



# Polemicist

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

## **E306 Attacked:**

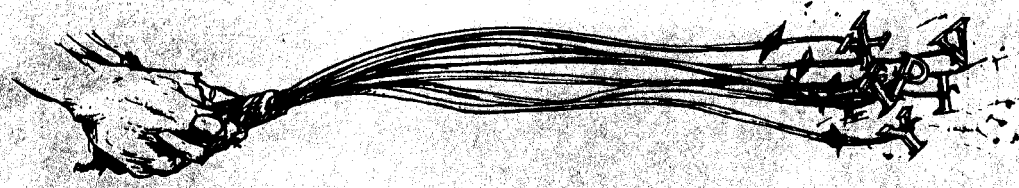
### **The New Right Assaults Diversity at UT (page 4)**

Chastisements ..... p. 2  
 University Co-op Follies ..... p. 3  
 E306 Analyzed ..... p. 4  
 Tejas controversy ..... p. 5  
 NAS at UT ..... p. 6

Regent Blanton & Burlington Northern ..... p. 8  
 Interview with Daniel Ortega ..... p. 9  
 UT-Freeport Connections ..... p. 10  
 Academic Freedom in Palestine ..... p. 12  
 Salvador Update ..... p. 14



*Activists protest Franklin Federal's ties to the Barton Creek development (p. 10)*



**Bill Cunningham  
UT President, Barton Creek developer**

For those of you not here this summer, UT president Bill Cunningham operates as an employee of two multinational corporations poised to destroy Barton Creek and Barton Springs, the city's favorite swimming hole and the water supply for 30,000 people. Cunningham sits on the board of directors of the landowner, Freeport McMoran, for which he was paid at least \$50,000 last year. He also serves as a paid member of the "Policy Committee" of the Barton Creek Country Club, owned by Club Corp, the company managing the development.

Both Robert Dedman, CEO of ClubCorp and Franklin Federal Bancorp, and "Jim Bob" Moffett, the CEO of Freeport, are major UT donors and sit on the UT Development Board, an exclusive group of the largest donors to the University. Cunningham's wife, Isabella, also sits on the board of Franklin Federal, for which she receives \$700 per board meeting.

On June 7 over 900 people signed up to speak at a City Council hearing over the planned development. The vast majority spoke against the project, and the meeting lasted until 6 a.m. the following morning, when it ended with an unanimous vote against the development. Despite severe public criticism before the Council vote, Cunningham personally lobbied at least one City Councilmember, Robert Barnstone, and refuses to publicly distance himself from his corporate benefactors. In fact, Cunningham has yet to make a public statement concerning his relationship to the two companies at all, despite months of publicity and criticism in the local and state-wide press.

Cunningham's silence may serve the interests of his corporate sponsors, who want to quell publicity on the issues. But his silence violates the right of the university community to hear its president explain his involvement in this lurid affair.

**University Review Magazine,  
Institute for Educational Affairs**

In the first issue of this right-wing paper (which is a recycled version of the old *Texas Review*), contributor Matt Foster lambasts *Tejas* magazine for accepting "handouts" in order to publish. "The free and honest exchange," he sneers, "is an absolute joke if the left is subsidized (Them? Handouts? Naah.)" In making that statement, Foster is either displaying base hypocrisy or plain ignorance. *University Review* is part of the "Collegiate Network" of the Institute for Educational Affairs, a right-wing organization that funds some 58 conservative college papers and magazines, most notoriously the *Dartmouth Review*.

A *Polemicist* editor called the IEA recently and spoke to the director of the Collegiate Network, Bob Lukefacs. The editor told Lukefacs that he ran an independent monthly trying to provide an alternative to the liberal daily. Lukefacs explained that most of the papers the IEA supports receive \$1,500 grants per semester, and cited the *Review* as a member of the Network. (He agreed with his interviewer that the old *Review* had

*Review* had declined in quality over the past few years, but hoped that the new crowd might be better.) IEA papers also participate in an ad consortium, where the national organization sells advertising—say to Domino's Pizza or to Coors Beer—and the student papers run the ads and collect the money.

The IEA nationally is also cooperating with the National Association of Scholars—whose local chapter took out a full-page ad in the new *Review*—to prepare a guide to warn parents which colleges are "politicized" or overrun with "oppression studies" (see story page 6). Right-wing psychology professor and Texas Association of Scholars President Joe Horn serves as faculty advisor to the *Review*, and wrote an article referencing recent conservative articles opposing affirmative action. That student alternative papers must rely so heavily on institutional subsidies and faculty handholding reveals much about the paper's substance.

Foster wants the University to "cut all funds to anything political, and let the market decide what is a valid opinion." Before the *Review* starts complaining about subsidizing "the left," it should denounce any subsidies it gains from the IEA and prove itself in the "market." *Polemicist* has generated eight mazzazines and six pamphlets in the past year, raising and spending about \$5,000 for printing and research—most of our funds came from \$5 and \$20 donations from readers. Neither the University nor some right-wing foundation had to "subsidize" us to stay afloat.

Foster claims the market "has to be nursed by University cash for the radicals to survive." We challenge the *Review* live up to Foster's tough words and publicly abandon its IEA sponsorship.

**Texas Student Publications  
Board of Directors**

When students in 1987 formed KTSB, UT's so-called "student radio" station, they agreed to place it under the control of Texas Student Publications. Student radio at UT may never recover from that awful decision. TSP has taken it upon itself to hire a "broadcast supervisor" to monitor and control the students who purportedly run the station. By all reports, the supervisor, Andrea Morrow, has harassed students DJs for using their airtime to make political statements or play music not on the KTSB playlist. She even fired one disc-jockey for playing the lesbian band Two Nice Girls! "I spent my last ten dollars on birth control and beer," a local standard. Under pressure from staff protest, she hired him back two weeks later.

According to the proposed 1990-91 KTSB budget, TSP will pay her a total of \$28,000 next year in salary and benefits for her services—47 percent of KTSB's \$60,100 operating budget. Student fees comprise \$50,000 of that total. Additionally, much of the approximately \$13,000 the budget lists as excess money goes to paying TSP head Dick Lytle's salary, according to KTSB sources. By comparison, all student wages combined total \$9,432. And the budget only allots \$900 for records. TSP priorities obviously lie in controlling the students, not in giving them an autonomous forum.

For all its problems the past few years, *The Texan* has never had to operate so directly under the iron jackboot of TSP hegemony. We fear that TSP may have designs on creating another KUT—a "UT" radio station that operates with no student control or even input. KTSB is currently competing in an application process for Austin's last FM radio frequency with a group that wants to form a co-operative community station. If the FCC grants KTSB the frequency, the UT System Board of Regents will control the license.

That odious road must go untraveled. Instead, students interested in radio should bolt KTSB and join up with Jim Ellinger, the leader in the co-op radio movement who wants to include UT students in his format.

**Mel Hazelwood, Pat Ohlendorf  
UT Flunkies**

"Unfortunately people are involved in a battle with the UT Austin administration ... I really don't want to get into a little UT-Austin battle over things." Thus declared Mel Hazelwood in the August 29 *Daily Texan* as he squarely injected himself into the UT administration's attack on students' access to information under the Texas Open Records Act. Under the previous policy, UT didn't charge for labor time and merely charged for copying expenses. Hazelwood announced on August 22 that the UT System would begin charging for labor time for processing Open Records requests from student journalists and researchers.

Pat Ohlendorf didn't even have the courtesy to notify students of the policy change and simply began sending bills for labor charges. The first letter student researchers received (on August 28) was dated August 23, the day after Hazelwood's decision. Ohlendorf asked for a \$144 "bond" before The Howlers, a graduate student activist/research group, would be allowed to review a routine Open Records request.

Tellingly, the first request for which UT Austin charged for labor was for correspondence between Bill Cunningham and Jim Bob Moffett, Chair and CEO of Freeport McMoran (see previous Chastisement). Student researchers have devilled Cunningham all summer with revelations of his ties to Freeport and Freeport's dealings in Austin, New Orleans and Indonesia (see page 10).

Also, we believe that our series of articles concerning E 306 and the NAS (see page four) stands as the strongest argument we could make for maintaining reasonable access to public documents. Despite the fact that faculty and staff spent hours preparing those requests, no labor charge was levied for any of the dozens of documents we received. The results speak for themselves.

It's shameful that our administrators can use their institutional clout to harass student journalists they don't agree with.

**Hey, students:  
Don't let Cunningham turn Anna Hiss  
Gym into the Jim Bob Moffett Center for  
Molecular Biology without a fight!**

# Co-opted: The decline and fall of the University Co-op

by Phil Hostak

The terms "co-operative" or "co-operative society" bring to mind establishments in which management, workers and consumers harmoniously work toward a common goal: providing essential goods and services at the lowest possible cost to members. With the pressure of pure profit motives gone, the antagonistic relation between buyer and seller, the frantic drive to push goods and services on the consumer at the highest prices that the market can bear, should also disappear.

But even a superficial glance at our University Co-op reveals that something far short of co-operative ideals is going on at 2246 Guadalupe Street. If anything, the Co-op looks more like a private corporation than the for-profit concerns on the drag. Upon entry, the customer is immediately directed by security personnel to baggage lockers (or, during rush, one is conveniently marched through a candy store in order to reach the bag-check station). Next the customer must wend his or her way through a ground floor full of trendy clothes and restless geegaws and then ascend or descend a staircase in order to find what the Co-op is purportedly there to provide in the first place: books and other educational materials.

The preponderance of non-educational merchandise, combined with high prices and limited availability of required texts and the overall inconvenience at the Co-op makes one wonder if the institution still deserves its designation as a "co-operative" and whether its members actually do own and retain some democratic control over its operations.

## Co-operative theory vs. Co-op practice

Why does our co-op fail to adequately fulfill student needs? Why does it appear to fall short of co-operative principles? In order to assess the present state of the Co-op and judge to what extent it has diverged from the principles on which it was founded, it is necessary to take a brief detour into co-operative philosophy and the history of co-operatives of which our University bookstore is a part.

Co-operative philosophy displays a progressive, populist bent and its development is linked with that of modern socialism in the nineteenth century. A seminal figure in the early co-operative movement was the English utopian socialist Robert Owen, who founded co-operative communities in England and the United States. Charles Weitling, in *The History of Co-operatives*, defines co-operative enterprise as "one which belongs to the people who use its services" and the control of which rests equally



The totems of UT jingoism have pushed books off the main floor to the top and bottom floors of the co-op.

with all members, and the gains of which are distributed to the members in proportion to the use they make of its services."

The first successful co-op founded on these principles was established in 1844 in Rochdale, England in order to provide basic staples for the impoverished textile workers of the community.

The central principles on which the Rochdale Society was founded remain the central tenets of sound co-operative philosophy to this day:

- Open membership
- Democratic control (one member, one vote)
- Each share of capital pays a moderate limited return
- Savings of the association are allocated to each member to the degree to which he or she uses the organization
- Education of members and non-members with reference to co-operative principles

The Rochdale Co-operative was enormously successful and by 1944 it did an annual business of nearly \$3 million. The Rochdale Society charged a price close to that of the market and later divided the profits to its membership. (source: David Reeves *A Century of Rochdale Co-operation: 1844-1944*)

The first successful co-operative bookstore in the U.S. was founded in 1882 at Harvard University. The Harvard Co-op, which remains an exemplary testament to co-operative principles to this day, held to the principles of democratic control and the lowering of prices on essential educational materials. In the first sixteen months of its operation, it effected a 5%-15% reduction in the price of books and forced its competitors to lower their prices accordingly. (Source: Kirk Kite *The History of*

*the University Co-operative Society.*)

A member of the Harvard Co-op, William James Battle, received a Ph.D from Harvard in 1893 and came to the University of Texas as an associate professor of Greek. In 1896, Battle, with a group of concerned students, founded the University Co-op and was elected as its first president. The move to establish a co-operative bookstore at UT was supported by students who were dissatisfied with the previous book supplier, Corner and Fontaine's, for reasons that still have resonance in 1990: prices were too high, the required number of books was not always available, and the books were not always made available on time. So the University Co-operative Society was formed in order "to furnish University students with books, stationery, etc. at the lowest rates consistent with good business management". Established along the lines of the Harvard Co-op, the University Co-op at UT was committed to the principles of democratic control and the disbursement of profits to the membership.

This overview of co-operative history and philosophy and the early history of our co-operative will help us to gauge the extent to which the practice of the present-day co-op falls woefully short of the principles upon which it was founded. In contrast to the principled years of its founding, the recent history of the University Co-op, beginning with the firing of Co-op President Jerry Mathews in February of 1987, has been marked by shabby labor policies and highly questionable operational policies.

After Mathews was discharged by the board, then-chair of the board, Roy Harris, a UT management professor, became acting president as well as chair of the board of directors. This arrangement represents a severe conflict of inter-

est, since the board is elected to oversee management. Three days after this major upheaval in management, which occurred in the midst of contract negotiations between the employees' union and management, the board announced personnel cuts and a proposed three-month deferral of the automatic annual pay raises required by the co-op's binding contract with the union. On February 24th, *The Daily Texan* reported that "employees said the firing of Mathews sparked concern over the lack of communication from the board about recent policy and operational and personnel changes." Co-op employee Abbe Wenger told *The Daily Texan* that "We're not being told where the decisions are coming from, and the lack of communication has people scared for their jobs." Harris ascribed the firing of Mathews to basic management disagreements between Mathews and the board. Harris told *The Texan* that "a president of an organization has to be mean and hard-nosed and Jerry had difficulty with that."

