

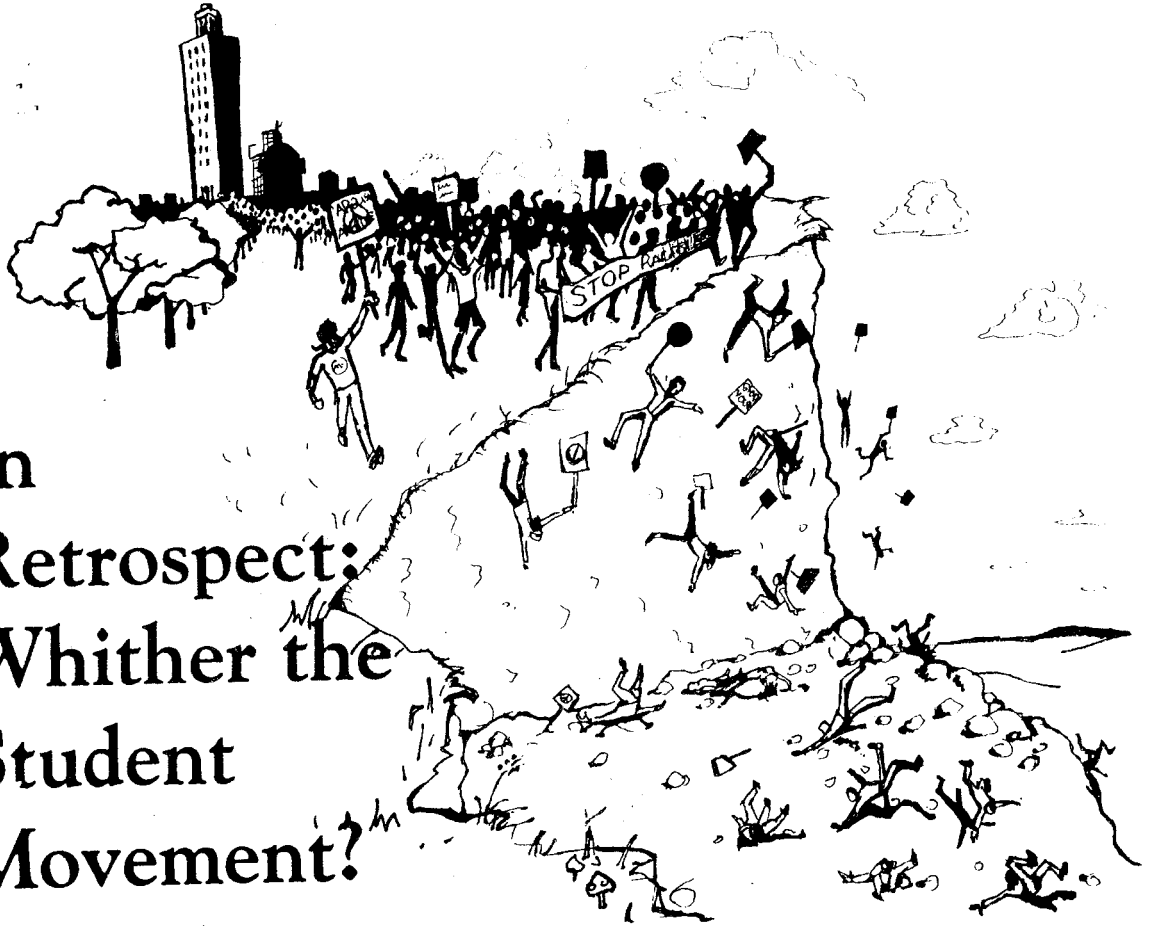
Polemicist

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

Volume 3, No. 3

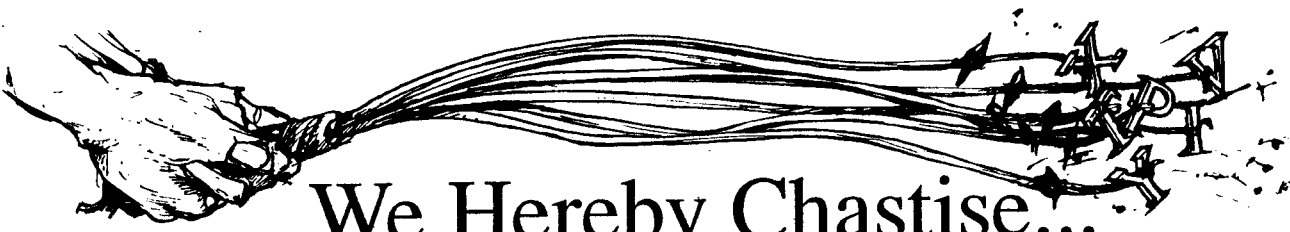
February 1992

In Retrospect: Whither the Student Movement?



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We Hereby Chastise...

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

—Charles Baudelaire

Bill Tiede Momma's Boy

We're thankful that SA President Garth Davis has stopped lobbying the legislature on the tuition question, but he must stop appointing apologists as his surrogates. On Feb. 7, Bill Tiede, SA Rep. at Large, announced to the House Committee on Higher Education's Subcommittee on Tuition and Fees that he drove a 1980 Oldsmobile—presumably as a way to distinguish himself from Garth, who in the past has expressed liberal guilt for driving a BMW. *Polemicist* believes this matter of automobiles helped Garth select Tiede to speak for students on this important occasion. Or maybe Garth's BMW was in the shop.

In any case, on the issue of tuition increases, Tiede argued—like Hans Mark and other UT bureaucrats before him—that students should pay more for their education to help them truly appreciate its value. Prompted by conservative House member Bob Hunter, Tiede replied obediently that students should pay 25 percent of the cost of their college education, compared to the current level of 11-13 percent. But when asked by members of the committee if he paid his own tuition at UT, he confessed that his parents pay everything.

Our advocate clung dearly to his rationale for tuition hikes, even as a key legislator, Paul Moreno, Chair of the Subcommittee, declared that he supports *free* higher education. Tiede said we should support tuition increases in order to distribute the education burden more fairly among Texas taxpayers. Perhaps sheepish about his parents' largesse, he then called for lower property taxes, and no income tax, since, he complained, his parents pay too much money in property taxes already.

On the issue of fees, Tiede told the committee that students democratically vote for all of the fees they pay in addition to tuition. Did Tiede himself vote for any or most of the fees on his own fee-bill? Did he even open the bill before forwarding it to his parents?

Tiede complained bitterly about the price of textbooks, although he confided to the committee that his parents pay for these as well. Paul Moreno asked him

whether he thought text books should be provided free to students and he said, no, that students should pay for this too. Perhaps higher textbook prices would further enhance every student's appreciation of the value of a textbook.

The main problem with financial aid, according to Tiede, is understaffing and long lines. In particular, he identified the financial aid office's location in an old Italian restaurant as a big problem. This has now been solved by the new financial aid building. Tiede says students no longer complain about the availability of financial aid, despite shrinking funds. Not until his parents' milkteat dries will he understand the full profanity of that idea.

Matthew Connally, Brandon Powell Texan Apologists

After Matthew Connally gave *The Daily Texan* a "swift kick to the right," as he promised in his campaign for editor last spring, chastising the *Texan* became a bore. Both the news and editorial departments became so uniformly egregious and contentless that constantly rebuking them seemed both tiring and futile. It took a bit of ill-informed editorial pabulum such as "Rusty Cog: Grad union is yesterday's solution," (*TDT* 1-30-92, p. 4) to overcome our jadedness and raise our ire enough to lash *The Daily Apologist* once again.

In that article, Connally and his associate editor Brandon Powell attack Council of Graduate Students President Chip Cariappa for approaching the Communication Workers of America to discuss forming a union for graduate students and UT staff. Pointing out that Texas is a "right-to-work" state (or more accurately: a right-to-work-for-less state), and that collective bargaining is illegal here, these two champions of the working classes declare that forming a union amounts to "blowing the dust off musty pages of outdated liberal strategies." Instead of this option, they intone naively, graduate students "must utilize existing organizations better, so that specific needs of graduate students will be met." Someone should dust off their musty brains.

Cariappa wants to form a graduate student union precisely because past attempts to "utilize existing organizations" like COGS on labor questions have failed horribly. The Graduate Professional Association (GPA), an off-campus graduate student labor group, was formed several years ago by elected COGS members who resigned their posts after repeated stonewalling by UT on the question of health care. Ultimately by creating a new organization—which its founders perceived as a baby step toward unionization—outside of official channels, GPA members could address health care issues in a politicized way that COGS never could. The utter ineffectiveness of last year's COGS president, Victoria Moore, in addressing massive tuition hikes, clearly points to the need for a similar strategy.

