



Polemicist

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

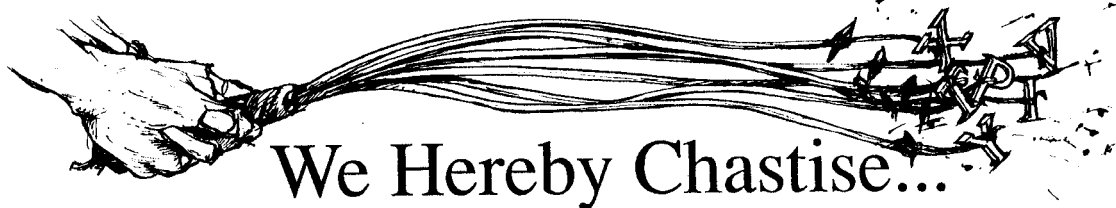
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in Central America.
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We Hereby Chastise...

The editors have judged the following people and institutions—and found them wanting.

Joe Horn

Associate Dean of Liberal Arts

When we rebuked Horn in the October *Polemicist*, we hoped it would improve his disposition — instead he got meaner, louder and, if possible, more stupid.

For starters, Horn has signed on as faculty adviser for an organization called the "University Coalition for Free Speech." Ironically, the only form of free speech this group has ever supported is the right to make racist statements without retribution.

The "coalition" opposes any University policy on racial harassment that would "have a chilling effect on free speech." For instance, say a UT police officer calls a student a "nigger" during questioning. After all, UTPD harassment of black and Latino students triggered the creation of the ad hoc racial harassment committee in the first place. Horn and his student advocates fear that prohibiting such freedom of expression will somehow limit the intellectual atmosphere of the University. Coming from a man who considers torturing rats a legitimate intellectual endeavor, this attitude isn't surprising — although it is appalling.

Indeed, Horn thinks that students, like his rats, will only perform for him under duress. That's why he wrote to The *Daily Texan* to oppose mandatory teacher evaluations. He's worried that they would "encourage faculty to cater to those motivations of students that are themselves inimical to learning." Right Joe. Students' motivations are "inimical to learning" — that's why we pay \$18 per credit hour plus fees plus living expenses and lost wages to attend college. Horn has forgotten that the University, especially the liberal arts college, is here to help students pursue their motivations, not to stifle them. Horn is worried that teachers will "entertain" students in their classes, as if that somehow inhibits teaching. There's nothing wrong with gaining pleasure from learning, but Horn acts as if learning were only productive if it hurts. In his worldview, students should do as they're told and not talk back — student evaluations of teachers amount to talking back. Certainly if arbitrary, subjective evaluations (read: grades) are good enough for students, then they should be a reasonable way to evaluate faculty as well. But Horn likes to keep students powerless and unable to evaluate their evaluators, like rats in one of his cages.

U.S. Rep. J.J. "Jake" Pickle
U.S. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen

"I like to think I'm objective about this," Jake Pickle said of the murdering of six Salvadoran priests, "but I am not going to be spooked by the killings." What would spook the man? Apparently Pickle feels no responsibility or remorse for the role his votes played in purchasing the weapons that killed those priests. That spooks us.

Last week Pickle said that he'd consider cutting aid to the ARENA government if he saw substantial evidence that Salvador's right wing elements killed the priests. When the evidence became overwhelming that in fact the military committed the crime, Pickle said he wouldn't vote to cut aid unless he could see direct links between the murders and what he calls El Salvador's freely elected

government.

We don't think Pickle will ever vote against funding and arming that bloody government. Large employers in his district — Texas Instruments, for example — maintain investments in El Salvador. Some companies in his district, like Lockheed, even make profits from arms sales to the Salvadoran government. In the past, Pickle has supported massive state subsidies to these companies for high-tech research. Austin is a defense town, and because of that Pickle has an interest in escalating the war, not stopping it. What if peace broke out and suddenly no one bought weapons anymore? Pickle has the blood of priests — as well as 70,000 civilians — on his hands. We hope it's worth it to him.

The only difference between Pickle and Lloyd Bentsen is that Pickle spoke to his detractors. Bentsen was too busy preparing to run for president. The profound arrogance of not speaking to concerned constituents over the murder of priests cannot be understated. Elsewhere in *Polemicist* we show how UT provides institutional support for Central American oppression. As if to manifest that disgraceful alliance between UT, Texas Democrats and Salvadoran fascists, Bentsen will speak at this year's commencement ceremonies on Sunday, December 10. Quietly sitting through the ceremonies will only validate Bentsen's and UT's unconscionable support for murder and terror. Graduating seniors should disrupt the speech by yelling and flashing signs that express rage at the U.S.-funded carnage in El Salvador.

Karen Adams
Texan editor

We sense in Adams a certain proud, almost defiant ignorance — the very definition of the philistine. Her musings on the recent bloodbath in El Salvador amount to a series of misconceptions, petty conceits and crude distortions. Even though the Salvadoran army indiscriminately attacked residential neighborhoods with American-made bombs resulting in at least 1500 civilian deaths, Adams reserves her worst disdain for the FMLN "and their [sic] faithful U.S. flunkies." Forget the fact that according to reports in her own newspaper, the FMLN offered a temporary cease-fire to evacuate civilians from embattled areas. According to Adams, "the rebels cowardly hid in those same neighborhoods, using civilians as shields." First, human beings don't make very good shields against artillery shells or bombs dropped from airplanes. Second, if the FMLN rebels were truly cowards, they wouldn't have hidden in poor neighborhoods — they would have sought cover in wealthy neighborhoods, where the army would never attack.

Adams calls what goes on in El Salvador is "democracy." In El Salvador last spring, presidential ballots were placed in clear plexiglass boxes under the watchful eyes of soldiers armed with American-made M16s. Is that democracy? Besides, in a country where the military ignores civilian rule and doesn't hesitate to kill priests or bomb civilians — all to preserve the wealth of a few families and U.S. investments, which requires that most of the population be poor — ballot boxes mean little.

Adams' philosophy, shameful as it is, stems less from malice than from sheer vacuity. While we don't really expect her to critically analyze the news; it would be nice, though, if she'd read it before editorializing to 50,000 readers.

The Campus Activities Office

Recently Glenn Maloney, assistant dean of students and chief of the Campus Activities Office, summoned the *Polemicist* editors to his office to enforce UT's restrictions on alternative press. Under UT's rules, no publication save *The Texan* can be distributed on campus if it sells advertising space. Under the laws of economics, of course, no publication can be printed unless it sells advertising space.

Maloney adamantly defends this rule, explaining that if it didn't exist, students would be barraged with commercialism and advertisements. We don't blame Maloney for enforcing the rules. Like the vice principal in high school doling out D-hall sentences for excessive tardiness, Maloney only does the bidding of higher administrators, brandishing his paddle on request. But in a stunning contradiction, a truly profane document reached the *Polemicist* offices via post: a handbill announcing the "Annual Burger King Burger Battle Contest." It seems that the Campus Activities Office has released a mailing list for all 700 official student groups to Burger King for solicitation purposes. Not surprisingly, the group that purchases the most Burger King products wins the Burger Battle — who could ask for more?

This incident proves that UT's rules banning on-campus solicitation weren't imposed to control commercialism, but rather to control the flow of information on campus — and maybe sell a few burgers on the side.

William Cunningham
UT President

Professors "are hired based on their teaching and are terminated based on their teaching," President Cunningham told an audience of UT parents at his recent "State of the University" address. The only question was whether he was lying or just displaying unspeakable naivete. Later in the speech, he answered it himself: He admitted that he must approve every hiring, promotion and pay-raise decision UT-Austin makes, which means that he was lying. In the history department, for example, pay-raise decisions are made almost solely on the basis of publishing. In a six-part form history profs are required to fill out if they want pay raises, only the sixth portion addresses the question of teaching; and even that had a disclaimer stating that measurement of teaching ability is "subjective," and therefore not a weighty consideration. Outside of the auditorium during the president's speech, students were carrying picket signs saying, "Don't let Cunningham lie to your parents." He did anyway.

We've said it before, but this man has no business running a university. He's not a scholar, he's a businessman. He lies when it's convenient. He maintains his rule by dividing students and pitting them against each other. He channels UT resources into funding military capital instead of hiring teachers. His idea of confronting problems like racism or understaffing is to form a committee, not make a decision. He should be fired, but students don't have enough clout to do that. Instead, we should harass him on an individual basis until he leaves of his own accord. *The Texan* already printed Cunningham's office phone (471-1232), but feel free to call him at home, too (328-2285). Stop by his home, or maybe send him a Domino's pizza: his address is 1106 Kennan Rd — don't be embarrassed, UT picks up a \$5500 per month mortgage tab for him, so it's your house too. P

Special K

George Kozmetsky and the technopolis concept

by Ralph Tomlinson

George Kozmetsky believes in the military-industrial complex — it has made him one of the 100 wealthiest people in Texas and one of the 400 richest in the United States. But to maintain America's role in what he calls the "hypercompetitive" global market, Kozmetsky advocates a new military- government-business-academia partnership. Yet this new partnership is only one element in Kozmetsky's strategy to rebuild the U.S. economy. IC², or the Innovation, Creativity and Capital Institute, established in 1977 by Kozmetsky on the University of Texas at Austin campus, has become the impetus for transforming the economic policies of the UT System, Austin and the nation.

Deep background

Kozmetsky came to UT in 1966 as dean of both the College of Business Administration and the Graduate School of Business, as well as the UT System's Executive Associate for Economic Affairs. He began his academic career as a Harvard Business School instructor, and later became an assistant professor at the Carnegie Institute of Technology Graduate School of Industrial Administration. He left Carnegie in 1952 to take his first post with a major defense contractor — on Hughes Aircraft's Technical Staff at their Advanced Electronics Laboratory.

