

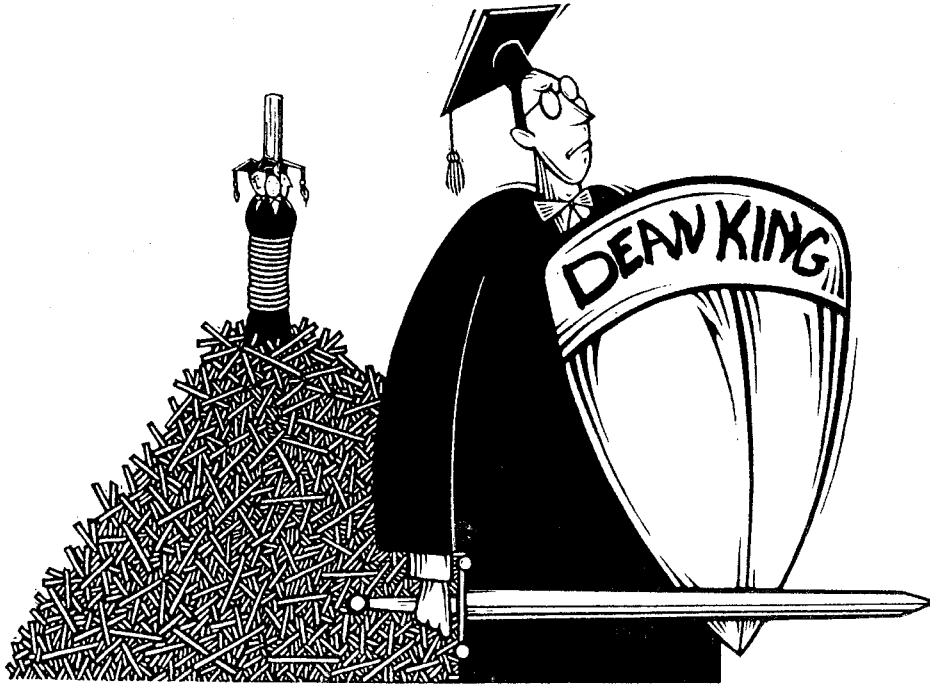


Polemicist

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

Volume 3, No. 1

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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 Collier Freeport Flack

In preparing for his three-part series on Freeport McMoRan's Indonesian mining operations, *Austin-Chronicle* reporter Bill Collier asked *Polemicist* to open up its files for use in his articles. After seeing his work, we are embarrassed that anyone could have viewed our files, and then written the lame, tripe-ridden fluff that appeared under Collier's byline September 1, 2, and 3.

More than one year after *Polemicist* editors broke the UT-Freeport-Indonesia story in the *Austin Chronicle*, and expanded the stories in subsequent issues of *Polemicist*, the *Statesman* finally decided to acknowledge debates that everyone else in town has read about and discussed at length. The *Statesman* paid for Collier to fly to Indonesia, where he toured the Freeport mining facility under the constant surveillance of company officials. Collier discussed his trip with us at length, but his conversation sounded nothing like his *Statesman* series, which read like a puff piece written by the Freeport public relations office. A front-page headline Sept. 2 declared, "Freeport consultants say all's well." Did Collier need to travel to Indonesia to write that story?

Collier writes that "[n]ow Freeport seems to be working hard to change its environmental image" and to "convince critics that its operations are non-polluting and beneficial to native Irianese." Collier seems to be working hard on that score as well. Collier admitted to *Polemicist* that he is in close, regular contact with Jim Bob Moffett, chairman and CEO of Freeport. "Jim Bob calls me all the time," Collier declared.

Sometimes Jim Bob calls him under the strangest circumstances—for example, when Collier tried to interview UT President "Dollar" Bill Cunningham, who sits on the Freeport McMoRan board of directors, for his articles. Collier explained to *Polemicist* that he had scheduled an interview with Cunningham just after he returned from Indonesia, but that "Dollar" Bill's secretary called him that morning and explained that the UT President would be unavailable. She asked Collier to please fax his questions instead. Collier told her he

would rather conduct the interview in person, but the secretary insisted, so he obliged. Several hours later, Collier recalled, he received a phone call from his friend "Jim Bob." Toward the end of the conversation, Moffett asked Collier about his questions for Cunningham, implicitly informing the reporter that Cunningham had immediately forwarded them to his superiors at Freeport's home office.

Later, Collier discovered that Freeport personnel had been assigned to compose Cunningham's responses. One Freeport bureaucrat, Collier remembered, told him on the phone she was having trouble answering one of the questions he had posed to Cunningham. Collier said it turned out to be a vague question about what Cunningham thought of Freeport's environmental record in Indonesia. He told us he only wanted a general "bullshit" response. The Freeport bureaucrat, though, had been assigned to compose a lengthy list of the environmental precautions the company takes in its mining operations. Judging by the content of his articles, Collier appears to have reprinted the list as fact.

We appreciate Collier's telling us all these fine stories, but we didn't appreciate as much the fact that after handing over our entire Freeport file, which took several people hundreds of hours to accumulate, he still failed to reference *Polemicist*, or even to point out that students broke the story long before the *Statesman* deemed it fit to print. Indeed, long after student journalists covered the Freeport-Indonesia story, Bill Collier was covering Jim Bob Moffett's ass.

Garth Davis Dan Quayle Impersonator

We never expected a great deal from Garth Davis, but he did provide some good comedy during the tuition debates over the summer:

- Referring to Gov. Ann Richards' comments that students all drove BMW's and therefore could afford tuition hikes, Davis announced that he drove a BMW, and felt very guilty about it.

- Davis went on to intone that "just because students drive nice cars doesn't mean they can afford tuition."

- Proving that his liberal heart bleeds for those whose parents didn't buy them a BMW, Davis offered the following social analysis: "Higher education is very important for people in the slums, in the ghettos. They're stuck down there unless they can get a higher education"—as opposed to "up here," where we all drive BMW's.

- But, Davis assured his constituency, you shouldn't despair, explaining that he's "very confident the administration will protect students in many ways." (We call your attention to the nuclear fallout shelter in Garrison Hall.)

If his mishaps weren't so hilarious, we'd call for his public lashing. Instead, we call on Garth to donate his salary as SA president to the Beemer Fund for College-Bound Ghetto Children. He can find the address in the *Polemicist* staffbox. Make checks payable to *Polemicist* magazine.

Joe Horn's Affirmative Recriminations

In speech before the National Accuracy in Academia Conference in Washington, D.C. this summer, psychology professor and eugenist Joe Horn lambasted the UT Law School for "abandoning the merit principle" in its admissions policy. This year's entering law class is nearly 80 percent white—but that's not white enough for Mr. Horn, whose academic interests include torturing lab mice with electrical charges and "quantifying" race- and gender-based differences in intelligence.

Indeed, Horn insists that whites have been denied their entitlement to law degrees based on their scores on an "objective" admissions criterion called the Texas Index (TI). The TI multiplies your GPA by an arbitrary number and adds it to your LSAT score—to come up with its assessment of your "likeliness to succeed" in law school.

Most educated people realize that standardized tests aren't actually "objective," since the choice and wording of multiple choice questions and answers cloak an entire quartet of cultural assumptions. On this issue, however, Horn is as blind as some of the mice he sends scurrying frantically around his lab cages. In an article published last year in the right-wing journal *Academic Questions*, Horn pontificated on "Truth, Gender, and the SAT," concluding that gender differences in test scores stem from intelligence differences.

In his speech before the AIA (a right-wing group most famous for hiring students to "monitor" the classes of radical faculty in the mid-'80s), Horn charged the Law School with violating its own TI guidelines by passing up higher scoring whites in favor of African-American and Latino applicants. But according to the *Law School*, the TI has never been more than a partial guideline for evaluating applications, and is by no means objective. At least 45 percent of law students are accepted on other merits—background, special talents, age, etc.

In a recent *Statesman* article on the law school, Laquita Hamilton, assistant dean of admissions, noted that before 1953 preference was often given to siblings of former graduates or affluent families—"But you don't hear anyone screaming about that," she noted.

No, Horn is too busy defending the privileges of white folk against the hordes of colored folk he considers their inferiors. When this profane man emerges from his laboratory, shucks his white jacket and steps into the public sphere, he only reveals the vapidty and racism of his thought.

We urge Joe Horn to leave the rats alone for awhile and try quantifying the number of students of all races who are passed over the next time the son of a congressman or oil man with lower scores is admitted to law school. This should make some overworked rats very happy.



On the Attack

Bcb King opposes autonomy, collegiality in Liberal Arts

BY SCOTT HENSON
AND TOM PHILPOTT

Since UT President "Dollar" Bill Cunningham appointed Robert King Interim Dean of Liberal Arts, King has consolidated his hold on the position by forcibly exerting his regressive political agenda over the college. King previously held the deanship throughout the 1980s. Although King has only been appointed interim dean, after the abrupt resignation of Standish Meacham last spring, Cunningham has also named him chair of the search committee charged with finding a new dean, and has asked King to keep the post through the 91-92 academic year. In addition, despite the University's much-ballyhooed budget crunch, Cunningham granted King a \$21,000 pay raise—boosting his salary to \$124,000.

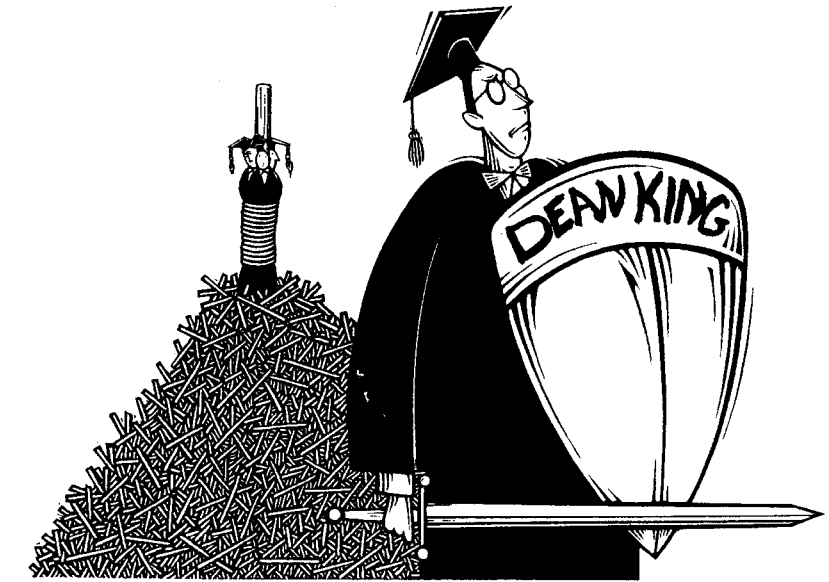
Reporters tell us King says, off the record, that he hates his job and doesn't know why he ever took it back. We hope this article will confirm and further that sentiment. Of course, not every controversy in the Liberal Arts College can be traced to King — for example, the attempt to place the Department of Spanish and Portuguese in partial receivership was initiated by his predecessor. And it must be stressed that King, under UT's hierarchical structure, technically has the authority to hire and fire administrators, and institute or abolish departmental governance, at his pleasure. But although he is only an interim dean, King is definitely not simply maintaining a holding pattern—his actions toward the English department, the Middle Eastern Studies Center, Women's Studies and the Humanities reveal a clear pattern of heavy-handedness, cronyism, and reactionary conservatism.

THE KING'S ENGLISH

In June, just after his ascension to the deanship, King sent a memo to the chair of the English department declaring his "inclination" to reject the department's previous governance structure—an "Executive Committee" elected by department faculty. Instead, King has installed a "Budget Council," made up of all full professors (leaving out associate professors, who are also tenured, and the junior faculty).

The department in February voted, with only one dissenting vote out of 80 English faculty, to continue its present system of governance. King's refusal to honor their wishes constitutes a fundamental violation of faculty autonomy. English Department Chairman Joe Kruppa says that junior faculty are "pretty confused" by the intent of the proposed changes, and that "morale is rather low" among English faculty in general.

