

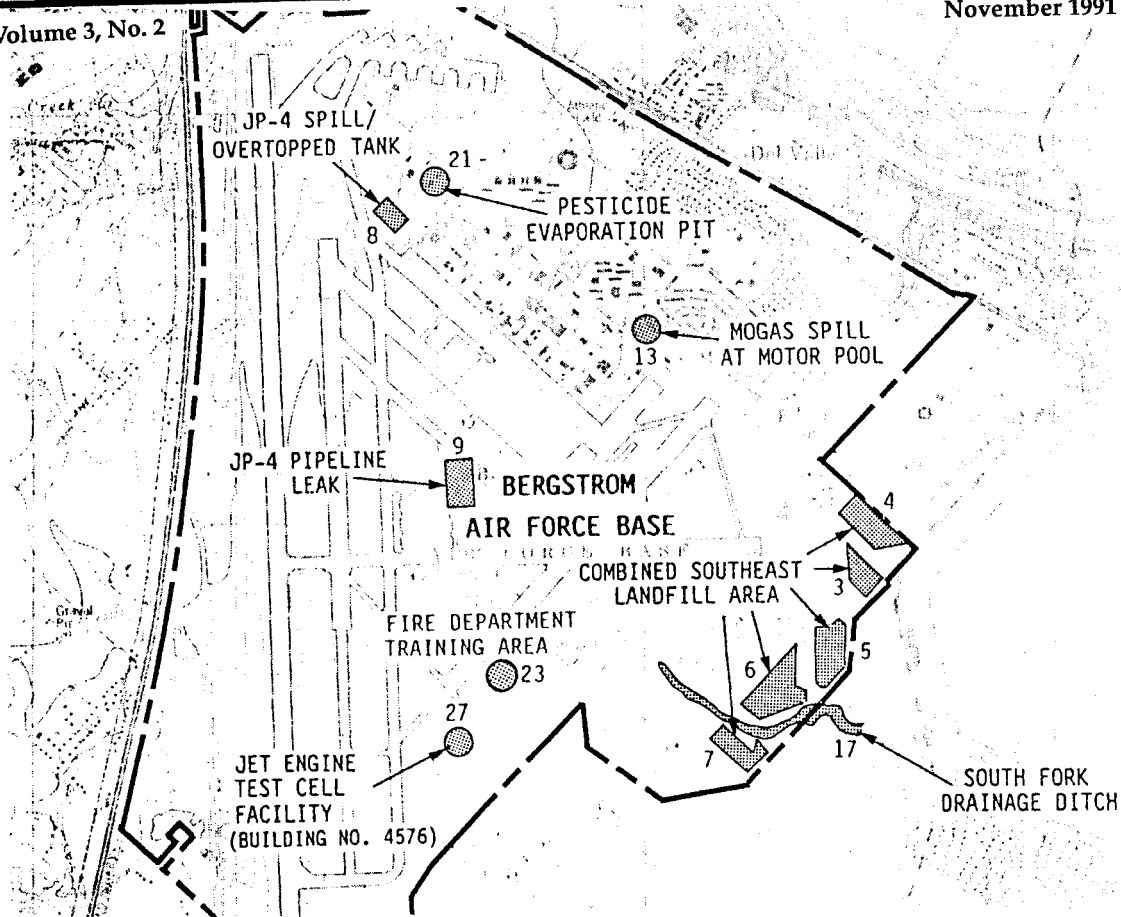


# Polemicist

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

Volume 3, No. 2

November 1991



## Inside Polemicist...

Chastisements.....2

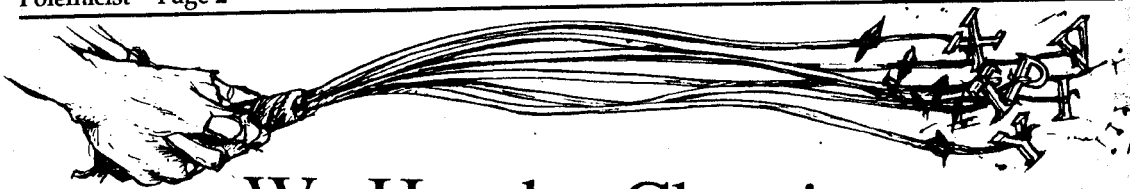
Allan Gribben as Job, Jeremiah and Jesus  
Polemicist goes to the NAS convention, to find Allan Gribben leading the charge against the radicals at the MLA and the University.....3

George Kozmetsky and Friends  
In the early eighties George played for big stakes with Milken, Fred Carr and others.....4

Toxic Clean-Up at Bergstrom AFB  
The Military will hold a public meeting to take input on the issue of toxic contamination, and we will have a few questions .....6

Graduate Tuition Hikes.....7

El Salvador Update.....8



# 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'

## Dinesh D'Souza Author, liar

In an Oct. 26 debate with UT associate professor of English Evan Carton at Southwestern College in Goergetown, Dinesh D'Souza angrily and repeatedly denied ever having accepted funds from the right-wing Olin Foundation to finance the writing and promoting of his book *Illiberal Education*. He insisted after the debate that he had financed the writing and research of the book with his "modest salary" as a research fellow at the conservative American Enterprise Institute, and with an advance from the publisher.

This was a bald lie. In the acknowledgements to *Illiberal Education*, D'Souza writes, "I wish to thank... the John Olin Foundation, and its president William Simon and executive director Jim Pierson, for research support" (p. IX). According to Olin's 1988 *Annual Report*, the foundation gave Dinesh \$30,000 that year to support the writing of *The New Elite*, the working title

of *Illiberal Education* (the grant was funnelled through the Institute for Educational Affairs); and its 1990 *Report* shows that Olin granted him \$20,000 that year to promote the selling of book (funnelled through the Madison Center for Educational Affairs). In addition, Olin awarded the American Enterprise Institute, D'Souza's employer, \$50,000 in both 1989 and '90 "To support a research fellowship for Dinesh D'Souza." (See Olin's annual reports for those years.) All of these reports sit in UT's Foundation Library located in the Student Services building.

All told, this amounts to \$150,000 in Olin funds during the period when D'Souza was working on his book—\$50,000 earmarked explicitly for the project. In the context of his ability to lie in public, it isn't surprising that his book amounts to an intellectual fraud, an attempt to dress the reigning conservative agenda vis a vis today's academy—the crusade against affirmative action and curricular reform—in the measured tones of the reasonable liberal.

Perhaps Dinesh really is a liberal after all, and his denial of his funding sources stems from liberal guilt. If so, we know just the remedy: a fat check, made out to *Polemicist* magazine.

## James Duban Brown-noser, tight ass

Since James Duban insists that his termination as Honors English Committee Chair, after an extraordinarily lengthy term of office, was "political," we would like to remind our readers of Duban's real politicking over the last year or more. His speech before the University Council against the proposal on "multiculturalism" hardly constituted his first foray into the political arena.

During the E306 controversy, James Duban requested permission to teach a section of E306, declaring pointedly that in his class, "writing" would be the "main subject matter." In his later correspondence with "Dollar" Bill on this E306 section, he bragged in fact that it "dealt exclusively with the subject of writing." We wonder if every student ever and exercise took "writing" as its topic. If not, then we must conclude that James Duban's students did not write on any topic at all.

In order to assume this all important class on the topic of "writing," James Duban in his letter to Joe Kruppa on July 30, 1990, requested that someone else be assigned to teach his honors class in his place. Kruppa expressed surprise that the Honors Director would attempt to drop an Honors class at the last minute.

He wished here to sacrifice his regular duties to his political agenda. Particularly in light of his several letters to "Dollar" Bill, promoting the class and its "minority students of varied backgrounds," his agenda seemed to stretch well beyond the class itself, its students, and "writing." James Duban, above all, wished to promote his public, political position in the E306 debate in a way that would be more powerful than any simple expression of a mad program administrator.

Upon the appointment of Dr. Elizabeth Butler-Cullingford to the position, he made the true agenda clear by taking his petty complaint straight to the *Daily Texan* without speaking to either Kruppa or Cullingford. He preferred to paint himself as a "victim" rather than a colleague, and has now, along with his friend Allan Gribben, turned E306 into an unexpected "victims studies" seminar.

Clearly the victim that Duban wants us all to study is himself.



