

VOL. 1, NO. 4

FEBRUARY 1990



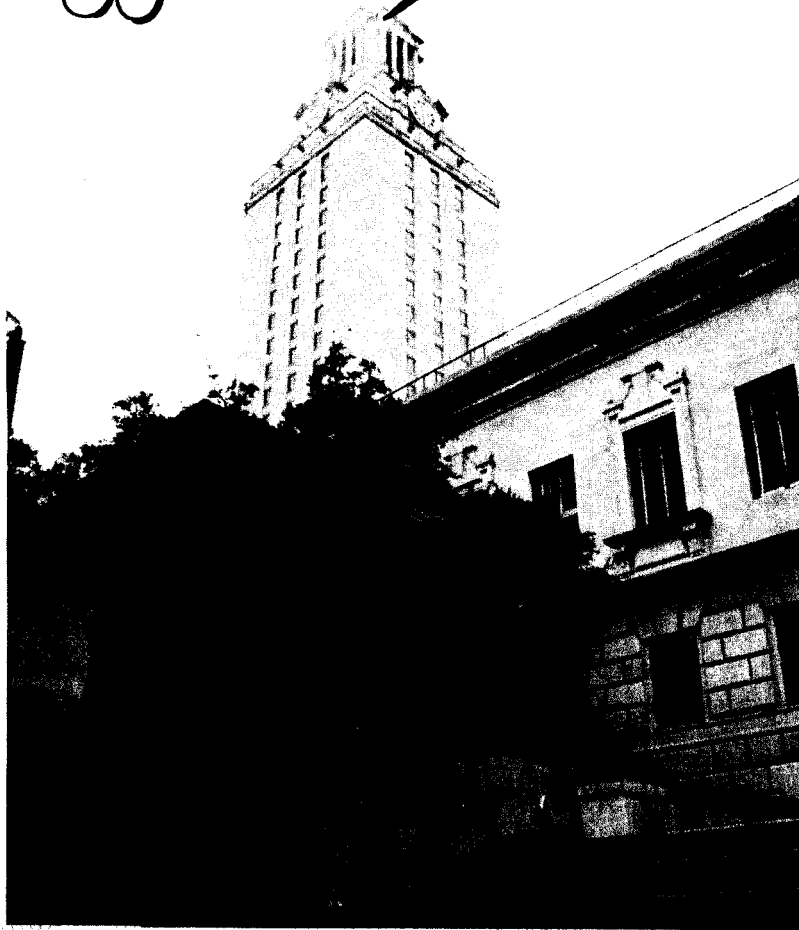
# Polemicist

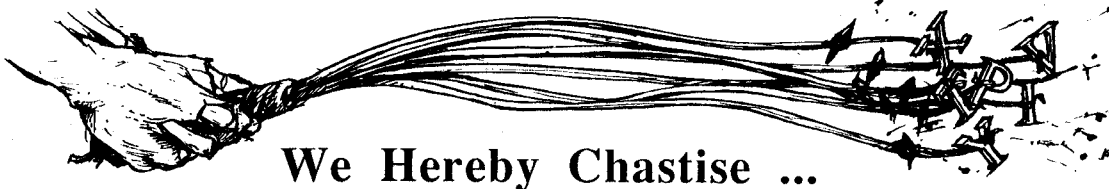
*A journal must have polemic, if it is to struggle. —Karl Marx*

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## Graffiti: THE Art of Politics

p. 8





# We Hereby Chastise ...

## Robert Bernstein

**Bigot, Texas Department of Health Commissioner**  
Homophobia is as disgraceful as any form of bigotry; in the age of AIDS, it's nothing short of murderous. Any public official who practices homophobia should be shamed out of office, but one responsible for health policy for the entire state of Texas should be arrested and put on trial. Bernstein's crimes against his constituents include denying money to two groups dedicated to treating AIDS victims—just because they had ties to the gay community. Apologists for Bernstein say he was simply following a state law that forbids funding groups that "advocate or promote" illegal sexual acts. Homosexuality is illegal in Texas, reflecting the conservative, repressive nature of Texas' politicians. The 1989 law was eventually declared unconstitutional by attorney general Jim Mattox. But in the meantime, treatment was withheld from AIDS patients in Austin and Dallas. According to the deputy health commissioner, Robert MacLean, however, the department had known before Mattox's opinion that the provision was unconstitutional. Bernstein simply made the decision to wait, so the attorney general's office would take the political heat from the right wing. The lives of dying AIDS patients meant less to him than saving his political ass.

Texas has the fourth largest number of AIDS patients in the country, behind New York, California and Florida. Yet Texas AIDS spending lagged far behind these states—\$.14 per capita, compared with \$3 in New York and California. To deny these meager funds to the thousands of patients who need it is criminal. Bernstein shouldn't just be fired. He should be arrested and charged with manslaughter for every Texan who died with AIDS while his office withheld money. Hatred, bigotry and convenience must never be the basis for making public health policy.

## Mary Dudley

### Austin-American Statesman Reporter

In the past, we have labeled various *Texan* reporters "mouthpieces" for the UT administration, because of their unquestioning reportage of UT propaganda. But compared to the *Statesman's* Mary Dudley, those reporters are young I.F. Stones. In a January 6 puffpiece, she admirably touted UT's ability to draw National Merit Scholars, applauding the fact that UT draws more NMS students than any university except Harvard. Lost in the euphoria was the essential context: the facts, for example, that UT is the second largest university in the nation, and more important, that UT spends \$1.5 million per year to attract those students. One year, UT took prospective NMS students to the Barnum and Bailey Circus, even taking them backstage to meet the clowns.

To put this number in perspective, consider the University's Preview Program, aimed at attracting minority high-school students to the University. The program is highly successful, with a 79 percent retention rate for students who attend it. Last year, UT spent \$78,000 to provide the program for 60 students. A Dudley article on January 21 lauded UT for increasing its funding to \$130,000 to provide for 100 students, far short of the more than 200 students who applied last

year. If the University were as anxious to recruit and retain minority students as they are National Merit Scholars, it could provide the Preview Program for over 1150 minority students, and with a 79 percent retention rate, go a long way toward solving UT's monumental minority recruitment problem.

Dudley offers no dissenting voice to place these numbers in perspective. In fact, her article on the Preview Program quotes only sources who praise the meager increase in funding. Never is the *Statesman* reader given the background to understand the size of commitment the University makes to minority students compared to other programs. Her article makes it seem as though the University actually makes a significant financial commitment to minority recruitment. Then, in her glowing piece on NMS students, she only vaguely, and in passing, mentions UT's huge investment in NMS recruitment, never giving exact figures.

We fear that Dudley is bounding down the path of her predecessor on the UT beat, Monty Jones. After years of copying UT press releases onto the *Statesman's* newspapers, UT hired Jones to write those very press releases for the UT News and Information Service, UT's propaganda arm. At least UT pays Monty; Dudley provides the same service at the expense of the Chamber of Commerce hacks who own and operate the *Statesman*.

## Roger Kintzel

### Publisher, Austin American-Statesman

Given the affiliation of Dudley's boss at the *Statesman*, Roger Kintzel, it's not surprising that she bows so enthusiastically to a big economic entity like UT. The *Austin Chronicle's* Daryl Slusher for years has labeled the paper the *Real Statesman* for its unashamably pro-business slant. Now, to our horror, we see that Kintzel has institutionalized this incestuous relationship by becoming chair of the Greater Austin Chamber of Commerce.

For his part, Kintzel declares in the *Austin Business Journal*, "I don't know why people would think I would violate my standards of integrity for one year as chairman. Why would I damage the integrity of a paper that's been around for 100 years and will be around for another 100 years." Well, we don't think he'd violate his integrity just to be the chair of the chamber. Kintzel has acted as publisher for Cox Enterprises, the owner of the *Real Statesman*, in four different cities. His corporate biases were institutionalized years before he came to Austin.

The *Statesman* is infamous in journalism circles for firing a reporter in 1988 for crossing local business interests. Even worse, when U.S. Memories crashed recently, a *Statesman* article declared the consortium's downfall "more boon than boondoggle," despite the fact that nothing in the article supported that statement. And consider the paper's recent coverage of the Savings and Loan crisis. In that article the *Statesman* reported that in Austin 65 percent of apartments, half of all downtown office buildings and most major hotels have been repossessed by banks or defaulted to the federal government. Given this context why did the *Statesman's* Capital Business section feature a cover story entitled, "Texas Enters the 90's: Real Estate

opportunities entice international investors?" Above the headline floated an optimistic vision: A sparkling, golden image of Texas, emerging grandly from the Earth, beckoning foreign investors to invest in its majestic splendor.

No, we don't think Kintzel will change his biases just because he's now chairman, no matter how much we wish he would.

## Coverage of the Angela Davis speech

### The Daily Texan, Austin American-Statesman

We didn't expect intelligent coverage of the Angela Davis speech on Martin Luther King's birthday. After all, Davis is black, a woman and a member of the Communist party — three strikes and you're out. And in fact, our expectations were fulfilled.

*Daily Texan* coverage may be usefully compared to its coverage of the speech by Ross Perot—a rich, white male—last fall. Perot's speech garnered some 2,000 listeners, who heard him call for, as *The Texan* put it, "sound business practices." Our student paper ran the story on the top half of the page, with a large photo of Perot, and a four-deck headline. By contrast, the Angela Davis speech drew over 3,000 people, some of whom had to watch the event on closed-circuit television. The audience gave her standing ovations after almost every sentence. But thanks to *The Texan*, the Davis story ran at the bottom of the front page, under a small, unassuming one-deck headline. Clearly the Davis story was more important to more people, but one would never know it from the news coverage.

Similarly, the *Statesman* buried the Davis story in the inside pages, and went out of its way to quote the least inspiring or provocative of Davis' statements. In addition, the reporter falsely called the crowd a "mostly black audience." No coverage we saw of the Ross Perot speech mentioned a mostly white audience, though that was certainly the case. That statement trivializes both Davis and her message to the reader, implying that only black people cared about what she said.

At least, for once, the *Statesman* didn't label the event a "boon to the economy."

## Polis magazine

We noticed that *Polis*, the official "journal of student opinion," beat us to the punch on our free speech polemic. Last fall, the magazine ran a group of articles entitled "Fading Respect for the First Amendment." What it really expressed was a fading respect for serious journalism and cogent thought.

The free speech articles amounted to a series of lightweight attempts to affirm liberalism in its most drab and banal forms.

Leading this parade was Kevin McHargue, *Texan* managing editor, who spent 700 words examining both sides of the case, before finally coming out in favor of free speech. Like the other two articles, McHargue favors free speech in the abstract—he even drags out the old yelling fire in a theatre cliché.

But none of the articles ever address the more complex and immediate questions of free speech at UT. We have all the abstract gish we can handle. We just want to distribute *Polemicist* on the West Mall.

# Victory with a Price

## The Blackland neighborhood and UT "Public Service"

by Ralph D. Tomlinson

Residents of the Blackland neighborhood may have gained a small victory in their 10-year battle with UT, but the taste of victory could certainly be sweeter. The University has agreed to limit its devastation to an 8-block area in the East Austin neighborhood. The City of Austin has purchased 22 houses from UT, for \$10, to be rehabilitated as low-income and transitional housing.

But the houses relocated from the area slated for "future use" by the University are causing at least one Austin resident to question just how seriously UT takes its latest public relations image as a good neighbor.

David Langenkamp, according to the *Daily Texan*, recently mailed pictures of eight houses moved by the University to the 2100 block of Chicon Street to UT President William Cunningham and to the local press.