## Enter Mitchell: the 'mean and hard-nosed' solution

In mid-1987, the Co-op board appointed a new president and general manager, George Mitchell. If Harris' criteria of meanness and hard-nosedness were indeed the qualifications for the presidency of our Co-op, Mitchell, judging from many reports concerning his tenure as manager of the University of Maryland book store as well as his record at the UT Co-op, appears to be particularly well-suited to the job. Ex-employees from the University of Maryland Book Center (who resigned in the period after Mitchell became manager of that enterprise) reported that turnover at their place of employment was immense due to Mitchell's "high-handed" management style.

In March of 1982, four former employees of the University of Maryland, Joyce Aris, Avis Hall, Joanne Janus and Elizabeth Youkel, brought a suit against Mitchell charging that Mitchell had harassed them into resigning after they went to University officials to report what they saw as "mismanagement and abuse of authority". Detailed in the suit were charges that:

- Mitchell moved Joanne Janus's desk to a storage area and "degraded her duties to those of a textbook clerk" (Janus, an assistant manager, was a veteran employee of more than 24 years).
- Mitchell had slandered the women, accusing them of having homosexual affairs with each other and extramarital affairs with store vendors.
- at Mitchell's request, Paul Maloni, the

see Co-opted, page 16...

# E306: Chronicle of a Smear Campaign

## How the New Right Attacks Diversity

by Scott Henson  
and Tom Philpott

When the University of Texas English department began the process of revising the syllabus for the required freshman writing class English 306—basing the revised class on issues of "difference"—a few members of the faculty reacted with shrill cries of protest. Philosophy professor Dan Bontevac openly rebuked the class's advocates, declaring the course "Marxism 306" on a local TV show. Government professor Jay Budziszewski called the course "indoctrination in bigotry," and accused it of "serving the ends of hatred."

The class had been approved by the Lower Division English Policy Committee as well as by Liberal Arts Dean Standish Meacham, and was scheduled to begin in the fall. But then, under pressure from President Bill Cunningham and Provost Gerhard Fonken, Dean Meacham postponed the new curriculum for a year, leaving the course without a syllabus four weeks before it was to begin.

### Heresy in the Classroom

What heresies had the English department concocted to impose upon the youthful minds of incoming freshmen? Under the new syllabus, the course would consist of readings from Federal and Supreme Court decisions concerning various civil rights cases, notably "Sweatt vs. Painter," which resulted in the admission of UT's first African American student.

Using majority opinions, dissenting opinions, and arguments from both plaintiffs and defendants, the course would require students to form opinions and support their arguments with evidence, using the legal texts to back up their claims. But English prof Alan Gribben, the course's loudest critic, calls that "thought control."

The prevailing myth, popularized by Gribben's and others' declarations that the course was rushed through "hastily," assumes that the course was designed in response to demonstrations last spring led by the Black Student Alliance (BSA) calling for the creation of a more diverse curriculum. Actually, the planning for the revised E 306 began last fall.

In May after the committee had approved the class's texts, Brodkey created an ad hoc committee composed of four professors and eight graduate students (grad students teach E 306) to write the syllabus. By mid-June, according to Brodkey, it became clear that one of the texts the committee approved, Paula Rothenberg's *Racism and Sexism*, was unsuitable for the format of the new E306. Already under pressure from right-

wing attacks in the media, Brodkey and Kruppa dropped the textbook. Dean Meacham provided her and a graduate student funds to expand a supplementary packet in lieu of the book.

On July 9, about three weeks after the book was dropped, the two committee members who didn't support the change, John Ruskiewicz and James Duban, sent Brodkey a letter saying "all members of the LDEPC should be kept current about materials being considered for this expanded packet." They concluded by stating, "We hope you'll keep us informed." The following day Brodkey responded with a short memo thanking them for their concern and telling them that "I plan to keep the members of the Lower Division English Policy Committee informed."

Ruskiewicz and Duban claim that their letter was a specific request for information on the expanded packet. Brodkey, who hadn't yet finished com-

pleting the packet, didn't take it as a request. She says the information was available if they had bothered to call or come to her office and look at it.



Without contacting Brodkey beforehand or making any further attempts to review the expanded packet, Duban and Ruskiewicz resigned from the committee the next day. Duban charged Brodkey with "secrecy." Despite the ambiguity of his and Ruskiewicz's letter, Duban told *The Texan* that "I resigned because after seeking specific information from the chair of that committee about the packet ... I did not receive a satisfactory response."

### The Backlash

This charge of secrecy fueled the already growing right-wing attack on the course, which held that Brodkey's alleged obfuscations betrayed an overt political agenda. Ruskiewicz himself added to

this hysteria in a July 24 *Texan* guest column in which he declared that "the E 306 curriculum changes were compromised by their ideological freight and by a rush to do what seemed politically correct on this campus at the moment." Ruskiewicz failed to show how the opinions of Supreme Court judges and lawyers would constitute any "ideological freight" that would conflict with mainstream sensibilities.

While Ruskiewicz and Duban did raise some pedagogical concerns, their allies in the battle focused solely on politics. Ruskiewicz acknowledges that the "core" of the opposition to the course came from the Texas Association of Scholars, a local chapter funded by a national right-wing faculty group, the National Association of Scholars (see sidebar). The NAS receives much of its funding from the right-wing John M. Olin and Sarah Scaife foundations, which subsidize New Right groups including

the Heritage Foundation, Freedom House, the Committee on the Present Danger and Accuracy in Media.

*The Nation* and *The New York Times* reported that at its first national conference in 1988, an NAS crowd of 300 cheered when Alan Kors, a professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania, advised his colleagues to "use ridicule" to combat African-American, gay and feminist activists. When a UT faculty member contacted the NAS for information, a representative bragged to him that recently "our Texas chapter helped to defeat, er, postpone an English course" at UT.

The TAS collected 56 faculty signatures—only 7 from the English department—on a "Statement of Academic Concern" attacking the revised course. The statement continued the ongoing smear campaign against E 306. It falsely declared that the title of the course would

change from "Rhetoric and Composition" to "Difference—Racism and Sexism." It went on to perpetuate the misrepresentations of the class as indoctrination, claiming the course would only teach a "single hegemonic view."

The statement was published as an advertisement in *The Daily Texan*. TAS collected funds for the ad and cut the check, yet its name appeared nowhere on the ad.

When contacted later, the majority of the faculty we talked to who signed the ad weren't associated with TAS, and non-members weren't told that TAS had coordinated the effort. Clarke Burnham of the Psychology department, for example, is not a TAS member, was not aware of TAS's involvement and had never even heard of the national organization. Karl Gainsky, former chair of the Classics department, is actually a member of the National Association of Scholars—but wasn't aware even of the existence of TAS, much less that it had sponsored the ad.

### A Man With a Plan

In an article in the fall 1989 edition of the NAS journal *Academic Questions* called "English Departments: Salvaging What Remains," Alan Gribben lays out a 10-point strategy for "salvaging the remnants of the discipline of English."

He sets up a specious dichotomy in English departments between "pluralists" (in whose number he counts himself) and "neo-Marxists." Of the struggle between the two, he declares that the "prizes for the victors will be nothing less than the minds and emotions of an entire generation of undergraduate students." He laments that the struggle "has already cost us most of the current generation of graduate students," and vows to fight the trend. (This proprietary attitude toward the "mind and emotions" of students comes from a man who called the revised E306 the "most massive attempt at thought control ever attempted on campus.")

Gribben writes that "the American public is overwhelmingly on our side in this struggle." And since "neo-Marxists" control the university, it's necessary for "pluralist" academics like himself to take the "struggle" outside the academy to the public. When that happens, he writes, "we can expect a gasp of indignation." He declares that professors "who would oppose the takeover of our discipline" must "Organize or Retire."

It was in this spirit that Gribben took the battle for E306 to the state media and directly to UT alumni. He published diatribes against the class in the state-wide press. Anne Blakeney, a member of the Liberal Arts Foundation Council—

The postponement of E306 wasn't the first victory this summer for the organized right on campus. Responding in late June to the complaints of "Students Advocating a Valid Education" (SAVE)—a right-wing student group under the tutelage of TAS president Jos Horn—the College of Communications tightly restricted the distribution of *Tejas*, a magazine funded by the Mexican-American Studies Center and published through a class in the journalism department.

*Tejas*, which began in the spring of 1989, covers the campus and writes about culture from a Mexican-American perspective. Its major subjects have included the UT administration's attempts to sugar-coat its ineffective, underfunded minority recruitment and retention programs, the death of minority faculty, and *The Daily Texan's* failure to seriously cover UT's minority community.

By mid-spring of 1990, such stances had already captured the attention of campus conservatives. SAVE was formed, according to *The Daily Texan*, by members of the Young Conservatives of Texas and the College Republicans. It was launched in the spring explicitly to oppose the student demands for curriculum reform, including the Black Student Alliance's BRIDE proposal and the Mexican-American group Todos Unidos' Manifesto proposal.

According to the list of registered student organizations in the Campus Activities office, Geoff Henley serves as president of SAVE and YCT chairman Scott Galle is listed as Vice President in charge of "Issues." Henley had already made headlines the previous fall by condemning a student at a Gay/ Lesbian Rights rally, where he was photographed by *The Texan* holding up a sign advocating "Gays are criminals, put them in jail." Another counter-demonstrator on the same day held up a sign declaring "Hoover for the Earthquake" days after the deadly '89 San Francisco earthquake, presumably be-

cause of the strong gay community in San Francisco.

According to the Aug. 1 *Chronicle of Higher Education*, several SAVE members attempted to infiltrate *Tejas* by signing up for the class during spring pre-registration. The ploy failed when the resulting overload of students caused registration for the course to be delayed.

Then associate liberal arts dean Joe Horn addressed SAVE's first meeting in April and declared, "I'm opposed to indoctrinating white students with affirmative action and preferential treatment of minorities." He called the Black Student Alliance's proposals for curriculum reform "exclusionary" and called on students to "work through sym-

posals prominent in the E.306 controversy this summer (see accompanying article). Currently Horn serves as faculty advisor for the *University Review*, a right-wing UT newspaper funded by the Institute for Educational Affairs (see chastisement page).

SAVE responded to the Horn articles with an attack on *Tejas's* funding source. The June 4 *Daily Texan* reported that Geoff Henley wrote a letter to the office of the vice provost charging that *Tejas's* support from the Mexican-American Studies Center violates state law. Henley argued in his letter that Texas appropriations code prohibits state agencies from using state funds to publicize or direct attention to public officials or

## 'Tejas': The Attack on Diverse Press

employees of state agencies.

The letter set *Tejas* on a collision course with Provost Gerhard Fonken's office and the College of Communications. Patricia Ohlendorf, associate vice president in the office of the provost, handled the case for the administration. She works under Fonken, who has played a regressive role in racial issues in the past: He helped shut down the revised E306 (see accompanying article), and hindered the English department's attempts to hire African-American faculty last year (see "Racism or Incompetence?" November 1989 *Polemistic*).

Curiously, even though Ohlendorf disagreed with SAVE that *Tejas* published in violation of state law, she still acted in service of their agenda. She found a UT rule banning publications the University funds, but doesn't control, and claimed *Tejas* violated it. On July 6, Ohlendorf, along with Communications College Dean Robert Jeffrey, announced

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that *Tejas* would be cut from access to Mexican-American Studies Center funding. Jeffrey defended the decision in the July 7 *Texan*, saying that "Without this policy, any professor on campus with a political interest could gather students, offer them an independent study course, and produce a newspaper expressing his political views."

But then, after a barrage of publicity—including an article in *The New York Times* and a Texas Senate resolution calling on the UT System Board of Regents to "amend all rules necessary" to allow publication of the paper—Ohlendorf and Jeffrey backtracked a bit. Instead of banning *Tejas* outright, Jeffrey announced in the July 25 *Texan*, he would limit its distribution to members of the class and to members of the journalism department faculty. Funds for any broader circulation would have to be generated privately. Working with Ohlendorf, Jeffrey had ruled that the "educational" purpose of *Tejas* lay only in the actual production of it, and not in its dissemination. In other words, Ohlendorf and Jeffrey were saying that *Tejas* offers no educational value to its readers.

Despite their partial victory, SAVE members expressed disappointment that *Tejas's* funding source wasn't eliminated outright. "I was hoping they weren't going to receive any kind of state legitimacy," Henley told *The Texan*. "If they were really sincere about being a [journalism class] newspaper, they would not try to distribute [outside of the college of Communications]."

Still, Henley and his SAVE cohorts had succeeded in punishing a publication that had attacked their mentor, Horn, and in preserving white male hegemony in the academy. That same agenda would be served later in the summer by the Texas Association of Scholars—again with a little help from Fonken's office.

—by Scott Henson  
and Tom Philpott

an ill-fated group, most of whom donate about \$1,000 per year to the Liberal Arts Center and read a Gribben polemic in the *Daily Morning News* and wrote him requesting more information. His responses obtained from Dean Meacham's office through the Texas Open Records Act reveals an agenda that the TAS Center mentions in its "Statement of Academic Concerns."