## To Our Readers:

You may have been wondering what is happening with the *Polemicist* crew these days. Rumors abound, we suspect, and we realize that only the most dedicated among you read the staff box, where we regularly outline our plans, thank our advertisers and chastise all the rest of you for giving too little money. So for once we will move important announcements to the front.

1. *Polemicist* is no longer run by students. Not that the staff has changed, but for a number of reasons we have, one after another, left the University. Some of us have graduated. Some have not. We are all broke and needed to get paying gigs. As we have said before, Scott Henson and Tom Philpott are in Austin researching and writing a book through Liberated Learning, our experiment in alternative higher education. Kathy Mitchell left graduate school to try freelance writing, but ended up employed. Ain't that always the way.

Many of our current writers have joined the paper through Liberated Learning and have never been full

time UT students. We think this is just fine, but would encourage students to come forward—the University is not a separate universe, and we have always hoped that Liberated Learning and *Polemicist* could be a place to think and write about the connections between UT and other political units in Texas and the U.S. It does mean, however, that we needed to find another printer.

2. *Polemicist* has moved its production out to the *Round Rock Leader*. Before hundreds of you chastise us for this, given war-related concerns over editorial freedom at the *Leader*, let us explain briefly. We considered the move months ago and called Round Rock to enquire about the reporter they fired during the war. After discussing the incident with the managing editor, we decided to stay with TSP, because we just couldn't decide who to blame. Now, we need to change, and the *Leader* is the closest and most affordable printer. If we hear of any further problems there, we can take our account to Smithville. We hope, however, to develop a good relationship with our new presspeople.

3. *Polemicist* really needs your donations—don't

you dare stop reading! All of you who read the magazine and did not come to our last (and least) benefit—SEND MONEY! Although ad sales account for most of our revenue, we cannot continue to pay open records requests, laserprinting, photos and other expenses out of pocket.

In sum, it costs nearly \$1000 per issue to put out *Polemicist*. This does not include Liberated Learning expenses (rent, the press, etc.) which have a separate budget and separate funding. We generate between \$400 and \$700 through ad sales each issue, and the rest must come from our generous readers and our benefactors. Over the summer we received a god-send donation of \$300 to help put out the September issue [we thank our friends very much], but the losses on the last issue have left us with nothing but rubber bouncing check cover research costs.

If you want to read this magazine, it needs your support. Send money or call us to advertise. Our address is the staff box.

Report from the NAS Conference

# Allan Gribben as Job, Jeremiah and Jesus

By Tom Philpott

Armed only with a tape recorder and a borrowed jacket and tie, I attended the National Association of Scholars' (NAS) annual conference in Minneapolis, Minnesota Oct. 18-21. The conferences' speeches and seminars, predictably, were larded thickly with right-wing cant and cliché; the usual polemics against campus diversity, "politicization," and radicalism abounded. Of most immediate interest to the UT community was the figure cut by former English professor Allan Gribben, self-styled victim of and crusader against the alleged "political correctness" movement reported to dominate campuses.

Indeed, the NAS showcased the wisdom and experience of Gribben, who resigned as a professor in UT's English department last fall after launching hysterical attacks against the proposed revision of English 306. Gribben, now chair of English and philosophy at an adjunct to Auburn University, is perhaps most notorious at UT for his letter to a wealthy alumnus at the height of the E 306 controversy that called for: (1) splitting the English department into two entities; (2) putting it into receivership indefinitely (to be run not out of the liberal arts college, but rather out of Provost Gerhard Fonken's office); and (3) "barring the accomplishment of these steps," the abolition of freshman and sophomore English. (See the September, 1990 *Polemicist*) He later defended this undeniably extreme prescription as "ingenious."

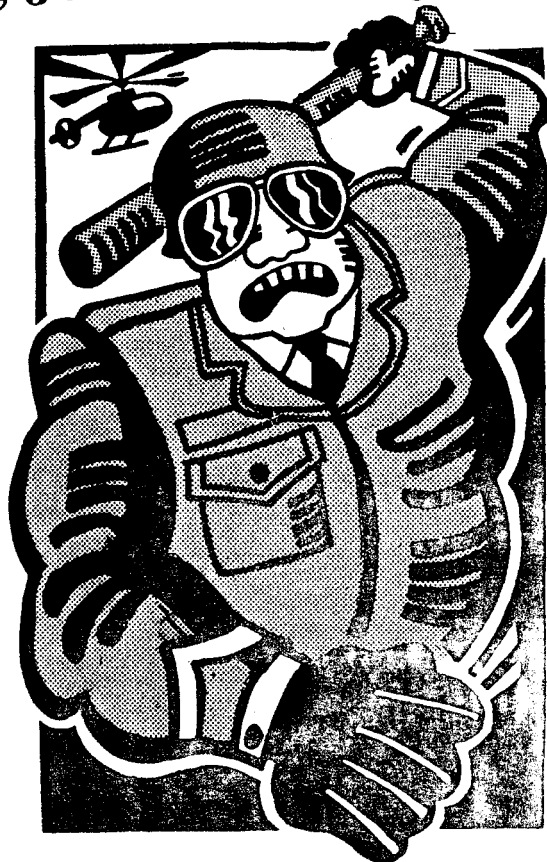
After "victory" in the E 306 battle, Gribben resigned his full professorship and accepted a payout to work at Auburn, declaring he had been "driven out" of UT by the "whispers in the halls" of his fellow faculty. Such self-proclaimed martyrdom seems to have impressed the NAS, who allowed Gribben to lead two seminars at this year's conference: one entitled "Organizing the Academic Resistance," and another which focused on the need to start an alternative group to the Modern Languages Association.

mental wars: professor Maxine Hairston and associate professor John Ruskiewicz. In his talk, Gribben stumbled in and out of the roles of Job, and Jesus: here the hapless victim of mysterious forces, and now the triumphant savior of students and redeemer of the academic fallen. His style even invited a third biblical allusion: to the prophet Jeremiah. Indeed most of his presentation could properly be called a jeremiad, a long lament evocative of the one launched by Jeremiah in the old Testament.

Never in his spiel did he cogently define what he meant by the words "they" or "the opposition"—terms he used repeatedly—but his allies present knew what he meant: the African Americans, Marxists, feminists, gays and lesbians who in their eyes have committed a kind of putsch in today's academy. Gribben began by assessing the potential for alliance between "the academic resistance" and the following five groups—administrators, students, alumni, taxpayers, and politicians.

Administrators, according to Gribben, have the power to restrain reform movements—and can sometimes summon the power to use it. A self-proclaimed champion of academic freedom, Gribben opened his rant with the complaint that academic departments operate with "almost complete autonomy," with "few checks and balances" from administrations that are "cowed by the presence of the AAUP [American Association of University Professors]"—a group that promotes academic freedom and has criticized UT's handling of E 306. But Gribben doesn't despair of this sorry state of affairs, because, he argues, "you should not give up on administrators ... they are relatively capable of courageous thinking." Gribben later revealed the source of this courage: When large alumni donors demand something, administrators are often only too happy to appease them.

Students are also useful allies because they have freedoms shared by nei-



—The Academic Resistance Fights On

**He learned in the midst of the battle that UT receives only a third of its budget from the state, and gets a large portion of it from donations and corporate research grants. This epiphany helped him overcome his reluctance to deal with alumni.**

**Job Discovers Powerful Allies**  
The seminar on Academic Resistance, attended by some 40 professors, amounted to a lengthy Gribben screed on E 306 and his ensuing resignation from UT. Among the attendees were two of Gribben's former English department colleagues and fellow veterans of depart-

ment administrators or faculty. He shifted into an apology for having involved students in the E 306 fight, something he was "loathe" to do and did only with "grave misgivings." (In the discussion following his talk Gribben ruminated darkly on the ethical implications of "using students," explaining that "the left

always does it.") He argued that "one almost has to give up on graduate students," because "only five or six registered rather tepid concern about this course out of 185 graduate students" in the English department. Note that it was the academic freedom of these same graduate students for which Gribben and his allies were allegedly fighting.

Undergraduates, however, are a different story. Despite his misgivings about enlisting them, Gribben reported that the student right played a crucial role in the E 306 victory, since "students can do things that faculty really can't," such as "say things about a person and express their opinions frankly."

The idea that tenured faculty can't "express their opinions frankly" is, of course, absurd; and Gribben and his allies expressed their opinions frankly indeed, calling the course "Marxism 306," declaring it an exercise in "thought control," to point out some of the more hysterical vitriol on their part. This, however, is Gribben warming up to the role of Job, mysteriously and spectacularly punished, a role we will see more of

later.

