



Polemicist

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

Volume 2, No. 7

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We Hereby Chastise...

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

—Charles Baudelaire

Joseph Horn Rightist Zealot

In the past this journal has rebuked Horn repeatedly for his vengeful, demeaning attitudes toward minorities, women and, generally, students. But Horn—a former associate dean of liberal arts and darling of newly installed interim tyrant Dean Robert King—also deserves scorn for his association with rightist groups that systematically attack academic freedom. The most recent example was Horn's speech at the June 6 & 7, 1991, Accuracy in Academia conference.

Accuracy in Academia became the object of universal scorn in the mid-80s, when the organization announced plans to pay "auditors" to "monitor" university faculty with Marxist, feminist, or other dangerous and subversive views. AIA continues to this day publishing critiques of specific professors classroom lectures and textbooks in its national publication *Campus Report* and local right-wing student newspapers, many run by the Madison Center for Educational Affairs (see article, page ***). The organization's stated goals sound like those of other rightist groups today complaining of "political correctness" on campus, indoctrination in the classroom, etc. But its overtly political agenda and wild-eyed rebaiting alienated all but the lunatic fringe among conservatives. Other conservative campus groups like the National Association of Scholars (NAS) learned from AIA during this period, and explicitly set out to achieve the same goals by organizing faculty at the university level, arguing that AIA's tactics had discredited the organization.

At its annual conference in June, Joe Horn—who was elevated to the board of directors of the National Association of Scholars after the English 306 debacle at UT—declared himself an "expert" on reverse discrimination, and spoke on the topic, "Affirmative Discrimination on Campus." While Horn cheered on the crowd (made up of about one-third students) to combat their "politically correct" opponents by any means necessary, many milled around and talked during his presentation, according to sources at the conference. (The professor was squeezed into the schedule in between P.J. O'Rourke, who gave a luncheon address entitled "Give War a Chance," and a panel discussion including students who encountered resistance from "P.C." elements at their schools after forming a white students union.)

While Horn's participation in the conference is

instructive—we should not underestimate the significance of the president of UT's local NAS chapter working with the radical right—his presence at such an event calls into question his group's commitment to "reasoned scholarship in a free society," as its literature declares. More accurately, as the squelching of the proposed English 306 syllabus demonstrated, Horn's regressive political goals are laid (CK) bare by his attempts at networking among national rightist groups. No one is fooled, Joe, by your pleas that you only support "reasoned scholarship." Any fool (even Bob King) can tell that if anyone at UT-Austin is promoting an expressly political agenda, it's the Texas Association of Scholars and its president, Joe Horn.

Wall Street Journal Relativist, Apologist

We take executive compensation issues ("Dollar" Bill's directorships, Kosmetsky's junk bond history, Mettlen's S&L dance) seriously. In a recent editorial, the *Wall Street Journal* responds to people like us.

"Over the years we've tended to dismiss executive-compensation issues as mostly demagoguery. If a handful of baseball players gets paid multiple millions for a few years in their 20s and early 30s, we don't see why a handful of executives shouldn't be paid multiple millions for a few years in their 50s and early 60s. And even the highest CEO salary is trivial compared to a corporation's cash flow, let alone the general economy. Would that other more important issues received equal attention."

If you can think of other fruitful comparisons (CEO leveraged buyout debt compared to the national debt, CEO life sentences in prison compared to the total years of prison time currently being served by all convicted criminals, for example) send us your suggestions. We may print them, if we remember, next fall.

Dollar Bill Scholar

Polemicist congratulates Bill for finally making General in his very own educational military. In the new and revised Strategic Plan for the University, 1992-97, Bill places himself at the center of a military-style process for "maneuvering forces into the most advantageous position prior to actual engagement." According to the introduction to vol. III, *The Strategic Planning Process*, "resource allocation is equivalent to positioning of forces," and the strategic planning effort "is centered" in the Strategic Planning Institutional Steering Committee, chaired by "Dollar" Bill himself.

Cunningham, challenged by "the state's population, its social development, its commerce and its technology" devotes most of a large volume to a series of studies, in which the University lays out its prognosis for the future of Texas, and its role over the next several years. A lengthy dissertation on "social problems," heavily footnoted to such illustrious academic sources as *USA Today*, and the *Austin American-Statesman*, notes that terrorism is a serious social problem for universities.

Quoting an article from *Futures* magazine, the document notes that "universities are a major recruiting ground for terrorist groups...[and that] a group of com-

petent and qualified scientists and engineers could be recruited for the special purpose of building an atomic weapon or advising on techniques of nuclear sabotage and extortion." The study goes on to quote the same source again, advising that "governments and security forces would be wise to plan for the 'worst possible' terrorist contingencies."

The section on "private disobedience" from *The Futurist* is also worth quoting at length, as it identifies animal rights activists (among others) as particularly dangerous to the private sector and to University research centers. These activists, drawn from the middle and upper classes, are venting their frustration at the "curtailment of upward mobility," according to the *Futurist*. On the subject of student activism, the plan notes that a "plethora of activist groups composed of people who view themselves as reformers with higher and more enlightened values than others...believe that opposition to their principles stems from selfishness, ignorance, bigotry, or even evil. Many see themselves as the 'progressive' force overcoming the 'oppressive' dominance of 'selfish' profit-oriented business values, 'dehumanizing' corporations, 'blind' technology, 'crass' materialism and 'commercialized' vulgarity. They turn issues into ideological, spiritual, or moral imperatives, or they treat these issues as too important to be subjected to compromise or cost-benefit analysis." (our emphasis)

Citing an article from *USA Today* on animal rights protests at Case Western University, where a professor "received death threats after a pro-research article was published last year," the strategic plan goes on to blandly advise that "three strategies used to deal with terrorism are crisis response and management, improved defenses and wider intelligence networks."

Bill Livingston Graduate Dean, Sycophant

Gushing with sympathy for Margaret Thatcher's final tumble from power in British government, Bill wrote to the House of Commons in early January to invite her to give this year's UT commencement speech.

"I see my own reaction to the past month's events as that of an alter ego," Bill writes, further noting that after first feeling disappointment and resentment, he has finally begun "to accommodate [himself] to 'the new situation,'" and suggests that in time she will probably do the same. As perhaps a kind of compensation, he wants "to make you an offer that you just can't resist."

Asking that she join "a varied and distinguished company" of commencement speakers—like bankrupt defense contractor Bobby Ray Inman, Lloyd Bentsen, and warmonger George Bush—Bill points out that she will enjoy a "colorful, exciting and meaningful ceremony" from her position on the stage. Her speech, however, doesn't have to be on any of the usual "lofty (and sometimes tedious) themes-duty, civic responsibility, education..." that usually provide a focus for University graduations. Instead he suggests more tempting topics, like "conservatism in an era of change" or "freedom, welfare and socialism."

Despite Bill's offer to cover all Maggie's expenses, fly her son Mark and his wife down from Dallas for the occasion, and pay her a modest \$10,000 honorarium, she didn't come. Neither did James Baker, another fine choice who turned down an invitation to lead UT graduates into the future. Thanks for small mercies.

