

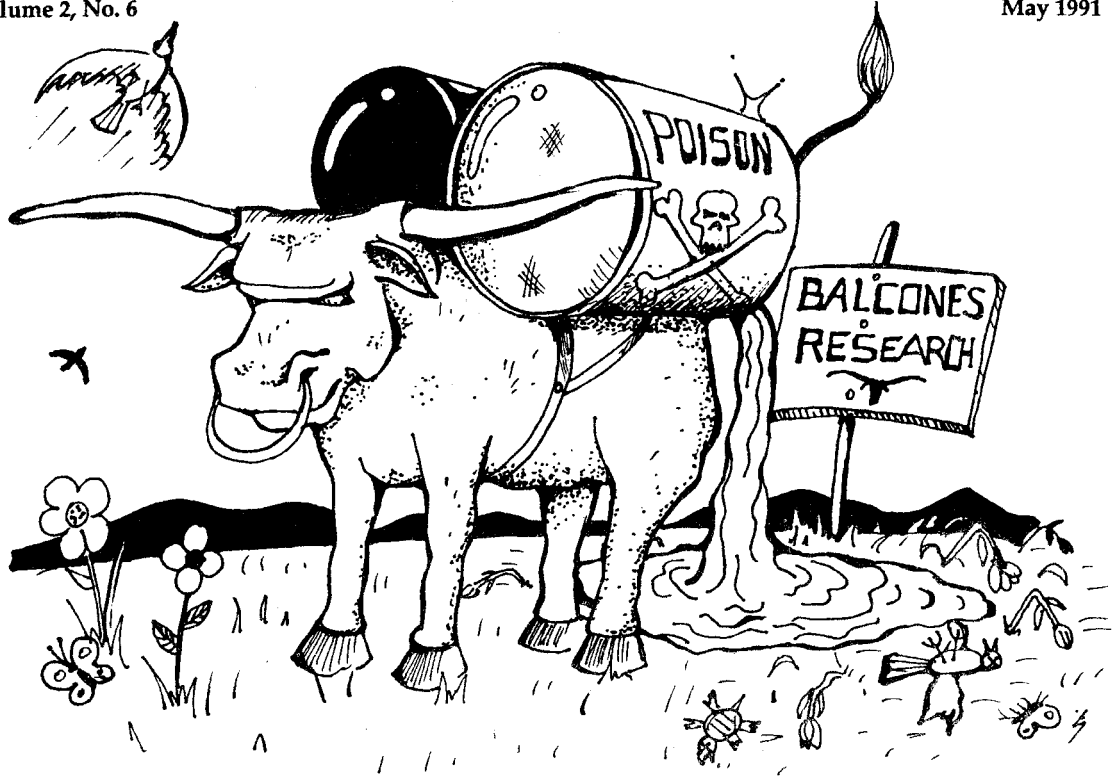


Polemicist

A journal must have polemic, if it is to struggle. —Karl Marx

Volume 2, No. 6

May 1991



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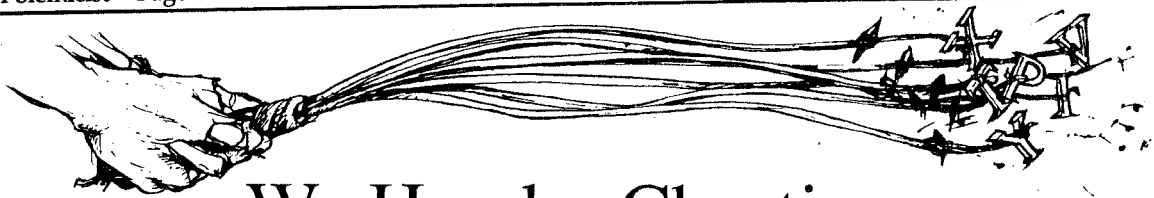
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We Hereby Chastise...

"If, when a man has fallen into habits of idleness, of daydreaming, and of sloth, putting off his most important duties continually til the morrow, another man were to awaken him one fine morning with the heavy blows of a whip, and were to whip him unmercifully, until he who was unable to work for pleasure worked now for fear—would not that man, the chastiser, indeed be his benefactor and truest friend?"

—Charles Baudelaire
Intimate Journals

Hans Mark—Chancellor
Man of No Idea

UT-System Chancellor Hans Mark, while slamming multiculturalism advocates in the journal *Academic Questions*, defines higher education as the pursuit of ideas, and nicely pigeonholes the "social significance of race, ethnicity, and gender" as "one such idea." This reductionist notion isolates real-world political events, including the struggle for curriculum reform, from their context, and thereby strips them of meaning. Chancellor "Plato" Mark has stuck a blow for idealism in academia's most politically scurrilous magazine.

The journal—a mouthpiece for the New-Right group the National Association of Scholars—takes strong stands against affirmative action, multiculturalism, minority recruitment, evolution and women's studies, among other topics. The NAS led the assault on the proposed syllabus for English 306 last summer and fall.

Clearly *Academic Questions* is well aware of its capacity to effect change. Is the political role of such a journal and the NAS simply an "idea" as well? Under the circumstances, we wonder how Mark could seem so amazed that, as he says, "what were once relatively routine academic procedures and decisions have become highly visible and emotionally charged events." He is helping to make them that way.

In Marks' hot pursuit of "ideas," he describes the relationship between Margaret Thatcher and Indira Gandhi—two "Oxford girls"—and hails their camaraderie as an example of a potentially global "common understanding." That "common understanding," according to Mark, forms the basis for a "world culture" that is "all encompassing and not dependent on a single 'culture,'" but not necessarily available to people who have not attended Oxford. This "all encompassing" culture is the *product* of the university—in other words, whatever the university teaches. Clearly the "understanding" forged between Gandhi and Thatcher has enabled them to work out military arms deals for India.

Mark creates from these concrete political realities a bizarre anthropological theory of power, or "intergroup conflict" that can be also raised to the level of the idea,

along with religion, beauty and morality (which are all common "across the spectra of time and place.") Mark suggests that a core curriculum cover these, and other topics. We are happy to know that "power" is now a topic that can be studied. Does this mean that when students complete their chosen courses in "power" and get their grade, that they will have acquired it? We think not.

Bill "No Emergency" Aleshire
High Tech Booster,
Emergency Planning Chair

The Travis County LEPC (Local Emergency Planning Committee) met in April for the first time in 18 months, and all the chairs around the large courthouse table were filled. Unfortunately, most of these bodies were merely warning chairs for Bill Aleshire, because actually less than 33% of LEPC members attended, no business could be done and all motions were put off for future sessions.

Under SARA Title III in Texas, County Commissioner and regular high tech development booster Bill Aleshire, chairs the Committee charged with planning for toxic accidents and informing the community about the hazards of his beloved industry. Not surprisingly, Aleshire shows little enthusiasm for the job.

Aleshire went over the structure and membership of the LEPC, recommending increases in the number of city and county bureaucrats, but fewer environmental groups and media representatives. Aleshire complained bitterly that members of the environmental and media communities had never shown any interest in the LEPC. When this magazine volunteered to become a media rep on the committee, however, we were informed that only broadcast media would be useful to the emergency planners.

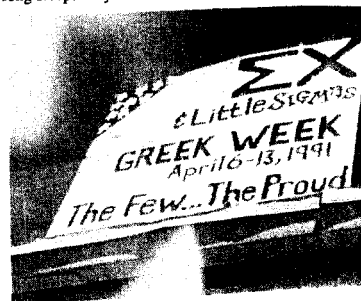
Media members, Aleshire said, were really not on the committee to help it fulfill its role under Citizen's Right to Know, but only for broadcasting instructions during an emergency. If this is the media's primary purpose on the LEPC, let's hope there is no emergency soon, because the airwaves would be deafeningly silent. There are currently no media reps on the committee at all.

When asked why the Lower Colorado River Authority, a water bureaucracy for non-City of Austin water users and itself a facility using hazardous materials, was listed as an environmental group, Aleshire handed the question over to the (non-voting, first timer) LCRA rep. He defended the seat, saying that LCRA has a strong investment in the water supply. Aleshire defended the need for an LCRA rep also, but suggested that the position simply be moved over to the industry group, giving industry seven voting members, compared to only one Citizen. He did not suggest that another environmental group be added, and noted instead that the committee was already too large and unwieldy.

Bill Aleshire also made it clear that the citizens who turned out to the meeting, or "laypeople" as he called them, would have little or no participation in the development of an Emergency Plan for the hazardous materials that are filling our city. When asked by one

citizen in the audience why 25-50% of the committee could not be made up of community people, he reiterated that the LEPC was a place for experts, not "laypeople," but that citizens could form a non-voting sub-subcommittee of the Outreach Subcommittee, if they so chose. Thank you Bill.

The meeting ended with no business accomplished and a promise to post the next meeting time 72 hours in advance on a bulletin board on the third floor of the County Courthouse. So if you ever happen that way, you might check and see if the LEPC is having a meeting. Maybe it will simply disappear for another long sleep. Maybe we will never know.



Greek jingoists for school and nation

If anything horrifies the editors of this journal more than mindless school spirit, it's shameless euphoria for the mass suffering and killing the United States just wrought in Iraq. Of course, these two modes of thought are joined at the hip: If you possess unexamined and boundless love for your school—if, as one frat boy recently announced in the *Daily Texan*, you "BLEED ORANGE!!!"—why not bleed red, white and blue, too?

UT's fraternity boys and sorority girls, those celebrated vulgarians, those brilliant mouth pieces for the school's and the nation's dominant ideologies, quite predictably layed this implicit relationship bare during last month's "Greek Week."

The theme of this year's "Greek Week," which amounts to the now-banned Round-Up with a tummy-tuck and a face-lift, was to celebrate the smashing success of "Operation Desert Storm"—and, of course, to express jingoism and pride for the beloved "Horns. Never mind that more than 100,000 Iraqi conscripts, and uncounted more thousands of civilians, died in the massacre; or that while the Greeks toasted the troops at their "exclusive" West Campus parties, thousands more Kurds and Shiites were being massacred after the U.S. triumph.

After all, a victory, on the football field or in the international arena, is a victory.

For their mindless apologia—and euphoria—for the atrocities of the school and nation, these Greeks should, of course, be bitterly lashed. But after all these years, we've become jaded. All we can muster is a heavy case of nausea: moral, intellectual, and physical.

Who's Zoomin' Who?

The Right's Political Correctness Campaign Against Multiculturalism

By Paula Knippa
and Kathy Mitchell

Right-wing groups like the National Association of Scholars, its local affiliate, the Texas Association of Scholars, and the *University Review* have launched a counteroffensive in response to what they claim is an assault on individual and academic freedom by the progressive left.

They accuse "political extremists" (Bush, May 1991) of attempting to bludgeon both the student body and university curricula into a narrow vision of sociopolitical reality and academic truth via that pernicious arbiter of thought and speech—"political correctness." While there may be room for self-examination on the left, the *Review* rejects an honest address of the issues in favor of a renewed attack on the progressive movement as a whole. And, more critically, uses this "controversy" to justify its denial of real social and political realities and its own assault on projects like multicultural curriculum reform.

Welcome to Amerika

The right offers a convenient vision of a society in which economic disparity, racism and sexism are no longer a problem; and instead people of color and their acolytes have created an oppressive atmosphere of "political correctness" in

which white males live in fear of being "attacked" for racial or gender or any variety of insensitivities. While reverse discrimination is not exactly a new concept for the right, conservatives have latched onto it with renewed vigor in their campaign to reclaim or at least preserve "their" academic heritage.

Despite their continuing overrepresentation in the faculty, in the administration, the student body, the regents and the Legislature, white boys just can't help feeling oppressed.

At the University 90.6 percent of the faculty is white, while black faculty represent only 1.8 percent of the total, according to the UT *Statistical Handbook*. Men dominate in all areas, claiming 75 percent of the faculty positions and 53.9 percent of the student enrollment. Only 8.4 percent of full professors are women.

Among students, the enrollment figures for people of color are even more depressing. Out of a general population that is 12 percent black, UT claims a black student enrollment of only 3.7 percent. Blacks drop out of the University of Texas at 2.5 times the dropout rate of whites. Today, an African American student's chance of graduating college by age 30 is only half that of whites, according to Erich Nakano, a writer for the Student Unity Network.

Despite its rhetoric, the university

has provided neither the classes nor the services that would help retain the small number of minority students they man-

The cartoon academic on the cover of the last *Review* holds out a tin cup for sympathy to the student body at large, but the sly play on the "poverty" of education only serves to foreground more strongly the real economic privilege they defend.



age to enroll (in spite of their alleged stranglehold on university resources and policy!).

From 1976 to 1988, the percentage of low-income Latino high school graduates attending college plummeted from 50.4 percent to 35.3 percent, according to Erich Nakano. The number of African Americans attending college actually declined during the 1980s, as did the number of black PhDs.

Despite the oppressive atmosphere of the Reagan era, students of color here and elsewhere fought these increasingly regressive developments, creating and helping institute corrective changes in core curricula, Ethnic Studies, campus anti-harassment policies, and some diversification of the faculty.

But even as programs like the English Department's Ethnic and Third World Studies, and Women's Studies and the concept of multiculturalism take root, the right wing launches yet another offensive. This time, hurling accusations of a progressive totalitarianism, the right wants to manipulate the fears of many Americans by manufacturing a conspiracy of "political correctness."

The Struggle for Free Speech

In doing so, the right is finally able to cast itself in the role of the underdog and gain the sympathy of a public drawn to the downtrodden. For example, the most recent *University Review* champions the cause of the beleaguered white male,

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Madison Ctr. Tries Affirmative Action

By Sarah Diamond

Not content with sponsoring a network of about 60 right-wing "alternative" college newspapers, the Madison Center for Educational Affairs has created the Student Forum to organize primarily Black and Latino student activists against efforts to increase ethnic diversity in academia.

