A user's guide to the budget crisis at UNC-Chapel Hill presents...
Chancellor Thorpe preaches openness and warns that “the cuts we are facing will be painful”. Painful to whom? That’s up to the Chancellor and his administration to decide...

Who gets cut? Why them?
What gets cut? Why that?
Who makes the decisions? On what basis?
How does it affect you? What can you do?

This zine is our attempt to bring some clarity to an intentionally confusing budget process. Together we can forge a more open and democratic Carolina.

TURN THE PAGE FOR...
Frontline reports from laid-off HR employees. New data on course cancellations. The impact of budget cuts on international students. Reports from ongoing campus struggles around the world. Facts about who pays for UNC and where the money goes. And more…

Carolina students, faculty and staff march on the Board of Trustees to demand transparency and accountability, March 26, 2009.
Who pays for UNC? (2008 revenues)

- State of NC ($594 mil)
- Federal gov’t ($447 mil)
- Students ($309 mil)*
- Other revenue sources ($261 mil) †
- Donations from alumni and others ($216 mil)
- Hospital patient fees ($214 mil)
- Corporate research contracts ($115 mil)
- Investment income ($98 mil)

*Includes tuition and fees as well as net dining services, housing, bookstore and health/PE revenues
†Other revenue includes parking, professional income, athletics, etc.
Source: 2008 UNC Comprehensive Annual Financial Report
Unlike a publicly-traded corporation, at the end of the day nobody in the ‘Carolina community’ pockets a profit from University operations. The Board of Trustees doesn’t make decisions based on maximizing quarterly returns so that UNC’s stock price will increase. At the same time, UNC’s administration treats the university more and more like a corporation every day (hiring out on-campus work to private contractors, cutting wages and increasing work hours, focusing on the bottom line). What’s going on? And what does this have to do with students, faculty and staff?

Capitalist corporations exist to consolidate surplus value in the hands of the capitalist class. Traditionally, we think of that value in terms of money – money as an abstract representation of value was probably the one key technology which allowed capitalism to take control of the world economy. But profit doesn’t have to take the form of money.

At UNC, a growing class of administrators, trustees, and select faculty are consolidating their control over the day-to-day operations of every part of the campus (the means of production) and extracting non-monetary affective surplus value. The profit which those at the top of the University reap from our work doesn’t always come in cold, hard cash. It takes other forms:

- administrator’s pride and bragging rights for ‘their’ campus as a model 21st century global university (while adjuncts earn poverty wages for doing the work of teaching foreign language courses)
- the feeling of power that comes with having new and exciting information instantly at their fingertips (research results that graduate students and lab assistants have spent their long Saturday nights compiling)
- feeling smug about “the work they’ve done against racism” in allowing students and faculty to put their jobs and bodies on the line fighting for programs like African-American studies, the Stone Center, and Latino/a studies
- coming to work in sparkling new research and administrative office buildings, freshly cleaned by housekeepers working the night shift and neatly landscaped by groundskeepers
- prestige and status for Trustees who talk about themselves as doing

“God’s work”, while they reap big profits in real estate development connected with the University (example: Roger Perry, current Chair of the Board of Trustees, was the developer who built Meadowmont)

Paid or unpaid, the work we do in making the University creates surplus value for those at the top. While those who profit from the University don’t (always) get richer, they do always get the credit while the rest of us do the work. And they’re working hard to restructure the University so as to consolidate their control over our labor.

We all work to make this university: students who organize “awareness weeks”, conferences and guest speakers; basketball fans with their faces painted tarheel blue; graduate students dissecting lab mice; housekeepers cleaning up after them; IT staff keeping email running smoothly and bus drivers running the free transit system. Whether our work is waged or un-waged, it happens under administrative control and results in surplus value captured by the rising administrative class.

All of us have the right to autonomy – to work for ourselves and for our communities under conditions which we, not the administration, control.

Our autonomy is not a goal which we might one day reach at the end of collective organizing. Rather, our organizing itself produces autonomy. As we share skills and build solidarity across campus, we are hopefully creating a university outside of administrative control. Every day, we work to make this University what it is and every day we could work to make ourselves free.
As news about layoffs begins to trickle in...