Next, Gribben described the role of alumni in the battle, whose help he also enlisted "very reluctantly" (this claim despite his article in the Fall 1989 NAS journal *Academic Questions*, in which Gribben called for enlisting alumni in departmental battles). He said that he learned in the midst of the battle that UT receives only a third of its budget from the state, and gets a large portion of it from donations and corporate research grants. This epiphany helped him overcome his reluctance to deal with alumni, that crucial financial cash cow to the University, and, as he declared, "we were soon into this with alumni in full cry."

Gribben speculated that as a result of his taking the E 306 struggle to wealthy alumnus, "the forthcoming budget will reveal that the college [of liberal arts] was harmed in the long run by this dispute. Certainly a lot of alumni wrote me and called me and said, 'When they [the liberal arts college] contacted me this year, I told them. Not a dime, not a dime

...continued on page 10

Despite the recent publicity surrounding the failure of Fred Carr's Executive Life Insurance Company, most of the transactions that may have actually helped push it over the edge remain obscured by time and by the rapid merger or failure of many of the other companies involved. Some (not very many) of the players from the early years have gone to jail.

Others, like George Kozmetsky, the UT System's chief financial advisor and "visionary" head of the Institute for Constructive Capitalism here on campus, are still making money, although they no longer have their ally Fred Carr and his money to back their ventures. In the early eighties, the two may have regularly parked stock in the insurer's portfolio, then paid for it with notes that probably never got paid after the 1988 collapse of United Savings. Holders of Executive Life insurance policies now just keep waiting to find out what kind of a retirement they will eventually get out of the morass of junk bonds, old-growth forest (Hurwitz's MAXAM) and empty office buildings that clog the company's books.

While Michael Milken whines from his jail cell that his six felonies should be forgiven because he brought to his co-operation with prosecutors "the same energy and intensity that characterizes his work" (as quoted in *Barron's*), George Kozmetsky and his good friend Houston developer Charlie Hurwitz are still down here in Texas advising and developing. *Polemicist*, ever fascinated by the ways in which UT's money manager manages his own money, has decided to look into some Kozmetsky, Hurwitz—Executive Life connections from the rock-'em sock-'em eighties.

The story begins with a most unlikely player, the Simplicity Pattern Company—makers of those pin-on paper clothes patterns that have been the bane of every young girl ever exposed to Home Economics in the public schools.

### Rending the Fabric

Managers of Simplicity Pattern, a sewing pattern maker since 1948, watched without any real concern a slow-down in pattern sales in the latter part of the sev-

liquid assets would certainly carry it through any hard times. Completely debt-free, management invested its cash savings so successfully that the increases in investment income had already offset any troubles faced by the industry. Until, that is, the corporate raiders arrived.

The list reads like a Wall Street cliché. In 1981 and 1982 raiders Victor Posner, Carl Icahn, the London-based Graham Ferguson Lacey, and the Texas home team of Kozmetsky and Hurwitz vied for access to that \$90 million pie.

the company, Lacey began to arrange a merger between Simplicity and his own company, NCC—a merger which involved the transfer of more than \$35 million of Simplicity money to various NCC projects.

In October of 1981, Carl Icahn, already a veteran of ten such raids, filed papers with the SEC that indicated his control over 13.3% of Simplicity stock and stopped the merger. In a related move, an Icahn affiliate offered to buy out the company although it owned no stock at the time.

to sell his Simplicity holdings to satisfy British debts. Who should arrive to save the bankrupt raider but our friends George Kozmetsky and Charles Hurwitz, then officers of two closely related companies, MCO Holdings and Federated Development. Both firms purchased portions of the Simplicity stock from Lacey, and in May 1982 Hurwitz and Kozmetsky elected themselves CEO and Director, respectively. As one of their first acts, they doubled the salary of the Directors, according to Simplicity's 1983 proxy, and assigned Hurwitz a \$100,000 annual salary.

Shortly thereafter, Fred Carr of Executive Life quietly sold his share of the company back to the new Simplicity management, also at a higher than market price. Carr could mark a substantial profit for temporarily parking the stock, although he did not take any cash when he returned it. Instead, Hurwitz gave him a note of \$14.5 million that would not come due until 1989. This was the second such note to Executive Live by Hurwitz. Less than a year before Fred Carr returned a chunk of MCO stock to Hurwitz for a note of \$17.6 million. Since most of Hurwitz's assets sank with United Savings in 1988, we infer that these notes are among the many bad debts on Executive Life's balance sheet. We could not find out such details from the public record, however.

# Kozmetsky's Raiders: The Early Years

By Kathy Mitchell

### White Knights With a Dark Past

Federated Development, as reported in the May 1990 *Polemicist*, resurfaced to purchase Simplicity after some trouble with the Texas State Securities Board over its purchase of SMR Holdings, of which it had been a subsidiary. The Board declared the merger legal, but noted that the shareholders of Federated would probably not benefit from their assumption of a \$10.8 million debt from Hurwitz's investment company, including a \$5 million note that had been backed by Hurwitz personally.

Charles Hurwitz had also previously faced regulators on insider trading charges. In 1970 he took a new company, Summit Group Inc., public and in a related transaction artificially inflated the price of another security, according to SEC charges. He agreed to settle the case out of court. In 1974, the New York Superintendent of Insurance declared an insurance subsidiary of Summit Group insolvent and charged Hurwitz and other executives with fraud, mismanagement, and breach of fiduciary duty in the insurance company's collapse. Although the state of New York eventually dropped the charges, the case lasted until 1979.

George Kozmetsky, namesake and one time Dean of UT's Graduate School of Business and an officer of MCO, was himself embroiled in insider trading charges at the time he and Hurwitz made their bid for Simplicity. A Director of the military contractor and computer firm

With the help of a now familiar crew of facilitators (Michael Milken, Fred Carr and Saul Steinberg of the Reliance Group), one raider followed another until Hurwitz and Kozmetsky, the white knights of the corporate chess game, wound up with the prize.

The series of quid-pro-quo began with a proxy fight for control of the Board of Directors between Lacey, CEO of a British energy company called NCC Energy Ltd., and veteran raider Carl Icahn.

Lacey, raider number one, had gained

Lacey, in order to keep control, paid a \$5 million non-refundable deposit to an Australian ally who then offered to purchase Icahn's stock at a price higher than the market. In November, Icahn announced that he would sell his shares to the Australian firm and allow the merger to proceed. Lacey had offered him \$14.50 per share for stock that traded at \$9.00, and he walked off with a cool \$2.7 million. His ally withdrew the tender offer without ever having purchased a single share. Milken received a percentage on this, his second series of transactions over Simplicity.

In order to fund the deal, Lacey borrowed the \$5 million from a company called Cook International. As a term of the loan, Cook agreed to purchase 631,000 Simplicity shares on the open market. The proxy reveals that Cook bought the stock from Drexel, Burnham Lambert for \$6.8 million—then passed them on to NCC's bank as collateral for a line of credit. Once again Simplicity money flowed into Drexel Coeffers.

Meanwhile, Fred Carr of Executive Life reported to the SEC that he now owned a 10% interest in the now-hot clothes-pattern company.

On March 30, 1982, in a surprise move, the British government forced Lacey into bankruptcy and required him

control of 20% of Simplicity's stock in early 1981 with the help of Michael Milken, Victor Posner and unknown company insiders, all of whom received generous premiums for their good work, according to *The Wall Street Journal* (4/23/82). Placing himself at the helm of

### A Director of the military contractor and computer firm Datapoint, Kozmetsky faced charges in April of 1982 that he and other Datapoint officers and directors had falsely reported overly optimistic 1981 earnings, dumped their personal holdings at a premium price, and then later informed the market that the company was in trouble.

enties. The new woman of the eighties, it seemed, was not as interested in making her own clothes after a long day at her service-sector job.

Although its share price dropped slightly on the New York stock exchange, the small firm's \$90 million in cash and

Datopoint, he faced charges in April of 1982 that he and other Datopoint officers and directors had falsely reported overly optimistic 1981 earnings, dumped their personal holdings at a premium price, and then later informed the market that the company was in trouble.