Dean Meacham writes gravely in his July 9 letter to the English department under the signature of a highly politicized faculty member, radical literary theorists." He lists the following prescriptions: 1) the English department should be placed under trusteeship indefinitely... and then be governed by a new English Chairman, to be appointed by Gerhard Fonken, the Provost (as President and Provost," and 2) during this period of receivership the English Faculty should be di-

vided into a Department of Critical Theory and Cultural Studies and a Department of English Literature and Language;" and 3) "barring the accomplishment of these steps, the two university-wide required English courses (E. 306 and E. 316K) should be abolished, thus ending the necessity of hiring additional English professors at the rate they have been recruited for the past decade from the most radicalized (but prestigious) graduate programs across the nation [sic]."

Gribben then hints that even these rather drastic measures won't remedy the situation unless Dean Meacham, a supporter of cultural inclusiveness in the classroom, is removed. "Most vital of all," he declares, "will be a comprehending College of Liberal Arts Dean with nerve and a determination to oversee the recruiting policies and decisions of the

English department, which has lost all sense of tradition, direction, civility, and academic freedom in the classroom." Gribben's letter also alludes to Blakeney's "offer of assistance in my effort to halt the new E. 306 course, reform my out-of-control department, and rescue my academic career at U.T." And Gribben makes a muted plea for help from other members of the Council. He writes: "only members of the Liberal Arts Foundation Council actually understand how the University operates and what it will take to effect any significant improvement in the English department situation."

Blakeney responded to the plea by writing a letter to the president of the Liberal Arts Advisory Council, Drew Cauthorn, urging him to take seriously Gribben's wild-eyed complaints. The undated letter, obtained from Meacham's

files under the Open Records Act, argues that "the state of the English department and the subject of multiculturalism ... must be discussed further and in some way resolved" by the Advisory Foundation at a meeting scheduled for this fall. She goes on to write that "since Standish Meacham is the point man for multiculturalism in the college, we need to be informed of views balancing his in order to see the whole picture." The man to provide that balancing view, she continues, is none other than Alan Gribben—who by that time still hadn't so much as asked to see the readings, much less the syllabus, for the E306 course.

To his credit, Cauthorn replied in a letter to Blakeney, dated July 31, that the Foundation had no business intervening in departmental affairs. He asked her to

The recent assaults on English 306 and on *Tejas* represent merely local manifestations of a right-wing assault on universities around the country. The backlash against the course has a carefully crafted political agenda, one that needs to be clearly understood. Partly it can be deduced from reading one Texas Association of Scholars newsletter, and statements by its members. But far richer is the array of materials, statements and actions generated by its parent organization—the National Association of Scholars.

**Origins of the NAS**

Apparently in 1985 the Free World Committee for the Right World, directed by Midge Decker (wife of neo-conservative Norman Podhoretz), member of the board at the Institute for Educational Affairs (see *chastisements*) and Heritage Foundation boardmember, helped found a group called the Campus Coalition for Democracy (CCD), using money obtained from the equally right-wing Smith-Richardson Foundation. The CCD's chairman of the board was Herbert I. London, a dean at New York University, and its president was Stephen Balch, a professor of government at the City University of New York.

In spring of 1986, *Society* magazine published a series of articles, introduced by Balch, attacking "the politicization of scholarship" by the Left. In October 1986, the conservative journal *Commentary* published a similar but much longer article on "The Tenured Left" by Balch and London. In those articles they construct two arguments: First, that "the Left" was well on its way to taking over the academy and second, that previous efforts to check this leftist takeover—specifically cited was Reed Irvine's notorious "Accuracy in Academia"—had failed. They called for a new, more effective campaign to kick the Marxists out of academe.

In 1987, the same year Alan Bloom published his book-length attack on radicalism in the University, *The Closing of the American Mind*, Herbert London intensified his own offensive against the Left. In the January issue of *The World and I*, he warned of "Marxism Thriving on American Campuses." In the May-June issue of the *Faunist*, he prophesied the "Death of the University." London's article in *The World and I* merits interest more because of its place than its content. *The World and I* is published by the political network built by Rev. Sun Myung-Moon, a religio-political fanatic with close ties to fascists and other ultrarightists all over the world. London, as it turns out, also writes regularly for another "Moonie" publication *The New York Tribune*, and sits on its editorial board of advisors.

By late 1987 and early 1988 the

National Association of Scholars formed, with Herbert London as Chairman of the Board and Stephen Balch, President. A new journal, *Academic Questions*, was published to provide a vehicle for publicizing their views. London, who edits the journal, laid out the battle ground in that first issue: The enemies were the "radicals" and the "liberal majority" that surrendered the initiative to them.

The prime targets of that first issue were feminist scholarship, literary theory and student evaluation of teachers. Since then, various issues have carried articles attacking affirmative action, peace studies, evolution, and "Left" influence in African, Latin American and Asian studies. In the journal—as well as the NAS newsletter—there have also been reports from the front lines of the crusade: sometimes lamenting defeats, as at Stanford where the Western Civilization course was broadened, and sometimes celebrating victories, as at Michigan where an anti-harassment code was successfully challenged.

**NAS:  
The New Right & UT**

**Following the Money**

A look at the funding sources of the NAS confirms its right wing bias. It's two main funding sources are the right-wing John M. Olin and Sarah Scaife Foundations. The Olin Foundation, which boasts as its president William Simon, noted New Right author and activist and Treasury Secretary under Richard Nixon donated \$85 thousand to the NAS in 1988 according to its 990-F tax return.

In his bestselling 1979 book *A Time for Truth*, Simon lays out his Ayn Randian philosophy concerning philanthropy: "Business must cease the mindless subsidizing of colleges and universities whose departments of economics, government, politics and history are hostile to capitalism." Simon fears that "capitalism is no longer the dominant orthodoxy" in universities today, and believes that sound, pro-capitalist philanthropy can save the universities. "Business money must flow generously to those colleges and universities which do offer their students an opportunity to become well educated not only in collectivist theory but in conservative and Libertarian principles as well."

The Sarah Scaife Foundation lists as its president Richard Mellon Scaife, heir to the Mellon fortune and important funder of the New Right. According to a landmark July/August 1981 *Columbia Journalism Review* article, Scaife teamed up with Joseph Coors to provide seed money for the Heritage Foundation in 1974. The president of the Heritage

Foundation since 1977, Edwin Feulner, sits on the board of trustees at the Scaife Foundation. (Heritage Foundation owns Heritage Features, which distributes Dallas-columnist William Murchison's articles. Murchison wrote a total of four diatribes against the UT English department—including two attacking E 306 itself, and one decrying "the persecution of Alan Gribben." These articles were repeatedly cited by angry alumni in various letters to administrators.) Feulner also sits on the board at the Institute for Educational Affairs.

Scaife owns several media outlets, including newspapers in the northeast, and during the late '60s and '70s operated Forum World Features, a London-based news agency. The *Review* article says "Scaife shut down Forum in 1975 shortly before *Time Out*, a British weekly, published a purported 1968 CIA memorandum, addressed to then-director Richard Helms, which described Forum as a CIA-sponsored operation providing a significant means to counter Communist propaganda." The Forum-CIA tie, which

lasted into the seventies, has been confirmed by various British and American publications. "Scaife's foundation funds right-wing organizations from Accuracy in Media to Freedom House to the Committee on the Present Danger.

Apparently the Scaife Foundation feels its getting its money's worth from the National Association of Scholars—in 1988 Scaife gave NAS \$50,000 according to its tax return; in 1989 according to the Scaife annual report, the NAS received \$300,000.

Dues paid by NAS members go to the national organization, presumably to pay for subscriptions to *Academic Questions*. According to two TAS members, the funds for TAS functions like its spring conference and its newsletter come from the national organization.

That a national conservative crusade on college campuses should be funded by right-wing sources is not surprising; it merely confirms the particular political character of the enterprise.

**Personalities and Activities**

The NAS lists as its supporters an impressive array of rightist scholars. Its board of advisors names: Jeanie J. Kirkpatrick, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and noted war criminal; Irving Kristol, New Rightist and editor of *The Public Interest*; and John Silber, fired UT Arts and Sciences dean and current archconservative candidate for governor in Massachusetts.

The NAS sponsors a "Speakers Bu-

reau on American Education... staffed by NAS members who have earned national reputations as writers and speakers on a wide range of educational issues." Among the topics listed in this "wide range" are: "Academic Freedom," "Academic Feminism," "Affirmative Action and the University," "Education and Indoctrination," "Ethnic Studies," "The Nature of the Core Curriculum," "The Place of the Great Books in the Curriculum," "The Politicization of Education," "The Decline of Intellectual Standards," and "Western Civilization and its Critics."

Speakers in the Bureau include both Balch and London, representatives of the Institute for Educational Affairs, and Alan Kors, a history professor from U. Penn known for his polemical and inflammatory statements.

The NAS's latest project attempts, like the anti-E-306 campaign, to change universities by lobbying groups outside the university. Specifically, according to a letter received by a NAS member, "the NAS is now collaborating with two other organizations, the Madison Center and the Institute for Educational Affairs to produce what we think will be a rather innovative guide to American undergraduate education: one that seriously examines issues relating to curricular structure, intellectual standards, the politicization of campus life, safety on campus, etc. The objective will be to create a ready reference tool for students and parents."

The Madison Center was founded in 1988 by Alan Bloom and former right-wing Education Secretary turned drug czar William Bennett, who worked for the Heritage Foundation before joining the Reagan administration.

To gather information for the guide, the Madison Center sent a 38 page questionnaire to all NAS members. The document asks members such questions as "Are there any groups on campus critical of the core [curriculum]? If so, which groups and why?" Or, "Do homosexuals comprise a vocal, active interest group on campus? ... What are their objectives?" Madison also wants to know "Are there minority and/or women's study centers on campus? If so, what is their role?" Another question asks "Are many courses used for indoctrination?"

Clearly from the questions asked and the people chosen to answer them, the Madison Center doesn't intend to create an apolitical handbook to choosing universities. Instead, the academic right will use this "guide" as a club to scare universities into caving into its agenda for fear of a parental backlash.

**The Local Boys**

The local affiliate of the NAS, the Texas Association of Scholars, made its public debut last spring with the publication of a newsletter in March. Psychology professor and former as-

# E306 assault

continued from page 5

purpose her agenda in an "individual capacity and not as a member of the Association," thus quashing Blakeney's and Gribben's hope that this particular group of large donors could as an institution dictate English department policy.

**The politics of Jim Duban** incidentally, even after details of Gribben's plan and tactics had been revealed, James Duban still insisted that the opponents of the course had been pedagogical, not political. And when asked in an interview whether he thought Bonevac (Marxism '306') or Budziszewski (defending the ends of hatred") had misrepresented the course's content, he declined to distance himself from either statement.

Duban presented himself in public as an intellectual above the fray, concerned only with the students who would be punished by discussing issues of difference instead of only writing mechanical composition courses. He complained bitterly in a *Texan* column that

the revised course would have forsaken the goal of teaching students to write, despite the fact that every graded assignment in the class would still be a writing assignment. He called for the use of a 56-point check list of what makes good writing, ignoring that in any class students would still have to write about something. But his actions before and after the postponement reveal a man as versed in the methods of hard-ball politics as writing pedagogy.

When faculty supporters of the course drafted a letter to *The Texan* to "deplore the unprofessional manner in which opponents of the new syllabus for E306 misrepresented the substance and aims of the course," Duban threatened at least one member of the English faculty—lecturer Sue Heinzelman—with a libel suit if she signed it. He added that he would sue anyone else who signed the petition as well.

Susan Heinzelman says Duban's actions constitute "sexual harassment." "When a full professor calls up an untenured lecturer who's a woman at 1 o'clock on a Friday night and threatens her with a libel suit, that's sexual harassment," she explained.

Duban's attempt at intimidation failed—Heinzelman, along with 42 others, eventually signed the letter. It appeared in the August 10 *Daily Texan*, although with the word "unprofessional" omitted. Duban has yet to make good on

his threats—when he consulted an attorney about suing, he was rightfully told that he had no grounds for a legal action. Interestingly, Duban admitted to *Polemics* that he had threatened Heinzelman, but when a *Texan* reporter questioned him on the subject, Duban, the champion of academic integrity, denied it.

Also in conflict with his disinterested, apolitical public pose, Duban apparently offered to travel around the state to present "informed views" on multiculturalism in the English department in general and the revised E306 in particular. Anne Blakeney, in her letter to Cauthorn, names Duban as one of the professors who, along with Gribben, offered to "travel to different cities to address members of the Council" on the evils of the proposed E 306 reforms. Clearly, his offer to join Alan Gribben on a state-wide series of meetings with major alumni donors—to enlist their support in thwarting cultural inclusiveness in the English department—more than qualifies as a political act.