...ten in ITS, three in Teaching & Learning, seven in Enterprise Application, what is usually missing from these accounts are the voices of workers themselves. We hear from the administration and state officials that layoffs are “necessary” in order to cut the campus budget, there is no room for debate about what other expenses might be cut instead. We hear from the administration that layoffs are being carried out according to university policy and protocol; workers, meanwhile, tell a different story: employees laid off for no apparent reason other than disagreeing with their supervisors or being actively involved in employee organizing.

Indeed, how do you justify laying-off someone with years of experience in the university, months away from reaching retirement? And what happens to employees that are laid off? What happens to those workers who remain - with heavier workloads and the constant fear and tension of more layoffs?

Here we hear from some employees who have already been laid off and others who fear being laid off. And we ask the question: is this the best way to cut the university budget? Is this creating the type of university we wish to be a part of?

“the budget crisis will be used ... to lay people off who may have been targeted whether there was a budget crisis or not”

Jerry Howerton, laid-off in March, 2009
Jerry Howerton is a former human resources employee at Carolina who was laid off in March just months away from reaching retirement. He spoke to the Employee Forum on April 1, 2009:

“You have a property interest in your job, just the same as you have a property interest in your house and hour bank account. No one can take those things from you without due process. OK? Hold peoples’ feet to the fire on this. Require them to show you how they make those decisions. If you don’t do it, no one else will.

“...Don’t blindly accept that your position has to go away. Just because they said so. Just because they say there’s a budget crisis. There have to be reasons. They have to be valid. They have to be based on credible selection criteria. As you can tell, this is a very emotional issue for me. I’ve been on both sides in HR. I’ve been the person who’s laying people off. I’ve laid people off. Plenty, in the past. I didn’t feel good about it. Some might call it karma! Now I’m being laid off! I don’t feel good about it either, on this side of it. In fact, I feel worse on this side of it, as you can imagine.

“Your job is your most valuable asset in life. It really is. It is the means by which you gain everything else, materially. OK? So don’t ever forget, you have an interest in that job. A property interest that is protected. You can file a grievance against a layoff. You can file a grievance against a reduction in position.

“...If you don’t do it, then the budget crisis will be used, I think without— pretty indiscriminately, to lay people off who may have been targeted whether there was a budget crisis or not. In other words, there can be many other reasons why a department wants to lay people off, besides budget.

“Now that the big broad door of ‘budget’ is open, you can be assured that will be used as the primary reason, and without other justifications other than, ‘We’re in a serious budget crisis.’ Don’t accept that!”

Marshall Dietz, who works in Energy Services, was laid off last week - he suspects that he was targeted for his involvement with the Employee Forum:

“The stated reason in my notification of layoff memo reads: “The specific reason for your layoff is position elimination due to the State Budget Crisis and the mandate to reduce costs. The University is facing a $7 million budget shortfall in its State Appropriated Utilities account this year due to insufficient state funding.”

“...In truth, I believe the underlying reason for my targeted removal are my recent activities in support of the mission of the Employee Forum, and with my removal Associate Vice Chancellor Carolyn Elfland believes she can mute any further criticism of the performance of the Department of Public Safety’s policies and practices with respect to the Dogwood Parking Garage.

“I believe this to be a shortsighted reaction and a long-term blow to the effectiveness of the Employee Forum and can lead to a permanent rift between the administration and its non-faculty employees. The relationship built up by Chancellor Thorpe’s administration including Vice Chancellor Richard Mann’s efforts to promote cooperative agreement with members of the Employee Forum and resolution on a number of long outstanding issues rebuffed by our previous Chancellor will be jeopardized.

“This is not my first tet-a-tet with VC Elfland over my participation and positions on the Employee Forum. My previous challenge was a result of addressing the lack of any viable University Heat Stress policy for workers during the long, long, hot summer of 2005. (See 07 29 05 email)... however, with my Resolution in the Employee Forum to rescind the unsupportable activities of DPS, VC Elfland’s ire has risen to the point that she has ceased to tolerate me and now wants my scalp.”
Graduate students are simultaneously students-teachers-researchers. In this tripartite existence, how are they being affected by the budget cuts?