David Bernstein, coordinator of the newly formed Student Forum, says the group's purpose is to counter "the politically correct minority students who are the most organized and the loudest." Bernstein claims that "a lot of people are fed up with the whole race issue going on" and that most minority students would prefer to be treated as "individuals" and "as citizens" rather than members of under-represented ethnic groups.

Bernstein, who is half Black and half Jewish, studies part-time at the University of Maryland while working for the Madison Center in Washington.

Writing in the Student Forum's network newsletter, he traced the origins of the forum to a meeting in late 1989. A group of fellow black students, brought together by the Republican National Committee, pondered a national

campus organization for black Republicans. "But because the idea seemed too separatist," he continued, the conveners decided to create a multiethnic organization of "independent-minded minority collegians" instead.

Bernstein says the Student Forum, which held its first Leadership Development Conference last fall, has only 60-70 members nationwide and "hasn't done much recruiting yet." Thus far the group's only visible activities are the production of a monthly newsletter and a syndicated column on campus race issues. The column is distributed through the Madison Center's network of right-wing student publications.

The first several issues of Network advertised conferences on racial and gender themes. These included a recent meeting in Cambridge, Mass., on "Women and Men on Campus," a March 20-23 conference on "Creating a Future for African-Americans," in Jacksonville, Fla., and an April 4-7 session called "Changing Cultural Values and the Role of University" at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana. A "National Conference on Racial and Ethnic Relations in Higher Education" is slated for

May 31-June 4 in San Antonio, Texas.

No contact addresses or phone numbers have been given for any of these events. Instead, supporters are encouraged to call Network's toll-free hotline. One description of the "Leadership Development Conferences" advises that "all expenses for participants are paid by us," though it's unclear if the Madison Center plans to foot the bill for all of the above events.

Bernstein says the Madison Center plans in the coming school year to publish a new quarterly magazine devoted exclusively to race issues. Tentatively titled Diversity, he expects the initial circulation to be 75,000-100,000 copies.

The enormous costs of such a venture are likely to present the difficulty for the Madison Center, which is heavily bankrolled by corporate foundations, including Coors, Mobil, Smith-Richardson, Eastart, Scallo and Olin. The Madison Center was established in 1988 by then-Secretary of Education William Bennett and Allan Bloom, author of the best-selling book "The Closing of the American Mind," in order to promote study of "the major

works of the Western world" in literature, philosophy and political theory. In 1990 the Madison Center merged with the Institute for Educational Affairs, which since 1978 has financed the right-wing student press and like-minded faculty.

Throughout the 1980s, the organizers of the campus had a dual focus: preservation of "traditional" curricula in the humanities and social sciences and the identification and discrediting of liberal and leftist faculty. Now the focus has shifted. Right-wing minority students are being recruited to speak publicly against progressive trends toward multicultural education.

By fall, progressive campus organizers should not be surprised to see their right-wing counterparts highly mobilized on race-related issues, especially course content, admissions and "fighting words" or "hate speech" policies.

Already topping the right's rhetorical theme list is the charge that the left aims to mangle or distort academic "standards" by insisting on a "politically correct" agenda of racial and gender inclusiveness.

Where's the Safety Net? UT's 40 Year Toxic History



by Kathy Mitchell

On December 31, 1990, the EPA filed a Complaint and Compliance Order against the University. The complaint identified 17 violations of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA), which the Texas Water Commission uncovered during hazardous waste inspections in August 1989 and March 1990. UT currently faces charges totaling \$170,550.

In its official response, the University admitted to seven of the violations, from personnel training inadequacies and failure to post warning signs, to failure to check to see what's in all the drums it sends for disposal. UT will probably settle the rest of the allegations out of court, according to Brian Berwick of the Attorney General's Office.

The EPA's allegations are only the most recent chapter in a long history of hazardous waste violations at the University, both on the main campus and at the Balcones Research Center (BRC). The University now must "clean-up" its act. The University portrays itself as a high-tech leader in Austin, and has spearheaded the effort to bring toxic producing industries like the consortiums MCC and Sematech (See *Polemistic*, December 1990 and April 1991). It brags that the Microelectronics Research Center at Balcones will "concentrate on new devices, based on new kinds of materials, grown and processed by new methods...such as Organometallic Chemical Vapor Deposition," but UT does not prioritize developing new methods to reduce the number and quantity of highly toxic waste chemicals used in such processes.

Chemicals wastes, generated at the print shop in the basement of the Communications building, at the Service Building on Speedway and in labs throughout campus surround students with invisible hazards. While students assume that the University takes care of their safety, inspection reports over the last five years reveal that the Texas Water Commission has repeatedly reprimanded

UT for storing wastes in unlabeled drums, for insufficiently training emergency personnel, lab technicians and others, for leaving unmarked drums of hazardous substances standing open, and for failing to maintain records of the toxic materials that move from the over 1,500 labs on campus to storage at Balcones and eventual disposal.

50 Tons of Who Knows What

The University, its resources increasingly directed toward high-tech and military research, generated over 50 tons of hazardous wastes between January 1989 and December 1990, according to the TWC's annual shipper monitoring report.

Of this, waste managers shipped 34 tons off-site, while handling another 16 tons at Balcones and on the Main Campus. The hazardous wastes varied from flammable liquids like phenyllithium, to poisons, corrosive liquids (nitric, sulfuric and hydrochloric acid), heavy metals and solvents. Picric acid and sodium metal, shipped out in explosion-proof boxes, go to the Austin Police Department for disposal. Mercury is shipped out of state.

In addition, the University stores additional quantities of hazardous materials in laboratory and utility buildings all over campus, including chloroform, sulfuric acid, argon, hydrogen cyanide and others in large quantities, according to the Tier II report filed under SARA Title III (the Citizen's Right to Know Act). The total quantities of toxics on campus at any one time cannot be determined, however, because the EPA regulates "waste" differently from "materials." Hazardous "materials" are chemicals that have not been processed before use. Usually purchased in bulk and stored for use in labs, the print shop, the power plant, the physical plant and elsewhere, they are regulated under Title III by the Texas Department of Health. The same toxic materials, generated on campus by a chemical process, is a "waste" regulated by the Water Commission under RCRA. Hazardous materials can be accumulated for a year without a permit, while hazardous waste must be removed quickly.

For UT classification can be more important than safety. For example, the finer returns on UT's investment in Sematech, for the University more than 140 gallons of hazardous waste chemicals left over from construction. After Sematech dropped off the drums, UT classified them as hazardous "materials," putting them in storage until *Texan* reporter David Loy called the TWC to report a possible violation, February 13 of this year.

According to TWC District Manager John Young, "Sematech determined that those were wastes. They didn't need them any more...so they gave them to UT." Although several employees complained that UT had no use for the chemicals, they remained in storage nearly a year. "You cannot accumulate hazardous wastes *speculatively*, on the off chance you might use them," continued Young. "They had 12 months to use 70 percent of that material, and their time was running out." This is a new twist on "high risk" investment. After the February inspection, the Safety Office reclassified the drums as hazardous wastes and sent them to Balcones for disposal.

What's Inside That Drum?

Students might be surprised to learn that UT probably stores toxic chemicals in at least some of the buildings they visit every day; student services, the gyms, RLM, the Erwin Center, the Education Annex, engineering, the West Mall Building, the PAC and others. They assume that someone knows what's inside that drum. Yet, nearly every annual and emergency investigation into UT's waste handling program since 1984 has noted unmarked drums of toxics in a variety of locations.

At the time of the first inspection for the current EPA complaint, August 22, 1989, new charges suddenly collided with old in the slow process of EPA enforcement. The violations in the current complaint "are considered to be high priority...Also, EPA currently has an ongoing enforcement action against this facility," wrote Daniel J. Eden, in a letter to the EPA's Hazardous Waste Management Division, 10/17/89.

On January 26 and 27 of 1989, Susan Adams, Assistant District Manager of the TWC, had responded to a hazardous waste spill at the Service Building, noting in her report that "wastes to be incinerated were

Sematech determined that those were wastes. They didn't need them any more...so they gave them to UT

stored in unlabeled, undated drums in an undesignated accumulation area at the Service Building on 24th and San Jacinto. A spill of waste solvent from an unlabeled, leaking drum at the Service Building on 1/10/89 brought to our attention the above mentioned waste management problems. That spill was cleaned up adequately, but no changes had been made in waste management procedures up to the time of the inspection two weeks later."

Further, the TWC inspector noted unmarked drums near a storm drain. "Hazardous wastes are stored in unlabeled and undated drums in an area where any spills would flow immediately to a storm drain. The storm drain has sand bags around it, but a more permanent solution should be found."

Over several years TWC investigators have reported random, unmarked containers of toxic chemicals found near labs, outside, or lost in storage. Edward Myers of the Bureau of Solid Waste Management, in July of 1984, found several containers of waste chemicals in a dumpster by the chemistry building. In December of 1985, District Manager John Young found deteriorating containers at BRC.

A letter dated December 22, 1987, from TWC inspector Susan Adams chastised the University for leaving drums of bulk solvents without labels or dates, and again in early 1989, "Several problems were noted, again this year, in the Chem/Rad Transfer Building [in the UT service complex]...Two partially filled drum packs were open. Several smaller containers and at least one drum were open and had no labels on them. Many smaller containers collected from individual labs...also had dates older than 90 days and many were in poor condition. Also, what was reported to be non-hazardous waste was stored in the same area, but most of it had no labeling whatsoever."

In 1987, the Water Commission asked that all the containers at Balcones that were in poor condition with no labels be disposed of by January 1988. By August 1989, John Young, investigating a complaint, wrote that "Building 105 contained numerous labeled and unlabeled cans, bottles and drums. One drum had a 1984 accumulation start date. Several containers had leaked."

According to UT's Hazardous Waste Management Permit Application, the labs, the Service Building, Texas Student Publications and other hazardous waste generating facilities on campus accumulate waste in "satellite accumulation areas" until there is enough to call the Safety Office for a pick-up. The lab generally dates the drum from the time it is full. Within three days of a call, a trained hazardous materials handler is

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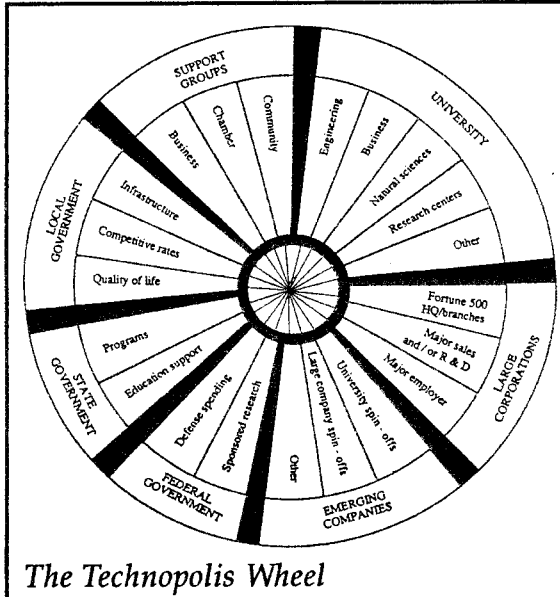
The Technopolis and You: On the Role of Research Universities

BY SCOTT HENSON

Throughout the 1980s at the University of Texas and schools across the country, links between higher education and commercial industry expanded without constraint. Beyond their traditional role of training the next generation of corporate laborers, universities began to actively gear their research—particularly high-tech and biotech research—toward “commercialization” and “technology transfer.” At the extreme end of this trend, some universities, including UT, began to form start-up companies to market their research. A new book, *University Spin-Off Companies*, describes various aspects of spin-off companies and technology transfer. The book contains academic papers delivered at a 1988 conference sponsored by the RGK Foundation—a privately held foundation controlled by the Kozmetsky family.¹

For UT, this book's importance far outdistances its often intellectually unimpressive prose. In his role as chief economic advisor to the UT-System Board of Regents since the late 1960s, George Kozmetsky has used the University as his personal laboratory in which to experiment with new methods of making U.S. industry “competitive.” These methods include: UT subsidizing MCC and Sematech, two high-tech research consortia, with a combined total of \$62 million in cash and in-kind gifts; the creation of a semi-private venture-capital network; and incubation and subsidy of university spin-off companies, among others. Economists call these tactics “industrial policy,” a shorthand term for subsidizing industry through public infrastructure as well as tax and investment policy. For UT, this book represents some of the debates and ideas which affect how Kozmetsky, one of UT's top policy-makers, directs university resources.

Two of the three editors of the book work at UT's Institute for Constructive Capitalism (IC²), an off-campus think tank founded by Kozmetsky in the 1970s; Raymond Smilor, a UT graduate, serves as IC² director, and David Gibson, an assistant professor in the Department of Management Science and Information



Systems at the UT business school, is an IC² research associate. In the past, the two men coauthored—along with Kozmetsky—a groundbreaking book in the field of technology transfer called *Creating the Technopolis*. In one chapter of *University Spin-Off Companies*, Smilor and Gibson rehash their technopolis spiel; other chapters, some of which were written or co-written by UT personnel, address topics surrounding start-up companies ranging from patent issues to venture capital. This review, for the purposes of brevity and focus, will concentrate on Gibson and Smilor's article, “The Role of the Research University in Creating and Sustaining the U.S. Technopolis.”

Creating the Technopolis: The Wheel Spins Round

Gibson and Smilor define “the term ‘technopolis’ [as being] composed of *techno*, which reflects an emphasis on technology, and *polis*, which is the Greek word for city-state and reflects a balance

between public and private sectors.” In other words, the “technopolis” reflects the vision of liberal economic and social planners to create a new form of city-state centered around high-tech industry.

The nuts and bolts of the technopolis agenda reveal a more sophisticated (on paper) version of the Eastern European/U.S.S.R.-style socialism discredited by the 1989 revolutions. The authors want competing interests—capital and labor, large companies and small ones, etc.—to “find ways to cooperate while competing.”