Thus began Kozmetsky's 20-year hiatus from academia. He moved to Litton Industries in 1954, eventually rising to Corporate Vice-President and Assistant General Manager of Litton's Electronic Equipment Division. Litton has long been involved in the nuclear- weapons industry and defense electronics. Litton has worked with Lockheed on the Navy's nuclear missile programs, assisted in developing cruise missile guidance systems, devised electronic countermeasures systems for the B-52, and jamming systems for other nuclear-capable aircraft.

In 1960, Kozmetsky and a fellow Litton employee, Henry Singleton, founded Teledyne Inc. Many Americans are familiar with Teledyne's consumer electronics — those wonderful gadgets that are under everyone's Christmas tree one year and at everyone's garage sale the next. But the company also manufactures specialty metals, aircraft engines, remote-piloted aircraft, spacecraft and avionics equipment: all defense-related products.

Kozmetsky continues to serve as Teledyne's director, and on Litton's Board of Directors. In 1977, 11 years after his arrival at UT, Kozmetsky created IC², first known as the Institute for Constructive Capitalism, later renamed the Innovation, Creativity and Capital Institute. IC², according to *IC² Institute: The First Decade, 1977-1987*, was established "to subject capitalism to the objective scrutiny

of academic research and provide ideas about the ways in which the private sector may respond more effectively to help solve society's problems in a time of rapid socioeconomic and cultural change."

IC² and industrial policy

In other words, the institute's main objective is economic planning. While capitalists belittle the centralized planning inherent to so-called communist nations, the U.S. economy is just as planned as any other nation's.

Our economic planning differs from the communist countries only in that we plan on an industry-by-industry basis, or even firm-by-firm, while communist bureaucrats centralize all industrial decisions.

The similarities between communist and capitalist economic planning becomes even more evident when the planners cooperate. IC², for example, lists "collaborative efforts" not only with several capitalist-oriented European and Asian institutes, but also with China's Beijing Institute of Information and Control, the Institute for Industrial Economics, the National Research Center for Science and Technology for Development and the Technological Innovation Corporation of China. Of the other seven nations mentioned in the report, IC² collaborates with the same number of institutions in only one other country — Japan.

But Kozmetsky's ultimate collaborative efforts are aimed at creating a new form of city-state — the technopolis. The technopolis is a euphemism for the creation of a national industrial policy, which is, in the final analysis, America's domestic response to foreign political and economic challenges. In foreign policy, America uses trade, monetary or even military policy to respond to threats such as nationalization or commercial competition by foreign governments. This domestic element of the response requires a rethinking of past mistakes and the creation of "new institutional relationships" to counter these challenges.

That's what "Creating the Technopolis" — the title of one of Kozmetsky's books — is all about. "New institutional alliances, driven by the rapid increase in and diversity of new technologies, are altering the strategy and tactics of economic development. As a result, communities across the world are seeking to create modern technopolis or city-states that interactively link technology commercialization with public and private sectors to spur economic growth and diversification," according to *Creating*



Institute Director George Kozmetsky and Executive Director Raymond W. Smilor.

the Technopolis: High Technology Development in Austin, Texas, an article first published in the *Journal of Business Venturing*.

IC²'s strategy for building the technopolis focuses on seven segments: "the university, large technology companies, small technology companies, federal government, state government, local government and support groups." And, as the article's title implies, Austin has become a laboratory for this economic experiment. Developing the technopolis requires three elements: a "coordinated approach to high-technology company development, the presence of a high-quality research university, and the importance of a network of influencers or "executive champions," all of which are present in Austin. And many are a direct result of the IC²'s influence.

IC² and UT

At the heart of Austin's economic restructuring is the University of Texas. In their aforementioned article, *Creating the Technopolis*, IC² Executive Director, Raymond W. Smilor, David V. Gibson, a UT assistant professor of management and information systems and an IC² research fellow; and Kozmetsky, the institute's director, state their view of the University's mission:

"The nucleus in the development of the technopolis is the university segment. The research university plays a key role in the fostering of research and development activities; the attraction of key scholars and talented graduate students; the spinoffs of new companies; the attraction of major technology-based firms; as a magnet for federal and private sector funding; and as a general source of ideas, employees, and consultants for high-technology as well as infrastructure companies. The University of Texas at Austin ... has played a key role in the development and perception of Austin as a technopolis." The student

remains mysteriously absent from this account of the university's role, except as future high-tech industry employees.

As an example of the university's importance in attracting technology, the article offers a case study of Tracor, which was founded by four physicists employed at UT's Defense Research Laboratory. The laboratory, established in 1942, was later renamed the Applied Research Laboratory and marked the beginning of UT's Balcones Research Park.

Exalting Tracor as a model for the future city-state has proven a poor choice. Adm. Bobby Inman, former director of both Naval Intelligence and the National Security Agency, and former Deputy Director of the CIA, has driven Tracor to the brink of bankruptcy. The *Austin-American Statesman* quoted one business analyst as calling Inman's recent leveraged-buyout of Tracor either "criminal or stupid." Inman controls Tracor through Westmark Co. — a holding company established to purchase defense firms — and is the only member of Tracor's board of directors. While Inman may not understand the delicacies of junk bonds and leveraged-buyouts, he has been a key player in Austin's high-tech industry.

Inman credits Kozmetsky with luring Microelectronics and Computer Technology Corporation, the artificial intelligence — and — software research consortium founded by Inman, to Austin in 1983. And even before Kozmetsky lauded his theories of restructuring our economy "creating the technopolis," Kozmetsky advocated forming a new coalition, a new "paradigm," to enhance our economy. A technopolis, of course, doesn't come cheap — Kozmetsky and other advocates convinced the UT System to purchase land and buildings worth \$14 million, as well as some \$20 million in computers and research capital, to attract MCC to Austin.

Bombs and Balcones

How UT profits from the war economy

Whatever else it did, U.S. involvement in World War II radically transformed the role of the nation's universities. Institutes of higher education changed more between 1939 and 1945 than they had between 1215 and 1939. As a result of the mobilization for war, universities were co-opted into the Allied effort. With the rise of the Cold War came the rise of the university not just as educator but as think-tank and research center for the national security state — what former University of California chancellor Clark Kerr called the "multiversity."

The University of Texas was not immune to this phenomenon, and in many ways typifies it. The new multiversity was molded in such a way as to nurture the war economy, and has changed very little since that time. There are two major ways universities provide institutional support to the military sector: through research and development, and through direct investments of both funds and personnel. Today the United States isn't fighting fascists or the Ruskies; it's fighting in defense of its "vital interests" (read: imperial infrastructure) in the Third World, most recently in El Salvador.

Polemicist has decided to dissect this relationship, to expose the fundamental supports the University provides for the war economy.

Research

One way the University supports war and repression is through its research — both the research it performs directly for the military and research it subsidizes for the nation's military contractors. Since UT policy forbids doing classified research on campus, the UT-System has beefed up facilities and operations at the Balcones Research Center, where classified research is both allowed and encouraged.

The Balcones Research Center

In a 1987 speech, President Cunn-

ham called Balcones the "focal point" for UT's research investments "over the next several decades." In fact, Balcones has been the focal point for the last decade, too. In the same speech, Cunningham reported that the UT System had already diverted some \$60 million into upgrading the center since 1980.

The Balcones Center was first utilized at the end of World War II when the Air Force moved its War Research Laboratory there. The lab was established on campus in the physics department in 1942 to develop firing systems for B-29s. Then, in 1945, the Defense Research Lab was established by the Navy to develop a series of surface-to-air guided missiles. In 1949, DRL expanded its program to include research in underwater acoustics. Then in 1964, the two labs merged into the Applied Research Laboratory. Today, 90 percent of ARL's research focuses on underwater acoustics.

Until the 1980s, the ARL was the only significant research facility at Balcones, and 75 percent of the work it did was unclassified. But during the Reagan years, high-tech military research was increasingly restricted. By 1987, over 70 percent of its work was classified. UT's open marketplace of ideas, if it exists anywhere, does not extend to the Balcones Research Park.

Then, in the 1980s, Balcones became the site for the many new UT high-tech research facilities. Perhaps the best known research project, the rail gun at UT's Center for Electromechanics, is housed at Balcones.

CEM

Since 1986, one of the UT System's goals has been to establish a permanent, Defense-Department funded research lab at Balcones — comparable to Lawrence Livermore National Radiation Lab at Berkeley or NASA's Jet Propulsion Lab. To lure the lab, the UT-System has issued a 300-page proposal to the Defense De-

partment, the contents of which UT System Chancellor Hans Mark refuses to reveal. He claims that "it only helps the competition to say what we're going to do."

Mark has divulged that the new lab would "obviously draw on the work done" at the University's Center for Electromechanics, located at the Balcones Research Center. CEM's major achievement to date has been the development of the "rail gun," a phenomenally high-powered weapon that grew out of Reagan-era Star Wars research.

Rail guns use powerful bursts of electricity to push projectiles along two parallel copper rails, whereas normal guns rely on simple gas combustion. A rail gun is powered by a homopolar generator, which pumps 900 million watts — approximately the wattage Travis County uses in a year — into the gun in bursts of one-tenth of a second. Theoretically, a rail gun could hurl projectiles at speeds up to 30 miles per second and could accurately bomb targets on the moon.

Polemicist, for the record, opposes bombing the moon.

CEM first received funding for rail guns through Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative in 1984. Previously, UT scientists had had difficulty funding rail gun research because the Army feared that the device, as *The Wall Street Journal* put it, "wasn't really a gun." But SDI officials, egged on by Lloyd Bentsen, Phil Gramm and other Texas politicians, eagerly backed the technology in hopes that the rail gun could shoot ICBMs out of the sky. It probably didn't hurt that Chancellor Hans Mark, who came to UT that same year from NASA, had close, personal ties with people like SDI chief Lt. General James Abrahamson and Edward Teller, the infamous Star Wars advocate and inventor of the hydrogen bomb.