Stunningly, Connally and Powell believe that the only effective union in Texas is the teachers' union. But thousands of government employees belong to the American Federation of State, County and Municipal

Employees (AFSCME), almost all transportation workers in Texas are unionized, and even the Austin Police Department has a union. While Texas unions in the private sector are weak, unionization in the public sector is on the upswing, giving graduate students cause for hope. And Connally and Powell shouldn't worry that the "large and top-heavy" bureaucracy at the CWA might coerce the rank and file at UT. Since Texas is a right-to-work-for-less state, graduate students may choose whether or not to join any union.

Finally, declare Connally and Powell, the champions of student rights, graduate students must "stop complaining about tuition," and concede "the obvious point that the University [tuition] is a bargain," if they want to appear "sincere" in their negotiations with administrators and legislators. But an appendix attached to Cariappa's recent testimony to the legislature indicates that of 12 comparable graduate schools at state universities, the proposed UT tuition (including fees) would cost more than all but three.

Connally and Powell's editorial deserves scorn less for its vapidity and ill-informed patter, than for the condescending way it snubbed graduate student employees who are searching in good faith for solutions to longstanding labor grievances. This campus deserves better from its daily newspaper.

The Austin-American Statesman Environmental Posers

The *Statesman*, in its effort to cash in on the environmental consciousness of Austinites, has begun a new public relations ploy that suggests its dedication to the recycling cause. At the top of each section of the paper, the *Statesman* now prints a small recycling logo, which under normal circumstances indicates that the product in question uses recycled paper. On the inside pages, however, in small print, the reader is told that "This section is recyclable." In other words, the paper *can* be recycled—just like any other product appearing on newsprint. Most readers we've talked to were deceived by this ruse.

This tactic becomes more offensive when one understands the basics of recycling economics. Daily newspapers use the vast majority of newsprint in this country, but no major daily uses recycled paper because it's too expensive. Thus a glut occurs, because without the dailies no market exists to justify newspaper recycling. Wheatsville Food Coop has stopped accepting newsprint for recycling, for exactly this reason. The failure of papers like the *Statesman* to implement recycling will ultimately spell the doom for millions of acres of U.S. and Third World forestland.

We need not adumbrate the *Statesman's* shameless record of boosting every environmentally hazardous, publicly subsidized real-estate and high-tech boondoggle that makes a buck for Roger Kintzel's friends at the Chamber of Commerce. Given this heinous trend, the *Statesman* should be lashed bitterly for exploiting the environmental concerns of Austinites to sell its daily dose of tripe and boosterism.

Where the Wells Gush Super Unleaded

By Kathy Mitchell

On February 10, East Austin residents led a delegation of city and state officials through the neighborhoods surrounding a cluster of gasoline storage facilities off Springdale Road. Area residents hope to bring East Austin environmental issues before city council soon, starting with a public debate over Mobil Oil's efforts to expand their Springdale facility.

The Mobil terminal at 1111 Springdale receives processed gasoline from a Beaumont refinery, and distributes the product to gas stations all over Central Texas. It is one of six such facilities clustered together on Springdale, in an older Hispanic neighborhood. The bulk terminals for Exxon, Chevron, Star Enterprises, Coastal States, Citgo and Mobil all sit a half mile north of Boggy Creek and 1.5 miles north of the Colorado. Currently the Mobil facility receives and distributes about 1.5 million barrels of gas and diesel products each year. But it recently applied for a Texas Air Control Board (TACB) permit to up that figure to 2.4 million barrels. That would make the third such permit approved this year in the same area, according to the city's Environmental Services staff.

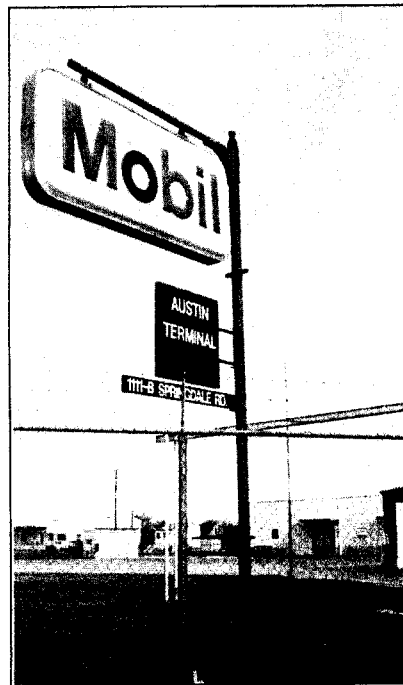
Two groups of East Austinites, People Organized in

Defense of the Earth and its Resources (PODER) and the East Austin Strategy Team (EAST) currently oppose the permit because questions posed by East Austin residents have yet to be answered.

Choking on Black Gold

The Mobil site and its five sister facilities were last year ordered to clean up groundwater contamination by the Groundwater Enforcement Unit of the Texas Water Commission. A November 1991 report from the Water Commission indicated that one sample well contained 1.2 inches of petroleum products floating on the ground water.

In addition, the Mobil and nearby Chevron sites were never fully permitted under 1990 air standards because they were built long before the EPA began to regulate large gasoline storage facilities. The sites were "grandfathered" under EPA regulations, said Steve Anderson of the TACB. Currently Mobil alone emits 45 tons of air pollution each year, Anderson said. Airborn pollutants include benzene, toluene, xylene and others. According to the Materials Safety Data Sheets filed with the Texas Air Control Board, Ben-



Mobil seeks a permit to expand its capacity by 60%, despite ongoing concerns about water quality in the neighborhood.

Go To Super, page 10...

TIME FOR A POLEMICIST

9pm

Jesus Freaks! •

\$4

BENEFIT

ASH !!

4909 Duval Feb. 15

Kegs o'Beer

Napolean Blown Apart!

\$ Ah!

Views from the

Polemicist asked several people involved in the student movement of 1990—from the election of Toni Luckett through the anti-racism protests that followed—what happened to the movement, and why. Most of those who agreed to respond did not turn in copy by deadline. We, of course, feel that this may be itself a commentary on the movement. The following opinion pieces offer very different views on failures of leadership, organization, and trust. We hope that anyone who wants to help ...end fraternity racism, lower tuition, diversify the curriculum, limit UT's military and CIA contracts, end date rape, divest the University President of his ties to Freeport McMoRan, increase minority and female representation in the faculty and student body, implement lesbian/gay studies, expand the free speech area... will profit from these commentaries. *Polemicist* invites anyone who wants to respond to send their letter of 1000 words or less to 504 W. 24th, #28, 78705. We will print all letters in the next issue.

By Louis Mendoza

In the Spring of 1990, various groups with varied interests took advantage of a moment of crisis at the university, initiated by the Black Student Alliance, to place their agendas on the administration's table. These various agendas did not spring out of mid-air, but had been developed within groups prior to this moment. Any analysis of this political activity should consider what was happening in the individual groups as well as in the coalition which emerged that spring.

The problems with this "movement" were numerous and can be characterized by 1) a general confusion of means

for ends 2) an ability or refusal by various groups and the coalition to arrive at a political vision that encompassed different perspectives and went beyond the laundry listing of "oppressions," 3) a contemptuous, but often contradictory, and even idealistic notion of leadership, and 4) a profound lack of analysis of the political situation that prevented any long-term strategizing or systematic outreach and organizing. No movement

disension that involved conflicts among personalities that were of political significance. Consequently, the organization Todos Unidos, a group organized by Chicano students in 1990 to promote curriculum reform, suffered because the political problems were reduced to personal ones when it was most important to maintain a political perspective.

To some degree this problem was one which the coalition shared. Only through

Because so much of the coalition's politics revolved around identity, it became very difficult for uninvolved students outside of the "in" groups to participate, except as spectators.

can be sustained if it is not a "popular" one — that is it must appeal to a broad number of people, both on and off campus. Although the targeted issues ranged from a variety of restrictionist institutional policies to curriculum reform, most campus movements are, by definition, self-contained and reformist, and thereby doomed. This one was no exception.

The various perspectives on why this movement failed to coalesce and sustain itself point to what was probably the biggest factor in its decline — a fundamental lack of communication and trust between the various sectors and individuals involved. The inability to recognize and reconcile differences, create effective mechanisms for debate, criticism, and self-criticism all, in my opinion, contributed to the steady decline in student political activity. If guiding principles, ideals, and effective structure cannot be agreed upon and fostered within a movement of people who claim to be "progressive" then how can we ever expect those ideals to be realized on a larger scale?

The dynamics of any political organization or organizing venture must be engined by democracy, criticism, and self-criticism. Activists who refuse to be self-critical forever limit themselves to a closed, insular, and self-defeating clique. There is a basic strategic flaw being made when we cannot conceptualize our political situation well enough to strategize beyond the present moment and allow ourselves to believe that every battle is equally important.