A Royalist Coup: Bob King Topples Faculty Government

by Tom King

My politics haven't changed since I was 21 years old. I was a Marxist then and I'm an Authoritarian now.

Robert King, in conversation at a 1990 fundraising party for the College of Liberal Arts

On February 22 of this year, the Department of English voted to retain its present structure of governance with a few minor revisions. After careful discussion and deliberation, it passed in perfunctory fashion: there was a single dissenting vote. The governance document was then forwarded to the Liberal Arts Dean for his consideration. Until the 26th of June, there was no indication whatsoever from the acting Dean or his predecessor, Standish Meacham, that anything at all was wrong with the Department's system of governance. On that day, acting Liberal Arts Dean Robert D. King, in a memo to Department of English Chairman Joseph Kruppa, declared his intention to revise English Department governance dramatically and unilaterally.

The dean proposes to replace the Department's Executive Committee, which is elected from all the department's faculty, with a Budget Council, made up of all full professors, but not other tenured faculty or assistant professors. The English Department abolished the Budget Council mode of governance in 1968, in an attempt to democratize its governance. Today, issues of democratic input are still relevant. Chairman Kruppa cites it as an important selling point among first-rate young academics. In addition, women and minorities would be underrepresented under a Budget Council system. Despite the department's exemplary record of affirmative action hiring,

Whether or not that it is the case, Dean King's actions amount to a de facto attack on affirmative action. In the last two years the department has hired eight women, two African-Americans, and three Hispanic candidates out of eleven total positions.

ing, they are still not well represented among full professors. The department has only two full professors who are women; otherwise, the entire Budget Council would be made up of (mostly older, mostly white) men, who King thinks are more "experienced." King charges that "a larger body of the most senior ... faculty" should lead the department.

Also, it is simply untrue that senior faculty is underrepresented on the exist-

ing Executive Committee. During the last twenty-three years, full professors have always had a clear majority. Neither can it be argued that the Executive Committee form of governance is cliquish. During the last fourteen years, three quarters of the full professors presently in the department have served on the committee, and half of the entire English faculty has served at one time or another.

Representation on the Executive Committee cuts across every philosophical and methodological difference among the faculty as a whole. Currently the committee is made up of six full professors, two associate professors and two assistant profs. Although Dr. Joe Kruppa acts as a tie-breaker, in the last two years no Executive committee vote has been closer than 8-2 and most have been unanimous. King's insinuation that the body is not capable of sober and mature deliberation is born out neither by the composition of the executive committee nor by its decisions. Says Kruppa, "there is not a shred of empirical evidence either that anything is wrong with the Executive Committee mode, nor that a Budget Council would be in any way preferable."

An Attack on Minority Hiring

King claims to have no confidence in the hiring recommendations of the Executive committee, reminding Kruppa in his letter: "You will recall that twice during my earlier deanship I suspended hiring in the Department through lack of confidence in the recommendations being made." In a 1989 letter to then-Chairman William Sutherland, King explains himself more fully. King rejected two recommended new hires, one of them a woman, based not on their qualifications as scholars but on their "beliefs regarding the relation of literature to ideology and society." In other words, King objected to the department's new hires not based on their academic merits, but on their "beliefs."

In the same letter, King noted that as far as he could tell, both candidates were "well qualified for a position at a major university." In defense of his position King distinguishes between "traditional" and "nontraditional" approaches to literature ideologically, and insists upon "balance" between these "polarized" positions.

Two things are disturbing about this concern about "balance": (1) King, in failing to state the criteria by which "traditional" and "nontraditional" approaches to literature are to be distinguished, assumes the distinction to be clear and meaningful. English Chairman Kruppa, when interviewed by *Polemicist*, called such a distinction "fuzz and unworkable." Associate Professor Barbara Harlow argues that while the department

made its hiring decision on the basis of excellence alone, Dean King "politicized the issue by means of the traditional/nontraditional distinction", which brings us to (2) that King assumes that political ideology follows reliably from one's methods of scholarship.

While it is undoubtedly necessary for the Dean to make sure that all significant methodologies are sufficiently repre-

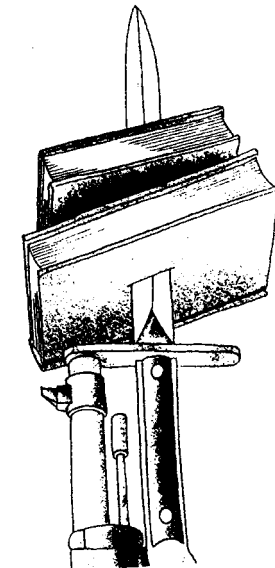
certainly among the top fifteen in the nation." This year English received about 400 letters of inquiry for five to seven positions. It only filled three of the openings, and two of the hires were African-American, representing one-eighth of minority faculty hires for the entire University. Is it the hiring of minorities that King is complaining about?

Whether or not that it is the case, Dean King's actions amount to a de facto attack on affirmative action. In the last two years, the Department has hired eight women, two African-Americans, and three Hispanic candidates out of eleven total positions. The most recent hires did not draw from the President's Fund for minority recruitment, but were completely confined within the normal department's hiring procedures. The English department currently has the best minority recruitment record at the University.

While it has recently become fashionable to argue that a commitment to affirmative action is ideological, it is important to stress that such a commitment is strongly in accordance with the stated policy of the UT Administration. According to President Cunningham's 1987 Minority Faculty Recruitment and Retention Action Plan, the University stresses "the need for aggressive action to recruit minority faculty."

If King's objections do stem from his personal opposition to affirmative action, then they are out of line with stated university policy. Although a Dean may, as stipulated in the University Handbook of Operating Procedures, "determine that operation of a department has deteriorated because of actions taken or not taken by the Budget Council or because of irreconcilable differences within the membership of the Budget Council, and ... [under such circumstances] ... may request the approval of the President to establish a temporary budget committee for the department," in this instance King has not offered, let alone established, evidence that the operation of the department has deteriorated or that irreconcilable differences exist.

King so far has said only that it is his "feeling" that the Department of English has not been well served by the Executive Committee mode of governance, and that he further "feels" that the Department, the College of Liberal Arts, and the University would be better served by a Budget Council.



sent in a department, it by no means follows from this that a preponderance either of "new" or of "old" methods (which King never even attempted to demonstrate) necessarily leads to the ideological polarization of a department.

King's approach to hiring has little to do with a professor's area of expertise (ie eighteenth century, British modern etc) or specialization, even though departments generally fill needed positions by period, geographic area and literary form. King, by making himself the guardian of ideological balance in the College of Liberal Arts, assumes without proof that the Department of English is incompetent to assess its own needs and satisfy them.

The department did not fail to recommend candidates of proven excellence for his approval. According to Joe Kruppa, the department hires based on qualifications alone. When a qualified candidate does not appear, the department leaves the position open until the next round of hiring. Twenty years ago, says Kruppa, "this was a decent regional department. Now it is a department of national reputation and stature, ranking

Circle the Volvos!