## Cunningham enters the fray early

UT faculty speculate that alumni pressure inspired by such outbursts caused President Cunningham and Provost Finken to undermine the course. Just before press time, *Polemics* discovered

evidence that places Cunningham's decision to cancel the class sometime between July 9 and July 11—more than a week before either Brodkey or English department chair Kruppa had heard of the postponement of the course. In a handwritten letter to Cunningham received in his office on July 9 and acquired by *Polemics* under the Open Records Act, a Dallas woman named Banett Valenta pleaded with Cunningham to stop the implementation of E306. At the bottom of the letter, presumably in Cunningham's handwriting, the following was scrawled: "Send her a thank you note. Tell her that the English Department has decided (illegible) rethink their decision and that the course will not be modified this fall." A brief letter to Valenta dated July 11, signed by Cunningham, states: "After careful consideration, the Department has decided that the course will not be modified this fall." Kruppa, in a Sept. 1 phone interview, expressed surprise that the department he runs had cancelled the course modifications by July 11. He had left for vacation on July 10. In fact, the department itself didn't make the decision to postpone the class—Kruppa was informed of the decision on July 20, at a meeting with Provost Gerhard Finken and Meacham. Dean Meacham, who officially made the decision to postpone the

see E306, page 18...

main liberal arts dean Joe Horn serves as president of the TAS, and serves as chair with Psychology Professor Del Gribben as editor of the newsletter. An anonymous TAS "Policy Statement" on the first page of the newsletter attacked NAS red-baiting rhetoric, and the TAS is "concerned that the current ideological currents are influencing the academy in ways that are antithetical to constructive scholarly exchange." It also called for the creation of a "common information base that can be used by administrators, legislators and faculty in evaluating academic pol-

complaint about political bias in examples used in philosophy texts (philosophy professor Daniel Bonevac).

According to observers, the conference as a whole was only concerned with restrictions on right-wing research and completely ignored institutional bias in the social sciences against the left. Indeed, as the attack on E306 made clear, the TAS systematically and dramatically overstates the influence of the "Left" in the academy in order to attack it.

At least three UT professors have written for *Academic Questions*: Alan Gribben, Joe Horn and Marvin Olasky. Gribben's article is discussed at length in

the main text. In the winter '89-'90 issue, we find Horn's article entitled "Truth, Gender, and the SAT." In it, he purports to show that the disparity between men's and women's scores on the SAT reflects not a "gender gap" but indeed a "truth gap"—in other words, men get higher SAT scores because they're smarter.

The four-page article, which contains all of five footnotes, teems with assertions undistracted by argument or documentation. For example, he alludes to "evidence that grades vary widely according to subject matter and that course-taking differs by gender." He never cites a source for this. Another

example: "in high school and college," he declares, "women generally take easier courses than men and their grade point averages are slightly higher as a result." Again, no source. Is he making this up?

Marvin Olasky, a journalism professor, distinguishes himself from his two TAS colleagues by actually having written a scholarly article for *Academic Questions*: Olasky attacked "Marxist" journalism history textbooks, lambasting them for not including information on the historical role of Christianity in journalism. The article, published in the same issue as Horn's, contains some 34 footnotes from primary sources, dwarfing the combined number of footnotes in Horn's and Gribben's articles.

## What is to be done?

Running through the literature of NAS and TAS scholars is the theme of Marxist academics "politicizing the academy" by opening the curriculum to diverse cultures. But with their radical tactics and constant red-baiting, as well as their right-wing politics and funding sources, these professors reveal a clear political agenda aligned firmly in the rightist camp. Their scholarship may sometimes seem silly or beneath contempt, but their ability to manipulate campus politics is established. Progressives, at UT as well as other schools, can't afford to ignore them.

—by Scott Henson & Tom Philpott



At a meeting with graduate students last summer, English professor Alan Gribben explained, "as for the NAS, well, it's just, it's just there. You can look at it." photo by Kirk J. Crippens, *Daily Texan* Staff

# A UT Regent's Ties to Deforestation: You can't see the forest for the clearcutting

by Kathy Mitchell

Jack Blanton, UT regent and member of the influential UT Development Board, makes \$399.00 per hour in direct income from his various positions as director of corporate boards across Texas and the South. If we include long-term compensation in the form of stock grants and retirement plans, the wage jumps to \$1,640.81 per hour. In Texas this compares to the hourly wage of 410 clerical assistants in the library (at \$4.00/hr.), 234 shift/assistant managers (at \$7.00/hr.), or 25 school teachers (annual salary).

This figure does not include Blanton's salary as President of Eddy Refining Company, a subsidiary of Ashland Oil not subject to proxy disclosure, or Texas Commerce, now held by Chemical Bank. Three of his nine directorships alone (Southwestern Bell, Baker-Hughes and Burlington Northern) account for \$1,490,550 in assets and income. To industry, Jack is a very valuable man.

## The political economy of Jack Blanton

Chair of the Board of Regents under Bill Clements from 1987 to 1989, and currently regent representative on the influential Development Board, the only advisory council with direct policy-making authority, Blanton is one of several business heavyweights making investment policy for the University. In his full time work as a corporate director and company president, Blanton has taken public stands against divestment from South Africa, against affirmative action in Northern Ireland (Baker-Hughes proxy statement, 1/24/90), and against revealing any information to shareholders on company plans to support the MX missile (Burlington proxy, 4/5/90). Further, since his appointment to the board of Burlington Northern in April of 1989, Burlington has released plans to restructure Plum Creek, its forest subsidiary, to take advantage of a natural resources tax loophole and further facilitate the devastation of the old growth forest of the Pacific Northwest.

Baker-Hughes, a diversified tools and drilling company, actively maintains a South African subsidiary of 491 employees. In a statement on South Africa, submitted to the Baker-Hughes board of directors in January by a stockholder group representing nearly 3.1 million shares, large investors asked the company to withdraw its operations and negotiate the transfer of the company to Black control. The board voted against the stockholder proposal, arguing that Baker-Hughes "provides equipment and services to the private mining industry, which is one of the largest employers of



non-whites." Despite the exploitative nature of the mining industry in South Africa, board members consider their services to be "a positive force for the elimination of apartheid." On the board of Baker-Hughes, along with regent Blanton, sits David Lybarger of the UT Engineering Foundation Advisory Council, and Richard Bresslet of Burlington Northern.

## Burlington's war on old-growth forests

Burlington Northern has undergone a two-phase restructuring, under the leadership of Richard Bressler, which has led directly to the clearcutting of old-growth forest stands from the Cascade Mountains of Washington to the western border of Montana. Initially Burlington set up Plum Creek as a timber subsidiary whose strategy was to clear cut in order to increase the market value of the asset and decrease the chances of a buyout. Now, Plum Creek itself is being restructured as a limited partner and a corporation in order to avoid paying federal income tax.

Federal law exempts from tax publicly traded partnerships that derive 90 percent of their revenue from natural resources. Burlington divided the old Plum Creek into two entities, Plum Creek Timber, a limited partner, and a manufacturing corporation. Plum Creek Timber will contain all the trees and pay no tax, while the corporation will hold the mills. The corporation would have to

pay taxes on profits, but it will be so burdened with debt that it is expected to run at a loss. The new restructuring also insures that the clearcutting will continue unabated: Long-term debt for the new Plum Creek will jump from \$2 million to \$325 million and it will push for the continuing upward revaluation of its timber assets to offset the debt. This means continued cutting for overseas sale while prices remain high.

As Montana Rep. Patrick Williams testified before the House Subcommittee on International Finance and Monetary Affairs, "Recently, a major timber company [Plum Creek] in the United States was split off, sold. It sold under a limited partnership, although it has public stock. It has taken on, as have many other companies to prevent their being bought out, it has taken on enormous debt. It now needs to finance that debt.... It sell to the Orient raw logs off of its private holdings at enormous prices.... It then moves east, primarily into Montana, buys up and harvests everything it can in the forests in Montana on Federal land."

## Burlington: from railroad to forest killer

Burlington Northern, once largely a railroad, controls 1.5 million acres of land granted to the railroads by Lincoln in the 1860s. Until 1980, when Congress began to deregulate the railroads, Burlington management had virtually ignored its heritage of Federally granted natural

resources. Deregulation, in the early years of leveraged buy outs, led to the reassignment of the forest lands held by the rail company. Seen as undervalued assets, the forest lands were split off from the Railway, and held as a subsidiary called Plum Creek, which began clearcutting as a way to raise its value. "Let's face it," a Plum Creek spokesman told *The New York Times* in Feb. 1989, "Market forces and the threat of stock market takeovers won't let us do otherwise."

Plum Creek never intended to balance its tree harvest with any program of forest management. "This is not a sustained yield program. We have never said we were on a sustained yield program, and we have never been on a sustained yield program," said spokesman Bill Parson to a Montana legislator touring a Plum Creek site (10/15/89). "Sure it's extensively logged, but what is wrong with that." In the past three years, Plum Creek has cut an average of 673 board feet, while noting an annual growth of only 210 million board feet on its lands (board feet measures the board yield from a stand of wood). By its own figures, released to the Security Exchange Commission in April of 1989, Plum Creek is logging at three times the rate that its forest can regenerate. In parts of Montana Plum Creek cuts from section line to section line every thing it owns.

## The foreign market for deforestation

The clearcutting policy fits in with Plum Creek's efforts to supply logs for the lucrative markets in Japan. Briefly, Plum Creek exports 60 percent of its timber to Japan and other Pacific Rim nations, according to its prospectus for investors. This does not leave enough timber even to support its own mills, so it engages in aggressive purchases of timber from public lands. In its restructuring documents, PC predicts that harvests from its land will fall by 33 percent in the next five years, and that it intends to make up this shortfall also through public lands purchases. According to Dick Manning, a freelance writer in Missoula tracking Plum Creek's activities, the company has already cut nearly 95 percent of its Montana lands. The forest service, under pressure from industry has raised the "allowable sale quantity" levels for timber in each of its forests, even when the local rangers report serious environmental concerns. A ranger's report uncovered during a lawsuit against the Flathead National Forest, noted that "if the timber harvest goal is met, wild life and watershed goals cannot be met, and vice versa."

see *Deforestation*, page 18...



# Interview with Daniel Ortega:

## After the elections, the fate of the revolution

translation by D.C. LaWare

*The following interview with ex-president of Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega, was published in the Costa Rican journal Seminario Universidad on July 22. Ortega spoke with the editorial staff of Universidad in San José, Costa Rica where he went to attend the funeral of José Figueres, the leader of Costa Rica's civil war of 1948, who once called the Sandinistas his "grandchildren."*

*In the interview Ortega analyzes the results of Nicaragua's February election in which the Sandinistas lost to UNO, the United Nicaraguan Opposition, led by Violeta Chamorro; he also discusses the role the Sandinistas hope to play as an opposition party. The interview is especially helpful in understanding the confrontation between the Sandinista affiliated unions, which were on strike for nearly a month this summer, and the Chamorro government, a conflict which paralyzed the country and resulted in numerous deaths and injuries.*

**Q: Do you regret having held elections in Nicaragua?**

**A:** Not once did I regret this, because this is a part of the democratic process in which the country lives. Nicaragua has never had democracy; it has only come to realize it with the triumph of the revolution, and part of this process must be seen as the electoral aspect. This entails that the people have a right to elect, and we must respect this right, which is manifested in each electoral contest. In Nicaragua we had another election in 1984—the first democratic one in our history—and now we have had a second election, in which the Frente Sandinista lost, but the democratic process came out stronger.

**Q: Do you feel comfortable with the role of opposition?**

**A:** We will make a constructive opposition in which we will support all those actions which would lead to the broadening of democracy in Nicaragua in the economic, social and political fields. We will combat all those actions which deny the revolutionary conquests.

**Q: Is the government of Violeta Chamorro strong enough to put its program into effect?**

**A:** We hope that this government will respect the popular will; those who voted for the Frente Sandinista, as well as those who voted for UNO, do not wish from this government measures which would sacrifice it, but rather which would improve the standard of living of the population in the economic and social fields. We do not hope for measures which would tend to negate political rights, or rights of organization recently received in other areas. In other words, we will try to follow a policy of constructive opposition, in which the goal of the Frente, the goal of the unions, the goal of the labor force, of the citizens, is essentially to ensure that the government does good things which benefit the people.

**Q: Is the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas a result of the economic policies applied by the Frente Sandinista?**

**A:** The defeat is a reflection of the confrontation between the aggressive policies of the United States and the government of the Frente Sandinista, subjected to a very strong pressure all these years

in which the people have suffered the rigors of Northamerican aggression. The obligatory military service played a very important role in influencing the vote in favor of whatever option promised to suspend the military service.

**Q: Therefore the plan of economic transformation applied by your government did not have a bearing on the Sandinista defeat?**

**A:** I would say instead that the electorate found itself in a contradiction. On the one hand it was convinced that the economic and social program of the Frente was favorable for large sectors of the population, but on the other hand it found itself with the dilemma that it could not resist the military service. Between the service—which put in danger the lives of the youth who went into the military service—and the socio-economic conquests, a very important number of voters decided to vote in favor of the elimination of the service, although of at a cost of putting at risk the social and economic conquests. But those voters are also convinced that Nicaragua has a political space—conquered by the revolution—in

*see Ortega, page 18...*

# Freeport McMoRan: UT's support for a corporate bandit

compiled by Liz Henry

The following article is compiled from research and articles produced this summer by members of the Howlers and Polemicist research groups.

The institutional ties between President Cunningham and private enterprise stand as a case study in an administrator serving the needs of outside constituencies at the expense of education and the public interest. The corporate background and priorities of our UT administrators surface over and over. So we need to examine these corporate connections and ponder their implications for our University.

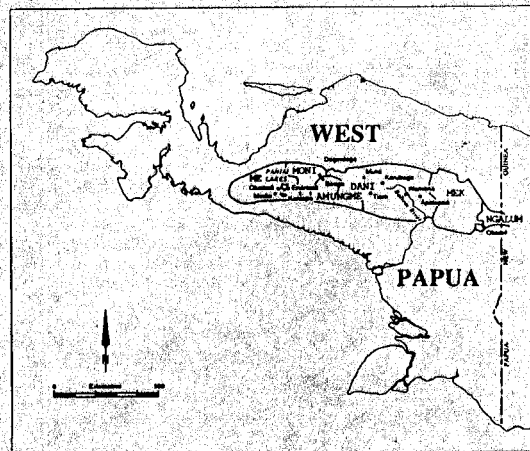
## Cunningham's split personality: Public official or corporate hack?