**“Mr. Hurwitz, you come at the end of a long list of people suddenly interested in the pattern business.”**

Kozmetsky et. al. eventually faced 19 separate suits by shareholders and an SEC lawsuit charging that Datopoint violated a series of corporate disclosure rules. Without pleading guilty, Datopoint officers and directors consented in 1984 to an order barring them from “future violations of the Securities Exchange Act and SEC rules.” Kozmetsky eventually settled out of court in 1989 the several shareholder suits that named him personally.

Simplicity shareholders, therefore, hardly exalted in their white knight. Said one small shareholder of the company to Hurwitz at the first meeting of the new board of directors, “Mr. Hurwitz, you come at the end of a long list of people suddenly interested in the pattern business.” At that meeting Hurwitz piously promised his new company that no Simplicity money would be invested in MCO or its affiliates.

**Sweetening the Bitter Pill**

Hurwitz didn't break that promise, but he did create new patterns of behavior for Simplicity. In something of a departure from past practice, Simplicity began to purchase real estate and sugar companies. In April of 1983, for example, Hurwitz charged into a buyout of Amstar, a pro-

ducer of sweeteners. Purchasing stock for \$28.6 million from Simplicity's coffers, Hurwitz became Amstar's largest shareholder. In a now familiar pattern, Executive Life also began to quietly purchase Amstar stock. Amstar, to protect itself from the assault, sought a leveraged buyout and subsequently went private, paying both Carr and Hurwitz a premium for their stock.

In the same month, a few days later, Simplicity bought a troubled department store chain called Twin Fair, whose sales business had evaporated leaving nothing but commercial property—empty or rented department stores. Simplicity loaned \$12.5 million to MCO to purchase stock in Twin Fair, and bought another \$25 million itself, according to proxies. Hurwitz, as the new owner, appointed himself CEO and took control of the properties. According to *The Wall Street Journal*, Simplicity made the purchase in order to give management freer reign over the company's real estate. In fact, Hurwitz and Kozmetsky quickly used the Simplicity money pumped into Twin Fair to satisfy their taste for sweets once again.

In early 1984, Twin Fair began purchasing stock in Holly Sugar, while MCO and Federated attempted to buy out the pineapple company Castle and Cook. Castle and Cook sued in 1984 to prevent the take-over, according to the documents filed with the court, and eventually paid the Hurwitz gang cash to rescind the bid—which means that MCO and Federated had “greenmailed” Castle and Cook. Holly Sugar also fought the take-over attempt, and eventually repurchased its stock at more than ten dollars per share over the price paid by Twin Fair. In addition, Holly promised Hurwitz and Kozmetsky that if anyone offered an even higher per share price, it would pay them the difference for the next ten years.

Hurwitz, enamored of such sweet

deals, finally consolidated his holdings under the name MAXXAM in mid 1984. Rich with their windfall profits, Hurwitz and Kozmetsky began their assault on Pacific Lumber, with the help of now old friends Fred Carr and Michael Milken. The Pacific Lumber story, chronicled in this magazine last year, would be the largest and most egregious chapter in this long and sordid history.

Interestingly, even as some of their old associates—Milken and Boesky most notoriously—do light time in white-collar prison, Kozmetsky and Hurwitz roam the streets of the corporate world freely. The UT System even rewards Kozmetsky's financial acrobatics by employing him as its chief economic advisor. In an ironic footnote to Kozmetsky's economic gamesmanship, the IC2 Institute last year released a study showing that Americans have begun to lose their faith in Capitalism. While Kozmetsky attributes the changing attitudes to a “society in flux” in which people need time to understand new processes, we wonder if instead most people understand only too well—one of the companies directed by Kozmetsky laid off 5000 people in 1987. Did he ask them what they thought of the “new process?” It looks a lot like the old process to us.

The study defined capitalism as “a dynamic ideology that allows individuals to create and retain wealth through creative endeavors,” and further notes that only 35% of those surveyed could define the concept adequately. Again, we have to wonder what definitions were provided by the other 65%. If capitalism is a place where a few men gamble with the production of all the others, then it's no wonder that Kozmetsky's “venturing” no longer appeals.

The Art and Science of Entrepreneurship

FINANCING AND MANAGING FAST-GROWTH COMPANIES

THE VENTURE CAPITAL PROCESS

CREATIVITY

**NEW BUSINESS**

IC2 Titles on Innovative Management

**Graduate Tuition—An Abuse of Executive Power**

by David Barker

Although UT CEO “Dollar” Bill Cunningham claims the process for hiking graduate student tuition is decentralized and that responsibility for the increases rests with the college deans, sources claim that Cunningham is using budget pressures to force deans to implement tuition increases.

Cunningham's assurances to graduate student leaders that students will be adequately involved in the increase decisions are drained of meaning by his refusal to define the terms of that involvement and his statement that graduate students cannot expect to see the proposals as they reach his desk.

Graduate students, angered by the CEO's hollow promises, are taking the issue into their own hands. A rally on the South Mall on October 24 drew about 300 protesters. The rally was co-

sponsored by the Graduate Professional Association, the Council of Graduate Students, and Students Against War.

GPA is spearheading plans for an even larger coalition of groups to carry out investigations into the impact of tuition increases and the way in which past increases have been spent, and to plan future actions in the wake of the rally. A GPA committee is currently planning an action dubbed the Texas Tea Party—to embody the principle of “no tuition without representation”—to be held on the South Mall November 6 and 7. Graduate students will have the opportunity to make public their roles in the University by displaying research contributions in the form of published articles, by holding graduate seminars or discussion groups in the open, and by teaching classes in their roles as teaching assistants and assistant instructors.

Without mass involvement, the in-

creases will almost certainly be implemented. Several colleges are planning to double tuition, as was done in the colleges that increased graduate tuition last year. Moreover, in several of those colleges, and in preliminary proposals being discussed this year, graduate tuition will be tied to the undergraduate rate such that every increase of the undergraduate rate will be matched automatically by a doubled increase in graduate tuition.

While this process may appear to put graduate tuition rates back in the hands of the legislature in an indirect way, the legislature will in fact not be free to affect the impact their increases on the base rate will have on ever escalating graduate rates. This mechanism leads to an ever-widening gap between undergraduate and graduate tuition which the legislature has no control over and which graduate students, because the changes are institutionalized, will have

almost no opportunity to fight them.

At the core of graduate students' concerns a process ignores their own needs and the quality of their programs. Undergraduate tuition rates are set by an accountable body. The boards of regents of a university, in particular at UT-Austin, bear no such accountability. But the boards must be prodded to exercise the franchise given them over graduate tuition in a responsible way. The only guarantee of that responsible action is open, democratic dialogue with the affected students and that cannot exist within the corporate paradigm that Cunningham imposes on this University.

There is no room for resignation in this campaign. The actions of this University president call forth the need for a strong and willful statement of our opposition to capricious and unjust tuition hikes at this University.

# Bergstrom's Toxic Clean-Up

## The Military Takes PR Lessons Before Town Meeting



By Karen Heikkala

Bergstrom Air Force Base's toxic clean up effort, now into its eighth year, will finally be opened for public scrutiny and comment on November 4th, at the LBJ Library from 7-10 pm. The Bergstrom effort began in 1983, when the Department of Defense initiated a world-wide operation designed to identify and clean up environmental problems on its bases. The military has kept the operation under a tight wrap, and only this summer has the national press reported on it. Despite articles in *The New York Times* and *Newsweek* this past summer, the Austin press has utterly failed to localize the issue.

At next week's meeting, Bergstrom personnel will solicit the public's concerns and comments on the base's environmental record before it's projected closure and reuse. Bergstrom's public-relations office claims that the military will take citizen's input seriously as it redrafts its new Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) on reuse options.

The low key publicity for the event, however, does not bode well for its effectiveness. Austin's own Environmental Affairs Department had heard nothing about it until *Polemicist* called them, and asked that we pass the word along as we worked in our story. In preparation for the upcoming meeting, *Polemicist* asked the Public Affairs Officer at Bergstrom to outline the current clean-up effort there. While he tried to appear helpful, he could

not reveal any public information. "It's not that we don't want to talk to you. It's just that we have to make sure it's o.k. to talk to you."

Apparently the Colonel in charge of the clean-up is out of town. And where is he? At a two week training designed to teach military officials how to deal with the public about their clean up efforts. The colonel will be in PR training until two days after their public meeting on the 4th is over.