Building a "Grassroots" Political Newspaper

by Scott Henson

The Madison Center for Educational Affairs (MCEA) is a neoconservative non-profit organization that has become a focal point for the right-wing political movement on campuses across the country. Formed September 1, 1990 through a merger between the Madison Center and the Institute for Educational Affairs, MCEA in the last academic year expanded its budget to over \$1 million, and its agents and allies were sources for much of the recent propaganda campaign surrounding "political correctness" and the "politicization" of the academy.

The MCEA 1990 Donor List (from the 1990 Annual Report)

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In the next year MCEA will become even more prominent, with a slew of projects that will almost assuredly result in another wave of left-bashing and "politically correct"-baiting in the academy. Meanwhile, the organization continues to fund its stable of right-wing student newspapers, including the *University Review* at UT-Austin, to promote the appearance of grass-roots support.

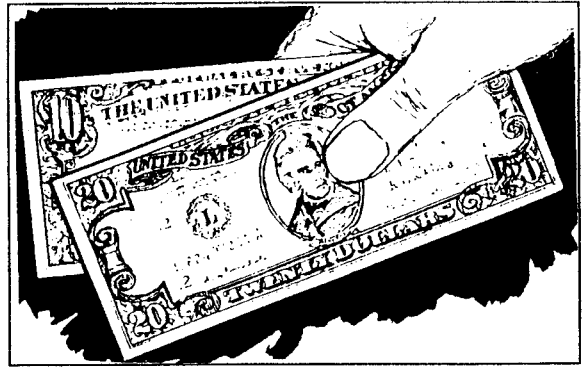
The three-year old Madison Center is a relative newcomer to the campus scene, but its merger partner has a long track record. The Institute for Educational Affairs (IEA) was founded in 1978 by neoconservative godfather Irving Kristol and William Simon, Treasury Secretary under Nixon, John M. Olin Foundation president and libertarian ideologue, with the financial help of the Smith-Richardson Foundation, whose president at the time was Leslie Lenkowsky.

Starting an "Independent" Newspaper

In 1980, IEA began funding right-wing, student newspapers to support conservative organizing on campus. IEA at first only supplied grants to student papers, until Lenkowsky came on in 1985 to run the operation. Lenkowsky had in 1983 left Smith-Richardson to take an interim appointment as Deputy Director of the U.S. Information Agency. But in May 1984 he was turned down by the U.S. Senate for a permanent appointment after allegations that he blacklisted liberal speakers at USIA—a charge which he denied.

In 1986, one year after Lenkowsky took charge, IEA expanded its operations and began offering "editorial and management advice" to supplement its grant money. IEA installed a toll-free "hotline" for student editors, revamped the IEA newsletter, *Newslink*, to contain "installments of a brand-new editorial handbook; story ideas; clippings on campus issues from the national media; practical tips on matters like selling ads, recruiting staff, and fundraising; and news of alumni who have gone on to careers in journalism and public service."

IEA also began holding a series of conferences to teach nuts-and-bolts journalism skills like reporting, editing, layout, etc. to the uninitiated. IEA staff members began annual site visits. It even operates a national advertising consortium, where the national association sells advertising — say, to Domino's Pizza or to Coors beer — and the student papers run the ads and collect the money. "A program to provide the editors with im-



portant books, magazines, newsletters and pamphlets on contemporary issues and on publishing techniques" began in conjunction with other right-wing groups. The whole shooting match was renamed "The Collegiate Network," to give it greater "esprit..."

What is to be Done?

As of May 1991, MCEA supports 64 conservative student papers around the country including the *University Review* at UT-Austin. MCEA continues this program as one of its most important strategies to fight curriculum reform and affirmative action on college campuses. The student publications have a combined circulation of about 500,000, and an annual budget of well over \$1 million. (*The Dartmouth Review* alone received a \$150,000 grant from the Olin Foundation in 1989 independent of MCEA) Next fall MCEA plans to produce a new quarterly magazine devoted solely to race issues. Tentatively called "Diversity," MCEA expects its circulation to begin at 100,000 and will, at least in the beginning, distribute most copies free of charge.

"Independent" right-wing college papers, according to an pre-merger IEA representative interviewed last summer, typically receive \$1,500 semesterly grants. In 1990, MCEA spent over \$330,000 on the Collegiate Network, according to its annual report, including more than \$125,000 in grants to student papers. The organization also has a "hot line" where student editors can call for technical advice on newspaper production, and MCEA contributes national advertisers. In addition, IEA funds skills seminars and its representatives periodically inspect and advise local papers in person.

The *University Review* isn't the only right-wing "independent" student newspaper in Texas affiliated with the Collegiate Network. In March of this year, the *Houston Clarion*, based at the University of Houston, joined the MCEA ranks. In addition, the *Rice Sentinel*, an MCEA paper also in Houston, started up in 1990. The *Sentinel* declares in its staffbox that the paper "is not affiliated with any party or social group," and that it "receives no support, financial or otherwise, from Rice University," but it doesn't address the

issue of MCEA funding. The *Sentinel* contains no advertising in its April 1991 issue—neither does the March issue of the *Clarion*.

Similarly, the only paid ads in the April *University Review* were from the National Association of Scholars and the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, a Pennsylvania-based right-wing think tank founded by William Buckley in the 1950s. Most of the 64 newspapers in the Collegiate Network receive grants from the Madison Center to stay afloat. But do student papers really toe the party line for these rightist groups? In April 1991 the *Rice Sentinel* reprinted an article by Dinesh D'Souza straight from the MCEA *Newslink* newsletter. And the cover art

Bob Lukefahr complains of student editors at Madison Center-sponsored papers who "purge" their fellow journalists for ideological reasons.

But instead of "political correctness," Lukefahr labels this phenomenon "conservative bulimia."

for the lead story in the April *University Review* ("Are You PC?") appeared just two months later on some Accuracy in Academia literature at its Washington D.C. conference (see chastisements).

Producing the "Politically Correct" Debate

But perhaps the most blatant example of students parroting the national party line came in the *Houston Clarion*, where a young writer tellingly footnoted his March 1991 article: an "Introduction to Political Correctness." Of the 10 references, two cited right-wing demagogue George Will, two more came from the *Rice Sentinel*, one came from the Accuracy in Academia newsletter *Campus Report*, and three sources came from publications of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute.

Other examples of MCEA foisting

Go to Money, page 10...

A Statement of Academic Concern from the Graduate Professional Association

The Graduate Professional Association (GPA), an off-campus professional organization representing the interests of graduate employees, regards recent proposals for tuition hikes with grave concern. GPA firmly believes undergraduate and graduate students alike must unite in opposing these plans, in any form. In keeping with GPA's focus on the employment-related concerns of graduate assistants, we believe tuition hikes will adversely affect our working conditions.

Because graduate employees must pay tuition in order to pursue their academic degrees, a tuition hike is, in essence, a garnishment of wages. The comparisons of tuition between UT and other universities often fail to mention that other universities completely waive tuition and fees for their graduate assistants. The University and the Legislature, on the other hand, are about to ask 10,000 of its employees to accept an effective wage cut.