These statements remind one of Frederick Engels' *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, in which he declares that an “administration” (read: bureaucracy) would replace the traditional state after the proletarian revolt. The ascendancy of this “administration,” Engels argued, would result in the abolition of all the contradictions inherent in capitalism. Similarly, Gibson and Smilor want to “link public- and private-sector entities, (some of which have been traditionally

adversarial) in order to effect change.”

In order to analyze the problems involved in abolishing all the contradictions in industrial capitalism in one fell swoop (while avoiding a popular uprising), Gibson, Kozmetsky and Smilor created the “Technopolis Wheel” (see illustration), in which the seven segments interact. Many non-high tech employees will have a difficult time finding their place on the technopolis wheel. For example, despite the fact the authors consider the research university the “nucleus” of the technopolis, the only category under “UNIVERSITY” in which students might fit would be “other.”

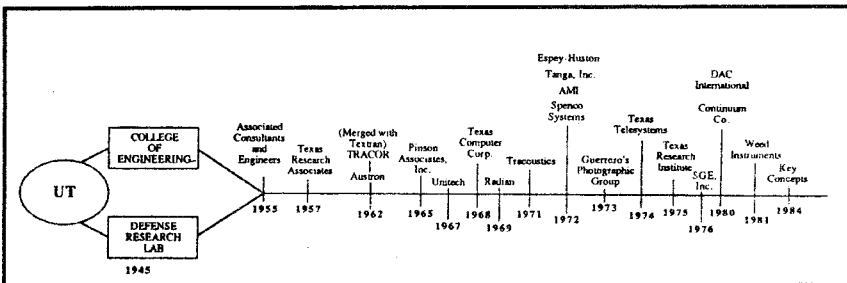
The technopolis wheel gives us an idea of who IC² thinks should pay for its new city-state. Under LOCAL GOVERNMENT the authors list “infrastructure” as a principal role, as well as an undefined “Quality of life” which they stress must be maintained to attract skilled labor; under UNIVERSITY we find “Research centers;” under FEDERAL GOVERNMENT they list “Defense spending” and “Sponsored research;” STATE GOVERNMENT should provide “Education support.”

These are some of the costs of the technopolis, the profits are either privatized by large or emerging corporations, or shared with the University through licensing agreements or by “equity participation” in spin-off companies. In essence, the university subsidizes the private companies' infrastructure by issuing tax-free debt; then it tries to make the money back before its loans come due by taking its cut from corporate profits resulting from the university-generated technologies. Taxpayers make up the difference.

The Technopolis' New Elite

The key to the development of technopoles (their chosen plural form of technopolis), write Gibson and Smilor, is the “influencers,” whom they define as “key individuals who make things happen and who are able to link themselves with other influencers in each of the other segments [of the technopolis wheel] as well as within each segment.” The authors distinguish between “second-level influencer/manager” and the “first-level influencer/visionary”—“first-level influencer/visionaries” articulate concepts and objectives for the larger community.”

In case you aren't aware who's articulating the “concepts and objectives” for your community, Gibson and Smilor come out and tell us. In a footnote they write, “Examples of such first-level influencers in Texas in 1983-86 include



By Margot Fitzgerald

QUEER RESPONSES

activism in general, kicking off a shitstorm of angry reprisals that included calls for censorship, threats by the owner of Liberty Books to pull advertising in the Daily Texan, numerous letters to the editor, and anonymous phone calls. The following represents an attempt to both discuss the article and talk about the context out of which the article and its reception emerged.

The controversial Images piece was comprised of four separate items. One short section, "The Queer Manifesto: a testament to the vacuity of lesbian and gay politics" represents through parody what Contreras and Robert see as the worst tendencies arising from gay and lesbian identity politics. A second piece, "INS & OUTS," seemed designed specifically to goad nearly everyone—even the most open-minded readers probably lost their sense of humor when they found "safe sex" labeled out of fashion, along with "Silence=Death" and "pink triangles." In an interview, Daniel Contreras said of this piece "We just wanted to be bad; we were raised in a horrible, puritanical decade where you weren't supposed to be excessive or obsessive." Derek added that "safe sex" went under "old and boring" as the concept "has been discussed," not as an actual act. A short piece entitled "Idle March" attacked the March, and gay/lesbian politics in general, as "hopeless," "boring," "old," and as "breathhtakingly opportunistic" for linking the struggle for gay and lesbian rights to other liberationist struggles, especially struggles in the third world.

The fourth piece, the longest and most explicitly theoretical, and the one that compels an extended critique, declared that the elaboration of gay and lesbian sexual practices into an extended chain of identities ranging from "gay" and "lesbian" to "straight," "queer," and "homophobe" is produced within the gay and lesbian community (an entity that Contreras and Robert deny exists) for the benefit of gay/lesbian politicians and the owners of gay bars. They also claim that the identities produced by the "reification" (or literalization) of gay and lesbian sex acts into "identities" is anchored by "the closet," which they construe as the site of

In the March 21 issue of Images, a weekly pull-out section of the University of Texas' student newspaper, Daniel Contreras and Derek Robert slammed the March on Austin for Gay and Lesbian Rights and gay and lesbian political

identity production. They hold the gay and lesbian rights movement accountable for maintaining these identities through an economic/symbolic analysis of an (exploitative and self-defeating) "circular process" produced by "the closet" and dependent on "gay/lesbian identity" for its perpetuation.

This piece was inspired, according to Robert, by Roland Barthe's *Empire of*

Gay/lesbians are not oppressed by any stretch of the imagination...they may be despised...but they've never been cheap wage labor, they've never been denied the vote; so why can't gay/lesbians work for a better society instead of just a society where gay/lesbians can marry each other and it's business as usual."

Sigs. It attempts, he explains, to "shake all the meaning out ... so the closet becomes just architectural space."

It clearly does represent a serious (if deliberately aggravating) attempt to theorize a means by which gay men and lesbians can (or could) simply disband their own identities and unilaterally bring to an end their own oppression. It also, however, replicates, in its positing of lesbian and gay identities as "the problem," much that felt all too familiar to many Austin-area activists from the outpourings of Mark Weaver and his allies, who would adamantly agree that gay and lesbian identities should be disbanded immediately and forever. The article's combination of theoretical jargon and defensive youthfulness infuriated many readers, like being mugged by a giant pre-adolescent armed with an exhaustive vocabulary.

From a more academic perspective, Robert and Contreras seem to have left out one side of the discursive/symbolic loop that would fully describe the economy of "the closet." They neglect, that is, to mention that "faggot" came into the language in reference to the (only peripherally significant) bodies of sodomites used to fuel the fires upon

which witches and heretics (the main attraction) were burned, or to take into consideration that lesbian and gay acts and queer identities have been outlawed not only legally, but within the symbolic order itself.

The discourse of homosexuality, or homosexual identity as a construct, does not exist in isolation from heterosexual norms, it is indispensable to the symbolic administration of such "norms." James Baldwin's assertion that the identities of "the nigger," and "the faggot" are the projections of the white male society's quest for an identity it can live with makes considerably more common and theoretical sense than the claim that gay men and lesbians have "queered" themselves in a bid for pity.

And the continual piling up of the bodies, dead of AIDS, not because they are queer bodies but because they are "queered" bodies, bodies represented as the bodies of the poor, the dark, the marginal, the foreign, the queer, and therefore not bodies worth the efforts of the government or the pharmaceuticals or of science or of the medical establishment or of the social services. Those bodies fade from our collective sight, even as "queer activists" struggle to keep them in the public eye against the growing consensus of the white middle class: "no threat—they are not us." Above all, these "queered" bodies, the quick and the dead, and queer efforts in solidarity with them by people whose private sex acts may not square with public queer identities, do not fit neatly into Derek's and Daniel's antiseptic, emptied out categories.

In spite of the above problems, the work of Daniel Contreras and Derek Robert does represent a serious attempt to theorize the dynamics underlying gay/lesbian self-representation. The infamous "Images article" deserves a longer, more reasoned response than it has so far received because the conditions under which it was published and the ideas which it expresses call our attention to very real problems in the gay and lesbian rights movement in Austin. Both the article and the responses it received from the community might be usefully be read as a performance, set in motion by

Go to Nation, page 19...

The Sexual Freedom League is dead.

That group—properly Texas Student League for Responsible Sexual Freedom—has dropped its proceedings against the University for reinstatement. Both the Texas Civil Liberties Union and the University consider the case closed since the League co-chairman and scheduled plaintiff, Thomas Maddux, has withdrawn.

However, the full story behind the League's struggle and the ensuing furor on campus has not been told.

For instance, Maddux, who was to have been a teaching assistant in the

Spanish Department this fall, was denied his assistantship—coincidental with the Board of Regents' receipt of a letter from Tom and myself requesting a hearing to review the League's dismissal; Tom's name was later withdrawn from the letter, but no reinstatement as a TA was forthcoming. Further, the Admissions office mysteriously failed to notify Tom's draft board that he was in school, which precipitated his being temporarily classified I-A. Needless to say, Tom Maddux is no longer in Austin.

The purpose of the Sexual Freedom League was to stimulate discussion of the various taboos and archaic laws in-

volving sexual activity. The general policy of the League was that any consensual sex act between adults which did not involve force or physical harm should not be illegal. In the controversial handbill distributed by the League, this policy was outlined as it applied to fornication, sodomy, miscegenation, adultery, and statutory rape.

Dean of Student Life, Edwin Price, censored the literature initially on the grounds that it was not in good taste. A curious decision when one considers the usual run of posters for Varsity Carnival

Go to Freedom, page 18...

The Sexual Freedom League Takes On UT: 1966 Queer History Before Stonewall

By Gary Chason. This is a reprint from *The Rag* (Aug. 17, 1966), a UT student alternative paper that published from the mid 60's to 1977.

Toxics

...continued from page 4

supposed to show up and take the material to the "Chem/Rad Transfer Building," permitted for storage of hazardous materials up to 90 days. Then a shipment goes to Balcones for storage or disposal.

The University is required under RCRA to keep records (manifests) of the wastes it moves from campus to Balcones, and then to hazardous-waste dumps. In case an emergency situation requires a quick identification of the material, UT is supposed to know what is in a drum at all points in the process.

UT's permit application claims that "since all shipments from off-site come from the UT main campus, there is no need for inspection, sampling, or periodic checks of analysis when these shipments arrive at the BRC." Charles Jamison of the Safety Office reported to an inspector, however, that BRC and main campus waste shipments have also been used to dispose of hazardous wastes from the Marine Science Center and from Fort Davis. "These facilities are not registered as generators and wastes shipped from the sites have not been manifested (recorded)," wrote the inspector.

In other words, UT claims that every drum of waste is labeled at the campus facility that generates it, and assumes that the people at Balcones do not need to double check the contents, yet investigators have consistently found anonymous drums in storage, and non-campus generators also send drums to Balcones for which they keep no records.

From Magnesium Residues to High Tech Toxics

Balcones Research Center currently stores all of UT Austin's hazardous wastes before final disposal. Complaints against BRC date back to well before the current regulatory system's fully documented investigations; the site has been charged with polluting Shoal Creek and the Edwards Aquifer, and the safety program



has only the most rudimentary evacuation and clean-up plan for toxic spills.

Built on the sight of a WWII magnesium plant, Balcones now houses some of the University's largest nuclear, chemical and microelectronics labs. The research site, purchased from the U.S. Army for \$1.5 million, was established in the existing factory buildings, and the University dumped certain hazardous materials and discarded "empty" containers in the abandoned magnesium pits

on the site. Now the University describes the "pit" as a "landfill," and included it in its 1985 application for a Hazardous Waste Management Permit.

Residents first investigated the effects of the lime pits on the local water supply as early as 1943, while the Defense Plant Corporation still held title to the land. According to a May 1943 memorandum, the then-titled State Board of Water Engineers investigated the plant for leaking mineralized effluent from the reservoir into Shoal Creek "resulting in the deaths of several cows and numerous fish." Mrs. George Shaffer filed a complaint that her well water was no longer fit to drink.

The mineralized pits used for processing plant effluent had leached waste water through the limestone, affecting the spring water in local wells; the concentration of calcium chlorite, for example, increased by as much as 600 percent. When the plant manager asked that a new pit 1/2 mile west of the plant be considered for plant waste water, inspectors decided that effluent "would become part of the ground-water reservoir in the Edwards limestone and might eventually cause serious contamination of well and springs." Although plant operators proposed methods to correct the problem, the plant was soon after sold to the University.

In 1946, the University acquired the lease on the land with the help of then-Congressman Lyndon B. Johnson, and eventually purchased it from the War Assets Administration in 1949. By the late 60s the BRC had developed the Defense Research Laboratories (now the Applied Research Lab), and expanded the site, but many of the labs remained housed in the original magnesium plant. As late as 1980, a report entitled "The Development Concept noted, "BRC still must be characterized as underdeveloped. Many research units at BRC were located at minimal expense in old magnesium plant facilities which were never intended for research." As the University labs began to generate increasingly diverse hazardous waste streams, the lime pits from the magnesium plant came into use again as well.

In November of 1975, in response to reports of illegal-chemical dumping into the old effluent processing pits, the Texas Water Quality Board (TWQB) renewed the investigation of the site. John Young and others found that empty cans and bottles that had contained hazardous substances were disposed of in small pits dug into the hardened magnesium slurry of a 4-5 acre basin. In addition, containers that could not be opened safely were exploded and buried at the site.

Although the geology department assured Young that the basin was watertight ("or essentially so"—TWQB memo 1/9/76), the Board agreed to continue the investigation "of not only the potential pollutional threat posed by the disposal of the 'empty containers,' but also of the threat to the aquifer posed by



the site itself. Between 1976 and 1978 the TWQB repeatedly tested nine wells surrounding the pits, and compared the results to tests run in the 1940's.

