



Polemicist

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

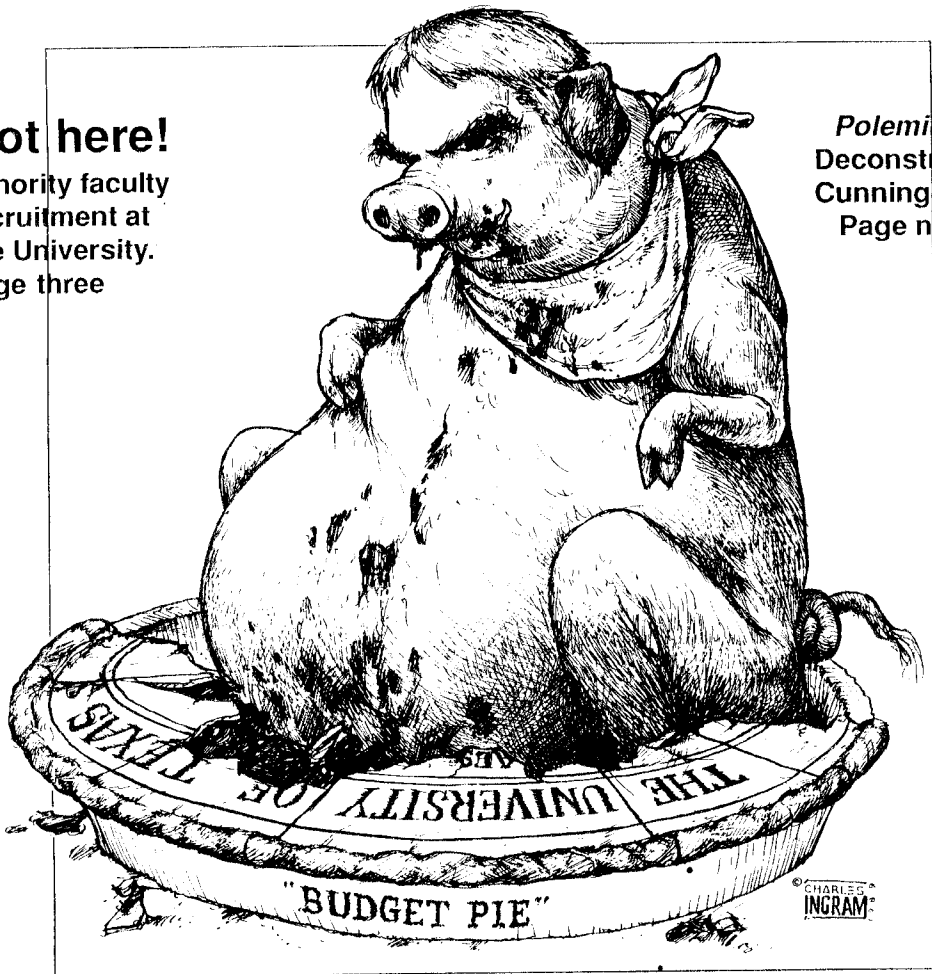
The UT Budget: Where Has All the Money Gone?

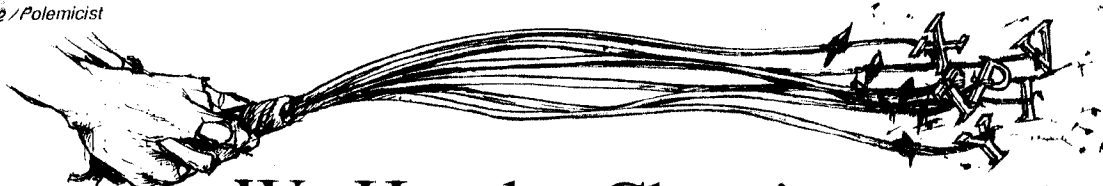
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We Hereby Chastise...

We have judged the following people and institutions — and found them wanting. We hope they are duly chastened.