University officials have criticized Comptroller John Sharp's tuition hike as a tax hike, calling it unfair. But as recently as Spring 1990, various deans had also tried to frame the raising of graduate student tuition as a tax, albeit in more apologetic fashion. Regardless of the sugar-coating, raising tuition is not equivalent to raising taxes. Taxes are spread evenly and proportionately across the population—students pay sales tax, property tax, and federal income tax like everyone else. Tuition, on the other hand, adds an additional financial burden to a segment of the university community that, compared to faculty and administrators, can least

afford such burden.

The proposed tuition hikes also fail to address the University's abysmal record on minority recruitment and retention. Even the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, in its tuition hike proposal, admits minority enrollment in public colleges is severely lacking. Meanwhile, neither the Coordinating Board nor the Legislature have conducted studies to assess the financial impact tuition hikes would have upon people of color, the poor and the working class. Yet both these bodies put forth proposals that could potentially have an adverse effect upon these underrepresented communities.

Tuition hikes will also dilute the cultural diversity of graduate employees themselves, as well as the classes they teach at Texas Universities. The Office of Student Financial Aid has already predicted poorer students will register for fewer hours, or drop out altogether. Ann Richards has characterized the average student as a wealthy fraternity member who drives a BMW. A tuition hike will make this characterization a self-fulfilling prophecy.

On June 25, the Daily Texan printed an editorial by Geoff Henley in support of tuition hikes. Henley reasoned that "cutting spending and raising tuition remain the best bets." GPA has heard this reasoning before. Three years ago, when the Coordinating Board declared the health benefits we received illegal, student leaders and administrators told us the loss of premium sharing was inevitable, and that we should compromise in ac-

cepting a vastly inferior health plan. The graduate employees who eventually formed GPA instead stood their ground, accepting nothing less than the full restoration of their benefits. Three years later, we not only have our benefits back, but have them guaranteed through Texas state law.

GPA believes that accessible education and health care should be sources of pride, not shame, for Texas. Protecting these basic needs will come only as a result of a strong and unequivocal student position. GPA agrees that tuition in the state of Texas is a bargain, for those who can afford it. There are still many, however, who can't. But the real bargain is not tuition at Texas universities, but the jobs, projects and prestige that students bring to the University and the state as a result of their hard work.

If you are opposed to tuition increases, then put your integrity first. Call the SA office, Texas Student Lobby, the Council of Graduate Students, your legislator, the Coordinating Board. Write letters to the Texan, the Austin American, and state officials. Let them know your opposition to any increase. University administrators and state power brokers have abandoned their commitment to accessible higher education in Texas. Now, it's up to the students: keep a college degree within reach of every Texas citizen.

To join the Graduate Professional Association, write to us at PO Box. 8580, Austin Tx., 78713.

Paid Advertisement

Polemicist,

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

Wish List: We desperately need an answering machine so you can leave a message when we're not there. The cement floors in the warehouse are cold. Pillows would be great also.

If you would like to join the Liberated Learning Collective please call...

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When California Developers Move into Your Neighborhood...

by Kathy Mitchell

On June 20 city council unanimously passed a rezoning ordinance for East 11th Street that will enable Bennett Properties of California to construct a mall (Capital Town Center), a new skyscraper office building, an 8 screen theatre, a 400 room luxury hotel, a multistory parking garage and a health spa on property between East 12th street and 8th at IH35. The city council rezoning ordinance created a new district, called a Neighborhood Conservation Combining District (NCCD), and may lead to creation of a Tax Increment Finance District (TIFD), with city council approval. The new NCCD will allow buildings of up to 220 feet near the freeway, and five story commercial development adjacent to homes on 11th and 10th 1/2 Street.

While Bennett claims that the development will bring new jobs and new business to revitalize East 11th from the freeway to Keeling Jr. high, many business owners and renters fear they will soon have to move out to make way for the larger, more expensive business space. Unlike the redevelopment efforts slowly taking place in the surrounding residential neighborhoods, this project might merely bring West Austin residents to a gentrified East side, while pushing East Austin further East.

"I'll have to move farther out," said Willie Smith, leaning over a broken chain saw in his 11th Street lawn mower repair shop. "I won't be able to stay here. This is a seasonal business, and people right now don't have the money. These buildings they're gonna be for small business, but \$500 or \$600 a month would be out of the question."

Eddie Watson, Smith's brother-in-law, sat in the open door of the shop.

"They should take that into consideration after they've planned all this other thing. How much time are they gonna give the person in the area to move out. Because if he don't have no place to go, what's he gonna do with his equipment? He can't store it in his house. He can't put it in his truck."

According to Gary Wardian, representative of Bennett Properties and a Vice President of the East 11th Street Village Association, "viable" businesses on the street will survive the transition. "Businesses on the corridor will be renovated property by property," he said. "If they have a viable business, they will get more customers and that will justify higher rates."

Smith, Watson and other area business owners emphasized that any redevelopment program needs to include a relocation effort, and the new developers need to provide money to help small minority businesses rebuild in some other area. David Hill Jr., proprietor of Mr. David's Hair Salon, has rented his building on East 11th for 21 years and wants to stay on the East Side. "I could have left 15 years ago when things started going bad over here, but I chose the east side because I wanted to. I would relocate in the mall, providing that I get relocation money. If property values go up, and rents, that's why we need relocation money. This is something that needs to be addressed. That would be a concern, whether or not we get priced out. I haven't gotten any assurances at all."

Rev. Freddie Dixon, President of the East 11th Street Village Association, admitted that the organization has not discussed its proposal with all the businesses and renters within the boundaries of the new NCCD. "The people who are there do not own their place of business. They are renting. Therefore they can't

say anything because they are only leasees," he said in an interview. "We have not gone door to door or block by block. When you have one major battle you have to focus all of your attentions on that one battle. Our battle has been to get the zoning and we have had to go through 10,000 hoops."

The address listed with the city for the East 11th Street Business Group is 3101 Bee Caves Road #315, in the same west Austin office complex as the listed address of Richard Mathias, architect for the Bennett project, at 3103 Bee Caves #315.

Hill and his landlord, James Hamilton, generally support the Bennett project. "From the onset that 11 acre tract had houses. The church sold to Joseph for the Holiday Inn and then Joseph sold to Bennett. Its been a quick turnover of that land," he said. "This is nothing new. Its been on the drawing boards of some corporation for years, and now I would like to see it become a reality."

According to Hamilton, Bennett had approached him once to sell his house, but had offered less than the real value of the property. The large vacant tract across the street is overgrown with scrub trees and weeds and used as a dumping ground. Homeless people sleep in the ravine near the freeway. Needles litter the ground just off the street. "Its a shame that they leave it in that condition," he said, looking across from his own carefully tended garden. "They can all get some sickles and come out there tomorrow and start

cleaning. They don't have to wait for no vote from city council. But that has been one of the strategies of developers in the past. They want to see something deteriorate to where owners will sell for little or nothing, to depreciate the properties and then gobble it up and then package it up and then rezone it and then make a land killing deal off of it. Now with this zoning change, it should increase the value of my property. It gave me a 60' height elevation and I'm entitled to air right space. So I'm selling by the square foot commercial. I'm not selling it as no residence."

When California Developers Move into Your Neighborhood Association...