As teachers, many grad students are being asked to teach more classes or TA more students, because of cuts to other teaching positions. As researchers, graduate students are faced with a severe shortage of research and travel funds, making international research especially difficult. As students, graduate students are forced to deal with decreased class offerings and rigid time lines for finishing their degrees (while having to teach more and spend more time looking for outside funding).

Collective Bargaining: negotiations between an employer and a group of employees to determine, pay, benefits and working conditions. By organizing together, employees can negotiate for decent terms with the power of numbers instead of accepting individually whatever terms the employer wants. “Through collective bargaining, we negotiated better pay than any one of us would receive alone.”

Under North Carolina law, state employees cannot collectively bargain with their employers. This ban unjustifiably restricts the rights of university students, staff and faculty and many others to push for equitable pay and safe working conditions.

Still, even without the ability to bargain for a contract with their employer, UNC employees (staff as well as graduate students and faculty) have the legal right to meet and confer collectively with their management to discuss concerns. Carolina is home to an active chapter of UE-150, the North Carolina Public Service Workers Union. UE-150 has a history of strong campaigns across the state, from sanitation workers, to workers in NC’s troubled state mental hospitals. At UNC, members of UE include housekeepers, groundskeepers, and administrative staff. Until 2005, there was also an affiliate chapter, UE-150A, representing graduate students!

Meanwhile, a statewide coalition is working to repeal the ban on public sector organizing...

The NC HOPE Coalition is a coalition of organizations and individuals that support the goal of securing the rights of North Carolina public employees, chiefly by repealing the ban on collective bargaining rights, NC General Statute 95-98. North Carolina’s public employees, both state and local, should have the right to bargain collectively for enforceable agreements that govern the terms and conditions of their employment, a right already enjoyed by most private sector workers in our state. Online: http://nchope.org

Repealing 95-98 is also one of fourteen points of HK on J (Historic Thousands on Jones Street), the NAACP-led ‘Peoples Agenda’ for NC. HK on J’s February marches in Raleigh are a keystone for statewide progressive organizing and coalition building.

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From a graduate student (who wants to remain anonymous) currently in the field, about how the cuts have affected his research plans:

The Graduate School suddenly cut its transportation grant in half without any prior announcement, mid-way through the semester rather than at the end of a semester when it is generally updated.

Because we are only able to receive this grant only once during our graduate career, graduate students must carefully plan ahead to consider when the most appropriate time to use the fund. In many cases, such as the one I planned to attend, conferences require submissions for panels and presentations more than a year in advance.

...Because the Transportation Grant was “temporarily reduced” to half its amount without any prior announcement, I was forced to completely re-arrange my international research schedule... To save money, I had to pay to first change my return to the U.S. to an earlier date prior to the conference, so that I could purchase a new, less expensive, ticket from the US.

The sudden drop in travel funds occurred one week before I made my travel plans for the conference; the fact that it was unannounced without warning has caused me both a suddenly difficult financial situation and has upset the fluidity of my research by forcing me to suddenly change my research schedule in order to be able to minimize the sudden additional expenses.

How will the budget crisis impact international students?

1. Fewer enrollments – We know that budget cut will significantly affect the admission of our school this year, because a large portion of our budget is used to enroll new students. However, if the condition is bad, the condition for international students could be even worse. In terms of the budget cut, some departments have now frozen the international admission at all.

2. Out-state tuition – Every student who has lived in Chapel Hill for a full year is eligible for the in-state tuition fee. But that’s only US citizens. As an international student, even though you have lived here whatever number of years, you need to pay, or let your department pay the out-state tuition. The situation could be even worse for the graduate students. Since the North Carolina policy limits the number of out-state students in each department and limits the years (five years) that out-state quote can be held, international graduate students could have more stresses on their graduation. In other words, after five years, you have to pay tuition. It explains why the school is unwilling to bring in international students in terms of budget cut. It also explains why their situation is much more fragile.

3. Continuous Enrollment Policy (CEP) – Yes, you may think the school won’t be so notorious to cut the funding of existing students. But indirectly, it does. If the CEP is passed, graduate students in certain departments like anthropology and geography will be significantly affected; again, international students affected worse. Basically, the CEP makes the graduate students who are doing their fieldwork pay the
tuition fee themselves. Remember, if Americans pay ten thousands for that year, international students need to pay three times.