Unfortunately, despite having its successes, the Chicano "community" was unable to constructively handle internal

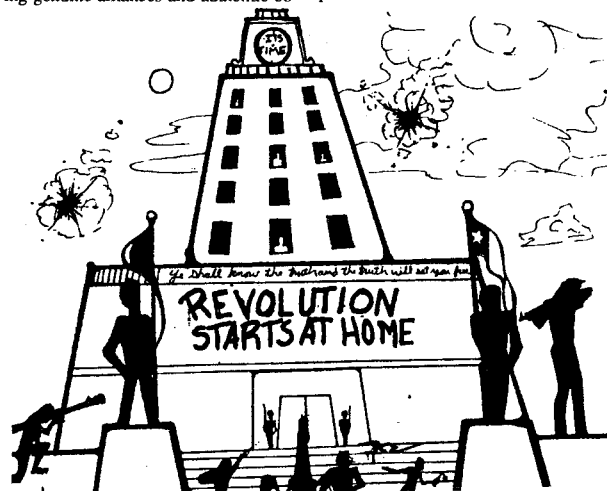
debate, dialogue, and discussion, can people with different backgrounds and various levels of political consciousness rid themselves of their class complexes and prejudices. Within politics people can learn history, acquire consciousness, develop commitment and otherwise learn to act upon multiple agendas to help forge change. It is important to realize that one's identification with political struggle is itself a slow and uneven process of self-discovery that is determined by various factors, such as economic conditions, degree of assimilation (both ideological and cultural), and one's own life experiences.

The coalitional structure of the "movement" was a problem itself because it operated on "good faith" politics from the various actors, rather than forging genuine alliances and authentic co-

operation based on mutual understanding of the different struggles being waged. That this was not immediately recognized as a weakness reveals the political immaturity of the various participants. Because mutual support was based on false or unchecked assumptions the trust between groups was, from the outset, always tenuous. With no mechanism in place to articulate and re-articulate one's understanding of the various positions at stake on different issues, a vast space was left open for mis-representation by coalition partners. With minimal dialogue outside of direct actions, little opportunity was created for differences to be settled, debated, or otherwise addressed. Furthermore, because so much of the coalition's politics revolved around identity, it became very difficult for uninvolved students outside of the "in" groups to participate, except as spectators.

Last, but not least, the failure to mount a consistent and direct challenge to the Right often gave them control of the debate, despite the intellectual vacuity of their positions. If progressive students are to succeed, we must learn to assess changing political conditions and utilize the ideas and energy of a larger audience to widen the breadth of participants. This does not necessarily entail compromise. If we believe that our ideas are intellectually sound then we can be confident that they will stand up in open debate. In this way our intellectual activity is a form of praxis, and vice-versa. Our struggle for a more humane and just world must be a way of life, not just a response to crisis.

Louis Mendoza was a member of Todos Unidos and helped present the Chicano student curriculum reform proposal to the administration.



.....Student

Movement

By Brandon Powell

I think my consciousness-raising paralleled that of many other blacks around the country. Eight years of malignant neglect from the Reagan Administration and the stalling of progress on civil rights created a dissatisfaction with the status quo. During the first two years after Reagan, the Black Student Alliance of which I was a member became a much stronger presence on campus, leading rallies on the West Mall, holding forums and writing columns for the *Texan*. By the spring semester of 1990, BSA was pushing the administration to implement programs aimed at improving black student retention and reducing the tension on campus.

What we needed was an issue, a rallying event which would provide the catalyst for widespread activism. The brothers of Phi Gamma Delta and Delta Tau Delta gave us two just such events. The "Sambo" T-shirts and the epithet strewn car were pretty much the breaking point for students here, black and white. Such easily identified racism was easily exploited by BSA for maximum effect. With the thousands-strong march to the Fiji house, the zenith of mass political action by the student movement had been reached. The force of those thousands at the march was necessary, it simply did not remain, though.

Part of the problem was the timing of events. Occuring as they did in the late spring, students were headed home relatively shortly after things started to heat up. No matter who was leading the BSA and the other organizations involved, momentum would have been lost over the summer. Perhaps it could have been regained, but it is unlikely.

Those other organizations were also part of the downfall of the BSA's efforts. In the 20/20 vision of hindsight, I see that the issues were diluted by the coattail riding of groups hoping their reforms would be swept in along with those of the BSA. I don't mean to imply any malevolent or cynical intent on the part of these groups, but all focus was lost. With so many groups, there were too many issues. Unfortunate though it may be, a shorter, simpler message would have been more effective. Had the BSA's been the only one, with a coalition of concerned groups pushing only that, the chances of success would have been much greater.

Between BSA and Toni Luckett's successful Students' Association Campaign and the myriad other groups laying claim to the media's, the administration's and the students' time and attention, the

campus was just sick of it. In addition, some ill-chosen words and misinterpreted intentions led to a huge conservative backlash.

Even without the dulling of the BSA's message, though, the push for reform was probably dead on arrival. The Black Student Alliance was centered on Marcus Brown, its long-time president who graduated last year. Marcus was the life and soul of the organization; when he tired, the efforts flagged. He gave way too much of himself, pushing back his own graduation date and lowering his GPA in the process.

The curriculum reform program which he devised—Proposed Reform to Institute Diversity in Education (PRIDE)—was also too sophisticated. With distance and a little maturity, I now see that PRIDE could only have been the second stage of reform at the University. A push for one multicultural class or something similar was probably all the momentum could sustain. PRIDE was too hard to sell to students and administrators. It required an understanding of the complexities of racism that was beyond the grasp of many involved.

Class analyses and socioeconomic

The Black Student Alliance was centered on Marcus Brown, its long-time president who graduated last year. Marcus was the life and soul of the organization; when he tired, the efforts flagged.

disparities and vaguely and sometimes overtly socialist rhetoric alienated the majority of black students. What most activists did not consider is the truth that blacks are pretty conservative. They are more likely pro-life than pro-choice, more pro-death penalty than not. The radical rhetoric (much of which I was responsible for) lost the black folks, but kept the white Marxists right along. That wasn't going to keep the drive alive.

In the end, though, rallies and activity kept PRIDE alive well into the following fall semester, most couldn't see how a couple of fraternities acting out their ignorance related to a program calling for classes, forums, and black studies centers.

Ultimately, black student interest was not there. Although, enraged by the callous disrespect of the fraternities, most black students were not ready to devote their lives to activism. And well they shouldn't have. Many of these people were first generation college students. They were and are here to get an education and become well-paid providers for their future families. Getting in and getting out with little hassle was the top priority.

The racism at UT, while certainly there, was and is not an obvious daily intrusion on black students' lives. We are socially segregated, but mostly of our own free will. In my own experience, having white friends presented no problem, at school or around Austin. At the end of that spring semester, black students felt like we had let everyone know that they couldn't disrespect us; many felt that was enough.

What I used to blame on racism and oppression, I am more willing to accept as my own lack of commitment to school. I don't think Bill Cunningham is the Devil; he's just a PR hack trying to maintain the status quo. Whitey isn't lurking behind every statue on the South Mall. The Man doesn't have time to worry about some college student who doesn't even go to class. Racism was an easy out for me; it wasn't *my* fault.

The University of Texas is still a systematically racist institution. But it doesn't really have the power to keep me from attaining my goals. It's just another obstacle in my way.

Brandon Powell helped organize the BSA demonstrations in spring 1990 and is currently associate editor of *The Daily Texan*.

By Scott Henson and Tom Philpott

The 1990 "student movement" at UT-Austin collapsed soon after, and perhaps because of, its most tangible victory: the election of Toni Luckett to the Student Association presidency.

That's not to say that electing Toni was a mistake. First, the campaign itself united many isolated progressive campus groups that previously had had little contact. Organizations as disparate as CISPES, the Steve Biko Committee, the Palestine Solidarity Committee, the Black Student Alliance, University Les-

Rainforests in Texas



By Karen Heikkila

The World Resources Institute reports that a billion people are "periodically disrupted by flooding, fuel wood shortages, soil and water degradation, and reduced agricultural production caused directly or indirectly by the loss of tropical forest cover." Tropical rainforest is currently vanishing at a rate of 35.2 million acres, and an estimated 10,000 species disappear each year. Furthermore, the World Bank estimates that about 200 million people depend on the tropical forests for their livelihoods.

What part does Austin play in the global picture? Ask any carpenter or general contractor. The rainforest is in Austin. It's in the furniture, new homes, office buildings and warehouses which distribute it all over Texas.

now scarce in Mexico, Central and Southern America. For years, loggers cut, milled and exported the wood, for use in cabinets, fine furniture, and interior trim. Currently identified as an endangered species by the Convention on Endangered Species, the governments of Brazil, Cuba, Haiti and Dominica have banned further exports. However, governments in Africa and the Philippines continue to rely upon the revenue from hardwood exports.

Frank Paxton Lumber Co. is one of the companies that supply rainforest woods in the Austin area. Others may also, but many managers are reticent about discussing the issue. The catalogue of "Paxton Beautiful Woods" describes 13 imported hardwoods, of which five have been listed as endangered or in need of conservation by the Food and Agricultural Organization. Locating in Austin four years ago, Paxton is a national corporation with thirteen outlets across the country. The Annual report of 1988 extolls the virtues of rainforest importation.

