who're just opposed to the government's and the university's cuts, and although I think it would be fair to say we're a broadly left-wing group, we're certainly not party-political. Any disagreements are dealt with respectfully. People of any political ideology or none are welcome as long as they're open to respectful discussion. We try to be a respectful, safe space, and have firm policies against racist, sexist or homophobic behaviour.

**MG: What is a typical day inside the Hetherington?**

**Hannah:** It depends on the day! Those who've slept over wake up in the morning and put away communal bedding so the hall can be used for workshops and meetings. Coffee and tea is always going on in the bar downstairs (we don't serve alcohol, but you can BYOB!) and people will be popping in and out on their way to and from class, both regular users of the building and new people coming in to check it out. Someone will go out to get the papers so we can have them around for people to read. Some days meetings will be happening upstairs, for a variety of groups as anyone can book the space for free.

Throughout the day two people will always be on the door, in two-hour shifts. No one likes doing the 3-5am or the 5-7am, but someone always does! Lunchtime will

come around and the chefs will bring up something tasty that anyone who wants can come in and eat, so we'll take some out to whoever's on the door. We also always have someone with medical and first aid training in the building, 24/7, who can often be found in the hallway by the medic station, and can otherwise be spotted by their fluorescent medic jacket!

In the evening we're usually a little busier. At least three nights a week we have an occupation meeting, where we gather to discuss issues and vote on things to do with the day-to-day running of the space. Dinner happens at various times whenever it's ready, and is always free, vegan-friendly and delicious!

Throughout the evening people will come in to hang out and chat, or to attend a poetry open mic night or a pub quiz. Often people are up late in the hallway hanging out with the people on the door, singing and playing guitar or just chatting or knitting. It's a very friendly and open space, but also a place where people care and are passionate about things.

**MG: Is it just students, or is the larger community encouraged to engage?**

**Hannah:** The building is used by staff and both under- and postgrad students, and lecturers from the university have even come down to deliver free, open lectures. However, it's not exclusive to people from the university, and anyone is welcome to come in to attend events or just to check it out. The only exception is that we're not prepared to admit drunk or confrontational people who turn up the door. Also, obviously, police in uniform and the university security guards are not allowed into the building, although we do take the security guards cups of tea and coffee when they're outside, and we maintain a very good relationship with them.

**MG: What about administrators? Or police? Has there been any sort of conflict with those who are against you? If so, how did you handle it?**

**Hannah:** We have been largely left alone in the

building; I think the management was initially thinking we would get bored and leave quickly. Last week, the principal's PR man sent out an email to the entire staff and student body that made some pretty libelous and untrue statements about the occupation, asking us to end it. It should be noted that this mass email is the only communication we've ever had from senior management, who have never contacted the occupation directly and chose instead to make accusations and misrepresentations to a wide audience, while implying that they had had contact with us. We've released a reply, but we're being denied the right to send it out to the same mass audience that the principle was able to access, so we're trying to spread the word via Facebook and other social media.

We have still not been directly asked to leave, and at the time of this interview we are attempting to set up a meeting with senior management to discuss our concerns.

**MG: Is there anything else you'd like to share?**

**Hannah:** For anyone who thinks of student activists as angry, hateful, violent people (and let me be clear - many people do think of us that way) the Free Hetherington is the opposite of that. We're a community space, for learning and discussion, and for fighting against the cuts, which will affect everyone at the University of Glasgow. It is an open place, where I've learned a lot and had my mind opened. We're providing a valuable service to the university and wider community, and it's just the happiest, most stimulating and encouraging place I've ever been lucky enough to spend time. I've met so many different people from around the world and from all walks of life, but everyone's voice has equal power within these walls. The people really do have power. Stand up and fight for what's important, and don't let governments and businessmen take it away.

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For more information about the Free Hetherington, you can visit their website: <http://freehetherington.wordpress.com/>  
or their Facebook page: <http://www.facebook.com/FreeHetherington>

Solidarity from an american anarchist.

\*UPDATE\* On 22 March 2011, the occupiers at The Free Hetherington were evicted by the police. The police gave a girl a concussion and refused her water and medical attention. Follow the links above to find out more information as it becomes available.

\*Update 2\* The Free Hetherington is reoccupied and still going strong! Follow the links above for the most up-to-date information.