While under UT's intensely hierar-



chical structure, King is technically allowed to singlehandedly reconstitute departmental government, his actions violate both tradition and written guidelines for faculty governance formulated by national organizations of which the university is a member. The American Association of University Professors (AAUP), in a stern letter dated July 24, informed Dean King that, "Absent compelling reasons for not providing ... approval, such as evidence that a department has become dysfunctional in its operations, generally accepted principles of collegial government would call upon the administration to respect the decision of members of the department to continue the mode of governance under which they have been operating." Copies of this letter were sent to President Cunningham and Chairman Kruppa.

Days after receiving his copy of the AAUP letter, Chairman Kruppa offered King a compromise, whereby a committee would be set up outside the department to study the governance question, until the current Executive Committee terms expire in February. That would allow time, Kruppa reasoned, to proceed in an unhurried fashion, and to switch to a new governance system, if necessary, at a convenient juncture. Kruppa argued that eight faculty promotions are coming up in September, and that a new governing body would have to make decisions on an issue that the Executive Committee had been studying since March. Kruppa sent a copy of his compromise proposal to

President Cunningham, with a cover letter saying he wanted the president to know that he had offered a compromise.

Six days later, without replying to Kruppa's compromise offer, King announced in an open letter to the department that the existing faculty government would be abolished as of September 1. Although the AAUP sent King another letter, dated August 27, chastising him for ignoring Kruppa's compromise offer and reasserting its support for the department's autonomy, at press time King had not responded.

FOR WHAT CAUSE?

As the AAUP letter implies, King has provided no compelling evidence, in fact no evidence at all, that the current faculty government in the English department has become dysfunctional. King at one point made vague references to problems in faculty hiring in the department, but gave no details as to his concerns. Many English faculty, including the chairman of the faculty recruitment committee, feel that King's concerns stem from the department's success in minority recruitment, which King has historically opposed.

Bolstering this argument is the fact that the English department has been the most successful in the university in fulfilling the UT administration's explicit mandate to hire more qualified minority faculty, as established in UT's 1987 Minority Faculty Recruitment and Retention Action Plan. In that plan, the administration stressed "the need for aggres-

sive action to recruit minority faculty." In the past two academic years, the department hired eight women and three men. Of these, three were Hispanic and two were black. The chair of the English department's faculty recruitment committee, Kurt Heinzelman, told *Polemicist*, "King's actions will make recruitment of anybody, but especially of minority candidates, virtually impossible."

Heinzelman resigned his chairmanship on August 27 as a result of King's actions. In a lengthy resignation letter, Heinzelman argued that "[a]lready this acting dean's injudicious actions are becoming a scandal and a source of ridicule by colleagues around the country. This University is in danger of being denigrated by those very graduate institutions from which we draw our best assistant professors." He also writes that by imposing a budget council, "King has virtually stripped the women in this department of any representation. Of the 35 full professors in our Department, only four are women and two are on leave all next year."

One of King's few supporters in the English department, however, cites other reasons why the dean might derail departmental governance. Norman Farmer, a full professor who last year along with King signed a "statement of academic concern" that led to the rejection of the revised syllabus for English 306, said he felt the English department "had become overly politicized, that it had become

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Portions of this article also appear in *The Texas Observer*.

Free Tuition is a Rational Plan

Students Sold Down the River This Summer

BY KATHY MITCHELL
AND DAVID BARKER

This summer a strange coalition of administrators, elected officials and students agreed that tuition must go up in order to save higher education in Texas. While they wrangled over the details, almost no one admitted that to a large extent, tuition is a strawman in the budget debate—meant to deflect criticism from the University's budget priorities.

According to the University's financial statements, tuition accounts for a mere seven percent of revenues, less than the system brings in from "professional fees" or sales of medical and other services.

"Tuition today is primarily a mechanism for supplementing our income. It doesn't amount to a big fraction of it, as you know," says Hans Mark. "The academic budget of UT Austin is probably \$550 million, and we earn about \$20 million in tuition. The only justification for tuition today is to supplement the budget, and to demonstrate to students that they are getting something of value. When you get something free today there is a tendency to say it is not valuable."

The Tuition Consensus

The summer's higher-education debate ignored these important numbers in favor of a consistent argument that students should pay for what they get (although no one mentioned the corollary that students should control what they pay for), like customers in a grocery store. A proposal released in April by former Lt. Governor Bill. lobby and a former Chairman of the UT Board of Regents, Jess Hay, was substantially similar to a Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board proposal released the following month. Both proposals recommended increasing tuition to 25 percent of the direct cost of education, direct cost meaning general revenue appropriations from the state plus tuition revenue. The proposals would have put tuition at \$32 per semester credit hour (SCH), an increase of 78 percent over the current \$18 SCH.

In addition, the Coordinating Board recommended that the percentage of tuition diverted for financial aid be increased from the current 15 percent to 20 percent, to offset the effects of the tuition increase on accessibil-

recommended increasing the set-aside rate for financial aid to 20 percent.

Student bureaucrats from A&M, Texas Tech, UT Dallas and UT Austin all supported tuition hikes, although they wanted smaller increases than Sharp's proposal. Most of their counterparts at other schools opposed any increase. UT-Austin's so-called student leaders wanted to "negotiate" a "moderate" increase over the statutory increases already in place. In 1985, as a result of massive student protest against proposals to quadruple tuition, the legislature made a pact that it



would only raise tuition by \$2 every two years until 1996. This year, UT's student apologists made no effort to enforce this agreement.

The Junior Lobby

In June, the SA at UT Austin coordinated a meeting of students from around the state, the Texas Student Conference, to determine appropriate action on tuition proposals. The meeting generated two position statements that reflected fundamental disagreements among the delegates.

On July 22, *The Daily Texan* reported that SA President Garth Davis called for no tuition increase; but in the same article, a confused Davis also suggested that the increase should follow the Hobby/Hay plan—\$32 per hour phased in over time, or 175 percent of current rates. The UT delegation at the Conference frequently expressed their willingness to accept tuition increases and emphasized the need to "negotiate" with the legislature and administrators about where the increased revenues should be spent.

There were some notable exceptions to this defeatist philosophy and they came, interestingly enough, from representatives of junior colleges and smaller universi-

ties. Hans Mark told *Polemicist* that, "In some of our schools, tuition is already too high and so if we raise tuition even a little, say at UT El Paso or at UT Pan American, people would drop out. When we raised tuition five years ago from \$4 to \$12 we lost a thousand students at UT El Paso." Students from smaller campuses almost universally fought for zero tuition increases.

Students from the big UT schools and other large institutions in the state ("prestige" schools) had clearly wilted in the onslaught of budget proposals from "experts." This feeble response to wildly draconian proposals bodes ill for the future hopes of students in Texas as a whole.

The World According to Garth

In particular, Garth Davis inadvertently reinforced the Governor's student bashing with inept remarks about poor students and their cars. The Governor enraged students and their financially strapped parents early in the budget debate with her flippant statement (repeated twice) that students all drive BMWs and could therefore afford to pay higher tuition. Garth responded at one point that he did indeed drive a BMW but felt guilty about it, and later, "just because students drive nice cars doesn't mean they can afford tuition."

Garth later complicated his view of student life, declaring that "[h]igher education is very important for people in the slums, in the ghettos. They're stuck down there unless they can get a higher education."

Coordinating Board Chairman Reasoner agreed, pointing out that "those people desperately need to be educated if they are going to enter the mainstream of our society, and it's an immense bargain to provide them an education rather than to have to deal with them in our correctional system later in life." (One wonders whether in our society, and it's an immense bargain to provide them an education rather than to have to deal with them in our correctional system later in life.) (One wonders whether in our society, and it's an immense bargain to provide them an education rather than to have to deal with them in our correctional system later in life.)

According to Hans Mark the majority of UT-System students rely on some form of financial aid, although probably few of these are scrambling desperately out of the ghettos and prisons to attend UT. These shallow theories careen about in the vacuous minds of these philistines, who never once sought out the hard data needed to diagnose the effects of tuition hikes on students.

"Tuition today is primarily a mechanism for supplementing our income. It doesn't amount to a big fraction of it," said Mark.

ity to higher education for poor students.

In July the State Comptroller John Sharp released his Texas Performance Review, an audit of Texas state agencies and funding. Sharp's proposals for higher education recommended increasing tuition to 25 percent of direct plus indirect costs of education. The indirect costs of education include appropriations from the state into faculty and staff retirement programs, and would have raised resident tuition to \$40 SCH in 1993, a 120 percent increase over current tuition levels. Sharp also

Privately, some student leaders acknowledged that their concern had shifted from tuition toward funding for higher education.

The Apology Shifts

While UT student bureaucrats failed to defend themselves (or us) against tuition hikes, they apparently had no trouble defending the UT System in the face of budget cuts. Once they found themselves rubbing shoulders in the Capitol with the legislative elite, our

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Students' failure to lobby effectively against tuition hikes stemmed directly from their inability to confront the "experts" on questions of university finance. But anyone can understand the fundamental issues surrounding how UT gets its money, and where that money goes. Administrators hide behind the complexity of the University's financial structure to justify some of their more egregious spending schemes; don't let them fool you.

In the face of its steady or shrinking enrollment, UT income has risen sharply throughout the eighties. A major source of income is the proceeds from the Permanent University Fund (PUF). Income from the PUF (known as the Available

Of Budgets & Balderdash

freeze, cuts in hours at the library, and TA shortages. UT President "Dollar" Bill Cunningham hints ominously that faculty salaries will be frozen at current levels, and talks of other harsh measures. Cunningham draws every sector of the University into the budget cutting process, presumably in order to equally spread the blame. Meanwhile, Garth Davis in a *Texan* article declared himself "very confident the administration will protect students in many ways." What is this man thinking?

Last year at this time, ostensibly to save money during the annual budget crunch, Cunningham announced that the library would have to cut hundreds of periodicals and reduce its hours and staff time in order to save \$220,000. Meanwhile, UT continued to pay tens of millions in construction costs designed to provide R&D facilities for corporations and the military. While the payments continue, UT claims that this money—collected by issuing bonds (debt, in other words)—is not available for student services, library books etc.

When asked in an interview with *Polemicist* whether money spent for research capital could have been used for general education, Hans Mark said—flat out—"No." Yet the bond statements say that bonds issued on the PUF can be used for acquiring land, construction, repair and rehabilitation of buildings, acquiring capital equipment, library books and

library materials, and bond refunding. The statements further clarify another oft-observed fact—higher debt service payments directly reduce money available to students at UT Austin, since all money not spent on debt service comes to the University in the form of the Residual Fund. Mark admitted, albeit grudgingly, "If you use the entire income from the PUF to pay off bonds, then we don't have the AUF for things we do at UT Austin."

Students Pay Coming and Going

Total debt service payable from the UT's

debt.

The Texas Constitution limits the bond debt that the UT regents may secure with the PUF. Prior to 1985, the Constitution required a lid on debt, keeping it under 13.33 percent of the total value of the PUF. In 1984 the University nearly hits its limit on borrowing, and pushed through a constitutional amendment upping the ante. Now, UT may borrow up to 20 percent.

As of February 1991, UT estimated the PUF at \$3,438,357,015. The UT regents have secured \$552,155,000 worth of debt with the PUF, or 16 percent of total value, and the debt is rising. In addition to the PUF bonds, the University also issues tuition bonds, general revenue bonds, student fee bonds and others that have no constitutional limitations. Today, UT is actually \$885,152,000, in the hole on debt.

An example will illustrate how this debt burdens students: the Molecular Biology Building and Animal Resources Center required PUF bond issues of \$14.9 million, in addition to the \$9 million drawn from student fee balances, for a grand total of \$23.9 million. Moreover,

Higher debt service payments directly reduce money avail- able to students at UT Austin.

University Fund or AUF) rose from \$107 million in 1980 to \$266 million in 1989-90. Two thirds of this money goes directly to UT Austin. UT's research spending from 1985 to 1991 rose from \$250 million to \$511 million. Meanwhile, general revenues from the legislature have remained stable overall. Further, the University has borrowed hundreds of millions for its special projects, a debt that students and taxpayers will eventually pay off in a variety of ways. In essence, while UT's income has risen steadily, massive research spending has outstripped any gains students might have seen.