### Watching the Waste

Pentagon officials and Bergstrom personnel have assured the city that they will clean up any known environmental problems, as well as any unknown problems discovered after they leave. Lenny Siegel, military coordinator of the National Toxic Campaign, however, notes that "the Federal government's track record for cleaning up is uneven around the country. Rather than always clean up sites, they sometimes have contained them, or covered them up. The bottom line is for citizen's groups to know what's out there and hold them accountable."

And there's plenty to scrutinize at Bergstrom AFB. According to Bergstrom's initial Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) on Proposed Base Closure, put together back in 1983, the Air Force identified 27 active, or potentially active areas with hazardous materials spilled or buried. Yet, in its more recent study, Bergstrom claims that only

seven sites need cleaning, although it does not explain exactly what it has done with the rest.

The original study's sites included pipelines to radioactive sites, and containers and spills of petroleum fuels, solvents, radium, and pesticides. (See table below for all 27 sites.) Since Bergstrom started recording hazardous material disposals only 15 to 20 years ago, there are likely to be more old chemical spills and gasoline plumes still undiscovered. Furthermore, until this month, Bergstrom had been on the EPA's Resource Conservation and Recovery Act "significant non-complier" list, reserved for polluters that ignore continual warnings about storage tank maintenance and hazardous material handling practices. According to Samuel Coleman of the EPA, it is a status reserved for high-priority violations.

### Behind Closed Doors

In August of 1990, *Newsweek* exposed the military's toxic disposal practices. It pointed out that "the military produces more tons of hazardous waste each year than the top five U.S. chemical companies combined." And it went on to call the Department of Defense, "America's most pervasive and protected polluter."

According to *Newsweek*, the military has for years enjoyed exemption from many of the environmental laws which regulate other hazardous-waste-producing industries. They have dumped carcinogens, acids, solvents, heavy metals and other toxic materials into carelessly constructed landfills and pits, and brushed off investigators. Protected by law from adequate enforcement measures, military officials easily covered up their reckless contamination throughout the seventies. The pleas of state agencies and environmental groups were largely ignored.

With the adoption of the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act (CERCLA) in 1980, State agencies began to gain some leverage over the Department of Defense in order to enforce their environmental regulations. But according to Jennifer Yezaek, an aide to Senator Benston, the law has been the focus of legal disputes, and it never in fact gave states the right to fine federal facilities for non-compliance. In late October, the Senate passed its own version of the Federal Facilities Compliance Act, intended to put some teeth into CERCLA. The new law will effectively allow states to levy fines against federal facilities that violate EPA regulations, if it make its way through the final committee process.

CERCLA regulations instituted some military clean-up. The Department of

Defense (DoD) did establish its own program in 1983 called the Installation and Restoration Program (mentioned above), which calls for a three phase process for identifying and restoring potentially contaminated sites. But, in traditional military fashion, officers have failed to inform the general public about this major project.

Indeed, not until this summer did news of this operation, the biggest engineering project DoD has ever undertaken, reach the pages of *The New York Times*. The department has promised to identify all hazardous sites strung out across their 25 million acres of land holdings and promised to remedy the situation. As of August 1991, says *The Times*, DoD has investigated 17,500 sites and identified 11,000 in need of restoration, and is still looking. To date, the Pentagon's Office of Inspector General estimates the cost could eventually be \$100 billion to \$200 billion, including the foreign bases.

### The Money Trail

Despite these vast commitments to environmental spending, Friends of the Earth estimates that environmental spending for military bases for the fiscal year 1992 will actually be closer to \$2.876 billion. Testing and monitoring sites is very expensive. *The Times* points out that drilling a well to take samples of polluted groundwater can cost \$200,000. One soil sample can cost \$500-\$5,000.

Ironically, many of the contractors who helped create the mess are getting rich on the spoils. Bechtel National Inc., which built military installations for years for the government is now getting much of its revenue from helping to clean them

---

**In 1983, the Air Force identified 27 active, or potentially active areas with hazardous materials spilled or buried. Now they report many fewer, but its not clear whether the sites have been cleaned.**

---

up. Raytheon Co., famous for the Patriot missile, is also looking at opportunities in the expanding market. Military-industrial officials told *The Times* that "the scattered environmental offices were not sharing information well, were suffering at times from duplicated efforts, and might not be supervising research or contractors closely enough. Unless such

problems are corrected, they said huge sums of money could be wasted."

Walker, Haydell and Associates Engineering Firm is on contract to retest the sites that have been identified as toxic, including Bergstrom. Radian is also under contract with Bergstrom. Engineers dug several test wells and continue to monitor them, and have removed pesticides from an evaporation pit. So far, although they appear to have declared several sites "clean" and cleared them from further study, it is not clear how much cleaning has been completed. The public meeting will provide us with the space to ask exactly what we get and how much we pay for it.

### Rivers of Jet Fuel

Bergstrom's phase-one study found 27 sites that needed attention. By the release of a phase-two Installation and Restoration Program study, enacted by Radian Engineering in 1989, the number had dwindled to seven. Field inspection documents clearing the other twenty sites were unavailable for *Polemicist* review. Many of the sites which remain on the list involve jet fuel and gasoline spills that have soaked into the ground or drained into Onion Creek. Here is a list of the seven remaining sites:

1. In 1975 2,000-8,000 gallons of jet fuel spilled at site JP-4 and none were ever recovered. Groundwater samples contained carcinogenic chemicals. Soil samples found an organic vapor plume existing beneath tanks and appearing to be migrating southeast and southwest.

2. A jet fuel pipeline leak left contaminants like benzene, xylene and chlorobenzene in groundwater nearest the low point drain.

4. Although no contamination appeared in soil or groundwater near the Jet Engine Test Cell Facility, contamination levels rose well above EPA maximums in a well approximately 400 feet from the site.

5. Bergstrom technicians have removed pesticide sludge from the Pesticide Evaporation Pit and steam-cleaned it, but they have not assessed the impact on the groundwater.

6. At the Motor Pool, groundwater showed traces of the principal constituents of gasoline, and in the South Fork Drainage Ditch itself analysts found Benzene in the surface water as well as other high priority toxic pollutants in the stream sediment. However, because the ditch is merely a pathway for contaminants, Bergstrom decided to discontinue study of this site.

7. Five contaminated landfills had customarily been used for waste disposal from all the industrial and residential base operations, and Air Force officials don't know if the landfills were constructed with liners on the sides or bottoms to prevent seepage. Wastes include "high-priority pollutants such as tetrachloroethylene and trichloroethene"—which are both carcinogenic. A field inspection by the City's Environmental and Conservation Services Department notes that "past practices were to push debris piles as close to the drainage way as possible, creating abnormally steep slopes adjacent to the creeks."

Bergstrom AFB occupies most of the upland recharge area to an alluvial aquifer that is separated from the deeper Edwards aquifer by a clay stratum, known as the Taylor marl. Discharges from Bergstrom flow via the South Fork Drainage Ditch into Onion Creek, or settle into the aquifer. Onion Creek, a high-quality aquatic life water supply (under Texas Water Commission standards) and a recreation area, receives approximately 70% of Bergstrom's runoff. In addition to petroleum hydrocarbons, the Radian study detected lead (known to cause mental impairment in children) and selenium, (linked to brain damage) in the creek's surface water and sediment.

An estimated 650-900 gallons per month of jet fuel

## Anatomy

"...none of the funds authorized to be appropriated for the National Endowment for the Arts...may be used to promote, disseminate, or produce materials which in the judgement of the NEA...may be considered obscene, including but not limited to depictions of ... homoeroticism..."—from a letter of agreement sent to NEA grant recipients

We, each of us, have our reason.  
here is mine—  
I want you to press your hands  
and lips to the canvas,  
want you to know my love—  
so that if she dies before me  
I will not be alone  
in grief.

I pull the cloth  
down from her shoulder  
so you see her  
as I see her  
undraped—I know, it is always this way,  
she has no need of it—  
the frame, the posture,  
the light arranged.

If I sign this agreement  
I consent to the betrayal  
of my own hands.  
I agree to what I will not paint,  
what I will not love,  
with the unprotected tip of each finger,  
with the unabashed tip of my tongue:

First, the skin, the integument,  
first line of defense against  
disease, and first to rise  
to my touch—  
look closely—erector pili  
muscles tense in unison  
to my tongue along her inner thigh.