Langenkamp described the houses to a *Texan* reporter as "eight dilapidated one-bedroom shacks with old rusted tin roofs, wooden construction and broken structure. Several of them have boards missing and on all of them, they say "The University of Texas." It was really irritating to see those things."

A drive down Chicon St. confirms those assertions. All the houses are em-

blazoned with a red-stencilled warning, "UT PROPERTY. NO TRESPASSING."

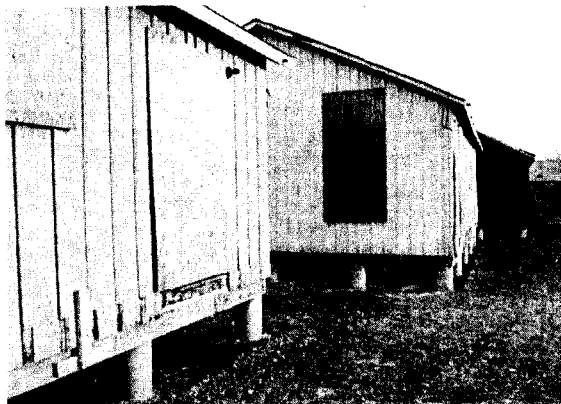
They sit atop freshly poured concrete piers, which are spaced about 3 feet apart and placed under the floor joists and sills. Upon closer inspection, one can see that termite tunnels and dry rot have weakened the sills, which support the outer walls. Inside, light shines through cracks between the walls and the floors.

"People think UT gave us junk, trash," said Katherine Poole, a Blackland resident since 1965 who has long been involved in trying to save her neighborhood. "But they will be rehabilitated to nice houses."

The City has budgeted some money for the renovation—\$150,000 for the 22 houses, or about \$6,600 per house. The Blackland Neighborhood Association has also applied for other federal and state grants to mend the structures for use as transitional housing for the homeless, according to Holly Bell, another active Blackland resident.

The buildings will need all new electrical hook-ups and wiring, plumbing, gas and sewage hookups, and in many cases even new windows and doors. Doubtless the rusted tin roofs will need to be replaced, and insulation installed, before they can offer protection from the elements.

"There are people in the neighbor-



hood who feel UT should have rehabilitated the houses," said Poole. But there are dozens of things UT should have done for the Blackland neighborhood over the past 10 years.

When Cunningham defends UT's investments in Sematech, he cites UT's obligation to perform "public service" for the people of the state. UT spent \$12.3 million to buy buildings for Sematech, and rents it out for \$1 per year. Clearly housing corporations, not people, is what UT has in mind when administrators speak of "public service."

History backs up this claim. In the early 1980s, the University began sneakily purchasing land east of I-35, using Anderson-Wormley real estate agents and forming its own bogus corporation. Even as UT's holdings grew, officials told Blackland residents they had no intention of moving south of Manor Road. Eventually the expansion plans became general knowledge. But the neighborhood refused to die quietly.

Many East Austinites had seen their homes bulldozed in the mid-1960s to make room for Disch-Faulk field under the guise of "urban renewal." Actually, the result amounted to urban removal.

Some people moved to the area bordered by Martin Luther King Boulevard on the south, Comal Street on the west, Manor Road on the north and Chicon Street on the east. This area, named Blackland for its rich, black soil, seemed safe until the real-estate agents began knocking on doors in the 1980s.

In fact, the original urban renewal plans called for demolishing houses in the Blackland neighborhood, all the way to Chestnut Street, four blocks to the east of Chicon. Only the lack of funding prevented the demise of the community in the name of the Great Society of the '60s.

Urban renewal did claim four other neighborhoods—including more than 400 acres—and displaced some 1,000 people.

By 1982, the battlelines were firmly drawn. A former UT assistant instructor in government and member of the Blackland Neighborhood Organization, K.C. Cerny, wrote in the *Daily Texan* that UT was paying "market value" for East Austin real estate, but market value meant property to the east of I-35 sold for as little as \$1-per-square-foot, compared to West Campus prices of \$25-per-square foot.

The Austin City Council tried to stop UT's encroachment by forcing the University to request a zoning change before purchasing land, and hence be subjected to a public hearing. The Texas Legislature quashed the city's ruling with legislation forbidding cities from imposing zoning restrictions on state institutions.

Public pressure forced the University, the city and the Blackland Neighborhood Association to sign an agreement in January, 1984. The three groups signed a letter stating they recognized "the need for peaceful coexistence in assuring a smooth transition of the Blackland neighborhood from its present use, which is predominantly residential; to its future use, which will include a mix of residential and University campus usage."

Debate soon centered over the definition of the word "mix." For G. Charles Franklin, then-UT vice-president for business affairs, "mixed" meant that the areas to the east and south of Blackland would be residential and Blackland itself would be University-controlled.

The summer of 1988 brought demonstrations to the neighborhood, as the University demolished houses the city had deemed beyond renovation.

In July, protesters watched 12 cinder-block cottages crumble before the dozer blade. City officials said they considered most double-walled wood structures fit for renovation, and single-walled units were unreparable and slated for destruction. Surely the cinder-block houses could have been saved.

See Blackland, p. 16.



# Free Speech at UT

## The Truth Shall Set You Free

by Scott Henson and Tom Philpott

More than 150 years ago, the Danish philosopher Soren Kierkegaard declared, "People hardly ever make use of the freedom which they have, for example, freedom of thought; instead, they demand freedom of speech as compensation."

UT students only sporadically do even that. For 25 years UT students have been bullied and cajoled by administration policies designed to subvert their First Amendment rights to freedom of speech and assembly.

UT policy severely limits the distribution of non-UT-sanctioned student press; it herds students who want to gather in mass demonstrations into a cramped

subly controls the direction of UT's two officially sanctioned student press organs—*The Daily Texan* and *Ulmot* magazine—by giving the journalism department de facto veto power in choosing top editors.

What's worse, these policies combined are more damaging than the sum of their parts: They intertwine and reinforce each other like strands in a rope. Their net result is to choke off dissent and leave the possibility for student empowerment hanging like a corpse in the wind.

That rope must be cut. To do so, students must first understand the full profanity of their situation. What follows is an attempt to show the causes and effects of UT's conscious repression of free expression on campus.

Instead, they must buy or make "self-supporting" racks, the design and construction of which she must approve. Never should they be caught passing them out anywhere, even in the "free speech area"; that would be against the rules, and breaking the rules could get you disbanded as a student group or even expelled from school for repeat offenders. You may sue, she tells you, but that's futile, because *The Texas Review*, a right-wing campus paper, tried that in 1985 and lost.

But that reasoning is false. To understand why, you have to compare the *Review* case to an earlier lawsuit against UT over speech rights.

### The Rag case

In 1969, the UT-System Board of Regents took a tiny publication to court in an attempt to ban it from campus.

The Regents were trying to enforce a Texas statute that outlawed solicitation on state campuses. Their target wasn't a glossy tabloid pimping beer and expensive spring-break trips. It was *The Rag*, a three-year-old student magazine that was anti-Vietnam War in LBJ's backyard, and pro-civil rights in an Old Confederate state that clung fast

**"Oat Willie's can always purchase a *Texan* ad. CISPES can't."**

to the spirit if not the letter of Jim Crow laws.

The University won a temporary injunction, but *The Rag* countersued and eventually won in a U.S. district court in 1970.

The court ruled that state institutions had to prove a "compelling reason" for limiting First Amendment rights, and that the University's supposed concern about "solicitation" in the case of *The Rag* wasn't sufficiently compelling.

It pointed to several contradictions in UT's enforcement of the policy: It listed several publications that were distributed on campus but contained advertising—including *The Daily Texan*—and several student groups and UT departments that sold items on campus to raise funds.

The decision allowed *The Rag* to continue distributing on campus, but it didn't strike down the state law against campus solicitation, or the official UT-System rule drawn from it. What that means is that the University can enforce the rule as it sees fit—unless individual publications sue.

But until they sue, the University has free reign. It was in the University's interest, then, to make people believe that a suit couldn't win—and that's exactly what the hapless *Texas Review* accomplished

with its lawsuit.

### The Review case

Not surprisingly, the administration never cites *The Rag* case when explaining the rules to prospective campus publications. Instead, the Campus Activities Office will offer up a copy of a 1985 lawsuit concerning *The Texas Review*, a periodically published right-wing journal. *The Review* lawsuit was most notable for its lameness. It never pretended to address the fundamental issue of campus free speech—whether papers may sell advertising and still distribute their products.

Instead, *The Review* sued the University for the right to distribute its publication from a table on the West Mall. Because the magazine wasn't challenging the no-solicitation rule explicitly, the courts applied the rule to the paper's distribution rights. *The Review* people charged that because *The Daily Texan* was allowed to distribute widely on campus, they should be allowed to distribute their magazine from a West Mall table. But the University preempted this argument by purchasing and installing one rack for use by alternative press. It's still there, in the bushes behind *The Daily Texan* rack by the West Mall Office Building.

Predictably, then, *The Review* lost its case against the University, because the court ruled that it had the same distribution rights as *The Texan* on the West Mall, and *The Review* had asked for nothing more in its suit. Why the paper's lawyers failed to rely on previous case law remains a mystery.

But the fact remains that in the only fundamental challenge to the University's solicitation restrictions, UT lost handily. Another, more ominous fact remains, too: The University still enforces its unconstitutional ban on alternative-press magazines on campus.

### The Ad Monopoly

What all of this creates is a UT-enforced *Texan* monopoly. In the *Review* case, the court justified *The Texan's* wide distribution because it's partially paid for by student-service fees and because it's an information source on university issues. Not only do student-service fees subsidize *The Texan* with some 10 percent of its budget each year, UT provides it with tax-free, at-cost publishing.

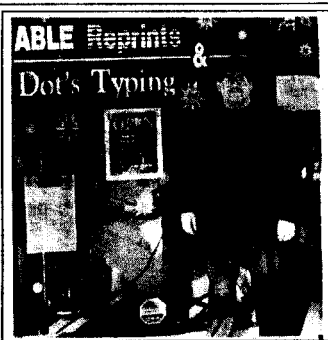
Further, UT enforces policies that make *The Texan* by far the dominant advertising forum in the UT market. Even as UT prohibits non-subsidized, campus-distributed student press from accepting

**"It's absurd, then, that the University uses 'controlling solicitation' as its reason for banning alternative press."**

corner of campus known as the "free speech area," and only allows this privilege between 12 p.m. and 1 p.m.; and it

### Speech repression: Some background

When UT students decide to launch a campus publication, they typically meet with Consuelo Trevino, an official in the Campus Activities Office. She explains to them the rules they must follow: They must not distribute their magazine on campus by hand, nor can they simply stack them in locations of their choice.



"Our ad with *Polemical* has been our most successful one yet. We've gotten a great response. I don't necessarily agree with their politics. Free speech — that's the point, a right guaranteed by the constitution."

—Abel Soto,

Co-owner, Abel's Reprints and Dot's Typing

For a 5,000 issue run:

3"x5"	\$40
6"x5"	\$75
6"x10"	\$110
10"x13"	\$150

Put *Polemical* to work for your business, and support free speech and UT alternative press in the process.

advertising, the Texas Student Publications Board requires the subsidized *Texan* to fill 58 percent of its space with ads.

It's absurd, then, that the University uses "controlling solicitation" as its reasoning for banning alternative press. The suggestion that advertisements in these papers significantly increase the amount of on-campus solicitation cannot be justified by reality. Search through this magazine, for instance, count the advertisements we were able to sell, and compare with the number of ads in *The Texan*.

Alternative press, especially those that attack issues critically, can't compete with *The Texan* for ads at any level, despite their lower ad rates. Many advertisers fear too much controversy. Also, state-subsidized papers can hire consulting firms to estimate their readership at far higher than their circulation. *Umost*, for instance, claims 30,000 readers, despite the fact that it only prints 8,000-10,000 copies. Students must pay \$2.50 for *Umost*, which only comes out twice each semester.