Thus, while students should be feeling the benefits of increased revenues in all areas of University life, they instead return from the summer to find a hiring

Total debt service payable from the UT's two-thirds portion of the Available Univer- sity Fund (AUF) has increased 216 percent since 1983, from \$28.7 million to \$62 million.

two-thirds portion of the Available University Fund (AUF) has increased 216 percent since 1983, from \$28.7 million to \$62 million, according to 1991 bond summaries—and the debt service numbers will only rise from there. When the University talks about issuing PUF bonds to pay for its big projects, it rarely mentions the mechanism for paying back that

interest as well as principal on the bond debt will over the years come out of the AUF, upping that figure dramatically. Thus, the loss to the UT-Austin general education budget well exceeds \$25 million, and will affect students for years.

Meanwhile, the only bonds approved

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Whose Industrial Policy?

An unusual collection of local citizen and environmental groups, and the National Campaign for Responsible Technology (CRT) opened negotiations in Austin this summer with Sematech, a Defense Department-subsidized semiconductor research consortium. The ongoing meetings could lead to safer chemical processes for use by the microelectronics industry and substantially affect national industrial policy, if Sematech responds in good faith to the coalition.

Thus far though, organizers say, Sematech has evaded their most important questions. "The consensus was that the written response fell far short of our expectations," CRT representatives claimed, in an August 12 letter to Sematech CEO William Spencer following months of discussion.

The meetings with Sematech, eighteen months in the making, have come at a particularly opportune moment. Sematech, now three years into its five-year funding cycle, has begun formulating a new agenda, "Sematech II," in preparation for next year's re-funding debate in Congress. An industry research consortium made up of 14 major semiconductor manufacturers, Sematech was originally created by Congress to provide its member corporations with high-tech research needed to strengthen their "competitiveness" in the global microchip market. Sematech received \$500 million in Defense subsidies for its research. In addition, Austin provided an attractive incentive package and the University of Texas rented land worth \$12 million to the industry group for one dollar per year despite student protests.

Now the consortium has submitted a new five-year plan to the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) that substantially revises its original mission.

Given its federal and local subsidies, CRT and a local group, People Organized in Defense of Earth and its Resources (PODER), have demanded that the consortium introduce popular priorities into the new Sematech mandate.

According to Suzanna Almanza, Austin's CRT representative, Sematech member companies must take community demands for safer and cleaner high-tech working conditions seriously, or the community will go to Washington to testify next fall.

"We plan to keep the community pressure on locally, and then from there take the community to the actual hearings if necessary."

At War With the Japanese: A "Defensive" Industrial Policy

Currently Sematech hopes to "beat the Japanese." Representatives of the consortium see themselves as warriors in an international struggle to dominate the \$620 billion chip market. "We're at war with the Japanese," one Sematech representative said to the CRT delegation, standing before a market-share chart outside the chemical vapor deposition area, "and this is the front line right here." More meaningful in the context of its Defense Department subsidies, the war metaphors also refer to the U.S.'s military dependence upon chip supplies. In Washington, defense analysts insist that government support

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American Association of University Professors on the Political Correctness Controversy

— July 24, 1991

In recent months critics have accused American higher education of submitting to the alleged domination of exponents of "political correctness." Their assault has involved name-calling, the irresponsible use of anecdotes, and not infrequently the assertion that "political correctness" is the new McCarthyism that is chilling the climate of debate on campus and subjecting political dissenters to the threat of reprisal. For all its self-righteous verve, this attack has frequently been less than candid about its actual origin, which appears to lie in an only partly-concealed animosity toward equal opportunity and its first effects of modestly increasing the participation of women and racial and cultural minorities on campus.

The AAUP finds no contradiction between its founding principle of academic freedom and its longstanding policy in support of affirmative action and equal opportunity. We do, of course, acknowledge that there are legitimate divergences of opinion regarding the best means for securing access to higher education for students of diverse backgrounds and increasing the representation of heretofore underrepresented classes in the ranks of college and university faculties.

Charges of "political correctness" however, have a way of taking on their own coercive tone. Likewise, charges that certain persons are being damaged by a new version of McCarthyism ignore the very real differences between the aggressions against individual rights systematically carried out by an arm of Congress and the haphazard, sometimes heated, and not infrequently cantankerous disagreements that inevitably attend the exchange of opinions on campus. While alert to the possibility that one party may be made

to feel uncomfortable for views not regarded as "politically correct," the Association would also point out that others have suffered gender- or racially-based forms of insensitivity. Especially irresponsible are suggestions by some commentators that feminist and minority groups are themselves chiefly responsible for the attacks directed against them.

Throughout its history the AAUP has formulated and defended the ground rules that insure [sic] free debate in the academy. In adjudicating or investigating specific complaints by faculty members, it proceeds not anecdotally but through the collection of as many relevant facts as possible and the separation of documentably serious infringements on academic freedom from other episodes that may cause transitory discomfort. It does not believe the ends of reasoned debate are secured by premature recourse to headline-grabbing or the attempt to construct, on the basis of disconnected anecdotes, a case that a monolithic form of thought control is now sweeping American campuses.

We remind all parties that some discomfort is an inevitable consequence of a climate of give-and-take on campus, especially when the subjects of disagreement are sensitive issues of race, gender or ethnicity. But demonstrable personal harm or abridgement of academic due process may occur as a result of the inflammation of the campus climate by allegations of either political correctness or incorrectness. In all such cases, the AAUP stands ready to defend the integrity of university personnel processes and the role of appropriately composed faculty bodies in academic decision-making and review.



**Thurs, September 5
Texas Union, 7:30pm**

Derrick Bell

Harvard Law Professor Derrick Bell took unpaid leave last year until Harvard agrees to tenure at least one minority woman professor.

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Bringing Up Baby: D'Souza's Illiberal Education

BY SCOTT HENSON

Dinesh D'Souza's book-length attack on affirmative action and curriculum reform, *Illiberal Education*, has generated tremendous publicity, particularly for a 29-year old author whose first book, an admiring biography of Jerry Falwell published in 1984, remains virtually unknown and unread. The splash created by D'Souza's book makes more sense in its context, as part of a national, well-funded, and to a large extent coordinated attack on multiculturalism in particular and Left activism generally.

D'Souza's discussions in his book, and in the slew of magazine articles published last spring, do not contain strikingly new analysis—his doctrinaire, neoconservative arguments follow directly in the lineage of another neoconservative, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who 26 years ago laid the foundation for D'Souza's critiques in his controversial report on the black family. Moynihan argued that blacks' problems stemmed from breakdowns within the black family, and denied that racism or prejudice played a significant contributory role in black unemployment or poverty.

Moynihan, like D'Souza called for a "color blind" public policy, promoting traditional American family values. In an United States that had only recently dissolved Jim Crow in the Deep South, Moynihan's arguments were not taken seriously.

Illiberal Education, spouting the same neoconservative party line, has enjoyed greater success with this "blame the victim" argument than did Moynihan. But the evidence indicates that D'Souza isn't simply a young thinker with similar ideas to, or even influenced by neoconservative thought. A handpicked mouthpiece, financed by Beltway neoconservative moneybags since his teens, he's merely one more in an increasingly long series of right-wing authors attacking affirmative action, curriculum diversity and student activism. Other examples include: *Tenured Radicals* by Roger Kimball, *The Closing of the American Mind* by Allan Bloom, and *Profscam and The Hollow Men* by Charles Sykes. More books have been funded and will appear in the coming year.

D'Souza's personal history offers a prime case study of the process by which a handful of right-wing institutions can turn a virtually unknown writer into a national public figure—all it takes is money.

His career began as co-founder of the notorious *Dartmouth Review*, one of the first in a string of right-wing student newspapers funded by what was then the Institute for Educational Affairs (IEA). In September 1990, IEA merged with the Madison Center to become the Madison Center for Educational Affairs). The *Dartmouth Review* taps into conservative funding sources that have supported D'Souza at various times throughout his career. In 1989, for example, the John M.

Olin Foundation approved a \$150,000 multi-year grant for the *Review*, according to the 1989 *Olin Annual Report*. Olin also funded D'Souza's work on *Illiberal Education*. With all this money and more, the *Review's* staff is able to publish a weekly magazine on a campus with only 4500 students.

According to Louis Menand writing in the *New Yorker*, while D'Souza served as editor-in-chief, the paper ran a "lighthearted interview with a former Klan leader and illustrated it with a staged photo of a black man hanging from a tree on the Dartmouth campus." He also published an article on affirmative action entitled, "Dis Sho Ain't No Jive, Bro," written in a parody of black vernacular—for example: "Now we be comin' to

these and other exploits in an article published in the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review*, where he bragged that the *Review* during his tenure "commented on gender issues: 'The question is not whether women should be educated at Dartmouth. The question is whether women should be educated at all.' Further: 'Any man who thinks a woman is his intellectual equal is probably right.' On politics and morality: 'We deny the foul rumor. Ted Kennedy was nowhere in the area of Catalina Island where Natalie Wood drowned.' On the Atlanta child murders: 'I ain't killed nobody,' Wayne Williams said, confessing his crimes at last.'"

D'Souza goes on in the article to lament that "Some of these items were dumb and should not have been printed. But we thought they were hilarious at the time, and some even had the added merit of being true." That some of these statements might be racist or sexist apparently never occurred to D'Souza. In any case, he never addresses in *Illiberal Education* or elsewhere, the role that he and others like him played in creating the racial- and gender-based divisions he bemoans in his book.

In 1983, D'Souza took a job editing

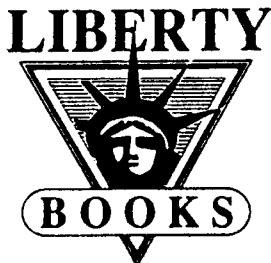
On gender issues: 'The question is not whether women should be educated at Dartmouth. The question is whether women should be educated at all.'

Dartmut and be up over our 'fros in studies, but we still be not graduatin' Phi Beta Kappa." The latter article made national headlines, and catapulted the *Review* to the notoriety it (apparently) enjoys to this day. After the "jive" article, Rep. Jack Kemp (R-NY) stepped down from the *Review* board of advisers in disgust.

D'Souza himself in 1986 defended

Prospect, an alumni magazine started by a conservative organization called the "Concerned Alumni of Princeton." Apparently D'Souza's polemically bigoted style appealed to his new employer, because he proceeded to generate the same type of bile-filled journalism as had the *Dartmouth Review* under his command.

Menand writes that "under D'Souza's editorship, at a time when



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Princeton was trying to increase the number of women in its student body and on its senior faculty, the magazine published an article making fun of women's studies, and an article, written by D'Souza, in which the sex life of a female undergraduate, who had declined to be interviewed by the magazine, was described without her consent." William Greider recounts that *Prospect* under D'Souza derided the women's center as nothing but "freaks and frumps," and declared it the "pockmarked face of feminism."

Prospect's favorite targets under D'Souza were women's studies, feminism, sex education on campus, gay rights, counseling women on birth control, and other issues related to women. In his first article for the magazine entitled "Let's Mainstream Women's Studies," D'Souza complained of "perspiring feminists" and declared that "no longer do slatems have abortions to prove they are liberated." Responding in a letter to the editor, history professor Maurice Lee, class of 46, called D'Souza "ill informed and the possessor of ... a remorselessly adolescent sense of humor." He corrected D'Souza on one important point: "anyone understands," wrote Lee, that "women don't have vasectomies."

In the October 1984 issue, D'Souza complained of "Mondale's Effeminate Style," all but openly gaybaiting the then-presidential candidate for his high-pitched voice and soft-spoken demeanor. In a letter to the editor the same issue, an alumnus complained of *Prospect's* "flagrant anti-feminism and paranoic homophobia, both expressed in the sniggering terms that I have not heard since high-school days in locker rooms."

After his tenure at *Prospect*, and after publishing his Falwell book, D'Souza worked as managing editor of *Policy Review*, the theoretical journal of the right-wing Heritage Foundation. There D'Souza wrote a sympathetic analysis of Rev. Sun Myung Moon's



theology, noting that many prominent right-wing groups take money from Moon's Unification Church, which lavishly funds anti-communist organizations worldwide.