"In 1987-88 Paxton lumber division generated \$82.4 million in sales and distributed more hardwood lumber than any other company in America, working with more than 100 species of native and exotic beautiful woods." The company primarily sells woods for custom cabinetry and for "prestigious fixtures" in banks, law firms, churches and other institutions.

In 1990 Paxton was acquired by the privately held Jeld-Wen Inc., a trim manufacturer with sales of \$250 million. Under the new ownership, Paxton has increased sales to \$107.6 million by 1991, according to Ward's Business Directory. In 1990, Paxton began to use international fine woods brokers—including Mitsui and Co., listed by Rainforest Action Network as an importer and distributor of large volumes of tropical rainforest.

Mitsui and Co. is one of Japan's largest traders, trailing Mitsubishi as number one. Trading companies undertake operations around the world, procuring and selling lumber in all sectors of the market. The Economist has called the trading companies "the spiders at the centre of Japan's global economic effort, acting as intermediaries for half the country's exports and two-thirds of its imports. They form a kind of commercial diplomatic corps, maintaining a presence in out-of-the-way places."

Rainforest Action Network has said that Mitsui is currently "involved in unsustainable forestry opera-

tions" in several regions. Polemicist asked Larry Cook, manager of Frank Paxton Lumber Co. in Austin, if his company knows whether the rainforests from which they get their woods are managed in a sustainable fashion. He said that they were, and also said that they are managed by the governments of the countries from which they come.

However, the conservative UN-sponsored International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO) wrote, in a recent study, that "truly sustainable timber operations can be found in less than one-eighth of one percent of rainforest lands." The ITTO, formed in 1986 to attack the problem through the logging industry itself, is made up of representatives from 19 timber producing countries and 25 consumer countries.

Driven By Debt: Producer Nations in the Nineties

Though a few experiments in sustainable forestry have sprung up in the last few years, most notably in some sawmills in Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and Peru, economic conditions and politics mitigate against their success, according to the World Rainforest Movement.

Most rainforests are in poor countries. Poor landless people rely on forest products for heat and building materials, and clear land to farm if they can. Some governments have granted forest land to landless peasants, requiring that they clear the land in order to claim their section. Others, burdened with huge debts to multinational corporations and international banks, cash in on timber products as one of their few options, and in practice ignore scientific logging procedures and quotas.

Thailand is a prime example. The devastating flood of November 1988, which washed away villages in southern Thailand and buried people in mud and logs, left 350 people dead. The Royal Forestry Department fixed the blame squarely on decades of forest destruction. "The forest cover shrank from 66% in 1950 to a little over 29% in 1985," it reported. Thailand is now an importer of timber, not an exporter.

The Far Eastern Economic Review found that the public outcry for a national ban on logging, although loud, failed to produce results. "The enormous vested

One of the fancier displays is at the law offices of Brown, Maroney and Oaks Hartline, 111 Congress, which showcases custom cut Honduran Mahogany on three floors.

The Rainforest Comes to Austin

One of the fancier displays is at the law offices of Brown, Maroney and Oaks Hartline at 111 Congress, which showcases custom cut Honduran Mahogany on three floors. A status symbol in the U.S., Honduran or tropical American Mahogany is a premiere hardwood

Go To Trees, p. 12...



El Salvador at Peace...

By Bill Stouffer and Joe Morris

Emerging from an intensive series of year end negotiations, the FMLN and the government of El Salvador reached an agreement to end the 12 year old civil war that has taken over 80,000 lives and produced over a million refugees. The agreement, similar to the original FMLN proposals first put forward in 1990,

led by FMLN commander Joaquin Villalobos: "The agreement signifies the first revolution on our continent based on consensus, on accords which unite rather than divide us... and have the support of the United States."

The peace accords were signed in Mexico City on January 16 in a ceremony attended by the presidents of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, the five Central American na-

In San Salvador, several hundred thousand people gathered in the Plaza Civica to celebrate the lifting of the burden of 12 years of civil war from their shoulders. In the center of a city internationally known for repression and secrecy, 75 foot long FMLN banners adorned the national cathedral and old presidential palace.

People came to the celebration from all over El Salvador, including over 30,000 from the department of Chalatenango alone, together with international observers and solidarity activists.

At the request of festival organizers, the Midwest Regional Director of CISPES, Brooke Webster, made a solidarity statement pledging continued international support to insure the implementation of the accords and a CISPES banner was raised on the side of the old presidential palace alongside those of regional FMLN battalions. The banner congratulated the FMLN and the Salvadoran people for "their triumph of the New York accords." The victories achieved in the accords by the FMLN and the grassroots opposition are substantial.

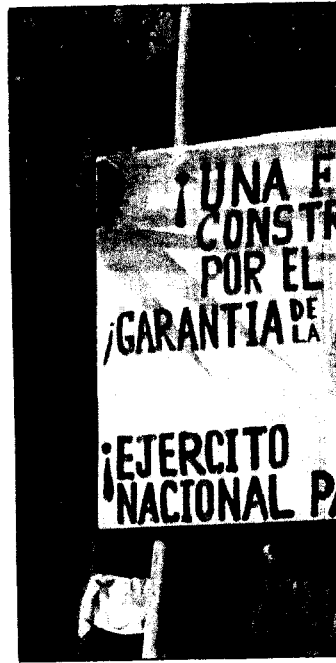
During the next nine months, the country will witness the dismantling of the US trained "elite" battalions, the National Intelligence Directorate, the various paramilitary forces, the civil defence, the rural patrols and the Security Forces.

The FMLN will participate at all levels in a new civilian national police which will replace the military for all of its domestic security functions. Substantial agrarian reforms will redistribute land to the disenfranchised peasantry.

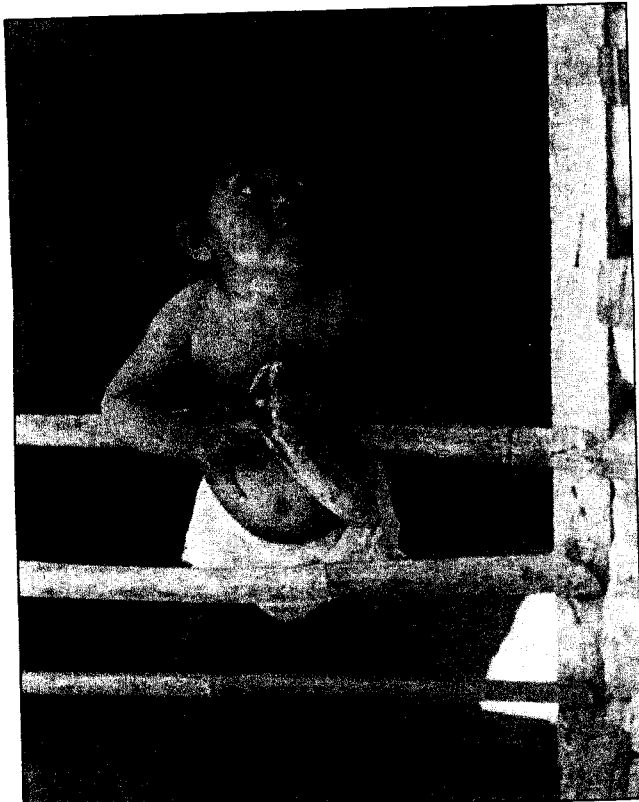
A UN sponsored "Truth Commission" will conduct investigations into the most notorious human rights abuses and massacres of the last decade. UN monitors will also supervise the implementation of the accords and the demilitarization of the country. At the same time, the FMLN will begin the conversion of its military forces to their new civilian roles. The demobilization is set to take place in stages and will be completed on October 31, 1992.

Returning a Country to its People

The first stage of the implementation process took place on February 1, when a bilateral ceasefire went into effect throughout the country. The day before the ceasefire took effect the FMLN General Command and



A billboard posted at the border of FMLN and guarantee of the peace—Nat



Child in communal village, Blanca Marina Quinteros.

represents not another a military stalemate but constitutes a new kind of revolutionary victory. In the words of UN mediator Alvaro de Soto, a key figure in the negotiating process, the accords amount to a "negotiated revolution." His comments were ech-

ed by FMLN commander Joaquin Villalobos: "The agreement signifies the first revolution on our continent based on consensus, on accords which unite rather than divide us... and have the support of the United States." The peace accords were signed in Mexico City on January 16 in a ceremony attended by the presidents of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, the five Central American na-

political leaders, accompanied by international press and guests landed at the San Salvador airport. They were greeted on the tarmac by the Committees of Mothers of the Disappeared, children with flowers, members of UN peacekeeping force (ONUSAL), and the diplomatic corps. "We're entering through the front door," declared Schafik Handal, "received by the Salvadoran people... This is the beginning of a crucial stage in our history."

