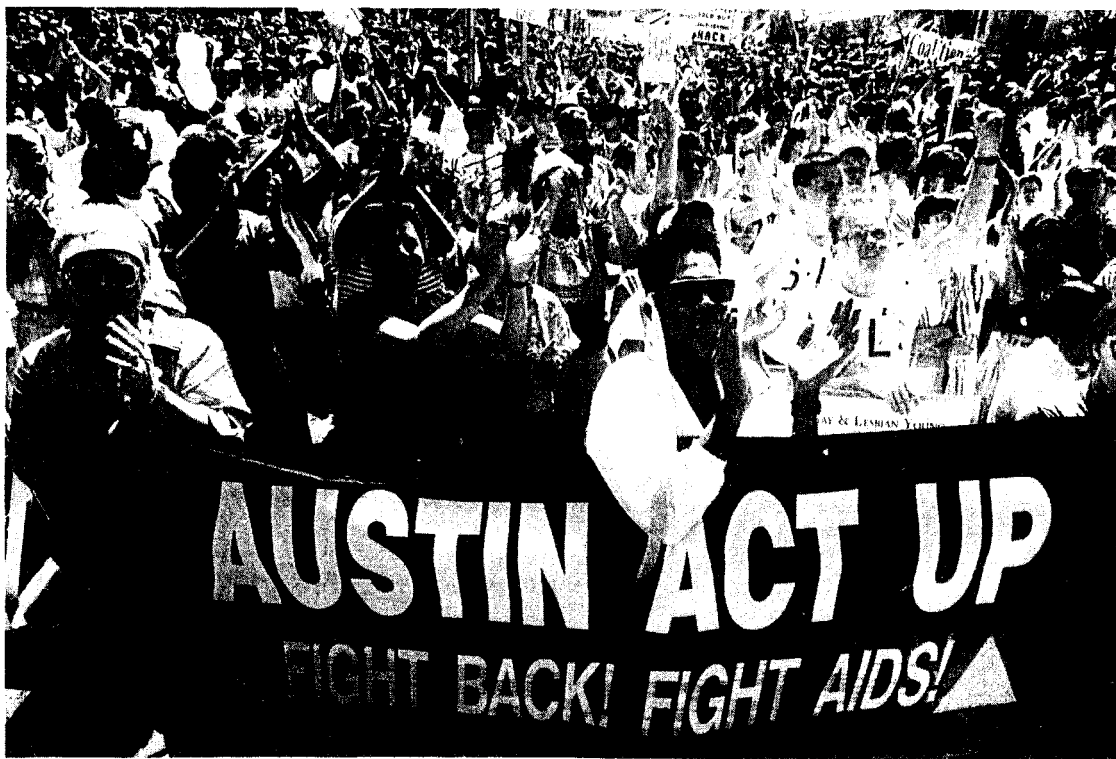


Polemicist

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



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High-Tech Toxic Slumber Travis County Politicians Combat Toxiphobia

by Theresa
Case
and Kathy
Mitchell

In July, 1984, the Union Carbide Corporation discovered in its safety audit the possibility of a runaway chemical reaction involving methyl isocyanate at its facility in Institute, West Virginia.

But the company did not release its safety audit to local emergency planners, the city, or the company's smaller but comparable facility in Bhopal, India. Five months later on December 3, the plant in Bhopal accidentally produced a massive release of methyl isocyanate. According to official estimates, the gas killed more than 3,300 people, and at least 100,000 were injured.

The Indian government claims that one person dies every day from exposure during the accident. The Bhopal tragedy shocked the world with the reality that the use of hazardous materials continually carries the risk of the worst possible accidents occurring. Accidents involving propane gas in Mexico City, 19 tons of ammonia in Houston, and nuclear power at Chernobyl further confirms this.

The EPA's listing of chemical incidents has identified over 11,000 chemical accidents (over 4 accidents per day) in the US between 1980 and 1988, the decade of "state-of-the-art" safety measures and corporate environmentalism. Over 1,000 (2-3 per week) of these accidents were serious ones involving injuries or death. Furthermore, the risk of another Bhopal is very real: the EPA has established that the U.S. experienced at least 17 chemical accidents during the same period that potentially had consequences comparable to the Bhopal disaster. Safety features, but also factors like weather conditions, dispersion patterns and population densities, prevented these consequences.

Communities Guaranteed the Right to Know

In response to these kind of incidents, Congress passed the Emergency Planning and Community Right-To-Know Act (EPCRA) in October 1986—a section, Title III of the federal Superfund Amendments and Reauthorization Act (SARA). Basically, EPCRA aims to identify the largest sources of toxic pollution, guarantee the public's right to know about hazardous chemicals in the community and increase every citizen's opportunity to participate in emergency planning.

EPCRA provides for the establishment of State Emergency Response Commissions (SERCs) which appoint the Local Emergency Planning Committee (LEPC) for every local community with toxic facilities. In Texas, the LEPC operates at the county level. By October 17, 1988, by law, each local planning committee should have developed an emergency response plan to deal with potential toxic accidents in their communities, and was required to review this plan annually.

The LEPC requires a broadly based membership from each of the following

groups or organizations: elected officials; law enforcement, civil defense, firefighting, first aid, health, local environmental, hospital, and transportation personnel; broadcast and print media; community groups; and owners and operators of affected facilities.

Wherever the mandate of the SARA Title III has been adequately implemented, the inclusion of citizen and environmental activists on an oversight body and creation of an accessible toxics database radically transforms the way people approach toxic hazards.

Publicity about chemical use could only unleash what an official of USS Corporation calls "unbridled toxiphobic speculation and environ- mental emotionalism."

For years communities had to gauge their exposure to toxics based upon strange smells coming from a nearby plant, the taste of their drinking water, or the number of birth defects and cancer cases in their area. Industry hid behind claims of confidential business information and trade-secret protection and selectively chose what information would be turned over to the public.

The Right-To-Know law requires chemical producers and chemical users to put all of their cards on the table regarding toxic emissions and risks posed to the community by hazardous substances.

But in Austin, the LEPC, created in 1988, has not met since December 1989 and has fulfilled in only a limited way the requirements under the law.

Although not the only industry using toxics here, Austin's high-tech industry does use hazardous substances in large quantities. And as the December 1990 issue of the *Polemicist* pointed out, high tech's reputation as a "clean industry" is largely undeserved: the history of high tech in Silicon Valley has been replete with accidents, massive leaks, high levels of routine emissions into water, air, and land and high rates of worker illness.

Here in Austin, the much smaller, but growing high-tech industry legally released in 1989 over a ton of toxics per day into the environment, according to the EPA's Toxic Release Inventory (TRI) data. Austin's petroleum and petrochemical industry, as well as its aging utilities plants also store toxics in our neighborhoods. Large amounts of toxic chemicals are used during everyday production, and thousands of pounds of hazardous materials are routinely trucked along the highways.

For example, IBM maintains an average of half a million pounds of hydrochloric acid onsite at any one time. Arsenic and phosphine, two highly toxic gases which are lethal in even minute concentrations, are also in use by Austin's high-tech industry.

The Sleeping Dog

The Travis County LEPC, chaired by County Judge and sometime high-tech booster Bill Aleshire, held its first meeting in January 1988. Aleshire, also a member of the Travis County Research and Development Corporation with UT President Bill Cunningham, was among the local forces that brought Sematech to Austin. Aleshire (along with development heavyweight Pike Powers, Mayor Lee Cooke and Statesman editor and former Chamber of Commerce Chairman Roger Kintzel) was also instrumental in planning for the arrival of the short-lived chip consortia U.S. Memories. Both Sematech and U.S. Memories were to have received substantial city, state and federal subsidies for bringing their research, jobs and toxics to Austin.

The LEPC submitted an emergency plan for hazardous substances to the state authority, SERC, by the October 1989 deadline. However, when the authors attempted to gain access to the emergency plan and the hazard assessments for the county, disturbing information began to surface.

In addition to the fact that the LEPC hasn't had a meeting since December 1989, two key members, a local environmental representative and a Neighborhood Association representative, have been inactive for almost two years. According to Susan Hadden, "Citizen representative" in the LEPC and Professor of Public Policy in the LBJ School, "I had to undertake a huge campaign to get the LEPC started at all. I and Regina Schultz were the only non-government employees in the group."

The other "environmental representative" is actually a member of the Lower Colorado River Authority, a state-level water bureaucracy created by the Legislature—not an environmental group. "Environmentalists have not been involved," said Brigid Shea of Clean Water Action. "When I inquired about it, they mailed me a notice about a meeting but there was no follow-up, and to my knowledge they have not made a real effort to reach out to either community groups or environmental groups."

Despite the mandatory inclusion of media in the federal guidelines, no media reps were ever found for the Commission. The vice-chair of the commission, a Motorola representative, and the six other industry members form the largest single voting group, given the number of empty places around this theoretically inclusive table.

When we attempted to access chemical inventory information on several companies through the LEPC under the Community Right to Know portion of the LEPC's mandate, the sole staff person, housed in the Austin Fire Department offices, claimed that no one had ever asked for information like this before. Most requests have come from de-

...see LEPC, page 4

Of Ghosts and Governance: The Campaign for Peace and its "Kitchen Cabinet"

by Purnima Bose
& Kathy Mitchell

We are members of what we come to define here as the "shadow government" of the Austin Campaign for Peace in the Middle East. We are not members of the steering committee or any other formal decision-making structure. In many respects this is a personal narrative; it contains our views of some of the internal dynamics of the Campaign. This is not a sanctioned document, and does not necessarily reflect the views of the Campaign.

In the following article we attempt to explore the formation of elite structures within the Campaign, the existence of which, we believe, are endemic to many left organizations. We hope that this discussion of process and structure will begin to help theorize ways of implementing democratic decision-making. As we go to press the future of the Campaign is uncertain, not because we believe the war is over, but because we have been unable to order among the many projects that need long term attention, now that the sense of urgency has abated for many Americans.

Some of us feel that the work of democracy is best served by grassroots organizing around local issues, while others feel that we have a moral obligation to help Middle Eastern peoples cope with the devastation our country has wrought upon them. Ideally, the Campaign could balance both positions, but we have failed to create a strong, formal decision-making process where different ideas and political strategies could be debated and priorities collectively decided.

We will start our discussion by laying out the two fundamental questions that inform our thinking. First, what is the relationship between moments of crisis and the everyday, and second, what are the limitations of working in coalitions? Or to restate these questions in more exasperating terms: what is it that brings people together? And what is it that finally drives them apart?

Education as Imperialism

From its inception the Campaign—largely made up of white progressives, Palestinians and UT students—attempted to prioritize anti-racism and anti-Arab discrimination in its work. We hoped to work with the people of color most impacted by the war either because of their over-representation in the military or exposure to harassment because of their ethnicity as Arabs. But as Antonio Diaz, a member of the Campaign, noted: "it's one thing to make sure that's on your agenda, but then doing the work in those

communities—that's very different . . . Too often we rely on events to rally people together, and the day-to-day work, the less rewarding or glamorous work of going door to door for example, falls by the wayside. . . Whatever structure it might have, if it's determined that the day by day, unglamorous work is what needs to get done, it will be."