By 1986, the Defense Department had poured \$14 million in SDI funds into CEM. In July of that year, the Army, now convinced that CEM actually was producing a gun, awarded it a \$6.1 million grant to produce a rail gun to mount on tanks. Then in September, the CEM's rail-gun development so impressed the Department of Defense that it awarded the lab with another contract, worth \$15.7 million, to develop anti-tank applications for the gun. To win the contract, CEM overcame stiff corporate competition — multinational defense contractors General Electric and Westinghouse had both vied for the contract. The huge tank and anti-tank contracts cushioned the exodus of SDI funds from CEM's coffers in 1987.

No matter how much these scientists want to believe that their research is somehow contributing to the sum of human knowledge, their freedom of thought and creativity actually has been degraded

because of the vested interests their work serves. As one scientist described the military's objectives: "They're not interested in [the rail gun] as a scientific tool. They want to know if it will blow a hole in a tank and, if not, if it can tip it over." Creating a national Army research lab would institutionalize these twisted relationships, and destroy the spirit of discovery that a university should embody.

UT Robotics Institute, Arlington, Texas

But not just explicitly military research projects support the war economy. The robotics institute in Arlington, established in 1985, was designed to supplement the defense industry in and around the metroplex. Specifically, General Dynamics and Bell Helicopter were cited by the Fort Worth Star-Telegram as two high-tech defense plants in Fort Worth that would benefit from the expertise of UT scientists.

General Dynamics' subsidiary, Cessna, has participated in massive aircraft sales to the governments of El Salvador, Costa Rica, Honduras and especially Guatemala. In addition, GD has been a major nuclear weapons producer. It's the sole producer of the Trident submarine and has worked on the design and development of cruise missiles and the nuclear-capable F16 Falcon.

Bell Helicopter's Fort Worth plant has manufactured more than \$100 million worth of helicopters for Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador. The Arlington robotics institute has directly aided this process by developing robot technology to lower Bell's labor costs. Among the products UT research has subsidized is the Bell UH-1H, which the Salvadoran military used to strafe civilian neighborhoods during the recent FMLN offensive.

The chief proponent of the Arlington plant was Mr. "Military-Industrial Complex" himself, George Kozmetsky (see "Special K," page 3). Kozmetsky was also a key player in the landing of the Microelectronics and Computer Technology Corporation (MCC), a research consortium largely made up of defense firms located at Balcones Research Center.

MCC

MCC was lured to Austin with promises of massive subsidies by the University and local government. The UT System purchased land and buildings at Balcones for \$14 million, which it rents to MCC for \$2 per year over ten years. In addition, MCC houses some \$20 million in research capital UT owns. It's founder and former director, Adm. Bobby Inman, is also a former director of Naval intelligence, former Director of the National Security Agency and former deputy director



of the CIA.

MCC was designed to create, as George Kozmetsky put it, a "new paradigm" for the Strategic Defense Initiative. MCC performs basic research on new computer software and artificial intelligence, which would be integral parts of any space-based weapons system. Inman himself believes that MCC is "vital to our national security."

All of MCC's current members accept defense contracts of one form or another, and many are among the largest weapons manufacturers in the world. Members include: Advanced Micro Devices, Bell Corps, Boeing, Control Data Digital Equipment, Eastman Kodak, General Electric Harris, Hewlett Packard, Honeywell, Cadence Design Systems, Westinghouse, Rockwell, NCR, National Semiconductor, Hughes Helicopter, Lockheed, Martin Marietta and 3M

Many of these companies ship weapons to repressive governments in Central America. General Electric, for example, ships its minigun machinegun to both the Salvadoran and Honduran governments. GE also manufactures a gatling gun for mounting on helicopters that was used by Salvadoran soldiers to strafe neighborhoods in the latest offensive.

And a subsidiary of McDonnell-Douglas, Hughes Helicopters, manufactures the Hughes 500 helicopter which can fire 5000-6000 rounds per minute. Hughes 500s have been sold to the governments of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras.

UT and Austin officials, buoyed by their success at landing MCC, launched a comprehensive campaign to draw yet another high-tech consortium, Sematech, to Austin in 1988.

Sematech

The ties between the military industry and Sematech are even more direct than MCC. Sematech receives \$100 million per year — half of its budget — from the Department of Defense. The UT System helped draw the consortium to Austin by renting it \$12.3 million in facilities for \$1 per year over 20 years. Like MCC, all of its member companies accept military contracts. The companies include: Advanced Micro Devices, AT&T, Digital Equipment, Harris, Intel, IBM, LSI, Logic, Motorola, Micron, NCR, National Semiconductor, Rockwell and Texas Instruments.

To create Sematech, the original companies had to convince the federal government to waive anti-trust laws against industry collusion. Their argument was that to compete in the "global marketplace" — particularly against the Japanese — U.S. firms had to join forces.

But in practice, global competitiveness benefits less from Sematech's research than the nuclear weapons industry. The *Austin American-Statesman* reports that in August, Sematech officials agreed to "the most sweeping technology exchange agreement between a U.S. defense research laboratory and the private sector." Sematech transferred this information to Sandia National Laboratories, a project

UT investments in companies with Central American

holdings or arms markets

numbers = # of shares,

(A) = also makes arms shipments

Chevron	463,700	Coca Cola	247,200
Coors	25,000	BankAmerica	300,000
Del Monte	210,600	Dow Chemical	93,550
Du Pont (A)	106,600	E-Systems (A)	88,900
Exxon	70,008	GTE Corp. (A)	173,200
Cessna (A)	99,000	GE (A)	545,300
General Foods	173,830	General Motors	296,890
Goodyear	30,100	Hercules Inc.	255,700
Litton (A)	8,500	Lockheed (A)	26,900
McDonnell-Douglas(A)	41,600	Mobil Oil	147,700
Monsanto	105,500	Motorola (A)	118,900
Northrop (A)	23,500	P&G	154,800
Raytheon (A)	87,700	Rockwell Int'l (A)	123,800
United Tech. (A)	263,900	Westinghouse (A)	27,400
W.R. Grace Corp.	192,000		

from *Universities in the Business of Repression* (South End Press, 1989)

owned by the Department of Energy that's involved in every stage of nuclear weapons production from initial development to the time they are retired.

Direct investments

Research subsidies aren't the only UT supports the war economy, however. UT also maintains direct investments in many military contractors, and also shares personnel with the defense community.

Financial

If you're familiar with UT's South African investments, it should come as no surprise that UT holds many investments in companies that either directly or indirectly support current wars in El Salvador and elsewhere in Latin America. Direct investments link UT with a profit motive for the escalation of the war, because companies from which it receives dividends make their profits from arms sales.

According to Jonathan Feldman's new book, *Universities in the Business of Repression* (South End Press, 1989), the UT stock portfolio is riddled with the names of multinational defense contractors and other such nasty investments. For instance, the UT-System holds 173,200 shares of GTE Corp., which owns a 22 percent stake in an Israeli arms factory located in Guatemala. UT owns 296,890 shares in General Motors Corp, which has provided millions in engineering services to Honduras to support its C-130 aircraft. UT also owns 545,300 shares of General Electric (see above). UT owns 26,900 shares of Lockheed, which profits from arms shipments to Guatemala and Honduras as well as its major role in the nuclear weapons industry.

In addition, UT owns 99,000 shares of General Dynamics, cited above. UT owns 88,900 shares of E-Systems, of Dallas, which has sold aircraft modified for military use to the Salvadoran government. UT owns 41,600 shares of McDonnell-Douglas (see above). UT also owns 106,600 shares of Du Pont, which has worked with the CIA in providing Cessna

404 aircraft to the contras converted for military use. The list goes on.

But UT's complicity in the national security state goes beyond Central America. From the UT System's investment portfolio you can draw a virtual Who's Who of corporations that produce the nation's nuclear arsenal: GTE, Raytheon, Rockwell International, United Technologies, Westinghouse, Du Pont, Lockheed, General Dynamics, McDonnell-Douglas and Northrop, to name a few.

The UT System has never shown much interest in anything besides profit maximization in making its investment policy decisions. Consider the case of the South Africa divestment movement of 1985: After all the demonstrations, all the arrests, the harsh sentences for the students who took over President Cunningham's office, all the bad press and indignant editorials, the UT System didn't divest a penny from companies that invest in South Africa. Similarly, it took intense opposition from neighborhood residents in the Blacklands — plus the negative press generated by the opposition — to convince the University to modify its development plans in that area.

We can't, then, expect the University to accept the moral argument against investing in war and poverty in Central America. As long as the University remains a

profit-maximizing entity that mimics a corporation, it will continue to find common cause with the nation's war machine. The two will keep boosting each others' profit margins, even as the non-landed classes in Central America suffer violent oppression.

Personnel

Another link between the university and the war economy is through the sharing of personnel. For example, UT-System Chancellor Hans Mark stands as almost a stereotype of the military-academic connections. He built nukes as the military while a professor at Berkeley, and later served as Secretary of the Air Force while U.S. planes were being used by the Indonesian military to bomb its civilian population. He has, as Barry Goldwater put it in 1981, "participated in the design of most of our warheads," and thus has intimate knowledge of the players and the game in the international weapons industry.

Mark even brags that using universities to subsidize research for multinational corporations will provide "political stability" to countries like El Salvador, South Korea and Taiwan. But his kind of political stability results in bloodbaths like the one the U.S.-backed government is currently waging in El Salvador, in defense of land and capital owned by these same multinationals. What he really means is that exporting American jobs to Third World countries will ease the pain when Central American farmers are stripped of their land and herded into the cities. Mark's presence makes the University a virtual homing beacon for the nation's major weapons producers and high-tech moguls.

Another notorious figure connected with UT and the local defense industry is Adm. Bobby Inman, former Director of MCC (see above), and now CEO of Westmark Co., a holding company for defense contractors. High-tech enthusiasts may hail MCC as a boon to the Austin economy, but thirteen of MCC's original 21 members were among the nation's 100 largest defense contractors — all but one of the companies currently holds defense contracts — and many of them sell arms to repressive Central American governments.