In his final report, *Hydrogeologic Investigation in the Vicinity of the Balcones Research Center*, May of 1978, Rod Kimbro wrote "The eight to ten acre waste disposal area located at the Balcones Research Center is impacting the quality of the shallow ground water in the vicinity of the waste disposal area and surface water quality in Shoal Creek. A potential exists for migration to deeper aquifers, i.e. Edwards limestone, through any one of the numerous faults located in the area. At this time, however, because the exact magnitude of the leachate plume being created by the waste basins is not well defined, because the basins may not have been the only areas of waste disposal at the Research Center, because the area surrounding the Research Center is now on 'city' water, and because the Research Center is a State agency dependent on the legislature for funds, no recommendation is being made."

At this time, according to Young, new EPA regulations divided solid waste control between the Health Department and the Water Commission, making the TWQB obsolete. The administration of state agencies and schools fell to the Health Department for a time. According to Peter Tadin of the Health Department, the investigation section only recently acquired enough investigators to do regular annual inspections of the sites under their jurisdiction. Meanwhile, no records of further action on Rod Kimbro's report could be found among Health Department files.

UT refers to the conclusions of this report in its 1985 permit application:

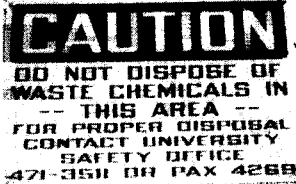
"This study identified the material present as basically inert and non-hazardous calcium, magnesium, and sodium chlorides, sulfates and bicarbonates." No mention is made here of Kimbro's assessment of the environmental impact of mineralization.

The University in 1983 hired its own company to complete a new study of the site, testing five wells in February and

The diamond on the container is color coded, but the officers need to be trained as to what they mean and what they should do.

concluding its report in April. The report focused on "organic carbons" rather than mineralization, concluding that "the presence of organic contamination is highly unlikely."

In 1984 the University collected samples itself, and had them tested for the presence of heavy metals. "In samples collected from three water wells surrounding the 'landfill' by the UT Austin Safety Office...the water met drinking water standards for arsenic, barium, cad-



mium." No other action on the landfill appears in Water Commission files, and the current application has been accepted provisionally, according to Young.

Hazardous wastes are stored in unlabeled and undated drums in an area where any spills would flow immediately to a storm drain. The storm drain has sand bags around it, but a more permanent solution should be found

Balcones now has interim waste management status, and reports that the landfill contains 3,000 pounds of waste.

Give Us 30 Seconds of Your Time

Personnel training is probably the most important safety feature of any waste handling program, since the University regularly develops new wastes and not everyone on campus will know what to do with a particular toxic material. The law requires that employees receive classroom training and six months of documented on the job training, as well as annual updates. In addition, lab techs and professors should be trained in RCRA reporting requirements, so that toxics can be identified once they leave a lab.

The Water Commission, in its March 1990 inspection, found three Balcones personnel who had completed neither classroom instruction nor on the job training in the handling of hazardous materials under RCRA. The University admits that it did not keep records of the "training and or job experience ... given to and completed by facility personnel," and neither admits nor denies the charge "because it does not have the necessary information on which to base an answer." In a May 5, 1987 letter to the Water Commission from the EPA, William Taylor advised that the TWC issue the University a warning letter based on personnel training violations, as well as problems with UT's emergency plan.

In fact, very few people on campus are adequately trained to handle hazardous wastes. The safety office, according to Florence MacLeroy, employs one full time person and two half time people for chemical pick-up at nearly 1500 labs campus wide. "There's bound to be problems," she noted in an interview in March. "Because of the EPA report, we may be able to get more people. We have been trying to get staff people for years. We have never gotten the kind of staff we need."

According to a letter written by Susan Adams, Feb. 24 1989, "it often takes the Safety Office two months to move the waste from the satellite area to the Chem/

Rad transfer building, far exceeding the three day limit." She further notes that this was an ongoing problem identified in an inspection more than a year earlier, 12/3/87.

In a 1989 *Daily Texan* interview, Charles Jamison also noted the need for more than three waste handlers. The University has budgeted \$568,089 for the Office of Environmental Health and Safety, which includes the Fire Marshal, an asbestos abatement program manager, radiation and occupational safety, as well as the hazardous materials department. Other universities spend as much as \$500,000 on hazardous materials procedures alone.

Bobby Cook, the business manager and administrator in charge of the safety office, said that he could not discuss any aspect of the hazardous waste handling program, under orders from Mel Hazelwood; and Don Decker, the department head, declared that he had, "no comments about anything." Florence MacLeroy, when contacted in late April refused further comments as well.

UT's austere approach to safety spending cannot be explained with the familiar cry, "lack of funds." According to the April 1989 "Development Plan for the Balcones Research Center," UT spent about \$80 million constructing new labs at Balcones in the 1980s, and plans to spend about \$100 million more before the year 2000. Since 1985, the University has installed at least two "clean rooms" (price tag: \$20 million plus each) for high tech research at Balcones.

Making these facilities "clean" for microchips requires the heavy use of solvents that can damage the skin, liver, blood, lungs and central nervous system. Worse, these substances evaporate easily, forming dangerous air emissions and move quickly through most types of soil. While spending tens of millions on construction, the University refuses to replace the tiny corrugated metal buildings that have housed hazardous wastes for years, and tosses a mere pittance to safety procedures.

In theory, the three person hazardous waste team is supplemented by a

designated person in each lab who tags and stores hazardous wastes until enough accumulates for a pick-up. However, the procedure is voluntary, according to the water commission. "Since the system is voluntary, many laboratories that may generate hazardous wastes are not participating in the program," Adams wrote. In its 1988 response to the Water Commission, UT claimed that the system was not voluntary, but did not elaborate on any enforcement procedures. It acknowledged that some labs still did not participate, and that the Safety Office had recently sent out a new memo to encourage labs to begin proper labeling procedures.

As early as November 1984, Texas Department of Health (TDH) personnel demanded that TAs receive more training in hazardous waste handling, and asked the administration to send "a strongly worded letter" to department chairmen, emphasizing their responsibilities in this area. In the University's response, Charles Jamison defended the training of safety personnel but ignored the issue of TAs and other non-specialized people. The EPA issued a warning letter in this case, insisting that training programs be documented.

John Young, District manager of the Water Commission, noted that personnel training has been an ongoing problem for the University. "I don't know why the University has so much trouble with personnel training. I have pointed it out several times. Some kinds of violations are not seen as so serious, and not always enforced. At UT they have a history. The problem recurs and they correct it and it recurs."

According to training records available to the Water Commission, fewer than 50 people participated in Hazard Communication Act training in 1988, and that training probably included no more than 30 seconds on proper disposal of hazardous wastes. Charles Jamison, in a Jan. 11, 1988 memo to then Safety Coordinator Tom Chisholm, asks that mention of the Chemical Waste Disposal

...see *Toxics*, page 14



Volume 2, No. 6 May 1991

Polemicist,

is an alternative student newspaper produced through the new Liberated Learning Free University. The press is already set up and running at the ACME Art Warehouse, between 5th and 6th on San Jacinto, in a big cement room we call home. We hope everyone will eventually try research, teaching and publishing through our Liberated higher education.

Wish List: We desperately need filing cabinets (still) for all the research files. The cement floors in the warehouse are cold. Pillows would be great also.

If you would like to join the Liberated Learning Collective, we need people with initiative and a little time to help us make this thing run smoothly. Please call...

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The New World Order Goes to El Salvador: U.S. and ARENA Undercut Negotiations

by Charley MacMartin

The past three weeks, Austin served as something of a crossroads for the Salvadoran popular movement. Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) representative, Luis Flores, was in town April 23. The same week, Ernesto Benavides of the Salvadoran Marginalized Community Movement spoke in Austin. On April 30, FMLN Diplomatic Commission member, Salvador Sanabria, parachuted into town for a day of meetings at UT. And on May 9, Gladis Sibrían of the FMLN will be in Austin for the premiere of "Maria's Story." The following article encapsulates the analysis of the negotiating process during April between the FMLN and the Salvadoran government as explained by these visitors to Texas' capital city. The bottom-line calls for both hope and our renewed commitment to the Salvadoran revolution.

In El Salvador, hope for a negotiated solution to an eleven year civil war was interrupted by the assassination of rebel leader, Antonio Cardenal, by troops of the Salvadoran Army's Atlacatl Battalion. Meanwhile in Mexico City, negotiating teams of the Salvadoran government and the rebel FMLN attempted to reach a final cease-fire agreement during a prolonged, three-week meeting in April. FMLN spokespeople comment that previous agreements have been torn up by a Salvadoran Army echoing the shrill voices of the far-right and the U.S. Embassy.

Publicly, religious, political and grassroots leaders in El Salvador expressed anticipation that the April round of negotiations would produce a genuine cease-fire. Optimism was sparked by a FMLN proposal in March to accelerate the peace talks. In summary, the rebels suggested simultaneous focus on (1) conditions for a cease-fire to begin before May 30, (2) reforms to the nation's constitution and (3) restructuring of the Armed Forces. Both sides agreed to convene for marathon round of peace talks in Mexico on April 4, one year after the Salvadoran government and the rebels accepted United Nations mediation in peace talks.

FMLN field commanders join talks

A special conjuncture of world and regional events offered reason for optimism as well. The five governments of Central America put pressure on both the FMLN and the government of Alfredo Cristiani this year to end a civil war that the leaders see as driving away foreign aid and investment from a region struggling with economic crisis.

In addition, according to political observers, United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar is fishing for a negotiations success after the failure of diplomacy in the Middle East. Third World countries, for good reason, express skepticism about the world body's autonomy and efficacy after its manipulation by the United States in the super-power's murderous attack on Iraq.

Going into the April meeting, FMLN negotiators counted on not only these circumstances to prompt advances toward peace but also the turn of events at a March meeting in Managua, Nicaragua.

There, the Salvadoran government attempted to convince the convened representatives of the five Central American countries, the European Economic Community plus Mexico, Venezuela and Colombia, to condemn the FMLN and to call upon the rebels to lay down their weapons.

Not only did the European Economic Community (EEC) delegation refuse to consider the Salvadoran government's proposal, the EEC asked that the Cristiani government meet seriously with the FMLN before economic development issues between the EEC and Central America would be considered.

The presence of FMLN field commanders at the April peace talks in Mexico City underlined the meeting's seriousness. Territorial control is a key issue in any cease-fire proposal. Government and rebel armies would be confined to their respective "zones of control" while negotiations proceed on concrete measures to reduce the size of both armies. The Salvadoran Army, in April, balked at any talk of bargaining away the size of its ranks.

Popular Call for Peace

Inside El Salvador, pressure built on both sides to come to terms with peace. War fatigue registers as perhaps the broadest consensus in El Salvador—from the urban slums to the rich colonias to the mountains of the countryside. Responding to the call for peace becomes a central policy concern for any political tendency claiming to represent the aspirations of the Salvadoran people. Cristiani's ARENA party, sobered by its losses in the March 10 elections, made additional overtures to the peace process. Both Cristiani and party

Third World countries, for good reason, express skepticism about the United Nation's autonomy and efficacy after its manipulation by the United States in the super-power's murderous attack on Iraq.

chief, Calderon Sol, stepped forward as the main ARENA spokespersons for the right-wing's participation in negotiations. The Salvadoran Armed Forces—humbled by the continuing military capacity of the FMLN—as well seemed ready for serious talks.

In a Sunday sermon, Salvadoran Catholic bishop, Gregorio Rosa Chavez, said cease-fire discussions by rebel and army chiefs at the peace talks in Mexico imply recognition of rebel-controlled territories in the country. The bishop clarified that a recent guerrilla peace initiative does not seek a permanent partitioning, but respect for rebel areas during the "armed peace." According to the prelate, now is the time for rhetoric to give way to "serious...language, and for realities to take the place of illusions."

But as one FMLN representative recently in Austin explained, "the process, even with all these positive elements, is not a mechanical one."

Obstacles emerged during the April talks. First, back in El Salvador, the right-wing began publishing paid advertisements condemning possible constitutional re-



Maria's Story
Camino Film Projects
Dobie Theatre
May 9-16

By Scott Bradwell

On Thursday, May 9 at 7:00 pm, Dobie Theatre will premiere a powerful new documentary film, *Maria's Story*, produced by Pamela Cohen and Catherine M. Ryan of Camino Film Projects. It is without doubt the best documentary film on El Salvador that I have seen.

Maria's Story achieves what I had thought all but impossible: to insinuate that strange mix of horror and hope that is El Salvador. The same extraordinary woman's voice that describes a sudden army invasion of a peasant village—"There are grenades, mortars, bombs, and you run and jump over the body that's there, even though it may be someone

you know, but you jump over it or others fall on top of you"—can also speak lovingly of the future. "There's a comparison between the revolution and giving birth to a baby...This is a moment of many emotions for us right now. Just like when you're going to have a baby, your stomach starts to hurt, but there's this incredible need to see what its little face is going to look like."

Eleven years of U.S.-directed counterinsurgency war have produced a holocaust whose full human dimension may be beyond the scope of art to communicate. *Maria's Story* achieves its suggestive power—and this is all one can hope for in a film dealing with state-engineered evil—by limiting its cinematographic world to a microcosm: a peasant family in Chalatenango province.

Its matriarch, Maria Serrano, was married at 15 with the expectation of a typical life as a peasant housewife like her mother—long hours grinding corn, fetching water, cooking, and laundering. Instead, she and her family have often been separated by the necessities of war. It is only through the kind of love the Serranos shower on each other in these fleeting occasions that communities in resistance can survive. Maria experiences the maiming of a young girl, the niece of a friend, as if it were the first time she had witnessed such suffering. "No," she explains, "the running, the fighting, the dying haven't hardened me. It's only made me

more determined."