*Polemicist*, on the other hand, prints 5,000 copies once each month, and is distributed free in places like coffeehouses where people read them and leave them for future readers. *Polemicist*, however, cannot afford a high-dollar consultant to lie about our circulation. So potential advertisers who buy into the *Umost* farce are hoodwinked into thinking it's a better deal than it is. Meanwhile, alternative press struggle to fund their magazines, many of which consistently scoop the bureaucratized mainstream UT press.

Banning advertisements in alternative press must be seen as a repressive tool for the administration to control discourse, not as a way to ban commercialism. Aside from the fact that alternative press sell few ads, the fact remains that any advertiser in these magazines could just as easily buy an ad in *The Texan*, *Umost* or *Polis*. Banning a handful of ad forums doesn't eliminate commercialism, it only ensures that advertising is channeled into official publications. The UT Students' Association, for instance, purchases ads in *The Texan* for a variety of functions, but seldom will these ads be found in alternative press.

In fact, the "solicitation" that's banned by these rules isn't that of commercial businesses, but of student groups that can't afford *Texan* ads. *The Texan* only gives student groups 20 percent off its ad rates. *Polemicist*, on the other hand, routinely prints free ads for political groups like the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), which could never afford to consistently advertise in the mainstream press. These are the ads that are banned by the regents' rules, not commercial solicitation.

Oat Willie's can always purchase a *Texan* ad. CISPES can't. The no-solicitation rule was created in the '60s to repress political expression, and that's the function it continues to serve as we enter the 1990s.

### The Limits of Debate at UT

Many people, mystified by the recent explosion of UT alternative press, ask:



"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people to peaceably assemble."

—First Amendment, The Constitution of the United States

Why don't the editors of those journals simply work for *The Texan* or *Umost*? After all, those publications are staffed and edited exclusively by students, and therefore operate under little if any direct administration control.

This argument utterly ignores the ideological hegemony exerted over these officially sanctioned journals by UT's department of journalism (see page 11). If you want to be editor or managing editor of *The Texan*, or editor of *Umost*, you must take five journalism classes, which include copyediting, newswriting, feature writing, layout and media law. For anyone interested enough in journalism to edit either publication, the classes (with the possible exception of media law) are lessons in the obvious, empty applications of ideas already explored through direct experience.

Worse, the journalism school preaches a brand of reportage that systematically bows to the prerogatives of authority figures. J-school teachers typically tell their students to be "dispassionate," "objective," "balanced," and "fair." These seemingly innocuous terms, as applied by the well-trained J-schooler, amount to a mandate to treat official sources with deference and obedience.

Examples of the J-school doctrine in practice abound. Meredith McKittrick, sometimes *Polemicist* contributor and former journalism major, tried last fall to publish a news article in *The Texan* about the recruitment and retention of minority faculty at the University. Because of the University's poor record in that department, the article as a whole was critical of the University's efforts. McKittrick quoted administration sources, including the dean of liberal arts, Standish Meacham. But she didn't bother to quote UT's two chief PR hacks, President Bill Cunningham and Vice President Ed Sharpe.

A *Texan* associate news editor declared this an oversight and ordered her to "get the best quote from Cunningham or Sharpe and make it your lead." She re-

fused. The story appeared the next day under her byline, much shorter than she had been led to believe it would be, leading with a quote from Ed Sharpe. McKittrick left *The Texan* over the incident. The article later appeared in expanded form in the November *Polemicist*, and stands as a definitive indictment of the University's efforts to recruit and retain minority faculty.

Another example of the limits of a journalism-school mentality arises from *The Daily Texan*'s coverage of UT expansion into the Blackland neighborhood. In the summer of 1988, *Texan* reporter Junda Woo consistently quoted Charles Franklin, then-UT vice president for business affairs, as saying UT had the right to use its eminent domain privilege to force Blackland residents out of their homes, and implied that the University was exhibiting restraint by not using that power.

In reality, Texas law forbids UT from exercising eminent domain rights unless it's for a specific use—at that time, the University hadn't explained just what it wanted that land for, except for "future expansion." Thus, because of the J-school mentality, Woo printed lies in the pages of *The Daily Texan* just because an authority figure said them. A critical writer that relied on research instead of "official sources" would never have made such an egregious error.

But implicit limitations of journalism aren't the only ways mainstream debate is squelched. The same Junda Woo, now an associate managing editor, explicitly threatened to censor all news stories concerning *Polemicist*, recently declaring, "If I have anything to say about it," the *Polemicist* would receive no news coverage. Last fall, *Texan* editor Karen Adams made a similar threat, though she never followed through on it.

*The Texan*, by virtue of the regents' rules described above, is the primary, and in many cases the only readily-available source of information on student issues. As such, *The Texan* and the Texas Student

*Polemicist* 5 Publications Board are among the most important and influential institutions on campus. It follows, then, that *The Texan* should cover these institutions with precision and care. It has failed miserably, time and again. But with the state-imposed information monopoly in place on campus, most people never realize the omission.

Consider the case of the TSP board's "minority advisory committee," established last October in the wake of bitter complaints about *The Texan*'s racist and racially insensitive coverage. The committee would study how to increase minority recruitment and retention on TSP publications, and to increase sensitivity among *Texan* staffers to racial issues.

TSP board chairperson Ellen Williams began holding meetings and chose committee members without establishing any requirements. *The Texan* never covered it. She then appointed Tony Martinez, who *Tejas* reports wasn't even enrolled as a student and who publicly proclaims his moral opposition to any type of affirmative action. That's tantamount to hiring someone to dig ditches who's morally opposed to ditchdigging.

But *The Texan* still neglected the issue. Even after *Tejas*, which comes out three times a semester, scooped *The Texan*, the story was never covered in the paper's newspapers. Karen Adams sits on the TSP board and knew of the meetings. Did she think that after all the uproar over *The Texan*'s racist coverage, the meetings were not news? More likely, *The Texan* didn't cover the story because of its systemic failure to cover itself.

Another manifestation of this detestable policy occurred when a *Texan* reporter pulled a knife on her editor, in full view of a roomful of *Texan* reporters. The incident never ran in the paper. If SA vice-president Chris Bell pulled a knife on SA president Jerry Haddican in front of reporters, you can imagine the bannered front-page headlines.

### Editorial Criticism: Free Speech or Loyal Opposition?

*Texan* loyalists—particularly of the J-school sort—claim that newspapers aren't the place for critical reportage. This role, they argue, belongs to the editorial page. But even here, the *Texan* line the all-too-often falls within the terms of debate dictated by the administration.

Last semester, for example, President Cunningham very carefully defined UT's undergraduate class-availability crisis in terms of "overcrowding" and "underfunding." This implied that there was too little money for too many undergraduates, and that UT's only choices were to cut enrollment or get more money from the Legislature.

But an early-semester guest column by several student leaders established that undergraduate enrollment hadn't increased significantly in 10 years. The crisis, then, stemmed not from too many students, but rather from the failure of

See Free Speech, p. 15.



# Vital Interests

## What Pickle and Bentsen gain from Salvadoran Aid

by Charley MacMartin

The November assassination of six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her daughter in El Salvador brought to a head a decade of killing and repression in this Central American country underwritten by U.S. tax dollars. Such grizzly audacity on the part of the Salvadoran Army necessitated super-human damage control on the part of the Salvadoran government of President Alfredo Cristiani and his White House, State Department and Congressional supporters in Washington, D.C.

Damage-control notwithstanding, cracks began to appear in the bipartisan consensus on aid to El Salvador during the following weeks. Now, in 1990, legis-

support for Alfredo Cristiani and the ARENA party. Indeed, the Senator refuses to meet with Texas constituents on the issue of aid to El Salvador.

Local activists and community members pressured Pickle and Bentsen the final two months of 1989 with a three-part strategy: informational meetings, public demonstration and targeted occupation. Early in November, neither the Representative nor the Senator expressed a strong interest in El Salvador, refusing face-to-face meetings with local residents.

The events of November, in addition to occupations of both offices, brought a change in Pickle's stance. Religious leaders in Austin played a key role in the following weeks, meeting directly with

first response given by congressional aides is: isolating the Cristiani government by suspending aid will only cause even worse bloodshed. This rationale dissolves in the face of examples including successful pressure exerted upon the government of South Africa by the European Economic Community and then, belatedly, by the U.S. Congress.

Isolation forces negotiation, especially for countries like El Salvador who depend so heavily upon external markets and foreign aid. The Salvadoran government receives over 50 percent of its annual budget from U.S. aid. The threat of a cutoff would quickly force concessions if the government were to survive.

A second rationale for continued aid

mittes, "concerned employee" support committees, and having different branches of the same company contributing individually.

Lockheed ships arms to the U.S. war effort in Central America; General Electric produces the Vulcan Gatling-gun for helicopter strafing missions in El Salvador; and Motorola provides arms training for Salvadoran technicians at its training center in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida.

Bentsen's campaign-contribution report clearly delineates who gets to define the "strategic interests" of "our" country. Amid the myriad of banks, coal companies and defense contractors emerge corporations supplying weapons and technology in the Salvadoran war effort including Boeing, E.I. Du Pont, E-Systems, General Electric, GTE, Hughes Aircraft, Lockheed, Litton Systems, Martin-Marietta and MacDonnell-Douglass—and that, folks, is only through the "M's."

It should be noted that these companies' sales to El Salvador are only a small fraction of total sales. Yet, as the "big deals" in aerospace contracts and large defense systems slacken in availability, such smaller deals will become—in the economist's jargon—marginally more significant. Moreover, the example of a negotiated, peaceful solution in El Salvador would be bad for "strategic interests" (read: sales) in other profitable hot-spots such as neighboring Guatemala, the Philippines and the Middle East.

A second question remains: strategically, what do these incestuous campaign-contribution ties mean for halting U.S. aid to El Salvador? In short, moralizing with the representatives of war-profiteers will only take us so far in changing votes on continued aid to El Salvador. If cost/benefit makes them listen, then we must raise the cost of continued support for the Salvadoran government. This means not only targeted, militant occupation of their offices, but also isolating Bentsen and Pickle from their constituents by building a broad opposition to U.S. aid.

Meetings with Pickle and Bentsen are still useful. Yet on-going discussion with Pickle, Bentsen and their aides can only be effective if complemented by the potential to shut down Congressional business-as-usual. Until such potential is realized, Congress will be happy to have us talk endlessly while its members continue voting for "strategic interests."



lation has been put forward in both the U.S. House and Senate calling for restrictions on U.S. aid to El Salvador. In the House, Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Cal.) has sponsored a halt in aid to El Salvador until specific conditions are met including completion of the investigation of the massacre of the Jesuits. In the Senate, Senator Kerry (D-Ma.) has sponsored legislation calling for a 30 percent cut in aid to El Salvador.

Here in Austin, Representative to the U.S. House, J.J. Pickle, agrees to the importance of some restriction on aid to El Salvador, but refuses to embrace an outright suspension of support for the Salvadoran government. Senator Lloyd Bentsen, unencumbered by facts, stands behind President Bush's policy of full-

the Pickle, providing him at times with first-hand evidence of the repression in El Salvador. These meetings culminated in early December when Austin CISPEB brokered a meeting between Pickle and FMLN diplomatic representative, Gladis Sibirian.

Senator Lloyd Bentsen, less receptive to discussion, had his public events of the December Congressional recess continually interrupted by angry constituents, including a late-November fundraiser and the December UT graduation ceremony. Area activists targeted Bentsen again on January 23, occupying his office and forcing its early closing.