Neighborhood Conservation Combining Districts, as the name implies, were designed to protect older neighborhoods and place the planning and redevelopment process in the hands of those who live and own property there. The zoning ordinance, drafted in 1985, calls for the NCCD "to preserve and protect older neighborhoods by allowing modifications to the zoning regulations in accordance with a neighborhood plan for development and conservation," and specifies that the "neighborhood plans are intended to enhance the desirability of living in older neighborhoods." The NCCD plan, created entirely by a local neighborhood association, over rules Austin's compatibility requirements within its boundaries, and facilitates development for local land owners by eliminating fees and providing city staff time to the neighborhood association.

Under the ordinance, the neighborhood association responsible for the plan and the district must contact all property owners in writing of its intention to create the NCCD, and further, notify prop-

erty owners of all association meetings on to the districting proposal. The only NCCD ever before created in Austin, in the Fairview Park area at Riverside and South Congress, strictly limited building heights and commercial densities in order to preserve and foreground the character of the neighborhood. The Fairview neighborhood plan focused primarily on residential needs.

In this case, however, the East 11th Street Village Association has created a "commercial" NCCD, and in the words of one planning department reviewer (8/8/88), "there appears to be a question of the intent of the Ordinance as it relates to a 'NCCD commercial.'" Area neighborhood associations have become concerned about the compatibility waivers, as well as the heights and densities approved by city council.

Although the East 11th Street commercial district traverses the domains of several already constituted local neighborhood associations, none of these groups have participated in the development of the new NCCD. In fact, while the East 11th Street Village Association supports the proposed mall, wrote a plan, and spearheaded the effort to get the zoning change through city council, several surrounding neighborhood associations have protested, including Blackshear, Anderson and Guadalupe. On June 5th the Blackshear Neighborhood Development Corporation filed a Certificate of Resolution protesting the zoning as it related to subdistrict 3, "in order to support the overall quality of life in the neighborhood and of the quality of life of the residents of property owned by the corporation."

Many area residents do not know exactly who the East 11th Street Village Association represents. One business owner on 11th street, who wished to remain anonymous, had never been contacted by the organization and did not know how the changes would affect his holdings. The Guadalupe neighborhood association, a property owner now in the NCCD, filed a formal list of concerns with the city on May 28, noting that the zoning ordinance requires notification of all property holders of intent to create an NCCD, and notification of all planning meetings. Neither the Guadalupe Area Neighborhood Association, nor the Guadalupe Neighborhood Development Corporation had received notification of any meetings until March 1991, according to the complaint, although both groups own land in the new district and the project had been in the works since 1986.

The East 11th Street Village Association, originally called the East 11th Street Business Group, formed to work on a version of the current project in "April or May of 1986," according to Gary Wardian. Land office records show that Bennett properties, under the name Austin Skyline Associates, began to purchase property along IH35 and East 11th in April of 1986. "The East 11th Street Village Association began in 1986 to discuss what to do with that area," said Wardian. "I and the Bennett Co. were part of those initial conversations."

The East 11th Street Village Association is chaired by Freddie Dixon of the Wesley United Methodist Church in central east Austin. According to its "Neigh-

borhood Plan," required by the city before NCCD zoning can be granted, the association has over 50 members including civic and religious groups, property owners, business owners and residents. However, Dixon cannot currently provide membership lists for the Association. Gary Wardian of Bennett Properties is a Vice President, and according to receipts from the city planning office, Wardian as well as other Bennett employees regularly sign for documents as representatives of the East 11th Street Village Association. The address listed with the city for the East 11th Street Business Group is 3101 Bee Caves Road #315, in the same west Austin office complex as the listed address of Richard Mathias, architect for the Bennett project, at 3103 Bee Caves #315.

Under the new zoning, the East 11th Street Village Association will oversee Bennett's minority hiring program for the project. In its plan, Bennett properties estimates that the development will create 3000 permanent jobs, along with 3500 construction jobs. Job creation, for an area with a 13.6 percent unemployment rate (double that of the rest of the city), is undoubtedly one of the most important factors for successful redevelopment. According to 1980 census data, reported in the neighborhood's plan, 32.66 percent of the area's population have incomes below the poverty level, and East 11th itself is the census tract with the lowest median income in the city.

The city planning department recommended that, for the mall to economically improve the area, Bennett should commit itself to minority contracting in the construction phase of the project, and also to minority vendor participation and permanent full time hires. The council deleted this condition, indicating that the East 11th Street Village Association would develop a private agreement with Bennett.

In its letter of May 3, (the "Agreement") Bennett agreed to hire minorities for 35 percent of the construction jobs, recruited and trained by Local 790 of the International Laborer's Union of North America, and to contract 15 percent of the total project construction and 15 percent of the professional construction design to competitive Disadvantaged Business Enterprises, prioritizing East Austin residents first, then Austin residents. It also promised to set up a foundation "to promote the stability of the East 11th Street corridor, its business environments and surrounding residential

community."

It did not offer any permanent hiring or minority vendor goals in its agreement, however. According to Wardian, such targets would have been premature. "It's important to understand that the Bennett development team will not be the employer. We are creating a shell. Its premature to create permanent hire goals at this time. The agreement we made was already awfully detailed for this stage in the zoning process."

Bennett also agreed that the East 11th Street Village Association, Inc. would coordinate with the project manager during and after construction "to oversee minority involvement in job training, vendor opportunities and employment." Said Wardian, "East 11th Street is the logical group to oversee these contracts. Neither I nor Bennett by any means controls that organization."

Getting into a "TIF" Over Redevelopment

According to Dixon, the next step might be a TIFD. "Certainly tax increment financing will be one of the things we will lay on the table. Bennett will need some kind of tax increment financing in the neighborhood of \$50 to \$70 million. If you subtract that from a \$300 million project it is less than or right at a quarter of the cost."

Early this year, before the council began to look at the NCCD proposal, Bennett supplied the city with prelimi-

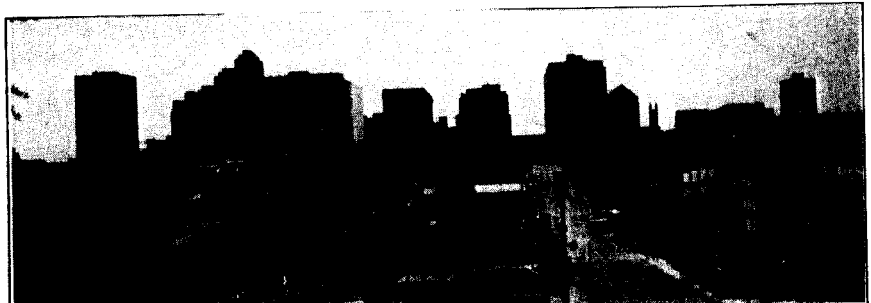
nary tax revenue information and development projections, asking that the Economic Development staff look at the feasibility of a Tax Increment Finance District (TIFD) "to support a bond issue of \$60 million for the construction of a parking facility and other public improvements in conjunction with the proposed mall." In a March 1 letter from the city to Gary Wardian, planning staff noted that debt service obligations would exceed the tax increment collected by the project, using the numbers that Bennett had provided. However, the staff also noted that their numbers were rough, and requested specific site plan information, market studies, anchor tenants and commitments from a mall company, construction schedule and a time table for public improvements, and sources of financing. To date, Bennett has not yet made any of this information available.