Probably the major political event of the summer in Austin was the proposed "Planned Unit Development" (PUD). On June 7 some 900 people stormed the City Council chambers to oppose an environmentally dangerous development on Barton Creek, upstream from Barton Springs. The Council hearing lasted until six in the morning, and ended with an unexpected unanimous decision to block the development. The "Faithful Thursday" Council meeting marked one of the greatest outpourings of democracy in Austin's recent history.

In the ongoing battle between the Austin community and the developers of the Estates of Barton Creek over the future of Barton Creek, UT-Austin President Cunningham has publicly sided with the developers, despite widespread community opposition to the project. Cunningham sits on the board of Freeport McMoRan, for which he was paid at least \$50,000 in 1989 according to the company's proxy statement. He's also a paid member of the Policy Committee of the ClubCorp-owned Barton Creek Country Club.

Both Freeport CEO Jim Bob Moffett and ClubCorp's Robert Dedman are major donors to the University. Moffett and Dedman are both members of the UT-Austin Development board, an elite corp of large donors to the University. And in his role as Chairman of the Texas Highway Commission, Dedman, Dedman is in a position to funnel millions in Highway Department research contracts to UT every year.

Freeport McMoRan is a multinational conglomerate with interests in agricultural chemicals, real estate, oil and gas, and copper/gold mining. According to his 1990 financial disclosure statement filed with the Secretary of State, President Cunningham owns over \$70,000 dollars worth of stock in Freeport McMoRan, Inc. and in three of its sub-



sidaries. After Moffett made \$3 million in donations to the University this April, Cunningham offered to request that the regents name a UT building after Moffett and his wife.

Cunningham's wife, advertising professor Isabella Cunningham, also sits on the board of Franklin Federal Savings, an 80 percent-owned subsidiary of ClubCorp. Isabella told *The Austin Chronicle* she makes \$700 per board meeting she attends for her services. Her husband, however, has yet to publicly discuss his position on the payroll of the companies or his role in lobbying for the development.

When the story broke concerning Cunningham's positions with the two companies, UT vice president for administration Ed Sharpe told *The Daily Texan* that "Dr. Cunningham serves on the board as an individual and that's not related to his position at the University."

## Developing Barton Creek

For Austin residents as well as UT students, Barton Creek and Barton Springs represent the best part about Austin. Just below the proposed development, Barton Creek dips into the recharge zone of the Edwards Aquifer, an underground river that constitutes the sole-source water supply for some 30,000 Austinites. And 250,000 people per year visit Barton Springs, an ice-cold swimming hole in Zilker Park where Barton Creek reemerges from underground. The area is unique in both its topography and its public status. It is one of Austin's treasures.

Freeport McMoRan and Club Corp. plan to develop a 4,000 acre tract of land on Barton Creek, plan to build 2,538 houses, 1,900 apartment buildings, three new golf courses and 3.3 million square feet of commercial development (mostly industrial and R&D). If the Council approves their proposal, this deal will likely ruin what's left of Barton Creek, given the sensitivity of the Barton Creek watershed and Freeport's past and present history of water pollution (see below).

Perhaps the most destructive part of the planned development would be the golf courses that would be built right along the creek. Already there's substantial evidence that the golf course currently there has polluted the creek. Just where the creek hits the golf course, the water turns murky and is covered with algae. Earth Firsters have photographed large amounts of sediment washing down from the golf course into the creek during a heavy rain. Further, ClubCorp. plans to fertilize the golf courses using "effluent," a polite word for "sewage." That's problematic because of the limestone topography of the area—sewage can seep through the porous limestone and thus enter the creek.

Of course, one understands the desire to build luxury homes in the secluded West Austin Hill Country. Freeport knows that encampments of "American" employees working in any third world country need to be located in a peaceful, useful, isolated environment, where the elite, white upper class can live apart from the natives. Robert

Dedman says he wants to turn Barton Creek Properties into the "River Oaks" or "Highland Park" of the city. These corporate America conquistadors need exclusive country clubs, private parks, and huge homes in suburbs newly built amidst the untamed natural environment. In Austin, this refuge of the rich right would be the Barton Creek Estates, if the developers have their way.

## Toxic chemicals in Louisiana

"Freeport-McMoRan people understand the need to develop all resources in ways that are compatible with the environment: With years of experience, they have demonstrated the ability to do so," declares the *Summary Statement* for the Barton Creek Planned Unit Development, issued days before the uprising at the City Council. Reality and the public record, however, reveal a different story. Despite the slick phrases churned out in its *Summary Statement*, Freeport has proved its unreliability elsewhere in the U.S., especially through its controversial mining and chemical operations in Louisiana.

According to a study by Citizen Action, a national Washington-based environmental watchdog group, in 1988 Freeport McMoRan ranked as the sixth largest producer of toxic waste in the U.S., and the number one water polluter in the country. In fact, Citizen Action reports that the two worst water polluting plants in the country both belong to Freeport's fertilizer subsidiary, Agrico Chemical Co. Most of Freeport's toxic water discharges are dumped into the Mississippi River—the water supply for New Orleans—from these two Louisiana fertilizer plants.

Despite its dismal pollution record, Freeport claims that it complies fully with all Louisiana environmental ordinances. Louisiana's Department of Environmental Quality (DEQ) thinks otherwise. Student research on Freeport's Louisiana plants unearthed a copy of DEQ's August 11, 1988 Proposed Penalty Notice to Freeport. The document cites four separate violations of dumping limits over seven months at Freeport's fertilizer plant in Uncle Sam, Louisiana. One of the incidents involved Freeport pouring more than twice the allowed toxic discharge into the river—79,681 lbs. of phosphorus in a single day.

Investigations by employees of DEQ determined that over three separate periods, one lasting 12 days, Freeport failed to properly monitor its pollutants as required by its discharge permit; for these and many other violations of Louisiana state law, Freeport was chastised and fined. Obviously it's more convenient for Freeport to pay a few paltry state

finer than to stop dumping toxic chemicals into the drinking supply of a major U.S. city. If Freeport can afford to violate state environmental laws this consistently, and still claim their discharges are "fully permitted," then their claims about their pollution-free golf courses should be viewed skeptically.

Freeport bragged of its environmental activism to the City Council in June 1990, telling them that "More than \$6 million has been invested in the past two years alone in pilot plant to recover sulphur from by-product phosphogypsum and create aggregate from that remains for use in road and other construction activities." That statement obscures the context of Freeport's decision to recycle its gypsum waste. In 1987, reports the 1-28-87 *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, Freeport's Uncle Sam plant was one of four federal plants that petitioned state and federal officials for permission to dump 12 million tons of radioactive phosphogypsum annually into the Mississippi river, where New Orleans gets its drinking water. According to the New Orleans Sewerage and Water Board, the excessive heavy-metal and radioactive discharges would put children, dialysis patients, and pregnant women at risk.

It wasn't Freeport's wisdom and benevolence that caused it to recycle gypsum waste. The company did so only after losing a months-long battle with the people of New Orleans for the right to dump chemical by-products into their drinking water. The Summary Statement of July 1990 touts Freeport's "recycled" phosphogypsum aggregate as a useful road construction material, although a year earlier reports of strong acidic smells, dead and dying vegetation including trees and possibly animal life, halted work on the test sections of Highway 90 containing the phosphogypsum by-product.

Why doesn't Freeport care what happens to Louisiana's environment? In the eyes of a multinational corporation, Louisiana is just another third-world country to be exploited for all it's worth. Tellingly, in the public battle over the proposed gypsum dumping, Jim Bob Moffett indicated that his opponents were "ignorant," and declared Louisiana a "banana republic." That this was the worst insult he could think of reveals the blatantly exploitative corporate mentality about to be unleashed on the Austin community.

### Freeport in Indonesia

Freeport McMoran doesn't limit its environmental degradation to the Austin or Louisiana. The environmental journal *World Rivers Review* reveals in its Jan./Feb. 1989 issue that, "virtually free from troublesome regulations", Freeport's copper/gold subsidiary in Indonesia, Freeport Indonesia Inc., has "dumped mine tailings from its open-pit copper mine on the Aghawagong-Otomona-Ajikwa river system in the Jayawijaya mountains continuously for 16 years,"

Freeport's cozy relationship with the Indonesian government allows it to continue that disgraceful practice. According to the July/August 1989 issue of the Indonesian magazine *Setiakwan*, the U.S. government in 1967 demanded concessions from Indonesia that would allow Freeport to mine copper, gold and silver with no environmental restrictions in exchange for foreign aid and loans. The U.S. government threatened to deny scholarships to Indonesian students who wanted to study in the U.S. if the Indonesian government refused to comply. Under the deal, the Indonesian government allows Freeport to mine while paying Indonesia next to nothing for the gold and silver it extracts. This lucrative arrangement made Freeport Indonesia the most profitable of all Freeport's subsidiaries.

When the Indonesian government, under pressure from international envi-

rols \$398,000 of the project's \$1 million phase-one budget.

Moffett has been a strong alumni supporter of the Natural Sciences College, sitting on the Geological Sciences Advisory Council from 1972-1985. In 1982, Moffett funded the Robert E. Boyer Centennial professorship in geology. Although UT policy dictates that donors can't dictate who receives the positions they endow, Moffett's former senior thesis advisor Boyer was the first professor to receive the position.

The research proposal for the UT project, obtained under the Texas Open Records Act, states that the project "will serve as a basis for regional exploration in Irian Jaya and similar settings in the rest of Southeast Asia by Freeport, Indonesia, Inc." In a UT publication last fall, Cloos explained that UT's research "will give us the background information needed to find the next ore deposit."



### Yali boy

ronmental groups, agreed to conduct a study on the impact of Freeport's river dumping, it allowed Freeport to hire the scientists and conduct the study using Freeport facilities. It's certainly no surprise that the study uncovered no harmful effects of dumping raw copper-mining wastes into the West Papua water supply.

### UT: the Indonesian connection.

The UT Geology Department recently accepted a ten-year grant from Freeport to explore for copper ore deposits in Indonesia where Freeport owns copper-mine interests. Just months after UT had begun its study, the Indonesian government granted Freeport Indonesia exclusive one-year exploration rights in a 25,000 km<sup>2</sup> section of Western New Guinea. The UT contract sheds light on how corporate relationships can pervert the idea of a public university working in the public interest.

The project, headed by Natural Sciences Dean and former Geology Department chair Robert E. Boyer is funded by a gift from Moffett of \$2 million. Boyer declared himself "personally grateful"; as director of the UT-Freeport Indonesia geological survey, he personally con-

Photo by Owen Jelpke

In a June 28, letter to the *Austin Chronicle*, Freeport Vice President for State Government Relations/Environmental Affairs D.J. Miller wrote that the UT project is "basic scientific research" because it will be published in scientific journals. The letter agreement between Freeport and UT dated April 18, 1989 and signed by the same D.J. Miller reveals the potential economic importance of UT research in Indonesia:

"The University shall keep confidential any proprietary information obtained from Freeport Indonesia, which, where feasible, will be reduced to writing, subject to standard exceptions of public knowledge, prior knowledge, rightful third party disclosure and that which is required to be disclosed by law or other applicable regulation.

"Subject to the confidentiality restrictions hereinabove, the University shall have the right to publish the results of the Project, subject to consultation with Freeport Indonesia as to timing and inclusion of Freeport Indonesia generated information, and subject to considerations of patentability and impact of publication on the operations of Freeport Indonesia and its affiliates."

This clause in the research contract clearly violates traditional principles of

academic freedom. Instead of having freedom to publish whatever information their investigation turns up in the academic tradition, UT scientists must clear all published items with their corporate sponsors at Freeport. The content of their publications aren't simply limited by the academic integrity of the authors, but by "considerations of patentability and impact of publication on the operations of Freeport Indonesia and its affiliates."

Thus, the agreement takes information generated by state-employed UT professors and gives the University a financial interest in withholding that information from the public unless they can afford to pay. But Freeport gets it royalty-free. Not exactly public service.

### Corporate profits or public service?

Since WWII American government and corporate interests have intensively and systematically planned for domination of world strategic resources. In its search for new territories to hold its economic and territorial expansion, now the University continues this tradition in its unofficial partnership with corporations like ClubCorp, Freeport McMoran, and Franklin Federal. As national boundaries blur with the complex relationships of governments and multinational corporations, education has become a name for a process that blinds us to the economic connections that ultimately control the structure of our own lives.

It should not be commonly accepted for administrators, faculty, and regents to be "employed" by corporations working with the university. The worst kinds of corporate nepotism, supported enthusiastically by the University's Strategic Plan, are beginning to control the economics and politics not only of internal university affairs, but of the entire city.

University staff, students, and faculty must wake up and take their education into their own hands. It's war—between us and the Boards of Directors of companies richer than we can imagine. Perhaps Freeport's decision makers will show more respect for the health and livelihoods of the people of Austin than they have for the people of Indonesia. But should we trust this company, the nation's leading water polluter, with Barton Creek? With its shameful environmental record and its powerful boosters like Dedman and Cunningham, the company appears poised to exploit one of Austin's treasures without concern for the community. It's up to the Austin community to stop it.