Two important questions emerge from the struggle over "No-Aid" legislation. First, why is the Congressional delegation so unwilling to suspend aid? The

to El Salvador is then quickly unfurled: strategic interests. Now, if one walks out onto the streets of Austin and asks ten people if they have strategic interests in El Salvador, one would not expect many affirmatives. Well, then, who is articulating these "strategic interests" to our Congressional delegation? A quick look at who provides support to our Representative and Senator lends a clue.

In short, among contributors to our Congressional delegation, weapons manufacturers directly involved in El Salvador appear frequently and generously. Lockheed, General Electric, and Motorola contribute often to Representative Pickle's campaigns, usually giving the maximum amount allowed by law. Of course, corporations side-step such legal niceties by forming political action com-



# Congress reconvenes; nation-wide protests rebuke Salvador aid

by Charley MacMartin

The 1990 session of the U.S. Congress began on Tuesday, January 23rd. Demonstrations calling for an immediate halt in U.S. aid to El Salvador confronted Representatives and Senators both on Capitol Hill and back in their home districts.

During the first four days of the new season, nearly five hundred demonstrators were arrested in actions which targeted Congressional offices, the Capitol building and Salvadoran consulates.

The week of militant opposition kicked off a nation-wide Call to Conscience Campaign to end the U.S. war in El Salvador which will culminate March 24th this year in a commemoration of the assassination of Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero in 1980.

At the January 24th House Subcommittee Hearings on El Salvador, activists converged from around the East Coast to challenge Bernard Aronson's testimony that the U.S. government should continue aid to El Salvador. Fifteen participants, including actor Martin Sheen, were arrested when refused entry to the sub-committee hearings.

In San Francisco, the Call to Conscience Coalition in the Bay Area held a demonstration at the Federal Building with over six hundred people attending. Nearly one hundred were arrested in the action which began at 6:45 a.m. with a religious service.

After the service, demonstrators marched to the Federal Building which they held for three hours. Part of the crowd spontaneously split off and held a simultaneously rally at the Salvadoran consulate.

Large cities were not the only sites of demonstrations against the U.S. war in El Salvador. In Bellingham, Washington, more than one hundred people demonstrated at the town's federal building and ten participants chained themselves to the doors, blocking entry.

In New Haven, Connecticut, at prestigious Yale University, the Yale CISPES chapter mailed 1,500 facsimilies of draft induction notices to students on campus. Included in the notice, for those wanting more information, was Connecticut Senator Christopher Dodd's phone number.

His office reported receiving a flurry and then a storm of phone calls throughout the day.

The same day in the Twin Cities, Minnesota, more than four hundred people descended upon the Federal Building, covering the entrance in five gallons of real blood and surrounding the building with candles. No arrests occurred in the action, sponsored by CISPES, Progressive Student Organization, Nicaragua Solidarity Committee and Women Against Militarism.

Militant demonstrations continued through the week. In Chicago, on Thursday, January 25th, seventeen people were arrested as part of a crowd which blocked the Congress Expressway. Chicago police that morning had blocked off the Federal building from protesters. Chicago's Loyola University took out a full page ad in the *Chicago Tribune* calling for a halt in U.S. aid to El Salvador.

In Santa Rosa, California, more than one hundred people attended a noon-time rally at that city's Federal Building. After the rally, at least half the crowd continued upstairs to California Representative Bosco's office, occupying the office until 5:30 pm, when twenty-six arrests were made.

In Texas, demonstrations targeted the Texas Congressional delegation and local corporations who profit from war in El Salvador. In Dallas and Austin, demonstrators visited both the offices of Senator Lloyd Bentsen and Congressman J.J. Pickle. (See accompanying article on the legislative battle.)

In Dallas, the local Pledge of Resistance blockaded the entrance to Bell Helicopters, resulting in three arrests. Bell sells helicopters to the government of El Salvador, used in strafing and bombing missions against the civilian population.

The demonstrations marked the beginning of a state-wide coalition in Texas that will work to continue pressure on Bentsen and Pickle this spring and mobilize for the March 24th march here in Austin.

Demonstrations will continue February 5th with special attention on Senator Lloyd Bentsen.

For more information on this demonstration, contact Austin CISPES at 474-5845.

## CISPES

(the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador)  
announces

**CISPES Meeting**  
**Tuesday, Jan. 30, 7:30**  
**Stahrles Room, Texas Union 3.208**

**Demonstration**  
**against Sen. Lloyd Bentsen**  
**Monday, Feb. 5 at the Federal Building**  
**call 474-5845 for time.**

**CISPES Meeting**  
**Tuesday, Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m.**  
**Stahrles Room, Texas Union 3.208**

## VERN NELSON ★ TEXAS DEBUT

WITH SPECIAL GUEST, LEONARD JOHNSON, tenor

- a benefit concert for Austin CISPES -



"... an electrifying performance... Nelson tears through neglected masterpieces of the contemporary piano repertoire with a dazzling virtuosity and bravura reminiscent of the young Horowitz."

- Barney Rich  
N.Y. Times

"Mr. Nelson's composition exhibits an astonishing variety of mood and color controlled by a masterful structural sense... techniques of cutting-edge modernism are imbued with the spirit of rock and roll, to amazing effect... a true American original!"

- Howard Gansler  
S.F. Chronicle

**8 p.m., Sunday, Feb. 4th**  
**First Unitarian Church**  
**4700 Grover Ave**

(south of 49th between Burnet and Lamar)

\*\*\*\*\*

Piano works by Ligeti, Iannicelli, and Ives; songs by Vern Nelson. \$5 donation goes to the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador

**Call 474-5845 for information**

# Graffiti: The Art of Politics

by Jeffrey S. Whitmore

## YOU TOOGAN PREVENT FORESTS

(Spray-painted on billboard near proposed South Loop in Austin, January 1990.)

In case you haven't heard, graffiti is a felony now. Beating the fuck out of your girlfriend isn't as bad as writing on a wall, according to the new law. But who cares, anyway?

The police do. Now that graffiti is a felony, it's become real crime, something truly worth the effort. It is no longer petty vandalism or criminal mischief, but a form of urban terrorism, a political statement that ranks with such heinous crimes as homosexuality, drug use, flag burning, prostitution, or sodomy. Consequently, graffiti dumps on the concept of private property in favor of free speech rights. In an age of increased government regulation of the people, graffiti's high illegality speaks for itself.

## IGNORE COPS

(Spray painted on a bus bench on Rio Grande St. in Austin; artist/perpetrator unknown.)

Today, there is a graffiti movement in Austin and on the UT campus, consisting of a non-group of decentralized, anarchic malcontents. Most don't even know who the others are.

Some have spontaneously formed FOE (Friends of the Oppressed of the Earth) and this writer speculates that everyone in that group doesn't know who the hell the other members are. Now that's what I call a secret club.

## MILLION OF DEAD CHRISTIANS [sic]

(Spray-painted on building on Guadalupe Street in Austin; artist/perpetrator unknown.)

Law-abiding cowards everywhere have reason to fear these insubordinate youths who roam our streets, spray cans in hand, ready to paint, pillage and destroy the reminders of our terrible heritage. This is something that the American mainstream just doesn't do. In the late Eighties, local residents left ideological slogans on such icons as the Austin Realtors Association and Exxon stations everywhere. Their messages, though now washed off, remain in memory:

## OUR POISON RUNS DEEP

(Spray-painted over Navy recruitment billboard by Taos Co-op in Austin; artist/perpetrator unknown.)

UT statues of famous Confederate War Criminals were not immune to this



The editors feel the perpetrators didn't go far enough. Next time, we suggest you bring a sledgehammer. The above photo, reprinted from *The Daily Texan*, also ran in the *New York Times*.

Photo by Kirk Crippens

vandalism. Such graffiti was even picked up by *The New York Times*, which paralleled the anti-racist drive to get a Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. statue on campus. Incidentally, even though both the *Daily Texan* and *The Times* carried the article, the *Austin American-Statesman* ignored it, choosing instead to run a story about a Round Rock citizen who loves the American flag.

Unfortunately, any activity can produce a negative reaction greater than the original act. For example, if someone painted "NIGGER" on the UT shanty, the public would be more turned off than impressed by the vandalism. The same runs true for socially aware graffiti.

Does U.S. OUT OF EL SALVA-

though it's certainly not true of most local fraternity chapters in the IFC, which doubtless includes many fine, young, decent men, the UT Greek system has more than its share of racists and goat fuckers. Much like K-Mart, which raised its prices after beginning as cheap retail outlets, new fraternities like Theta Chi begin with relative open-mindedness before they start attracting Swinus Erecti.

East Austin is a colorful, if impoverished, art gallery. The wall by the Travis County Probation Department's East Austin unit holds some eye-catching art by local virtuosos. The legendary Crips have finally arrived in East Austin. Their intense individualism and lack of respect for traditional penmanship can be seen in many hieroglyphic signatures.

It seems that political graffiti is mostly the realm of the educated bourgeois youth dissatisfied with mainstream culture. Those in power have always gotten in trouble when the have-nots get political. This remains to be seen in the United States today.

## FREE SPEECH NOW!!!

(Spray-painted on UT's West Mall, artist/perpetrator unknown.)

Other hot spots for graffiti are Hyde Park and the UT campus itself. In fact, in late November, 1989, free speech freedom fighters unleashed a wave of aesthetic terrorism, leaving colorful epithets and polemics all over campus in blaring red paint.

## APOLLINARIS, DOCTOR TO THE EMPERORITUS HAD A CRAP HERE

(Public lavatory in Herculaneum, A.D. 79.)

Graffiti's roots in tradition truly justify its status as timeless art. In fact, the oldest art recovered by archaeologists was graffiti in caves. It is unknown if the Cro-Magnons were "advanced" enough to declare art a felony, or if the caves' landlords withheld security deposits.

After World War II, European politicians exalted graffiti as a necessary tool for social change. The Lettriste movement and later the Situationist International laid the philosophical groundwork for the Paris Revolution in 1968.

## A BAS LE REALISME SOCIALISTE

## VNE LE SURREALISME

(Translation: Down with socialist realism. Long live surrealism. Condorcet, Paris, May, 1968.)

In fact, the Situationist inspired London's punk explosion in 1976. Such

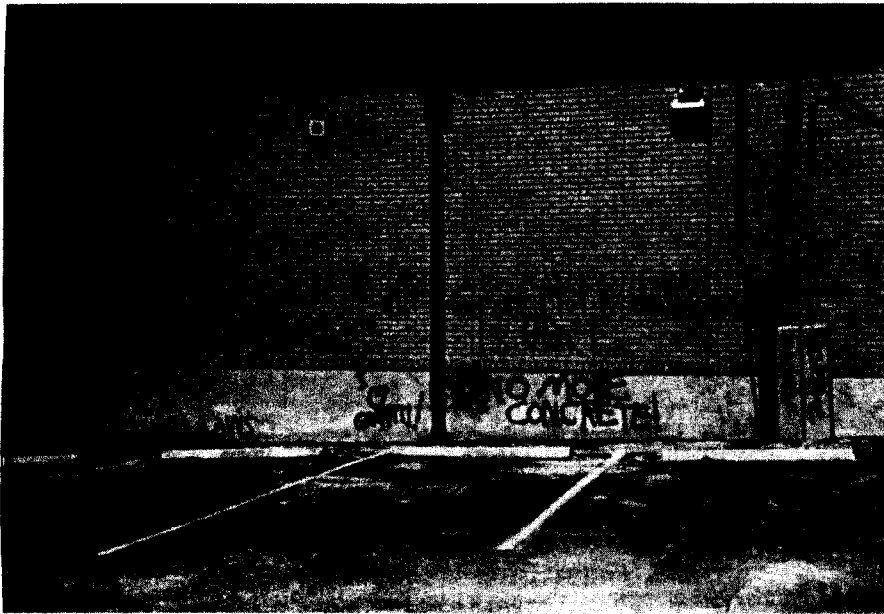
DOR painted on the Texan Federation of Women do any good? In order to be effective in the eye of the media and in the shaping of public opinion, a situation should be studied and evaluated before graffiti action be taken.