Mark Weaver

Tight-assed religious nut

After trying to impose — ultimately unsuccessfully — his anti-human morality on HEB, the religious bigot set his sights on Austin-area headshops. Just as the idea that adults should be able to decide with whom to have sex offends Weaver, the idea that adults should decide what to smoke offends him, too. Perhaps the largest irony is that right-wing zealots like Weaver are always the first to condemn the left for its lack of commitment to "free markets." But whether they're condemning abortion services, headshops or homosexuals, it's the right wing that continually bends the "invisible hand" of free-market commerce to stroke their own blighted moral agenda. We would guess that Weaver's driving need to dictate others' morality stems from externalized self-hatred, likely sexual repression. Whatever the cause, however, we wish he'd spend more time in church and less time harassing law-abiding citizens.

Karen Adams; *Texan* editor

Robert Wilonsky; managing editor

Karen Adams and Robert Wilonsky have disgraced themselves and their newspaper with their comments at a recent symposium on *Texan* racism. At the conference, assistant journalism professor, Mercedes Lynn de Uriarte, told the following lurid tale about Adams: After numerous incidents of racially insensitive coverage and cartoons last spring, a group of black and Latino students approached Adams with the idea of holding workshops at the beginning of the semester on minority sensitivity. She agreed in principle. Then, these students broached the subject with de Uriarte, who studies media coverage of Latino communities. She agreed too, but contacting Adams proved impossible. De Uriarte phoned Adams six times, leaving a message each time. Then, she sent Adams a letter through campus mail. When that failed, she hand delivered another letter to *The Texan* offices. Finally, in frustration, de Uriarte sent a certified letter, return receipt requested, so that there'd be proof she'd contacted Adams. Adams never responded. In fact, she never even met de Uriarte until the day of the symposium, five months later. When Adams was confronted with the story at the conference, she blamed her failure to respond on de Uriarte's "bilingual answering machine," which she claimed she couldn't understand. We don't buy this — "beep" is an international language. Though obviously a slip, Adams' comment reveals a subtle racism she may not even know exists. But it did nothing to soothe the justified anger of the largely black and Latino crowd.

Conveniently, *Texan* reporter Leslie Wimberly left out this section of the dialogue in her news story the following day. Perhaps her editors deemed it unfit to print. She also must have been out sharpening her pencil when Robert Wilonsky shamed himself. During one of Wilonsky's lengthy apologies for racially insensitive coverage, BSA member Brandon Powell confronted him with his reference to "excessive negro crotch grabbing" in a column he wrote during his three-

semester stint as entertainment editor. Wilonsky blamed the incident on an "editing error." We'd like to know who edited this bigoted phrase into the entertainment editor's prose. If Wilonsky will tell us, we'll chastise the culprit in the next issue.

We do, however, applaud the *Texan* management for emerging from their basement to face the public. They should do it once a week — it could only improve them as people, and it couldn't hurt their paper.

The Young Conservatives of Texas

When you see young men at a gay-rights rally holding signs like "Put 'em in jail, gays are criminals" and "Thank God for the Earthquake" in San Francisco, the obvious response is: they doh protest too much; they're compensating for their own lack of sexual security. What else could drive adults to applaud the death or imprisonment of innocent people? But no personal deficiency can excuse the ignorant, narrow-minded bigotry of those remarks. Nor do the YCT's apologies, which *The Texan* printed in its Oct. 20 *Firing Line*. Brian Wordell, YCT chairman, announced that the Bible teaches his group to "hate the sin but love the sinner." (The Bible also says that "It is good for a man not to touch a woman" [1 Corinthians 7: 1]. Does Wordell support that statement, too?). Wordell's sort of hateful, stunted, philistine Christianity desecrates the egalitarian New Testament ideas it purports to champion. Goff Henley, shown laughing in the Oct. 19 *Texan* as he holds a sign advocating imprisonment for one-tenth of the U.S. population, said in his letter that he didn't mean to advocate imprisonment for homosexuals, but rather to advocate *polemical*. We wish he wouldn't use that phrase, which we've grown rather fond of, to justify his prejudice and asininity.

Another ugly facet of the YCT incident was *The Daily Apologist's* editorial indifference to the issue. The campus gay community and their advocates deserved support from the editorial board in the face of this hatred. Yet *Apologist* editor Karen Adams chose instead to chide President Bush for failing to assassinate Noriega. We're sure that Bush will do better next time, chastened as he is by Adams' disapproval. But she should have used the space to lash out at the YCT. A former card-carrying member of the group, perhaps Adams thought that speaking out would compromise her "objectivity." Or maybe she simply agreed with her reactionary pals. Either way, such silence does nothing to improve *The Daily Apologist's* well-deserved reputation for insensitivity to minority issues.