Diaz is implicitly pointing to the tendency of many progressive organizations to approach communities of color only in moments of crisis. The meaning of "crisis" itself emerges from specific contexts and is continuously redefined within individual communities. White progressives in Austin rarely recognize or act on crises as they develop east of the freeway.

For example, on the way to a press conference on the *Austin American Statesman's* coverage of the peace movement, several Campaign organizers drove past an anti-police violence rally protesting the recent murder of a Hispanic youth. Campaign members, aware of the incident but not of the emerging resistance to state violence, had inadvertently set up a competing event that drew major press coverage in all media.

Because of such moments, communities of color may not respond readily to crises defined and prioritized by white progressives. Without reciprocity, progressives cannot hope to build infrastructures and networks that will be responsive to their particular concerns.

Teaching Without Learning?

The Campaign, in trying to develop diverse contacts and promote anti-war efforts in communities of color, grappled with this problem from the beginning. With only a few contacts outside of the University, we tried to build a program of community forums.

We hoped to tailor our materials and

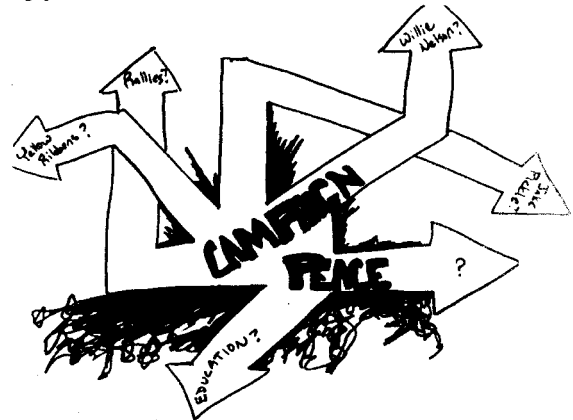
On the way to a press conference on the *Austin American Statesman's* coverage of the peace movement, several Campaign organizers drove past an anti-police violence rally protesting the recent murder of a Hispanic youth.

the form of the individual events to particular settings. Because no other organization in our city seriously tried to combat anti-Arab discrimination and the pervasive misperceptions of the Arab world used to rationalize the war, we emphasized an education effort.

In one of our most serious attempts, the Campaign's Education Committee worked with people at Houston-Tillotson

College (HT), a historically black college, to organize a teach-in on the Gulf crisis in October. The head of student affairs at HT, present at our September anti-militarism rally at UT, invited us to organize a similar event there. In order to avoid a type of activist imperialism, in which activists with an "educating mission" would sally forth from the center (read: UT) to the periphery (read: HT), we began to look more closely at our education package and ourselves, opening up a discussion of our racial identities

groundwork, combined with our simplistic identification of our subject positions, almost inevitably lead us into tokenizing gestures. Our first move was to contact some of the more highly visible leaders of the African-American community for their suggestions. Based on our unexamined assumption that the "African-American community" could be "contacted" through a set of leaders in East Austin, we were completely insensitive to the internal dynamics of the community; we did not account for the



as well as our academic backgrounds.

These discussions almost paralyzed us as activists. They obscured any concept of the actual audience for the teach-in, mostly eighteen and nineteen year old government and liberal arts students interested in information about the war, behind our own fears of being perceived as racially insensitive.

We reduced the complexities of our backgrounds (gender, various ethnicities, sexual orientations and class) behind a simplistic fear that we would be regarded as "white-identified" by HT students. We nearly lost our sense that we had something important to offer as individuals with experience teaching on the Middle East. To paraphrase Jenny Bourne, the question "what is to be done" was in danger of being replaced by "who am I" (1).

All of us agreed that there should have been a much longer process of working with African-Americans. While for the most part we agreed that the distinction between "The University" and "The Community" was an artificial one designed to contain oppositional intellectual work and bolster the military, in practice the critique led to an emphasis on "The Community" that was pretty hard to distinguish from good old-fashioned liberal guilt and student alienation.

There had been very little contact between UT and HT historically, and we had minimal experience organizing off the UT campus. The lack of existing

possibility of a "town/gown" division there also. Moreover, we all but ignored ethnic diversity within HT itself, which has a significant number of Arab and Latino/a students.

These teach-ins (we put together two elaborate presentations and several smaller discussions hosted by teachers in their classes) were by-and-large successful in terms of immediate audience response and participation, but the Campaign subsequently lost whatever gains were made because it failed to maintain its new contacts. Instead of continuing to meet people, listen and learn, Campaign organizers became embroiled in the debates of the Austin peace establishment, and internal organizational problems that drained our energies and consumed our time.

An Escalating Movement

The Austin Campaign for Peace in the Middle East initially formed as a coalition of community and university groups called together in late September by the University based Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC). Most of the strong members of the Campaign came from PSC, which almost disappeared as a separate organization for the duration of the war.

By the Houston-Tillotson teach-in the U.S. military build-up had drawn in reservists from all across Texas, and the

see *Biography*, page 8.

LEPC

..continued from page 2.

velopers and other people interested in assessing and purchasing property. The chemical inventory information which the LEPC has gathered lists only the total amounts of each chemical kept onsite without documenting the size and amounts in containment vessels. The difference between a leaking five pound cylinder and a leaking quarter-ounce cylinder of the highly toxic gas arsine is significant. Concerned citizens must ask the corporation for this information.

Right-to-Know versus Need-to-Know

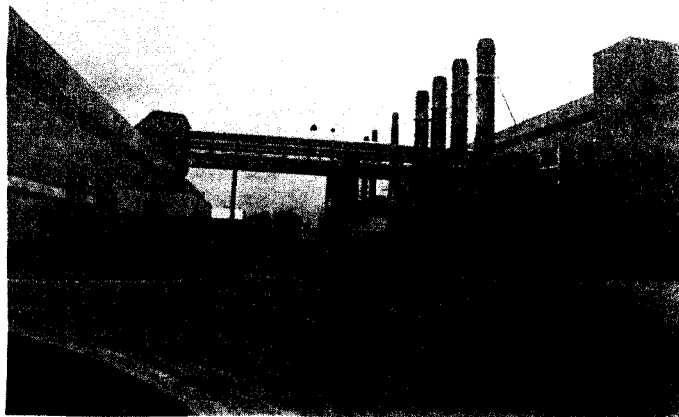
Currently, detailed information on hazardous chemicals, a facility's response plan and worst case scenarios can only be obtained by calling the company. Companies are not required to share this with the public, and the information they must give to the fire department is protected from Texas Open Records disclosure under the "proprietary" information exemption.

The LEPC, under the law, should be able to make information on facilities freely available to the public. Citizen's access to information is not a priority of the corporate world, however. "We would be happy to make things available on a need-to-know basis," said one Motorola spokesman. "If a close neighbor came to the facility and wanted to know what was here, we would show them, but for somebody that lived thirty miles away, that would be a different idea."

Companies also protect plume maps from public disclosure, according to another spokesperson, claiming terrorism, espionage and theft as the major concerns. Of several companies asked, most were willing to show reporters their documentation, but unwilling to allow the reports off premises. An IBM spokesperson said, "as a matter of good practice, we have done some of our own risk assessments, but we cannot release them." Companies decide who needs to know what, and can present the material to a limited number of people in a fashion that reflects their own interests.

The LEPC should also be able to provide the public with an emergency plan for accidents concerning hazardous materials, as well as chemical inventories and other information. However, the Travis county LEPC emergency plan, which should coordinate emergency planning for the county as a whole and which was due 2 1/2 years ago, has not been done.

"I attempted to get emergency response maps and information from the LEPC," said Shea. "It seemed to be a kind of sleeping dog." The LEPC did not even demand the hazard assessments that companies regularly make available to the Fire Department. According



The LEPC, which might meet April 4, for the first time since 1989, has been silent while high-tech boosters encourage more chemical industries to locate in Austin. Call the LEPC at 448-8336 to confirm the meeting day and location, and tell them that you are watching.

to Hadden, "The big companies wanted to do hazard assessments. They were anxious for the LEPC to establish guidelines and criteria for liability. Aleshire didn't believe we could demand them. We wanted to do a risk assessment checklist. Aleshire thought that the county would be liable for low ranked companies suing it. No risk assessment has been done."

When community groups in Austin have attempted to assess the risks from hazardous chemicals in their areas, they have been unable to find proper emergency plans. According to Antonio Diaz of the Texas Center for Policy Studies, a community organization near the Holly Power Plant in East Austin traced PCBs to old transformers in the plant. They arranged a meeting with plant officials. "At the initial meeting, people expressed dissatisfaction because the river where the plant is located is used by kids for fishing and swimming," said Diaz. "People at the power plant made a booklet for the community by the next meeting, but they didn't have an emergency plan. The LEPC should have elicited this from different facilities." Because the county did not require emergency plans from city and county facilities it could not draw up its own county wide emergency response plan.

Is There A Plan or Isn't There?

In lieu of its own plan, the county submitted to SERC the city's emergency plan. Because it did not outline provisions for portions of Travis County not within the City of Austin, it was not accepted. Rich Weigand, the LEPC vice-chair and Motorola executive admits that the LEPC has not created an adequate plan. "We have to get a county-wide plan in place. The City has signed mutual-aid agreements with some outside fire departments, but not with all of them."

According to the head of hazardous materials in the Austin Fire Department, Carl Wren, "the city has mutual aid agreements with surrounding fire departments, but this excludes hazardous materials response." In other words, if a spill occurs on HWY 183 outside of town, no official agreement confirms the role of a professional hazardous materials team in clean-up or evacuation. While the Austin Fire Department will not refuse an emergency call, responsibility falls largely on the all-volunteer fire departments in surrounding towns.

The heart of an emergency plan, according to the Environmental Policy Institute, is hazard assessment which asks the fundamental question: "What chemical

hazards do we have in our community and how severe are they?" By identifying hazardous chemicals, outlining vulnerable areas on a map, and analyzing the risk presented by each specific hazard, planners develop an overall picture of the risks to a given area. Risk analysis, the third part of the hazard assessment, looks at the likelihood of a release and the severity of its consequences. According to Susan Hadden, the city's plan is a good one, but she acknowledged that it is not based upon a thorough hazard assessment.

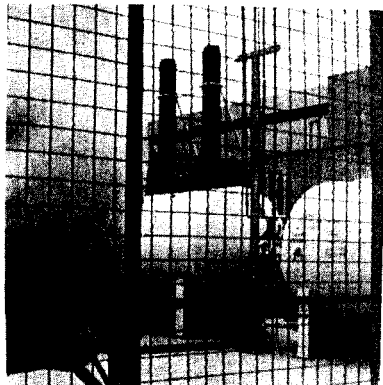
The LEPC is given broad powers under EPCRA to obtain from facilities all documents "necessary for developing and implementing the emergency plan," so that the LEPC can request from a company, for example, its safety audit and its own internal hazard assessment, and the LEPC can also conduct on-site inspections. Hazard assessment by a company generally includes worst-case scenarios for the facility complimented by plume maps which show how far gas might stretch across an area under various conditions.