Of course, one can always say what the fuck and run around with a can of spray paint. Wanton criminal behavior holds a wild allure that the status quo fears.

Who can blame rebellious activists for their anger? Remember, the Kappa Alphas fraternity, a group of "Southern Gentleman," celebrates the "Rise of the Old South Weekend" every year. Their ilk have started fights with people of color, many of whom decide to fight back.

Frat houses are a deliciously deserving target for West Campus radicals. Al-





"leftists," are the main bearers of Situationist thought today. Some sent crates of spray paint cans to Hungarian revolutionaries in the mid-Eighties. Such art also proliferates at home. Like the hobos of the Depression Era, today's homeless counter-culture has several code symbols to communicate with others of their ilk. One such symbol, meaning "squat," a free pad, can be seen painted on the southern side of the shanty at UT. Curiously enough, some environmentally conscious San Francisco anarchists tend to eschew paint cans, since the chemicals therein help destroy the earth's ozone layer.

**HURRY THE MONEY!**

(Men's room, Quackenbushes, Austin, December, 1989; coffee drinker unknown.)

You, too, can be part of this exciting movement. There are no clubs to belong to, nor any ID cards to carry. Just go by your nearest paint store and stock up. You will find a whole new world awaits you, a world of statues, sidewalks, police stations, streets, bus booths, benches and billboards.

The trick is to get the highest saturation of art possible, since it's only a matter of time until it gets wiped away.

One last thing. Watch for cops. If no one sees you spray graffiti, then no one can testify against you ... for most Americans, a felony is a serious thing.

*Whitmore is a visionary who's seen the writing on the wall.*

figures as Sex Pistols manager Malcolm McLaren and the Clash's manager Bernard Rose drew from the ideas of the spectacle in shaking the foundations of contemporary morals. Oh, they were involved in music, too.

In short, the Situationists saw all history and reality as that of a continuing series of spectacles. This inherently schizophrenic view of life was preoccupied with images in the public eye. These Situationists presaged MTV by thirty years. Media events took on a reality of their own. The goal of humanity's Kultur was to share everyone's experience together.

Situationists created their own psychographic maps of cities, wrapping the geographic with the subjective. A major attribute of their avant-garde aesthetics was disruption—jarring the sleepy, everyday life of society, juxtaposing montages of disparate images. They sought to expand the lethargic paradigm of today's people, what Nietzsche called the "Last Men."

**PUNK IS ACTION,  
NOT FASHION**

(spray-painted many places in Austin; artist/perpetrator unknown.)

Naturally, this leftist ideology downplayed concepts of individuality and private property. As expected, the Paris Revolution was crushed like a raisin, but the legacy of Situationism lingers on. Its effects today can be seen in contemporary music, which has enveloped punk music

to the point that the label is too nebulous to use.

In the UT English Dept., Professor Neil Nehring incorporates much Situationist thought in his lectures on topics varying from British literature to poets and punks. The actual anthology of the Situationist International can be picked up at the Garner & Smith Bookstore in Austin. Hurry now before they go out of business.

**FREE ALL  
POT PRISONERS**

(on building by Wheatsville Co-op on Guadalupe Street in Austin; artist/perpetrator unknown.)

Much of the political respectability of graffiti today was derived from this period of Situationist street art. Andy Warhol's protegee Keith Haring works at a feverish pace in a life soon to be cut short by AIDS. His graffiti-style art proves how accessible art can be.

Look at any major revolution going on and you'll see cans of spray paint. East Berliners added some color when they overran the headquarters of the secret police. Other countries deal realistically with political dissent by institutionalizing graffiti. Sweden has a graffiti wall white-washed every day to allow the young at heart to vent their frustration. And, of course, the soon-to-be-marketed Berlin Wall has sported some of the most intensely emotional graffiti in recent history.

**GENTRIFICATION IS  
GLASSWARE**

(Anti-apartheid shanty at the University of Texas; artist/perpetrator unknown.)  
American anarchists, though not



Don't go work for some big multinational defense contractor for \$40,000. Write for *Polemics* instead! Sure, we offer no wages and no benefits. Then again, we don't sell guns to El Salvador—you be the judge. In particular, we especially need feminist writers, as well as writers on university topics and foreign affairs. We also need artists and poets. Call 452-9631 for more information.

**Attention professors:** *Polemics* wants you to review new books that might be of interest to our readers. Give us a call for size and deadline information.

# Drugs and the Man in the White House

## What CBS didn't tell you about President Bush

by Douglas Kellner

**Editor's note**—The following is excerpted from a forthcoming book, tentatively titled *Television and the Crisis of Democracy*, by Douglas Kellner, UT philosophy professor, co-producer of the syndicated cable TV show, *Alternative Views*; and author of numerous books and articles. The following article is taken from the appendices, where Kellner documents "a wide variety of stories concerning scandals of the Reagan/Bush years which were published in the investigative press and underdeveloped, or ignored, by the mainstream media."

The point of this exercise is to demonstrate the limits of the mainstream media and the ways in which they served the interest of maintaining a conservative hegemony in the 1980s by omitting, or downplaying, stories that could have ended the reign of the Right in the United States. By "mainstream media" I am referring to the television networks, to *Time* and *Newsweek*, and to the major national newspapers, such as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. The "investigative press" includes *The Nation*, *The Progressive*, *The Guardian*, *In These Times*, *The Village Voice*, *Rolling Stone*, *Mother Jones*, *The L.A. Weekly*, *Zeta Magazine*, and other journals and newspapers which practice investigative and socially critical journalism.

The large number of important stories published in the 1980s by the investigative press and ignored by the mainstream media leads me to conclude that we have two media systems in the U.S.: the mainstream, capitalist media, which tend to be complicit with—and indeed part of—the existing power structure, in contrast to the investigative media, which maintain the honorable tradition of a free and independent press. Mainstream media are primarily commercial media, focused on profit and the "bottom line," as well as on legitimating the existing society. During the 1980s, they dutifully served the powers that be by cutting back on critical, investigative reporting which might "disturb" its customers. The investigative press, by contrast, at its best follows the ethic of critical journalism and is

committed to seeking out the truth, no matter where it may lead and no matter how disturbing. Accordingly, there are now two publics in the United States: One that gains its information from that mainstream media and is thus information poor, in contrast to a public which is relatively informed, depending on their access to alternative media.

This situation suggests that in addition to the crisis of democracy in the United States, there is also a crisis of journalism and investigative reporting. Part of the reason is financial. Investigative reporting is expensive, and in a cost-cutting and bottom-line profits climate, there is a tendency to rationalize news production and to eliminate more costly investigative reporting. But there was also a shift in news value and focus, especially in network television, during this period. There were not only severe cutbacks in news personnel during the 1980s, but there was more emphasis on light news, on more entertaining stories, as the line between news and entertainment blurred. Finally, the conservative political climate of the 1980s, in conjunction with the bottom-line/competitive mentality, meant the mainstream news operations—especially television—did not want to offend and lose its audience with critical reporting.

One of the more explosive stories appeared in *Rolling Stone*, "The Dirty Secrets of George Bush," by Howard Kohn and Vickie Monks (Nov. 3, 1988). According to the Kohn/Monks article, an illegal Contra supply operation had been set up in 1982 by CIA director William Casey and was run out of George Bush's office by Donald Gregg [Ed. note—Gregg served as Vice-President Bush's national security advisor and is currently the U.S. Ambassador to South Korea], at least two years before the infamous North/Secord "Enterprise," whose activities were documented in the Iran/Contra hearings; sources include key operatives in the network, military and intelligence sources, and foreign government sources. Kohn/Monks claim: "After meetings with Casey in the summer of 1982, Bush agreed to use the vice-president's office as a cover for Black Eagle. Gregg, a veteran CIA official, was assigned to work out of Bush's office as the Washington liaison to Black Eagle operatives in Central America,

coordinating financial and operational details. Gregg made regular status reports on Black Eagle to Bush, who relayed them to Casey. 'Bush and Gregg were the asbestos wall,' says the career military man, who used the code name Lew Archer, 'You had to burn through them to get to Casey'."

During 1982-1983, the Israelis played a key operational role in supplying illegal weapons to the Contras, but a bizarre error led to Gen. Manuel Noriega's increased involvement. The Israelis had been sending weapons to a warehouse in San Antonio from which they were sent on the Contras, but by mistake some crates were stamped with the label "CIA WAREHOUSE." The weapons then came to the attention of U.S. customs officials, and the supply route was compromised. The central transfer point was shifted to El Salvador and Panama. A former Mossad agent, Michael Harari, was already working for Noriega, and he was assigned to the Black Eagle operation. Noriega allowed the Contras to train in Panama and allowed Black Eagle supply planes to land in his country on the condition that they be available for his drug smuggling ring. According to Kohn/Monks:

"Soon after Noriega was brought into the Black Eagle operation, he began to commandeer Black Eagle planes and pilots for drug-running flights to the southern United States, according to Lew Archer, who'd been assigned to keep the Panamanian strong man under surveillance. Instead of immediately demanding that the drug trafficking cease, says Blandon [a former Noriega associate who emigrated to the U.S. and testified to Congress concerning Noriega's drug running], U.S. policy makers struck a devil's bargain with Noriega. Under terms of the deal, one percent of the gross income generated by the drug flights was set aside to buy additional weapons for the Contras. This eventually amounted to several million dollars."

During this period, Blandon claims that Noriega amassed a great deal of blackmail material on those involved in Black Eagle and other operations, compiling a large dossier on the role of Bush and his staff in the operations. Sources interviewed said that both Bush and his assistant Gregg

were fully aware of the drug involvement in the arms network and that this was a topic of the famous conversation between Bush and Noriega in their meeting in 1983. Eventually, the Israelis pulled out of the operation and the U.S. distanced itself from Noriega, setting up its own supply operation run by North and Richard Secord, who surfaced as major players in the Iran/Contra hearings.

The *Rolling Stone* story contained the most detailed account to date of Felix Rodriguez, who was in charge of the weapons/drug operation, and his relationship with Donald Gregg, whose involvement went back to their service together in Vietnam. The article provided a detailed history of the operation and the involvement of Gregg and Bush. Moreover, the Kohn/Monks article provides the first detailed account of the involvement of Panama's General Noriega in the operation, the connection with the Colombian drug cartel, and eventual feuds between North and Rodriguez, which allegedly required Bush's mediation. The article raises interesting questions pertaining to the incredible risks Bush took in the Panama invasion, and raises the specter that a deal might be cut between Bush and Noriega in the light of the potentially explosive revelations that could emerge from a Noriega trial. [Ed. note—Kellner writes in footnote, "In retrospect, it appears that one of the unspoken aims of the Panama invasion was to eliminate Noriega and his blackmail threats against Bush. One of the curious sidelights of the invasion concerned the capture of Michael Harari during the second week of the invasion. It was leaked to the newspapers that he was captured, then denials appeared, the affirmations, and finally reports that he had somehow returned to Israel. Since Harari could deeply implicate Bush in the illegal Black Eagle operations, it is obvious that he either needed to be eliminated or shut up. A close associate of mine heard a soldier who had just returned from Panama tell a friend that "Harari almost messed up" the Panama Invasion, but it wasn't clear from the conversation if the botch-up was a failure to assassinate him or the initial leaking of his arrest to the press.]