Editors note: Environmental groups have called for a boycott on Franklin Federal because of its racist lending policies and the role of its parent company in the Barton Creek development—if you have an account with Franklin, pull it and tell them why.

Vegetarian potluck dinners every first & third Thursday each month at 7:00 at 3404 Cedar Street. 467-8516.

# Academic Freedom In Palestine: 'The University Will Remain Closed'

by Abu Salma

*"Every one has the right to education... higher education shall be accessible to all on the basis of merit!"*  
—The United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 26

To a UT student, it would perhaps be welcome news: "The Universities Will Remain Closed." But for some 17,000 Palestinian students in the Occupied Territories, it's a condition they will have to endure for a third consecutive year. Palestinian schools and universities were closed shortly after the breakout of the Intifada in December of 1987.

The Israeli Civil Administration, carrying out the orders of the military, closed all Palestinian educational institutions (including, eventually, kindergartens), thus beginning a new era of Israeli harassment against education. Schools and universities were subjected to military harassment in the past, but the level of brutality and the singling out of education as a target for this brutality are the direct results of the Israeli effort to further suppress the will for self-determination on the part of the Palestinian people.

Officially the Israeli Civil Administration, as of mid July 1989, has allowed the reopening of the schools. Most schools, however, remain the targets of individual or local closing orders. The five major universities will remain closed until further notice. As of today, only the Health Professions and the Sciences Departments of al-Quds University were allowed to reopen (largely due to international efforts). The Israeli Administration claimed that this was only a test, and the remaining departments and universities would follow only if no further "disturbances" occurred. In the past the shooting and killing of a Palestinian student by Israeli soldiers was considered adequate reason to close the universities. Thus, many Palestinians are skeptical about the results of this test.

## Target: The Students

The Israeli crackdown on education in the Occupied Territories is no coincidence. The occupation strictly limits the opportunities open to Palestinians. As a result, going to school has become a very important venue as both an identity symbol and career option. One in every five Palestinians in the Occupied Territories is a student, a fact that reflects the integral role students play in the community, both demographically and socially. Students are in the forefront of the resistance movement, a resistance that is usually portrayed in the Western media in terms of stone throwing. However, in reality it penetrates deep into every as-

pect of the life of the community. Students are involved in all kind of popular committees, such as production cooperatives, health care, popular education as well as the Unified Leadership of the Uprising.

The Israeli Military thus made students the primary targets for its brutality: detention, beatings, prison without due judicial process, deportations and the demolition of the family home for the actions of one of its members. The most significant expression of this brutality, however, was the closure of all educational institutions which serve the Palestinian community. All of these measures violate international and local law.

Faculty and staff are also targets of these same tactics, especially if they were active within their community. The story of Dr. Hazboun provides a case in point. (see sidebar.)

## The Closed Universities

There are five major Palestinian universities and several colleges in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Most of these institutions were established after the 1967 war as a result of the inaccessibility to Jordanian and other Arab and International universities. The Israeli authorities pride themselves in having allowed the establishment of universities in the West Bank and Gaza. The reality, however, Israel has never provided financial support to universities in the Occupied Territories—in fact, not even the taxes collected in the West Bank and Gaza go to supporting Palestinian institutions of higher education. Perhaps the only way Palestinian taxes find their way back to the territories is through tear gas and bullets. Palestinian universities are completely dependant on tuition money and donations. This fact alone can help explain the severity of a prolonged closure of these institutions.

Closing the universities is not a new form of harassment against the Palestinian academic community. For instance, BirZeit University has not had a single uninterrupted academic year since its establishment in 1974. However, the prolonged closure of the universities since the beginning of the Intifada poses an even greater burden on both the financial and academic levels—a burden intensifies with every month that passes.

On the financial side, the universities have lost all their income from tuition. And, because of the deteriorating economic conditions under the occupation, the Palestinian universities (unlike UT) don't resort to shifting their economic troubles to their students. However, the institutions are still paying salaries for their faculty and staff as well as the inevitable taxes levied by the Israeli Administration. The indirect costs are

harder to determine; chemicals expiring in the laboratories, periodicals collecting dust on the shelves, electronic equipment not being properly maintained, lost income from research money, the list goes on and on.

The academic loss to the universities is even greater. Palestinian universities are all accredited institutions tied by academic agreements with international universities. The closure of BirZeit University, for instance, halted all their joint scientific research programs with Amsterdam university. All major conferences had to be cancelled; opportunities for lectures by distinguished guest scholars were missed; and many exchange programs were postponed. In addition, keeping up with current research publications is almost impossible without a library.

On the local level, universities have lost many local community-oriented research projects. For example, the long-term agricultural experiments on the environmental impact of pesticides were "lost," much to the frustration of the professors, who were conducting them, and the farmers, who were waiting for the results.



## Popular Education

As soon as it became apparent that the closure of the universities and schools was going to be indefinite, the Unified Leadership of the Uprising asserted the need for the continuation of the educational processes in the form of Popular Education. Students and teachers would meet in small tutorial settings, and the learning would take place in underground classes. This process has had its limitations, however. In addition to being psychologically straining, only non-laboratory courses could be taught. Also, teachers have had a difficult time provid-

ing reading materials for their students; some librarians risk their lives to smuggle reading materials from the sealed libraries. Yet, despite all the hardship, the universities managed to graduate hundreds of students through the program of Popular Education.

Popular Education involves topics other than academic ones. Literacy and other community service classes are offered through Popular Education. As early as August 1988, the Israeli Administration, in yet another effort to punish the people of the Intifada, banned all forms of popular committees including Popular Education. Teachers involved in underground classes were arrested, interrogated and tortured, and then detained for at least six months, usually without any formal charges. Students were also arrested and detained for participating in Popular Education "illegal" classes. Evidence of such participation can be as simple as carrying books in the street.

Popular education is still taking place despite all the obstacles, even in prisons and detention camps. Many illiterate detainees learn to read and write from other fellow detainees. Foreign languages are another popular subject to learn in jail.

## Criminalization of Education

The first orders to close the universities were delivered separately to each university. Afterwards, the orders to keep all institutions of higher education closed were issued in single communiques. Later the Civil (read: military) orders were offered orally. The collective nature of the closure of the educational institutions indicates that the real aim of the Israeli authorities was not to curb disturbances, but rather to criminalize education itself as a form of collective punishment against the Intifada. Further evidence is provided by the following facts: even small off campus classes or study groups were considered "illegal"; Israeli soldiers while searching the buildings of the closed universities were looking for evidence of *ta'lim* (Arabic for teaching); young people were arrested in the streets for carrying books; and the claim that Palestinian schools are inciting terrorist acts can be especially refuted by the fact that the orders to close schools included kindergartens!

The closure of the Palestinian educational institutions is an effort on the part of the Israeli occupation to de-educate the new Palestinian generation; and to pressure them, through the denial of the right to education, to stop their struggle for self determination.

Israeli academics have, only marginally and on an individual basis, come out in support of the Palestinian academics.

However, with international support a lot of pressure has been put on the Israeli authorities to reopen the universities. Moreover, the reopening has to come, as professor Azmi Bishara (philosophy, Birzeit) has pointed out, with "international guarantees that the universities will remain open and free from Israeli interference in their internal affairs." The American academic community should join the international campaign to reopen Palestinian universities, if for no other reason than the fact that academic freedom is the foundation for all academic and educational pursuits, and ultimately must be held dear as an expression of democracy.

If you would like more information on the campaign for academic freedom in the West Bank and Gaza, please write to:

The Coalition for Fair Education  
PO Box 8042  
Austin, TX 78713 *IP*

## Campus Environmental Groups:

Come to meet & connect with others with whom you might share information & interest on matters related to UT.

Monday • Sept. 12 • 8 pm  
Texas Union Patio  
(Fred — 478-7666)

# Israeli Justice, Palestinian Professors

Dr. Samir Hazboun, chair of the Economics Department at BirZeit University, was detained on the evening of October 9, 1988. The following is excerpted from his detention story:

"About fifty soldiers came to the house."

When he demanded to see a detention warrant the arresting officer replied: "We don't have democracy here and we do not need it."

"I was put in a kind of cage and I guess it was about 3:30 am when an intelligence officer came and took me... He sat me on a chair and began asking me questions. 'So you want the PLO as your representative?' I said to him that I did and he replied that I would pay for that. ... He told me to sit on the floor and carried the interview with me sitting on the floor. After about half an hour he took me back to the cage."

"I asked to use the WC. They said it was forbidden."

Dr. Hazboun was detained for six months in the desert detention camp of Ansar III. He defended himself during the appeal session:

"I took the opportunity to put forward my beliefs: that I am an academic and that I support a peaceful solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict; that I am opposed to the use of violence ... and that I believe in the two-state solution ... as a just basis to achieve peace.

I asked the court if it was illegal to announce one's beliefs and if it was not, then I should not be in prison. I was met with no response whatsoever in court and they upheld my detention order for the six month period."

"Administrative detention for a period of six months. The reason given on the order was 'incitement.'"

"I was put in section A. Each section consisted of 10 tents, with 25 or 26 detainees to each tent... There was no water provided."

"They took us out of the tent for roll call. They sat us on the ground with our hands behind our backs. This happened in all weather. Military police circulated amongst us."

"I was taken to a room away from the section... There was a man I thought was a military officer... He introduced himself, 'Hello I am Professor Amon Cohen ... He told me he just wanted to ask me some questions — it was not an interrogation session. He added... 'what is your opinion of the declaration of independence?... Is it an economic or social crisis that is the cause of the Intifada?' .... I told him that I had no idea why I was there, in Ansar III that is. He replied that as far as he knew they had nothing against me..."

On the day of the declaration of independence of the Palestinian State:

"It was not until the afternoon that

we started singing national songs to celebrate the new state. We were punished by having our cigarettes confiscated and not being allowed any toilet paper."

"The red cross was not able to get any material to us."

Education in prison:

"I gave a University course ... to two students of mine... after we were all released they took their examination and were awarded their credit hours by the University."

Dr. Hazboun was released after the end of his six month term; other professors were not as lucky—some of them had their detention prolonged another six months, others are put under house or town arrest. Torture is used during interrogations in many cases (Deeb Saleh, Lecturer, Electrical Engineering); food and medical deprivation while in detention are also common (Nicola Dabit, lecturer in Physics). Deportation from the Territories is the ultimate punishment, however (Taysser Arruri, Physics). The irony, however, is that many of these professors are known for their moderate views; some are even famous peace activists. Most of these people were never charged formally in a court of law.

— Abu Salma

**Salvador Update:**

# Bush, U.S. media back Salvador government as Congress considers aid

by Charley McMartin

The brutal reality of El Salvador is beginning to sink in on Capitol Hill. As the new decade brings continued bloodshed in the Central American country torn by ten years of civil war, Congressional leaders consider next week cutting aid to the government of El Salvador.

**U.S. Congress votes on aid**  
Senator Dodd (D-CT)—historically a friend to the ruling, right-wing ARENA government—admitted in August that "the principal stumbling block [to a negotiated settlement] is the Salvadoran Armed Forces. There will be no peace, no justice, no democracy in El Salvador so long as the military and security forces in that country can act with impunity."

By September 15th, the U.S. Senate will vote on the Dodd-Leahy Bill which would withhold 50 percent of the \$85 million in arms aid for El Salvador requested by the Bush Administration for fiscal year 1991, including funds already "in the pipeline."

On June 27th, the U.S. House of

Representatives approved similar language introduced by Rep. Joe Moakley (D-Ma) and his colleague, John Murtha (D-Pa).

"American taxpayer money," Rep. Murtha explained, "has not been used to build peace with democracy [in El Salvador], but to destroy hope and build the private bank accounts of those who get rich at the expense of the Salvadoran people and the American people."

The current rupture in the bipartisan consensus which had existed on El Salvador during the 1980s offers significant hope for weakening the Salvadoran Army's grip on El Salvador's future. A cut in U.S. aid would be a tacit condemnation of the Army's role in human rights violations during the 1980s.

**U.S. obstructs justice in Jesuit case**  
Meanwhile, the Bush Administration scrambles to protect the Salvadoran Army—its bloody but close ally. The Administration threatens a presidential veto of the entire U.S. foreign aid bill for 1991 if the Dodd-Leahy language is included this month.

In related news, the U.S. Defense

Intelligence Agency denied a request by lawyers for documents which may implicate both Salvadoran Army officials and U.S. Embassy members in the November 1989 assassination of six Jesuit ministers in El Salvador.

The New York based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights recently filed a Freedom of Information Act request on behalf of the Jesuits asking to see 21 documents held by the U.S. government on the case. The United States Defense Intelligence Agency denied the request citing national security reasons. The Jesuit provincial, José María Tojeira, stated that such a refusal showed the United States was obstructing progress in the case.

The Jesuit case is the central component of Congressional efforts to withhold aid this month. In August, a U.S. Congressional task force accused the Salvadoran Army's high command of "a conspiracy to obstruct justice" in the Jesuits' slayings. According to Rep. Moakley, senior Army officials "withheld evidence, destroyed evidence, and repeatedly perjured themselves in testimony before the judge."

**Army's Jakarta Plan**

The U.S.-Salvadoran Army cover-up further unraveled when late last month, a Salvadoran Army plan to eliminate opposition leaders came to light.