While the LEPC does have an inventory of chemicals for the city, it does not have a risk analysis based upon worst-case scenarios, plume maps, or safety audits. Nor does the LEPC include a vulnerability analysis of transportation routes, although two years ago this assigned as one of the projects of the Hazards Assessment Sub-committee.

Said Diaz, "We at the Center want to know what the LEPC is doing or not doing. We want to know the impact of toxics on communities of color, and want to use the LEPC as a way of gaining that information. Exxon has a plant off Springdale, and so do other petroleum companies. What safeguards are in place? What will be the impact on communities in the area? What are the demographics around these facilities?"

Making the Law Work for the People

While the LEPC in Austin slept, other LEPCs have successfully taken advantage of the "Right-To-Know" provisions in order to inform the community of hazards and pressure for changes in industry. The LEPC for Washington, DC obtained the hazard assessment from the local water treatment plant which documented that a large accidental release from one of the facility's 90-ton tank cars containing chlorine could result in a 40-mile toxic gas cloud. The attention generated forced the manager to make changes in facility's storage of chlorine.



TheLEPC covering Texas City, host to a large petrochemical industry, launched a community outreach program, including community forums, to communicate information on chemical hazards to the public. It also restructured the committee membership to provide equal community and industry representation.

In Baton Rouge, the LEPC published in the local newspaper a chemical cloud scenario involving phosgene, a chemical transported through Baton Rouge, that illustrated that an accident would require an immediate evacuation of 17 square miles. In Wahtenau County, NJ, an annual inspection required by town's Right-To-Know ordinance discovered that 272 of 330 facilities had no secondary containment for chemicals, 146 had unregistered underground storage tanks, and 29 facilities had soil containment problems. Charles Griffith, chair of the LEPC commented, "our LEPC could have asked companies nice general questions and put together its emergency response plan without ever finding any of these problems." One wonders if Charles Griffith has ever met Bill Aleshire.

Houston's LEPC clearly demonstrated the importance of hazard analysis and the potential for effective action by an LEPC. The results of its vulnerability analysis were so alarming that the fire chief suppressed it for five months. The LEPC's report discovered that "Extremely Critical Zones" covered much of the city. The chief explained that he did not release the report because he did not want to "unnecessarily alarm Houstonians." "My fear about the thing is that it makes the whole city look like it's vulnerable," he said, but then admitted, "I guess in some ways it is."

Yet, industry officials call the use of plume maps and worst case scenarios to inform citizens of toxic risks an alarmist

scare tactic employed to create negative attitudes toward chemicals and industry. This might unleash what an official of USS Corporation calls "unbridled toxiphobic speculation and environmental emotionalism."

But as Fred Millar, national coordinator for Friends of the Earth, writes: "No one told the citizens of Bhopal, Mexico City or Europe downwind from Chernobyl, what a worst-case accident could do to them. Like citizens everywhere, Americans seem to be living in blissful unawareness of some of the most terrible hazards to which they are exposed. For the vast majority, it is a case of 'uninformed consent,' which violates some of the most cherished rights to be secure in our homes and neighborhoods."

A spokesperson for Motorola in Austin stressed that the industry's technology has evolved greatly since the environmental and occupational health disasters of Silicon Valley during the 1960's and 1970's. Carl Wren of the Austin Fire Department also doubted whether high tech still poses a real threat of accidents or leaks involving hazardous substances. Companies have learned from their mistakes, the idea goes, and advances in technology have made possible state-of-the-art safety measures, significantly reducing the problems. For example, Motorola stores arsine, a highly toxic gas, in much smaller quantities than it did previously, and all storage containers are now triple walled and above ground to prevent leaks from contaminating the ground.

Great Leaps in Technology

However, while industry would like to push the history of environmental destruction in Silicon Valley into the distant past, leaking underground storage tanks caused massive contamination at the facilities of IBM and Fairchild Semi-

conductor in Silicon Valley as recently as 1981. Since then, over 100 other toxic chemical spills have polluted Silicon Valley's environment. In Austin, companies claim that above-ground, double walled storage tanks have solved these problems.

One representative referred to these and other changes as "great leaps in technology," however most of these technical improvements could have been implemented decades ago. IBM finished raising its storage tanks above ground only last year, according to a company representative, despite the fact that environmentalists have been insisting on this change since the 70s.

This kind of costly sensitivity to the environment and citizen health has only come about through the pressures of increased public awareness. An informed and mobilized network of communities demanded their 1) right to know the hazards in their neighborhoods and workplaces and 2) participation in decisions concerning these risks.

Some people argue that ordinary citizens don't have the expertise to understand chemicals or to distinguish between real or remote hazards. Experts have told us that the fear of toxics is irrational because automobile accidents and cigarette smoking pose greater risks than toxics in everyday life. But people are actually very rational about risk: the risks that anger and frighten people are the ones they are subjected to involuntarily and without their control.

The main problem facing the Travis county LEPC also faces LEPCs across the country. Federal law requires states and localities to gather information with few provisions for funding this work. Last year the federal budget for the right-to-know programs was only \$28 million. States and localities receive training

...see LEPC, page 11

Valley and have extensively researched the effects of toxic solvents used in the microelectronics industry. The campaign's general goal is to hold the high-tech industry accountable to the communities in which they operate and to their workers, who face grave health risks from exposure to toxic solvents.

In Austin, the CRT is concentrating its efforts on the Sematech consortium. Sematech receives much of its funding from the federal government and has a \$100 million per year taxpayer subsidy; it should therefore be responsive to the needs and concerns of the public.

In its privileged position as a competitive firm with public funding, Sematech has special resources that could be channeled toward the development of new technologies and processes that would be less dependent on toxic chemicals. Sematech could also lead the way in introducing safety procedures for microelectronic workers, who currently suffer a high rate of occupational illness. An advisory board on health and envi-

ronmental issues comprised of representatives from labor, local neighborhoods and environmental groups could be formed to ensure community input.

Long-term reform of this kind cannot be realized at Sematech or at any of the other high-tech firms in Austin unless there is a strong grassroots movement to hold these companies accountable to a coherent health and environmental policy.

To this end, the Campaign for Responsible Technology will hold a workshop on the threats posed to our communities by the solvents used by Sematech, followed by an open discussion of how we can organize on this issue. The workshop date is tentatively set for Thursday evening, May 18 and will be held at the Montopolis Community Center or another location near Sematech. For more information on the Campaign for Responsible Technology, its local work and the coming workshop, please contact Susanna Almanza at 448-1502.

Polemicist,

is an alternative student newspaper produced through the new Liberated Learning Free University (see ad for classes this issue). 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.

Wish List: We desperately need filing cabinets for all the research files. If you have any old office equipment (chairs and bookcases especially) please, please give us a call.

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.

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Contributors

- Purnima Bose
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- Scott Henson
- Laura Lyons
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- Kathy Mitchell
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- Alan Pogue

Sign up for the Polemicist Research Seminar (see schedule p. 9) and learn how to be a real pain in the neck of your favorite UT Boogymen!

Campaign targets Sematech for Toxic Reduction Research

The Campaign for Responsible Technology (CRT) is a network of activists from various backgrounds—organized labor, the environmental movement, technological research and occupational health—concerned with the impact (present and projected) of high technology on the environment, on the health of workers in the high-tech industry and on the economy. CRT members are primarily from areas in the U.S. where the microelectronics industry is concentrated. Members of the Campaign have been active in the labor-environmental movement in California's Silicon

by Laura Lyons & Steve Carr

US troops are out of harm's way, but the Gulf conflict is far from resolved. Bush's New World Order has destabilized the region, driving a wedge into Arab unity and undermining the autonomy of numerous Arab states. Kuwait and Israel now actively scapegoat Palestinians in their respective countries, making them the real losers in this war.

Out of these conflicts, however, another war has emerged here in the United States. This "war at home" is often framed in economic terms—the cost to our economy, to our social programs, and to the free flow of information.

Yet too often overlooked is the cost this war will have on our own civil liberties. In the aftermath of the Gulf crisis, we are witnessing an increased acceptance and tolerance of racism, as well as an erosion of some of our most cherished and fundamental human rights.

Terrorism—American Style

On Wednesday, 27 February 1991, FBI Director William Sessions told CNN that 20 acts of terrorism have been committed against Arab-Americans since the war began. By contrast, the FBI reports no known incidents of Arab terrorism. When an oil refinery exploded in Virginia, the media quickly prophesied a wave of domestic terror. As it turned out, this act was no more than a manifestation of the American entrepreneurial spirit, designed to scam the insurance company at the outbreak of war and blame it on Arab-sponsored terrorism.

While the West accused the Arab world of unchecked violence and terrorism, incidents of terrorism against Arab-Americans flourished. In Blissfield, Michigan, pro-war supporters burned down a fast food restaurant. The owner, a Palestinian-American US Army veteran, had opposed US intervention. In Detroit, numerous stores have been fire-bombed since the outbreak of war. In Cincinnati, a Jordanian-owned store was bombed twice in four days.

To the FBI, terrorist acts include bombing, arson, hijacking and hostage-taking. According to Charles Kearney, FBI Special Agent and Media Spokesman for the Houston Field Office, terrorism constitutes "unlawful" force and violence. Intending "to intimidate or to coerce a government or civil population," such actions ultimately seek the "furtherance of political or social objectives."

One has to wonder whether the more mundane, day-to-day incidents of random beatings, death threats, bomb scares and boycotts levied against Arab-Americans would qualify as a form of terrorism as well. Such actions often involve unlawful force and violence, they intimidate and coerce, and they further the political and social objectives of the United States government at war.

A recent posting on the Activist Mailing List, a computer mailing net-

work, gives some idea of how terrorism singles out innocent, law-abiding citizens—regardless even of their stance on the war. In Houston, Rick Dahu regularly receives death threats at the doughnut shop he owns. Rumors spread throughout the community; the Jordanian-born American citizen allegedly predicted that the US would lose the Gulf war. Putting up US flags and yellow ribbons didn't help—Dahu still receives the threats. When asked if such actions constituted a form of terrorism, FBI Agent Kearney said he could "neither confirm nor deny" them.

Samar Sakakini, Austin chapter coordinator for the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), ex-

pressed little surprise over this incident, although she could not personally confirm it. In larger metropolitan areas like Houston, many Arab Americans own their own businesses. "People know where they are from," she said. Because they maintain a high profile within their community, they are therefore susceptible to this kind of harassment.