See *Blackhawk*, p14.

# Among Tenured Faculty at UT

WOMEN  
16.5%

MEN  
83.5%

# Those who can't do, teach

## Fear and loathing in the journalism school

**Editors note: The following article was written by two students who wished to remain anonymous because of their proximity to the subjects of this article.**  
by X and Z

One professor suggested that calling it a school was glorifying it. And as an ex-journalism major who defected to liberal arts, and a journalism major who decided to stick it out and regrets it, we agree. The journalism program at UT is a breeding ground for mediocrity. Students are transformed into robots by a curriculum that stresses mechanical skills and suppresses active thinking. Most of the faculty entrusted with "educating" these students have not worked in a newsroom in two decades. And yet UT's journalism department is widely considered one of the top 10 programs in the nation.

It would be nice to suggest abolishing the journalism department, in order to save the naive freshmen who believe they will learn to be journalists there. Editors from *Newsday*, the *Houston Chronicle*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Dallas Morning News*, *Atlantic*, and *Washington Monthly*, have suggested skipping a journalism degree, or have said journalism students should seek a broader liberal arts education than the journalism department requires. In various articles and polls, editors have asserted that the any halfway intelligent human being in six months. What cannot be taught, they say, is an ability to think and reason — skills certainly not valued in the journalism department, where training is vocational, not academic.

Unfortunately, the UT College of Communication has been around since 1914 and is here to stay. But if we must have journalism training, we should at least have useful journalism training. Between us, we have worked at five major dailies, spent more hours than required in liberal arts classes, and can say this: a journalism degree is not the equivalent of a "well-rounded liberal arts education," as the department would like you to believe. Vital classes—in ethics, alternative press, and power structures in the media—are nowhere to be found in the College of Communication, and the practical training offered by the journalism department is a waste of time.

### Philosophy not Accepted Here

The Journalism Department insists that it offers a liberal arts education, as well as training in journalism. But some crucial differences exist in the requirements of the two schools. Liberal arts students must take two courses in art, architecture, classics, drama, music, or philosophy. Communications students

must have one course from art, drama or music. Translation: the history of rock'n'roll will apply toward your degree, but a course in philosophy will not.

Editors repeatedly berate the lack of journalists who know the fundamentals of economics. Although economics will fulfill a degree requirement, it's not a required subject. These same editors want journalists with strong backgrounds in English and history. The English requirement for journalism students is the only one instance of a requirement stricter than the liberal arts equivalent: nine hours instead of six, which still doesn't produce literary experts. The six hours of history required by the legislature doesn't come close to providing a working knowledge of that subject.

Liberal arts students must take 15 hours of science; journalism students, nine. Three classes in some sciences might produce environmental writers and science writers; but with classes such as "Geology of National Parks" available to them, one can hardly blame the students for skipping physics and genetics. It is far easier to find three blowoff science courses than it is to find five. Sooner or later, even the most determined liberal arts students probably will learn something about science, because they run out of useless courses to take.

Journalism students cannot take a to specialize in a field, such as government, history, economics, science, or area studies, such as Latin America or Africa. Students can direct their electives toward a well-rounded education, but they will receive no credit for it on their diplomas.

### It's no wonder ...

One of the so-called rules you are taught as a journalist is to question everything, including the "experts." So, why is it necessary for a journalism student to partake in activities that dull the senses as part of their training? The journalism classes that are supposed to offer the most practical experience are the ones that easily could be substituted with an after-school daycare program for six-year-olds. Yet the out-of-class assignments for journalism students in reporting courses — J322 and J361 — serve the same purpose minus the amusement. Assignments include writing two-page book reports (remember those from fourth grade?), which the professor does not grade, as well as an exercise in scanning a book for 100 positive statements about the field.

The course description for J322 News Reporting reads: "advanced development of skills in gathering and writing news for the print media." Meanwhile, the description for J361 Reporting Urban News states that the class is a study of community

news sources; reporting on courts and city and county government; emphasis on fact-finding and skill in writing; in-depth reporting of significant events. It may appear that after completing this program, a journalism student would be prepared to handle a major beat on any size daily newspaper. However, the syllabi for the courses project another image—an obsession with quantity over quality of work —since grades are determined by the number and length of stories the robotic journalism students crank out in a semester.

Students are supposed to learn urban reporting by doing one court story, one cops story, a legislative story, an in-depth project and a city story. Their journalism degree means they will never have laid eyes on a budget, whether for the city, for UT, or for the Austin Independent School District school board. It means they will never have attended a board meeting or a city council meeting. Although they must take a class on urban reporting, they will never have studied urban problems, such as the high-school dropout rate, crime, traffic and environmental problems, poverty, class and racial inequities. They will never have cultivated sources among grass-roots and community organizations.

The classroom component of a journalism major also leaves much to be desired. Because students avoid Werner Severin, the professor most notable for two years ago, they will not have examined power structures in the media. They will not have had a class in ethics, except for the class in media law and ethics, which is taught by a man who worked for years as a public relations agent for UT. While this class is one of the few in the journalism school that requires journalism students to do any reasoning or thinking, the ethics component is certainly scant. Alternative press is not discussed in the journalism department. The *New York Times* is held up as an example of fine journalism, although students are not required to read it, and many do not. But even more graduate without having looked at *The Nation*, *In These Times*, *Mother Jones*, or even conservative publications, such as the *Economist*, which do not fit the department's remarkably narrow image of "real" media.

If a single professor ever wrote for alternative press — any publication that was not a daily newspaper, in fact — their resumes don't admit it. Perhaps because they left the field before New Journalism evolved, they do not realize that newsrooms do indeed contain and are influenced by *The New Republic*, *The Nation*, and other publications the UT journalism department ignores.

### Those who cannot succeed ...

The level of experience among those molding the minds of student journalists is, for the most part, abysmally low. Most professors ended their careers before their current news-sequence students were born. Take Thomas Fensch, a feature-writing teacher who has written at least as many pages of book as articles. Fensch, who has taught journalism since 1970, worked at a newspaper with a current circulation of 12,000 for one year, in 1964-65. He claims over 100 freelance articles and countless books, but this can hardly account for the fact that he has not been an employee in a newsroom in 25 years. But Fensch is undeterred; he considers that single year of experience as an assistant sports editor qualification as an expert.

Fensch is not alone in his presumption. James Tankard, who has taught at UT since 1972, spent ten months as a reporter at the *Raleigh Times*, and another eight as a broadcast news writer for AP. Yet, despite this thin bit of experience, he published a book on basic news reporting in 1977. Severin, who lists his professional experience on p. 6 of his resume, worked as a photographer for the Army and for several magazines. His only writing experience is at the *Columbia Daily Missourian* during college, a requirement for all journalism students at the University of Missouri. Even Max McCombs,

See J-School, p. 16.

### Polemicalist Repents

The editors apologize for the following errors from previous issues.

—D.C. LaWare wrote "War and Peace in Nicaragua."

—Sean French drew the back-page cartoon for issue 3 and the cover cartoon for the Adds/Drops Extra.

—Scott Henson and Tom Philpott wrote "Bombs and Balcones: How UT profits from the war economy" in issue 3.

# Forged in Steel

## Racists, developers cement apartheid alliance

by Ralph D. Tomlinson

No one present at the Jan. 24th protest of the State Highway Department's purchase of 10.4 million pounds of South African steel was surprised that Texas would openly support apartheid.

After all, as Joe Morris of Texas Earth First! said, the state government had just allowed its employees the option of celebrating either Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday, or Confederate War Heroes Day. Racism still runs deep in the heart of Texas.

What was surprising was the reaction of the state and the diversity of groups uniting to oppose the Highway Dept.'s immoral arrogance.

While the afternoon press conference went peacefully, the demonstration Wednesday evening attracted nearly as many police as protesters. Shortly after a Highway Dept. security guard noticed several slogans chalked on the retaining wall in front of the art-deco office building, the officers started arriving.

First on the scene were the Capitol Police, followed by the Sheriff's Dept., a few Texas Rangers and the Austin Police Dept. The harassment began within minutes. It's amazing how much trouble a few chalk marks can cause.

The men and women in khaki and blue puffed out their chests and began questioning various members of the crowd about the author of the temporary graffiti. They requested identification from only one participant, a black UT student from South Africa. Receiving no satisfactory answer as to the person responsible for the anti-apartheid slogans, the officers threatened to send a bill for cleaning the chalk from the wall to the Steve Biko Committee.

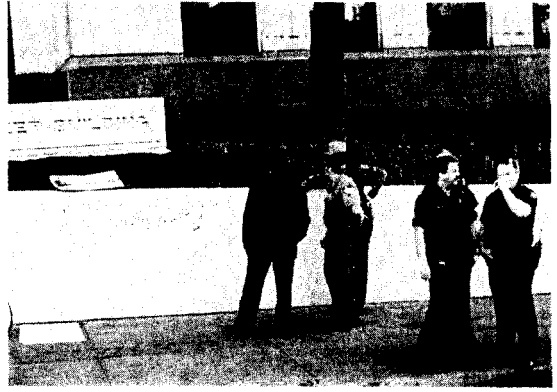
A Capitol police officer pulled a Polaroid from his car and took shots of the protestors, drawing the wrath of those present. Another asked Mick Purcell if the group had a permit for the use of amplified equipment. After Purcell replied that he was unaware of the need for such a permit, the officer informed Purcell he "could either take care of the bullhorn, or I'll take care of you." An Austin police officer defiantly switched off the African music playing on the portable sound system.

But more important than the petty harassment of those who serve and protect the property of the state from its citizen-owners was the diversity of those gathered to oppose apartheid steel.

Gary Bledsoe, president of the Austin chapter of the NAACP, told reporters at the noon press conference that not only does the purchase of the steel subvert the intent of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, passed over President Reagan's veto in 1986, but also that the NAACP has sued the State Highway Dept. for its racist hiring and promotions policies.

The U.S. Treasury Dept., under the Reagan Administration, reinterpreted a clause specifying no steel or iron was to be imported from South Africa to mean that some steel could be purchased, with their blessing. Congress, at the insistence of Rep. John Bryant (D-Dallas), will hold hearings later this year on the legality of such exemptions. According to Bledsoe, over one billion pounds of South African steel have been imported under the Treasury Dept.'s redefinition of the Act.

Highway Dept. officials have stated they bought the steel from Group Five Construction, Ltd., of South Africa because it was cheap. But as Bledsoe noted, "We're going to cause the unravelling of our own



government by our own greed. We're saying because it's cheaper, we're going to buy it, yet that's putting American workers out of work. How can you pay a person a decent wage over here to manufacture and fabricate steel, when over there people are paid essentially no wages. How can you compete?"

Joe Gunn, in a statement read by Morris, expressed a similar sentiment. He stated that the steel is inexpensive "because it was produced by a South African company functioning within a system of apartheid that oppresses people because of the color of their skin. The steel is inexpensive because slave labor is cheap...The bottom-line is that in buying this steel, we are financing slavery."

As Makgalemele "Hilton" Mokoka, another South African UT student, noted, "Any person who earns less than \$70 a week, working more than ten hours a day,

is a slave." One seldom finds such a diversity of community groups sharing the same message.

And perhaps that was the most constructive outcome of the day's events. Bledsoe urged the groups present to make contact with the dock workers and construction workers to prevent the steel from being unloaded and used on the Houston bridge project. Jan. 24th may yet produce a coalition between community-based organizations and labor.

That unity was torn asunder by the turbulent Vietnam War protests. But if the people, and not the state or multinational corporations, are to determine our future, those who gathered at 11th and Brazos showed that not only is such a coalition possible, it's the only way to stop apartheid—at home and in South Africa.