Of charges of Moonie brainwashing, D'Souza writes, "civil libertarians are right to point out that there is a fine line between 'being brainwashed' and 'discovering the truth,' and who is to say that this sort of control is not what the Moon convert was looking for in the first place?" After probing Moon's doctrine to determine whether it is inherently socialist, D'Souza decided that it is not terminally so. He concludes on a bright note, pointing out that "America is home to many religions that originally attracted hostility but have since gained comfortable respectability." Citing Mormons and

Christian Scientists, D'Souza declares, "In these examples, the Unification Church finds hope."

Articles like this one soon attracted the attention of the Reagan Administration—in 1987, D'Souza moved from the Heritage Foundation to become a "domestic policy analyst" under Reagan. While D'Souza today portrays himself as a champion of the first amendment, at the time he promoted, among other issues, Attorney General Ed Meese's anti-pornography campaign. And for a man who just a few years before published an article decrying feminism's "pockmarked face," he was not above drawing on the arguments of feminists to make his point

Go to *Baby*, page 14...

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We Love to Watch

Who's to take the blame for sex on your T.V. screen

By Kit Roane

On July 30th the Austin Cable Commission met to decide the fate of Access Television (ACTV), a shaky prospect since Scott Spurlock's Dull-A-Vision hit the airwaves last spring. Spurlock had, in February, synchronized the sound recordings of Skinny Puppy and M.C. Hammer to coincide with scenes of an aborted fetus, a suicide, a McDonalds commercial and clips from an erotic film. Pushing the normal bounds of free expression, the video repeatedly warned the audience of its graphic content, and asked people to call in and vote for or against its airing. According to Spurlock, 30 or 40 people called in to the program, and only one asked that it be taken off the air.

At the July hearing, both the city staff and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)—defending Access TV—pleaded their cases before the Cable Commission's Board; the Board would decide whether ACTV could continue to function as an open public forum or succumb to City censorship. On September 11, the Cable Commission will come to a decision; it will decide whether to place ACTV program content under city supervision or (probably) drop the City staff's recommendations and affirm the independence of the station. In either case, ACTV will certainly feel the heat for some time to come. As the City manager of Cable and Regulatory Affairs Jerold Lambert points out, "the price for freedom is eternal vigilance."

Now that Texas Student Television (TSTV) has joined Access on the Austin cable airwaves, the Commission's decision affects both student and community producers. UT already controls student media production through the Texas Student Publication (TSP) Board, but in this case TSP must adhere to policies outlined in the city's contract with Access.

Under the present interpretation of Access guidelines, and in accordance with state and national law, the producers, not the University, would retain all legal liability for student programming. On November 9, 1990, the TSP board noted with concern that UT would have to remain content neutral in its governing of the station under current city policy, but recommended that the station be approved anyway.

If the City staff succeeds in convincing the Austin Cable Commission that the producer does *not* retain liability, the University, fearing its own liability, will have a legal justification for pulling its support from TSTV or strengthening the role of the broadcast supervisor. In the case of KTSB (student radio) the TSP-appointed broadcast supervisor, who would be the same person as at TSTV, has repeatedly sought to influence artistic and editorial content. (See Polemicist, February 1991)

Tellingly, in its discussion of print media, TSP also recommended that any new UT student publication should be closely watched, in order "to avoid libel and liability...TSP would need a measure of control over review of the publication's content and over selection of 'qualified editors'."

The City is Watching for You

At the Cable Commission hearing in July, the City attempted to gain control over access programming to protect city viewers (presumably mostly children and churchgoers) from obscene language or images of the naked human body. City staff claims the City's management contract with ACTV gives it a controlling interest in the project. In effect, the City provides access through the funds received from the Cable Company, and therefore can "make content restrictions as it sees fit." In addition, since the channels are managed by ACTV, Inc. for the City of Austin, city staff argues that the City can be held liable for 'obscene' programming that might air on these channels.

Interpreting its contract with ACTV Inc. in this way, Austin's legal department pushed the commission to approve the following obscenity clause for producers' contracts: "I (the producer) know that my program may be viewed by minors and that it is in compliance with the State Penal Code Section 43.24." (This is the section of the Penal Code which deals expressly with exposure of harmful material to minors.)

They also wished to include a "time-segregation" clause into the Rules and Procedures for producers, moving all programming the city lawyers consider obscene to late-night spots, between 12:00am and 5:30am. In a recent federal court case, Carlin Communications v. FCC the court struck down a similar time-segregation plan for Dial-A-Porn.

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gram to be inappropriate, it v pulled from the air and its pr much for the First Amendm

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content restrictions as it sees fit"—changes the city's longstanding interpretation of its role as a provider of access television.

As then-Assistant City Attorney, James R. Riggs stated on December 8, 1982, "Denial of transmission and display of protected speech entails potential civil liabilities...Since the City has in public access a public forum, it must be 'content neutral'." Less than four years ago Iris Jones, then-Deputy Assistant Attorney and today the top City Attorney, concurred. "ACTV is an independent contractor for the city of Austin, not an agent," she said. "To avoid possible misrepresentation and the consequences (liability)...ACTV must be perceived as independent of the City of Austin." ACTV Inc. is an independent contractor, and according to the Federal Cable Act the City cannot be held liable for the content of programming.

The ACLU, noting the City of Austin's longstanding position on content neutrality, concentrated on the Federal Cable Act's First Amendment protections. J. Patrick Wiseman, an Austin lawyer testifying for the ACLU, pointed out that the Act states "a cable operator shall not exercise any editorial control over any public, educational, or governmental use of channel capacity." According to the ACLU, the City has no more right to restrict speech on ACTV than it does in a public park. Other cities which have tried to restrict public access lost their cases, often paying substantial fees for their misguided attempt. (City of Miami, Missouri Knights v. Kansas City, Wilkinson v. Jones, Cruz v. Fere)

In addition, under section 639 of the Federal Cable Act, "cable operators cannot be held criminally or civilly liable for material transmitted over public, educational, or governmental access channels, or leased channels." As long as the City kept its hands off programming, the producer of an offensive show would bear full liability; only by placing content restrictions on the channels would the City become liable for the program content.

The inclusion of a specific section of the Texas Penal Code within the producer's contract complicates the City's position still more. The City basically said that all programs aired on access must be censored to a level appropriate to juvenile consumption. If ACTV's executive manager judged a pro-

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gram to be inappropriate, it would be immediately pulled from the air and its producer suspended. So much for the First Amendment!

The City's action also violates rules set up by the Supreme Court in 1965 (*Freedman v. Maryland*) which in a very limited sense would allow for some censorship of speech. The guidelines that all censorship regimens must follow are: "a) any restraint on the display of disputed material must be for a 'specified brief period' and the sole purpose of the restraint must be to 'preserve the status quo' while the government goes to court; b) the government must either race to court to have a judge rule on the legality of the restraint or must permit the work to be shown; c) the government has the burden of proving the work is not protected by the constitution."

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gram to be inappropriate, it would be immediately pulled from the air and its producer suspended. So much for the First Amendment!

In addition, the City's action is redundant. Currently, every producer falls under the jurisdiction of the Federal Cable Act and the Texas Penal Code. Normally, if someone feels a producer has aired something "obscene," a complaint can be filed with the proper authorities (in this case the County Attorney) who can then take the case to trial.

The City's problems do not end here however. Even if the Cable Commission overturns the city staff's legal opinion and leaves the present contract intact—saving taxpayers a costly and useless legal wrangle—a trail of threats and other questionable practices remain.

When the City Staff Panics

For 15 years the City of Austin held true to its original directive, keeping a hands-off approach to Access television. Unfortunately, for reasons not wholly clear, this standard abruptly changed on February 9, 1991 at 12:20am.

Cooksey told reporters and the City Council that after returning home that day, she turned on her television and saw what she termed pornographic scenes on Scott Spurlock's show, "Dull-a-Vision." She called the ACTV technician and had the show immediately pulled off the air. This chain of events has been refuted by several sources close to ACTV, however, including Dean Langston of the Cable Commission.

According to Langston, a man claiming to be a city attorney called Lynn Cooksey that night and demanded that she pull the program immediately or he would pull the plug on ACTV entirely. Cooksey, in a later interview, denied both accounts, stating that a personal friend who also happened to be an expert in first amendment rights had called her and advised her that the scenes being cablecast by Spurlock were obscene, and that the show should be pulled off the air. Cooksey refused to reveal the name of this mysterious expert to *Polemicist*.

On February 12th, Lambert sent copies of

Spurlock's cablecast to both Capital Records and McDonalds Corporation, suggesting that they might want to pursue charges of copyright violation against Spurlock. Spurlock, of course, had been suspended for violation of obscenity laws, not copyright infringement. Rarely does the City leap in, as in this case, to pursue a potential third-party grievance. On February 15, Capital records wrote Lambert to thank him for his information, enclosed a cease and desist order for Spurlock, and stated that the City would be held liable for further copyright infringement.

In the midst of the ruckus, Travis County Attorney General Ken Oden convened a Grand Jury to hear testimony from Camille Barnett, Iris Jones and Lynn Cooksey on the issue. The Grand Jury, after the hearing, sent letters on March 11 to all City Council members, Cable Commission members, and members of the ACTV, Inc. Board informing them that the City and ACTV, Inc. would have to accept liability for programming in the future.

According to the Grand Jury's letter, the local public access channel which aired Spurlock's video was "under your (the City of Austin) control or operation." It further stated, "Under the Texas Penal Code, we (the Grand Jury) are impeded in holding the producers accountable so long as a branch of the government, which has the authority to exercise control...has, through its actions and policies, allowed the sexually explicit programming to occur and reoccur...Neither the City of Austin nor ACTV can avoid criminal liability for consciously disregarding the use of the cable channel to violate Article 4324," despite the disclaimer independent producers must sign. In particular, the Grand Jury seemed particularly offended that sexually explicit programming could "occur and re-occur," although no other instances were cited.

Although no one else was present at the closed

Runaround On Through the Mire

Although I had obtained the cover letter to the information packet sent to the grand jury, Jerry Larubert refused my request to view the attachments. Thus, I was forced to file an open records request with the City Attorney.

After several days and many phone calls to his office, Assistant City Atty. Ed Delebarre stated that I could obtain copies of the document but felt that I would be disappointed with its information. Two hours later he phoned again declaring that after further review he had decided the document would not be provided to me.

During our conversation he offered several incongruous reasons for this action. At first he said the document 'might' have been used by the Grand Jury in its deliberations. When questioned further, I was told that the document which I had requested, and spoken with him about on several occasions, did not exist. After a great deal of pondering, he declared that it did not exist because it was never sent.

All this seemed quite confusing so I pressed on

hearing, Cable Commissioner Langston, argued that the witnesses "could not have possibly given accurate statements about the way Access is governed...It is an old power play where you control the options presented to a certain group of people (the Grand Jury) and therefore control their reactions."

Eventually, the ACTV Board of Directors voted to rescind ACTV manager Lynn Cooksey's order, reinstating Spurlock to full privileges as an access producer. ACTV Boardmember, Maria Rocha noted

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that under Texas obscenity law, it was not up to one group or one person to decide if a program violated the penal code, but that a public hearing must decide the "community standard." The Board also said any action on copyright infringement required an aggrieved party to come forward directly. Because neither MacDonalds nor Capitol records had contacted the Board, the copyright infringement clause of the producers contract could not be enforced.

In response to the ACTV board vote, Jerold Lambert wrote a confidential memo to Marilyn J. Fox, the Assistant Director of the Financial Services Department for the City. He there offered the opinion that ACTV was now in violation of its contract with the City and that their violation gave rise to an "increasingly high level of city exposure to liability."

He further stated his belief that the ACTV Board was "thumbing their collective noses at the Cable Commission" and that the Board's irresponsible behavior was "rooted in philosophical differences that have eroded their desire to fully comply with the material parts of their contract." He also decided the high turnover in management at ACTV suggested "an organization out of synch with itself...an organization ripe for takeover." Lambert requested the City to allow him to "call ACTV on the carpet for their actions."