George Kozmetsky, profiled on page 3 Please see Military research, pp. 11

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News from the front

An interview with an FMLN commander

INTERVIEW WITH COMMANDER ANA GUADALUPE MARTINEZ
Member of the FMLN Political Diplomatic Commission
Mexico City, Nov. 25, 1989
Interviewed by Radio Farabundo Martí's Samuel Adams

Does the proposal for a cease-fire mean that the offensive is over?

No. The proposal for a cease-fire responds to the concerns and the international demands which have surfaced since the dramatic results in El Salvador, starting with the bombings and the thousands of civilian victims which were produced by the indiscriminate actions of the Salvadoran air force.

The offensive continues. We are in another phase and are not necessarily going to maintain the same tactical military planning with which we started the offensive. We consider that the principal theaters of operations are no longer the traditional guerrilla fronts in the rural zones, but rather are the peripheral areas and the urban zones of the most important cities in the country. What this is going to create is a level of national disorganization and instability, which will make the system ungovernable.

I think that the most important lesson

that Cristiani and the armed forces have learned is that the analysis they had in the last few years — that of a strategic weakening of the FMLN — is absurd. It was this mistaken analysis which would not permit the dialogue to advance because they thought that the FMLN had come to the negotiating table in order to surrender.

In global terms — militarily, politically and socially — how has the FMLN evaluated the results of this offensive?

Obviously, we must say that in social terms there have been immensely strong and dramatic blows against large sectors of the Salvadoran population. Much infrastructure has been destroyed, not infrastructure of the powerful sectors, but of the popular sectors, including hundreds of homes destroyed. This has worsened the housing problem, which already existed in the capital and in all of the principal cities of the country, with the exception of Santa Ana. This is in addition to the economic crisis, which was already hitting the poorest sectors of the country.

In international terms, once again it has become clear that ten years have not served to modify or convert the death squads, nor the assassins, who are the military leaders who for the last ten year have been the army's principal commanders. Obviously,

this is shown plainly with the tremendously tragic act, repudiated by the national and international community — the assassination of the Jesuit priests. The impact of this has been great: it has had a direct effect on many sectors of North Americans who are reflecting on what U.S. policy has done in El Salvador while trying to make it appear that there are no death squads in the right-wing or the army.

These are gains, but of course gains at terrible social cost for the country. We hope that these things put the situation on a more objective level for a negotiated solution, and that they understand that the country is in a precarious situation. We would say that only a negotiated solution to the conflict can save the country, because this is almost a situation of agony.

The proposal of the FMLN comes at a time immediately after a very strong

"In El Salvador, there is an exclusive, pro-oligarchical, authoritarian project, which is supported by all of them: from D'Aubuisson to Cristiani."

offensive. Spokespeople even said that the objective was to overthrow the government. Can you explain this proposal? With whom can you negotiate, given that the government has said that it is not willing to negotiate? What prospects do you see for a cease-fire?

The proposal is not exactly a proposal, but rather a response to international demands for a cease-fire. We, through Radio Venceremos, have told Cristiani that he should realize that this is not a new proposal from the FMLN. Rather, it is a response to all of the demands of the social forces of the nation for a cease-fire, including the opposition parties, the church and unions, etc., as well as demands from international organizations such as the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the European community, and [the] Latin American governments. All...have expressed the need for an immediate cease-fire. Thus, when we say that we are willing to implement a cease-fire, we are not necessarily making a proposal, but rather responding to national and international demands. So, if this cease-fire comes about, what then? It is not so that the military forces can maintain themselves in the terrain indefinitely.... This is not the intention. The intention is to generate conditions for a realistic and pragmatic negotiation in El Salvador.

As far as your question about overthrowing the government. I think that at no time, as far as I know, were there any public declarations of this sort made. We

always said that we had started this offensive in order to find better conditions and a correlation of forces to break the tie at the dialogue table, which had been organized in Mexico City and continues in San Jose. The process of negotiation had not advanced at all because obviously the army based its position on a totally mistaken idea that the FMLN was weak.

Now, what happens with this new situation? The participants in the solution to the conflict can no longer be only the government and the FMLN. We think that the opposition parties must participate, and the social forces as well — the organization representing most of these forces is the Permanent Committee for the National Debate (CPDN). Only a consensus government, which represents the interest of all, can bring stability to the country. An exclusive and excluding government, like Cristiani represents at this time, cannot achieve stability. If his government stays there will be war for a long time.

What is your evaluation of the U.S. reaction to this situation?

It is important to say that the U.S. government in this new situation is the one who has the most responsibility for the direction which the situation in El Salvador could take. The army is obviously even more headline than before the offensive. It has never yielded to pressure or been moderate. Today, given their incapacity to foresee what happened, their pride has been hurt and they want to demonstrate that they can indeed defeat the FMLN. Thus, a spiral of war is opened within the military as the only alternative. Since it is the U.S. government which provides the instruments that continue the war, it is they who can define the path which the country will take in the next five years.

There are sectors of the civilian opposition who have commented that this offensive has served to strengthen the far-right and that this situation distances even more a political-military solution to the war. They say that there is a military draw and that it is impossible for either side to win militarily. What does the FMLN think about this?

In the first place, I don't agree with saying that there is a right and a far-right in El Salvador. There is one sole political and economic project which supports the well-known far-right, and which supports the super-moderate right... and Cristiani is its spokesman. There has been one economic-social-political project, and that is the project of ARENA, and that is the project the armed forces defends.

To say that those who are already headline have hardened their positions is to think that at some point in time there really did exist a moderate right in El

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Salvador. In El Salvador, there is an exclusive, pro-oligarchical, authoritarian project, which is supported by all of them: from D' Aubuisson to Cristiani, and from Roberto Murray, who is supposedly a moderate businessman, to Bustillo. There is no difference between them when you talk about their plan. What do exist are more intelligent maneuverings and less intelligent maneuverings. For example, Bustillo, the head of the air force, said yesterday that they shouldn't negotiate and that what they should do is annihilate the FMLN. Cristiani said the opposite. He said that they should negotiate the FMLN's surrender. Different words, but... it's the same, the FMLN will disappear.

As far as the opposition political parties, the Permanent Committee of the National Debate, and the popular organizations. What response have they had to the FMLN offensive?

First, all of those groups had to hide because they knew what was about to come, and not from the ultra-right but from the government. Now we see that well-known law being discussed, it appears that its already been passed. [Editors' note: The Salvadoran government recently passed a group of "anti-terrorist laws" which, among other things, prevents even the mention of FMLN peace proposals and restrict the right of assembly.] This law totally limits the activities of an organized civilian society. What has happened is that they had to save their skin and see how they could weather the storm that would ensue once the army began to take advantage of the conditions to kill off all the opposition.

Later, once there were more possibilities to come forward and say what they thought, these organizations and parties have demanded immediate negotiations and a cease-fire. They all coincide in one thing — that they want to participate in these negotiations.

This is obviously a very important factor in achieving a more pluralistic and stable situation in the country. Given this, we believe that the role they are demanding is just and that they should participate.

They are [the] third force which can propose alternatives... This could open up a more rational and less ideological debate, which would let us find an understanding between all the parties, not just between the government and the FMLN.

On an international level, there have been many calls from governments and other forces for negotiations and a cease-fire. What effect can this level of interest and pressure have on the internal situation in El Salvador?

I think that it is a very positive factor... For example, the European community has decided to send no more aid and to freeze all of the aid which it had promised to the Cristiani government. It is going to continue sending aid through the churches and other organizations for the victims of the offensive. What is clear to Cristiani? If there is not a negotiated solution that satisfies the international com-

munity in the aspects of democracy and social justice, international aid is going to be limited.

In another sense, as far as what El Salvador needs, I think that the Jesuit priests were the key to making all of the governments realize that in El Salvador the same assassins from ten years ago still exist. It is the cleansing of these assassins that is a fundamental need in order to establish a democracy in El Salvador. I think that few people can call our proposals, which call for the purification of the army, irrational. This is just one example of a proposal which we had made in the past and which was seen at that time to be unrealistic. At this moment, no one doubts that forces other than just ARENA need to participate in order to stabilize this country.

This means opening up a pluralistic structure, the confirmation of a participatory government, not an exclusive gov-

"Since it is the U.S. government which provides the instruments which continue the war, it is they who can define the path which the country will take in the next five years."

ernment with clear expressions of ideological tendencies that are not totally aligned. Even the Christian Democrats have been accused of being traitors to the country because they do not accept the legitimacy of the present genocidal project.

The Christian Democrats have hit the government in a sore spot by saying that they do not agree and that this is not a government of national unity which is fighting against the FMLN; rather, it is an exclusive, authoritarian project which is struggling against the majority of the people, including the Christian Democrats. We believe that international pressure is going to obligate the parties to be more rational. In this sense, even the U.S. government will have a role to play in these new perspectives [that] we are seeing.

What are the conditions that need to exist before the FMLN will return to the negotiating table with the government?

First of all, as we said in a letter to Baena Soares [Secretary General of the Organization of American States] on the 13th of November, we are agreeable to a cease-fire so that the population does not continue to suffer. We especially want the bombings to stop. We also asked him if he could sponsor a meeting with representatives from the opposition political parties, the government, the high command, the National Debate, and the FMLN in order to come up with a viable proposal for the country.

We still believe this would be a correct move. However, we will not accept it if they send a Minister of Justice who has no power. Cristiani and the High Command must be there. P

U.S. Propaganda: Tales from the far side, or Media coverage of Salvador

by Ralph Tomlinson
with press reports from Radio farabundo Marti and the FMLN General Command.

America's largest counterinsurgency effort since the Vietnam war continues, and the mainstream media has reported every incident with a heavy dose of spin and slant. FMLN "terrorists" take over a hotel and hold Americans hostage, according to the administration's ravings, yet the hostages are released unharmed. The guerrillas slip out during the night, and leave their "hostages" behind.