Next, the parts that go  
without saying:  
no breasts, nipples, areola,  
no clitoris, no labia, minora, majora,  
no vagina, no symphysis pubis,  
anus, rectum, sphincter—all out  
of the question.

What if I said I was in love  
with her brain,  
would make love  
to each convolution, each fissure and sulci,  
to the pink and white and grey,  
was especially aroused  
by her pleasure center?  
what then, if none of this  
is allowed?

apparently drained into this ditch prior to 1982. Though the Lower Colorado River Authority staff have been testing Onion Creek water since 1982 and state they have found nothing alarming, Radian evidence suggests that problems remain.

### Pockets Full of Oil

One of the central threats to groundwater quality is Bergstrom's elaborate system of 74 underground storage tanks and the 25 above ground with a petroleum fuel capacity of 3 million gallons. The Texas Water Com-



What of the mouth, the tongue and teeth  
that nip and suck and trace?  
or the clean line of the mandible?  
no whispering music across her vocal chords,  
no breathless ache  
to her exact fingers pulling strings.

No flash electric current blue,  
no voluptuous optic nerve,  
no dilating blood vessels—  
from the rose-flush of the cheeks  
to that heaviness in her pelvis,  
no impression of tension  
no color of moan.

No counting each careful rib  
spooned by each intercostal,  
arching a perfect arc to her heart—  
no velvet chambers  
push from continuous rhythm.  
no ripple inward to the exquisite bone  
from kisses placed in her  
antibital for safekeeping.

And finally, the absolute—  
nothing organic:  
no liver,  
change one letter and it's lover,  
one lover implies another  
and here we are again—  
homoerotic.

Judith Ferguson is an Austin poet and a nurse. This poem first appeared in OUT/LOOK #11, winter 1991. New work will be published in CALYX and COMMON LIVES/LESBIAN LIVES this winter.

mission regulates the underground tanks, and Bergstrom oversees the raised tanks. In addition there is a 6,000 gallon underground tank that collects rinse water from paint stripping, considered a hazardous waste due to the heavy metals contained in it and the solvents used in the stripping process.

Radian tests showed high concentrations of total petroleum hydrocarbons in soil and ground water in a number of different sites. Where detected, rates ranged

...See Toxics page 9



# FMLN/Arena Reach Accords

By Bill Stouffer

In the past month two key events transformed the political landscape of El Salvador and moved that country back into the headlines of newspapers across the world. A round of intensive negotiations at the UN produced a surprising set of agreements on how to move towards peace and two military officers were convicted by the Salvadoran Supreme Court for the 1989 murder of six Jesuit priests. It is part of the paradox of Salvadoran history that such signs of peace should also bring about an increase in violence by the military, the death squads and the government.

## New York Accords Bring Hope of Peace

*"After eleven years of war we are at the door of a new phase in our history, a new country, a new democratic republic in the next century."*—FMLN Commander Francisco Jovel

On September 25 the FMLN and the ARENA government of El Salvador reached an historic agreement—a major step forward in the attempt to end the 11 year old civil war. Mediated directly by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, the accords broke a three month impasse in the negotiating process. The direct participation by the Secretary General helped the Cristiani government and the FMLN reach a compromise on substantive issues blocking the talks. While most hopeful observers expected the two sides to create the foundation for further negotiations at these meetings, the signing of such an important accord came as a surprise.

According to FMLN commander and negotiating team member Joaquin Villalobos the accords "institute a set of changes which are practically a revolution in El Salvador." Although he refused to participate directly in the talks, shortly before leaving New York, President Cristiani praised the accords and pre-

dicted an end to the war in 1991.

Perhaps the most important immediate result of the negotiations is the creation of a pluralistic commission to oversee the implementation of all the political agreements reached since the talks began. Through the National Commission for the Consolidation of the Peace (COPAZ), civilian society will control and participation in the changes instituted by the negotiators, including changes in the armed forces. COPAZ will include two representatives of the government (including one from the Armed Forces), two from the FMLN and one representative from each of the political parties or coalitions represented in the Assembly.

The FMLN and ARENA also agreed that the government and private landowners would distribute private properties over the constitutional limit of 600 acres to landless peasants, to respect current land tenure in FMLN zones of control, and to limit the role of the army to national defense, eliminating its current police functions. In addition to these agreements, negotiators produced a draft agreement in preparation for the dissolution of the military security forces and the creation of a National Civilian Police, which will be pluralistic and will likely include members of the FMLN.

Although most of the accords will only be implemented upon the signing of a ceasefire agreement, the Salvadoran government, the FMLN and political parties met in Mexico City on October 9 to discuss COPAZ. Delegates to the commission have been named and installed. They will be attempting to design mechanisms to implement the accords while negotiations continue on the purging of human rights violators from the army and other as yet unresolved issues.

Reactions to the accords have been enthusiastic in nearly every sector of Salvadoran society. Edgar Palacios of the Permanent Commission of the Na-

tional Debate for Peace (CPDN) congratulated the two sides for reaching an intelligent accord which establishes preeminence of political aspects over military aspects."

Ruben Zamora of the Democratic Convergence Party said a period of demilitarization of the country has begun which will be the key factor in ending the civil war. He noted that for the first time the peace process has dealt with economic and social problems such as land ownership and economic planning. Guillermo Rojas of the labour central UNTS called the dissolution of the security forces and their substitution with an independent National Police a triumph. Even members of the conservative Salvadoran business association ANEP have praised the accords as the precondition for continued economic development in the country.

## Logic Lacking in Jesuit Verdict

On September 29, an anonymous five-member jury found a colonel and a lieutenant from the Salvadoran Military School guilty of the November, 1989 murders of six Jesuit priests and two women. The other seven defendants, two officers and five soldiers from the Atlacatl battalion, were acquitted. Colonel Guillermo Benavides was found guilty in the death of the six priests, while lieutenant Yushy Rene Mendoza was blamed for the death of the priests' housekeeper and her 15-year old daughter.

The two military figures found guilty had been assigned to the Military School, responsible at that time for security in the area including the Central American University (UCA) where the murders occurred. Those found not guilty were members of the elite Atlacatl Battalion.

Because this is the first time in Salvadoran history that a top-ranking military officer has been convicted for the murder of civilians the verdict is undeniably a very important event. The nationally

televised images of eight military men seated in the dock symbolize for many Salvadorans a shift away from the absolute power of the military over the civilian society. Further, the message sent by the jury through its verdict reinforces the conviction that responsibility must be sought at higher levels, thus establishing a new frame of reference and encouraging the search for those who masterminded the killings.

Nonetheless, it is hard to deny what

**The FMLN and ARENA also agreed that the government and private landowners would distribute private properties over the constitutional limit of 600 acres to landless peasants.**

the Jesuit University of Central America has called the lack of legal and moral logic in the verdict. "In the end, we were left with a measure of truth wrested from a process which was flawed from any point of view, and the overall desire for justice largely unfulfilled." Those who actually carried out the crime were acquitted despite the fact the Nuremberg principles are part of official Salvadoran law. The message this sends to rank and file soldiers is that impunity remains intact and that human rights violations will not be prosecuted. Even more disturbing is the failure to pursue the question of responsibility farther up the chain of command despite evidence of widespread advance knowledge of the assassination plot.

There was also widespread criticism of the role of the US government in blocking a thorough investigation of the charges. While the State Department lauded the trial as an "historic achievement", Leonel Gomez, a Salvadoran with long time connections to US agencies, charged in the *Los Angeles Times* that the High Command could never have withstood international pressures on the case for eighteen months "without at least tacit support from U.S. officers and agencies." He noted that U.S. intelligence has "hundreds of full-time employees" in El Salvador and would certainly have conducted an investigation into the assassinations but has not shared that information. Finally, Gomez called on Congress to subpoena CIA officers and the MILGROUP commander "if they really want to know the truth."

## Military Launches Nationwide Offensive

The period of negotiations was also a period of stepped up military activity by

## Benefit concert

for Potable Water Project in Comunidad Rutilio Grande, EL SALVADOR

## Music by:

- Susanna Sharpe & the Samba Police
- Antonio Dionisio y Banda de La
- Wajumbe

Sponsors:  
Cent. Am. Peace Initiative, ILASSA, & CISPES

## DANCE FOR WATER!



Wed. November 6th, 8 p.m.  
LA ZONA ROSA (612 W. 4th St.)  
\$5 donation requested



the army in the communities of repatriated refugees in Chalatenango, Morazan, and in the vicinity of the Guazapa volcano. It is widely believed that these attacks are the army's response to the Jesuit trial and the prospects of demilitarization opened up by the New York Accords.