Arab Discrimination and the State

A History of Sanctioned Violence

pressed little surprise over this incident, although she could not personally confirm it. In larger metropolitan areas like Houston, many Arab Americans own their own businesses. "People know where they are from," she said. Because they maintain a high profile within their community, they are therefore susceptible to this kind of harassment.

Scott Easton, media coordinator for ADC's national office, also could not confirm this particular incident. Easton instead read off an incident in which a family "in a small Texas town" received three phone calls, beginning at 2 AM, threatening to "shoot them to death." The ADC maintains a database of hundreds of reports like these, some worse. And these are just the reported ones.

The Gulf War has also provided a rationale for pro-war supporters to vent their xenophobic rage on any person of color. In Florida, an Indian family received death threats—like "I'm gonna kill you with a SCUD missile"—over the phone. Eventually a pipe bomb exploded in their home. At Grinnell College in Iowa, two men attacked an Asian-American student before speeding off in their car. The student had to be hospitalized. His companion, a white person, was untouched.

At another Midwestern college, an Afghani woman was severely beaten, simply because of her Arabic T-shirt. These incidents of Gulf-related terrorism, directed against anyone who is not white, regardless of their stance on the war, point to the ease with which many white Americans conflate black and

to wear the veil have had to endure being called "Mrs. Saddam Hussein." A member of New Jewish Agenda recently received a phone call threatening her with rape. The justification: her participation in the peace movement. "These kind of things," said Sakakini, "you don't want happening. They're happening."

brown people into a single racist image of the enemy. Nor do these incidents take place only in the backwater towns of America. Austin, like other communities throughout the country, has had its share of down-home bigotry. In separate incidents during the first week of war, two UT students, one European and the other Indian, were apparently mistaken for Arabs and told to "go to back where you came from." The same week, an Iranian American woman inexplicably had her job interview cancelled. Although she offered to reschedule the interview, she was told that it would no longer be necessary. Since the beginning of the conflict, many Arab women in Austin who choose

"Legitimate" Racism

State-sanctioned racism has played its own role in terrorizing the Arab community. Northwest and Pan Am airlines have taken the lead in openly discriminatory policies. According to *The New York Times*, for instance, Pan Am "has refused to carry any Iraqi passengers... regardless of whether they presented signs of threat." The ban would include "Iraqis who are legal resident aliens of the United States." Meanwhile the FBI has announced its intention to conduct interviews with innocent, law-abiding legal resident aliens and naturalized citizens.

The American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee has filed Freedom Of Information Act requests with the FBI to obtain the criteria by which they determine who will be visited. According to Gregory T. Nojeim, ADC Director of Legal Services, three times the standard processing time for such information has passed without FBI response. The FBI did, however, tell the ADC that the majority of the decisions on who to interview are left to the district office rather than the central operation. Nojeim explains that if district agents are making

the decisions about who to interview, it is likely that they will target those Arab-Americans whose political activities give them a high profile.

Under the guise of protecting the Arab community, the FBI questions individuals on their political opinions on Palestinian rights, the Bush administration's handling of the Gulf crisis, and asks them for information on alleged terrorist activities on the assumption that people of Arab heritage either know terrorists or are terrorists themselves. Store owners, students, members of the mosque, the politically active and the quiescent, all are targeted.

This ongoing FBI investigation dates back to the early stages of the U.S. intervention. In September of this year, the FBI and CIA approached officials at the University of Connecticut asking for the names of all foreign students, their country of origin, major and the names of their academic advisers. The officials were told that these agencies would be opening files on these students and that they were particularly interested in students from the Middle East.

This kind of racism is not mutually exclusive of the seemingly random, homegrown harassment that Arab Americans and other people of color face. Mira (not her real name) has had to confront racism in her neighborhood, in the school her child attends, and in the visit an FBI agent paid to her own home. "This is a very racist neighborhood," she says of her outlying Austin community. "There are signs, you know those white superiority signs. The swastikas. I mean, you see them all over the neighborhood. Just posted on the stop signs."

In the height of pro-war fervor, a group of teenagers tried to run Mira down as she walked in her neighborhood. Although she is not Arab American, one of the passengers in the van yelled for her to "go home." After contacting one of the parents, Mira was told that the boys "didn't mean anything by it."

When Mira's son came home wearing a yellow ribbon, she protested: "I did not like the yellow-ribbon symbol. To me it was symbolizing the war." The son's teacher had told him he would have to wear it until all of the troops came home. Mira wrote a letter to the school requesting her son no longer be required to wear the ribbon.

Mira's troubles with the school district ran deeper than the ribbon, however. She had also complained to the school about what she called a "de facto segregation policy" separating minority children, including Mexican Americans, from Anglo children. "My son was put in an ESL [English as a Second Language] class, and his only language is English. His mother tongue is English." When Mira complained to the president of her local PTA, she was told to "face reality. Racism is here to stay." The president then suggested that her children "get used to it."

When the FBI visited Mira in her home, shortly after the war ended, she

was scared but also amused. "I'm a housewife who has nothing better to do," she said, "except looking after the children." He asked her if she knew anybody at the capitol or the airport. "I said, 'no, I frequent the capitol and the airport quite a lot, but no, I did not know anybody down there.'" The agent then asked her if she belonged to any terrorist organizations. "After he left," she said, "I realized: would a terrorist basically confess and say 'yes, I am a terrorist and I'm planning to bomb everything'? What did he expect?"

Mira believes she received the housecall from the FBI, either because of a quote she made to an Austin paper calling the American government stupid, or because of her outspoken stance on her child's education. "I asked him, 'does this mean that every time a citizen opens one's mouth, that somebody will be asking her or him questions?' And he just looked at me. He thanked me, I thanked him, and that was that."

Incidents like these need to be viewed in the context of a long history of harassment against the Arab community and people of color, perpetrated by both American citizens as well as the FBI. As early as 1972, the Nixon administration initiated "Operation Boulder," an extensive investigation of all people of Arab-heritage residing, visiting and studying in the United States. According to a report in the Spring 1990 newsletter of the Committee for Justice to Stop the McCarran Act Deportations, by using wiretaps, burglaries, surveillance and harassment, the FBI, INS, CIA and State Department coordinated information which led to the review of over 150,000 visa holders for excludability and possible deportation.

In 1979, with US hostages held in Iran, a request was made under the Carter administration by these same agencies to eject all Iranian students in the U.S. Throughout the early 1980's, anti-Arab sentiment escalated with Arab-American clubs and associations subject to bomb threats, arson attacks, vandalism and break-ins. FBI agents again began to visit the employers and neighbors of prominent Arab-American families insinuating connections between the community's leaders and terrorist orga-

nizations.

Dr. James Zogby, Director of the Arab American Institute, presented the FBI in 1982 with "12 documented instances of threats of physical violence and/or acts of violence against Arab Americans by Jewish extremist groups," as well as "dozens of affidavits from Arab-Americans concerned with FBI harassment." In a March 22 interview, Zogby stated that not one of the incidents he reported to the FBI or presented to the House Criminal Justice Subcommittee in July 1986 has ever been investigated. Although the FBI was thorough in its investigation into the activities of the Arab-American community, it did little to protect them from outside attackers as it originally claimed to be doing.

Zogby explains: "When I appeared before the House I asked the FBI, 'Why do their efforts seem more directed at inflicting on the civil rights of Arab Americans than on protecting their rights?' I know the quotation by heart I've had so many recent occasions to ask them the same questions again."

The answers to Zogby's questions are of life and death consequence, especially if one considers the unresolved murder case of Alex Odeh, the West Coast regional director of the ADC. After repeated harassment and threats, Odeh was assassinated in 1985 by a bomb rigged to the door of his office. Although no one has ever been arrested and indicted in this case, Zogby claims that an independent investigation by Robert Friedman as well as leaks from the Jewish Defense League and those inside the government's investigation confirm that Odeh's killer now safely resides in Israel.

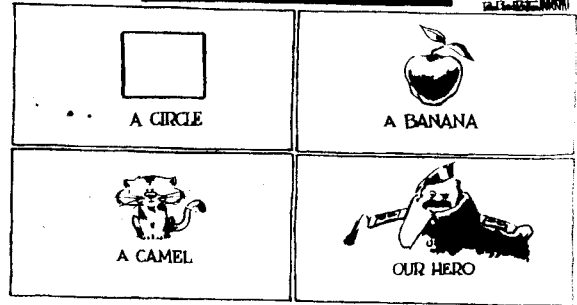
The L.A. Eight:

A Test of Civil Liberties

On January 26, 1987, when the Reagan Administration was embroiled in the Iran-Contra scandal, six Palestinian immigrants from Jordan, two of whom were permanent residents of the U. S., and the Kenyan born wife of one of them, were arrested in their Los Angeles homes. The raid involved 60 members of the FBI, INS and the LA police force. The following week a seventh Palestinian was arrested. All were charged under

DON WRIGHT

PALESTINIAN LOGIC



No Comment. Arab-American Statesman talks

provisions of Section 241(a) (6) of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

This section of the act, known as the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, was adopted during the McCarthy era and allows for the deportation of alien residents who are affiliated with an "organization that causes to be written, circu-

arrests and the INS document, "Alien Terrorists and Other Undesirables: A Contingency Plan" (discussed below). Moreover, in February 1989 it was disclosed that the government had used electronic surveillance to eavesdrop on defense/client consultations. A lawsuit over this breach of privacy is still pending.

An Afghani woman was severely beaten because of her Arabic T-shirt. Incidents of Gulf-related terrorism, directed against anyone who is not white, point to the ease with which many white Americans conflate black and brown people into a single racist image of the enemy.

lated, distributed, published or displayed, written or printed matter advocating or teaching economic, international and governmental doctrines of world communism." In an effort to portray the defendants as "security threats" they were shackled during court appearances. Because bail was set exorbitantly high, the eight remained in maximum security facilities until February 17.

Although the FBI had hoped to prove a security threat by the eight defendants' membership in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a faction of the PLO, the INS attorneys were ordered by then Attorney General Edwin Meese not to reveal their evidence in an open courtroom on grounds of national security. Due to lack of evidence the government dropped its charges. Throughout the lengthy court history of the L.A. 8, the government has been unable to present such evidence, which calls into question its existence. Six resident aliens were instead charged with technical visa violations. Still, two permanent residents were charged with "membership or affiliation with a group that advocates property destruction" under another section of the McCarran-Walter Act.

Throughout two years of deportation and appeals hearings, INS officials repeatedly failed to appear in court to testify on the connection between the

In two separate decisions—January 26, 1989 and November 17, 1989—U. S. District Judge Stephan Wilson ruled in a countersuit, American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee versus Meese, that the McCarran-Walter Act and section 901(b) of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act (FRAA) of 1987 were unconstitutionally broad in its restrictions of first amendment rights. Section 901(b) of the FRAA, specifically allows the government to exclude from entry or to deport aliens who "for reasons of foreign policy or national security," pose a threat to the government, or who are "likely after entry to engage in a terrorist activity" or who "seek to enter in an official capacity as a representative of a purported labor organization where such organizations are in fact instruments of a totalitarian state." In addition, this section of the FRAA specifically allows for the deportation and refusal to grant asylum to both those who "assisted in Nazi persecutions" and "members of the PLO." For this reason section 901 (b) is known as the "PLO Exclusion."