**"Il faut gagner!"** -Laurice Fox, '12

**I** began writing this mid-February with intentions of writing more, but I let it drop as I started having more work to do for classes (something I'm not used to having to do in France...) Now it's the beginning of April and Libya and Syria have added themselves to rebelling countries in the Muslim/North African world.

"...Sinon c'est la fin du monde!" I cried out jokingly—my competitive nature present. Directly across the table, Diego, poker faced—emotions well masked behind sunglasses...what I would consider a cheap way out—curtly and frankly followed my statement with: "Wikileaks est la fin du monde." Yes; frank, unprecedented, unexplained. Everyone else around the table was having his or her own conversation before the next round commenced, but there I was immediately thrown back, and of course immediately prepared with a response. Kneeling on my chair, caipirinha in hand, I retorted, "Le fin du monde!? Ou peut-être wikileaks va faire le monde mieux!" I said it in a giddy matter—a little affected by the previous cocktails. Through the ring-clouds of cigarette smoke, cards, chips, Diego stared back at me still poker-faced, through his opaque sunglasses, leaning calmly on the edge of the table,

arms crossed. He embodied the Pierce Brosnan/James Bond persona very well. And it was not until directly after my response that I actually thought about it... and thought some more about his statement and recent events.

So, still positioned on the chair on my knees and glass in hand, I drifted away from the playing table into my thoughts for a moment. What was my reasoning in my response? That Wikileaks has revealed how corrupt governments of countries are and therefore the citizens of these countries are actively demanding for political reform and so far succeeding if we look to Tunisia and Egypt as examples? Is that not a change better for the people—at least the over-looked and under-represented? So...where was Shady coming from letting his comment unfurl and blend in with the rest of the smoke rings over the table? Wikileaks: the end of the world. I assumed he was referring to what would happen after the people of these corrupt countries, which at the moment we can specify as North Africa, attained political reform. These countries may over-turn their corrupt governments, but what happens after? More political turmoil? Destabilized allies? More revolts? Interference from political super powers that could end badly? I streamed through these thoughts picturing corruption, countries at war, military verse civilian violence, and then I emerged from them and said to Diego: "En fait, t'as raison. Je pense que t'as raison." He just stared back...

I don't want to say that Wikileaks is the end of the world, though. Not yet at least. When I think of the end of the world I think of nuclear warfare or natural disasters of such a large scale that nearly the whole human race is effaced. For now, I can at least say that Wikileaks is the end of an era—or the beginning of one.



## Know Your Rights: Dealing with the Cops

- t h e g a d f l y

**I** despise the existence of cops. Plain and simple. You know my bias from the beginning, but I will try not to let that bias come through too much. My purpose here is to pass along some useful information.

Cops are not your friends. An individual police officer may be friendly, but that's more a testament of their personal character and forces me to wonder "Why the fuck did s/he become a cop!?" Cops do not serve the people; they are the enemies of freedom and individuality. Their purpose is to maintain a hierarchical system based on subordination and to reinforce capitalism. I do not dislike individual cops because of the individual, but because that individual chose to support a system that is flawed and serves only to help the richest white individuals and corporations.

Regardless of how much I dislike the cops; I know that when they confront me, I need to act meek. "Yes sir." "No, ma'am." "No, I have no idea why you're pulling me over." Interaction with the cops is virtually unavoidable. If you are ever in a car there's a chance you will be pulled over. Don't have a car? Well, you'll probably be stopped for hitchhiking in the wrong place, or biking where you are not supposed to bike. Or maybe you will happen to be in the wrong place at the wrong time and a cop will stop you and ask what you know, why you're at the scene of the crime. Or maybe because s/he doesn't like the way you look. Or maybe... the list goes on. What's most important is that you know your rights when being confronted by the police.

In general, there are two key phrases you need to know.

The first is: "I am going to remain silent. I want to see a lawyer."

Now, I know what you're thinking. Why would I advocate

speaking to a lawyer? Well, this is an extenuating circumstance. Invoke your Miranda Rights [1] by not speaking and demanding a lawyer. This way, the cop cannot use you against yourself. Plus, a lawyer will know the law better than any given individual, no matter how well informed we try to be.