Basically, a TIFD most often generates public funds for the redevelopment of "blighted" areas by issuing a bond, to be paid off from the extra tax revenues produced by the development. Creation of a TIFD would freeze the tax revenues for the city, county and the school district at their current levels (the base) within its boundaries. Any increase in property taxes over the base, due to inflation and development, would flow to the TIFD to be reinvested in further development and to pay the note. The TIFD also provides developers with the power of eminent domain to build roads, ramps, parking etc.

While property owners would see their taxes go up with their property values, none of the public entities (including the school district) would see any of that money until the life span of the TIFD (up to 20 years) had expired. In order to provide partial protection for low income and fixed income home owners in areas destined for redevelopment, then Sen. Craig Washington of Houston in 1989 passed an amendment to TIFD law fielding one third of the increment to the construction of low cost housing to partially replace, over 20 years, the units lost due to redevelopment. The TIFD is not required to build the new housing inside its boundaries, however, and the new amendment has yet to protect those pushed out by eminent domain or higher taxes.

Currently Austin does not have a single TIFD. Galveston has ten, Houston has three and El Paso has one. Many of

Go to Guadalupe, p. 8...



Elena Lopez's magnificent view leaves developers dazzled, but the Guadalupe Neighborhood Association fights to keep Guadalupe people from having to move once again.

Kingpin

...continued from page 3

solidating power in the Executive Committee which he now complains is too small and too powerful; (2) the system to which he wishes to return is a proven failure in the English Department; (3) it impugns, in an unwarrantably broad way, the competence of the Department of English to manage its own affairs. The present system of governance has enjoyed full and continuous administrative approval, as well as the overwhelming support of the faculty of the Department of English.

Embracing Authoritarianism

This third consideration is the most grave, since Acting Dean King, in his former capacity as Liberal Arts Dean, has a long history of interference with departmental autonomy (a history he cites, curiously, as justification for fresh attack on democracy in the English Department.)

As evidenced by swift response of the Department to King's June 26 memo (Chairman Kruppa tells *Polemicist* that

full meetings of the Department during the summer are extraordinary), there is sharp concern about King's inclinations among the English faculty. Quite reasonably, the Department has asked only that King state what is wrong with their mode of governance in detail and in an appropriate forum. King has offered to meet with individuals faculty members but has so far declined the Department's offer to meet officially to resolve their differences. Nor has he given his objections detailed and objective elaboration. It is important to stress that King is not bound by any regulation or guideline to take part in such a meeting. Were King to refuse to meet with the Department or its officers, that would not be technically improper. The fact of the matter is that the abolition of an effective, democratic, and popular form of governance lies at the pleasure of the Dean.

It would, however, be a gross and flagrant violation not only of common decency but also of the somewhat more serious matter of professional courtesy, some standards for which can be found in the 1966 Joint Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities.

The 1966 Joint Statement is a document jointly formulated by the American

Association of University Professors, the American Council on Education, and the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges (among whose membership the UT Board of Regents can be counted) and which represents the common sense of higher education institutions regarding the respective roles of governing boards, faculties, and administrations.

It states that "faculty status and related matters are primarily a faculty responsibility; this area includes appointments, reappointments, decisions not to reappoint, promotions, the granting of tenure, and dismissal. The primary responsibility of the faculty for such matters is based upon the fact that its judgment is central to general educational policy. Furthermore, scholars in a particular field or activity have chief competence for judging the work of their colleagues ... Determinations in these matters should first be by faculty action through established procedures, reviewed by the chief academic officers with the concurrence of the board. The governing board and president should, on questions of faculty status, as in other matters where the faculty has primary responsibility, concur with the faculty judgment except

in rare instances and for compelling reasons which should be stated in detail."

Whether King complies with these broader principles, designed to protect academic freedom and faculty autonomy, will indicate the direction which the College of Liberal Arts will take in the very near future. But it's important to remember that King was hired only recently by President Cunningham, after the spate of bad publicity received by the English department over the English 306 debacle; that's the same "Dollar" Bill Cunningham who caved into public pressure and forced former Dean Meacham to crush the E306 course last summer (See *Polemicist*, September 1990).

If Cunningham allows King to gut the governance structure in the English Department, one could infer that it's because that's exactly what he hired King to do. King could not be reached for comment, or we would ask him. But Cunningham is certainly aware of King's regressive history, and whether he stops the good Dean from exacting retribution on the English Department should tell us whether King's action was simply his own mean-spirited nature in action, or if he's carrying water for the central administration.

Guadalupe

...continued from page 7

these are mired in legal battles, and the effort to create a TIFD to redevelop the predominantly black Fourth Ward in Houston has been met with strong local resistance. A Resolution Opposing a TIFD in the Fourth Ward/North Montrose, written by Houston Common Ground and signed by 30 organizations to date, calls the TIFD "an outrageous land and tax grab" for the benefit of (in this case) two large corporate developers. Supporters of the resolution include Linwood Johnson, representing APV, and Darrell Patterson from Freedman's Town. "We have been fighting this thing for a year and a half," said Jessie Stanford of Common Ground. "People don't realize that it takes money from the city tax base, and every one else pays the difference. The money's got to come from somewhere. Yet it does nothing for housing for minorities, the poor and the homeless."

Turning \$622,000 into a Neighborhood Lifeline

The project sponsored by the East 11th Street Village Association affects the redevelopment zones of five neighborhood associations; Robertson Hill, Anderson, Blackshear, Guadalupe, and Prospect Hill. Since the late 70's area residents have joined neighborhood associations and secured block grant funds to facilitate East Austin's recovery from the federally sponsored Urban Renewal projects of the sixties and seventies.

Blackshear, an area named after a prominent black school administrator and bordering the NCCD on the southeast corner, lost large tracts of low income housing during a "slum clearance." Despite complaints from residents unable to

successfully relocate their homes and businesses, the Urban Renewal Agency failed to rebuild the area. In the 70s the city tried to start building houses, also without success. "The city, together with the Austin Housing Authority moved a house in there, but it was so shabby that they had to move it out again," said Karen Paup of Texas Low Income Housing, a contractor for area development corporations.

In 1983 the Blackshear Resident's Organization, formed during Urban Renewal, decided that residents would have to rebuild the area themselves. The neighborhood association created a non-profit development organization, Blackshear Neighborhood Development Corporation (BNDC), and applied for CDBG funding. In 1984 BNDC built five new houses which rent to low income families for \$275 per month. Between 1984 and 1986 the organization completed eight more houses and created a "Homestead" for the elderly, a shared house for four residents. Between 1988 and 1989, finished rebuilding the northern end of the neighborhood, and has to date constructed 26 units targeting low income and elderly East Austinites.

Robertson Hill and Anderson have also built new homes and refurbished existing homes between 11th and 12th and north of Keeling junior high in the last ten years. According to Ray Gallo-way of the Anderson Community Development Corporation, the mall may be an either/or situation for the area's elderly and low income residents. "With a development like that there's no way they are going to build without homeowners and tenants moving out. Its either big commercial development or homeowners, people who live there. One of the two got to give, there's no two ways."