4. Limited funding opportunities – Can they find some other sources for their field work? It’s hard to do. Many other foundations don’t give money to foreign students. The most common financial aids for international students are either teaching assistantship or research assistantship. What if this money is cut in terms of the crisis? Generally, they have no alternative. It could also be a reason why most of them choose to do more conservative research. Try to get some money for your most fancy idea? No way.

5. VISA problem – The United States is sort of the country with the longest history in immigration. Ironically, the United States is also the country most difficult to get into. It happens to illegal workers as well as our legal international students. Some new international students are denied entry their first time. International students who have already been studying here could get their visa checked for several weeks or months if they visit home and then try to reenter. Even if a student passes a visa check, the delay can cause huge problems. This is also problem for students who need to do their field work abroad, since they may find it hard to come back afterwards!

How will faculty members be impacted by the budget crisis? The following is reprinted from an editorial by two professors at NCSU about how the budget crisis is being used by administrators at their school as an opportunity to cut tenure rates... unfortunately the situation at UNC is mostly the same.

Top-heavy at N.C. State
by Jerry L. Whitten and Marie Davidian

During the five year period 2002-2007, the N.C. State budget increased from $337 million to $512 million while the number of full-time tenure track faculty at the university decreased from 1,322 to 1,314.

...In order to reduce instructional costs, the university increased its
reliance on temporary or term-contract faculty. In contrast, the size and cost of administrative activities grew from 447 full-time personnel classified as administration in 2002 to 532 in 2007 (a 19 percent increase). Administrative offices have spawned other administrative offices and many of the resulting functions are regarded by faculty as being of marginal value.

Typically, a response to such criticism is to argue that data can be misleading. Of course that is true, but not in this case. The data are a matter of public record, and their interpretation is unfortunately clear: left to manage its own affairs, N.C. State decided that administration and other related functions were more important than teaching.

Worse yet, according to interviews reported recently in The N&O and in the campus newspaper, the provost and other officials at N.C. State have threatened to respond to budget reductions by cutting classes and reducing teaching personnel. The president of the system recommends furloughs. Reducing administrative costs does not seem to be at the forefront of administrative thinking.

...to meet budget reduction targets, campuses should be required to reduce administrative costs first before reducing educational services. Those who cannot clearly articulate and satisfactorily defend their past budget decisions should be required to roll back their administrative costs to the 2002 level, an approximately 20 percent reduction.

We should also focus on the future. Consider the benefits that would accrue if the university system were truly to commit to increasing the quality of education whether in the classroom for undergraduates or in advanced research laboratories for graduate students. Consider how differently the future would be shaped if a balance between administrative functions that are truly essential and the instructional and research functions that are vital to the mission of the system’s institutions could be achieved.

source: the News and Observer, April 11, 2009

Percent of faculty with tenure

Typical salaries at Carolina
I can’t... they’re canceling all the classes i need to graduate

hey, have y’all registered for classes yet?

AND they’re making us pay more tuition?

What do budget cuts mean for students?

For a start: fewer classes offered, larger class sizes, more classes taught by overworked and underpaid contingent faculty and graduate students. Academic support decreases: less academic advising, less chance to interact with faculty, less resources in the libraries. Extracurricular support decreases as funds are cut to centers and programs promoting cultural diversity, such as the LGBTQ center, and there is less money available to support student organizations.

But there’s no other choice, right? We all must sacrifice a little for the budget cuts, right? If you had the choice, would you cut classes and teaching positions? Or perhaps something else - and - why don’t you have the choice?

from the front lines...

MEXICO CITY: students occupy the Universidad Autónoma de México to protest a proposal to make students pay tuition. The students are successful and the UNAM remains free for students to attend.

CUNY: Students hold walkout to protest budget cuts and increasing tuition rates.
This university exists for and because of students. Knowledge, “an education,” is not something that can be bought and sold, or given from one person to another. Nor are students passive recipients of the ‘gift’ of education. It takes work to learn – work in classes, in the library, in late night conversations, in part-time jobs just to get by.

Students must be active participants in their own education. Therefore, students must participate in the decision-making process on campus. Decision-making is more than electing a few representatives for student government, more than reading about something in the DTH or an email after it has been decided by somebody else.