An officer **may not** use your refusal to speak as an admittance of guilt. Probably, the cop will continue to ask you seemingly harmless questions. Do not answer them! Just repeat that you are going to remain silent and that you want to see a lawyer. The only thing that will come of you talking to cops is giving them more information than they originally had. Remember "Anything you say **can** and **WILL** be used against you" (emphasis mine).

The second key phrase is: "I do not consent to a search."

Even if they have a search warrant, still use this phrase. You will never lose anything by invoking your right not to be searched. Plus, if they have a search warrant, and things are not totally in order, or if they search you without a warrant anyways, anything they find will be inadmissible in court.

It is important to remember that you need to state clearly, politely, and firmly that you do not consent to a search. In those terms. If you are not clear and do not stand your ground on this, the cops will do their best to get a casual consent. If a cop comes to your house, quickly exit and close the door behind you, assess what they want from outside, then invoke your key phrases as needed. If a cop asks you to step out of your vehicle, remember to close the door, or it may be seen as a form of consenting to a search. And always remember key phrase number 1, "I am going to remain silent. I want to see a lawyer." If you are being detained, the only information you must give them is your name, address, age, birthday, and social security number until a lawyer arrives and advises you what to say.

These two phrases will help a lot. Though, not all cops will honor your rights. In these instances, stand as firm as possible in your refusal to speak. Even if you

started speaking, you may invoke your Miranda Rights at any moment, and from that point forward you do not have to answer anything until your lawyer arrives.

It is also helpful to understand the different type of interactions with police. Midnight Special suggest 3 types of interactions:

- 1 ) Conversation: the cops are trying to get info and can't soundly connect you to anything.
- 2 ) Detention: the cops had reasonable suspicion to hold you for questioning and you cannot leave. "Reasonable suspicion" means that the cop must be able to logically articulate why they are holding you.
- 3 ) Arrest: You can only be arrested when the cops have probable cause, meaning that they have more than reasonable suspicion. In other words, they have to be able to connect you to a crime to arrest you.

If you are arrested, you can still invoke your right to silence. At this point, the cops will do anything they can to get you to admit to committing a crime. They may use good cop/bad cop routine (remember, there is no such thing as a cop who is your friend), say they have some circumstantial evidence (which is most likely shaky at best; if it was a solid defense they would not have to question you), threaten a polygraph (lie detector) test, or one of their myriad other tactics. There is one surefire way to hold your ground, and that is to not speak.

Moreover, if you are involved in activism and direct action, be aware that a cop who has infiltrated your organization or who is undercover in the midst of protestors and activists does not have to identify him or herself. They can use many tactics to get you to get you to commit a crime without it being considered entrapment. (For instance, a Narc may take drugs so as to not blow their cover.) Just because they're doing something illegal doesn't mean they can't and won't nail you on the same activities. Be smart; don't talk about illegal activity with those you don't trust.

These may not apply to non-citizens or "illegal" immigrants. I am not totally sure and do not want to speak

about anything I do not know about. There should be resources available on the internet regarding "illegal" immigrants' rights when dealing with the cops. (If you do know resources, please post them in the comments!)

There are several resources available online concerning your rights when dealing with cops. Here are a few that I have consulted:

"Flex Your Rights" is a DVD you can purchase about knowing your rights when dealing with cops. However, there is also an FAQ on the website with concise chunks of information, as well as small video clips and some lectures about civilian rights when dealing with cops. You can check that out here: <http://www.flexyourrights.com/>

"Anarchist Survival Guide for Understanding Gestapo Swine Interrogation Mind Games" "Subtitle: Staying Free By Shutting the Fuck Up!" By Anarchist Author, Poet, Jailhouse Lawyer & Prisoner Harold H. Thompson. This is a pamphlet about, well about exactly what the title says. It stresses the importance of staying silent and goes over several police tactics.

"Dealing With Police" is a short, 4 page informational sheet from Midnight Special, a now-defunct legal collective. They have several resources available here: <http://www.midnightspecial.net/materials/>.

The Zine Library has a wide collection of articles, pamphlets, posters...etc. on prisons and police here: <http://zinelibrary.info/english/prisons-and-police>  
A flyer from The Zine Library: <http://zinelibrary.info/files/enemies-police-v2.pdf>

Injustice Everywhere: The National Police Misconduct Statistics and Reporting Project. <http://www.injusticeeverywhere.com/>

I realize that this article could cover many, many more aspects of dealing with cops. However, in most people's daily lives, I feel that these key phrases and links will be the most useful. Feel free to suggest other tips for dealing with cops in the comments.