Six Jesuits priests are murdered by men in army uniforms, according to the only witness, and we are assured that they were probably extreme right-wing elements of the Salvadoran army. But the latest Amnesty International report on El Salvador shows that the military and the death squads are one and the same.

We are told the situation is under control, but that President Alfredo Cristiani can't control the military. These are just a few examples of media hype surrounding the recent FMLN offensive, and the Bush Administration's verbal counteroffensive.

But some recent events deserve special scrutiny. In an effort to avoid its obligations under the regional peace agreement, and as a scheme to break diplomatic ties with the Nicaraguan government, the Cristiani administration reported the crash of a Cessna loaded with Soviet arms. The Salvadoran government said they finally had proof of Nicaraguan arms shipments to the FMLN rebels.

No one bothered to ask where the Nicaraguans acquired a Cessna, which is made by General Dynamics. The *Chicago Tribune* reports that the type of Cessna the Salvadorans captured was not large enough to carry all the weapons the government said were on board. And no one questioned why gunrunners would be bold enough to wear Nicaraguan uniforms. One TV reporter did note that considering the condition of the plane, the weapons suffered little damage. The Salvadoran soldiers even displayed the pistol the lone survivor of the crash used to commit suicide and avoid capture — a U.S.-made Colt .45 automatic.

El Salvador released the "dead" Nicaraguan pilot's name, but much like Mark Twain, rumors of his death were greatly exaggerated. Mauricio Quiroz, the "dead" pilot, told the *Associated Press* the next day that he was surprised to hear of his demise. "At first I thought it was a joke," he said, sitting in his home in Manguna, "then I started to take it more seriously."

Secondly, if we are to believe the reports from Washington, our benevolent government gave its employees extra Christmas vacation and sent chartered aircraft to San Salvador so they could return to the United States. As foreign

diplomats deserted their homes in the upper-class neighborhoods of the capital — where the guerrillas launched their latest offense — American officials refused to label the chartered flights stateside as an evacuation.

Reports indicate one American embassy official's home was among the first attacked in the recent offensive. Washington immediately pointed to this as evidence of violence against U.S. citizens. The FMLN responded by ordering all guerrillas in the area to cease hostilities for six hours so Americans could pass unharmed, and broadcast reassurances on Radio Farabundo Marti and Radio Veneceras that U.S. citizens and property were not targeted for attacks. The Salvadoran government wasn't so kind to the hundreds of peasants they killed while bombing and strafing the poor- and working-class neighborhoods.

Congress had an opportunity to end the bloodbath before its year-end recess. Instead, they decided to vote themselves a pay raise. The strategy was to pass a bill raising their salaries before their constituents could object. They succeeded. The pay raise may make it easier to enjoy their holiday feast with the blood of more than 72,000 Salvadorans on their hands.

Perhaps as they warm their bloated bodies before the Yule log, our congressional representatives will find time to wonder how many more Salvadorans will never see another Christmas. P

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War and Peace in Nicaragua

How 'humanitarian' aid subverted the cease fire

When Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega announced on Oct. 27 that his government would suspend its unilateral cease-fire with the Contras, the anti-Sandinista forces in the United States were soon at his heels. In an attempt to capture the moral high ground, President Bush unleashed a puerile invective against Ortega, repeatedly calling the Sandinista leaders a "little man." The House of Representatives followed Bush's lead, and, on Nov. 2, passed a resolution denouncing the decision. As expected, the imperial U.S. media apologists were quick to follow the party line, taking Ortega to task for allegedly endangering the Central American peace process and threatening the fairness of the Nicaraguan elections scheduled to take place in February 1990.

But beyond the ad hominem attacks, undocumented allegations and outright distortions, the press and Administration claims amounted to little more than an attack on Ortega for having bad table manners and disturbing an otherwise cheery summit meeting with unpleasant realities. The key questions, which the American media have generally avoided, remained unanswered: Who is most at fault for the breakdown of the Central American Peace process, and who presents the greatest threat to the upcoming Nicaraguan elections?

To answer these questions, one must look beyond Ortega's Oct. 27 speech and the subsequent verbal fallout, and examine the circumstances behind his announcement. This entails some effort, considering the near-total mainstream news blackout on events in Nicaragua. Not surprisingly, when these events are considered a different picture of the breakdown in the peace process emerges, and the real culprit behind their failure is no longer Nicaragua, but a country farther north.

The cease fire agreement reached between Nicaragua and the Contras on March 23, 1989 demonstrated how much more advanced that country was in its efforts to implement the Central American peace treaties than its "democratic" neighbors. Under the terms of the Esquipulas II agreement, signed by the five Central American presidents in Aug., 1987, all of the countries were to seek negotiated settlements with resistance forces.

Yet, seven months later, neither Honduras nor Guatemala had reached a formal agreement with opposition groups; instead, as all reliable observers reported, death squad activity and political violence had increased in both countries. In El Salvador, a series of informal meetings between the government and the FMLN repeatedly broke down, mostly because of the government's intransigence toward any constructive proposal put forth by the opposition. Thus, in the year following the signing of Esquipulas II, only Nicaragua had followed through on the peace



accord. The Nicaraguan government negotiated a formal cease-fire, provided amnesty for former Contras returning to the country and established international oversight to ensure that both these provisions were carried out.

The cease-fire, also known as the Sapa Accords, originally extended only until April of that year. By that time, the Nicaraguan government hoped, a permanent peace could be worked out. The Nicaraguans also expected Honduras to follow through on another part of its obligations under Esquipulas II, which called for all signatory countries to "prevent the use of their territory by persons, organizations or groups seeking to destabilize the governments of Central American countries, and to refuse to provide them with or allow them to receive military and logistical support." Under these terms Honduras had to turn out the Contras and cut them off from external sources of assistance. But whatever good intentions were held by Honduras at the peace conference were undermined by Washington, which single-handedly decided that peace accords or no peace accords, the continued Contra terrorism was needed to restore "democracy" in Nicaragua. Threatened with the cutoff of U.S. aid and military assistance, Honduras let the Contras stay.

In August of 1989, with the presence of the contra forces looming on its borders, Nicaragua once again attempted to use diplomatic methods to force Honduras to comply with the treaty. During the meeting of the Central American presidents in Tela, Honduras, that month, Nicaragua signed a bilateral treaty with Honduras that clearly stated that "the presence of the Contras and their camps in Honduras does

not contribute to the democratic process already underway in Nicaragua," and committed the Honduran government to attempt to end the use of its territory by U.S. mercenaries through the intervention of an international oversight commission.

Once again, however, it was Honduras, under pressure from the United States, which failed to comply with the treaty. Under the Tela accords demobilization of the Contras was to occur by Dec. 5, 1989. Even with a viable plan in place, both Honduras and Nicaragua lack the means needed to carry out demobilization and repatriation; the only country possessing the resources to carry out these actions is the same country that created the Contra forces to begin with. And soon after the Tela accords were signed, the Bush Administration announced its intention to maintain the Contras in their base camps until at least February. Thus, the Central American peace process remains deadlocked while the United States insists on violating the national sovereignty of Honduras and preventing its compliance with the dictates of Esquipulas II.

In a remarkable feat of denial, the Honduran government issued a Nov. 2 statement in which it refused to meet anymore with Nicaragua to negotiate an end to the Contra issue. Instead, the Honduran government claimed it had fulfilled its commitment toward disbanding the Contras, and added that Honduras "has never legally recognized the Nicaraguan resistance as an insurgency, and ...

does not consider it to represent a valid interlocutor with which to negotiate." In other words, rather than admit its own impotence to limit the use of its national territory by destabilizing forces, the Honduran government closed its eyes and pretended that the Contras were not there.

With this statement Honduras announced its inability to comply with Esquipulas II and its diplomatic subordination to U.S. imperial strategy. And as events in 1989 demonstrated, the Contras were not serious about complying with their diplomatic agreements either.

As dutifully reported by the *New York Times*, the State Dept. openly acknowledges that in the last few months nearly 2,000 armed Contras have infiltrated back into Nicaragua. Perhaps the Bush Administration thinks that these Contras intended to use their M-16s as walking sticks as they trod their way to the nearest voter registration center. Another possibility is that the Administration feels that the possession of automatic weapons and claymore mines by the Contras falls within their legitimate rights as sportsmen. But the inevitable result of these ongoing infiltrations has been a pattern of increasing violations of the cease-fire by the Contras. A recent America's Watch report stated that while it has not documented any reports of human rights violations by the Nicaraguan army since May, 1989, the Contras have committed numerous human-rights violations during this time period, and these atrocities have been on the increase in September and October. And Christopher Hitchens of *The Nation*, a long-time Sandinista critic, reports that the Contras have killed 718 Nicaraguans since last year's cease fire.

The doctrine espoused by the Bush Administration holds that the continued presence of the Contras is necessary to ensure that the Sandinistas comply with their pledge to hold free elections next February. Although there seems little logic to an argument which maintains that the threat of terrorism, armed conflict and international subversion will produce greater democracy, the Administration has found enough sympathy in Congress to continue "humanitarian" aid to the Contras forces in Honduras. Nevertheless, the reports of international observers within Nicaragua indicate that the Contras themselves present the greatest danger the holding of free and fair elections.