The revolution has been a great school for Salvadoran women like Maria. She recalls only half-jokingly that she agreed to marry Jose because he promised to put her through high school. "He knew education was the most important thing to me." She never did get to go to high school, but she finds recompense in the struggle. "Just to survive, I've learned to do many things I never imagined I could do."

It was once fashionable among anthropologists to assume that peasants were by nature conservative and powerless—that because of a purportedly narrow, local-centric world-view, they were incapable of mobilizing effectively at a national level to confront the urban-based rulers. The Salvadoran peasantry has given lie to such notions, having sustained the most prolonged revolutionary movement in Latin America against an enemy with almost infinite material resources, thanks to Washington. Maria Serrano's world doesn't end at the outskirts of her beloved home village Arcatao; she is clear that it extends to us.

The film will be showing for a week. On opening night, Gladis Sibrían, U.S. representative of the FMLN (and like Maria Serrano, a woman originally from rural Chalatenango) will speak.

forms and the subdivision of the national territory. A far right women's group took out an ad in the obituary section of a morning paper. The ad suggested that the names of national assembly representatives who passed reforms to the constitution would soon find their names listed among the dead.

Significantly, no strong message of support emerged from Washington during April. Indeed, U.S. General Colin Powell declared on April 10 that El Salvador's conflict could be resolved "the way it was in the Persian Gulf." Salvadoran rebel and political leaders immediately condemned the remarks. From the site of the peace talks in Mexico City, insurgent field commander, Salvador Guerra, criticized the U.S. military chief of staff, saying, "El Salvador is not the Persian Gulf...this is an internal struggle...We aren't invading another country."

Army Provocation

According to the FMLN, the Salvadoran Army seized upon the right-wing's threats and the Powell's remarks as an opportunity to harden its position in Mexico City. The Army negotiators rejected a previous (February 2, 1991) agreement on a commission to review the human rights records of Army leaders.

Senior military officers refused to acknowledge that the FMLN controls any portion of the territory. First Brigade commander, Col. Francisco Elena Fuentes commented on April 4 that the topic is ridiculous to bring up for discussion in Mexico.

Intransigence on the topics of the Armed Forces and a ceasefire left negotiators with only constitutional reform. Any constitutional changes require the approval of two consecutive National Assemblies. This would mean approval of a proposal before April 30, when the new representatives voted in on March 10 take their seats. As the Polemicist goes to press, the prospects look bleak.

As a final provocation, troops of the elite Atlacatl

U.S. General Colin Powell declared on April 10 that El Salvador's conflict could be resolved "the way it was in the Persian Gulf."

Battalion assassinated FMLN leader, Antonio Cardenal, in Chalatenango during the first week of negotiations (see accompanying article). The FMLN refused to leave the negotiating table, although reminding the Army of its capacity by knocking out electricity in all of El Salvador for the first time on Monday, April 15.

The results from April are mixed. According to FMLN representatives, the key now is to "facilitate the continuation of the negotiations." This means securing a process by which to reform the constitution of El Salvador. A new round of negotiations then in May could lead to additional hope for peace. Without an alternative process to reform the constitution, FMLN leaders maintain, a permanent peace would not be possible until the next National Assembly takes office in 1994. "Three more years of war," one FMLN spokesperson emphasized, "is simply unacceptable for the people of El Salvador."

April 28th: Minimal Accord Reached

As we go to press, FMLN and government negotiators reached a partial accord on constitutional reforms. Judicial modifications connected to the establishment of a UN human rights monitor in El Salvador were part of the reform package. Reforms will be brought to the Salvadoran National Assembly before the body adjourns at the end of April. While a positive step, the proposed reforms do not touch upon a cease-fire nor an investigation of past armed forces human rights violations. Activity will continue in May, both at the negotiating table and on the battle field.



Jesus Rojas (1950-1991): "After ten years of war, we have earned the right to return to political life without them killing us." —press conference the day before his assassination by Army troops, El Mundo/AP, 4/12/91.

by Bill Strouffer

On the 14th of April, FMLN comandante Antonio Cardenal, better known by his nom de guerre Jesus Rojas, was ambushed and killed in the northern province of Chalatenango, along with fourteen other FMLN combatants. Cardenal, 41, was Nicaraguan, a nephew of Violeta Chamorro who lived in El Salvador and was trained as a Jesuit. He had the honor to join the FMLN and was active both at a political and military level. FMLN reports now indicate that Cardenal was wounded during the ambush and subsequently executed with a pistol shot in the head. According to one report broadcast on Radio YSU two US advisors were with the Atlacatl Battalion just before the incident.

A key figure in El Salvador, Cardenal helped hold and define the FMLN zones of control in Chalatenango. He commanded the FPL, one of the five armies that make up the FMLN. Since 1989 he has been a member of the FMLN's political-diplomatic negotiating team and participated in nearly all negotiating sessions of the current peace process. The guerrillas have charged that the assassination was part of a deliberate attempt to sabotage the negotiations. Nonetheless, the FMLN has pledged not to walk out of the negotiations, but to combine retaliation with dialogue.

Although neither the FMLN nor the civilian popular movement depends on particular "great leaders" to be effective, Cardenal was among the most impressive figures of the revolution. His vision of a revolutionary pluralism for post-war El Salvador and his evident depth of commitment to the Salvadoran people made him an unusually effective ambassador both internationally and in El Salvador.

When we met with him less than a month before his death, he stressed the critical importance of the negotiations for the future of El Salvador. He saw negotiations and demilitarization as the first step toward opening up a political space where people all across El Salvador could organize their lives without fear of assassination or torture. From this space, people could make his vision of the new El Salvador into a reality.

In the small towns of Chalatenango, like San Jose las Flores and Arcatao, people have resettled and begun to rebuild their lives after the army massacres and bombing in the early 1980s. Run cooperatively by the people who live in them, these towns provide health care, educational and even day care systems. They have the space to do this because the army can no longer maintain a persistent presence in the region without being destroyed by the FMLN.

We witnessed an educational meeting among the FMLN forces under Cardenal's command on overcoming sexism and machismo. A substantial number of the FMLN troops, including commanders like Maria Serrano, are women. This kind of emphasis on education and equality was a key part of Cardenal's commitment to building the new El Salvador today, not only in words but in practice.

Technopolis

...continued from page 5

the following: representing state government, Governor Mark White and Mayor Henry Cisneros (San Antonio); representing business, Ross Perot (investor, Dallas), Frank McBee (founder and president of Tracor), and Bobby Ray Inman (president and CEO of MCC); representing academia, Robert Baldwin (former vice-chairman, UT Board of Regents), Hans Mark (UT chancellor), and George Kozmetsky (former dean of UT's College and Graduate School of Business and currently director of the IC² Institute)."

Listing examples of these people's interactions would fill volumes, and in the past has filled many *Polemicalist* pages. But for now, let's look at the objectives of the technopolis model: "First-level influencers" interact with one another across segments of the wheel, while "second-level influencers also have their own linkages to other second-level influencers in the other institutional segments. Working together, first- and second-level influencers initiate new organizational arrangements to institutionalize the linkage between business, government and academia" (emphasis added).

"An important role of the research university in a technopolis is to facilitate the recruitment and development of first- and second-level influencers for all segments of the Technopolis Wheel," write Gibson and Smilor. They plan to educate/indoctrinate individual "influencers" in all seven segments of the Technopolis Wheel in what UT Chancellor Hans Mark calls a "common understanding" (see Chastisements, page two and the article, page three). Arguing against multicultural curriculum reform, Mark wrote in a recent issue of *Academic Questions*, "above all else... the university exists to develop and pass on a 'common understanding' of the world in which we live." For Hans Mark, a key "influencer" for the Austin technopolis, one could conclude that his stakes in opposing multicultural-curriculum reform may directly stem from his stakes in promoting what Gibson and Smilor term "recruitment and development of first- and second-level influencers," i.e., the generation of consensus among elites.

Despite the universal terms in which technopolis advocates frame their arguments, they have not reached universal consensus. Most of the first-level influencers the authors list are Democratic Party stalwarts—Kozmetsky's family gave thousands to Ann Richards; Mark served as Secretary of the Air Force under Democratic President Jimmy Carter, and candidate Michael Dukakis publicly stated that if elected Mark would be on his short list for an appointment as Defense Secretary; Mark White and Henry Cisneros are Democratic politicians. Nationally, most industrial policy

advocates come from the liberal end of the Democratic Party—the most prominent examples being Robert Reich of Harvard and Robert Kuttner who writes for *Business Week* and *The New Republic*.

But in the Reagan era, public funds for industrial policy were not forthcoming. Federal funds for industry came in the form of high-technology develop-

Fortune 500 military contractor. Ross Perot's hawkish inclinations are well known. This "common understanding"—or, more accurately, common ideology—among Texas "influencers" who work for or with the military exists outside any accountable democratic structure and instead relies on the connections and resources at the disposal of individual power brokers. Interests that compete with the military have no avenue to make themselves heard.

Technopolis Case Studies:

Silicon Valley and Phoenix, AZ
Gibson and Smilor offer three case studies of technopolis. First a developed technopolis, Silicon Valley, California, then a developing technopolis, Austin, Texas, and finally a nascent technopolis, Phoenix, Arizona.

Drawing their data from the book *Silicon Valley Fever: Growth of High-Technology Culture* (1984), Gibson and Smilor put forward Silicon Valley as a model for which their technopolis should strive. The biggest selling point: "About 40,000 new jobs were created in the area each year in the early 1980s, and the area's economy was among the fastest-growing and wealthiest in the country." This analysis focuses on boosterism for "creating jobs," which apparently justifies virtually any project economic planners want to promote.

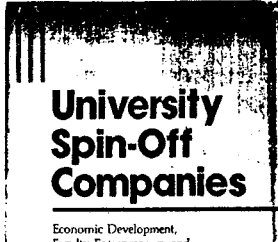
Despite the existence of 23 high-tech related Superfund sites in Silicon Valley—which covers only a 30-mile by 10-mile area—the article never broaches the issue of high-tech toxics or their effects on workers and their families.³ In addition, they write, "annual job turnover in Silicon Valley has traditionally been about 30 percent. ... In other words, the average employee would have three different jobs in ten years." While the authors attribute this turnover to a shortage of skilled workers, the example points

to the impermanency and instability of high-tech ventures.

Gibson and Smilor point to Stanford University, a private institution in Palo Alto, California, as instrumental in developing Silicon Valley as a high-tech mecca. They hail former Stanford Vice-President Frederick Terman as the man who facilitated the high-tech boom by creating the Stanford Industrial Park, the model for the Balcones Research Center in Austin and dozens of other research parks around the country. Hewlett-Packard, a firm founded by two Stanford graduates, became the first tenant of the industrial park in the early 50s.

Research parks attempt to centralize and subsidize corporate R&D around the university. In Arizona—which the authors label an "emerging technopolis"—liberal Democrat Governor Bruce Babbitt spearheaded the push for a high-tech based economy. But in Arizona, a desert state, the authors worry about maintaining a sufficient level of public funding of infrastructure, because Arizona's constitution contains provisions that inhibit speculative financing by the state or municipalities. "High-technology industry has ... significant infrastructure requirements, such as water and sewer systems. For example, large companies may use 3 million gallons of water in their daily industrial processes." The authors think either the state through universities and their research parks or local government should pick up the infrastructure tab. Presumably they would also subsidize toxic waste disposal and clean-up costs after chemical spills. According to Theresa Case (*Polemicalist*, December 1990), more than 100 chemical spills have occurred in Silicon Valley in the last ten years.

Certainly Gibson and Smilor expect more mundane business expenses to be paid from the public coffers. They applaud the city of Tempe, Arizona, for

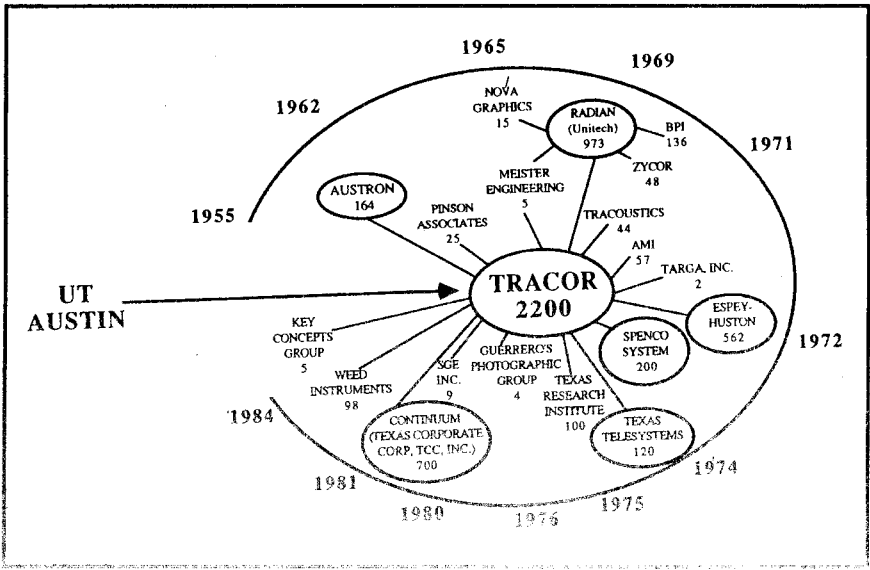


University Spin-Off Companies

Economic Development, Faculty Entrepreneurs, and Technology Transfer

Edited by Alistair Brett, David V. Gibson, and Raymond W. Smilor

ment for the military. That's why, in addition to Democratic Party connections, most of Texas "influencers" have ties to the military-industrial complex. Mark was Secretary of the Air Force and, according to Barry Goldwater, has participated in the design of most of this country's nuclear weapons. Kozmetsky founded Teledyne, a Fortune 500 military contractor. Bobby Ray Inman served as Deputy Director of the CIA. Henry Cisneros served as mayor in a city with five military bases. Frank McBee began his career as a professor in the 1950s working for the Navy at UT's Defense Research Lab, and built Tracor into a



"planning for quality-of-life factors" for the managers and employees at the ASU research park. Tempe "is improving the feeder roads surrounding the site. Furthermore the park offers tennis courts, an FAA-approved heliport, jogging paths, equestrian trails, ramadas and picnic areas, and three lakes that are fed by treated wastewater from a nearby Motorola manufacturing plant. A conference center is proposed with a hotel site including a child care learning center, a health management facility, a pool, restaurants and support service."