The Daily *Texan* Budget Committee

The *Daily Apologist* budget committee — controlled primarily by the editor, the managing editor and the news editor — decides which stories the paper will print, as well as where in the paper they will run. On the Monday following the Texas-OJ game, these vulgararians devoted fully two-thirds of the front page to the two-day old story of Texas' victory. Buried under the football hype was a five-inch story about Hurricane Jerry, which devastated Galveston island and killed two Texans. On the same page was a short piece on how the University is loaning \$3.5 million to the Navy to expand the Applied Research Laboratory at Balcones. On page three the stock market was crashing.

When will these people learn? Promoting football jingoism isn't the job of the student newspaper — it's the job of the UT administration, which benefits when the problems of understaffing, racism and homophobia are obscured by such trivialities.

Texan staffers spend much of their time trying to emulate professional newspapers. In this case they succeeded. Just like the national press, *The Daily Apologist* let sensationalism and the lure of the spectacle overshadow the important issues of the day. By embracing sensationalism, *The Texan* might gain a few readers, but it guarantees that substantive issues will continue to be ignored. The student newspaper should be more than a mouthpiece for the UT administration — unfortunately, that's the role *Texan* leadership chooses for it to play. Maybe if *The Texan* considered the regents' misappropriation of funds to the Navy more important than a football game, UT would hire economics professors instead of spending \$1 million for a new scoreboard at Memorial stadium.

Randall Tate, a.k.a. "Captain Apology" Advisor, Texas Union Distinguished Speakers Committee

We fear that Randall Tate fancies himself a young James Watt. The *Polemicist* editors invaded a recent Distinguished Speakers Committee meeting to ask why only conservative, white, straight (or closeted) male speakers had been on the committee's agenda. (To date, the speakers had consisted of Ross Perot, Clayton Williams, Jack Rains, Mark White and Kent Hance.) Tate proceeded to whisk us out of the meeting room, take us in the hall and barrage us with apologies and equivocations. When the meeting ended and the committee members were leaving, Tate grabbed one editor's arm and began thrusting his fingers at minority members, saying, "See? We have minorities. Look, there's blacks, Hispanics and there's some Asians." Pulling ourselves from the clutches of this addled white man, we wished he would just go away and let us talk to the people we came to talk to. Freed from the presence of their "advisor," the remaining committee members actually talked to us with concern and intelligence. Given the "advice" of a PR hack like Tate, it's a wonder the committee has done as well as it has. Union committees would do well to dump their advisors if they all practice the blatant sort of tokenism displayed by Tate.

University Residence Halls

They may think they're being funny, but the Residence Hall members' recent choice of Alcohol Awareness week T-shirts show scarcely more enlightenment than the YCT's disgraceful attacks on gay people. "We're looking for a few good virgins," the shirts declare, invoking the old chauvinistic fantasy of "breaking in" virgins. What they should be looking for is a way to stop objectifying women. With all the recent flack over "Why beer is better than women" shirts, plus complaints over the fraternities' never-ending insistence on insulting African Americans in their shirts, you'd think the residence halls would want to avoid alienating half their patrons. When you see them peddling their offensive wares on the West Mall, don't just walk by: Chastise them, and anyone you see wearing one.

Racism or incompetence?

Why UT can't recruit minority faculty

by Meredith McKittrick

In 1987, the English department noticed that UT had theoretically integrated a few decades ago, and hired the first black professor into the department. Wahneema Lubiano, who teaches African-American literature, was lured here with assurances that the department would hire another scholar in her field, creating a mini-department within the larger department.

Two years later, Lubiano remains the only black in the department, and also the only person teaching African-American literature. As of next May, there will no longer be anyone in the department specializing in that subject, because Lubiano is fed up and leaving.

"I will not be employed at this university unless there's no employment elsewhere on the face of the earth," she said at the beginning of the semester, after announcing her intention to resign.

Last spring, the economics department attempted to recruit Sandy Daugherty, a black professor who had taught at UT several years before. The department proposed to eventually recruit other minority professors, who would in turn attract minority students to the department, creating a concentration in minority economics. Daugherty rejected the offer, according to Lubiano and economics professor Michael Conroy, because the administration did not show enough support for the idea, and his present university made him an even more lucrative offer to persuade him to stay.