The ADC argued on behalf of six of the L.A. 8 that the existence of such laws effectively "chilled" their ability to exercise first amendment rights and that were it not for these acts, they would indeed be engaged in free speech and assembly activities as members of the PFLP.

In a truly convoluted line of argument, the government contended that since in its thirty-six year history the McCarran-Walter Act had rarely been invoked it posed no "real and immediate threat of prosecution" generally, and further claimed that because McCarran-Walter charges had been dropped against six of the L.A. 8 it was unlikely that they would face similar charges in the future.

...see Violence, page 15



A Palestinian, under strict 20 hour curfew, shows his ID to an Israeli soldier. Many Palestinians have lost their jobs as a result of the curfew and cannot buy food and other necessities.

Biography

...continued from page 3

University had approved a measure allowing ROTC students full refunds if sent overseas. Anti-war energy at the University was high and the Campaign planned and executed a Town Meeting on December 11th which brought media attention to the peace movement and a flood of new members to our group.

Overnight, the anti-war emotions released by the Town Meeting discharged directly into the Campaign general meetings. Many members and volunteers had already identified these meetings as too large, cumbersome and impersonal. Unwelcoming to new people and frustrating to the older members, the shape of the meetings themselves quickly became the primary subject on the general meeting agenda.

The old guard, members who had worked on the HT teach-in and begun to develop the educational materials, became concerned that the flood of new energy was in no sense informed by a commitment to the original political platform of the Campaign. They lobbied for stricter control over the form of events sponsored by this larger group.

In a debate which had its origins in the Town Meeting planning sessions, however, representatives from Youth Against Militarism (hereafter referred to as the Yammies) claimed that the Campaign was becoming hierarchical and no longer committed to open and democratic decision processes.

In a fine demonstration of democratic fairness the facilitator gave over the floor to all speakers on the stack, no matter how disruptive. A few individuals held the floor repeatedly and at length, decimating the need for democracy.



An article in a January issue of the Austin Chronical misrepresented members of the campaign as a "cadre of white women" enforcing "quotas" for people of color and women to speak at rallies.

to the near exclusion of other speakers. While members quickly identified those individuals as obstructionist, the group could not agree on a meeting process that was at once open and controlled. Nor could the general body come to a consensus on the type of decisions it would empower its elected steering committee representatives to make.

As a result the steering committee devolved into a "clearing house for new ideas and information" with no real authority to approve or discard those ideas. The ad hoc decisions made by individuals outside the meetings had neither the brutal efficiency of theocracy nor the solid constituency possible under democracy.

The debate over democratic process was complicated by the fact that the leaders of the Campaign were

almost all strong, outspoken women. Their nearly united stand in favor of formal structure threw a wrench in the notions of feminism held by many Campaign members, particularly the male leadership of Austin's traditional peace organizations.

Early in the Campaign's formation, a representative of The Texas Campaign for Global Security (TCFGS) had lobbied for a structure which he termed "feminist process" and defined as "non-hierarchical consensus building." In the face of strong resistance on the part of several respected and outspoken women, he shifted ground, claiming that only a democratic process could include uneducated and working class people, whom he claimed to represent through his organization.

Neither TCFGS nor the Yammies chose to stay in a Campaign that was inching slowly towards an affirmation of hierarchy; especially a hierarchy that was likely to affirm the tacitly acknowledged leadership in official positions. The TCFGS representative wanted a stronger voice for himself in the Campaign in order to move its agenda from a focus on Palestine and US imperialism towards a more liberal "give Peace a chance" platform. The Yammies and others misidentified the position of facilitator with "power" and 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.

As the war moved from threat to certainty the Campaign needed decisions. A suddenly attentive press with a few contact numbers only increased the pressure on the old guard to find some process for those

The Birth of Shadow Governance

Jo Freeman, over twenty years ago, in her tract *The Tyranny of Structurelessness* defined an elite as "a small group of people who have power over a larger group of which they are part, usually without direct responsibility to that larger group, and often without their knowledge or consent...Elites are nothing more and nothing less than a group of friends who also happen to participate in the same political activities." (8)

Between the Town Meeting and the planned Emergency Action for the start of the war, an informal elite emerged from several friendship groups that had coalesced during the previous two months. The Education Committee, in which most but not all of the older members worked, became the home turf of this informal elite. Although they were not actually elected representatives, several of these individuals regularly attended steering committee meetings. Decisions were made in the interstices between these two bodies. At the same time, other committees began to establish their own networks and nonaligned members of the Campaign formed a number of alternate work groups.

The informal elite consisted primarily of writers and highly articulate graduate student activists. This group, with some crossover to the steering committee but never exactly identical, debated basic issues such as structure and process, the Campaign's definition of "action", its relation to the "liberals", its approaches to communities of color, and the problems of tokenism. This shadow government quickly became a powerful force in the Campaign as a whole.

The shadow government itself was overburdened by discussions of authority and process. By early January, it began to focus on the "unilateral" actions of non-members and of individuals within the alternate Campaign faction, People for Peace. (People for Peace formed when the Campaign steering committee voted to endorse but not to sponsor a large concert produced by a few Campaign members in the Action Committee) While individuals within the shadow government continued to publish, speak and eventually spend money with very little accountability to the larger Campaign membership or to one another, the actions of others were closely scrutinized.

Where Has All the Money Gone

Because we lacked a process by which to identify our membership, individuals outside the Campaign altogether were able to initiate complex and often costly actions in the name of the Campaign. One person, for example, fronted \$2,600 for a labor intensive mailout that he claimed would raise thousands of dollars for the organization. Fortunately, the Campaign made just enough money from it to pay him back.

Within the shadow government, old guard members also pushed through costly projects. One spent \$1,250 to send another member to Iraq as part of a Fellowship Of Reconciliation delegation. As a member of the shadow government observed later, "Unilaterals are people in the Campaign we don't like doing things we don't approve. When it's someone we like, or an action that is successful, everyone calls it leadership."

Without an official decision-making structure, the Campaign could cope with neither the initiatives of individuals within the "shadow government" nor individuals only marginally involved in the organization, who sometimes represented themselves and their ideas as if coming from the larger group. The Campaign, by now the most well known anti-war organization in Austin, began to find itself rep-resented in the press, for example, by a variety of white liberal peace men who knew very little about the Middle East. They advocated a different platform than the one laid out in the Campaign literature.

The debates within the larger peace movement in Austin mirrored those that had taken place at National

decisions. Further, during the period of the "count-down" to the fifteenth, the entire membership, involved in several major projects, grew tired of the unconstructive large meetings and voted instead to work exclusively in committees for a month and to save the proposals for structure till late January.

In the meantime, coordination among the committees took place via a network that included some of the democratically elected steering committee representatives, some old guard regulars, and an odd assortment of new members. Several unofficial meetings of unofficial people laid the groundwork for a "shadow government" or "elite" that would haunt the Campaign for the rest of the war.

meetings of the Campaign for Peace in the Middle East in New York. Conflicts developed around the role of the UN, the condemnation of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, and the links between the conflict and the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Peace organizations in Austin, a PSC member

The ad hoc decisions made by individuals outside the meetings had neither the brutal efficiency of theocracy nor the solid constituency possible under democracy.

commented, had refused until now to engage the issue of the US role in the Middle East. "The Gulf crisis caught them by surprise because they didn't have any knowledge of the Middle East and they had never worked on this issue," he said in an interview. "We face the reality that even with this crisis in the Middle East they still want to ignore the Palestinian question, and even to some extent they want to ignore the Middle East."

Many in the movement tended to accept the media's portrayal of Arabs as either terrorists or wealthy oil sheikhs, and conflated Jews and Israelis, perpetuating a widespread equation between a pro-Palestinian stance and anti-Semitism.

In Austin, representatives from TCFGS and other peace men tried from the beginning of the campaign to dilute the Campaign's anti-racist emphasis and to purge the Palestinian issue from the Campaign's platform. When their demands met with the resistance of the steering committee, these individuals appropriated the discourse of identity politics.

One person declared that he had been "silenced" because he was a white male. This argument is a classic instance of doublespeak; in order to shore up their eroding authority, individuals who have traditionally "spoken for the movement" try to occupy the subject position that seems the most powerful. In doing so, they use the language of oppression without understanding the historical dimensions of forced labor exploitation and violent repression that the word "silence" holds for many communities.

Forming Strategic Alliances

In order to coordinate the long-term efforts of the various anti-war organizations, especially with regard to building alliances with communities of color, members of the Campaign called a strategy meeting in mid January. Instead of coordinating long term strategies, this meeting turned into a planning session for a January 19th rally. "In response to questions of outreach, one of the organizations spearheading the event decided to use money collected that day to place announcements on Spanish language radio," said Diaz. "Furthermore it was decided to place translated flyers in Latino neighborhoods to get people out to the event, as if placing a few flyers in strategic locations would make up for the lack of people of color present at previous events organized by the white peace community."

The liberal peace establishment ostensibly tried to target a broad audience by focusing their platform on "support the troops by bringing them home." This appeal to the lowest common denominator masked a condescension toward people's ability to understand the issues. Pervasive anti-intellectualism lead the establishment leadership to dissipate their energies in proving their patriotism at the expense of any useful analysis. In her critique of the simplify-the-message tactic, one Campaign member, Carrie Hattic, argued that "you don't broaden your base by narrowing your focus."

The Campaign's position has been based on an economic and geopolitical analysis of the Gulf. Each fact sheet, for example, highlighted the connections

between an aspect of the gulf war and another domestic or international issue so Campaign materials could be useful to a variety of other organizations (Earth First!, Steve Biko, etc.). Meaningful alliances can only be forged with organizations and institutions already in place in various communities. Although the Campaign hasn't been entirely successful in merging goals with strategy, its position statement was still a starting point for building broad based alliances.

Because the Campaign never entirely eliminated its graduate-student elite, however, its platform was vulnerable to charges of being too academic. The fact sheets and other statements were written from the Education Committee by individuals committed to original research and local analysis. It hoped to demystify the idea of "expert knowledge" by creating extensive files on a variety of topics. In fact, an elite emerged from within the shadow government itself by virtue of its access to these files, the National Campaign mailings, the office, and the answering machine. The absence of channels through which to efficiently share new knowledge and research about the war allowed some individuals to hold a monopoly on information. Moreover, these individuals were primarily graduate students with flexible schedules. They could and did invest much time in organizational work. Other members of the campaign, tied to their jobs, could not contribute as much time and often hesitated to criticize this core group. No real measure of accountability was applied either to the core members or to those acting from outside the Campaign.

What is to be done?