As international observers have noted, it is the United States and its Contra lackeys that present the greatest obstacle to the upcoming election. At an Oct. 26 press conference held in Managua, the head of the election monitoring commission sponsored by the Organization of American States declared that voter registration was proceeding "normally." But he warned that the increasing violence perpetrated Please see Nicaragua, pg. 12

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Against School Spirit

A three-tiered attack on jingoism in the young

Editors' note: In a fit of nihilistic rage last spring, Scott Henson and Tom Philpott lashed out at school spirit, demanding the harsh and unequivocal punishment of those who most fiercely promote it. The article, published in *The Daily Texan*, only caused confusion. Here is their attempt at a more rational, reflective case against school spirit and the jingoists who revel in it.

by Scott Henson
and Tom Philpott

In the later stages of any given UT football season, thousands of students are either bursting with jubilation or simmering with rage, all over the actions of 40 young men they will never know and probably wouldn't like if they met. All that emotion, all that energy, all that anger — and so pointless a cause. We shouldn't have to explain that whether the Longhorns win or lose is a matter of profound indifference; that should be obvious even to the most brainwashed. But judging from the response to our spring column, we must still prove that school spirit isn't only ineffectual, but it's also downright damaging, both to individual students and to the school itself. What follows is a moral, philosophical and practical basis for an anti-school spirit sensibility, one we hope will spread — and finally overwhelm the insidious virus that is school spirit.

School spirit and patriotism

In our earlier attack, we proclaimed that school spirit "can only lead to patriotism." We must now prove the link between the two, and also show that patriotism is indeed worthy of scorn.

For the school-spirit jingoist, a college football team embodies the school it represents. When the Longhorns beat, say, the Oklahoma Sooners, the classic jingoist will declare, "We beat Oklahoma!" rather than "We beat the Sooners!" That's because in the mind of the school-spirit, nothing distinguishes the 40 men Oklahoma puts on the field from the school whose colors they wear. The team simply is the school. The joy derived from the victory stems not so much from UT's players outscoring OU's, but mainly from the one school dominating the other. That, of course, defies reason. UT the university didn't beat OU the university; it simply bought a better football team this year.

This situation is directly analogous, and in fact a precursor, to the relationship of people to their country under the rubric of patriotism. In any given conflict, the patriot and the school spiriter will support "our side," simply because it's "our side." That's how U.S. Green Berets justify their positions as advisors to death squads and torturers in El Salvador. The same philosophy allows UT alumnae and students to justify South Africa investments and

UT's expansion into the Blacklands neighborhood. President Cunningham even invokes patriotism to rationalize spending education money to buy capital for large defense contractors — he says it's "public policy," and therefore it's desirable. Morality bends far too easily and too often to the dictates of nationalism, and school spirit amounts to a training ground for the molding of young patriots.

Patriotism divides people and inspires war. People who contest this need only examine Europe — its history has been ravaged, and hundreds of millions of its citizens killed, by the nationalist impulse. Writing in late 19th-century Germany, Nietzsche complained that in his country, "this most anti-cultural sickness and unreason there is, nationalism, this *névrose nationale* with which Europe is sick, this perpetuation of European particularism, of petty politics; they have deprived Europe of its meaning, of its reason — they have driven it into a dead-end street."

And whether its pre-war Europe or business as usual in the Southwest Conference, this particularism, this petty politics, can only divide, sicken and degrade its patrons. Just as patriotism created false divisions among Europeans, school spirit takes students, a class of people with common interests and needs, and divides them into rival tribes intent on "beating" each other. With its economic unification, European nations will ally fundamentally in 1992. If students in the Southwest Conference would express their anger and emotion to challenge the academic establishment — or, for that matter, U.S. funding of Salvadoran death squads — with the same amount of time and enthusiasm they devote to school spirit, imagine the potential for change.

School spirit and the lure of the spectacle

The modern American university is structured to defend class prerogatives and maintain the status quo. The governor of Texas routinely packs the UT-System Board of Regents with oil, banking and real-estate barons. That's no coincidence. *Polemicalist* has outlined how these barons, with the support of the Legislature and university administrators, divert millions in education money to subsidize large corporations, all in the interest of "economic development." In fact, promoting "economic development" has become widely accepted as a legitimate purpose of universities, even to the detriment of students' interests.

These monied interests are among the most jingoistic in supporting school spirit. Wealthy groups of Texans — affectionately known as "alumnae" — routinely conspire illegally to buy their schools the best available sports talent. Gov. Bill Clements, for instance, while sitting on SMU's equivalent of the UT System Board

of Regents, presided over just such an effort. Large corporations and a few rich Texans combined resources to buy the University of Texas a \$1 million scoreboard for its football stadium — at a time when undergraduates are sitting like cattle in huge auditoriums, watching their tuition skyrocket.

These same champions of school spirit greatly benefit from the attention given to the spectacle of college sports and jingoism. As much attention the Board of Regents can divert to UT football and away from its South Africa investments, the better. A winning basketball team diverts students' attention from the astronomical numbers in their classes, cuts in library hours and dramatic and unwarranted tuition hikes. After all, one million dollars for a new scoreboard is helluva lot cheaper than \$18 million to bring UT's student-teacher ratio up to par. Especially when the Texas power elite could use that money to pay for new capital for the defense contractors in the Sematech consortium.

What that elite buys with its school-spirit investments is a culture of jingoism among students. When the alumnae have succeeded in buying a good football team for UT, for example, 80,000 people pack Memorial Stadium (and hundreds of thousands more watch on TV), reacting to events on the field with howls of excretion or screams of joy, whatever the case may be. Student emotion is thus channeled into the harmless cause of celebrating and lamenting the actions of a few dozen people — and out of the subversive cause of defining and fighting for their own interests as students and people.

School spirit: a philosophical attack

Nietzsche's polemic against patriotism rested on the idea that individuals shouldn't expend their enthusiasm on an abstraction — the glory of their nation or school, for example — but rather on expressing themselves. The thousands who pack Memorial Stadium on football Saturdays aren't experiencing the physical and emotional

sensations of playing football — the running, the thrill of scoring a touchdown, the disappointment of missing a tackle. Instead, they're watching other people experience those sensations. They conform to Nietzsche's horrific conception of the "last men," posited in his brilliant parable *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. "Last men" hold comfort and security as life's highest ideals. They enjoy minor, passive pleasures that don't challenge them or require creativity — watching football, for example. They happily submit to authority because it's easier that way.

As an alternative, Nietzsche exhorted us to embrace "chaos," to "live dangerously" — in short, to create our own values and then live by them. This would require that we reject school spirit, which demands that its adherents accept tradition simply for tradition's sake.

But school spiriters insist on placing the responsibility for their immediate happiness on abstractions, on circumstances beyond their control. The French author Albert Camus called this "philosophical suicide." Inspired by Nietzsche, he argued that people should concentrate their energies on experiencing what's around them: the warmth of sand and stones on the beach; the pain in leaving or being left by a lover; the joy in creating; in short, the things in life that "intensify the passion of living." But to rely on external circumstances to achieve this — the success or failure of the football team or the nation's army, the unprovable existence of a god, or the promised creation of a "classless society of the future" after a Marxist revolution — is to "live not for life itself but rather for some great idea that will transcend it, refine it, give it meaning, and betray it." Camus denounced this as "appealing" to some force from outside of the self, a habit which degrades the present for the sake of an unknowable future.

School spiriters do this when they rely on a UT quarterback's actions for their immediate happiness, or when they declare with confidence that if the 'Horns


Please see Spirit, pg. 11

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How transnationals pollute Austin's water

by Vicki McClure, Terry Horton and Audrey Allen

Texas produces more hazardous waste — defined by federal law as waste that "may cause or contribute to death or incapacitating illness" — than any state in the nation — 13 percent of the nation's total. Much of that waste is produced right here in central Texas, at the Lafarge cement plant in New Braunfels.

The plant is of particular concern because it's located on the San Marcos River as well as on the recharge zone of the Edwards Aquifer, which serves as the main source of water in Central Texas and feeds Barton Springs.

To understand why Lafarge — and other Texas companies that create hazardous waste — is allowed to pollute these key water sources, you have to understand the laws that regulate waste disposal, and the loopholes that render regulation meaningless.

Hazardous wastes are the chemical by-products of industries such as the petroleum industry and the paper industry. Landfill, deep-well injection and incineration are the three main methods of hazardous waste disposal and are regulated by the EPA under the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA).

RCRA was enacted by Congress to protect public health and the environment from the dangers inherent in the disposal of hazardous waste. However, legislators provided RCRA with a "recycling/reuse" stipulation where facilities incorporating hazardous wastes into their production process are exempted from regulations governing facilities which merely dispose

of hazardous waste.

The EPA's interpretation of the RCRA "recycle/reuse exemption" provides a loophole by allowing unregulated burning of hazardous waste as long as the facility burning the waste claims to be using it as fuel or a raw material. However, there is virtually no review process to determine whether a facility's recycling claim is legitimate.

Cement and aggregate kilns are one of the main beneficiaries of this loophole. They operate without any federally mandated standards for toxic air pollutants, insurance coverage, emissions testing, ash disposal practices, or public notification of practices. Fifty billion pounds of hazardous wastes are burned in RCRA-exempt facilities each year, a quantity which greatly surpasses the amount burned in fully regulated incinerators. A Congressional Committee in 1984 did not consider "cement kilns burning hazardous wastes for energy ... to be distinguishable from a commercial hazardous waste incinerator in its potential impact on human health and environment." Despite the Committee's findings, nothing has been done to change the loophole.

Currently there are seven cement and aggregate kilns burning or planning to burn hazardous waste in Texas. By burning hazardous waste for fuel, cement companies offer waste generators, inexpensive, liability-free waste disposal while at the same time profiting from lower fuel costs. Lafarge Coppee of France, which is now the third largest cement manufacturer in the world, operates three of these kilns in Texas, including the one in New Braunfels.

Since Lafarge is exempt from incineration regulations, the only permit required is one for storage of 60-79 million gallons of hazardous waste per year. The permit application is currently under review by the Texas Water Commission and the Texas Air Control Board.

The dangers of a hazardous waste incinerator in New Braunfels include toxic air emissions, toxic ash residues, and the inherent risks of leakage and spillage. Toxic air emissions include heavy metals and products of incomplete combustion. These air emissions not only affect New Braunfels but surrounding areas. Toxic ash residues contain heavy metals, toxic chemicals, and bioaccumulative substances such as dioxins and furans. These residues are usually landfilled posing serious threats to groundwater.