Cable Commissioner, Marianne Wizard, alleged in a special press conference, however, that the City Attorney and the City Manager had pressured the Grand Jury into threatening the City Council, the Cable Commissioners, and the ACTV Board.

With a renewed sense of vigor, Assistant City Manager Byron Marshall, informed Maria Rocha, acting president of the ACTV Board, that the

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During our conversation he offered several incongruous reasons for this action. At first he said the document 'might' have been used by the Grand Jury in its deliberations. When questioned further, I was told that the document which I had requested, and spoken with him about on several occasions, did not exist. After a great deal of pondering, he declared that it did not exist because it was never sent.

All this seemed quite confusing so I pressed on

through the mire. The final conclusion was that the text of the cover letter which I held in existence as were the attachments. But the name of the sender of the document had been changed from Jerry Lambert to Betty Dunkerly—before the document was mailed to Ken Oden. Therefore, reasoned Assistant City Attorney Ed Delebarre, I had requested the wrong document and would have to send in a new request for the real document, i.e. the same request for the same document with the same text sent to the same person but containing a different signature affixed to the bottom.

I promptly did this and, after much review by both the City Attorney's Office and the County's, received the document. Mr. Delebarre was correct in his assumption that I would be disappointed in what the document contained but I was very pleased in what it did not report. Basically, the attachments merely reiterated a longstanding City policy of content neutrality by the rules and procedures.

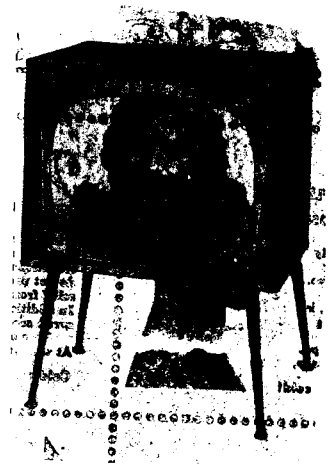
Therefore, the idea that the City is liable for programming must have come from Grand Jury testimony; only three people were called to testify: City Attorney Iris Jones, City Manager Camille Barnett, and ACTV General Manager Lynn Cooksey. —K.R.

hearing, Cable Commissioner Langston, argued that the witnesses "could not have possibly given accurate statements about the way Access is governed...It is an old power play where you control the options presented to a certain group of people (the Grand Jury) and therefore control their reactions."

Eventually, the ACTV Board of Directors voted to rescind ACTV manager Lynn Cooksey's order, reinstating Spurlock to full privileges as an access producer. ACTV Boardmember, Maria Rocha noted

reinstatement of Spurlock pursuant of the pending copyright decision was "a material breach of ACTV's contract with the city." Under pressure, the ACTV Board rescinded its earlier decision to allow Spurlock to continue broadcasting pending resolution of his case, and suspended him for 90 days.

Unfortunately, this did not placate Lambert. On March 19th, ACTV was told in a letter from Byron Marshall, the Assistant City Attorney, that further



enforcement should be consistent and that "...should ACTV fail to enforce further violations in a timely manner, we (the City) will suspend further payment to ACTV." Now that ACTV, Inc. is under Brenda Trainer's micro-management, ACTV's budget must be renewed annually.

That same day, Marshall penned a document containing recommendations for changes in the rules and procedures regarding content (obscenity). This letter was sent to Maria Rocha, the Cable Commission, and the ACTV Board of directors. In the letter he states his rationale for these changes as follows: 1. "obscenity is not protected speech." 2. "the city has no mandate to subsidize free speech, protected or otherwise."

The document's final resolution states that "the Cable Commission is...directed to approve (these recommendations) no later than March 28, 1991." They are also "directed to waive the thirty day 'effective date' requirement of Section III of the Rules and Procedures...and implement said amendments immediately upon approval by the Cable Commission." It is confusing how one can 'recommend' and 'direct' at the same time. Therefore, besides negating any due process for acceptance of these amendments, the resolution clearly attempts to bully the Cable Commission into submission.

The City has clearly left us, as citizens, exposed to a great deal of liability. Besides pulling the City into a potentially disastrous and costly legal battle, City Council and other representative bodies have been threatened with indictment by a Travis County Grand Jury and have irreparably harmed the City's relationship with its independent sub-contractor, ACTV, Inc.

Jerry Lambert was correct in at least one assumption: that someone must "stop the tail that's wagging the dog." Unfortunately, he misunderstood his and his cohorts position in the analogy. He does not represent the body of the beast; we do. He and his accomplices are but the wagging appendage; an appendage which has truly left us exposed to some frightening liabilities.

Students interested in the outcome of the final hearing, should show up at the Cable Commission September 11th and make your position known. The broadcast supervisor at KTSB might end up being your local campus television censor, if the new interpretation of the contract with ACTV, Inc. is upheld.

Turning Death Squad Leader into Statesman

U.S. Seeks New Image for the Same Old Clothes

By Bill Stouffer

Roberto D'Aubuisson, president for life of the far right wing ARENA party, is dying of cancer in a hospital in Houston. One of the most well known symbols of the death squad terror of the 1980s, he was recently profiled in the *New York Times* as a "hard smoking, hard drinking man with a James Dean-like style and image... once known for his rough treatment of captured leftists" [1].

The use of the term "rough treatment" here as a synonym for "torture" seems unusually bold even for the *New York Times*. The same article goes on to praise D'Aubuisson's credentials as a diplomat, claiming that he is "known as an astute politician in a country with few of those." While D'Aubuisson's real reputation is widely enough known that such pronouncements invite ridicule more than detailed refutation, the *Times* article has a clear political purpose that requires response.

A vote on U.S. aid to El Salvador will be coming up in Congress as early as September and sanitizing the reputation of the extreme right wing deflects attention from the fact that there has been no visible improvement in the government's human rights record. Nonetheless, there have been striking changes over the last year in the situation in El Salvador of which D'Aubuisson's impending death is an appropriate symbol.

cease fire even though such an action would be in violation of the Geneva Accords which established the framework for the whole negotiating process.

One of the central provisions of these agreements was to make a cease-fire subject to the prior achievement of political accords to make sure that the root causes of the conflict were addressed [2]. Thus the government is using the pretext of a humanitarian concern for a cease-fire to try to remove all substantive issues from the negotiating table. The next round of negotiations is set for mid-August but it is unclear whether any immediate progress is possible.

Ten days after the Bush administration stepped up aid shipments to the Salvadoran army, the offices of a key grassroots organization were ransacked and its night watchman brutally murdered.

In spite of stalled negotiations, UN mediation of the conflict moved from the negotiating table to the streets of El Salvador. The UN human rights observer mission (ONUSAL), created by a human rights agreement between the Salvadoran government and the FMLN a year ago, was finally installed on July 26. In response to strong international pressure, this mission of international human rights observers

man rights abuses and will spend the first 60 days familiarizing itself with Salvadoran law. This statement provoked a critical response from both grassroots organizations and from the church which want investigations to begin immediately.

Resurgence of D'Aubuisson's El Salvador?

The arrival of the UN mission coincides with a rise in death squad activity. On July 7, ten days after the Bush administration stepped up aid shipments to the Salvadoran army, the offices of a key grassroots organization were ransacked and its night watchman brutally murdered. Matin Ayala

siders the erroneous U.S. counterinsurgency strategy used in the Salvadoran war [5].

Legislative Fight over El Salvador Heats Up

There was an early test of Congressional sentiment on continued aid to El Salvador in the Senate on July 24 with a critical vote on the Dodd-Leahy amendment to the FY 92 foreign aid authorization bill. This amendment would strengthen restrictions on U.S. military aid to El Salvador and would include limitations on the president's current ability to release aid by simply announcing the discovery of human rights improvements.

Senator Dole attempted to shut off debate and table the amendment, but this move was blocked by a vote of 56-43. The fact that all Democrats present voted against the tabling motion is a sign of the growing party line split on policy toward El Salvador. Unfortunately, following the defeat of Dole's tabling amendment Republicans, led by McCain (AZ) and Helms (NC), began a filibuster of the Dodd-Leahy amendment. The filibuster could have continued indefinitely and jeopardized the entire foreign aid bill.

Dodd ultimately had to withdraw his amendment. However, the Administration was only able to garner 43 votes for its policy on El Salvador, despite phone calls to legislators from President Bush, Secretary of State Baker, and Central American presidents Cristiani, Chamorro, and Calderon. The debate now moves to the House and again to the Senate in September, when Senator Leahy will reintroduce the Dodd-Leahy amendment on the foreign aid appropriations bill, a bill which cannot be held hostage as easily by a filibuster.

In addition, an even stronger bill which would cut off all military aid to El Salvador is steadily gaining support in Congress. The Adams-McDermott bill has already managed to get 122 cosponsors in the House. As one key Central America lobbyist summarized the legislative situation, "If I were the Administration or the Salvadoran military, I'd be real worried."

Austin CISPES is planning an action for September 20 in support of a total cutoff of U.S. aid to the government of El Salvador. Also scheduled for this Fall, on October 26, is the second annual Austin-El Salvador work-a-thon which will raise medical aid for El Salvador and help repair low income housing here in Austin. The next scheduled event is a discussion of Negotiations and the Salvadoran Civil War which will take place Friday September 6 at 7:00 at Chubby's Restaurant at S. 1st and W. Elizabeth. For more information about any of these events call 474-5845.

Sources: [1] NYT 7/22/91 [2] Venceremos! 6/7/91 [3] ESIO Radio News 8/2/91 [4] El Salvador Perspectives 8/5/91 [5]. Salpress 7/17/91

was established ahead of schedule and over the objections of the United States.

The agreement empowers ONUSAL to investigate human rights abuses and compliance with agreements made at the negotiating table. Both the government and the FMLN have pledged to provide the observers with unrestricted territorial access, cooperation, and safety. The observer force has been given the freedom to make unannounced visits anywhere in the country to observe the human rights situation and receive complaints. It can interview anyone in private and set up branch offices where it deems necessary. The mission will also study and work with the judicial system, design an educational campaign, have access to the mass media and regularly report on the Salvadoran situation to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar [3]. It is still too early to determine precisely what impact the mission will have on the situation in El Salvador.

Shortly after ONUSAL's installation it was announced that the mission will confine itself to investigation of ongoing hu-

Ramirez was found with his throat slashed, tied to a pillar at the office of the Council of Marginal Communities. His wife, Maria Leticia Campos, survived but her breasts, ears, neck, and right arm were mutilated by two men in olive green uniforms. She later identified her assailants as members of the National Police.

Opposition leaders saw the attack as a clear signal from the ruling ARENA party and the army. "It's a political act and part of a campaign to terrorize the grassroots movement," said a representative of the nongovernmental Human Rights Commission. "This attack was against everyone; they want to take us back to the 80's," added Ruben Zamora, a leader in the opposition Democratic Convergence party. The attack is reminiscent of the events of the early 1980's when death squad killings multiplied to epidemic proportions.

Not even that atrocity has been able to derail the mainstream push toward peace, however. A recent visitor from San Salvador told El Salvador Perspectives the mood among democratic activists there is still relatively buoyant. "A few years ago we would all have felt a day closer to our own deaths after this kind of horrifying assault," he said. "Today, people see it as just one more desperate holding action, and we keep going about our work" [4].

Death squad threats have targeted not only activists on the left but even people who cooperate in any way with the UN mission. In one communique, the Salvadoran Anti-Communist Front (FAS) warned President Cristiani that it will never accept "impositions from the UN, ONUSAL, the CIA or the FMLN. The group threatens to unleash a "true and bloody civil war" against the "internationalists who try to impose their will."

Pledging support for the nation's army, FAS says peace will come after "expelling the communists, and the Machiavellian organizations that are helping them to chain developing countries." The communique indicates the 1989 murder of six Jesuit priests helped to balance out what it con-



UN Observers Installed in San Salvador

After a shaky start at the beginning of the year in response to the uncertainties of the Gulf war, negotiations between the government and the FMLN made dramatic progress in April with the first concrete agreements on constitutional reform. Although the crucial issue of the cleansing of the military was not addressed, the April agreements raised hopes that a cease-fire could be reached by the end of the year.