Oh yeah, and one final note, the key phrases above also work with any government agency (FBI, ICE, CIA...etc.).

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[1] Interesting thing I learned about your Miranda Rights while looking up information about civilian rights when dealing with cops. Contrary to popular thought, a cop does **not** have to read you your Miranda Rights as soon as you are arrested. "The only time an officer must read a person his or her Miranda rights is when: (1) the person has been placed under arrest, AND (2) the officer is about to question the person about a crime" (<http://flexyourrights.org/faq>). Also, for those of you who may not recall exactly what the Miranda warning is, it reads, "You have the right to remain silent. Anything you say can and will be used against you in a court of law. You have the right to speak to an attorney. If you cannot afford an attorney, one will be appointed for you. Do you understand these rights as they have been read to you?"

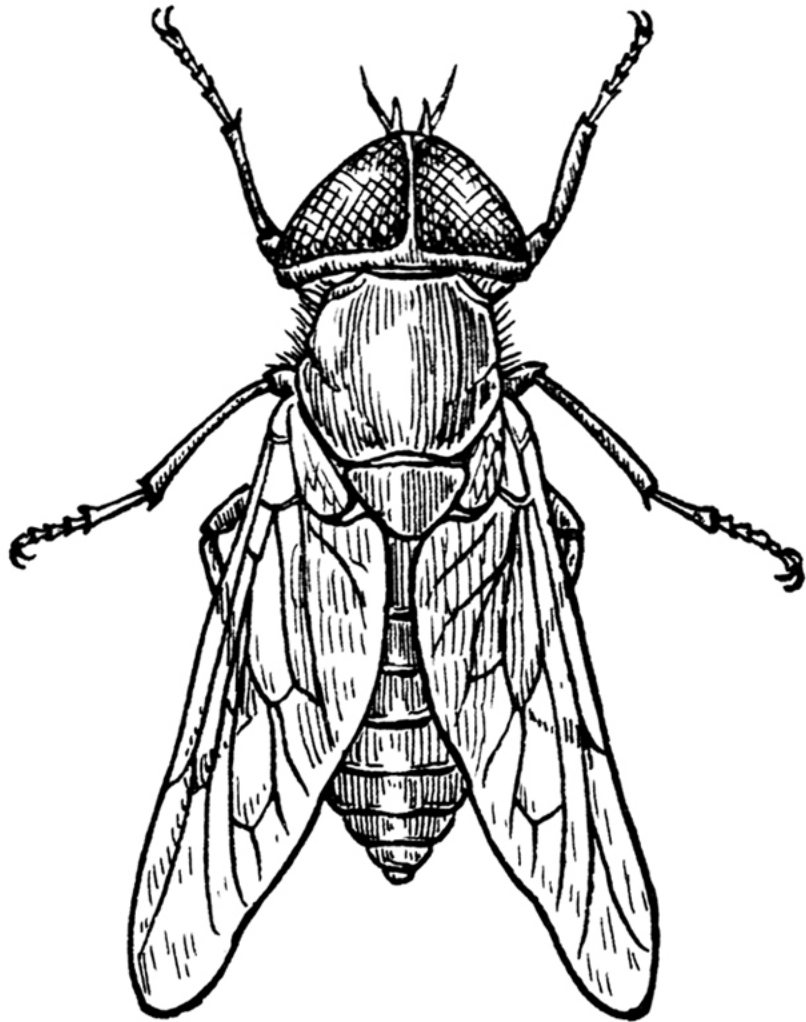
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March 15 is the International Day Against Police Brutality. In the US, we may have a day reserved on [October 22nd](#), but that does not mean that we should not support others on this day. Fuck police brutality. And fuck police. The cops are not your friends. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_cases\\_of\\_police\\_brutality](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_cases_of_police_brutality)

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For if you kill me, you will not easily find another such person at all, even if to say in a ludicrous way, attached on the city by the god, like on a large and well-bred horse, by its size and laziness both needing arousing by some gadfly; in this way the god seems to have fastened me on the city, some such one who arousing and persuading and reproaching each one of you I do not stop the whole day settling down all over.

:: Socrates (469 BC - 399 BC)