## Everything you always wanted to ask Cunningham ...

As *Texan* readers know, our beleaguered UT President Cunningham has refused to attend an upcoming forum on the crisis in undergraduate education, sponsored by a group called United Students. In lieu of that forum, he has decided to appear at a series of smaller, more controlled sessions. For his failure to confront these issues honestly, he has earned our scorn.

When confronting Cunningham, we should remember the example of Lyndon Johnson. At the height of the Vietnam War, Johnson could not set foot on college campuses without being booted off the stage. Eventually he left the presidency in disgrace. Now it's time to apply that tactic to Cunningham. He's neglected to address issues from divestment to child care to financial aid. As much as anyone's, his failures have caused UT's current understaffing problem. Any individuals or groups interested in these issues should attend the following forums, ask pointed questions and boo lustily when he fails to answer them or talks around them. For forums w/o a meeting place, call Cunningham's office at 471-1232 and ask.

All forums last from 4:00-5:30  
College of Business Administration: Feb. 1, GSB 2.124  
College of Engineering: Feb. 2, ETC 2.108

College of Liberal Arts  
Feb. 5, CAL 100

College of Communications  
Feb. 6, CMB Studio #6A

College of Natural Sciences  
Feb. 13, location unknown

College of Fine Arts  
Feb. 14, location unknown

School of Nursing  
Feb. 22, location unknown

College of Education  
Feb. 26, EDB 104

## Book Review

## Jean-Paul Sartre: Intellectual in Revolt

By Tom Philpott

Jean-Paul Sartre: Hated Conscience of His century. By John Gerassi. 187 pp. \$19.95

The elite of any society always hates a radical—especially one whose brilliance can't be ignored, whose obvious greatness demands recognition. Until, that is, the brilliant radical dies. Then the process of homogenization begins.

Thus, for example, we revere George Bernard Shaw as a great playwright and cherish his witty aphorisms—while downplaying his role as wild-eyed Marxist pamphleteer. And Jesus Christ himself, who was reviled and executed as a revolutionary in his day, has in the 2000 years since become an icon for capital accumulationists and religious bigots.

Now it's time for the inevitable rehabilitation of Jean-Paul Sartre, radical laureate of responsibility and freedom, tireless champion of unpopular causes, intellectual leader of the French Resistance, and, above all, Marxist philosopher until the end. It is the chief purpose of John Gerassi's *Jean-Paul Sartre: Hated Conscience of His Century*, to intervene in the process, to thwart today's liberal academics from making Sartre's life fit for bourgeois consumption.

## Existentialism and Marxism

Sartre often explained that he felt no need to reconcile existentialism with Marxism, since existentialism was Marxism, in the same sense that calculus is mathematics.

For Sartre, as for Marx, capitalism's profanity lay in the limits it put on individual freedom: the rigidity of class constructs, the enforced gulf between what people want to do with their lives and what they must do to feed and house themselves, the prevalence of dollar democracy (i.e., one dollar, one vote) in even the most liberal of capitalist societies.

Sartre's existentialism merely states that we are absolutely free, within the confines of two essential limits: the traits and conditions we inherit (our "facticity"), and the way others perceive us (our "being-for-others"). Everything else we can and must "transcend": We are both "free" to create ourselves and "responsible" for what we create.

Since the capitalist order places extra, non-essential limits on our freedom, it's perfectly consistent with Sartre's existentialism to oppose capitalism. And since we can transcend all but the essential limits, it's perfectly logical for Sartre, with Marx, to agitate for a classless society that's not organized around forced work.

Yet even while Sartre lived, main-

stream scholars tried to separate the undeniable brilliance of Sartre's philosophy from its Marxist implications—despite his almost constant involvement with revolutionary and anarchist groups. As early as 1975, the eminent student of philosophy Walter Kaufmann declared Sartre's essay *Search for a Method*, which describes the relationship between existentialism and Marxism, both the "end" and the "epithet" of existentialism.

And the 1987 publication of Annie Cohen-Solal's monumental *Jean-Paul Sartre: A Life* marks the European intelligentsia's first major attempt to rescue the memory of Sartre from his revolutionary inclinations, to soften the effect of Sartre's relentless societal critique on what's become universally acknowledged as the century's most provocative, comprehensive Western philosophy.

## 'Objectivity' and its Restraints

The book rankled Gerassi, but it saved him, too. A life-long friend who Sartre had chosen as his biographer, Gerassi had spent 15 years working on a traditional biography, digging meticulously for details, trying to be, as he scornfully puts it, "objective."

But now Cohen-Solal had written the objective Sartre biography. It didn't matter that the book's "objectivity" rendered it all but worthless, making its subject so fit for safe Western discourse that *The New York Times* could proclaim, with approval, that "Cohen-Solal has taken Jean-Paul Sartre away from the intellectual left, whose property he has remained since his death."

Gerassi was now free to write a different type of biography: one that didn't try to explain Sartre by stringing together "the facts" of his life, but rather tried to "trace the trajectory of [his] conscience."

In doing so, Gerassi would rescue Sartre from becoming the "property" (as *The Times* so tellingly put it) of the liberal-apologist intelligentsia. At the same time, he would address perhaps the chief paradox of Sartre's life, which can be summed up in Gerassi's answer to Sartre's question, "What would be your guiding principle [in writing my biography]?:" "I would try," Gerassi replied, "to explain how someone who has never rebelled against his class—because, Sartre, no matter how much you hate the bourgeoisie, you are still a bourgeois through and through—could become a revolutionary."

## Genealogy of a Conscience

Gerassi lays out the roots of his relationship with Sartre and the origin of the book, and then turns to the man himself. Each subchapter, with such titles as "The Faker," "The Loser," "The Writer," "The Resistant," can be read as separate points on the moral evolution of Sartre: from

upper-middle-class, pompous college boy (he once wrote to an uncooperative girlfriend, "Who made you what you are, who tries to stop you ... from being an esthete or a whore? Who develops your intelligence? Me alone!"), to the self-absorbed academic of the mid-1930s *Nausea* days, to the man who would declare in 1964, commenting on his favorite of his own books, "Weighed against a dying child, *Nausea* doesn't count."

By the mid-'60s, Sartre had become the most famous and influential intellectual in France. He was also the most hated. The Communists hated him for his scorn of collectivism, for his advocacy of a kind of anarchy-with-a-human-face so different from Soviet-style Marxism. The literary-intellectual set hated him for refusing the Nobel Prize in 1964. French political elites hated him for repeatedly expressing such sentiments as, "With calm, careful reason, the violence of the 'haves' always ends up being 'in defense of peace,' while the establishment, and especially the established media, will always condemn the emotional self-defense counter-violence of the 'have-nots' as terroristic."

The political establishment also hated him for his steadfast support of Algerian independence, even when that bloodiest of colonial independence wars manifested itself in Paris. The anti-independence French colonial forces launched a terror

campaign in Paris when de Gaulle gave in to the Algerians. They bombed Sartre's Paris flat, which in a sense voided Albert Camus' charge that Sartre was an "armchair revolutionary."

Gerassi claims early in the book that "Sartre was the only genuine intellectual of our times who was never co-opted by the bourgeoisie or by any bourgeois government." That's a stunning claim, one he never rigorously defends. But perhaps we shouldn't rebuke him for it, since he never pretends to have written an "objective" book.

In fact, the book's value lies in its subjectivity, in the insights that this life-long friend brings to the telling of the facts of Sartre's life. For all his reverence for his subject, he never tries to deify Sartre, never failing to point up Sartre's petty contradictions, his love for the trappings of bourgeois life, his sometimes excessive tendency to support unpopular causes.

"No matter what are their ideas," Sartre once warned Gerassi about intellectuals, "you must distrust their motives and judge them, like anyone else, by what they do." If Gerassi shows nothing else with his book, it's that Sartre, from 1945 on, always managed—in his writing and his actions—to "denounce injustice and to support the wretched of the earth."

Thanks to Congress Avenue Booksellers for loan of this book.

## Polemicist

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*Polemicist* accepts submissions on any subject, but because of space constraints cannot promise any given piece will run.

# Letters:

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

Editor:

Inspired and emboldened by your December "chastisement," I have embarked on a rigorous daily regimen of Cunningham harassment. On Dec. 12, I sent him a Christmas card in which I politely explained my motives, but the harassments themselves are anything but polite.

Fellow students, Cunningham harassment is a serious business, not to be taken lightly. Every night before I close my eyes, I ask myself, "Have I harassed Cunningham today?" and if, after searching my heart of hearts, the answer is "no," I drag myself out of bed—no matter how late it is, no matter how drunk I am—and make that call. 328-2285. Last night I asked him how much he and his wife would charge to massage me while wearing a penguin costume. (This is actually not an original idea; it is from the book *Franks* put out by *Re-search* magazine—an invaluable resource for any subver-

sive.) My fellow students, a Cunningham harasser must above all else be *merciless*. It is easy to feel sorry for the guy when you hear his tired "Hello?," easy to falter and hang up. Just think about the lines you stood in, your mega-classes, think about Balcones and Sematech, think about bombs and missiles, and BLURT OUT that absurdity!

And, my fellow students, we need *imagination*. There are only so many times that Domino's will deliver an unwanted pizza with extra anchovies to that address, only so many times the taxi companies will send their drivers out to wait and honk in front of 1106 Kennan Road. Doubtless he will soon change his phone number. We need to invent new strategies, new tactics, day by day.

And finally, we must be *relentless*. Cunningham harassment must be performed daily, by as many students as possible, if we are to meet with success. Never lose sight of our goal—his resignation, and subsequent replacement with a president who cares about students and teachers, not military research.

A. Student

Editor:

The level of writing, thinking and purpose in your journal has, in my mind, been very high. I contest neither your facts nor your conclusions, and applaud your clear presentation of both. However, being a stickler for detail, I must point out how incongruous the "Fuck George Bush" and the "TWAT" ads are to the implicit goal of your paper. *Polemist* is an alternative to other sources. I take it, for the quality of its discourse—not only for the subjects it addresses, but also for the way it addresses them. An ad hominem re-

mark, however, is an ad hominem remark, whether made by Bush to Ortega ("that little man"), or by you to Bush. "Fuck George Bush" is a statement of approximate sophistication of "Beat the hell out of OU" or "A&M sucks." This mentality *Polemist* attempts to distance itself from in Vol. 1, no. 3. The contiguity of the ad to the colophon leads one to conclude that it was meant as an editorial joke. Whether joke or paid ad, it conflicts seriously with the tone of your paper.

Likewise the acronym "TWAT," which is about as clever a one as any other fifth-grade retentive might come up with. Call me old-fashioned, but I don't think waving one's genitals (symbolically or not) is a powerful statement, either positively or negatively, for either sex. I realize you have no editorial control over *The Woman's Alternative Times* or their choice of acronyms. You might, however, to spare your readers the inanities they perhaps open your paper to escape, refer in the future to *The Women's Alternative Times* in its long form.

Sincerely,  
Miles Mathis

The editors respond:

Mr. Mathis wasn't the only person to register a complaint about the "Fuck George Bush" ad. In fact, we noted an astonishing similarity between Mr. Mathis' letter and the letters of many others who complained—it contained no money, whereas *Polemist* was paid \$40 to print the ad. We understand the need to maintain our credibility, but, to pervert Marx, a journal must have funding if it is to struggle.

As for the use of the acronym TWAT, we believe that if more folks were less fearful of their sexuality, even celebrated it, then our society would be a much healthier and safer place for everyone. Whether you think folks should be "waving their genitals," surely that's better than denying they exist. *Polemist* will never shy away from using the acronym of our sister publication—TWAT—but on the question of George Bush we will make a compromise. For the cost of a mere \$40 insurance policy, we'll promise never to do it again.