We offer the following structural suggestions for democratizing the Campaign and moving in measured steps towards a long-term, rather than crisis-based agenda.

1. Ideally, every member of the group should know enough about the Middle East to act as an official spokesperson, a function which should be rotated. Regular information sharing sessions and formal debate over analysis help to broaden the information gathering base. Individuals could be responsible for reading publications of their choice and clipping articles. Everyone needs to participate in this process to avoid creating an information hierarchy.
2. The people making decisions need to be formally acknowledged so that they are accountable to the larger group. If these individuals do not wish to be elected to a steering committee or other formally empowered body, then they must disavow other ways of effecting strategy.
3. Periods of self-criticism should be formally included at both the committee and Campaign level. Self-criticism at the organizational level requires that strategies be checked against a definite set of larger goals. Self-criticism at the personal level must also be formalized, in that individuals should be held accountable for a limited set of tasks. These will be best undertaken when they know exactly what is required, and new skills can be learned through an apprenticeship system.

We are now at a crucial juncture. The Campaign's energy escalated with the build-up, and declined when the media declared an end to the war. The current debates within the Campaign, pitting domestic issues against solidarity work in an oppression sweepstakes, are not very useful. Our smaller numbers and the range of tasks demanding attention require a new strategy. This is the opportunity to develop a long-term vision that ties an end to military involvement in the Middle East and the Third World with social justice in Austin. No single action can encompass the breadth of the Campaign's agenda. In the long term, a decision to do a neighborhood mural project tomorrow and a Teach-in on the Middle East next month does not mean that the

Campaign gives any less importance to the Middle East in its overall program. Sequential order does not reflect Campaign priorities. We must be able to make daily decisions with the long-term goals in mind, instead of being guided by the urgency of a particular crisis. ♪

Liberated Learning

Free Classes

Course Schedule

1. **Run Your Own Press: Intro**
Amy Paddock, teacher.
Every Sunday in April, 12 noon-5
ACME ART Warehouse, Liberated Learning Space
Between 5th and 6th on San Jacinto (Space limited-serious get down and dirty folks only please)
2. **African History - A Four Part History of the African Diaspora**
Ali Aweusi, teacher.
Every Saturday in April, 11am
Mexic-Arte at 5th and Congress
3. **Reading Marx - Guided Discussion**
Tom Philpott and Scott Henson
4. **Philosophy of Tarot, Pt. 1**
Theresa Blakely, teacher.
Women's Peace House
Every Teus, Thurs, Sat in April,
2pm - 4pm. Bring a cushion.
5. **Student Environmentalist's Roundtable and Resource Catalogue**
Fred—teacher
April 11, Tx Union Patio 7pm
6. **Resistance in the Southwest**
Manuel Callahan, Mic Purcell and George Klos—teachers
Tuesday April 9, Gar 207, 7:00pm
later meetings to be announced
7. **Vegetarianism**
Michael Fabrizio-teacher
Mondays from April 8
Tx. Union (TBA) 7-8:30
8. **Researching the Corporate University**
Scott Henson and Kathy Mitchell
every Thursday in April at 6pm
Liberated Learning Space, ACME ART Warehouse

See full course guide April 1, or call 477-1915, for more offerings at the Free U.

Thinking Locally with Gilberto Rivera

Gilberto Rivera is running for for City Council, Place 2, on a progressive platform.

Interviewed by Kamala Platt

KP: *What kinds of relationships do you see forming between the university, the communities and the city council?*

GR: There has to be a very close relationship between the city administration and the administration of the university and its students.

I say the university because the university of Texas has historically been a problem for people of color especially on the east side. For instance, the Blackland neighborhood where the university pretty much wiped out what was a vibrant African-American neighborhood in the city of Austin and they've established east of Interstate 35 a truck terminal, their garages, a baseball field and so on.

Students should be involved continuously because beyond being students they are also citizens of Austin and taxpayers. When they go shopping, when they eat in a restaurant or when they buy books they are paying taxes that go to the local government.

KP: *How would you describe the current situation here in Austin?*

GR: I am—if you want to place labels on anybody—a social environmentalist, and that basically is very simple. I think that historically social activists and environmentalists have sometimes been at different ends of a spectrum of social consciousness; both are very important but I think that in this day and age to be just a social activist or just an environmental activist is not really opening up to the whole struggle for human rights and all living things in this world.

It is imperative at this critical time in our world and in Austin, that environmentalists become social activists and social activists become environmentalists. In the poorer sections of town where the majority of people of color live, many of our struggles are social justice issues; but at the same time, if you do an accurate analysis, they are also environmental issues.

For example, I live in East Austin. We have many toxics stored in East Austin that need to be cleaned up. We have many warehouses that store toxic chemicals. Very few people know what is inside of those warehouses. We have factories that emit toxic fumes on a continuous basis. All of those are environmental issues, but looking at it from a working class/people of color perspective, they are also social justice issues.

KP: *You have publicly supported moving the airport to Manor. What about the concern that a Manor airport would provide an excellent excuse for extending the Outer Loop? Isn't this an environmentally disastrous project that would encourage capital flight from the inner city?*

GR: I fully understand the concerns of environmentalists about moving the airport to Manor. But as a social environmentalist, I am concerned about the effects of a tight urban situation on the inner city, specifically on people who live in East Austin, where the airport is now. That's why I think the airport should be moved to Manor. I do not support the Outer Loop. But whether or not they move the airport to Manor there will be an attempt to develop the Outer Loop.

KP: *You've had a lot of experience working internationally and breaking barriers in that work, too. How do you see that relating to your local work?*

GR: Personally, I don't see any problem in working both globally and locally in the sense that by looking the world and the city from a global perspective one sees the contradictions.

We have many toxics stored in East Austin that need to be cleaned up. We have many warehouses that store toxic chemicals. Very few people know what is inside of those warehouses.

The universal contradictions of this world are very simple. The United States wants to dominate the world through military and economic means. We have done that in Central America for several hundred years. We have done that in Africa by supporting the military adventures in South Africa and so on. We have done that in Southeast Asia for years and we are doing it in the Middle East. How does all that affect us locally? Very simple. There is less money available; there are fewer people available to carry on the local struggles. Historically since World War II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the war in Granada, the War in the Middle East, the wars that we carry on every day have cost one of the most precious resources that we have—the bodies of our young men and women, most of them from working class backgrounds.

Then the billions and billions of dollars that are being spent on the war machine are dollars that are not spent on health care for the elderly, educational opportunities for the young, or training opportunities for Austin's youth that are at risk today.

KP: *How do you see the recent war in the Middle East affecting communities in Austin, and how do you think we as local citizens should respond to the situation?*

GR: I was very heartened and very appreciative of the response that the people of Austin had toward that war. I have not seen that type of response toward any situation since the old anti-Vietnam War days era. I'm glad that its over and I'm glad that many young men and women are back home, but the war isn't over here in our country in the sense that we are going to feel its effects for many many years to come.

For example, the city council less than a year ago voted to eliminate \$16,000 for AIDS services here in Austin. Sixteen thousand dollars doesn't sound like much money when you realize that close to \$2 billion a day was spent on the war in the Middle East. That money isn't going to be available anymore. It is going to be harder and harder for young women with babies to get WIC services. It is going to be harder and harder for the elderly to get medical services. It is going to be harder and harder to get the services that are related to human needs because many of the monies that were to be used for that are going to be used to refill military coffers.

The war isn't over; the war has just begun here.

KP: *This sounds like a kind of structural violence. Can you expand upon this?*

GR: I feel that the City of Austin has a perfect opportunity right now to try to eliminate some of that institutional violence that has been perpetuated in this city for many years. People have a very funny definition of violence in this country. They hear of people fighting for their freedom through armed struggle—and they get upset about it. But to me, the most violent thing that I see is something different: the violence toward humanity that I see everyday here in Austin.

The violence of homeless families; the violence of people with drug and alcohol problems being put in prisons rather than being put in de-tox; the violence of families being kicked out of their homes because they cannot afford to pay the rent; the violence of the electric company cutting off people's electricity or the gas company cutting off people's gas in the middle of the winter; or the violence of young children dying of malnutrition here in Austin ... to me that type of violence is institutional, and it needs to be eradicated.

KP: *Anything else?*

GR: I think for me there are a couple of things that I'd like to concentrate my campaign on. We are basically a throw-

away society and I think that in this day and age we are throwing away our elderly, our *ancianos*, our people that we should look up to and respect because they have held this world together for sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety years, depending on how old they are.

In the Mexican culture our elders are well-respected for their knowledge and their experience and their abilities to look at the world and be able to tell you what it is incorrect.

I think lots people don't understand that; but I believe that most elderly people are more progressive than most young people think that they are because they went through struggles in their lives. Especially the working class elderly, they know how much they suffered throughout their lives.

And then you have the youth. Over 40% of Hispanic and over 45% of African Americans in this city are dropping out of school. What are we doing? We aren't doing anything.

We are encouraging them to join the military because that is the only thing out there for them. Very few of them that have dropped out can get jobs or training because we've cut services. When the City of Austin talks about cutting services the first thing they cut is people services.

One of my proposals is to provide a Youth Opportunity Corps. Such an organization would provide legislative and employment opportunities for young people four days a week, and the 5th day they would be at school getting their GED, getting business training, getting classes at ACC—where ever they are in their educational process.

It would be funded through grants and anywhere else we could find money. The youth right now are being thrown away. They are being put in jail; they are being put in prison; they are being put in the military, which is the equivalent of prison, in my opinion.

The other thing is the protection of our mother earth. I was in Africa at a conference for indigenous peoples and there were quite a few Indians there from all over the Americas. One of the women said, "it gives me great pleasure to see all of my people here, but it also gives me great sadness because we are the remnants from once-great societies. Our mother earth has protected us for over 500 years since the conquerors came from Europe and for 500 years we have been beating the drum and the drum is our heart and the heart of mother earth. They are slowly killing us off and killing our mother earth. Every time we drop a bomb on another country we are killing her. Every time we burn oil we are draining her blood." If we can't protect our mother earth we can't protect ourselves.

LEPC

..continued from page 5.

money but must borrow resources from other programs to finance right-to-know implementation. The Travis County LEPC is funded by the county, already strapped for money. And according to Judge Aleshire, some money was diverted to the LEPC from human services programs. The county's meager funds employ only one person in the city fire department to serve as the information clearinghouse for the LEPC.

Two states, Kansas and Ohio, have provided alternative means of support by requiring facilities to pay a filing fee that helps finance the work of the LEPCs. In Texas, companies pay a filing fee to the state since reports are filed with state agencies, but this money doesn't make its way back to the LEPCs.