The university has paid a lot of lip service to minority faculty recruiting in the last decade, usually with few results to back up the talk. In 1981, there were 34 black professors and 57 Hispanic professors. In 1987, after years of alleged recruiting efforts, members of the administration looked around and noticed something: the faculty seemed just a little bit whiter. Their eyes didn't fool them; in 1987, the number of minority faculty had actually decreased to 28 blacks and 56 Hispanics, despite a total increase of 110 professors. In 1986-87 alone, eight minority professors left — seven Hispanic and one black.

The numbers improved in 1988, the year the much-publicized President's fund, which provided \$400,000 to create ten new positions for minority faculty, went into effect. That year, 18 minority faculty joined the staff — ten on the fund and eight through department funds — and two left, bringing the percentage of minorities to nearly 4.5 percent of the total faculty. An abysmal figure, maybe, but an improvement over the 3.8 percent of the year before.

But this fall, things were a little quieter in the Tower. The total number of minority faculty increased by eight — half the

previous year's figure, with ten hires and two resignations. Of these eight, only three were hired on the President's fund, which is suddenly being portrayed by the administration not as a concrete fund, but as flexible incentive program offered to departments, in case they'd like to take advantage of it. Seen in this light, of course, minority recruitment for the last year looks like less of a failure, at least on the part of the administration.

Liberal arts dean Standish Meacham also says he thought the fund was about \$400,000. With an ultra-respectable university source confirming this, let's look at what happened to the 70 percent of the money that didn't go to professors. Meacham says he was under the impression that the fund was simply out of money when it came time to fund one candidate who was rejected by the provost. "I know it's hard to believe they can run out of money in the Tower, but it happens," he says. That's not so hard to believe; the University does have a finite amount of money, enormous though that sum is. It's just that UT runs out of money at the damndest times, like when a department wants \$40,000 or so to hire a minority professor.

But many faculty don't think the administration ran out of money to hire minority scholars, just the motivation to hire them. Vice President Ed Sharpe said competition for minority scholars is getting tighter, and UT just couldn't find any more candidates. Disgruntled faculty who did find qualified candidates debate that claim. "That nonsense about a small pool is just silly," says Elizabeth Fernea in Middle Eastern studies. "That may be true in quantum physics, but it's certainly not true in liberal arts."

So what did happen in liberal arts? Let's look at some candidates who might have taken those seven unfilled President's fund positions, since the administration neglected to mention them while touting its success at minority recruiting this year.

Anthropology

During the first year of the President's Fund, the anthropology department recruited four minority scholars, two of whom were sponsored through the President's fund. Last spring the department nominated another candidate, who was approved by the departmental committee and the dean, but vetoed by provost Gerhard Fonken. Many professors believe the candidate was rejected because either a) the administration felt anthropology got its share of President's fund scholars the year before, or b) the administration believed the department had enough minority professors already. Anthropology chairman Joel Sherzer said no reason was given for the rejection, but, "I suspect that we were so successful the previous year they decided to give the

candidate to other departments. And that's not an unreasonable argument." But no one else got the candidate, and it is hardly fair or wise to make a department that is taking advantage of the program sit back and wait for other departments to recruit and hire minority faculty, particularly when many departments have no intention of taking advantage of the program.

Fonken cannot recall his reasons for the veto and can't check the record without a name, he said. (Departments usually do not give out the names of candidates they are recruiting.) This raises several disturbing questions. Does the provost veto so many appointments that he simply can no longer keep them all straight? Or does he just not find such a decision a big deal, and so he forgets it a few months later? Whatever the case, the anthropology department should not be left at the mercy of a chemist who knows nothing about anthropology and can't recall the candidate he told the department it could not hire.

Economics

Economics, says Conroy, may be the only department in liberal arts with no minorities. Actually, economics is doing better than some liberal arts departments, such as philosophy and classics. Economics at least has an African professor, even if he is not tenure-track. If the failure to hire Sandy Daugherty can be attributed to a lack of enthusiasm, or to outright discouragement on the part of administrators, then it's inexcusable. Government professor and director of Mexican American studies Rudy de la Garza says he suspects most people at UT want only the most brilliant minorities in their fields — a standard certainly not set for the rest of the faculty here. If people were willing to hire minority scholars who exceeded the minimum but were not in what he calls the "Nobel prize winners" category, then, "We could hire a great many more faculty that we are now doing," he says.