On the 1st, the FMLN General Command, along with President Cristiani and members of the various Salvadoran political parties, participated in a ceremony formally installing COPAZ, the bipartisan commission which will oversee the implementation of the peace.

Later that afternoon, the guerrilla commanders participated in a huge public celebration in the Plaza Civica. Guerrilla radio stations broadcast live from the Plaza, and the General Command together with forty FMLN political and military leaders appeared on stage, escorted by FMLN special forces who were providing security in the capital. For the first time in twenty years the five members of the General Command appeared together publicly in the country.

By February 3, ONUSAL officials, the FMLN, and Armed Forces all agreed that the separation of forces stipulated in the terms of the ceasefire was advancing better than expected. Under the agreement, all government troops are to be initially concentrated in 100 sites; by February 7, these sites will be reduced to 39 garrisons and 22 economically strategic locations. The FMLN



FMLN controlled territory. The sign reads "A constructive force for the people National Democratic Army." NDA is an armed wing of the FMLN.

will be concentrated in fifteen areas by February 7 and ONUSAL military officers have already been stationed at all garrisons and in all FMLN zones. United Nations personnel and vehicles are visible all over the country.

The Continuing Legacy of the War

Despite the tremendous victories in the accord, the climate of fear and repression remains. Death squad killings and threats have continued into the new year. Francisca Chavez, who worked with AMMA, an organization for women in the shantytowns of El Salvador, was shot through each temple on a major thoroughfare of the capital, San Salvador, at 10:30 am on Saturday, January 11.

Her family, thinking she was working in the shantytowns, did not receive word of her death until they checked the morgues the following Monday and identified her body. Members of a CISPES delegation attended her wake, staying most of the night in support of her family. One mourner remarked that she had attended 15 such wakes for members of her family alone.

On January 28th the Salvadoran Anti-Communist Front (FAS) issued a communique threatening Mirtala Lopez and the leadership of the CRIPDES (Christian Committee for the Displaced in El Salvador).

Lopez received an international human rights award last December in Houston for her work with CRIPDES and for her courage in the face of such violence. This is the sixth death threat she has received. The latest letter demanded to meet Ms. Lopez on Friday, January 31st at the General Cemetery for "an appointment for justice." The communique ended, "We fulfill our duty toward our homeland. The communists will fall one by one."

In addition to death squad activity, there has been a sharp rise in forced recruitment by the military which is trying desperately to evade some of the most far reaching provisions of the peace.

The government of El Salvador has signed an agreement with the UN in conjunction with the peace accords which mandates cutting the army by 50% over the next two years. UN verification of the size of both the Salvadoran military and the FMLN is scheduled for February. The size of the army

has been traditionally inflated by corrupt commanders who collect the pay of phantom soldiers to add to their own. Now facing involuntary retirement, the armed forces are attempting to fill the empty ranks both to maintain power as an institution and to minimize the number of career soldiers who must return to civilian life.

The Question of International Aid

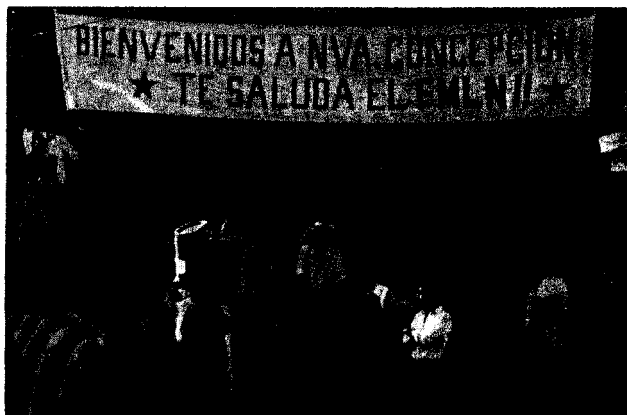
Even without continued repression, the task of rebuilding the country will not be easy. Over the past twelve years, the U.S. backed government forces destroyed the trade unions through killings, persecution, and forced exile. The ruined University, closed for years, will take years to reconstruct. In the countryside, a scorched earth policy depopulated vast zones causing untold ecological damage. Primary and secondary schools, along with health centers, were closed by the hundreds and many destroyed.

Under these harsh conditions, international economic aid has become one of the most critical and controversial foci for a postwar El Salvadoran government. Some European countries have already pledged assistance to support the process of recovery. On January 16, as the government and the FMLN signed the accords, the FMLN received \$2 million from the Norwegian Government to initiate reconstruction programs. The FMLN and the grassroots civilian opposition have made it clear, however, that they will not permit international aid to be used as a counterinsurgency tool.

The critical issue here is the status of US aid. Despite the bipartisan consensus for demilitarization, the US government has not yet cut the flow of military aid that fueled the war. In the past, in El Salvador and throughout Latin America, so-called humanitarian, non-military aid, has also served primarily as the civilian arm of the overall counterinsurgency project. A recent study conducted by the conservative Rand Corporation at the request of the Defense Department revealed that the real cost of the war to US taxpayers was over \$6 billion (not the \$4.5 billion often cited) "due to covert CIA expenses" which he estimated at over \$1 billion from 1979-1989. The question of aid, both military and humanitarian, is likely to be a focus of sharp debate this March when Congress begins consideration of foreign aid appropriations for next year.



Companera FMLN radio operator, in a small community outside of San Antonio los Ranchos in Chalatenango.



Townpeople in Nueva Concepcion celebrate an official "coming out" rally for the FMLN, in the government controlled territory of Southeast Chalatenango. The sign reads, "Welcome to Nueva Concepcion, Greetings to you from the FMLN."

...Let the Work Begin

Super

...continued from p. 3

zene, the primary component of gasoline, is known to cause nausea, headaches and upper respiratory tract irritation upon repeated or heavy exposure.

On January 30, residents of the Govalle neighborhood met in the Oaksprings library to discuss the proposed capacity expansion.

Neighbors of the facility, living on the eastern and southern bordering streets, testified that they and their children have suffered health problems ranging from headaches to breathing disorders and temporary paralysis. They notice the smell of gasoline every day, and when the facility burns off its excess fumes, the dust sprinkles down over area homes.

Speaking softly in Spanish, Federina Rivera said that since moving into her

home, she has headaches so severe that she vomits from them. She has never had health problems before, she said, but now despite repeated tests, doctors can find nothing wrong.

Anderson points out that the currently grandfathered Chevron site was supposed to come under review by the TACB, until President Bush established the recent moratorium on new environmental regulations. Thanks to Bush, for the next three months no one at the TACB can do anything. The city, however is not bound by the moratorium.

The city staff has already reviewed the TACB proposal, giving it cautious approval, but they expressed some reservations about the total benzene level in the air. While one facility may emit less than EPA requirements allow, six facilities together emit an unknown quantity more than the EPA allows.

In a November 1991 letter, the city's Environmental Services department wrote, "Our concern remains for the impact of the total benzene emissions on the neighborhoods adjacent to the six

September letter to the Water Commission, Mobil detailed a series of samples taken in 1990 and 1991—on July 6, 1990 engineers recorded more than six inches of gasoline product in one well, and in March of '91 they observed more gasoline in the groundwater.

Under the Primary Drinking Water Regulations, the federal government limits benzene levels in water to .005 mg/l. A February 1992 report by Chevron to the Water Commission charts benzene levels in the sampling wells as high as 26 milligrams/liter, or 5200 times the legal limit. Chevron also reported high levels of xylene, Toluene and Ethylbenzene in several test wells.

Exxon, careful to point the finger at Chevron in its own "Remedial Work Plan," wrote in November 1991: "Free product on top of the water table at the Chevron Terminal was first documented in Chevron's June 1987 Phase I Sub-surface Investigation Report, and has been documented in several reports since June 1987. More recently in Chevron's Nov. 27, 1990 quarterly report free product was documented in Chevron's well MW-25, located directly up gradient from Exxon's well MW-5."

The TWC's Groundwater Enforcement Unit has currently combined all of the involved companies into a single case, according to enforcement officer David Ruckman.

Mobil's Austin Terminal, built in 1948, receives gasoline and diesel fuel piped in from Beaumont. It stores the fuels in tanks above the ground, eventually loading it into trucks for distribution. Similarly, Chevron has been distributing gasoline from this site since 1954, Star Enterprises since 1947 and Exxon since 1951.

According to the September 20, 1991 letter to the Water Commission, Mobil can document two major spills in the 1970s but none later. In one instance 15,000 gallons of kerosene spilled on reportedly frozen ground, and was vacuumed into trucks.

Also in the 70s, between one and six

small Statesman announcement to the attention of Govalle residents and asked that the permit be placed on the city council agenda. Among other things, residents complain that the "Public Notice" in the *Austin American Statesman* was obscure.

They put a small notice in the paper, but if you don't know what its about already, you skip right over it," said Almanza. "And most people never see the notice at all."