Providing child care for the highly paid managers and employees brought in to run the technopolis—read: the new form of city-state—won't solve the child-care dilemma of single, underpaid or unemployed parents in Tempe or elsewhere. And people not fortunate enough to take advantage of the on-site equestrian trails must still pay through their state and local taxes. What is a ramada, anyway?

The Austin Technopolis:

Gibson and Smilor argue that "the nucleus in the development of the Austin technopolis is the University of Texas at Austin." "The development of the Austin technopolis reached a crescendo," they declare, "in 1983 when the Microelectronics and Computer Technology Corporation (MCC) chose Austin as its headquarters."

UT laid out \$14 million for the land and buildings for MCC, and some \$20 million for equipment and facilities. In addition, the University put up \$16 million in matching funds for 32-endowed chairs to attract hot-shot academics in computer science and electrical engineering, for a grand total of \$50 million in public funding toward the MCC project.

But according to the IC² version of Austin's high-tech history, UT's role in high tech began not in the 80s, but in the early 1940s with the creation of the Balcones Research Center and the Defense Research Lab (DRL). The DRL (today the Applied Research Lab) was established by the Navy and the University at the Balcones Research Center during World War II to develop a series of surface-to-air missiles. The "federal government ceded the land to the University of Texas and funded research in strategic resources to support the war effort."

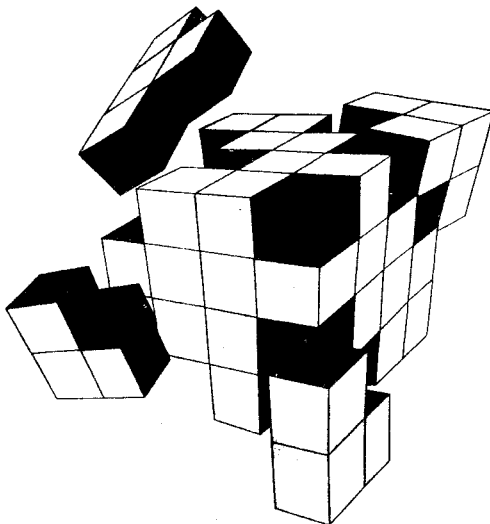
UT's development of its high-tech industry out of a World War II lab parallels the development of high-tech industry nationwide. During World War II, while most men were in the military and most women in the factories, the defense department moved into research facilities on college campuses across the country to generate war technology for use against the Germans and Japanese. When the war ended, these research labs either did not leave, or they simply moved into off-campus research centers like Balcones and the Stanford Industrial Park.

Their research created the foundation for a high-tech industry that expanded exponentially along with the communications industry, the arms race and later with the introduction of computers.

In 1955 Frank McBee—then supervisor of the mechanical engineering department at the Defense Research Lab—along with three of his professorial colleagues founded what today is Austin's

companies as of 1985.

Here's where Gibson and Smilor's history ends. But actually it's where Tracor's destiny almost symbolically merged with the 80s Austin high-tech boom after Frank McBee retired as Chairman and CEO of Tracor in 1987. According to a contemporary article in the *Austin Business Journal*, Westmark Systems, owned by Adm. Bobby Ray



only home-grown Fortune 500 corporation. Originally, the company was named Associated Consultants and Engineers, and McBee and his three partners maintained their positions as UT faculty while they worked as private entrepreneurs. Gibson and Smilor write, "The company's name was changed to Texas Research Associates (TRA) in 1957. During the late 1950s, the four scientists taught and did research at UT while working on developing TRA. In 1962, the firm merged with a company called Textran and adopted its present name of Tracor. By this time, McBee had left the University of Texas to devote himself full time to building the company."

After 1965, say the authors, Tracor produced 16 Austin-based "spin-off" companies including Radian Corporation, Espey Huston, and Continuum Co. (see chart) That is, employees of Tracor or one of its spin-offs acquired their own capital and founded new, separate companies. The authors estimate that about 5,500 people were employed in these

Inman, purchased Tracor after a friendly tender offer. Inman first came to Austin as the much-touted chairman and CEO of MCC, but he had previously served as Deputy Director of the CIA, director of Naval Intelligence, and director of the National Security Agency.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported that "Tracor was acquired [by Westmark] for \$714 million—23 times its earnings—in a 1987 LBO [leveraged buyout] with the help of a \$330 million bridge loan from Shearson's Lehman Brothers. After the friendly takeover, Inman packed Tracor's board of directors with political and military heavyweights like former Democratic Party chairman Robert Strauss, Former Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and former Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis. By December 1989 the company was losing money because of rising debt payments. The *Wall Street Journal* said Inman "admitted that his years as a master spy didn't prepare him for the perils of leveraged buyouts;" Inman bailed out, announcing

his retirement. A year later in January 1991, the 36-year old company filed a reorganization plan in an Austin bankruptcy court whereby "the defense concern would split into three companies and cut its debt by about \$510 million. Bondholders would swap all of their debt for stock in each of the companies and bank lenders would swap a portion of their debt for stock and warrants," said the *Wall Street Journal*.

Despite this disgrace, UT's managers still consider Bobby Ray Inman one of their own. UT President "Dollar" Bill Cunningham last fall appointed Inman to an ad hoc committee on university life. And, as noted above, Gibson and Smilor still include him on their list of "Influencers" at UT.

Although Tracor was ultimately an unfortunate choice for a case study, IC² still holds to its technopolis model. And IC²'s director, George Kozmetsky, still relies on this model to help make UT policy. *University Spin-Off Companies* hardly qualifies as light bedtime reading. Wading through needless academic jargon looking for substance isn't always a rewarding task. But the book does lay out some of the key concepts and issues facing the economic and social planners of today's multiversities. And for UT, it may give insight into the "common understanding" of the University's elites.

¹ The beginnings of this trend can be found in the genesis of the biotechnology industry. When, in the mid-seventies, molecular biologists discovered cost-effective ways to clone genes, a new biotech industry almost immediately sprang up. Unlike mechanical or electrical engineers who worked in the private sector, almost all molecular biologists were employed at universities because previously there had been few if any marketable products resulting from research in that field. Thus, companies were forced to either hire away top research faculty from universities, or license the patents resulting from those professors' research. University spin-off companies grew in response to this shortage of skilled labor. For an excellent discussion of the birth of "spin-off" companies in the biotechnology industry, see: Martin Kenney, *Biotechnology: the university-industrial complex*, Yale University Press, 1986.

² George Kozmetsky, the chief economic advisor to the UT board of regents, founder of Teledyne Inc. (a Fortune 500 defense contractor) and one of the wealthiest men in Texas, chairs the foundation's board. His wife, Ronya, serves as its president. See *Polemicist* December 1989, May 1990, November 1990.

³ For more information on the effects and dangers of high-tech toxics in Austin, see *Polemicist* December 1990, April 1991, and the page four article in this issue.

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Toxics

...continued from page 9

Service be included in the training. "This would only involve 30 seconds or so and contain words to the effect that — The Environmental Health Section of the Safety Office is responsible for the proper disposal of chemical waste from campus. If your department generates chemical waste, contact us (if you haven't already) and we will send you an explanation of the procedures to follow."

In Case of Emergency: Shout, Run, Call 911

In case of an emergency spill, a toxic cloud, or an explosion the Safety Office is required to have a contingency plan.

The City of Austin Fire Department, under SARA Title III and the City Fire Code, takes charge of hazardous materials emergency response for most waste generating facilities in Austin. It requires facilities to turn in maps of each area containing toxics, and estimates of the distance and direction a particular chemical will spread over time. Many industrial parks create complex risk assessments for the fire department that include the proximity of dangerous chemicals to schools, roads and other public facilities.

The University, as a State Agency, however, falls under different regulations and is not required to meet the city fire code, according to Carl Wren of the Austin Fire Department. "The University is not required to enforce the fire code, but we're seeing progress as far as co-operation," he said. Nor are laboratories required to provide the detailed emergency response information that industrial generators must give to the city fire department. The University has contracted with two area fire brigades, who respond with equipment and manpower when called. Individuals at the site of a spill may or may not be able to give the fire fighters the kind of detailed information they need, however.

When the University renewed its Hazardous Materials permit application, it did not turn in an emergency plan at all, according to a TWC certified letter of August 6, 1990. The contingency plan originally provided by the University to the Water Commission in 1985 contained no risk assessment for the region surrounding Balcones, plume maps for the spread of different hazardous substances, or analysis of the aquifer. Further, it did not discuss hazards on the main campus at all, despite the dense population in close proximity to chemical storage areas.

When asked to enumerate the alarm and communication system for the Balcones storage area, the application briefly notes that "A yell can be easily heard from one building to the next." An inspection report for May of 1986 noted that the contingency plan did not contain

an evacuation plan for facility personnel. The preferred method of communication with emergency officials is the "voice signal" get out" followed by a telephone call to 911, according to the plan. When asked in the 1985 application whether there were arrangements with State emergency response teams, with emergency contractors and equipment suppliers, the University answered "No."

When this reporter phoned the UT fire department to ask about its role in Hazardous Materials response, George Godward, the University Fire Marshall, said "I don't know anything about that. You need to call the UTPD."

The officers of UTPD, most likely the first on the scene of a spill or accident, have received no training to date in the identification and response to campus hazardous wastes.

"We're trying to set up a training for about 60 officers now," said Lt. Gerald Watkins, "so we can identify by the color codes the kind of hazardous material we're dealing with. The diamond on the container is color coded, but the officers need to be trained as to what they mean and what they should do."

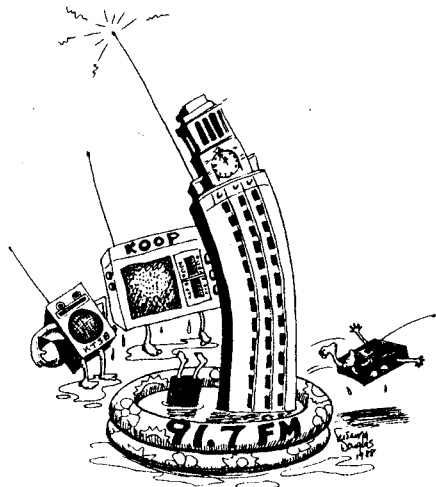
Currently the UTPD calls the Safety Office when they face an unknown chemical. However, the safety office does not have anyone on duty at night, and the police must call them at home. According to the officer, "if the safety office people don't know the material, we call 911."

The new training program may be implemented in the next few weeks. "I know we're lacking in some areas, but we're trying. We have one set up in May, but it's not finalized. We'll train our 65 or so people a few at a time. It may take four to six weeks to train everyone on this."

Safety Tips

If you see unmarked drums standing around, by dumpsters, in the hallways of your buildings, in the road, or anywhere call the good folks at the Texas Water Commission. The number is 463-7917, and John Young is our District 14 manager. Please field letters, calls and complaints to Don Decker of the Safety Office, but you might need to use campus mail since he is not interested in talking on the phone these days. For more information on the history of the University's toxic handling practices, the documents section in the basement of the Texas Water Commission at 16th and Congress contains memos, letters, investigations and permits. Ask for the files for facility numbers 66154 and 66905.

Finally, and most important, if you see something about to blow call 911. That's what UT officials would do anyway. If there is no phone, just "duck and cover." P



UT Peed in the Pool

Zoom

...continued from page 3

who faces intellectual and linguistic censorship, policed by an elite cadre of campus radicals. Incensed by what they portray as linguistic revisionism (i.e. ableism, heterosexism) and intellectual tyranny (that scourge of academic freedom—multiculturalism), this conservative clique mixed a little truth in with a substantial amount of bigotry, pandering and money to create a widely-circulated (although it has no ads, the University Review is able to distribute 15,000 copies of its diatribes) satirical quiz on the subject.

To the extent that campus activists often directly and angrily challenge language use and cultural misunderstandings, the right-wing portrayal found sympathy among some mainstream and liberal white students. Overwhelmed by a multiplicity of "isms," students sometimes feel unwilling to speak, fearing indictment for their ignorance and "privilege;" or, in the *Review's* terms, for their "political incorrectness."

The only form of enforcement for "politically correct" behaviors, however, is mild censure or guilt. Other kinds of freedoms are suppressed with greater force and the weight of administrative authority. The proposed E306 syllabus changes, now dead in the water, collapsed under the rhetoric of individual freedom as outlined by that "freedom fighter" Allen Gribben. Positioning himself as the lone defender of the academy in a department ruled by a cadre of "Marxist" revolutionaries, he provided the ideological ammunition for an administrative coup that shelved the project, probably for good, and revealed the truly hierarchical nature of UT's academic process. (Since the fall semester, the entire Lower Division English Policy Committee quit

and was replaced by an ad-hoc committee whose role remains unclear. The administration refused to allow even a few sections of the course to be taught in the fall of 1991.)

Ironically, the outcome of this rhetorical storm underscores the hollowness of right-wing claims to "oppression" at the hands of a few progressive faculty members. The ability of individual departments and their faculties to decide on course or syllabus changes - as in the case of E306 reform - has often provided the only democratic element in a fundamentally totalitarian educational process.