Another way of providing support, of course, would be to involve the community through outreach programs. In Durham, North Carolina, the LEPC has generated enough interest that 40 or more people attend meetings and community members donate hundreds of hours of volunteer work. Publishing worst-case scenarios and plume maps in the newspaper might also stimulate interest from citizens about the risks they face. And public information about the risks of hazardous chemicals could exert pressure on facilities to reduce not only risk, but also the use of these chemicals. **P**

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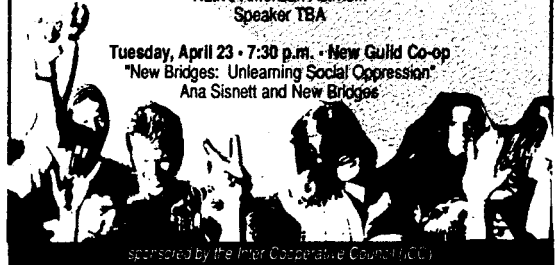
Tuesday, March 26 - 8 p.m. - New Guild Co-op, 518 W. 23rd
"Challenging Racism, Sexism, Classism and Homophobia
in the Progressive Community"
Jennifer Bowles, Peter Chua and Torri Luckett

Tuesday, April 2 - 8 p.m. - New Guild Co-op
"The Persian Gulf War and the Brutalization of American Culture"
Douglas Keltner

Tuesday, April 9 - 8 p.m. - French House Co-op, 710 W. 21st
"Cultural and Political Activism and the AIDS Crisis"
Ann Cvetkovitch

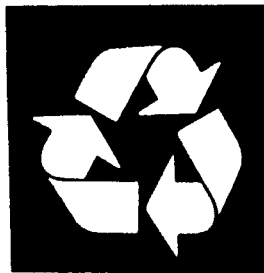
Tuesday, April 16 - 8 p.m. - Royal Co-op, 1805 Pearl
"Native American Activism"
Speaker TBA

Tuesday, April 23 - 7:30 p.m. - New Guild Co-op
"New Bridges: Unlearning Social Oppression"
Ana Sissett and New Bridges



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Democracy by Intimidation:

Workers Vote With Their Feet in Mass Solidarity Walkout

By Charley MacMartin

Voters in El Salvador, braving what observers termed "widespread fraud and intimidation" by the ruling ARENA (Nationalist Republican Alliance) party, turned out for the March 10 legislative and municipal elections. Results of the elections are still in doubt as opposition parties contest the official results and at least one city's election was postponed.

While elections come and go, El Salvador remains plagued by persistent poverty and U.S. sponsored repression. Adding to the tension, negotiations between the Salvadoran Army and the rebel forces of the FMLN (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front) appear deadlocked. Despite pressure for negotiation from both within El Salvador and from abroad, military conflict is likely to return full force to El Salvador during April.

Arena's Plan:

Winning through Intimidation

In early March, the international spotlight focused on the first round of elections in El Salvador since the right-wing ARENA party took office in June 1989. The March 10 elections selected members of the expanded 84-seat unicameral National Assembly as well as local governments in the 262 municipalities of Central America's most densely populated country. As results became known, ARENA lost its majority in the National Legislature. In addition, a three-party social democratic coalition, the Democratic Convergence (CD), was running strong throughout the country and was second in at least two provinces, San Salvador and La Libertad.

The erosion of ARENA's dominance in the legislative branch came amidst accusations by opposition parties of pre-election intimidation and election day fraud by the ruling party. Three days before the election, ARENA activists fired upon a San Salvador campaign rally of the opposition party, Democratic Nationalist Union (UDN), hitting a UDN candidate twice in the head. On February 21, another UDN candidate was shot and killed by death squad members only two blocks from the U.S. Embassy. The CD coalition had two campaign offices blown up in the weeks leading up to March 10.

In measured words of understatement, a German observer delegation pronounced "their dissatisfaction over the climate" leading up to the elections. The independent, Costa Rica-based Central America Human Rights Commission (CODEHUCA) linked the pre-election violence to government statements in February which accused human rights groups, trade unions and civic groups of being "fronts for the FMLN" (*El Diario di Hoy*, 2/14/91).

On election day, intimidation by ARENA persisted. In the eastern city of San Miguel, ARENA poll-watchers questioned voters about party affiliation. In the working class neighborhoods of San Salvador, voting booths were moved, stalling elections. And in Santa Tecla, the CD coalition was left off the ballot, forcing a postponement of that city's polling.

Mixed Interpretations

The battle over the election's meaning has proven to be as fierce as the debate over the exact vote count. "ARENA's objective is to consolidate the legitimacy of its rule," observed one Salvadoran trade union leader. ARENA party leader and El Salvador's Vice President, Francisco Merino, commented on February 26 that a

vote for ARENA would demonstrate that Salvadorans "demand authority, and that law and order should reestablish its reign in our country." To guarantee this interpretation, ARENA is expected to claim victory whether it achieves either an electoral majority or a plurality in the National Assembly.

In contrast, the electoral opposition, which includes the Christian Democrats (PDC), the CD coalition and the socialist UDN, hopes to make the National Assembly a forum to pressure a negotiated solution to the war. Political space for opposition parties has always been tenuous in an El Salvador of military conflict. The relatively stable environment of negotiations would allow the electoral opposition to build their respective bases before El Salvador's presidential elections in 1994.

For the United States, the March 10 elections stand as an enigma. For the past ten years, elections in El Salvador have been key evidence for Republican administrations that U.S. military aid is building democracy. But with electoral advances for the opposition, a set-back could occur for what Salvadoran opposition leaders describe as the real U.S. objective: defeat of the FMLN. "Peace is not the first priority of the North Americans," contends CD coalitions leader Ruben Zamora. "Their first priority is that the FMLN does not win the war."

The Rank and File Perspective

For Salvadoran trade unionists, rural campesinos, and urban slum dwellers elections have never been a solution to the poverty and repression which underlie their country's decade long civil war. Barely fifty percent of the electorate turned out for the March 10 vote, consistent with past years. The current strategy for rank and file Salvadoran organizers employs the tactics of concertacion and the civil strike.

Concertacion (Spanish for coalition-building) manifests itself through formations such as the Permanent Committee for the National Debate (CPDN), a

try workers this time, went on strike. And one of the largest public employee organizations, the Salvadoran Teachers Front (FMS) promised that educators will hold a series of work stoppages if their salaries are not increased. By flexing its muscles, union organizers contend, the popular movement could force its concerns onto national negotiations.

Post-Election Repression

Events in the wake of the elections reveal that while elections may occur in El Salvador, democracy still remains a privilege of the few.

Friday, March 15, the same day George Bush released previously suspended U.S. military aid to El Salvador, riot-police tear-gassed and injured striking workers in San Salvador. Supported by soldiers of the Salvadoran Army's First Brigade, police arrived at the largest work-site of the Treasury Ministry, known as Tres Torres, and proceeded to beat and shoot members of the Association of Treasury Ministry Employees (AGEMHA).

Workers at Tres Torres are part of a ten-day-old sit down strike at six work-sites of the Treasury Ministry. AGEMHA demands include increased monthly salaries and promises from the ARENA government not to dismantle the Ministry under right-wing privatization plans.

Police fired on the AGEMHA workers with machine-guns, tear gas canisters and grenades. Three workers were injured in the melee and three others were captured by police. This brought to sixteen the number of AGEMHA members captured since the strike began on Monday, March 11.

Other public sector employees threaten a general strike if the ARENA government does not bargain in good faith with AGEMHA workers. As a show of strength, on Monday, March 18, eighteen thousand telephone, education and public works employees walked off the job in a day of labor solidarity with AGEMHA strikers.

Three days before the election, ARENA activists fired upon a San Salvador campaign rally of the Democratic Nationalist Union (UDN), hitting a UDN candidate twice in the head. On February 21, another UDN candidate was shot and killed by death squad members only two blocks from the U.S. Embassy. The CD coalition had two campaign offices blown up in the weeks leading up to March 10.

broad array of over 1.5 million Salvadorans which hopes to promote a national solution to the civil war by isolating the most recalcitrant elements within the Armed Forces. The March 10 gains by the electoral opposition complement this strategy with the increased isolation of ARENA in the National Assembly.

Civil strikes by public sector employees and factory workers further the isolation of El Salvador's right-wing by forcing concessions from government ministries and business-owners. By doing so, workers attempt to protect themselves from what a February 27 *Proceso* editorial critically termed, "the scars of (ARENA's) economic deregulation," including a 45% increase in layoffs during 1990. Nearly ten thousand workers in telecommunications and in the ministry of foodstuff regulation held a one-day work stoppage to demand salary increases. On March 11, 1991, telecommunications workers again, along with Treasury Minis-

Repression Sparks Rebel Attack

In the wake of the police repression of the AGEMHA strike, rebel forces of the Farabundo National Liberation Front (FMLN) wasted no time in responding with what the FMLN termed "punishment" for the repression.

FMLN forces in at least four of El Salvador's fourteen provinces pounded Army positions the night of March 15 and the early morning of March 16, inflicting injuries and sabotaging electric facilities. An FMLN statement on Saturday, March 16, termed the sabotage as "punishment for...the police attack on striking government workers." FMLN sabotage against key power stations late on March 15 cut off 51 percent of the country's energy supply during the weekend, the Hydroelectric Executive Commission said.

A Negotiated Solution

m for a negotiated solution to El Salvador's increasingly hard to muster. February negotiations down as the Salvadoran Army pulled J.N. proposals to review the human rights Army generals and colonels.

ty's sincerity towards negotiations remains a February radio speech by Salvadoran al Rene Emilio Ponce, he referred to the es as "unnegotiable" while arguing that from the United States must increase. The El Zapote of fifteen peasants on January 21 of the Army's First Brigade plus the arson at the opposition newspaper, Diario Latino, reminds organizers in El Salvador of the f the early 1980s. Salvadoran Auxiliary orio Rosa Chavez, speaking in Costa Rica 25, commented that death squads indeed id added that they are able to operate with complicity of the Armed Forces" (Proceso,

ncouragement for compromise emanates ntion. As Michael Posner, Executive Di- Lawyer's Committee for Human Rights, testimony before the U.S. House Commit- n Affairs on February 21, the United States tacle to human rights discussions in the ons. "Each year when El Salvador is dis- sner testified, "the U.S. delegation either iscontinue the (U.N.'s) annual reporting o dilute (U.N.) Commission (of Human lutions which address specific human rights

Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, ations and elections offer the chance to if as a political organization which will -civil war El Salvador. Recent statements mmanders Joaquin Villalobos (New York 11) and Leonel Gonzalez (Radio Farabundo 91) emphasize the guerrilla's commitment ns. Gonzalez explained, "(we) are channel- ire military effort and our political and

international struggles toward achieving political agreements and a cease-fire," the FMLN's willingness not to boycott the March 10 elections underscores, in the eyes of many Salvadorans, the rebel's good faith approach. The Army remains skeptical.