The Army code named its repressive campaign the "Jakarta Plan" after Indonesia's slaughter of hundreds of thousands of suspected leftists in 1965. (Later documents showed that the U.S. Embassy had provided the Indonesian government with the lists of opposition leaders in 1964 and 1965.) In the Salvadoran Army's "Jakarta Plan," as many as 100 religious, trade union, peasant and student leaders were placed on the Army's death list—including Salvadoran Catholic Church head, Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas.

On November 16th last year, soldiers raided the Lutheran Church's main offices and the homes of many prominent critics of the government. Most opposition leaders had already gone into hiding. The six Jesuit priests, however, refused to take precautions despite numerous death threats. Their work on behalf of human rights had gained them international recognition and they believed the Army would be reluctant to target them for attack.

**Lies of Our (NY) Times**

Thought control in a democratic society is an enormously subtle process. Indeed, it must be. Corporate media replace the re-education camps and gulags. The commissar's grip on history takes new

form in the editor's careful redefinition of issues. The portrayal of El Salvador in the *New York Times* offers a case in point.

Take the August 27 NYT article by Lindsey Gruson entitled, "Freer Speech Offers Small El Salvador Paper a Role as a Gadfly" which appeared on page A4. The article portrays the afternoon daily paper in San Salvador known as *Diario Latino*. Gruson's focuses on the willingness of DL to publish paid advertisements and press releases of the political opposition in El Salvador; a country in which to be an open critic of the government or of the military is to risk one's life.

The punch line of Gruson's article is the following, taken from paragraph eight: "Diario Latino's emergence reflects [Salvadoran] society's developing political tolerance after a decade of ideologically driven civil war."

In paragraph seven, Gruson frames the central threat to freedom of expression in El Salvador as "[the] long history of right-wing death-squad activity."

Finally, Gruson asserts that none of the "centers of power" in El Salvador "escape criticism" amidst this "nascent political opening." In paragraph eleven, Gruson identifies the four "centers of power" as the Salvadoran Army, the governing National Republican Alliance (ARENA), the "opposition" Christian Democratic Party (PDC) and the "leftist guerrillas and their political fronts."

Gruson takes the civil war in El Salvador and successfully obscures the three most important pieces to understanding revolution in Latin America and in particular, El Salvador. In the words of Edward Said, by "covering" El Salvador, Gruson has "covered-up" El Salvador.

Let's look at these pieces mentioned above. First, Gruson skillfully air-brushes the chief force in El Salvador out of his "centers of power" picture: the United States Embassy in San Salvador.

The United States government provides more aid to the ARENA government of Alfredo Cristiani than that government itself raises in taxes, tariffs and other revenues combined. The majority of the Salvadoran Army's leaders are graduates of U.S. military schools and all received some form of U.S. military training.

In 1988, the U.S. Embassy blocked the delivery of an U.S. Congressional appropriation for higher education in El Salvador so as to punish the University of El Salvador for its criticism of U.S. policy in Central America.

Why does Gruson forget to include this center of power? Without the U.S. in the picture, the violence in El Salvador is more easily portrayed as a "dark quag-

**Bring perpetrators of human rights abuses out from the shadows!**

**VOLUNTEERS NEEDED!**

The Human Rights and International-Legal Departments of **El Rescate** have undertaken a major project in hopes of facilitating El Salvador's transition from a militarized to a democratic society. This project, entitled "The Index to Accountability," is an attempt to "name names," — to create an outline of human rights abuses that can be directly linked to individuals, to illuminate the faces of the perpetrators of kidnappings, tortures, and assassinations during 10 years of tragic civil war in El Salvador.

*"It is essential to the structure of torture that it take place in secret, in the dark, beyond considerations of shame and account. When the torturer assures his victim that 'No one will ever know,' he is at once trying to break the victim's spirit and to bolster his own. He needs to know that no one will ever know; otherwise the entire premise of his own participation in the perverse encounter would quickly come into question."*

— Lawrence Weschler

**Research volunteers needed now!**

**Call Mark Macek at 472-2970.**

El Rescate, established in 1981 by Salvadorans bonded out of INS detention centers, is the nation's largest Central American refugee organization. El Rescate is located in Los Angeles, which is home to over 400,000 who have fled the violence of their war-torn country.

**¡Spanish speakers!**

pire," a not-so-subtly racist condemnation of Latin American revolutions.

Without the United States in the picture, there is no reason to debate U.S. aid, on reason to inquire into U.S. prior knowledge of Army human rights violations, nor any basis upon which to question U.S. foreign policy generally. The decisive role our government plays has been successfully obscured. (The commissars are taking notes.)

The second piece to Gruson's game of thematic redefinition is the threat to democracy and free expression in El Salvador. According to Gruson, it is "right-wing death-squad activity." Punto. Somewhere between Gruson's investigation and the final article, the overwhelming evidence of Salvadoran Army involvement and U.S. Embassy complicity in violations of freedom of expression was ignored. It is unclear whether Gruson left it out or whether the *Times* editors took it out; blame cannot be accurately assigned.

The central issue is this: the critical connection between the Salvadoran death-squads and the institutions of power and privilege in El Salvador is obscured. And it is these powers which erode any semblance of freedom of expression in El Salvador. A few examples from the horror chamber will suffice to demonstrate this point.

In July 1989, witnesses reported men in Army uniform on the UCA campus moments before the Jesuit university's publishing house was destroyed by bomb-blast. In November 1989, members of the Army's First Brigade reportedly assassinated Dagoberto Aguirre, editor of the student newspaper at the University of El Salvador.

And this year, *Christian Science Monitor* reporter Chris Norton condemned the U.S. Embassy for falsely listing his name (for the second time since 1988) as responsible for a report critical of the Salvadoran Army. The previous two examples reveal the result Norton feared by being publically listed in El Salvador.

The third piece of the puzzle is the *Times'* redefinition of free expression.

According to Gruson, opposition newspapers are commensurate with free speech. And for those who do not own a newspaper?

On August 8th this year, a small group of labor organizers entered the central market of San Salvador to distribute leaflets and to hang a banner. Sellers in the central market have been hit hard by the austerity measures of the ARENA government. The price of intermediate goods such as propane for stoves to cook "fast food" has more than doubled during the first six months of 1990 alone.

The activists hurriedly passed out the leaflets which condemned the Cristian government for the price hikes. As market sellers and customers eagerly snatched them up and looked them over, two other activists quickly hung a banner which expressed their support for secondary school teachers in the midst of their own work stoppage.

Within fifteen minutes, soldiers and members of the National Police gathered outside the market and began harassing those who had taken leaflets. The activists broke into pairs and exited in different directions to escape capture by the security forces.

Opposition newspapers are necessary but far from sufficient for free expression. The right to distribute (and to read) leaflets, to operate radio stations, to publish union newsletters, to pass out information at work-sites and to organize are left out of the NYT definition of free expression. Having done so, the activities and risks of trade union activists, peasant organizers and students—the gritty trenches of Salvadoran free expression—are filtered out of the article.

The propagandist's main task in a democratic society is to frame the terms of debate such that the central issue is obscured. The task accomplished, permissible debate (between Democrats and Republicans) can then proceed without harm to the institutions of power and privilege. The task of overturning this dynamic may prove to be decisive in the struggle for an open and just society.



U.S. solidarity delegation prepares to participate in a commemorative march.

Photo by Steve Fuchs

### As we go to press

As *Policemicist* goes to press this week the following information comes to us from sources in El Salvador. One spokeswoman for the urban commandos of the FMLN in San Salvador noted in conjunction with this latest information that the prospects for a cease-fire in 1990 "look grim." She added, "the necessity of further military pressure on the [Salvadoran] Army increases each day."

In the provincial capitals of Santa Ana and San Vicente, over 75 political prisoners in prisons found in those cities were beaten during the early morning hours of August 21st by soldiers of the Salvadoran Army. The Committee of Political Prisoners of El Salvador (COPPE) reported that afterwards, the 75 were removed from the facilities in the two cities and not all have been accounted for.

The same day, in the town of Guarjila in the northern province of Chalatenango, two Jesuit priests were shot at by snipers after the Salvadoran Armed Forces had begun five days of military operations in the area. Father Jon Cortina, ex-prof-

essor at the Central American University (UCA) in San Salvador and friend to the six Jesuits murdered there in November 1989 as well as Father Nicolas Alvaranga, escaped unharmed in the attack. Residents of the town of Guarjila charged the Army with bombing fields and buildings belonging to the town during the five days leading up to the attack against the two Jesuits.

In a move that bodes ill for civilian participation in later rounds of negotiations, the Salvadoran government of ARENA president, Alfredo Cristiani, rejected requests by the Permanent Committee of the National Debate for Peace in El Salvador (CPDN) to participate in the negotiations process, according to CPDN leader and Baptist minister, Reverend Edgar Palacios.

In the past months, representatives of the CPDN carried on conversations with both the government negotiators and the rebel negotiating team at Mexico and at San Jose, Costa Rica. The CPDN represents over 70 organizations working for peace in El Salvador. Their combined membership is estimated at 1.5 million.

## Austin CISPES' position on the Middle East crisis

The Austin chapter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador joins with other area organizations in opposition to resolving the current crisis through unilateral U.S. military actions. We offer the following position paper to outline an approach to the crisis.

### Support for Self-determination in the Middle East

The recent troop movements in the Middle East on the part of the U.S. government are only the latest in a history of Western aggression in the region. Such military intervention—an extension of attempts at economic control of Middle Eastern natural resources—is a threat to self-determination in the

Middle East. As well, the U.S. military action supercedes international bodies set up to resolve such conflicts (e.g.: UN, Arab League, etc...). The intervention threatens self-determination not only in the Middle East but also puts at risk the principles of similar struggles for self-determination in Africa, Latin America, the Pacific and those of indigenous populations throughout the world.

### Defense of Democracy at Home

At home, the U.S. intervention prolongs a culture of militarism, eroding our democratic principles. George Bush's appeals to "protecting our way of life" discourage not only dissent and public criticism of U.S. foreign policy but also debate around alternative energy and ecological policies.

### End Racism in All Its Forms

For our Arab-American brothers and sisters, the intervention heightens an atmosphere of intolerance here in the United States, offering day-to-day threats to physical safety, housing and work. Racism is unacceptable in any form: in the classroom; in the media, in editorial cartoons, at the workplace, in the halls of Congress, in our union, or in casual conversation.

### Specific Demands

1. Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops and advisors from Saudi Arabia;
2. Respect for the self-determination of all peoples of the Middle East: Kuwait, Palestine, as well as the Kurds

and other minority populations of Iraq;

3. Establishment of an Austin citizens' panel on racist stereotyping in the media;
4. A special issue of the *Austin American Statesman*, focusing on the historical underpinnings of the crisis in the Middle East and the crisis' effect on the U.S. economy with special attention given to dissenting views on: self-determination for Palestinian peoples; the threat of war and racist attacks against Arab-Americans; alternative energy policies for the United States; environmental implications of a petroleum-based economy.

—Austin CISPES

# Co-opted

...continued from page 3

University of Maryland vice chancellor, initiated a state police investigation against Janus, alleging that she had received a 1980 Datsun from a bookstore supplier in return for store contracts. (The investigation, which named Maloni as the complainant, was concluded to be false and based on "hearsay and innuendo.")

that Mitchell intentionally inflicted emotional distress on the women—screaming at them in the store, labelling them "incompetents and troublemakers," and threatening to put a letter in one of the plaintiffs' personnel file stating that "she acted like a baby."

In 1983, the State settled out of court in favor of the plaintiffs. The minutes of the Maryland Department of Budget and fiscal planning state that the settlement was approved with the understanding that it be taken out of University Book Center funds. (Sources: Prince George's County Records Office, *The Baltimore Sun*, March 31, 1982; *Prince George's Journal*, April 2, 1982; *The Diamond-back*, April 1, 1982)

An example of Mitchell's managerial prose style can be found in the conclusion to a letter of reprimand that Mitchell sent to Steve Falke, manager of the book department at the University Book Center in January of 1981:

*I hope that you understand that I do not play games. I expect immediate results and will not tolerate inefficiency. We are here to serve the people of this community and that is what we will do, and we will do it my way. If you feel that you cannot accomplish this mission, then you should look elsewhere for employment. (You should realize that you are one of the highest paid Book Department Managers in the country). Because if I find this ineffi-*

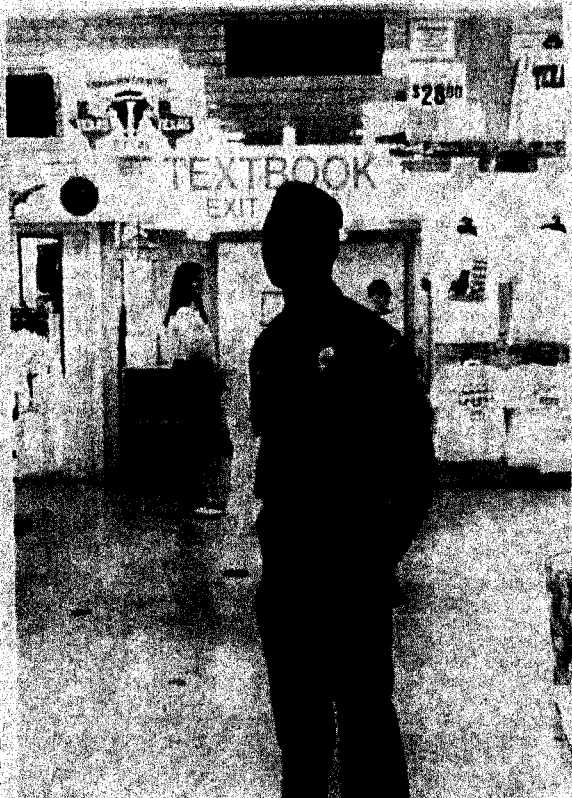
*ciency continuing, I will recommend to Mr. Goecker that we terminate your employment.*

Falke was not involved in the lawsuit, but he did resign, citing Mitchell's managerial practice as the cause, in a letter sent to the University of Maryland Personnel Department as a response to a post-employment questionnaire. In this letter, Falke refuted the substance of the charges levelled by Mitchell in the letter of reprimand and further stated that Mitchell "made a totally inappropriate phone call" to his home on January 12, 1981. Falke states that Mitchell called to ask where the buyback rooms were and when Mitchell was informed that he had the room reservation, Mitchell said "don't give me any of your shit" and hung up.