“\[Text\]

One immediate consequence of how UNC’s administration is responding to the budget crunch is a decrease in available courses for fall 2009. Nearly one-third fewer course sections are open to students enrolling for the fall...

In the spring semester of 2009, there were 34,020 course sections initially offered at Carolina. Roughly 3% of those were cancelled (because no students enrolled in them or because nobody was available to teach them). This coming fall, with more students at Carolina, there are only 24,660 courses on offer, and 3.5% of them are already cancelled. That's a net reduction of 28% in the number of course sections available.

Europe: In the fall of 2008, students began organizing across Italy in opposition to proposed education cuts by Prime Minister Berlusconi: 200,000 students protesting in Rome. Students blocking streets and railways across the country. Countless universities occupied. Students, faculty, researchers – all education workers - simultaneously going on strike. Self-taught seminars to understand the government’s proposals and to define new strategies. Self-reform of the university – students unwilling to pay for the economic take the university into their own hands and begin to enact different ways of producing and sharing knowledge. High school students hold public classes in city plazas. University students and faculty, precarious researchers, high school students and teachers, parents and children come together to protest the education cuts, proclaiming “We won't pay for your crisis!” The Anomalous Wave, as it comes to be called, spreads across Europe as students protest the Bologna Process to unify higher education in the European Union.

The wave spreads... Education workers, students and parents participate in a nationwide strike in France. Students in Helsinki occupy a university administration building to propose laws that would raise tuition and further privatize the university. In Barcelona, students occupy university buildings for months to protest...
The budget cuts which everyone is talking about come from a potential 5-7% reduction in state appropriations, the money that the NC Legislature allocates each year to the University of North Carolina system. Allocating the state budget is a complicated process which happens once every two years: individual universities first submit budget proposals to the overall UNC Board of Governors, which then prepares a joint budget proposal which (with edits by the Governor) is included as part of her proposed budget to the legislature. Once the legislature approves its own version of the budget, the entire lump sum of money allocated to the UNC system goes back to the Board of Governors, which finally decides how to allocate the money amongst individual institutions (based on a new set of proposals). As this 'zine goes to press, Governor Perdue’s budget proposal doesn’t include any decreases in UNC system funding, but it is expected that the state legislature will demand at least 3-5% cuts.

State appropriations make up only a quarter to a third of UNC-CH’s overall revenue, and even 5% seems like a small fraction of that. So why are we already feeling the pain on campus? There are a number of reasons, all of them related to conscious administrative decisions.

First, while state appropriations don’t make up the majority of overall revenue, they are the bulk of the money used to pay for undergraduate education, especially faculty salaries. Since the Board of Trustees hasn’t given serious consideration to reallocating funds from other sources
We don’t know! It’s a secret!

Information about the endowment, what little we can find, is buried deep within jargon-filled financial reports. The dearth of information about the endowment is intentional. Like many other supposedly public institutions, UNC deliberately conceals from the public eye information about the inner workings of its endowment.

How does a public institution get away with this? The Chapel Hill Investment Fund board (overseen by the UNC-CH Board of Trustees) subcontracts the investing and management of the endowment to a private non-profit entity: UNC Management Co. Inc. State law specifically exempts the management corporation from the open records requirements which would normally apply to the university.

Here is what we do know:

- UNC-CH’s investment fund was worth $2.2 billion in June, 2008
- The investment fund yielded an 8% return last fiscal year and 23.4% the year before.
- Compared to other universities and stock indexes UNC-CH fared quite well as of September 2008.
- It made positive moves to divest from companies linked to Sudan’s oppressive government.

How the endowment invests (June 2008)

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Sources: UNC-CH Board of Trustee minutes, 11/2008. Triangle Business Journal
More definitions...

**Layoff/Firing/Letting Go:** To totally dismiss an employee or employees from work on a permanent or temporary basis. “I got laid off, now I have no pay to feed my family with.”

**RIF (Reduction In Force policy):** An administrative policy for laying people off. Recent directives by UNC administration for layoffs at UNC may have been against UNC’s own RIF policies. [http://www.seanc.org/docs/Bowles%20RIF%20letter.pdf](http://www.seanc.org/docs/Bowles%20RIF%20letter.pdf)

**Furlough:** Reducing the time worked (pay-time) by an employee to cut labor costs, squeezing the same amount of work in to a shorter period. “I can only work (get paid) for 4 days a week, now I have less time to do all my work and less pay at the end of the week.” How does a student or faculty member entirely stop thinking one day a week?