The Air Control Board insists that the permit may be the only thing that can save the neighborhood. "This site has never been through the permit process before. If you want to put in a new source, your grandfathered unit must be updated to state-of-the-art," said Ander-

Federal Primary Drinking Water Regulations limit benzene levels in water to .005 mg/l. A Feb. 1992 report by Chevron charts benzene levels as high as 26 milligrams/liter, or 5200 times the legal limit.



Under the Quayle plan, the Air Board cannot act against Chevron.

adjointing gasoline terminals... We request, if its possible, monitoring to be conducted in this area to determine actual total benzene concentrations."

Dug a Well, and it Came Up...Super Unleaded?

According to Texas Water Commission (TWC) files, the six bulk fuel terminals along Springdale Road store over ten million gallons of petroleum. In March of 1991, a Water Commission field investigator reported that the bulk facilities "all have varying degrees of groundwater contamination at their facilities. Some have been documented to have free phase hydrocarbons on the groundwater...it appears that there are numerous plumes of contamination." "Free phase hydrocarbons" is a technocratic euphemism for gasoline products.

The groundwater is 20 feet below the surface. Since last year, numerous new sampling wells have identified petroleum products floating free on the surface of the ground water beneath the facilities.

A Chevron consultant, writing to Chevron's management on November 4, 1991, reported 1.2 inches of petroleum in a well near the loading dock. In a

TACB might soon review the grandfathered Chevron site, but for Quayle's moratorium on new regulations. Thanks George.

thousand gallons of premium unleaded spilled from a leaking supply line. Mobil representatives did not say how much they recovered in either incident.

Chevron reported spilling 12,600 gallons of fuel in 1987. It recovered 400 gallons. In a docking accident in 1988, a driver and crew spilled an additional 807 gallons of super unleaded, retrieving 722 gallons. Neither Star nor Exxon report any spills, although both report high levels of gasoline product below their

son. "If the permit is denied, they can go on putting out the 48 tons of pollutants that they currently emit.

Under the 1990 [federal] Clean Air Act, they will need to reduce emissions to 25 tons per year." If the permit is approved, he said, the TACB will require that Mobil take two of three waste storage tanks out of service, install air filters on the third, and make other changes to the filtration and incineration process.

Another resident, Maryanne Flores of 1102 Berger, has tried to complain to the Texas Air Control Board about the smell and the drainage from the site.

"I can't remember when this started. I have a five year old son. I live next to Mobil, and they have a place where they drain water into an empty lot next to us. My son played in the water in the lot, and the next day he began to have this terrible skin problem. I called the plant and they said it was rain, but it hadn't rained for days. I called the Air Board, but I don't know what they did."

Luby Peria, who lives on Alf Street, has tried to get both medical and legal advice over an eye condition that she thinks is caused by the gas and dust in the air.

"All the time that smell," said Peria, "I can't keep the windows open for the smell. My eyes are watering now, and just water and water. I have talked to them about my face, my eyes. I got some of that stuff and took it to the doctor, and



Glen Maxey, who toured the area on February 10 with EAST and PODER, disagrees.

"At first glance it sounds great. You get more product and a higher standard for the area. But, there are a number of other issues involved. This is in the center of a neighborhood. There's a playground, a school, parks, residences. And more product means there will be more transportation issues, safety issues and spills."

According to 1990 Austin Fire Department records, fire fighters responded to at least eight calls involving tankers or 18 wheeler transport.

On Nov. 29, for example, a tanker truck with a broken fuel line leaked 50 gallons on East Ben White. No such accidents were listed for the Airport Blvd.-Springdale area, but tankers picking up petroleum from the Springdale terminals travel all over town.

Although the city's Environmental Services department has already reviewed the permit, neither city staff nor TABC investigators were aware that the Water Commission had simultaneously begun an independent enforcement.

Asked if knowledge of the Mobil violations cited by TWC would have effected their deliberations, Environmental Services chief Fred Rogers said yes, and added that he would check with city staff for more information.

PODER's Suzanna Almanza has called for a public hearing on the Mobil permit, and a city council resolution. "Its for the community to decide that they want this. Our representatives at the City are at your door when they need the votes. Now we need their support. We are going to call on them to reject the permit and clean up the neighborhoods where we live."

Polemicist...

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Trees

...continued from page 6

interests associated with the timber industry explain why the government stopped short of doing this. At least three ministers in the current cabinet are involved in timber-related business while a large number of MPs are understood to be bankrolled by provincial timber interests."

In the state of Sarawak in Malaysia, government and industry collaborate to raise the rainforest faster than in any other area. In 1972, the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization estimated 8.5 million cubic meters of wood could be safely removed each year without destruction of the forest. By 1989, Sarawak was churning out 15.34 million cubic meters. An ITTO report states that "if the frenetic pace of annual logging continues all primary forests open for logging will have been harvested in 11 years."

The government appears uninterested in such predictions. James Wong, the state's tourism and environmental minister, owns three large timber concessions. When asked by the UK Economist about the risk of reducing the rain cycle if the forests are cut, he replied "We get too much rain in Sarawak-it stops me playing golf."

Harrison Ngau, of Friends of the Earth Malaysia, told the L.A. Times in March of 1990 that the rainforest people have lived in communal loghouses as subsistence farmers for centuries. The land has been considered theirs through government policies known as "ceremony rights."

But logging changed all that. The state has reclassified "customary rights" claims and people learn of it when the bulldozers arrive. Rather than move quietly from their homes, the Indians of Sarawak have blocked logging roads and demanded their rights.

The Sarawak government responded by passing a law that makes "obstruction of logging routes" a criminal offense, according to the Far Eastern Economic Review, Dec. 1990. "More than 200 natives have been arrested for violating it," said a native representative at an ITTO meeting in Japan. RAN reports that Sarawak currently logs the region 24 hours a day.

Consumer Nations: A Death Grip on Luxury

In May of 1990 the ITTO produced an international agreement that would restrict logging to forest-development areas around the world. However, The Far Eastern Economic Review in June 1990 reports that consumer nations stand in the way of progress. "It is ironic and unfortunate," said one European delegate, "that producer countries are the ones pushing for a development program, while the Americans and the British—where the media campaign against tropical forest logging is the loudest—are trying to slow it down."

According to the Review, some consumer nations "led by the U.S. delegation, were reluctant to agree to a target date for regulated forest development because of a worry that this would be viewed as a precedent affecting American positions at other environmental forums." The U.S. also expressed concern that a target date would increase demands from the producer nations for financial support for conservation. As it stands, "timber product prices need to be increased to reflect

their replacement cost rather than their extraction costs and create financial incentives for conservation."

While the international coalitions of government and industry may be unable and unwilling to enforce serious regulations, the Woodworkers Alliance for Rainforest Protection (WARP) hopes to spearhead a new initiative. It held its first public gathering in November of 1991.

Bringing together woodworkers, ecologists, representatives from the furniture industry and other delegates from around the world, they concluded that traditionally woodworkers have been a part of the problem. They look for the cheapest deal that doesn't pay enough for reforestation, and exploit a few species, which ultimately destroys 75% of the forest in which those species grow.

Rainforest Action Network (RAN) has published a booklet, the Wood User's Guide, which suggests non-tropical woods for use in specific types of construction and gives resources for ecologically minded suppliers. RAN also spearheads an ongoing boycott of imported tropical woods, making exception only for those that come from sustainable logging operations.

The State of Arizona has banned the use of tropical timber in public works. San Francisco, Santa Monica, Baltimore and Bellingham have done the same, and other cities are now developing similar policies. In Europe, 450 German Town Councils have banned tropical timber, and 90% of local councils in the Netherlands joined the boycott. Of these, 15 also ban its use by local business operating within the city limits.

Paxton manager Larry Cook did not know anything about the boycott. "I don't think its possible to impose a world-wide ban," he said.

But an Austin ban? Maybe.

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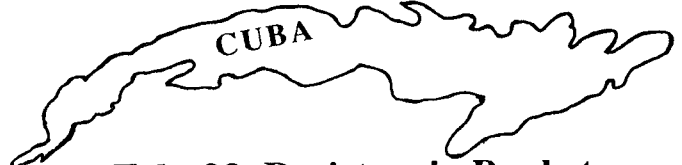
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The United Farm Workers of America announced February 4th that grape boycotters arrested outside Albertson's grocery store on Pleasant Valley in 1989 were upheld in their suit against Albertson's for protection of their rights to freely speak and assemble in the parking lot. In their original criminal trial, the group was found not guilty of criminal trespass. The UFW and the individual plaintiffs then sued the grocery store. The jury found that the group of leafleters were legally exercising their free speech rights under the Texas constitution. While the First Amendment of the Federal Constitution does not apply to private property, free speech and assembly protection under the Texas constitution applies to private "public-like" property. This is the first jury case of its kind in the state dealing with shopping centers.



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Mire

...continued from p. 5

bians and the Lesbian/Gay Student Association for the first time shared phone lists, linked their short-term goals, and began to work together as a fairly broad-based, if tenuous, coalition. Remnants of this network still remain, and indeed formed the nexus of the Austin Campaign for Peace in the Middle East during the Gulf War.