Elena Lopez, still living in the house at 9th Street and IH35, fears that she may be one of the residents forced to relocate.

Along with the Guadalupe neighborhood association and the Guadalupe Development Corporation, she and her daughter petitioned the city council to remove their property from the rezoning area. All were turned down on a 6-1 vote, with only Max dissenting. Lopez, who has lived at 801 E. 9th for 36 years, says that she will not sell or leave her home. "From here I can walk everywhere and especially to the church. I was married in the Guadalupe church and want to stay near the church."

Preserving an Austin "People Belt"

Residents in the Guadalupe area, bounded by IH35, East 10 1/2, the cemetery and East 7th to the south, formed the Guadalupe Area Neighborhood Association in 1980 to fight a park proposed by Jake Pickle, Lady Bird Johnson and the Daughters of the Republic. Known as the French Legation Park, it was boosted "bridge East and West Austin through revitalization." It would have required the removal of eleven frame houses, four of them owner occupied, in order to create a city park around the Legation.

In an Statesman interview in Feb. of 1980, one resident remarked that the Legation, with its brick wall, iron gates and entrance fee was not part of the community, and no one in the neighborhood had asked them to build the park. Kevin Batt of the River City Tenant Council compared the struggle to that fought by environmentalists intent on saving the Barton Creek greenbelt. "The neighborhood is trying to prevent a greenbelt from displacing a people belt," he told the Austin Light. "In both cases the groups are fighting unwanted development."

The conflict over the Legation ended in a coup, when local residents with the support of then councilmember John Trevino, original sponsor of the pro-

posal, assumed control of the \$622,000 CDBG grant that the city had designated for construction of the park. In its first newsletter, the Guadalupe Community Development Project laid out the redevelopment philosophy that would guide its actions for the next ten years. "These people want to take our homes so they can build hotels and shopping centers in their place. The Guadalupe project will fix up homes so people do not have to sell and move out, and it will build new homes to keep the community alive."

Incorporated as the Guadalupe Neighborhood Development Corporation, it put together a neighborhood plan that included housing repair, new low income duplexes, a Barrier Removal Program (ramps for the elderly), and a revolving loan fund. By 1986 the group had purchased most of debilitated rental houses on Inks Avenue near the cemetery, renovated them, and resold them at a low price to families that had been renting them for as long as 30 years. It pressed city council for Capital Improvement Project funds for sidewalks and streetlights, putting walkways on at least one side of every street in the area.

Now freshly painted houses with abundant gardens dominate the neighborhood. A number of historic buildings, renovated by private citizens within the guidelines of the neighborhood association, look as they did in the 1880's. The community deposits money from the rental property in the development account for future projects, and the nearly half million dollars in housing tracts owned by the association provide collateral for future bank loans if necessary.

Lawrence Gomez, born in the neighborhood, now rents an Inks Street duplex from the association. "A lot of people moved out but they have moved back. There's a sense that my roots are here. My kids and grandkids play in the same places I played in." P

U.S. Gives Mixed Message to El Salvador: Free Trade or A Free People?

by Charley MacMartin and Bill Stouffer

Manuel Morales removed the cover from the well and peered down at the shimmer of water below. "It's sweet water alright and it runs deep." After inspecting the depth, Morales replaced the cover and looked up at the sun pouring down on this farming cooperative in El Salvador's rural province of San Vicente. "My God, it's hot," he laughed as we moved back to the shade of the farm's community building.

Morales' life mirrors El Salvador's civil war. Forced by government bombing in the early 1980s to leave his home town in the rugged northern province of Chalatenango, he and his family joined the tens of thousands of El Salvador's "internal refugees." They wandered the country for months before settling down near the Guatemalan border. But local military officials disapproved of Morales and the other refugees' cooperative ways and they again were forced back on the road. Morales and others then settled here at El Carmen, growing plantain, corn and sesame.

El Carmen hopes to work with other cooperatives in the immediate vicinity to form a health clinic this year. Two young women from El Carmen traveled to San Salvador in January to join ten other students in the study of health care and rural medicine. "They'll return in August," adds Morales, "and we hope to have at least a provisional building ready for them."

International members of the Red Cross, the humanitarian group, Doctors Without Borders, and the soon-to-arrive United Nations human rights mission, FAS says, "conspire with international communism to undermine our sovereignty."

Anti-Communist Front Threatens Peace Prospects

Like many communities—both rural and urban—plans for the future hang on the hopes of an end to El Salvador's eleven year civil war. Agreements between the Salvadoran Army and the rebel FMLN were dashed in May as the U.S.-backed government of Alfredo Cristiani demanded that the FMLN lay down its weapons before constitutional reforms would be implemented.

Rumors in June of junior officers in the Salvadoran Army demanding a hard-line at the negotiating table contributed to the grim picture. It is widely speculated that junior officers would be the first fired if the Salvadoran Army is scaled

down in the wake of negotiated accords.

Newly elected National Assembly member, Juan Jose Martell, from the social democratic party, Convergencia Democratica (CD), explained in an interview that the United States Congress and the Bush administration are the missing pieces for a negotiated solution. "Mixed messages emanate from Washington," emphasizes Martell. "On the one hand, they say they want a resolution to regional conflicts so conditions are right for their so-called Free Trade Agreement, but then neither Bush nor the Congress will definitively cut off military aid to the Salvadoran Armed Forces."

Martell's fears were confirmed when the announcement came in June of the formation of a new death squad, the Salvadoran Anti-Communist Front, or FAS. The FAS threatens international members of the Red Cross, the humanitarian group, Doctors Without Borders, and the soon-to-arrive United Nations human rights mission who, FAS says, "conspire with international communism to undermine our sovereignty."

Human rights monitors, including Amnesty International, believe the death squads to be organized by, or at least tolerated by, the Salvadoran Army.

Drafting Only the Poor

The army itself poses the most serious threat to the families of El Carmen. Their province of San Vicente is home to El Salvador's heavily armed Military Engineering Detachment, or DMIFA. DMIFA soldiers killed El Carmen's president outside his home in April 1990, accusing the cooperative of growing food for El Salvador's guerrilla force, the FMLN.

The Salvadoran Army regularly invades farming communities like El Carmen to forcibly recruit young men into its ranks. Army leaders explain they are simply insuring the constitutional mandate for military service. Morales and other cooperative members, however, say the burden of recruitment falls disproportionately upon the heads of their children.

"You never see the recruitment trucks driving through Escalon," argues Morales, referring to an exclusive neighborhood in the capitol, San Salvador. Morales, El Carmen's acting president since the killing last year, organized a caravan by the leaders of eleven cooperatives in San Vicente.

The caravan traveled to the DMIFA headquarters in May this year to demand an end to Salvadoran Army forced recruitment. Army leaders accused the cooperativists of spreading rumors and threatened to throw them in jail unless they produced solid evidence. "You have stolen the solid evidence: our children," responded the cooperative leaders, ac-



Campefino co-op of El Carmen in San Vicente, El Salvador, filling a corn field. Photo by Greg Whitlock.

ording to Morales. They left the DMIFA barracks without any agreements.