Enforcing the Codes

Despite regular verbal and physical attacks on black, Latino and gay students, continuing sexual harassment, and less than "fraternal" incidents of violence in West Campus, the administration has refused to institute enforcement procedures for the harassment codes on the books.

In only a handful of cases at UT has a white faculty member or student been censured publicly for racist behavior, while the fall semester saw a series of ugly and violent incidents against students, a Metro bus driver, and a Latino family that point to the real potential for violence behind the offending language.

"Oppression" is the inner reality of a history of violent exploitation and marginalization. As a subjective experience, it takes as many forms as there are people. The campaign against "political correctness" erases the history and reduces the experience to a mash of linguistic symbols (see Texas Review quiz) intended to alienate liberal whites, intensify racial polarization, and put students of color and their movements on the defensive. P

Give To The Fresh Air Fund

Austin's Last FM Noncommercial Frequency Battle Continues

by Jennifer Wong

In less than three months, the KOOP-KTSB controversy will travel to Washington D.C., where an FCC Judge will hear testimony and decide what to do with 91.7 FM, the last non-commercial frequency in Austin. Edward Luton, the FCC Judge presiding over the case, has scheduled the Comparative Hearing date for July 30, although he may take as long as a year to hand down his final judgment.

Luton may decide to award the frequency to KOOP, the community group, or KTSB, the UT student group. Or he could order the two groups to share the frequency or force them to negotiate further, as they were doing last fall until UT cut off negotiations in January. When Luton asked about the status of negotiations, KOOP lawyer John Crigler said, "I don't think we're very optimistic." On

May 3, UT turned down KOOP's proposal to split the frequency and refused to consider any other options.

Community radio members have three months left to raise money for court costs, which could exceed \$100,000. Although UT's application appears to contain some serious flaws (see *Polemical*, February 1991), UT could potentially knock KOOP out of the running through its sheer financial clout, especially since it has appropriated \$50,000 of student fees for the FCC hearing. Most FCC hearings have ended with one group getting the frequency because the other group(s) couldn't afford paying attorney fees anymore.

If the Austin community wants to have any voice at all on 91.7 FM, it must support KOOP, which would be the first co-operative radio station in the US. KOOP is our last chance for a democrati-

cally owned FM radio station. UT policy prohibits both non-students and students on other campuses from getting involved with KTSB. While UT claims it wants KTSB to teach students, administrators said the same thing 40 years ago about KUT, now a yuppie public radio station with no student input and barely any student involvement. KOOP, on the other hand, would serve both students and community members.

KTSB, which currently operates on cable radio, is less an alternative station than a "training ground" wasteland, where aspiring student bureaucrats overemphasize professionalism and commodify music. If KTSB goes FM, University officials will hold its license, and Texas Student Publications would continue to control its operations. TSP, which has forced the KTSB staff to pay for a "broadcast supervisor" that has acted

more as a censor than a mentor, picks the station manager and determines the radio budget. And history has shown that TSP is more interested in the bottom line than addressing community needs. Rather than supplement its paltry library, KTSB recently sold valuable records donated by an anonymous supporter in an effort to pay \$11,000 in TSP overhead.

The situation could not be any clearer: Either we own the frequency, or the UT Board of Regents will.

You can become a voting member of KOOP if you donate \$30 a year (\$15 for students/low income). Community organizations can also join for free. Send money to:

Austin Co-op Radio
P.O. Box 49340
Austin, TX 78765

Women, AIDS and Activism

by The ACT UP/IN/Y Women & AIDS Book Group
South End Press, Boston, MA, 1990

Review by Deborah Kutzko

"In this discussion it is important to remember that women's bodies are different from men's in significant ways." While this statement may seem self-evident, Risa Denenberg places it at the center of the very important political statement made by her book *Women, AIDS and Activism* (The Act UP/IN/Y Women and AIDS Book Group). Our bodies are different, not only in the physiological sense, but also in the way that they are viewed by the medical and scientific community and ourselves.

The Public Health Service has called the virus that causes AIDS an "equal opportunity virus." Factors like race, gender, sexual orientation and class do not influence its virulence. They do, however, have great influence on the care a person receives once he or she is infected, public education and the length of time a person may live after diagnosis. These are the topics covered in this important book.

The chapters written by women living with AIDS or HIV infection and those caring for loved ones living with this disease were clear and to the point. Women's symptoms are often downplayed by medical providers. They are told their fatigue, night sweats, weight loss and malaise are symptoms of stress, or perhaps hormonal. Doctors often overlook the HIV diagnosis until the woman is severely ill or even dead.

When diagnosed, the medical community treats a woman primarily as a carrier of the disease, rather than its victim, and focuses medical attention on her actual or potential pregnancy. The Public Health Service recommendations for

many of the medications used to keep HIV+ people well exclude pregnant women; many experimental drug protocols are denied to pregnant women or women of childbearing age. In many family planning clinics, women who are HIV+ are urged to choose surgical sterilization as their method of birth control. Those who are neither white nor middle class face the biases against women with HIV infection compounded by the myriad problems caused by the racism and classism of our healthcare system. The stories of these women are powerful and engaging.

In addition to chapters written by women personally affected by HIV, there are pieces which speak to the good work done by many women's groups throughout the nation. The need for culturally relevant care and education is clearly stated, with models for action.

In many ways, this book makes a strong addition to both the literatures on AIDS and the Women's Health movement; there are, however, some disappointing aspects. The issues faced by women in urban areas differ significantly from those confronting their rural counterparts, yet the book includes no chapters on rural women. The chapter "Transmission Issues for Women" surveys AIDS pamphlets with a "critical eye," differentiating between those that give good concrete information relevant to women's lives, and those that merely urge us to "just say no." Unfortunately, the authors do not always appear to write with the same critical eye. We find safe sex distilled down to the use of barriers: Condoms if having sex with a man; den-

tal dams, with a woman. There is no gradation of risk. This chapter suggests that unprotected penis to vagina or penis to anus sex involves the same risk as unprotected mouth to vagina or finger to vagina sex. This failure to discern those sexual practices that put us at higher risk for contracting HIV from others that offer less deprives us of information critical to our decision-making process. While denying that women incur any risk of this virus from sexual practices or sharing needles is dangerous; denying women the information necessary for women to decide for themselves what level of risk they are comfortable with smacks of paternalism. Women need to be given the information on relative risk, and thus, the power to make individual choices in their relationships.

Another important problem surfaced in the chapter on "Lesbians." While the book stresses the need for sex positive literature, the chapters written by lesbians largely fail to present safe and enjoyable lesbian sex. The first, "Safe Sex is Real Sex," is about a self-proclaimed "dyke" who extols the wonders of having safe sex with a man. The second, "Too Much Denial," shows us the story of lesbians who end up sleeping apart. Finally, in "Having AIDS and Being Loved," we hear from a woman who works it out with her lover, but "learns to accept pleasure with limitations." With some information, exploration and imagination, many women have perfectly safe "hot" sex with other women. First hand stories from women like those would have provided concrete backup for the political theory in this chapter.

While a single book can never cover all aspects of a topic, this book comes close and certainly constitutes a worthy addition to a broad field. People both inside and outside of AIDS and Women's Health movement can benefit by reading it.

Liberated Learning

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● LETTERS ●

"For what cause, O man, chargest thou me thy daily complaints?" —Boethius

Dear Polemicist:

2/4/91

Yo, Polemicist!

One of the things that I've missed most since leaving the University is this publication, so I'm writing to tell you that. When I was still part of UT, I was grateful for the work of this journal's editors, writers, researchers, and reporters (yes, I know that at the beginning only two people functioned in all four categories), but hadn't realized how very special this thing is until I began to compare it to progressive/alternative student publications in other places.

More than any other I've read, *Polemicalist* has been consistent in its leftist analyses and its critiques of the problematics and contradictions of power, privilege, and political misbehaviors across the terrain not only of the university and various components therein, but of the connections between that university, those components, and the larger world to which any university is linked.

You all have done what any alternative press focusing on a university is supposed to do: you remind us all of the stakes involved in resisting and opposing what George Lipsitz calls the "enormous industry of meaning making" — an industry whose purpose it is to help manufacture consent for the State and whose success depends on making people believe a lie: that the university and the "real world" are separate.

No one struggles without an analysis, and analysis is neither self-generating nor static. The more students make of themselves agents in a political world by demystifying what goes on within the protected space of the university, the more they need to engage in constant self-critique and the more they need not just information but arguments. And one of the advantages that the alternative press has over the corporate (or, euphemistically named "mainstream") press — within or outside the university — is that you all don't have to sit on your criticisms.

If a journal needs polemic to struggle, then any struggle needs information, the analyses, the reminders of the complications, contradictions, sloppiness, and sometimes just plain silliness of the opposition and the allies — in short, what a journal with polemic can help supply. A struggle makes and remakes itself on a day-to-day basis. An effective alternative press organ helps keep track of history, remembers the successes and the failures, and simply never stops belly-aching about the problems. None of them.

I've shared my copies of your rag with new friends and colleagues here. They're impressed. So am I.

Thanks,

Wahneema Lubiano
Princeton University/English

As two of the "confused Yammies" referred to in Kathy and Purnima's biography of the ACPME, we feel a need to respond to some of what was written, both about the Campaign and Youth Against Militarism/Anti-Militarist Action (YAM/AMA).

The authors seem to believe that a secret power elite did not form in the Campaign until sometime in January. This is not a realistic portrayal of the events which led to the formalization of the "shadow government" by the Campaign's self-defined leaders, hereafter referred to as the Oberfuerrers-O-Peace, or "Oopsies," and their followers. The Oopsies made their presence known from the very beginning of the Campaign and had divided the group into friend-or-foe camps within the first month of the Campaign's existence.

The article briefly mentioned the scantily attended press conference the Campaign held at the Austin American-Statesman, but does not mention the anti-war rally held earlier that month at the Federal Building. It was from the Oopsies' handling of this event that a debate began in the Campaign about the decision-making process, and not at the Town Meeting, which was held almost two months later.

Rob missed the first planning meeting for the October 20th rally, however, at the second meeting learned that in the time between the first and second meetings, the time and location of the rally had been changed. The original plan was to hold the rally at a highly visible location, Camp Mabry, a military base right here in Austin, sitting right alongside a well-traveled highway.

Instead, the invisible hand of the Oopsies had moved the rally to a side road in the heart of downtown, at noon on a weekend, where the chance of reaching people and letting them see that there were people actively opposed to this war thing that Bush wanted was very slender. The redirection of the group's planning into the largely ineffective hidden rally was so discreet and complete, one "confused" member of the Campaign later stated that the FBI could not have done a better job of sabotaging it. This was only a sample of what was to come.

After both the Fed Building rally and press conference were seen by the Campaign as ineffective, the Campaign began to examine its decision making process to rectify problem areas so that future actions would be more successful. In fact, for the remainder of the year, much of the time in Campaign meetings was devoted to stifling debate regarding the establishment of new process. Not that any of the discussion mattered any-

way, as is evident by the Oopsies absolute control over the definition and establishment of the new order.

In the "pre-deadline" days as the US was still escalating troop movements to the Middle East and propaganda drives at home, YAM decided to organize direct action in opposition to the impending war separate from the Campaign hierarchy and control. At a planning meeting for a December action, one Campaign member came and told us that she had been asked by some Oopsies to attend the meeting and report her "findings" back to them. This was not an official Campaign "outreach" to other arms of the "movement," since a number of "Yammies" were actively involved in the Campaign. Rather those Oopsies had sent this woman to infiltrate the meeting, collecting information for solely their benefit.

After the war had started in earnest, when Bush ordered the bombing of Kuwait and Iraq, some Oopsies used the media to denounce YAM and other reporters' actions as "hostile" and "discouraging" in the promotion of the Campaign as the "real" movement against the war.

The Oopsie's repertoire of control tactics included not only the discrediting of groups autonomous of their and the Campaign's "leadership" as undercover agents and informers in collusion with the government. These reckless allegations, having no evidentiary factual basis, served as a means of alienating many members of the Campaign from each other and the Campaign and the movement itself. Ultimately, these infiltration rumors led to the establishment by the Oopsies of an exclusionary rule in the Campaign's official policy guidelines whereby the 12 members of the Steering Committee have the absolute authority to kick people out of the Campaign.

This leads back to how the Oopsies officially structured the Campaign as a rigid, centrally-controlled organization. The Steering Committee had been given the task of submitting proposals (in the plural) for structural change that would accommodate the growing numbers of members in the decision making process.

Instead of submitting these proposals for discussion, the Oopsies entered the next meeting with a newly established centrally controlled process, effective immediately, no discussion. Few people were pleased with this and the membership requested more proposals and scheduled another discussion, only to be dismissed yet again due the difficulties the Oopsies had in presenting more than one option to the membership, despite the fact that two other proposals had indeed been submitted.

The Oopsies proposed that their structure be "temporarily" adopted since the Campaign was suspending meetings for the upcoming winter student vacation anyway. Alas, the large scale debate over various processes never occurred. When the Campaign started up again amid the

flurry of the beginning of the war, the Oopsies' structure and process were already well established tradition: Oopsies "facilitate" all discussion and the elite limited member steering committee has exclusive decision making power in the "facilitation" of meeting campaign goals.

Kathy and Purnima's article attempts to separate this "facilitation" from the more negative connotations of "power" through the formal acknowledgement of the decision makers of the Campaign so that members would have greater understanding of exactly who is responsible for the decisions made. The major problem with this proposal is the very "accountability" that it attempts to address — while those few people in positions of power to direct the Campaign would be singled out as answerable to the general body, the general membership itself is completely disempowered of access to the decision-making process thus elevating the Oopsies to positions of absolute authority.

Probably best illustrating this is a quote from the article itself: "(The Yammies and others) confused dialogue with 'decision-making.'" These members never saw the actual decision process that developed outside of the impossible and cumbersome meetings, and eventually superseded them." In other words, any discussion arising outside of the officially authorized, or at that time "tacitly permitted," oligarchy-o-process-n-position is useless and as such repudiated as an avenue of effecting Campaign strategy.