Most important of all, Toni's election unleashed the considerable resources of the Student Association bureaucracy for use by student activists. Prior to and

drawing her monthly SA paycheck, Toni was announcing to a roomful of Austin-based activists that student organizing was a waste of time. Needless to say, she forgot to mention this to *Ms.* magazine when she appeared on its cover in 1991, touted as one of five up-and-coming women student activists.

Even as Toni denounced student activism as irrelevant and ineffective, her administration ignored perfect opportunities to organize student disgust with UT. In the summer after her election, *Polemicist* disclosed that "Dollar" Bill Cunningham sat on the board of Freeport McMoRan, a company that wants to develop and most likely ruin Barton Creek southwest of town. In ad-

fused to participate, how could that coalition help but fall apart?

Luckett's election galvanized a general anti-administration feeling among non-activist students frustrated with the robber barons who run the UT administration and their student-bureaucrat apologists. Even some liberal faculty at the time expressed hope that Luckett could help organize a student movement to confront the worst abuses of the Megaversity. This constituency, which was never active but represented huge unrealized potential, is now just as disenchanting, frustrated and cynical as ever, but with Luckett and student radicals, as well as Bill Cunningham.

Student radicalism at UT has collapsed, but the issues that inspired the surge of activism in 1990 have only grown more critical. The UT bureaucracy lurches on, slashing library funding even as it finances a high-tech weapons lab for the navy and clean rooms for the semiconductor industry. "Dollar" Bill continues to draw a fat paycheck from Freeport McMoRan, while sending graduate students from the geology department to hunt for the next copper mine on indigenous homelands in Indonesia. And Cunningham has appointed Robert King as his hatchman to exact retribution on the Liberal Arts College for the English 306 debacle. The next symposium should address not what happened, but what is to be done.

Henson and Philpott, white Marxists, founded this magazine and endorsed Toni Luckett's campaign.

By Steve Carr

Campus activism is where it is, but we students need to clean up the "act" in our activism before we can make meaningful political and social change. Student activism often partakes of white, heterosexist, middle-class arrogance that we direct towards ourselves as well as the people that we should treat as our allies. Yet paradoxically, we often shirk away from strong, well thought out positions simply for fear of alienating the American public.

What happened to student activism? Who knows? So rather than offer a diagnosis for what could have happened, but didn't, here's a prescription for what can happen and will.

(1) Don't mistake a lack of structure, planning or accountability for democracy. Unstructured meetings are anything but democratic. People who talk the loudest, longest, or interrupt the most usually end up commandeering the debate. Manage them, so that other people get a chance to speak, and the meeting can move on.

Designate a press spokesperson before an event. I've seen too many rallies where hours of careful discussion and preparation go down the drain, simply

because some idiot talks to the press, representing a position more attuned to their ego than the organization.

I've seen too many events undone by poor legwork—no one contacted the media, made phone calls, etc. Have accountability. Elect people if you have to, but have some kind of structure that makes leadership and spokesperson positions open to anyone who wants to do the work, and be responsible to all the organization's members.

(2) Don't get caught in divisive politics. The "How-Would-You-Like-It-If..." question is an impolite version of oppression envy. I've seen Jewish students talk about alleged black anti-Semitism, and ask how African Americans would like it if someone glorified apartheid. I've heard white gay and lesbian activists complain about how much homophobia gets such little attention, and how much attention is given to racism and anti-semitism. We're not in some contest. It's all part of the same system; as long as we take potshots at one another, we're just participating in another form of oppression.

(3) Don't be cowed by accusations of Political Correctness and attacks on multiculturalism. Think it through, take a stand, and stick to your guns. Don't let the bad guys define the terms of the debate through "victim" politics. Multiculturalism is a start, but we can do better. Let's start working on an anti-racism agenda.

(4) Be skeptical. As students, we're particularly vulnerable to psycho-cult organizations that try to modify individual behavior. Check out the group before you get involved, and make sure you ask plenty of questions and get straight answers. If you're told that your questions result from your personal problems and have nothing to do with organizational process, find another organization, quick.

(5) We also need to watch where and from whom we get our information. Times must be pretty bad for the Left to turn to Lyndon LaRouche or the Liberty Lobby. We need the information and resources desperately, but once we buy into a racist and heterosexist agenda to get these things, we're no longer desperate; we're pathetic. Any contact with LaRouche or the Liberty Lobby should be done with extreme caution, if at all. Always present their information responsibly, providing a context that talks about their right wing politics like it is. No one's information is good enough to ignore racism.

(6) So, we're students, and if school has taught us anything, it is to learn from our mistakes. Let's get off our arrogant, myopic asses and start building some bridges in the community.

Steve Carr is a member of New Jewish Agenda and the Graduate Professional Organization.

The 1990 "student movement" at UT-Austin collapsed soon after, and perhaps because of, its most tangible victory: the election of Toni Luckett to the Student Association presidency.

after Luckett's term, student careerists in the SA had monopolized the computers, photocopiers, laser printers and telephones, chiefly to prepare their resumes and play computer games. Under Luckett, for the first time in recent memory that changed. Polemicist used the telephones and photocopier to research stories on English 306 and toxic waste in Austin and at UT. Students, using SA resources, aided Union Dining Service workers in their successful fight to save their jobs from the threat of "franchising." Jennifer Bowles and a small group of women turned the historically lame Students United for Rape Elimination (SURE) into a successful self-defense training program for women. And Austin's anti-war campaign relied on students' access to SA resources for everything from fact sheets to meeting rooms. That fall 1990, the SA even voted to give Liberated Learning the money to purchase a printing press. By comparison, the SA typically pours its money into "awareness weeks" that no one attends. (In 1989, one SA-sponsored awareness week drew just three attendees: a *Texan* reporter, the event's organizer, and his mother.)

All of this aside, Luckett's performance as SA president counts as the single most disastrous cause for the failure of recent activism at UT. The benefits of Toni's election resulted from organizing her campaign, and would have occurred under any SA president who had run on an activist platform. The disadvantages, however, were intensely personal. They result not from her failure to keep her many promises, but from her refusal even to try. By fall 1990, while still

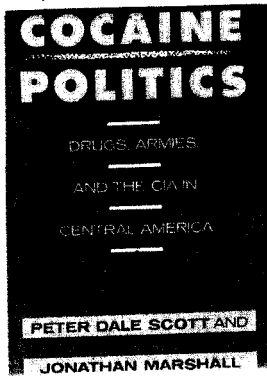
dition, UT collaborates with Freeport and the Indonesian dictator Suharto to mine for copper, displacing indigenous blacks and polluting their drinking water in the process. After an all-night city council meeting rejected the development, effective student organizing could have pressured Cunningham to sever UT's ties to Freeport, which were already drawing heavy criticism from faculty, alumni and public officials. Luckett and her clique, however, did nothing, and as soon as the alternative press moved on to different stories the issue died. Similarly, when conservative campus groups attacked the funding for *Tejas* magazine and defeated the new syllabus for English 306, Luckett again refused to help organize a response, despite voluminous campaign rhetoric supporting curriculum reform and a free press.

Other respondents to this forum will cite many good reasons why the student movement collapsed: the fact that summer occurred so soon after the apex of student organizing; the graduation of key leaders in the Black Student Alliance; and burnout of key activists, particularly graduate students. But none of these reasons excuse the stubborn inaction of a leader who rose to power declaring that she would take the SA out of the student union and into the streets. In her campaign, she portrayed her role as SA president as the equivalent of a paid union organizer. She did indeed get paid—with a healthy stipend from student fees—but as an organizer she was not just ineffective but actively destructive. The UT student movement had been organized as a coalition centered on Luckett. If, after her election, Toni re-

By Kathy Mitchell

COCAINE POLITICS

By Peter Dale Scott and Jonathan Marshall
Berkeley: University of California Press
1991, 279 pp.



Silencing the Opposition

However, they do remind us that the Institute is not guilty of bringing unfounded charges. The Institute filed suit in the spring of 1986, but by December its witnesses had been effectively silenced. The central witness, Jack Terrell, backed off from earlier sworn testimony on the advice of his lawyers, who feared that Terrell himself would be indicted by the Justice Department. King waived use of transcripts of his first sworn testimony, because they had been reprinted as a Christic Institute publication.

Terrell first testified as a defense witness in a Costa Rican libel suit won by John Hull against journalists Martha Honey and Tony Avirgan after they broke the story of the Pastora assassination attempt. The judge in that case dismissed all libel charges, and Terrell became a key witness in the Institute's counter charges. Brought to Washington from New Orleans by members of Massachusetts Democratic Senator John Kerry's staff, then investigating the Contra gun-running cover-up centered in Miami, Terrell became an important witness for the Kerry Commission and source for press reports on CIA-drug connections. He also became a target for Lt. Col. Oliver North's National Security Council (NSC), as the book details.