On October 6, after weeks of aerial assaults on the region, troops of the Bracamonte Battalion moved into the northern Guazapa area, occupying the repopulations along the Aguilares-Suchitoto road. Two days later the army began firing 105 mm mortars from Suchitoto toward the communities of San Antonio, La Mora and Los Almendros. At 10:00 a.m., three helicopter gunships fired rockets around the communities, partially destroying the roof of the new schoolhouse built by residents and inaugurated just a month previously. No civilian casualties were reported, but the women, children and old people in the communities are "suffering great anxiety" according to the Non-governmental Human Rights Commission.

The following day, the right wing Salvadoran daily, *Diario De Hoy* published an editorial titled, "Are They Camps of Displaced People or Forts for Future Conflicts?" The editorial denounced the presence of foreigners in "displaced camps" and referred to the communities along the Aguilares-Suchitoto as "future forts for the new phase of the war which will be initiated with the signing of a cease-fire."

Death squad activity also increased during this period marking the resistance of extreme right wing elements to any compromise or negotiated settlement as a means of bringing an end to the war. The most prominent target of death threats was Mirtala Lopez, a leader of the Christian Committee for the Displaced (CRIPDES), an organization which works with communities in Chalatenango. The first threat, delivered on September 12, warned that "just as we eliminated the Jesuits, we are committed to ending the lives of those who claim to be leaders of the FMLN-FDR's Machiavellian organizations." Lopez is scheduled to receive an international human rights award in Houston in early December.

# Toxics

...continued from page 7

from over 500 parts per million to 6,200 parts per million. The City of Austin calls for remedial action when total petroleum hydrocarbons are greater than 100 parts per million.

Charles Finch, Texas Water Commission's field inspector for the last three years notes, "Those numbers are high, but Bergstrom is getting better. Compared to the number of underground tank violations they had in the last three years they have cleaned up their act considerably."

Texas Water Commission documents of 1990 show that past violations included negligent handling of their hazardous wastes, keeping unmarked drums of unidentified pesticides and explosive wastes for long periods, maintaining storage vaults without linings, etc. At one point, the base sent 35 hazardous rinse water shipments to Texas Industries, Inc. to be used as slurry in cement.

Now, technicians in Bergstrom's restoration program have narrowed their hazardous sites down to 5, excluding the South Fork Drainage Ditch and the evaporation pesticide pit from rehabilitation, according to the Walker, Haydell

and Associates report. As already noted, the field inspection documents claiming their clean were not available to the public, and in fact the city admits that no one has really established the permanent environmental impact of these many years of solvent and fuel spills. Although the Walker is conducting further tests through well monitoring and soil samples, "the magnitude of effects on fauna, flora, and water quality where the aquifer discharges is unknown," the Walker report states.

The Airport Developmental Director's office reports that the city staff is currently creating a master plan (yet another in a time-honored Austin tradition) for Bergstrom's reuse as a city facility/airport. The city hopes that the base will be closed by 1993. However, according to staff, the master plan may or may not require the city to oversee environmental protection and renewal of the sites. The master plan will take 15-18 months to complete, and by next fall it will come before the City Council. If Austinites want to ensure that the clean-up abides by Austin water standards, then concerns about toxics must be pressed before any Council decision.

As Austinites make clear to City Council their commitment to water quality in the western hills, they must now decide whether to also fight for the quality of Onion Creek and its surrounding area. As the base closes, Del Valle

will find itself much closer to Austin than before, and the Onion Creek area will be a prime target for development. New residents and old need clean water and safe recreational areas. Come to the meeting and ask the questions that will enable Austin to use this new facility safely and well.



**6 cent copies!**

*Recycled Paper*

Newsletters, fliers, posters, cassette inserts, business cards, letterheads, envelopes



**Armadillo Pressworks**

812 W. 12th  
Austin—469-0636



Kill Your Television



**Sam's Bar-B-Que**

**2000 EAST 12th STREET  
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78702  
478-0378**

SUNDAY - THURSDAY  
10:30 AM - 3:30 AM

FRIDAY & SATURDAY  
10:30 AM - 5:00 AM

**wheatville food co-op**  
3101 Guadalupe 478-2667  
Open 9am-11pm. Every Day

# Job

...Continued from page 3

until there's an end to stuff like 306 and indoctrinating students, until professors like Allan Gribben, with very moderate politics who don't put their politics in the classroom anyway, can teach there again, not a dime." Here again is Gribben as Job, punished and scorned for his moderate views.

Gribben quickly dismissed the role of the taxpaying public, although taxpayers are "disgruntled and disgusted by what they read in *Newsweek*" about the academy—no surprise, since that magazine holds that a "New McCarthyism" has swept U.S. campuses, enforced by an unidentified band of retro-Stalinists hell-bent on mind control. Instead Gribben turned his attention directly to politicians, not as representatives but as *lawmakers*.

He said at the onset of the E 306 dispute he became "ravenous for information" on Thatcherite England, in which, he claims, "multicultural reform" within universities was "limited by political laws enacted against it." He restrained himself from calling for such a solution here, but opined that "there are voices, very intelligent voices in the academic community who think that this is never gonna stop until this goes to the state legislatures or maybe even the federal level."

He then proudly recounted his testimony before the Texas State Legislature last fall against legislation that would create multicultural requirements at UT system schools. He reported that he used E306 as an example of what politicized horrors "they" would create with such requirements. (As an aside to this section of his talk, he reminded the audience that "although we were

able to defeat this egregious course, I wasn't able to save myself, and after a four-year ostracism at the hands of students and faculty, I had to leave the school." As Job observed of God, "This is one thing, therefore I said it, He destroyeth the perfect and the wicked.")

## In the Stacks or at the Stadium?

Gribben then shifted his discussion to "potential things" that his allies in the room "may need if you ever find yourself in a protracted struggle like the one we got into." First, he declared, a successful struggle would

## The Tale of Woe

He then relapsed into complaint, lamenting bitterly and often cryptically about "leaks" to the press and the role they played in his persecution. "Be aware," he warned, "people who are of two minds, people sympathetic to the other side, can sit in on things and overhear things. Things have come to a point where this is not a children's game going on campus." (He did not know that I was sitting quietly in the room taping his screed.)

He charged that "our opponents, especially the off-campus ones, used what could only be called a smear

# He spoke in fearful, breathless tones of "journals pulsing, waiting, itching, waiting for my picture to appear"

need one or two well-connected professors willing to "network" across departmental lines. He himself was woefully inadequate in that role, as he had spent his career "wandering the stacks in the libraries" and not politicking. (The image of Gribben as an innocent academic, his head in his books, drawn by his moral integrity into political wars, is essential to his image as principled martyr.)

Next, he returned to the subject of student groups, reiterating both his reluctance and his delight in working with them. "I hate," he declared, "to get into this business of using or seeming to use surrogates" to fight his battles. He explained that he had "shied away" from students mainly because "for four years they had been used against me." (Ah, Job again)

He mentioned in particular a student group "dedicated to individual rights and quality of education"—a reference either to the Young Conservatives of Texas or Students Advocating a Valid Education, two virulently rightist groups that supported Gribben's position—with whom he found himself "passing out flyers on Saturday morning at the state football stadium during homecoming, alerting parents to the dangers of E 306." This anecdote drew delighted if nervous titters from the academics present. He concluded that his student cohorts "had their priorities straight" and "proved to be invaluable allies."

Stressing the importance of having a "sympathetic voice" on the student newspaper and a "sympathetic or neutral" student government leader, he then complained bitterly about his own situation during the E306 controversy, during which he felt haunted by UT's "very radical" student president and its "critical" newspaper editor. He didn't speculate how his fellow resistors at other campuses might plant sympathetic voices in these institutions, but the digression allowed him to express the anger he felt at the hands of leftist students and faculty, and his heroism in their ultimate defeat.

"For four years," he intoned with high seriousness, "a faction in my department and my department chair had hoped, I think, that I would be leaving and some people with various strategies really worked on me. I'd had enough. I couldn't bring that home to my family. Four years is a long time. But they had tangled with a guy who was never going to quit on E306. To me that course epitomized the kind of thing that was underway in my department."