The self-imposed impotence expected of Campaign members in the unquestioning acceptance of Oopsie "leadership" is similar to the vegetative state of the populace necessary for acceptance of George Bush's unilateral decision to engage in a war in the Middle East. Those people opposed to the status quo and its war and determined enough to resist despite this lifelong conditioning of abnegation only encountered the same warped "you ignorant masses must be led by we educated and competent leaders" ideology of oppression in the "peace and justice" community. We, the community of resistance, don't need to replace the old shit with new shit, even if it's mollified by "oops. We had too much

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unrestricted "control." The quest for control, of either the world or the resistance movement, is always too restrictive.

Rob Los Ricos
Sylvia Guisto

Bose and Mitchell respond: We just wish to note that this letter was actually written by Jessica Selinkoff and Robert Thaxton. Despite years of imprisonment as a Slavic revolutionary, when Bakunin lashed Marx for authoritarianism, he had the courage to do so under his own name. The use of a pseudonym for personal security, in our context, reflects no more than an inflated sense of self-importance.

Although we could take these criticisms point by point—particularly with regard to Selinkoff's and Thaxton's role in the Action Committee—we would like to briefly talk about the issue of democracy instead.

For our efforts to analyze the implementation of democratic process, Thaxton and Selinkoff label us fascist dictators. Nonetheless we insist that any social justice movement must operate democratically. According to Selinkoff and Thaxton, any effort to limit individuals from monopolizing debate indicates the presence of a "rigid, centrally controlled organization."

Selinkoff, who so vociferously now objects to "facilitation," once asked to be trained as a facilitator and acted in this capacity on more than one occasion.

She discovered, much to her chagrin, that the facilitator is not a "leader" and does not even get to participate fully in the discussion. Unable to take control of the meetings in any other way, she pontificated at great length on democratic process to the exclusion of other voices. Needless to say, these sessions obstructed urgent anti-war work.

Despite the complaints against Selinkoff, no one ever voted to expel her from the Campaign. No such authority existed at any level, nor did anyone want to create this kind of structure. Steering committee representatives were never empowered to do more than report decisions made at the committee level to the larger group. Steering committee meetings were always open, had Selinkoff or Thaxton chosen to hear the actual debates.

Nonetheless, we appreciate any effort to expand the debate on democratic process. Organizations rarely take the time to evaluate themselves, and we invite Youth Against Militarism to join us in this effort at public self-criticism.

Debates within the First International suggest the following questions which we might seriously consider. Is a mass-based organization going to achieve its goals best through mass participation at every level? Through some form of administrative bureaucracy (as both Lenin and now George Kozmetsky advocate)? Through representational leadership? Does mass participation at every level really lead to mass empowerment, or only the unrestrained participation of the loudest and rudest?

To the Readers of Polemicist:

An anti-war protester was arrested by University of Texas police in front of the undergraduate library on February 27, and now seeks legal assistance and letters of support from students. Letters of protest can be sent to: Dean Sharon Justice, Dean of Students Office, Dorothy Gebauer Student Services Building, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Tx., 78713-7849 and Judge Russell, County Court at Law #2, P. O. Box 1748, Austin, Texas 78767.

Robert Ovetz was one of six people who had demonstrated against the presence of FBI and CIA recruiters by scattering recruitment literature from their

tables in the Flawn Academic Center.

The arrest came twenty minutes after the demonstration, as Ovetz was voting in the Student's Association election. He was approached by an officer and told he was suspected of disruption and asked to follow him inside. After refusing Ovetz' request for time to finish voting, the officer pushed up against him after he stood up. According to witnesses' accounts, an undercover officer who never identified himself, approached Ovetz from the left, grabbed his upper arm and kned him between the legs, knocking him to the ground. Ovetz was held down by three other officers, including the FBI recruiter, and choked

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Freedom

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which yearly escape the snipping scissors of this taste conscious censor. Price's decision was appealed to the Committee on General Student Organizations. The four Faculty-Administration members of the committee held sway over the three student members and the ban was upheld.

Members of the League, however, continued to disseminate their handbills "out of a certain outrage at having our freedom of speech removed." (Texan, Mr. 16, 1966) It was this "tactical blunder" which muddled the legal issue.

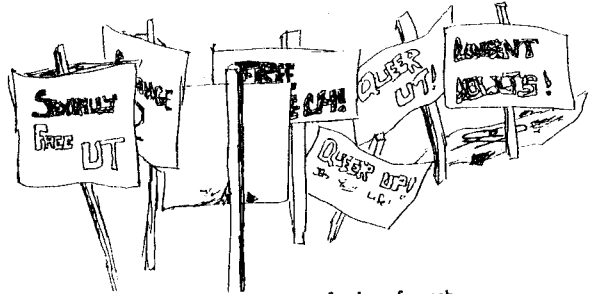
Chancellor Ransom, wishing to protect all universities from being "turned into doormats for irresponsible propaganda and willful breach of clearly stated policy" (Texan, Mr. 16, 1966) promptly removed University approval of the 16-day old club in an unprecedented move.

Coincidentally, since coincidences seem to be in order, the Chancellor's maneuver closely followed State Senator Grady Hazlewood's livid condemnation of League members as a "bunch of queer-minded social misfits," and his threat, as a member of the Senate

Appropriations Committee, to cut University allocations unless the League was stripped of its Administration approval.

To compound the coincidences, League faculty sponsors Dr. Irwin Spear of the Botany Department and Dr. Robert Montgomery of the English Department announced their disassociation from the group shortly after a telephone campaign to get these two men fired was started by parents of UT students in West Austin.

Philosophy Department was proposing that we amend the Constitution to read "or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, except that of the ignorant and/or stupid." Silber further argued that the University has the right to impose restrictions on grade point averages and college board scores. Thus he implied that the right to censorship follows logically. Dr. Silber might be reminded that the Constitution makes no allowances for the right to flunk, but is quite explicit concerning



From this turmoil emerged the Texas Students for Free Speech. In open defiance of the Administration, the group demonstrated on campus carrying signs urging "End Censorship" and "Bring the Constitution to the Campus" and distributed the censored handbills.

By this time, stories on the League had appeared nationally in Time and Cavalade magazines and in practically every daily newspaper in the state.

Dr. John Silber of the Philosophy Department styled himself the chief defender of the University's policy by publishing an article in a new magazine *Salt*. When Silber finished his invective, in which he called the League's handbill "profoundly ignorant" and opined that its framers were possessed of "intellectual irresponsibility," he pointed out that the University has the right to deprive students of their freedom of speech if their use of that freedom belies ignorance, as he maintained it did in this case. Perhaps the Chairman of the

freedom of speech.

Following the above incidents, the Texas Civil Liberties Union bemoaned the fact that the League had not exhausted all administrative channels in order to secure a good test case. League members maintained, on the other hand, that their freedom of expression was a Constitutional right and not a privilege handed down by the Administration; that to request the right of free speech from the Administration was to recognize the University's right to censorship.

As a result of the League's confrontation with the Administration and other events of last spring, the avenues toward Constitutional rights for students are now more clearly defined. Probably the administrators will be progressively less restrictive, knowing the seriousness with which students intend to pursue those rights. But if they are not, the students are increasingly ready to confront established power structures.

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Nation

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Contreras and Robert, but engaged with and added to by many others.

Derek and Daniel themselves report, "we were hoping it would be funny." Instead, the two received harassing phone calls and other negative signals from gay readers. When I remarked that I'd always thought of anonymous phonecalls and harassment as tools of the homophobic right, Daniel retorted, "we consider harassment a tool of the homosexual movement—I feel much more comfortable around straight people." Both men feel that the article is also self-critical, since both "have stakes in various forms of identity politics."

The problem, according to Daniel, is that "it seems gay/lesbians are in love with victimization—AIDS has only fueled this mentality. It seems the only political work that can occur in the U.S. is one that comes from claiming victimhood. Gay/lesbians are not oppressed by any stretch of the imagination...they may be despised...but they've never been cheap wage labor, they've never been denied the vote; so why can't gay/lesbians work for a better society instead of just a society where gay/lesbians can marry each other and it's business as usual." Derek points out that there is no gay underclass to speak of, in spite of the job insecurity many gays and lesbians feel.

Later, both men are silent when I tell them how a group of women who wanted to respond to the article had begun to confront problems with equating gay/lesbian economic realities through constructions like "whitebourgeoislesbian." When I thought about it, I've never met a rich lesbian, and most lesbians I know

are struggling along at poverty-level "women's" wages or sub-poverty student/activist wages.

Frequently in the discussion Contreras played race against gender, constituting race as the "real" site of difference. At one point, Daniel compares being a lesbian/gay rights activist who says you're also "into race" to being a radical feminist who claims to be into race... "You're into gender, honey, that's what 'radical feminist' means."

When a GLSA board member approached Derek to tell him how much he depleated the article, Derek asked, "You mean we should see racism being tolerated in the Gay and Lesbian Movement and tolerate that?" Derek asked, and the GLSA Board member asserted that the inviting racists into the movement is merely "inclusionist."

Daniel foregrounded one response to the article in particular, "You know, there was a letter to the editor about us calling us worse than Mark Weaver from the guy who founded Queer Nation. I like the scale of values implied in all this: Mark Weaver is pretty bad. Racists who are in the gay and lesbian movement are a little bad. Ku Klux Klan members in the gay and lesbian movement are really probably kind of bad. But us, 'people like us...are the real problem.' I wonder," he mused, "if he really knows people 'like us'. Where would he know them from? Who would they be?"

The eruption of anger and calls for censorship that followed the article's publication reflect real structural problems facing gay/lesbians in the Austin community: if such an article had been published in New York, San Francisco, or Boston, it might have run in one of several gay and/or lesbian weeklies, and would have appeared in dialogue with a cross-section of other community responses to the March. Since Contreras'

and Robert's responses to the March were the only published responses that most of Austin, gay, lesbian, straight, and everything in between, will ever see, these responses met with violent outrage. To paraphrase Wahncema Lubiano or Spike Lee, very few things are pernicious if they appear in a heterogenous dialogue, while much may be deeply damaging if it is made to appear monolithically, as some sort of representative manifesto.

Further, the responses point to the already strained and distrustful relationship between the academy and the larger community. Austin seems just the right size to foster the most acute divisions between those who define themselves first as academic theorists and those who define themselves first as community activists: in larger cities, we can quietly wear two hats, while in small towns, the gay and lesbian rights community is too small to worry on about our differing degrees of theoretical literacy.

When two guys grounded in literary theory write an article slamming all gay and lesbian rights activism, AIDS activism and, apparently, "the homosexual sex act" (which "reifies homophobia"), both academics and grassroots activists are confronted with their worst nightmare—that theory might someday claim complete ascendancy over practice. Already it makes otherwise normal people hold up entire meetings citing names at each other in order to decide whether or not a particular organizational tactic would actually reify homosexual identity as a static ontological or transcendental term.

We should also be prepared to examine our own defensive, even outraged, reactions, with a critical detachment. We need to ask not only "what is to be done" but "what has been done" and "why did it draw the reactions it did?"

Racism lives, and no movement is above confronting it. Identities, while constantly open to question, are neither "imaginary" or easily negotiable; often, they are painful. They determine, to paraphrase Dr Lubiano again, "the differential prices which subjects occupying varying subject positions must pay to live. All of us pay something. But some of us pay more than others."

Fear, self-loathing, suicide, rage, all the intangible, inexorable results of what Mary Pratt has called "epistemic violence"—these are the invisible prices that mark out their costs from within; as in a case of demonic possession, they appear on the surfaces of our bodies, self-inflicted, under the skin, in all of our performances: theoretical, organizational, interpersonal. A political practice based on our most painful realities will always be a difficult one, but one on which everything depends.

Letters

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with a baton.

After spending two days in the city jail, Ovetz was charged with assaulting a police officer, evading arrest, resisting arrest and failure to identify as a witness. If convicted he faces up to two and one half years in jail and a fine of a \$5000. No criminal charges were filed dealing with the protest. In addition, the Dean of Students has offered him suspension from the University through December 31, 1991. Ovetz has rejected the suspension and is preparing for a disciplinary hearing before a law professor chosen by the Dean's office.

According to Ovetz, he has since been harassed by the UTPD on two occasions: cited a warning for "criminal trespassing" while coming out the Economics building on normal business, and warned again while in Jester East dormitory slipping small SAW fliers under doors. The warning stated that no "soliciting" was allowed, and that visitors were not allowed after hours.

To date, Ovetz has not been able to find any legal assistance. He has been turned down by six National Lawyers Guild lawyers and Jim Harrington of the Civil Rights Project. He requests that any further witnesses of his arrest step forward. There will be a fundraiser at 3105 Breeze Terrace on May 4th to raise money for his defense.

For more information please contact Robert Ovetz, P. O. Box 49814, Austin, Texas 78765, 320-8596.

Frank Roberts

Editor's note: Although Polemicist has no particular love for the UT PD, which has arrested its editors during past demonstrations, the isolated position in which Robert Ovetz find himself has little to do with the police.

A self-aggrandizing young man, Ovetz constantly embarrasses and dismays his political acquaintances by his overblown rhetorical statements and actions that serve no agenda but his own. If this were the first altercation between Ovetz and the UTPD, we might agree that he was a victim, but there have been other such incidents. During a previous non-violent demonstration against CIA recruiting, for example, Ovetz assaulted a recruiter although no such activity had been planned.

No movement needs to divert its energies towards the tedious and expensive defense of individuals who refuse to work within the guidelines laid out by their organizations. Staged confrontations do not substitute for a concrete and long term political agenda. Getting arrested is not a badge of honor. Don't we take enough shit from the cops and authorities already, without unnecessarily provoking conflict?



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