Unfortunately, the subsequent round of negotiations showed little public progress as pressures from the right wing of ARENA led the government to backtrack from positions to which it had already agreed. Most recently the government has attacked the FMLN for not negotiating an immediate

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They Shall Not Pass

Dolores Ibaruri
International Publishers
1966, 1984

By Abel Markos Salas

Dolores Ibaruri's autobiography, *They Shall Not Pass* (original title in Spanish - *El Unico Camino*) is the moving first hand account of a little known and largely misunderstood period in Spanish history: the brief and tragic experiment with social democracy and political pluralism between the fall of monarchy and the bloody civil war that brought General Franco to power in 1939.

Legendary for her commitment to the peasant and working class people to whom she was born, "La Pasionaria" (literally "the passion flower") rises Phoenix-like from the ashes of Republican resistance to Franco's fascist war machine. In her simple and honest recollection of historical events, we again understand how lies and distortion serve those in power. In the case of Spain, Franco's ruthless dictatorship tried desperately to erase the bitter truth in order to justify his German and Italian sponsored victory over an international effort to make Spain a democracy.

Translated in 1966, *They Shall Not Pass* was reissued in a commemorative paperback edition for Ibaruri's 80th birthday in 1976. A second printing occurred in 1984. While these dates may appear irrelevant, it is precisely now, during the so-called democratization of Eastern Europe, that La Pasionaria's urgent plea for social, legal, political, and economic justice returns to haunt us with its sad and tender honesty.

Born to a Basque mining family in 1895, Dolores Ibaruri witnessed the brutal repression of workers who worked 16-18 hours a day deep in the iron mines under horrifying workloads. As a young adult with an increasingly political consciousness, she understood that Spain's mineral wealth was being mined and extracted from the Basque mountainside to fuel the growing needs

of England and Belgium. She watched with disgust and justifiable anger as the much-touted industrial era launched wage labor slavery as the dominant form of capitalist exploitation.

Her political conversion/birth came quickly and easily. Married to a miner at 20, the wretchedness and abject squalor she confronted on a daily basis served merely to fortify her monumental courage. She understood that she would have to sacrifice her entire life in the fight for freedom and universal human dignity.

An impassioned speaker, Ibaruri became a Communist Party organizer and spokesperson for the Spanish working class while still very young. Her life story, unassumingly yet eloquently told, carries the wisdom and hindsight that follows half a century of political struggle.

When the first Spanish Republic was declared in 1931, Ibaruri, who by then had become a threat to the wealthy oligarchies and international industrial interests, was sent to Madrid to edit *Mundo Obrero* (*Worker's World*). There she endured frequent arrests and imprisonment during her efforts to forge alliances between communists, socialists, and anarchists, all of which held verifiable constituencies among the Spanish working class. Her efforts were founded on the dangerously real possibility that reactionary forces (under the guise of Catholicism) would thwart the tiny gains being made by democracy. The old oligarches and aristocracy were decidedly against the abolition of their power, wealth, and privilege. Their fear of democracy inspired a collusion with foreign capitalists and the sacking of what little mineral wealth was still left in Spain.

It is against this historical backdrop that Ibaruri writes, chronicling with deadly accuracy the intricate political posturing of inept and obsequious Republican leadership which eventually led to the defeat of the Republican alliances and the Government of National Unity during the Spanish Civil War. Let the record stand corrected. La Pasionaria has no agenda other than the clarification of the "official history" written by the Franco regime. She stands firm in her convictions and makes no attempt to glorify the



significant role she held in shaping the political process in the few years just before the rise of fascism.

Ibaruri lauds the International Brigades which rushed to the aid of Republican Spain. She thanks them for their unselfish bravery and ultimately futile defense of Spain's fledgling democracy. She also unmasks British and French efforts to keep the Republican forces from acquiring the arms they needed to beat back the fascist monster. It comes as no surprise that U.S. oil companies supplied Franco with virtually all of his wartime petroleum needs. As students of history, we can look beyond the direct military intervention of Germany and Italy and see that democratic Spain was vanquished because the developed nations also had a vested interest in keeping it an industrially backward country.

Now, on the eve of free-market hegemony across the Eastern Bloc, U.S. taxpayers are bailing out a corrupt savings and loan industry that has managed to mortgage the future for our children. Multinational corporations anxiously seek new markets to bolster staggering profits. The "Africanization" (institutionalization of poverty) of Latin America makes it increasingly impossible to turn a buck there.

Here at home, inner-cities are rife with decay. The reactionary right calls for more police and prisons, but these cost money, so... cut social programs and further exacerbate the root causes of crime and violence. Who cares if the Black,

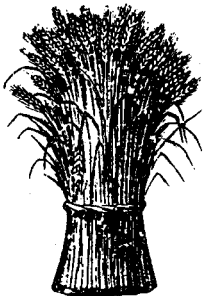
Latino, and the poor white working class in the United States go to hell? The prospect of the Communist Bloc opening up its doors for "investment opportunity" has CEO's across the globe drooling in Keynesian anticipation of broad new markets, while the people at home have less and less money to spend, fewer and fewer jobs.

Read La Pasionaria's autobiography against a present day set for a dose of shock reality. Learn how thousands from all over the world who left home to fight for Spanish democracy died defending the nascent Spanish Republic. Join Dolores Ibaruri in her indictment of political charlatans who used Socialist and Republican rhetoric for personal gain as they quietly and cowardly handed Spain over to the fascists.

They Shall Not Pass is a must read for those who would like to consider themselves politically correct. Be warned, however. Recycling and participation in Save Barton Creek rallies do not a revolutionary make. I'm willing to hedge my bets that the contemporary champions of multiculturalism, the environment, Central America, women's and gay rights are all unprepared to make the kind of committed sacrifices made by the simple peasants and miners in defending their rights as human beings.

Dolores Ibaruri speaks to and for us all if we are only willing to listen.

They Shall Not Pass is available at Residencia Bookstore, located at 1105 East 6th Street. Telephone: 472-4142.



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"BEST
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GROUP!"

-The Austin
Chronicle

Hitting Ground Zero

By Sherri L. Cole

Jesse Helms has just been appointed the head of the National Endowment for the Arts. Proclaiming himself the "Art Czar," Helms changes the name of the NEA to the National Arts Review Council or NARC. Dan Quayle is President, and all of the art community goes underground to escape persecution and death.

Sound like a nightmare? Well it's not, yet, or so say the developers of Austin's Ground Zero Theatre. The previous scene is the setting of Ground Zero's 7th episode, "The Revolution Will Be Televised," that describes a future America and the spark that ignites the second American Revolution.

"We easily, in predicting the future, could predict that there would be a second American revolution based on the freedom of choice," said Ground Zero's producer Lainie Whiddon. "People have a right to criticize the government. People have a right to produce art about whatever they want, because that's what the art is and there's not a formula for it."

Ground Zero, a nonprofit theatre group, has been producing political satire and alternative performances since 1988. Many have compared the troupe to Esther's Follies or vintage Saturday Night Live. However, GZ director J. W. Whiddon and producer Lainie Whiddon vow their group delves into many political and social issues that even Esther's and SNL ignore: choice, gay liberation, racism.

"We're as patriotic as Mark Weaver is," said J.W. "As much as I hate Mark Weaver, he's at least doing something; he's not sitting at home keeping house. He may be screwed up, stupid and wrong (which he is), but he's still out there doing something."

Ground Zero produces multimedia performances with the use of video, original music, audio, and live skits.

In addition, the group draws its inspiration from the collective work of its twenty or so volunteers who produce, write, and act in the performances. The troupe has been able to combine experience with new ideas and an open environment for each volunteer to develop.

"That's how we compete - it's not like anything else you're going to see. People do Ground Zero theatre because they are moved to do so," said Whiddon. "There's no money in it." Even though they're in the middle of Episode 7, which is playing at the Vortex Performance Cafe (1921 E. Ben White) through September 7, the troupe has already held writer's meetings for GZ's November production. Episode 8 will explore "A Question of Faith."

"Faith in and of itself is what spirituality and religion are all about — faith in what you believe or what you don't; faith in yourself; faith in your government; faith in institutions. Those [last] two entities have slackened off today. Who has faith in social security," noted the director.

Both the producer and the director have made a five-year commitment to Ground Zero. The upcoming shows, slated to run through the spring of 1994, will focus on issues surrounding the 1992 election year, drug legalization, feminism, and the environment.

While the group has built a reputation in the arts community, general audience participation has been growing at a slower rate, and members wonder if the City's budget priorities reflect the real interests and activities of the art community.

"We live in town that per capita has more independent theatre producing organizations than New York City," J. said. "But theatre is the most underfunded art in Austin. Austin's city council, city government, city founders, and the corporate businesses mainly support the music industry."

Baby

...continued from page 9

for banning pornography. While the issue of suspending free speech to ban pornography remains one of the most bitter disputes among feminists today, D'Souza was able to embrace this decidedly illiberal idea without blinking an eye.

After his stint with the Reagan team, D'Souza hooked up with his old neoconservative pals at the Institute for Educational Affairs (IEA) to start writing his next book. In 1988, D'Souza received, through the IEA, a \$30,000 grant from the John M. Olin Foundation to begin working on a book tentatively titled *The New Elite*, which would become *Illiberal Education*. From there, even though D'Souza was still an unknown to most everyone in higher-education circles, the far-right accepted him as one of its own.

In 1989, D'Souza became a research fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, and Olin upped its ante to \$50,000 for that year. The Olin Foundation also provided funds, \$30,000, for the first Madison Center conference in October 1989, at which a then-almost unknown D'Souza participated in a panel discussion on "The Politicization of Education." (The Madison Center, founded by Allan Bloom and former Education-Secretary-turned-drug-czar William Bennett, would merge with the IEA the following year.) In 1990, Olin gave D'Souza another \$50,000, and through the Madison Center authorized another \$20,000 grant for "promotion" of his book upon publication.

Meanwhile, D'Souza kept busy researching his book, and making occasional appearances. According to the July/Aug. 1990 Accuracy in Academia (AIA) newsletter, *Campus Report*, D'Souza spoke on "race, gender and class issues on campus," at the July 6-7, 1990 AIA Conference. *Campus Report* said D'Souza complained of "victims studies' classes (i.e. Women's, Gay and Lesbian, Afro-American, and Native-American Studies) [which] can be traced

back to the problem of admission by affirmative action rather than merit." The newsletter went on to report that "D'Souza said that the idea of anything non-Western being superior is the 'new cultural imperialism.'"

One might dismiss such wild-eyed, convoluted arguments as poor reportage on the part of AIA, except that D'Souza kept repeating it. In a February 18 1991 *New Republic* article, for example, D'Souza made basically the same argument: Affirmative action creates an unqualified group of minority students on campus who then embrace "minority separatism" to "seek support and solace from others like them." To avoid facing up to their own inferiority, then, minorities demand curriculum reforms and greater representation of minorities among faculty and administrators.

This line of "reasoning" ignores the history of black thinkers like Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X, who called for separatism well before anyone had invented the term "affirmative action," and whose arguments have since been adopted by groups other than blacks. This history easily discredits D'Souza's simplistic arguments, but his neoconservative rhetoric is touted nationwide as the ascendant wisdom.

While one might agree or disagree with the merits of separatism, blaming its existence on affirmative action borders on the ludicrous. Perhaps the most commonly heard arguments for separatism today come from lesbians, who want to pull out of patriarchal society and establish separate spaces for women. These mostly college-educated women pursue this philosophy despite the fact that no university in the United States provides affirmative action for gay people.

Clearly the juggernaut of favorable publicity for D'Souza's book did not stem from the strength and cogency of his arguments. His reliance throughout his career on a handful of well-funded neoconservative institutions, and his systematic attacks on women and minorities, betray a right-wing political agenda, despite his invocation of "free speech" and calls for return to "liberal education." P

Educate the Youth!

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Kingmaker

...continued from page 3

more of a political situation." Farmer fears that radical methodologies practiced by some junior faculty have subverted and "politicized" the governance process, because "members of the executive committee were all elected, and it led to increased politicking in the department." He argues that the "budget council is comprised of only full professors," who "have no specific constituency." Under the budget council, he says, "issues can be discussed on their merits without political interference."