He went on to extoll his diligence and skill in working with the press during the controversy. He gleefully described the "funneling process" for managing the press, wherein "you get little stories in the campus paper, the local paper, [and] they funnel into the state press and radio talk shows." "Where does it all

lead," he wondered aloud triumphantly, "it all leads to television!" He boasted that "we got favorable stories out of reporters who were incredibly favorable to multiculturalism." He continued: "I think it baffled our opponents that we were able to land some of the stories we did ... if you polled our opponents, they would say that somehow the press was on our side. Believe me, it didn't just happen—we worked hard to cooperate." In fact, however, the most virulently pro-Gribben stories that he was able to "land" weren't baffling at all; they came from Dallas Morning News columnist William Murchison, who's on the payroll of the Heritage Foundation, a rightist think-tank that shares funding sources with the NAS.

At any rate, Gribben went on to announce that "the press is one of the best things this nation has going for it" since it "is coming to feel that they [sic] have a stake

**Be aware of people who are of two minds, people sympathetic to the other side, who can sit in on things and overhear things. Things have come to a point where this is not a children's game going on on campus.**

in this kind of fight on campus." He quoted an unnamed Dallas newspaper columnist saying "first the campus, then the news and editorial rooms of our newspapers" would fall under the iron jackboot of leftist thought control. "If they [presumably, left fascists] punch through the campus," Gribben assured his listeners, "the press knows what kind of graduates they will get, and they're waking up."

## Great Bagels and More



### Now at Two Locations

At the Farmer's Market  
6701 Burnett Rd.  
467-1793

On the Drag  
2200 Guadalupe  
478-7655

M-Sat 7<sup>am</sup>-6<sup>pm</sup>  
Sun 10<sup>am</sup>-4<sup>pm</sup>

M-Th 7<sup>am</sup>-9<sup>pm</sup>  
F Sat 9<sup>am</sup>-6<sup>pm</sup>  
Sun 9<sup>am</sup>-4<sup>pm</sup>

Special Every Day  
El Cheapo Hunky Supreme  
Only \$2.99

technique: questioning motives, questioning a person's personal record." The "off-campus" modifier is puzzling; as Gribben himself boasts, the loudest voices in the non-student media and the alumni—surely the only significant "off-campus" force in the dispute—sided with Gribben. His fiercest critics were squarely on-campus.

"You don't have to be conspiratorially minded," he then reasoned, "to know that a tightly knit group of new-age leftists [!] would love to have any information you can give them about your activities." This is perhaps a reference to *Polemicist's* obtaining under the Open Records Act a copy of the above-mentioned letter to an alum proposing radical surgery on the English department, disclosure of which isolated Gribben even among his staunchest allies. He then spoke in fearful, breathless tones of "journals pulsing, waiting, itching, waiting for my picture to appear"—whatever that meant. "Some of my opponents," he concluded, "felt they were doing me a favor to let me walk the earth." To drive that point home, he then linked attacks from the vile UT left alternative press to a recent attempt on UT President "Dollar" Bill Cunningham's life, declaring "I think it may even be related to student left-wing targeting of him [Cunningham] in the same way" that those wild-eyed zealots targeted Gribben himself.

Now secure in his role of Job, he continued his tale of woe. "My opponents," he charged, "devised a divide-and-conquer strategy against me. I'd go into the mailroom and it was like floating on an iceberg. But John [Ruskiewicz], a UT English prof in attendance would say everyone is enormously cheerful in their greetings. It bends your mind after a while to deal with things like this.... Certain people who had shared my view point—I won't name any names—felt a warmer reception than they had in a long time." Here we get to the heart of what "forced" Gribben out of UT: His colleagues apparently didn't like him. This is what's currently hailed in the national media as the "New McCarthyism," as opposed to the original brand, wherein hundreds of tenured professors were fired—not disliked—for politically incorrect beliefs.

This led to some banal advice: He urged his fellow "resisters" to have a "spouse to come home to" during protracted struggles, and to "get away on weekends" (which Gribben couldn't do because, he revealed, he "didn't have the money"). He then lapsed into a kind of despair about the future of today's academy: "I think it's all over to a certain extent. [Which is like declaring something "pretty unique."] They own the store. I think we need to devise ways to reorganize universities or start new universities." We invite Allen Gribben to join *Liberated Learning*. His seminar on Organizing the Academic Resistance would be well attended we're certain.

But we might find we need to place strict limits on his departmental autonomy, a concept which we know he fully supports.

### Jesus Triumphant

But his brief despair didn't preclude the idea of a saviour—one just man against the vulgar herd—who through the strength of his refusals and moral superiority could stem the awful tide. He reasoned that "even if we can't win in the immediate future, because the doctrines and their advocates have become too entrenched, we can still prevent a complete takeover." He then thundered, addressing to himself: "As long as there's one person who says, 'No! I dissent from that, let me show the press, let me show people what this amounts to, then they have not completely taken over the American academic world and [sic] lays the groundwork for some future liberation of the university.'" This is Gribben as Christ triumphant, martyring himself for the future good.

This led to a diatribe about how left-wing academics have "patiently spent more than a decade laying the ground-

Next, Gribben took predictable potshots against that "powerful combination, feminism and Marxism" and lambasted "leftists [who] are convinced that bonafide racists, sexists, and homophobics are nestled among our faculty, staff, and students." (Where could they have possibly gotten that idea!) He then posited the idea that these deluded left activists, witting under the cogent critique of the likes of Gribben, "are probably feeling what the corrupt church officials felt at the beginnings of the first stirrings of church reform toward the end of the middle ages and the beginning of the Renaissance. They tried to pound down the first reformers"—thus raising the amusing image of Gribben as Young Man Luther.

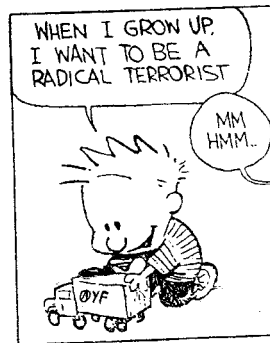
He then unequivocally declared victory in the E 306 case and urged his listeners, "If you prevail, say so. I did." He concluded by exhorting them to "keep your eye [sic] on the prize," and to "enjoy your links to the great resistance movements throughout history, [such as] people in the Eastern bloc ... who had the audacity to tell Russia, 'Enough! There are better ways.'"

**"You don't have to be conspiratorially minded," he then reasoned, "to know that a tightly knit group of new-age leftists would love to have any information you can give them about your activities."**

work for ... journals like *Radical Teacher* [!] about how to introduce socialism in the classroom, [and] creating organizations and conferences," while the right has presumably, like Gribben, "wandered the library stacks." He said: "We shouldn't be expected overnight to seize that success from them; they have carefully laid the preparations for the successful coup that is now taking place."

This reflects ignorance, historical amnesia or outright deception. The current strand of conservatism activism on campus began in the '50s with the founding of Young Americans for Freedom and the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, both formed by William F. Buckley's set and both flourishing in the '90s; and it resurged in the early and mid '80s with the birth of Accuracy in Academia, the Institute for Educational Affairs, and the NAS itself, to name a few—all established groups well-funded by the same right-wing foundations. The obscure *Radical Teacher* and campus seminars on cultural studies don't quite compare.

Thus Gribben ended, to the thunderous applause of the rapt audience. The discussion afterwards showed that his listeners—and by extension, the NAS—took him quite seriously and planned to put his advice into practice. Like Job and Jesus before him, this unjustly punished man, this courageous crusader against injustice, seems to have found a kind of redemption and vindication at last.



## Polemicist,

is an alternative 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 desparately need an answering machine—our loaner had to be returned.**

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

**Polemicist—Liberated Learning**  
504 W. 24th St. #28  
Austin, Tx. 78705  
512-478-8204  
Evenings are Best

We thank our advertisers—The Bagel Manufactory, Waterloo Records, Nomadic Notions, Sam's BBQ, Wheatsville Coop, Shiner, Armadillo Pressworks, Europa Books, Antone's Records—for their continued support. Shop with these people! If your favorite business does not advertise with *Polemicist*, stage an elaborate protest.

**Pad Your Resume!**  
*Polemicist* seeks student editor and ad manager

**Editor**  
Kathy Mitchell

**Contributors**  
Scott Henson  
Bill Stouffer  
Tom Philpott  
Karen Heikkala  
Tim Dunn  
David Barker  
Judith Ferguson