Grabbing the "balls of the tiger"
Driving through El Salvador's central provinces of La Paz and San Vicente, huge tracks of land lie fallow, owned by Salvadoran elite or foreign businessmen who refuse to invest while the civil war threatens profits.

El Salvador's distribution of land is among the most unequal in Latin America. The family of El Salvador's right-wing president, Alfredo Cristiani, owns a coffee-processing plant in San Vicente and is the province's largest land owner.

Rural farmworkers in El Salvador organized in February this year a campaign of land takeovers, or "tomas de tierra." The campaign intended both to put fallow land back into cultivation for the coming growing season and to dramatize the desperate conditions of rural Salvadorans. To date, 45 parcels of land have been taken over throughout El Salvador, nearly all establishing themselves as cooperatives.

Conservative leaders of the govern-

ment reacted sharply. Where the government could not intimidate the peasants with accusations of FMLN complicity, the Army was sent in to dislodge violently the farmers, "to protect private property." One participating farmer explained the seriousness of the confrontation. "You have got to understand what land means for the oligarchy," explained the wiry young man. And his wife added with a grin, "to take their land is to grab the balls of the tiger."

In the western province of Ahuachapan, campesinos met soldiers with machetes and stones. One dislodged group of farmers took over the Rosario Church in downtown San Salvador to protest the Army's violence. Hunger strikes and solidarity marches during May and June underlined the support the farmers drew from unions and other urban allies.

Resolution to the land question depends on the negotiations. "It's like a sword hanging over our head," one union leader commented. "All our work could collapse of the Army refuses to reform."

P

CISPES Summer Calendar

July

- 11 Austin City Council holds open Salvadoran Coffee Boycott hearing.
- 12 Friday discussion of the economic war in El Salvador: free trade and privatization. 7-9 pm, Chubby's Restaurant (S. 1st and W. Elizabeth)—featuring Salvadoran Food.
- 19 Streetwork for the Adams-McDermott bill now in Congress which would cut off military aid to the government of El Salvador. 11 am at 3rd and Congress.
- 22 Business meeting/volunteer night, 7-9 pm, CISPES office, 3rd & Congress.
- 27 Streetwork. Meet at 11 am at 3rd and Congress.

August

- 2 Discussion and Salvadoran food from 7-9 pm at Chubby's
- 5 Business meeting and volunteer night, 7-9 pm, CISPES office as above



Ruta Maya Coffee Co.

CHIAPAS, MEXICO
AUSTIN, TEXAS

Money

...continued from page 3

its postions upon students are even more blatant. In the May 1991 issue of *Newslink*, for example, MCEA representatives suggest that student reporters write follow-up stories about a recent federal court of appeals decision which "ruled against a professor who was admonished by the University of Alabama for 'injecting religious beliefs into classes.'" MCEA wants student journalists to query "How does this court's decision apply to other forms of biased instruction?" The article tells student journalists to "Use the decision to question the Dean of Faculty and faculty members: does this apply only to religious bias, or should professors who bring unrelated views, Marxist and feminist, for example, into the classroom be chastised as well?"

These types of specious arguments permeate the "political correctness" debate. The federal court, of course, was ruling on the constitutional separation of church and state — there's no constitutional separation of *political philosophy* and the state, and in fact the notion would be absurd. Even so, this example shows one of the mechanisms through which a handful of well-funded right-wing institutions can disseminate their malicious drive from the center — Washington D.C. — to the periphery around the country.

Despite their use (*ad nauseum*) of the derogatory epithet "politically correct," MCEA papers aren't immune to their own brand of "political correctness" or to administering "ideological purity tests." In the May 1991 issue of *Newslink*, the newsletter of the Collegiate Network, MCEA staffer Bob Lukefahr complains of student editors at Madison Center-sponsored papers who "purge" their fellow journalists for ideological

reasons.

But instead of "political correctness," Lukefahr labels this phenomenon "conservative bulimia." Lukefahr explains: "I've seen the symptoms in far too many of my recent site visits. The staff is usually haughty. They don't like the College Republicans, or the 'libertarian faction,' or the 'squishy moderates' at their own paper. Indeed, the editor usually becomes quite animated, full of enthusiasm even, as he talks about the staff infidels who he thinks are dragging the paper in 'the wrong direction.' (Strangely enough, many people seem to *delight* [his italics] in the notion of an impending purge.) My diagnosis is usually right on target: the staff has conservative bulimia."

Elsewhere in the newsletter, referring this time to the campus left, Lukefahr complains that "campuses are still populated by far too many students who oppose the free exchange of ideas." Lukefahr never addresses the contradiction that arises when right-wing student newspapers — which constitute the front lines of the "political correctness" assault — conduct their own ideological purges. Instead he wants to gloss over the differences: "Once the establishment press is as open to your views as they profess to be already," Lukefahr writes, "then you can argue publicly amongst yourselves. For the time being, you need to circle the Volvos and protect your small community from the egalitarian savages who are after your scalps."

But MCEA doesn't spend \$330,000 annually to train student editors so they can disappear into corporate anonymity after a couple of years battling the liberal dragon. MCEA has therefore installed mechanisms to ensure that its young vassals are introduced to the right people. One student editor of the *Vassar Spectator*, for example, spent a one-year internship at *The New Republic* before going on to edit the conservative *Freedom Review*.

MCEA internships in 1990 included full-year positions for MCEA editors at *The New Republic* and *Academic Questions*, the journal of the National Association of Scholars. MCEA student editors also interned at the Office of the Vice President, The Bradley Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, NBC News, and *Policy Review*, the theoretical organ of the Heritage Foundation. MCEA, along with the Olin Foundation, helped fund the writing of D'Souza's book through its Grants to Scholars program.

MCEA's budget, according to its 1990 annual report, is currently growing faster than its directors can spend the money. MCEA begins 1991 carrying more than \$565,000 over from last year, when its aggregate expenditures totalled \$1,035,457. Of that, 32 percent went to the student journalism program, 12 percent (\$120,930 in 1990) went to the college guide, 7 percent went to editorial internships, and 23 percent (\$240,000 in 1990) for its grants to scholars program. This enormous budget came from just 54 donors in 1990 (see chart). This is no more a "grassroots" political movement on campuses, than the federal government is a "grassroots" political organization. P

Liberated Learning

Tuesdays

Poetry Writing Group

Dennis Toprac

Ongoing til Aug. 6, 7:30 pm

Liberated Learning Warehouse

505 San Jacinto, 474-5825

Wednesdays

Polemicalist Writing Group

After Liberated Learning Meetings

Ongoing to the fall, 7:30 pm (LLW)

Film Showings at Dobie;

The Kill Off and Chameleon

July 31 and Aug 7 only

Call Liberated Learning for tickets

and showtime

Thursdays

Rethinking Education

July 18, Aug. 1 and 15

Liberated Learning Warehouse,

7:30

Canto Libre

Resistencia Bookstore

All Liberated poetry students

invited to read!

July 25, Aug. 8 and 22

1105 East Sixth

Saturdays

Natural History Hike on

Barton Springs

with Christie Stevens and

Neal Tuttrup

July 20 and 27 only

Meet at Liberated Learning,

11:30am

Great Bagels and More



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