Give to  
the  
fresh air  
fund!

# Dates to Remember for Black History Month

FEBRUARY 1, 1870: Jonathan Jasper Wright elected to South Carolina Supreme Court, becoming first black to hold a major judicial post.

FEBRUARY 1, 1965: Seven hundred people arrested in Selma, Alabama demonstrating for black voting rights.

FEBRUARY 6, 1945: Birth of Bob Marley, Jamaican reggae singer.

FEBRUARY 9, 1946: Birth of black novelist, Alice Walker.

FEBRUARY 12, 1909: Founding of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, NAACP.

FEBRUARY 14, 1817: Birth of Frederick Douglass, es-

caped slave, editor of Rochester, NY, abolitionist newspaper, *The North Star*.

FEBRUARY 17, 1942: Birth of Huey Newton, founder of the Black Panther Party.

FEBRUARY 19, 1919: First Pan-African Congress organized by W.E.B. DuBois and others in Paris, France. Also on this date, 1942, domestic apartheid: FDR sends 120,000 West Coast Japanese, including U.S. citizens, to concentration camps.

FEBRUARY 21, 1965: Assassination of Malcolm X, black liberation leader.

## Blackhawk, from p. 10

Despite the explosive allegations, the mainstream press ignored the story completely, as they had ignored the October Surprise story. [Ed. note—several stories have alleged that the Reagan election team made a deal with the Iranian government to keep the American hostages in Tehran until after the 1980 elections, assuring Reagan's victory over Jimmy Carter. This plot has been labeled the "October Surprise."] To this day, there are probably few individuals familiar with the terms "Black Eagle" and "October Surprise," nor are many people aware that there were

compelling claims that the illegal Contra operations were run out of George Bush's office. The mainstream media—and the U.S. government—has scapegoated Oliver North for operations that were run by George Bush and William Casey, and that probably had the sanction of Ronald Reagan. The strong possibility emerges, therefore, that a systematic cover-up has been carried out by Congress, the media, and the judiciary system to cover over the involvement of Reagan, Bush, and other high officials in some of the greatest political scandals in U.S. history.

## Free Speech, from p. 5.

administrators to spend growing budget funds on new faculty. This posed a much more challenging problem for Cunningham—to honestly address the problem, he would have to divert funds from certain well-funded departments to certain impoverished ones, instead of simply cutting enrollment.

Editor Karen Adams, however, long after she printed the guest column on her own page, clung dearly to the "overcrowding" myth. In a series of shrill editorials, she chided Cunningham to cut enrollment and beg for more money from the Legislature. On the surface, her position was one of dissent from official policy. But in practice, it reinforced UT's false claims and called for the same solutions Cunningham advocated.

And she continued calling for more state money long after *Polemicist* showed that the UT budget had expanded dramatically in the '80s, and that administrators simply spent the money implementing state industrial policy instead of teaching students.

Recent signs of editorial-page *perestroika*—the anti-administration polemics of fall associate editor Greg Weiner and current associate editor Brandon Powell, for example—are encouraging.

But until the news department rejects J-school objectivity, even genuine critics on the editorial page will have to base their writing on news generated by J-school-style reporters. The implications for free speech on campus are chilling. Neutering even student opinion writing by subjecting it to J-school "objectiv-

ity"—both in the form of a J-school-approved editor and in "balanced" news coverage—limits the terms of debate in the monopoly student press organ.

### Stirrings from below

The administration's other obvious method of limiting the First Amendment—the imposition of "free-speech areas"—has come under direct attack.

Late last semester editors of student alternative publications gathered in the West Mall free-speech area and illegally practiced free speech: They distributed their magazines, despite the presence of Consuelo Trevino, hatchetperson for the Student Activities Office. She ordered them not to distribute; they did anyway, under her watchful eye. But she avoided confrontation by pretending, in the next day's *Texan*, that no rules were broken and no magazines were distributed. Or-well would cackle.

Three times since last semester, young wags have ventured onto the West Mall, under cover of night, to scrawl "Free Speech Now!!" right in the heart of the "free speech area." And at a Jan. 26 anti-apartheid, pro-divestment rally on the West Mall, *Texan* associate editor Brandon Powell led more than 100 students to the South Mall—where huge planters haven't been built to limit space—in defiance of the free-speech rules.

And the UT Students' Association recently purchased nine newspaper racks for use by alternative press on campus.

In a sense, these small revolts can count as victories for free-speech, since unjust rules were defied without punishment. But in another sense, they're not a

## Abortion Without a Doctor?

come hear  
Charlotte Taft

speak on  
Menstrual Extraction  
and view the film  
"No Going Back"

Tuesday, Jan. 30, 7 p.m.  
UTC Room 1.144

sponsored by

*The Women's Alternative Times*

victory at all: The rules remain.

### Free Speech Now!

Apologists point out that the rules do not exclude any one particular set of opinions—that they're therefore not political because they're generalized. But generalized repression cannot be justified, any more than specific repression. The issue is freedom of speech at a supposed "marketplace of ideas."

Academic freedom, i.e., freedom to think, study and publish what one wants without interference, is limited only to professors at UT, and for the most part only in what they say in their classrooms. What professors actually research is usually dictated, at least in part, by who will give them the money and what those people want researched. Generalized restrictions for students leave *The Texan*—which these days, save a handful of editorials and reporter Greg Weiner's work, serves as an

administrative propaganda machine—as the only student voice on campus.

But the idea of extending academic freedom to students has never been addressed. The very definition of a student implies that we know nothing, and have come here to learn. The University operates under the assumption that academic freedom is only for professors, who do know things, and never makes provisions for student expression—in fact, its rules actively discourage it.

There's no such thing as revolution from above. The power to obtain true free speech on campus lies only with students—in the strength of their refusals to follow the University's repressive rules, and in the strength of their demands that those repressive rules be eliminated.

Kierkgaard ridiculed free speech as compensation for those afraid of free thought; but we must first achieve the one before we can achieve the other.

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—Frank Peterson, Austin

"Your issue on UT and the money question was brilliant. Keep it up!"

—David Maraniss, southwest bureau chief,  
*The Washington Post*

"An amateurish job. I skimmed it, didn't see anything that interested me and I don't intend to read it."

—Red Gibson, journalism professor  
and TSP boardmember

Send your \$10 donation for 5 issues to *Polemicist*; 504 W. 24th St., #28; Austin, Texas; 78705. Make checks payable to *Polemicist*. If you can afford it, please send more. More \$\$ equals more and bigger issues of *Polemicist*, so don't wait—send now.

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**Art and American Hypocrisy**  
by David R. Vance  
Austin, Texas

At the Anchor Steam Pub West off university and twentyeighth St. In thirty minutes? Ya I know, the one with the piped waterfall. "It's an insincere replication, spluttering like Salutations to an acquaintance you regret only sleeping with."

Me? I'm fine ... "Like I would tell you?" No, I've only been here for two beers not that long really. How is your art? You actually took down your piece, the one with the scringed flag. "The one that was too real, with the HIV positive fluorescent paint and the undersized band-aid."

The University can take your work? "We can't take their offices." What Right? What's Right? What Rights? THE AMERICAN FLAG ... made in Taiwan? "My father made his living in Vietnam. It's bloody, and his hands are bloody, and it commemorates what he lost and the lead he got and the dreams he gets."

"Fending dogs — territorial, carnivorous, natural, trailing the gregarious jibbered pack; barking and snapping at their tails, their liberty, their justice, their all." No thanks, they fry those in lard, and I'm giving up flesh and apple pie. But perhaps I'm lying. Can't Say ... I have never starved."

**Blackland, from p. 3.**

Finally, in December, 1988, UT agreed to halt all land purchases at Leona St., eight blocks to the west of their original boundary for acquisitions. The agreement gave the aforementioned 22 houses to the neighborhood for repairs. Residents would be allowed to remain in homes bought by the University until 1994 and UT agreed to help relocate residents.

Yet, for many, it's too late. Poole said many people died from the stress of the 10-year fight against UT. There were houses where the buildings Langenkamp referred to as "one-bedroom shacks" are now located.

Homes that Poole said were "much better houses." And much bigger houses. "The others had their own character," Poole said. She said, however, that the houses relocated on Chicon Street will become nice homes with the funds raised.

The city is negotiating to buy the property east of Leona Street from the University. UT owns the property under the houses moved to Chicon, as well as other parcels throughout the neighborhood.

Poole said if the city can't buy the land, the struggle will start anew in ten years. And as one Blackland resident told the *Austin American-Statesman* in June, 1983: "What occurs as UT slowly buys up any land that comes available is that the culture of the neighborhood is destroyed. Like a boa constrictor, it doesn't squeeze its victim to death. It just takes whatever space is given and keeps at it until it strangles its prey to death."

And though Blackland residents did prevent UT from devouring the entire 16-block area it originally hoped to acquire and were able to force the University to provide 22 houses for low-income and homeless Austinites, the community has suffered. Sturdy houses were turned to rubble.

The University still owns the land under the houses, and refuses to give up its power to gain more land through condemnation. Part of the reason UT stopped buying up

land was the purchase of other tracts, including the old Villa Capri site and the 90-acre Montopolis Research Center where Sematech is located.

When the UT Regents regain their appetite for land, Blackland residents may once again find themselves fighting in the council chambers, the courts and the streets to hold onto their homes.

The question is, can the Blackland neighborhood afford another victory like this one?

**J-School, from page 11.**

the chairman of the journalism department, has only two years' experience as a journalist, at the *New Orleans Times Picayune*. And again, he has been out of the field for close to three decades, having quit the *Picayune* in 1963.

For anyone who thinks the press should play an adversarial relationship with government and other institutions, it is a slap in the face to be lumped together with public relations students and advertising students. But obviously, many professors lack such ethical qualms. Marvin Olasky, who teaches the history of journalism, spent more years as a public relations flack for DuPont than he spent working for newspapers, even if his experience on his college paper, the *Yale Daily News*, is included in the total. Tankard worked for the U.S. Information Agency. Gene Burd, a feature-writing professor, worked in public relations for Chicago Mayor Richard Daley in 1960.

But no one in the department can rival Mike Quinn, associate dean of journalism and teacher of media law and ethics. Quinn worked eight years as a reporter for *The Dallas Morning News* — and three as a flack for Humble Oil and Refining Company, two as director of UT News and Information Service, two as executive director of the same service, and several more as spokesman for former chancellor Charles LeMaistre. Quinn has a law degree, obtained in 1981, but even a law degree does not settle the question of whether someone who was buddies with Frank Erwin, former UT System regent and UT president, should be teaching media ethics. And, although he has only a bachelor's degree in journalism, Quinn is associate dean of the college of communication, and according to the 1989-90 UT budget earns nearly \$30,000 a year more than the other associate deans, both of whom have doctorates.

But even those with ample experience in journalism and little or none in public relations have been out of the field for two decades. Martin Gibson worked nine years for several papers such as the *Chicago Tribune*, *New York Daily News*, and the *Houston Chronicle*, but left the field to teach in 1969. Gene Burd worked in the field for nine years, but held his last job in 1965.

There is a general belief, among people in newsrooms, that those who teach journalism are those who could not succeed in the field itself. The facts indicate this, or else a general lack of interest in the field itself. In either case, it should serve as a warning to students, as should the curriculum that is supposed to turn them into journalists. If you can't think, you can't debate the truth of what you are told. You just print it, as you were taught to do.

Strangely enough, a number of journalism faculty hold non-journalism bachelor's degrees, as do an even larger number of practicing journalists. We have only one question for them: If you didn't buy into it, why should we?

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