Adams-McDermott Bill

The next significant signal expected from Washington will be the vote on aid to El Salvador for fiscal year 1992. To the horror of Salvadoran Army hardliners, proposed legislation would stop all war-related aid to the government of El Salvador. The House version of the Adams-McDermott Bill already has sixteen cosponsors while, to-date, five have signed on in the Senate. Going farther than any previous legislation, the bill would pull all U.S. advisors from El Salvador (eight of whom died this year alone), halt all economic aid for war related purposes and forbid covert operations. A vote on aid to El Salvador may come as early as April.

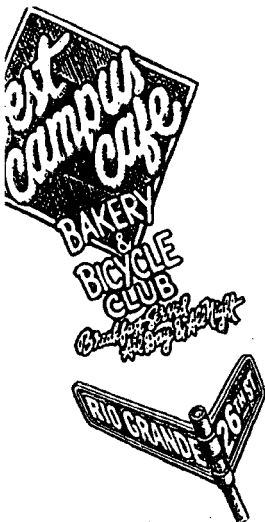
By April, military activity will most certainly escalate after the lull around the March 10 elections. Before the elections, in the first week of March, the Salvadoran Army launched a major offensive into the FMLN's rearguard in El Salvador's northern provinces, including Chalatenango. This prompted the FMLN to activate urban commandos, striking in the Army's own base of operations in San Salvador and other cities. In the wake of the elections, Army forces remain in northern El Salvador, and the Army's intransigence at the negotiating table will not encourage the FMLN to tolerate their presence.

Sources:

Post-election reports came from Salpress News, UPI, Radio Horizonte and Radio Farabundo Marti. The author's telephone interview with AGEMHA workers on Friday, March 15, was cut short as riot police fired tear gas into the union offices where strikers had taken refuge after the attack at Tres Torres. Three Austin solidarity activists, Erin Rogers, Matt Cook and Bill Stouffer, mentioned the March 15 police attack on the union offices.

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• LETTERS •

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

To the editors of *Polemicist*:

On behalf of the council of graduate students, the COGS Steering Committee would like to respond to the *Polemicist's* chastisement of Victoria Moore in the December 1990 issue. While we are on the whole enthusiastic and supportive readers of the alternative paper, we were surprised and disappointed by the inaccuracies and unsupported allegations made in the editorial.

First, in reference to Moore's alleged opposition to graduate unionization, we are unaware of an initiative to unionize graduate employees. However, given Moore's past position on the union bargaining committee at the University of Michigan, and her current mandate to represent the expressed interests of her constituents, we believe she would actively support collective action on employment issues, as she and the COGS leadership have on other issues including premium-sharing, childcare, tuition increases, library cuts and anti-discrimination and diversity policies.

As for the *Polemicist's* inference that Moore advocated an SA split, the notion of a "split" was ostensibly taken from an erroneous *Texan* headline of its November 5, 1990 report on the National Association of Graduate and Professional Student's (NAGPS) Regional Conference which UT-Austin hosted November 2-4, 1990. The headline misrepresented the goals and agenda of the con-

ference, in which participants from 6 states and 11 universities met to discuss not only graduate governance structures, but also issues of diversity in education, national and state legislative concerns, and the impact and improvement of childcare, housing, and health care policies regarding students of all sexual orientations. Conference participants shared their universities' strategies for proactively addressing these areas of concern.

Since none of the SA representatives attended the conference, we were shocked to read that one of those representatives characterized the conference session on student governments as a "crime against every student on the campus."

Contrary to *Texan* and *Polemicist* reports, COGS recognizes that interests in common to all students are best served by the Student's Association. To our knowledge, no member of the Council has ever called for an SA split. Given that these two organizations with different constitutions and members already exist, we cannot even envision what such a split would entail. The current COGS members have merely tried to ascertain the constitutional relationship between the two groups.

When David Ritchie asked Moore and the Council to appoint him to the Student's Association in March 1990, we were under the impression that he would serve as a liaison between the two

groups. After having had no contact with Representative Ritchie since this appointment, COGS members, especially those who organized the November NAGPS conference, were astounded to read that he felt discussions at this conference sabotaged student interests. After numerous attempts to contact Representative Ritchie directly, the COGS Steering Committee voted to publish an open letter as a last effort to contact him before the November COGS meeting. The *Polemicist's* claim that Moore engineered his removal as SA rep is inaccurate; the implication that the Steering Committee and the graduates representing 35 departments at the November meeting were so uninformed and easily swayed as to be merely a presidential rubber stamp is insulting.

Since this November COGS meeting, the Council, Eric Dixon, and Representatives Krueger, Ritchie, and Danziger have continued to communicate and to develop a positive and valuable working relationship which promises to benefit COGS and the SA.

We urge the *Polemicist's* editors to research this story as rigorously as they have previous stories; further, we encourage them to avoid chastising a president who has worked hard to understand and to act on the desires of a large and varied constituency, and instead to support graduate students' efforts to protect their interests as students, employees and members of the University community.

Henson responds: Despite whatever position Moore held at the University of Michigan, the fact is that at the University of Texas, she has been quoted at least twice in *The Daily Texan* opposing the unionization of graduate students. One of these articles was devoted almost solely to Moore attacking the idea of unionizing graduate student workers.

Similarly, it was not the headline of the *Texan* article that made us believe Moore supported splitting the Students' Association into two parts, but Moore's statements to reporters in that article. If you have a problem with the perception that COGS supports such a lame and absurd proposal, don't blame *The Daily Texan*, blame your president who seems to have been born with a chronic case of foot-in-mouth disease.

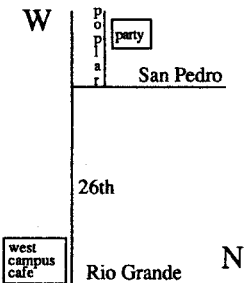
Moore's opportunism dates back to the beginning of her COGS presidency. The first time we heard or saw Moore was during the graduate students' struggle for health benefits, which contrary to her posturing, was organized almost solely by resigned COGS members who formed the Graduate Professional Association. Moore pontificated on the struggles of graduate students as if she had been fighting the good fight for years. She even met with administrators without consulting GPA, which had spearheaded the negotiations until that time. If we perceive her as a "power-monger," it's only based on observing her behavior over an extended period.

Polemicist would never intentionally alienate grad students, but we will never back off when an apologist like Moore pushes her own agenda over the best interests of students.

Sincerely,
Susan Meigs
Chip Cariappa
and four others.

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Violence

...continued from p. 7

In his decision, however, Judge Wilson cited the government's charging of Hamide and Shehadeh, the other two defendants, under a new set of McCarren-Walter charges as evidence of "the government's desire to utilize the McCarren-Walter provisions against PFLP members."

Although Judge Wilson's rulings extend first amendment rights not just to citizens but all people visiting or temporarily residing in the United States, the government could challenge those rulings in other cases and neither of the acts in question has been officially struck down.

The McCarren-Walter Act, for example, has been used to keep writers like Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Carlos Fuentes, Dario Fo and Margaret Randall out of the country, as well as actors Yves Montand and Simone Signoret. Not surprisingly, the government appealed the district court decision and the case remains in the appellate court. The L.A. 8 must live with the unfortunate possibility that the next round of court appearances could end with their deportation.

The INS as a Security Branch

After the L.A. 8 case, judicial scrutiny left most of the McCarren-Walter Act eviscerated. The way in which the United States government would enforce the McCarren-Walter Act escaped relatively unscathed, however.

Designed to facilitate the "expedient deportation of aliens engaged in support of terrorism," the INS proposed that the Executive Branch implement a Presidential Executive Order "invoking the provisions of the [McCarren-Walter Act] directing the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other intelligence and law enforcement agencies to immediately provide INS with lists of names, nationalities, and other identifying data and evidence relating to alien undesirables."

This proposed Order was the first step in a contingency plan designed by INS investigators to aid in the control of terrorists. Because an Executive Order

has the power to circumvent previous court rulings on civil liberties, it remains an effective tactic for continuing covert operations, far from the maddening purview of public scrutiny. During WWII, for instance, Japanese internment camps were set up under a presidential executive order. Moreover, an executive order would allow the INS to avoid the problems associated with the general registry of Iranian aliens during the Iranian crisis of the late 1970's.

Called *Alien Terrorists and Undesirables: A Contingency Plan*, the 1986 document specifically targets "undesirables" from Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, Iran, Jordan, Syria, Morocco and Lebanon. Iraq is noticeably absent from this list. At the time, the U. S. looked more favorably on Iraqis and their leader Saddam Hussein, whom the US supported in his war against what was then our mutual enemy, Iran.

The proposal further recommends that law enforcement "routinely hold any alien [charged with engaging in terrorism] without bond." If an appeal is introduced, the document recommends that "the alien shall remain under the conditions of release imposed by the government pending final resolution of all appeals." As with other proposed actions, the document recommends that these "be immediately published as final rule, without delays inherent in the proposed rulemaking process."

Perhaps most horrifying are the steps outlined to detain resident aliens. If apprehensions reach 500-1000 cases, the INS advises "notification . . . to BOP [Bureau of Prisons] of intent to activate the 1,000 bed Oakdale Alien Detention Center for emergency occupancy." Should arrests exceed 1,000, the plan calls for the "immediate notification, as well in advance as possible, to the Department of Defense as to need for assistance in logistics and facilities."

In other words, the U. S. military would be involved in operating "a site sized to house up to 5,000 aliens in temporary quarters suitable to that southern climate. Once triggered by an emergency, after it has been developed to stand-by readiness, site can be fully activated in 2-4 weeks depending on degree of development."

As discussed above, much of the McCarren-Walter Act that would allow for such flagrant violation of civil liberties was struck down in district court; however, the larger question of whether the L.A. 8 were a test case for the feasibility of some of the suggestions outlined in the contingency plan remains officially unanswered. The uncomfortable fact remains that when the contingency plan was leaked to the press one week after seven of the L.A. 8 had been arrested, the United States government was caught with its pants down.

The massive detentions and deportations this document proposes paint a bleak picture, reminiscent of both Nazi Germany and WWII concentration camps for Asian-Americans. The incipient anti-Semitism against Arabs, directly following the United States bombing of Libya, showcases how such racism becomes institutionalized. Can the United States government take action in the interest of national security at the expense of our civil liberties? Apparently, through a series of executive orders and *post hoc* rules, it still can.

In the eyes of the West, terrorism is the last refuge of some disparate Third World fanatic. Yet the United States excels in terrorizing innocent, legal residents and citizens, simply on the basis of their ethnicity. In some cases—the death threats, the beatings—these acts of terrorism seem frenzied and random; a dark by-product of fighting the so-called just war.

The covert actions of the United States government, however, implicitly sanction these seemingly random acts. While the government rebukes this form of terrorism on the one hand, its policies encourage it on the other. If we have anything to learn from the past, this cynical, two-faced approach hardly protects people, but edges ever closer to the wholesale denial of everyone's civil liberties.

Mira, the woman who was visited by the FBI in her home, has already had her first-hand experience with this denial. "If you open your mouth," she said, "you better be prepared for someone to call and question you." P

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