Leaving aside for the moment the question of how elections or for that matter "governance" might be carried out apolitically, Farmer's criticisms are not borne out by the recent history of the executive committee. As Tom King reported in the July *Polemicist*, more than three quarters of full professors currently in the department have served on the executive committee, which changes its composition every year. Representation on the committee cuts across every philosophical and methodological difference in the department. The most recent executive committee was made up of six full professors, two associate professors and two junior faculty. Even so, in the past two years no executive committee vote has been closer than 8-2, and most have been unanimous. The argument that full professors would somehow govern the department more efficiently seems unsupported at best.

But Farmer's critique does point up another possible reason for King's actions, which the dean doesn't mention in his memoranda: crushing the department's autonomy. Farmer's testimony implies, will somehow purify the governing structure of what has been portrayed in the press as a department wildly out of control, run by radical leftists, feminists, minorities, lesbians, etc. An inflammatory May 1990 *Texas Monthly* article, using only undocumented rumors from anonymous sources, accused the department of radicalism and flag burning. Then, last summer, the department became the subject of statewide and national attention after the local chapter of the right-wing National Association of Scholars successfully engineered the blocking of a new syllabus for English 306. (See *Polemicist*, September 1990.) In the case of E306, the administration struck its first blow against the department's autonomy when President Cunningham strongarmed then-Dean Meacham into cancelling the course.

Many think that Cunningham struck his second blow by rehiring King, whose regressive history is well known, and turning him loose on the department. Certainly Cunningham's silence in the face of the AAUP inquiries supports this



Dean Bob King's tactics threaten to rend traditional collegiality asunder.

claim. But whatever his intentions, Cunningham has only watched passively as King's iron jackboot has squashed the collective intentions of the largest department in the University.

HUMAN, ALL TOO HUMAN

One of the patterns that has emerged during King's short tenure as acting dean is his refusal to honor commitments made by his predecessor, Standish Meacham. A prime example of this tendency came when King appointed Norman Farmer (quoted above) to head the Humanities program, an interdisciplinary honors degree. Stoff refused to comment on the incident, and told *Polemicist* to rely on the *Texan* version of the story for the facts of the case.

According to the *Texan*, Meacham had offered the position to Michael Stoff, promising a small pay raise and a reduced course load if he took on the added administrative duties. Despite King's sizable recent pay hike, he retracted these conditions, and offered the job with no

perks and a full course load. Stoff told the *Texan* King had given him a July 15 deadline to decide if he wanted the job.

King, however, had other plans. On July 10 he penned a letter to Stoff, informing him that he'd already given the job to Farmer. Farmer says he had no idea Stoff was still considering the job. He learned of it in the *Texan*, he said, just like everyone else.

Still, Farmer's appointment by King was not a complete surprise. Farmer, as noted above, has been one of the only English department faculty to support King's demolition of the department's chosen structure, having written a personal letter to the interim dean supporting the budget council just prior to his appointment. And last summer he joined King and the Texas Association of Scholars in their bitter opposition to English 306. Farmer was one of only seven English faculty to sign the TAS's "Statement of Academic Concern" opposing his colleagues' E 306 syllabus.

A WOMAN'S WORK

King's snatching the Humanities position out from under Stoff might be seen as an aberration, except that he repeated the pattern in Women's Studies. The Women's Studies Center has never received significant support, and is really just a vehicle for cross-listing courses from many different disciplines to allow a concentration in Women's Studies.

Last spring Standish Meacham offered the position of director of the Women's Studies Center to Susan Marshall, an associate professor of sociology. As with Stoff, Meacham promised Marshall a lightened course load and a pay hike. Also as with Stoff, Bob King refused to honor these conditions, asking Marshall to consider taking the position without them.

While Marshall mullied over the new terms, however, King again made other plans. According to English professor Carol Mackay, "I was offered the posi-

tion while Marshall thought she was still negotiating with Dean King." Mackay turned down the offer, although she didn't know at the time that Marshall was considering it. She wanted more monetary support for the center as well as more physical space (currently the center shares a secretary and an administrative assistant with several other programs).

After Mackay had turned him down, King went back to Marshall, and they negotiated a compromise, whereby she maintained a full course load, despite her administrative duties, but received an adjunct to her salary. The program's funding, however, will remain "at the same insignificant level as last year," according to Mackay. And Marshall's compromise with King was a cutback from what she had negotiated for the directorship under Meacham. Since the program's funding is so paltry, cutting support for the director amounts to cutting support for the center, said Mackay.

Observers say King's distaste for the center date back to his first tenure as dean. One professor close to the center, who asked to remain anonymous, pointed out that, "King has never conceived of womens studies in the serious way that many women scholars on this campus do." "At another university, a womens studies program can be a strong, viable resource," she said, but at UT, "our active growth is being curtailed."

THE MERITS OF CRONYISM

The case of the Middle Eastern Studies Center perhaps best illustrates King's high-handed style and his propensity to place his political agenda over accepted principles of academic merit. While we interviewed several individuals knowledgeable about the center for this article, none, including the principle actors, would agree to speak for the record. In addition, the *Texan* has completely ignored King's actions affecting the center, printing not one story the entire summer. Thus the following account, while perhaps incomplete in some respects, represents the information we were able to confirm.

The story began in January when former Middle Eastern Studies Center Director Ian Manners decided to resign his post as of this fall. According to sources close to the center, Meacham sent a letter to all the faculty connected with the center asking for advice or suggestions on who should be the next director. In addition, Meacham spoke personally with all or virtually all of the senior faculty. This consultation process took almost two months.

By March, Meacham had discovered a strong consensus within the center that Elizabeth Fernea should be its next director. Fernea, an English professor and well-known Middle Eastern scholar, is the only member of the center ever to have been president of the Middle Eastern Studies Association, the most prestigious national group for Middle East scholars. Fernea has been closely asso-

ciated with the center. She has served as its undergraduate advisor and as a member of its executive committee. She has lived in the Middle East for years at a time, and travelled widely throughout the region. She has an international academic reputation, and her Orientalist memoir, *Guests of the Sheik*, has enjoyed international acclaim and multiple printings.

At the time, Fernea was on leave in Israel helping produce a film about the Israeli peace movement. According to knowledgeable sources, Meacham phoned Fernea in Israel to ask her whether she wanted the job. She accepted informally. Meacham then forwarded his recommendation to Cunningham.

Afterwards, there was hiatus—no word came from Cunningham on the status of Meacham's recommendation. But at the last meeting of the department chairs in May, just before he stepped down, Meacham announced that he had forwarded Fernea's name to

King's opposition to multiculturalism has never been a secret in the Liberal Arts College.

Cunningham, and that he was confident she would be approved.

After King formally assumed the deanship, however, he called a meeting with senior faculty associated with the center, and informed them that he felt, after consulting with (unnamed) faculty and examining her credentials, he could not support her for the directorship. According to sources, King gave no specifics as to his objections, but every Middle East scholar we talked to said that no one at UT was more qualified for the position.

Why then, given her credentials, would King reject her appointment?

First, as a member of the English department, Fernea had been a vocal supporter of the revised English 306 syllabus, which King, as noted, publicly opposed. She even at one point appeared on a television talk show defending the syllabus. In addition, Fernea participated in a committee appointed by Meacham to study and formulate multicultural curriculum proposals for the College of Liberal Arts. And she chaired a subcommittee which produced two books on multiculturalism proposals entitled, "Multiculturalism: Resources for Dialogue," which were released last summer. King's opposition to multiculturalism has never been a secret in the Liberal Arts College.

But perhaps the most important rea-

son King might have to oppose Fernea's appointment is her position on the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. A faculty member at the center describe Fernea's positions as "sympathetic to the moderate Arab/Palestinian position," although he stresses that she has "never let her sympathies affect her scholarship." Many faculty—as well as the authors of this polemic—speculate that King, an ardent long-time Zionist, allowed his own political sympathies to affect his decision.

In her stead, King installed as director a geographer, Bob Holz, who sources say is a long-time friend and hunting partner of the interim dean. Most faculty at the center we interviewed were dismayed by the appointment, since Holz speaks no Middle Eastern languages and his primary field of research is not the Middle East. Holz has been affiliated with the center in the past, but, says one professor, has never been "central to its role." Holz has taught courses on Middle Eastern geography cross-listed under the center, and once chaired the center's fellowship award program. He was once even hired by Fernea's husband, Bob, to help organize a summer teaching program in Morocco. But he has never served on the center's executive committee, nor in any administrative capacity connected with the center.

Holz in his research uses sophisticated technology to perform satellite mapping, mineral searches, etc. While he has used his skills with this technology in the Middle East, one can fairly say, judging from his vita, that his research doesn't reflect an interest in its culture or its politics. Most scholars in the center don't define "Middle Eastern Studies" as the study of how to exploit the region's resources.

MEACHAM VERSUS SPANISH DEPARTMENT

The woes of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese differ from the other departments discussed in this article, because King, for once, did not instigate them. Toward the end of his tenure as dean, Standish Meacham raised the spectre of placing the department in either total or partial receivership, and apparently decided to make good on the threat. But because *The Daily Texan* has missed the story altogether, many faculty, relying solely on rumors, believe the department's problems stem as in other disciplines from the maneuverings of Bob King.

On May 8, weeks before he relinquished his position, Meacham issued a memorandum to the department, in which he named a new department chair, Lee Fontanella, abolished the previous executive committee, and named a new five member committee consisting of two professors from the department and three from outside. The memo gave no reasons for this action, and both Fontanella and his predecessor, Robert Brody, say Meacham never explained to them his reasoning. In fact, according to Fontanella, Meacham told him he would

place the department in partial receivership at the time he asked Fontanella to become chairman. Fontanella also claims that he never asked Meacham the cause for this drastic action, and insisted that he accepted Meacham's appointment ignorant of the dean's reasoning.

Only Meacham could give the background as to why he made this decision, but, because he was away from his summer home in Maine temporarily, he could not be reached for comment before presstime. One faculty member who asked to remain anonymous, said the department had become "highly factionalized," but would not elaborate further. Neither Fontanella nor Brody would comment on this factionalization.

After Meacham left his position, a group of Spanish department faculty wrote a letter asking the central administration to review Meacham's decision. According to Brody, Cunningham asked King to review the situation and make his own recommendation. To date, King has not announced his decision.

This puts the department in the awkward situation of not currently having an executive committee. English professor Charles Rossman was one of the outside faculty Meacham asked to serve on the newly installed executive committee. He says that Meacham didn't tell him anything more about the problems that caused his decision. Since the announcement of his appointment—and a thank you note from Meacham for taking the job—he has received no word about when the committee might meet or what its agenda might be.

Fontanella insisted that "we do have an executive committee," but that it has "not met or worked on promotions." When asked when the committee would begin working on promotions, he replied, in an apparent contradiction, "the day after any committee is set up" by the dean.

Fontanella says he thinks King will overturn the receivership decision, but that no announcement has been made as of yet. The timing of this decision is growing critical, however, because the executive committee—either Meacham's or the old one—will have to review faculty promotions in September. He said that promotion candidates have "not been endangered" by the delay yet. But while Meacham certainly deserves the blame for instigating this affair, its final outcome depends solely on Bob King, and so far, on this issue, he has remained silent.

During last year's English 306 controversy, President Cunningham received numerous letters from alumni, some of them donors, demanding that he save the Liberal Arts College from subversion by feminists, Marxists, lesbians, etc. State Rep. Kent Grusendorf even mailed UT officials a copy of the infamous *Texas Monthly* article, demanding to know what UT planned to do to purge the radicals. If Cunningham did hire Bob King as part of a backlash against liberals in the college, he's certainly getting his \$21,000 worth.

Debt

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to pay for services to students in 1990 were secured not by the PUF, but by additional student fees. In other words, if students want to remove the asbestos from the Union, they must cough up an additional \$16 on their student services fee to pay back the debt.