## Mitchell's attack on the union

When Mitchell became president of the University Co-op here at UT, one of his first acts was to lay off 15 people in June of 1987. Four of the people discharged were department heads, six were part-time employees and five were full-time employees. 8 of the 15 let go were members of the University Co-operative Employees Union and 11 of the 15 were covered by the Union contract. The number of union members laid off was disproportionately high since union membership comprised approximately 21% of the Co-op's work force at the time, while the ratio of union members laid off was 53%. The president of the Co-op employees union at the time, Doug Brown, stated in *The Texan* that Mitchell hired 15-20 temporary workers in July to replace the employees he had laid off in June. In a recent interview Brown stated that, in retrospect, the layoffs appeared to be unnecessary since additional employees had to be hired to cope with the fall rush. "But they were hired at lower salaries," he said, adding, "and it does seem that it was a convenient way for [Mitchell] to get rid of a large number of union members."

As noted above, the management upheaval that culminated in Mitchell's accession to the presidency of the Co-op occurred in the midst of contract negotiations between the union and manage-



Guards monitor student shoppers to discourage theft.

ment. In a recent interview, Brown, who resigned after nearly ten years of service to the Co-op on account of Mitchell's management style, stated that Mitchell rejected all of the provisions already negotiated between labor and management when he took over negotiations on the part of management. After this rollback of negotiations, the renegotiated contract (which continues in effect until October of this year) contains provisions that cannot be seen as equitable to employees:

- Probationary periods are unusually long: six months for full-time employees and one year for part-time employees. During these probationary periods, an employee can be fired without cause and cannot grieve dismissal with management.
- Raises are left entirely to management discretion. (The previous contract required annual raises).

## 'Massive' theft or management intransigence?

In 1988, Mitchell began to act on a board report that the Co-op had shown a \$600,000 loss in the previous fiscal year. His reaction, predictably enough, was to

harass Co-op employees. He began in January of 88 by rigidly enforcing a previously unenforced internal security measure requiring that all employees enter and leave by the back door and leave their coats in a cloakroom and purses in a locker. The first victim of this policy was Berta Gonzalez, an employee of the Co-op for nearly nine years who was fired for bringing her purse to work with her. The policy was widely unpopular with employees. Becky Escamilla, who worked in the textbook department at the time, told *The Texan*:

*"I imagine when my name's quoted in the paper, I'll get all sorts of hell, but that's OK, I want the truth to be told... I don't have a locker. I don't think it's safe so I didn't get one. I don't even bring a book to read for fear of being accused of textbook theft... It insults us; it implies that you're a thief... They can search our things without us ever being there, but we can't complain or we lose our jobs."*

After her dismissal, Gonzalez said that Mitchell "would not listen to our concerns or in many cases not even take



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them into consideration in determining policy." (*The Daily Texan*, April 21, 1988.)

A private investigative firm, Wells and Associates (headed by former FBI agent Joseph Wells) was then commissioned to investigate alleged theft on a "massive" scale (the theft allegations involved a "significant discrepancy" in inventory—how significant was never reported). The primary object of investigation? You guessed it: Co-op employees. After Mitchell announced that the firm would be questioning employees, Wells told *The Texan* that the interviews would not unduly alarm the employees. But Bill Carr, a Co-op employee for over seven years who also resigned under Mitchell's management, told a very different story concerning his questioning. "The questioners were extremely hostile," said Carr in a recent interview. "They told me things like 'We know you stole the books' and 'You don't have any friends here at the Co-op, so you might as well tell us about it'—all of which was completely untrue." Toward the end of the interview, Carr said, there was a loud click which turned out to be a tape recorder hidden inside some software boxes nearby.

Although Mitchell stated that the firm was commissioned to "find the guilty party or parties" and Wells vowed that "We will get to the bottom of this," no definitive word on the discrepancy ever issued from the Co-op or its board. Greg Brown, however, indicated that some of the discrepancy was due to the large number of mark-downs from the text and

trade book departments which were authorized during Roy Harris' acting presidency. Bill Carr who, as shipping and receiving clerk, executed the mark-downs, corroborated Brown's statement. So the private investigation of the Co-op evidently did nothing more than cause more duress at an already tense workplace and waste Co-op funds.

### When a co-op isn't a co-op

The abusive labor practices detailed above are certainly a far cry from the progressive aims that we normally associate with co-operative enterprises. But the questionable practices of the present-day University Co-op are not limited to reprehensible employee management, but also extend to the adherence to co-operative principles with regard to dividends, merchandising and democratic control.

The current rebates issued by the Co-op are in the form of gift certificates which can only be used at the Co-op. Before 1987, however, the Co-op gave cash dividends. Issuing credit slips instead of cash allows the Co-op to pay only a fraction of the percentage that they are "giving" to members since their merchandise is bought wholesale. The Co-op board cited losses from the previous fiscal year, but despite the fact that Mitchell announces higher profits each year, we still do not get cash refunds from our co-op. And since the rebate does not come until October, students have already been hit for cash for their fall texts and cannot use their credit for essential texts at the time of greatest

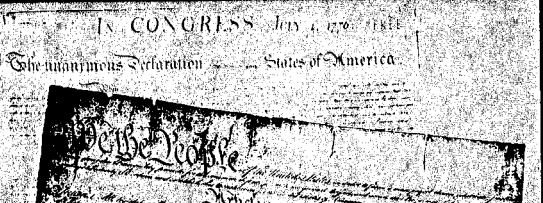
need. Graduating seniors who have left town have no chance to redeem their credits.

Presently, the store emphasizes "soft goods"—clothing, candy, souvenirs, and the various totems of UT jingoism. It's become a Foley's with books, a sort of boutique for foppery and candies that reduces the intellectual needs of the community to the status of afterthought. The immense allocation of prime space for such merchandise appears to conflict with the stipulations of the Co-op charter, which state that the Co-op is to be "operated exclusively for the educational and charitable purposes within the meaning of Section 501 (c) (3) of the internal revenue code." As the educational value of souvenir shotglasses and "Just Do Me" T-shirts is at best questionable, the consistency of such merchandising with the aims of the co-operative is highly doubtful.

Not only does this kind of merchandising conflict with the educational goals of the co-operative as stated in the charter, but it also threatens the Co-op's tax-exempt status. Internal Revenue Service code stipulates that tax-exempt businesses "must both be organized and operated exclusively for one or more [tax exempt] purposes"—i.e., in the Co-op's case, if it doesn't run "exclusively" for either educational or charitable purposes, then it could lose its tax-exempt status.

The new progressive student leadership, led by SA president Toni Luckett and Co-op boardmember Omar Hallaj, should wield this apparent breach of IRS

code like a club to force the Co-op into reform. The reforms should perhaps start with the ouster of the bullying, repressive George Mitchell, and end with the establishment of an authentic Co-op—based on the principles of mass student participation, affordability, and dedication to the academic needs of the community.



# E306 assault

...continued from page 7

course but not until July 21, said in a Sept. 3 interview that he was "very surprised" to hear of Cunningham's assertion in the Valenta letter.

With Kruppa still on vacation on July 18, *The Texan* published the Statement of Academic Concern. On July 19 Cunningham faxed a short letter—obtained by *Polemicist* under the Open Records Act—accompanied only by a copy of the Statement of Concern to Board of Regents chair Louis Beecherl. The letter, signed "Bill," said Cunningham would call Beecherl after the latter had had a chance to "review" the document.

The following day July 20 Provost Fonken met with Kruppa and Meacham to discuss cancelling the course. Kruppa says Cunningham met with the two that Saturday July 21 to finalize the cancellation of the new syllabus. Brodkey was told on Sunday, the day before the public was told July 23.

In a Sept. 1 phone conversation, Cunningham would not confirm or deny that he had decided to cancel the course by July 11. He also refused to meet with the editors to review the documents. We confronted Cunningham with the startling Valenta correspondence, and the following exchange took place:

Cunningham: "That doesn't sound accurate to me. I'd have to look at them [the letters]."

*Polemicist*: But we have the dated documents with your signature, and we want you to confirm or deny... Could we set up a meeting this weekend to show you the letters?"

C: "No. Just drop them by the office."

P: "But we go to press Tuesday."

C: "Just run it then."

P: "Just run it?"

C: "Yeah, just run it. You've never let the truth get in your way before."

We asked Cunningham to cite specific examples of inaccuracies in our coverage, but he declined. Then we invited him to write a letter to the editor outlining any factual errors, but he quickly hung up.

At any rate, whether due to alumni pressure, ideology or some other reason, as English professors Ramon Saldivar and Kurt Heinzelman wrote in the 7-31 *Texan*, "something induced [Cunningham and Fonken] to short-circuit not only E306 but also the normal process of scholarly inquiry and skeptical analysis of the data" concerning this course.

In doing so, the UT administration paved in to the tactics of a right-wing pressure group at the expense of departmental autonomy and academic freedom, not to mention all the students who would have taken the course.

# Deforestation

...continued from page 8

Plum Creek's actions have angered both environmentalists and labor forces, as the clearcut threatens a number of endangered species and also the local logging industry. Unable to compete with Plum Creek in the bid for timber off public lands, many smaller mills expect to close in the coming months. "All the sawmills, and particularly the independents, are scrambling to find raw material," said Doug Mood of Pyramid Mountain Lumber Co. after a timber auction in January of this year. "I don't think there is any question that a number of mills in western Montana will fail.... There's not a lot of room for us in the squeeze between Plum Creek and Champion." Further, Plum Creek has invested some of the profit from its overseas sales in a massive computerization of its plants, thus further reducing the need for skilled labor while increasing its mill capacities. According to the director of Forestry products research at the University of Montana, new technology accounts for a loss of 1500 jobs to date.

Burlington Resources collected \$550 million in cash from the sale of Plum Creek (book value, \$143.7 million) to the limited partnership. Part of the money came from a public offering of "units" to investors, and part from Plum Creek's heavy borrowing. It would appear that the real harvest for the board of directors of Burlington Northern has successfully been reaped.

### Unlimited partnerships

Jack Blanton isn't the only connection between Burlington Northern and universities. Blanton's fellow boardmembers include Arnold Weber, current President of Northwestern, and Darius Gaskins of the John F. Kennedy School of Government. Corporations with representatives in upper management at UT include Freeport McMoran, La Quinta Inc., SouthWest Airlines, MidCon, and a large number of oil and gas resource companies held under limited partnerships or privately.

These relationships give a company whose policies wreak indefensible environmental disaster undeserved legitimacy. And the university people who participate in such relationships co-opt the students and taxpayers who pay their salaries into their activities.

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# Ortega

...continued from page 9

which to conduct the battles which may be necessary to defend those conquests.

**Q: Does the revolution continue? In what perspective can it continue in the present condition of the country?**

A: The aims of the revolution continue as long as the revolutionary project of a mixed economy, plural democracy and non-alignment are reaffirmed. The great challenge which the revolution has in Nicaragua is to give continuity to the project, with a recuperation of popular adhesion to the Frente Sandinista, which, when all is considered, is the political force which guarantees the continuity of the revolutionary conquests.

**Q: Won't the six years of UNO government signify the end of the transformations which are the basis of the Sandinista project?**

A: Extremist sectors, the Yankees above all, will try to put an end to the transformations wrought by the Sandinistas; but, on the other side, are the popular sector, the Frente and the unions. They can modify some aspects, but they cannot produce profound changes, because this would immediately generate an instability in the country which would not be suitable to anybody.

**Q: What lessons has the Frente Sandinista learned from the transformations which have occurred in Eastern Europe?**

A: That revolutionary parties must design fresher policies; that they cannot remain complacent because decay can occur in the interior of the party. It is necessary to submit the forces of the party to a constant revision to see if there exists communication, if democracy exists, in regards to the participation of the bases, in regards to decision making. All these are elements which must be taken into account in this battle, in the political and ideological struggle, but this was not taken into account by the parties (of Eastern Europe) in their methods and programs. They split off into a position which I would call "fundamentalist" which came to deny the dialectic of the process of analysis and discussion of the revolutionary forces, which must be creative, constructive and realist.

**Q: Are you satisfied with the process of disarming the Contras in Nicaragua? And what about the proposed reduction of the army presented by General Humberto Ortega?**

A: The proposal for reducing the size of the army is substantial. The Contra, which were defeated strategically, have now passed into a process of disarmament, in other words a second phase where some forces will always remain in a belligerent position, but now it will not be an army organized by the United States, which would threaten our stability. ♣



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