Remaining heavy metals are often incorporated into the cement products themselves. The most serious threat of pollution is leakage and spillage during transport, transfer, and storage. Texas is the nation's leader in rail accidents involving toxic materials. In addition, there have been 146 accidents involving trucks carrying hazardous waste in Texas in the last two years.

The position of Lafarge Cement on the Edwards Aquifer recharge zone sets the stage for imminent disaster. This porous limestone aquifer would be immediately infiltrated by any toxic waste spillage with little recourse for recovery or clean up.

Local residents have been protesting Lafarge's plan to burn hazardous waste by circulating petitions and information

to concerned citizens. Lafarge, with its powerful economic presence in New Braunfels, wields considerable influence.

Several petitioners have been intimidated and a few even fired from their jobs for voicing opposition. Each person that signed the petition was issued an invitation by Lafarge to come to the plant for a "more thorough and clear understanding" of their intentions. But no explanation can justify the contamination of a community.

Hazardous waste threatens both people and the environment. That's why our government regulates its disposal. But when the same legislators create loopholes to ensure that large cement companies can buy cheap toxic fuel and that waste-producing companies can dispose their byproducts cheaply if not cleanly, they protect nobody. These loopholes, made by pro-industry government, allow citizens little legal recourse to oppose toxic contamination of their community and produces no incentive for companies to reduce toxic waste byproducts. Storage methods will never be safe and incineration techniques will merely change the form but not the content of the pollution.

The only real solution to this problem is source-reduction. If hazardous wastes are not controlled at the source and inexpensive disposal is provided through loopholes in our legislation, the resources in our own communities will not be safe. The Edwards Aquifer is a precious resource that must be protected. Lafarge pollutes an area far greater than New Braunfels alone. San Antonio and Austin have great cause for concern. **P**

IC², from pg. 3

UT and SDI: the defense industry and the technopolis

Ronald Reagan's March, 1983 announcement of the Strategic Defense Initiative provided Kozmetsky with a vehicle to accelerate the formation of this new coalition. "The Microelectronic and Computer Technology Corporation and UT's Center for Electromechanics are part of the new paradigm for SDI," according to Kozmetsky. As the Cold War melts, SDI may become moot. But by studying IC²'s role as a lobbyist for SDI, in attracting SDI-related industries to Austin and to Texas, and as a proponent of the commercialization of SDI technology, we can gain some insights into Kozmetsky's technopolis.

For thousands of years, new technology has played a big role in the defense industry. In the Bible, the people of Judah won many battles, but "even with the help of the Lord could not prevail over the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron." But the modern technopolis demands a method of quantifying the value of technology — some formula to derive technology's monetary worth. Kozmetsky echoed those sentiments when he spoke at the NATO Symposium on

Work, Organizations and Technological Changes in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, W. Germany.

Kozmetsky said that "Technology is a body of knowledge, knowledge is wealth and power, and whoever controls technology controls other resources. Hence, one may say that technology is a *master resource*." In the late 1970s and early 1980s, many feared that Japan was gaining control of technology, the "master" resource.

Judging from the environment in which Kozmetsky offered this syllogism, and the defense industry's fascination with technology, it's obvious that many were beginning to consider technology not only a master resource, but also a strategic resource.

And when President Reagan announced SDI, defense contractors were not the only ones with their "snouts ... already twitching to get at the trough," as one British defense contractor characterized his nation's desire to join in SDI research. Although some assert that SDI was Reagan's personal fantasy, he certainly wasn't the originator of the idea of a space-based weapons system. Hans Mark, former Air Force Secretary, former Deputy Director of NASA and currently UT System Chancellor, was an early advocate of the militarization of space and a

life-long admirer of military technology.

By late 1983, only months after the President's speech, Austin had already attracted MCC, and Kozmetsky was at UT-Arlington hawking a research center to study robotics and artificial intelligence. In a 1985 *Austin American-Statesman* article, Kozmetsky notes that: "At the heart of any effective ballistic missile defense system will be a computerized battle management system capable of analyzing millions of pieces of data every second ... The concentrated research effort into supercomputers, artificial intelligence, and computer software will enormously benefit society..."

That same year, IC² established the Large-Scale Programs Institute at UT-Austin "to study and stimulate the planning, development, evaluation, management and implementation of large-scale technological projects and programs. Examples include the space program, the Panama Canal, and selected defense, public works, transportation, and energy projects that require large capital, a long-time commitment, and have impact on large human populations." Kozmetsky serves as LSPI president.

All this brainpower didn't go to waste. In October, 1985, LSPI, the RGK Foundation (whose president is Ronyia

Kozmetsky), IC² and Deloitte Haskins & Sells (an accounting and consulting firm with offices in 69 countries, which provides "a full range of integrated services to clients in electronics, medical, high technology manufacturing, and related industries") sponsored a conference on "Commercializing Strategic Defense Technologies: Promises and Prospects."

Kozmetsky, addressing the participants assembled in Austin, called SDI "one of the most exciting research programs in U.S. history." Kozmetsky said SDI could generate up to \$1 trillion for the private sector. In other words, Kozmetsky's interest in SDI had little to do with "national security." He wanted Austin to get it's share of the \$1 trillion dollars. Former defense secretaries James Schlesinger and Harold Brown performed a study confirming Kozmetsky's figures — they estimated that SDI deployment would cost \$1 trillion, a huge financial boon for the handful of contractors and universities qualified to participate. The perpetuation of the SDI policy, for Kozmetsky and the University, hinged not on its merits as a nuclear deterrent but as a money maker. The result amounts to a brand of military Keynesianism. Militarization, if Kozmetsky had anything to say about it, would become the driving force of the

Austin economy. And in a town with over 300 defense contractors, the potential constituency for such a policy would be large.

But that's not how they portrayed SDI to the public, or to Congress. Less than two months later, Gerold Yonas, Chief Scientist and Acting Deputy Director of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization, was assuring the House Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs that SDI "is not oriented toward commercial spinoff. That is not the purpose of this program. The program is to provide the basis for a decision which affects national security in a profound way. It is not a commercial program."

Yonas was replying to the concerns of some committee members, who feared that publicly funded SDI research would benefit the private sector, not only in the United States, but also internationally.

Yet an essay by Yonas appears in the book, *Commercializing SDI Technologies*. Portions of the book, published in 1987 and sponsored by IC², were first presented at the institute's 1985 conference. The book opens with an essay by Robert Lawrence Kuhn, an IC² senior research fellow.

"Although SDI is a program to research the feasibility of an effective defense against ballistic missiles and is not primarily an engine of industrial technological advance, one cannot ignore its potential to augment American economic power.

"For whereas the defensive impenetrability of SDI's systems may be open to debate, the economic endowment of its hypermodern technology is not," writes Kuhn.

But is military research the best method of revitalizing America's economy? Does it really produce spinoffs? An article from the weekly *Die Zeit* of Hamburg, Germany, reprinted in the March, 1986 edition of *World Press Review*, notes that the civilian benefits of military research are widely exaggerated. Japan's consumer electronics industry invented the microchip, for example, and Teflon, often cited as a result of aerospace research, was invented by Du Pont in 1938.

According to the article, titled *Does Arms Spending Aid Science?* a study sponsored by the W. German government found that the only example of "a successful military-to-civilian technology transfer" was air transportation.

Yet Kozmetsky and his cohorts at IC² remain intent on channelling billions of dollars from the taxpayers' pockets into the defense contractors' coffers. Under the guise of national security, American industrialists have bilked the public and corrupted our universities.

As Jeremy Rifkin, of the Foundation for Economic Trends points out, "Large-scale technology and tools reduce the role of the individual's intimate involvement in his or her work and foster authoritarian workplaces." The choices are obvious. Either we can live in the technopolis, or we can adopt Rifkin's vision of the future, in which "small-scale workshops and farms and businesses... [that] rely upon appropriate technology, will greatly improve our lives by enhancing the way we spend most of our waking hours." **F**

Military research, from pg. 5

of this *Polemistic*, sits on the board of Litton, a major nuclear weapons producer that also participates in arms sales to El Salvador. He's also a co-founder and director of Teledyne, an electronics firm with military ties.

The connections become absolutely invidious. Board of Regents member Jess Hay also sits on the board at Exxon, while John Bookout of the UT-System chancellor's council sits on the board at Shell, U.S.A. Both these companies have gross earnings many times that of Nicaragua's GNP, and maintain extensive holdings in Central America. When President Bush speaks of "defending American interests," it's these companies' holdings he's talking about. The decision-makers at the highest levels of UT not only support Central American repression in the abstract, many profit from it directly.

Similarly, Gov. Bill Clements recently appointed the former general manager of Austin's Lockheed Missiles to the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board. Does building missiles qualify a person to make policy for universities? It does in Texas.

The war economy of 1989 differs greatly from that of 1942. Then, the European threat was real and immediate, and U.S. universities rallied to avert a potential international catastrophe.

Europe of 1989 is a different place. West Germany, once a vicious aggressor, is now a U.S. ally. East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary are presently rising up in one of the greatest displays of democracy in modern times. Meanwhile, the United States—with the support of universities like ours—continues to fund murderous, unpopular regimes like El Salvador's.

Thus our universities, once dedicated to promoting humane ideals, have become the wellspring of intellectual and physical capital for a military order that's been utterly drained of any moral purpose. **P**

Spirit, from pg. 9

would just "go Cotton," everything would be great.

In our earlier polemic, we called for the public humiliation and lashing of UT's chief school-spirit jingoist, the chair of the Ex-students' Association's Spirit and Traditions Board. We will not go so far this time. We do, however, wish that such people would reconsider their actions and repent for their transgressions. What they do is destructive, since it lulls students into accepting illegitimate authority when they should be challenging it.