**UNC-Chapel Hill Chancellor:** The chief administrative position at UNC-Chapel Hill. The chancellor works in concert with the UNC-Chapel Hill Board of Trustees under the directives of the UNC board of Governors.

### Further sources for information:
- students, faculty and staff organizing at Carolina around the budget crisis maintain a collective wiki, where you can view and add your own information ([http://carolinacrisis.wetpaint.com](http://carolinacrisis.wetpaint.com))
- the Carolina Factbook, published annually, has information on enrollment, staff and faculty salaries, racial and gender diversity on campus, and many other topics ([http://oira.unc.edu/facts-and-figures/data-summaries-and-publications/previous-fact-books.html](http://oira.unc.edu/facts-and-figures/data-summaries-and-publications/previous-fact-books.html))
- UNC’s Comprehensive Annual Financial Report is sometimes tough to digest, but has a lot of the nitty-gritty data we used for this ‘zine ([http://www.unc.edu/finance/fd/c/docs/2008_cafr.pdf](http://www.unc.edu/finance/fd/c/docs/2008_cafr.pdf))
- the Edu-factory project has analysis and news from university struggles all over the world ([http://www.edu-factory.org](http://www.edu-factory.org))
- Reworking the University is an annual conference in Minneapolis of folks (mostly from the United States) organizing for autonomy in their universities ([http://rethinkingtheu.wordpress.com/](http://rethinkingtheu.wordpress.com/))

**What can we do? Organize...**
We Demand:

1. Chop from the Top! Workers and Students should not bear the brunt of budget cuts!

   Chancellor Thorp and other administrators make more than 15 times the salary of a full-time housekeeper.
   --We demand that all layoffs or furloughs, or forced time off without pay, occur at the administrative levels only.
   --We demand that the University not cut costs by leaving positions unfilled, forcing one person to do the job of multiple people. There should be no increased workloads for employees without increased pay. Further, we demand the establishment of baseline metrics for employee’s current workloads.
   --We demand that the University not cut costs by relying on the constant use of temp-workers or the privatization of any sector of campus jobs. All workers deserve a living wage, benefits for them and their partner, dignity and respect.
   --We demand that student services, class size and availability, advising and counseling services should not be impacted by the budget cuts.

2. Total Transparency Now!

   As a public institution the University has an obligation to be fully transparent in all its operations.
   --We demand full disclosure of both the source and the use of all public and private funding and endowments. In particular, we demand access to all the documents concerning the University’s recent dealings with Bain & Co.
   --We demand an end to closed meetings – no decisions should be made outside of the public eye.
   --We demand a detailed account of all proposed budget cuts well before they occur.

3. Community Involvement in All Decisions About Budget Crisis!

   In order to adhere to its mission to serve the people of North Carolina, the University must allow the public to actively participate in every step of decision-making.
   --We demand the creation of an inclusive body comprised of students, faculty and staff that actively participates in all decisions surrounding the budget crisis.
   --We demand a public re-evaluation of the decision to use Bain & Co.
   --We demand the rights of campus workers to organize without fear of intimidation and repression, to collectively meet and confer with administration, and to have an active role in policies that affect them. We expect the University to be a strong advocate for workers’ rights and collective bargaining in North Carolina.

Students, workers, and faculty members are organizing against the budget cuts. Please join us at our meetings every Tuesday at 7pm in Saunders 220 if you are interested in getting involved! Contact us at budgetcuts@unc.edu for more info!

Get involved on campus:

- UNC Budget Cuts wiki: carolinacrisis.wetpaint.com
- Counter Cartographies Collective: www.countercartographies.org
- Students for a Democratic Society: chapelhillsds.org
- Feminist Students United
- UNC NOW
- BSM: http://www.unc.edu/student/orgs/bsm/
- UNC NAACP: http://www.unc.edu/student/orgs/naacp/
- Progressive Faculty Network
- UNC AAUP: http://aaup-uncch.org/
- UE-150
- SEANC
We won’t pay for your crisis!

3Cs: Counter-Cartographies Collective
April, 2009