Using the almost unlimited powers of his position as head of the secret counter-terrorism unit, the Operations Sub-Group (OSG), North placed Terrell under constant surveillance while attempting to prove that he had threatened to kill President George Bush, according to Scott and Marshall.

Documented with footnoted newspaper accounts, studies and interviews, the book describes the fate of other witnesses. Terrell's friend Joe Adams faced indictment by the FBI, although he was a witness in one of the Bureau's own cases. Steven Carr, who claimed to have actually seen cocaine during an arms transfer, was found dead in December 1986, amid press accounts, later proven false, that he had swallowed large amounts of cocaine. Three autopsies concurred that no cocaine had been ingested, although they could not agree on

... **Books**

a cause of death. Jesus Garcia, another key witness for the Kerry Commission, stopped talking after a bomb exploded outside his family home.

With this unequal fight in mind, we see why the authors have taken such an uncritical stance on both the Institute and the Kerry Commission's report. They note that the report, "nearly unassailable, but incomplete," suffered from the constraints of time and "politics." Although Sen. Kerry's agreement with Senator David Boren, D-Okla., of the Intelligence Committee eliminated any serious investigation of CIA proprietary companies, they credit the Kerry Report for a number of significant findings—among them that John Hull, a "central figure in Contra operations on the Southern Front," was involved in cocaine trafficking. This book fills in many gaps in the Kerry Report, particularly surrounding the CIA. They might at least have mentioned that the report came out right after—rather than right before—the election of our CIA President, George Bush.

Invisible Border Agreements

Essentially an elaboration on the earlier, seminal work *The Iran-Contra Connection*, co-authored by Scott, Marshall and Jane Hunter, the new book paints a sensitive and plausible portrait of the Central American cocaine milieu, secured by its complex relations to the CIA, the National Security Council (NSC) and dozens of corrupt Central American officials.

In Central America, the protection available to traffickers who aligned themselves with the CIA, shaped and encouraged the drug trade, much as tariffs and border agreements shape other capitalist markets.

Scott and Marshall avoid simplistic conspiracy theories. They instead sketch out the framework that supported the inconstant and shifting alliances among drug lords, petty schemers, anti-communist civilians, international groups like the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and U.S. covert operators.

The CIA and the NSC, dedicated to the suppression of communism wherever it might arise, have formed alliances to support Afghani guerrillas and Chilean dictators, Peruvian land-

owners and Contra rebels, with or without the permission of Congress, as the book notes. Changes in the individual players have done little to change the shape of a game driven by a consistent, hard-line ideology. For the national security administration, anti-communism supersedes all other national security interests, including its much publicized war on drugs.

Scott and Marshall note that according to a GAO study the Afghan border was not a major heroin supplier for the U.S., and the drug was virtually unknown in Pakistan, until the Afghan war. By 1984, the area supplied 50 percent of the heroin sold in the U.S., and Pakistan boasted 650,000 addicts. In Central America, the protection available to traffickers who aligned themselves with the CIA, shaped and encouraged the drug trade, much as tariffs and border agreements shape other capitalist markets. Skills acquired as a CIA field operator could be transferred to drug smuggling. One former CIA commando claimed in 1982 that his trainees "were actively sought out by other people in the drug trade because of their expertise."

CIA veterans from operations in the Congo, the Bay of Pigs and elsewhere parlayed their CIA contacts into protection traded for tips on their rivals. One CIA/Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) operation, DEACON, attempted to use CIA drug "assets" for a broad spectrum of both political surveillance and drug investigation. In fact,

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based on unsubstantiated rumor and speculation from unidentified sources with no first-hand knowledge."

Peter Dale Scott and Jonathan Marshall, in their recent book *Cocaine Politics*, provide a carefully researched and meticulously documented analysis of the CIA's drug connections. This reviewer is not convinced that the Christics shouldn't be lashed for utter naivete, and for a woefully sloppy presentation of evidence. They seem shocked that a judge would throw their tractor-trailer full of papers out of court, although they pressed a trial without their most important witnesses. The press coverage of their suit has done little to deepen the public's knowledge of the CIA, while it has greatly discredited the evidence put forward by numerous other reporters from Miami to Los Angeles. Scott and Marshall let the Christics off lightly—and so they too must feel the scorn of a *Polemicist*.

drug enforcement always took a backseat in such partnerships. While the operation busted no drug runners, it did prompt an official review suggesting that the DEA begin to regulate "the level of drug trafficking permissible for an asset."

As the 1970s wore into the '80s, the distinction between the DEA and the CIA blurred even further. In Mexico for example, according to the book, the CIA required the DEA to turn over a list of its contacts and formally coordinate operations. Its most important political contact,

Miguel Nazar Haro, head of the Direccion Federal de Seguridad (DFS), found protection through the CIA for both drug smuggling and auto theft as long as he supplied political intelligence.

By the time he left the DFS in 1982, Nazar had successfully rationalized and centralized the drug market as a protected government operation. No longer dependent on his personal influence, the connections between the CIA, the DFS and drug traffickers continued once the new Mexican administration

Times in 1988, "The Pentagon made it clear that we were in the way. They had more important business." Newly appointed DEA section chief Ed Heath withdrew the entire Honduran field office, claiming a funding problem.

At its best, the book connects CIA and NSC priorities with the governmental and covert structures they helped create. Structural continuity allowed different cartels and individuals to assume control of the drug market during different phases of American policy. For example, as Congressional support for the Contras waned—and the NSC assumed "unofficial" relations with the same networks—the government officials gave up some of their competitive edge to private marketers.

At its worst, *Cocaine Politics* slips occasionally into a Who's Who of the underworld that is probably most useful as a desk reference. At times the multi-layered references connecting foreign government officials (or their relatives or their business partners) to drug runners (or their CIA trainers or their relations or their business partners) to members of the U.S. national security apparatus (or former members or their trainees or their relatives or their business partners) can be distracting. In some instances, detailed relationships might have been better explained in a footnote.

With over 60 pages of footnotes, the text does provide hundreds of sources for information on the various traffickers. The footnotes also contain elaborate support for their general thesis that the War on Drugs was none other than the same old war on Central America, painted in more palatable colors.

From the Military Review, they quote in one footnote, "Those church and academic groups that have slavishly supported insurgency in Latin America would find themselves on the wrong side of the moral issue. Above all, we would have the unassailable moral position from which to launch a concerted offensive effort using Department of Defense (DoD) and non-DoD assets... Instead of responding defensively to each insurgency on a case-by-case basis, we could act in concert with our allies... Instead of debating each separate threat, we can begin to see the hemisphere as a whole and ultimately develop the vision that has been sorely lacking."

Clearly what the NSC and the CIA did not lack was a vision. Articulated by World Anti-Communist League leaders like Singlaub, and promulgated by the Moonie-controlled daily paper the Washington Times, the rabid and untimely anti-communist message was unmistakable. The American people, however, were unconvinced by the mid-80s, requiring Reagan's national security administration to enforce its vision at the expense of an exploding number of cocaine-addicted American children. *Cocaine Politics* provides important documentation for the war on people behind the war on drugs.

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came to office. The DEA, meanwhile, constantly lost the larger struggle to set intelligence priorities. *Cocaine Politics* carefully documents the complete withdrawal of the DEA from its field office in Honduras in 1983, after a two-year investigation into Honduran government drug trafficking. DEA field officers found high-level government collusion with a known trafficker who turned the country into a center for Central American cocaine trade from 1982-84. The same trafficker, however, also ran SETCO, the CIA's Contra-supply airline. The authors quote a DEA agent, who told the Los Angeles

NOTES OF AN AMAZED CORPSE: PARIS NOVEMBER 1990
Excerpted from a work-in-progress
 by Prentiss Moore

We start here before the beloved, looking into that mirror where, both against and out of its image, we claim life and sustenance, our true inventive freedom, a pleasure in silence that is also the breaking of silence like the breaking of bread among friends. Desire is otherwise intolerable, two animals drinking each other's blood in those fantasies of lovers devouring each other, mocking the bodhisatva who gives herself to a starving tiger that is in effect the world. Crucial though symmetry is to limit and test our freedom, it is still childish, the vapid balancing of accounts in an auditor's farce of sacrifice and resentment. Such barren justice, cannot suffer as love does the bodily fact of injustice, whatever horror, rage, pain, or fear that no other can own or deny. Such justice claims to be accepted by all but can be trusted by no one, however impartial, and thus servile, is its measure. Justice that lives lives under the gaze of love, that judgement of the flesh from which there come no verdicts, only vigilance and the willingness to remain near.

Perfection, which only flesh knows, is never a property of objects or acts. It is a manner of being that finds rest only as its test in every activity, action itself being perfection's eyes onto the world it dreams in order to find its actual hands and feet. Perfection does not see fragments in the detail but where its body of energies enters and remakes itself through that envelope, imaginationfilled, of the senses.