At a time when the administration, the Board of Regents, and the Legislature are conspiring to exchange quality of education in the present for the abstract notion of "economic development" and "national security," in the future, students have no time to cheer. **P**

Letters:

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

Dear editors:

I was reluctant to write this letter, for a couple of reasons. The foremost is that as a white male law student with both feet firmly entrenched in mainstream society (read as: practicing apologist), I feel any quibble I have with radical polemicists will be tainted with hypocrisy. Secondly, I am offering criticism of what I believe is a brilliantly written piece of prose—*Polemistic's* manifesto against objectivity (issue 1). Nonetheless, I've decided to launch the following "apologist polemic" (and by the way, despite the dichotomy set up by the editors of this magazine between apologists and polemicists, "apologist polemic" is not an oxymoron).

I have been a journalist for a significant portion of my young life. During that time I have attempted as best I could to report events "objectively." However, I've never believed I could actually achieve objectivity—only that I should strive to model reality as completely as possible, making conscious efforts to eliminate my own biases in the process. And despite the shortcomings of this process, I think the results serve a valuable social function.

I agree with almost every criticism of the "objective" school of journalism which Henson and Philpott offer. Even Atlas ceased to be objective when he opened his mouth to interpret what he saw, and reporters certainly don't have as advantageous a position as Atlas from which to view the world. Furthermore, there are certainly more than two sides to any given story, and it is indeed reductionist to assume otherwise. I also agree that the mainstream media encourage political stagnation by too often turning to those in positions of power as conveyors of truth. Finally, I would encourage the editors of this magazine and others like it to continue their efforts to make up for the gaping holes left by the objective journalists. But I would still not do away with the "objective" school of journalism. I would keep "objective" journalism not because it succeeds in what it purports to do, but because of the potential ramifications of getting rid of it.

Objective journalism imposes what one might call a tyrannical stranglehold over the nation's flow of information, but I would posit that the alternative is an even less appealing form of tyranny—the tyranny of the demagogue. Without "objective" journalists making their best efforts to tell the whole story from an unbiased perspective, consumers of information will have to choose which biased perspective is closest to the truth. John Stuart Mill thought this was a grand idea, and he believed that truth will always emerge to the forefront in the "marketplace of ideas." But history has shown that people don't always believe the truth. Rather, they believe the side which presents its case most persuasively. The German people

believed Hitler when he told them that the Aryan race is a superior breed, and the results were horrifying. While it's true that Nazi Germany was not a hothbed for free speech, before Hitler came into power there was political dialogue. The German people chose to believe Hitler because he proved to be one of history's most persuasive figures—he told the German people what they wanted to hear.

The most obvious result of "objective" journalism's shortcomings is that it fails to tell the *complete* story. But most of the time, that part of the story it does tell is true. Without "objective" journalists trying to remove their biases from their interpretations of reality, information consumers would have to rely on their own experiences and judgment to decide whose version of reality came closest to the truth. I don't think we're equipped to do that effectively. There is too much going on in the world which is far removed from the scopes of our own individual experiences. Without a medium of information which is at least making an honest attempt to convey reality without a bias, information consumers would be all too likely to believe what they want to hear, just as Germans did in the 1930's.

Furthermore, as this magazine's own financial troubles make clear, it is much easier for those in power to put together widely distributed, flashy, well-written, persuasive polemics than it is for those not in power. I believe that without "objective" journalism, we would be even more

Please see Letters, pg. 12

Polemistic

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Fuck George Bush!

A fold out from the
Fuck George Bush Committee

likely to be stuck with our current power structure.

But let me reiterate, I agree with most of what you said and believe the manifesto was extremely well written. The magazine has had some great articles so far and I look forward to future issues.

Steve Baughman

Tom Philpott responds:

Steve has launched a principled and intelligent attack—but I think that on almost every point, he is wrong. Just as objective journalists divide the world into "liberals" and "conservatives" (and as we, half in jest, dichotomized between "polemicists" and "apologists"), Steve can see only two possibilities for journalism, each of which he describes as a "tyranny": the current U.S. order, and the journalistic culture of Nazi Germany.

First of all, Steve, we are both too young to choose between tyrannies. Polemicists pride themselves on their jadedness, on their pessimism, on what they call with roughish delight their "nihilism"; but accepting tyranny as inevitable without a bitter fight amounts to despair, which *Polemicalist* will always oppose.

Second, Steve argues that the Nazis gained power by telling the German people "what they wanted to hear." The U.S. media, for their part, simply report what their corporate owners and sponsors want the public to hear. It doesn't help the process of capital accumulation when people know that their tax dollars support repressive and murderous regimes. So our media relegate U.S.-mandated repression to the back pages or off the pages altogether (e.g., traditional U.S. coverage of El Salvador); or they suggest that the

objects of our repression are somehow unworthy of basic political rights (note that for more than twenty years the U.S. government has opposed the creation of a sovereign, democratic Palestinian state, a stance which our media report without question).

Such objectivity, so different from Atlas', allows the government to define the terms of debate. The Israel-Palestine question becomes, "Should we support or oppose Israel's violent repression of Palestinians," instead of, "Should we support or oppose democracy in the West Bank and Gaza?"

Thus U.S. citizens can argue against (or, as many do, for) shooting Palestinian children without ever addressing Israel's fundamentally repressive and anti-democratic relationship with Palestine. This distinction may not seem urgent here in the United States. But to people in the occupied territories—whose disenfranchisement and subjugation is enforced by weapons paid for by the American public—the distinction is urgent indeed.

Steve also errs most badly in declaring that what today's journalists produce is somehow "true," although not quite "complete." Compare *Polemicalist's* El Salvador articles with *The New York Times*; or read Noam Chomsky and Ed Herman's *Manufacturing Consent*. I think you'll find that U.S. journalism is often incomplete to the point of fiction.

When Steve claims that it would be "much easier for those in power to put together widely distributed, flashy, well-written, persuasive polemics," I assume he knows that "those in power" already do practice journalism: They call their publications things like *Time*, *Newsweek*, and

The Washington Post. Maybe he means that even if current media outlets were to imitate our direct and polemical style, they would still overwhelm us with their economic clout.

But would they? Who's to say that when editors at major media outlets admit their state and corporate biases, the public will keep buying their tripe?

As Hamlet told his friend, "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy." Against the tyranny of Steve's dichotomy, we propose a third scenario: a press that admits its biases—be they pro-corporate, pro-status quo, pro-student, or even, like the Nazis, pro-fascist.

The good journalists, like Steve, would still strive for authentic objectivity—that is to say, they would try to portray the fullest and most accurate account of "what happened." But they would do so without supporting any fictions or trying to hide the inherent limitations of their task.

We call for, in short, honest journalism. If, as Steve seems to think, the American public is unprepared for so radical a concept, then the nation has sunk to a depth that this polemicist, even in his most cynical moments, just can't fathom.

—T.P.

Moment of Safety

From the context of a moment of safety of a full belly home to come home to without bars on the window bars on every corner from a one bedroom ivory tower with two teevees hot water no one knocking to get in power on, keeping beer-meat-bread for I-me-mine From heaven I shout into the wind of hell outside, cry for the homeless — scattered characters trapped in our American Dream cry smash this state that sends pigs to beat, kill and paint over the violence that is poverty, pray thanks to a god that is deaf or dead that this dead-bolt keeps those brothers/sisters on the other side of the door Guilty as charged, I know — I'll still eat tomorrow and like it

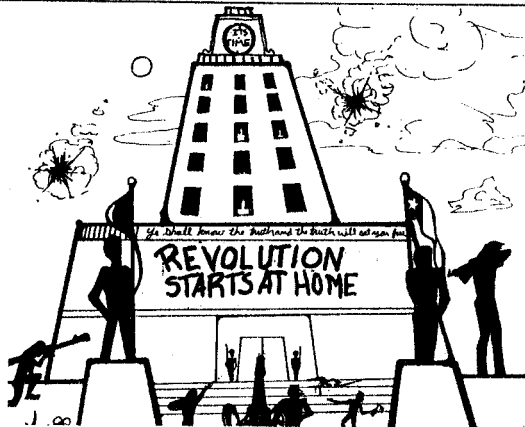
Yes ...

As if I could steal safety from the night they walk in every day I have faith in property and lock the door shut

—Addison Goodson
Venice, California

Come Read Banned Literature

Polemicalist, *The Women's Alternative Times* (TWAT) and *Suburban Nightmare* will host a "Read In" Thursday, December 7, on the West Mall to protest UT's ban on alternative press. UT forbids us from selling ads to pay for our magazines. Well, to hell with them. Come see what it is they don't want us to read.



Nicaragua, from pg. 8

by the Contras threatened the electoral process.

Citing the brutal attack carried out by the Contras on Oct. 21, in which 18 Nicaraguan reservists were killed as they journeyed home to register for the upcoming elections, the OAS official stated unambiguously that in order for democracy to function, citizens must feel safe and unintimidated in all senses when participating in the electoral process. But Contra activities have been aimed at preventing this.

In response to ongoing U.S. allegations that the Nicaraguan government intends to rig the February elections, the United Nations mission charged with monitoring the electoral process issued a report on Oct. 19 dismissing the U.S. allegations.

At a New York press conference six days later, Elliot Richardson, head of the U.N. mission and U.S. Attorney General under Richard Nixon, stated unequivocally, "It is certainly my impression, and I think that I speak for all of us representing the United Nations in Nicaragua, that the goal of free, fair and honest elections is being taken seriously by all those concerned—in the government, in the parties, and among the people."

Despite the protestations of the U.S. imperial lobby, the real story behind the

failure of the Central American peace process is that the United States' government has operated behind the scenes to undermine any attempt to find a peaceful solution to the conflict in Nicaragua. The truth behind the breakdown of the 1988 cease-fire is that the Contras and their North American paymasters have handed the Nicaraguan government a corpse, and then have had the audacity to call the Sandinistas murderers.

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