If the Army wants a research center, "the University will provide advance funding," according to a current UT budget document, and allow the Army to pay as it goes with a "use" fee. If the Navy wants a research lab (the Applied Research Lab will cost UT \$3 million in 1991), UT graciously provides advance construction funding "from PUF bond proceeds previously allocated to UT Austin for campus repair and rehabilitation projects."

According to the House Committee on Higher Education, state-wide costs for deferred maintenance amount to \$440 million and will climb to \$500 million this year. Sharp attributed this to "priorities in new investment in equipment and facilities versus repairs and renovations." Although the Navy will pay off its advance in time, it amounts to an interest-free loan that directly reduces funds available for maintenance and for general education.

On the other hand, Sharp joins the bipartisan consensus that the University should continue to spend money on capital improvements that support private industry. "Economic Development items are designed to stimulate business growth and are a *direct subsidy* to the private sector. The programs could become self-supporting through the private sector or other public grants; however, no change in current funding levels is recommended," says the Texas Performance Review (emphasis ours).

When pressed to outline the benefit to students of UT's current spending priorities, Hans Mark answered, as if to a completely different question, that "the 'value added' for the research work at Balcones is that we develop

cadres of people that can be very, very competitive in this business [which business—education?]. If you do...do that you wind up shining the boots of the Japanese tourists when they come over. The only way to compete is to have the facilities you are talking about."

In short, when students are analyzing UT's budget priorities, the primary mistake they make is to assume those priorities include their education. In Mark's case, however, it is to ensure that American industrialists don't wind up bootblacks for the ominous Yellow Peril.

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Sematech

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for the private semiconductor industry is a national defense issue.

Sematech represents one of the federal government's most controversial moves toward a national industrial policy. With 2.7 million workers and 1988 sales of \$279 billion, according to the American Electronics Association, the capital-intensive electronics industry, dominated by a handful of multinational corporations, has become the focus of a wide ranging debate over national economic priorities and the role of government subsidy in world competitiveness.

Sematech in its promotional material claims, "Our overseas competitors have, with their government's encouragement and support, targeted specific industries for domination. The U.S. electronics industries, which invented silicon chips, was one of those targeted. As a result, the U.S. lost leadership in the market and its ability to compete has eroded."

Sematech conspicuously fails to mention the macroeconomic issues, such as the over-valued dollar and third-world labor exploitation, that make foreign goods cheaper here and American capital more profitable overseas. U.S. industrial problems will be solved, according to Sematech, with good old fashioned "innovation" subsidized by DoD.

Originally, industrial planners hoped that Sematech, at its new Austin plant, would design a smaller chip than those currently produced by Japan. But member companies, in competition with one another for a better product, proved unable to work together on the original goals.

Instead, the research group now provides cash grants for the "precompetitive" production of industrial tools

for chip manufacture, according to CEO William Spencer's July testimony before the House Science, Space and Technology Committee. Sematech grants from five to twenty million dollars to selected, private tool-making companies to support product improvements. In addition, the consortium has created an office in Washington to lobby on behalf of the 14 member companies and their partners.

Sematech's government funder, the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), supports this move into the "venture capital" business, according to the *San Jose Mercury News*. According to VLSI of San Jose, in May 1990, "The problem with the industry is a business issue, not a technology issue. There's always good technology floating around. The problem is we don't have enough money to do the business properly."

Sematech critics charge that the consortium, with its bags of government money, has become a "kingmaker" in the tools industry. "If Sematech was funding one of my competitors with government money, I would get upset," says T.J. Rogers, CEO of Cypress Semiconductor. Rogers also notes that government money should not be spent to lobby government on behalf of the recipient companies.

In addition, Sematech—a nationalist effort in a multinational arena—has had trouble keeping the companies it supports within the U.S. industrial fold. This spring, a Japanese firm bought Semi-Gas Systems from its U.S. parent company after Sematech had poured millions into it. Semi-Gas was one of the first suppliers chosen by the consortium for support. In the past three years, according to a *Statesman* analysis, 28 companies that supply equipment to U.S. chip manufacturers have been bought by Japanese and European firms.

In yet another departure, CEO Spencer now claims that Sematech II will work on software. Whether or not the new direction produces useful new technology, the consortium will probably plod along. According to VLSI Research head, G. Dan Hutcheson, "Most people in the industry think it's good. They don't have very high expectations of it, and they are willing to put money into it regardless of whether those expectations are met."

Of course, according to a General Accounting Office audit of Sematech, at least two of the member companies "have included a portion of their Sematech contributions for reimbursement as overhead costs on government contracts they hold." This makes it a little easier to support Sematech, whether it successful or not.

The People's Industrial Policy

While Sematech's success in "the war against Japan" continues to be controversial, it has introduced some toxic-chemical source reduction programs demanded by CRT and other environmental groups. CRT, however, insists that planning for new production processes must involve citizens at every step.

According to Sematech's environmental-health specialists, the consortium labs have already substituted solid arsenic for arsine gas, the most lethal chemical commonly used in semiconductor production. But in order to ensure that hazard response and worker safety, as well as toxic-substance control, will be the central objectives of a government and taxpayer sponsored industrial policy for the semiconductor industry, local CRT members asked that a Sematech create a permanent channel of communication with the public.

"The Montopolis neighborhood has been here since the 1800's and has a long tradition and tremendous needs," said Frank Campos, head of the Montopolis Montessori School situated across the street from the Sematech plant. "I want to know how Sematech is going to do something for us. ... There is nothing wrong in holding you guys [Sematech] accountable to the community. We can go out and dialogue, offer people an open place for questions and concerns."

Almanza suggested that the public should have direct oversight over a publicly funded industry group. "You have advisory boards. We would like to be that advisory board—the people who are here. We would like to set up another meeting and see a response to the recommendations put forward today. We want to see the funds go to the community, a community protection plan, and we want to start a Good Neighbor Policy."

—K.M.

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—Red Gibson, journalism professor and TSP boardmember

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Apology

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student advocates quickly abandoned the tuition fight to lobby for the administration. As noted in a story in the *Austin American-Statesman*: "Privately, some student leaders acknowledged that in recent days, their concern has shifted away from tuition and toward funding for higher education."

Playing into the interests of the UT administration, the Texas Student Conference devoted an entire policy statement to the need to increase higher-education

According to boosters of higher tuition, college education in Texas is a "bargain." Among the states, Texas ranked last in average tuition and fees charges for resident undergraduates in 1990-91. At the same time, however Texas ranks dead last in its state appropriations per student to higher education and Texas students already ranked 7th in the proportion of operating budgets that their tuition and fees made up in 1989-90.

While proponents of higher tuition expressed concern over financial aid, the proposed increases in Pell Grant income and state financial aid funds failed to cover the real cost increases for needy

would have guided gradual tuition increases until 1996. Second, financial aid officers and Coordinating Board officials point out that unmet financial-aid needs persist even now, and that any increase in tuition and fees will further damage access. No one monitors unmet need state-wide. Finally, the response of official student leaders demonstrates that we cannot expect any opposition from the SA or the Texas Student Lobby.

The proposals of the higher education lackeys neglect the hard data that demonstrates the effects of their tuition increases on access. But such data are available. According to calculations carried out by Patricia Harris at Student Financial Services, UT Austin, an increase from \$20 to \$40 per credit hour would generate an increase in student need of \$10.14 million. Harris predicts an additional \$1.53 million in Pell Grants, and state financial aid funds available of \$6.212 million.

Adding the new available aid funds and subtracting from the need leaves almost \$2.4 million in unmet need at UT Austin alone. Had Sharp and the Coordinating Board gathered and presented data such as these, they clearly could not have justified the massive increases in tuition they proposed, while still preaching access.

Rather, the tuition proposals reflect a

system in the form of capital improvements and research.

This has not been the philosophy behind Texas higher education finance until recent years. Traditionally, Texas has seen higher education as an investment in its own welfare and future. To maximize its return on that investment, the benefits must be available to each individual showing promise of ability through low cost or free tuition. Traditionally tuitions have been low in the western and midwestern states; higher education until recently has been free in California. Tuition is also low, or often free, in most European countries—for example, students at Oxford pay zero tuition.

Students can fight for access and low tuition, but only with organization can we succeed. We propose that students form a Task Force on Tuition that could act as a repository, coordinator, and disseminator of data, bearing on tuition and financial aid issues, solicited from groups such as student governments and state agencies.

The Task Force should seek a broad view of higher education in Texas encompassing all forms of institutions present in the state and forge links between students in diverse institutions on the tuition and aid issue. We stress that such a structure will only be effective if it is located organizationally outside of

The University, despite pious statements about "access" to higher education, in reality wants to educate fewer students.

funding. The remainder of the recommendations propose ways to implement tuition increases. With lobbyists like this, why should UT pay a full-time staffer?

Student leaders should not be lobbying for more funding in higher education. Despite the state law forbidding state agencies to pay lobbyists, every state school in Texas has highly paid administrators to do this job. While the UT-Austin SA President lobbied the legislature for more money to help out his administrator heroes, those administrators were lobbying for dramatic increases in tuition rates.

The Attack on Students

If tuition is only a fraction of the University's budget, why all the fuss? Why not give all students a free education—and thus encourage broader participation in the education system? The system would save itself the massive costs of administering financial aid, while encouraging enrollment.

The University, despite pious statements about "access" to higher education, in reality wants to educate fewer students. UT Austin has held enrollment steady throughout the 80s, despite skyrocketing budgets, largely spent on capital for high-tech research. Now, according to UT's official Strategic Plan, it would like to reduce the student body by 1,600 to 48,000. Further, the Administration has targeted undergraduate enrollment for deeper cuts. The Strategic Plan proposes to bring the graduate student population up to 25 percent of the total, from about 10,000 currently to 12,000. This means that cuts in the undergraduate population would reach 3,600 students.

Administrators, official student functionaries and legislators all agree that a shrinking student body must pay ever higher rates, despite Comptroller Sharp's explicit admission that students currently get less rather than more for their tuition dollars.

students. Sharp states that for every \$1 increase in tuition, federal Pell Grant increases would offset 60 cents, leaving another 40 cents for the student to pay.

Further, Sharp grossly exaggerates this 60-cent estimate. According to Patricia Harris, Director of Student Financial Services at UT Austin, 43 percent of Pell Grant recipients at UT Austin already receive the maximum level of support, and would not see any more Pell Grant money with a tuition increase. Harris believes the actual return in Pell Grant aid for a \$1 increase in tuition would be closer to 20-30 cents.

In addition, while all players in the tuition consensus piously endorsed putting more money into the Texas Public Educational Grant Program, Harris notes that TPEG accounted for only 3 percent of total aid to students at UT Austin. Texas' contribution to student financial aid is tiny.

Currently, students at UT Austin are unable to find the financial aid they need. Financial aid officers have an average case load of 1,300 applicants. This overload will be increased by 2,500 new applicants in the coming year. Given the complexity of the aid application process, such excessive case loads constrict student access to education, says Harris. According to the official Financial Statement for UT Austin, August 1990, administration spending for Scholarships and Fellowships dropped from \$76.8 million in 1989 to \$73.9 in 1990. Higher tuition and lower financial-aid spending will certainly help the University in its stated goal to reduce its enrollment of undergraduate students.

No Victories Here

Was the "moderate" tuition increase that finally passed a victory for students? Exactly the contrary, for three very potent reasons. First, the higher education "experts" managed to convince the legislature to break the tuition contract they made with students in 1985. The contract



change in the philosophy of higher education finance in Texas epitomized by the first sentence of John Sharp's proposal to increase tuition: "Education, is a bargain, at least in Texas." In other words, it is no longer a right, but a commodity, which students may buy at more or less a market rate. Sharp even notes that students receive government subsidies to purchase this commodity. "Resident undergraduate students have been receiving a highly subsidized education due to low tuition charges," Sharp says. Yet he applauds the public subsidies provided to industry by the University

higher education institutions themselves. We believe that such a Task Force could, within the next two years, acquire data which would make it the most informed entity in the state on issues of tuition and financial aid. No existing student organization is at present capable of, or willing to, act with any strength on this issue, and yet tuition increases will clearly continue to be the most persistent and threatening force affecting students in this state.

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