The lessons of Lubiano and Daugherty have not yet taught UT that good minority scholars are in enormous demand and don't have to put up with the bullshit the administration frequently dishes out to them. Had the university been more hospitable to Daugherty, economics might have had one excellent minority professor now, with more to follow.

English

Unlike the previous two examples, the bungles in the English department are the fault of the department heads, as well as the administration. And unlike the other two departments, the situation prompted a professor to leave.

Liberal Arts dean Standish Meacham calls Lubiano's intention to leave "depressing. It's pretty hair-raising." But what's depressing and hair-raising is that

for two years Lubiano and several others in English fought a frustrating and unsuccessful battle to increase minority representation in the department.

Six candidates were considered last year in what professor Ramon Saldivar called "a sparkling opportunity" to increase minority representation in the department. Of these, three were rejected by the departmental executive committee. In one of the more notable cases, a Chicano writer was deemed "not good enough," although the person is known nationally and internationally and recently received a major publishing contract.

Two other candidates were approved by the committee but rejected by former liberal arts dean Robert King for the sake of "ideological balance" within the department. The committee did not protest either of those decisions. Last May, Saldivar resigned from the committee because, "I felt that minority recruitment was not being done with sufficient seriousness."

The committee and King actually did approve the sixth candidate. But he rejected an offer of full professor to remain an associate professor at his university. All things considered, it is hard to fault his career decision, or Lubiano's.

Lubiano's colleagues don't think she's in any danger of becoming a martyr. Sociology professor Johnny Butler said, "She is too talented to stay here. Why should she beat her head up against the wall in a mediocre department when she can go to Stanford or Yale?" He adds, "Everyone can't be a Jackie Robinson."

Ideals versus Ideology

But many minority professors at this University are Jackie Robinsons, and it makes for poor retention and even poorer recruitment. The above departments are not alone in their minority recruiting scandals and problems. Chemistry, computer science, astronomy, botany, geology and philosophy have no minority professors.

See Minority, p. 11

Polemicist Repents

The editors apologize for the following errors from the first *Polemicist*.

— The photos on the El Salvador spread were taken by Peter Robertson.

— Ralph Tomlinson deserved research credit for his help on the Hans Mark piece.

— Scott Henson wrote "Radical Alternatives to Understaffing." Tom Philpott wrote the *Polemicist* Manifesto.

Sematech and You

How UT's Industrial Policy Screws Students

by Tom Philpott
and Scott Henson

As the students who couldn't get required classes this fall know, a dramatic "overenrollment crisis" — what *Polemicist* calls an understaffing crisis — plagues the University. President Cunningham complains that the problem stems from a lack of funds for undergraduate education. What he doesn't tell you is where those funds went.

Cunningham may be ashamed to admit it, but his university has become little more than a romper room for wealthy capitalists anxious to divert public funds into research projects for their private businesses. Economists call this practice "industrial policy." Even as the University spends tens of millions of dollars to attract high-tech and defense industry, students sit herdlike in huge auditoriums with barely a shepherd — often a graduate student — to guide them.

Despite the rhetoric of UT presidents, chancellors, and Texas politicians, this policy undermines both undergraduate education and the state's economy. So, *Polemicist* decided to delve into the history and politics behind UT's industrial policy, to pose the question: Does industrial policy really benefit either education or the state?

INDUSTRIAL POLICY AND THE UT STUDENT

One great myth of the understaffing crisis states that the UT System is somehow too impoverished to hire teachers. Actually, the UT-Austin budget has more than doubled since 1979, while growth in undergraduate enrollment and faculty has been modest (see "Cunningham," page nine). What follows is a preliminary look into a few of UT's more famous forays into industrial policy, by no means an exhaustive list. But the question remains: Where has all the money gone?

MCC

One place it's gone is to buy land, capital and personnel for Microelectronics and Computer Technology Corpora-

Percentage Increases Since 1979

Department	Undergrads	Faculty
Economics	335.8%	17.1%
English	72.3	-3.8
French/Italian	25.6	2.4
Government	44.3	-12.0
History	88.6	6.9
Spanish/Portuguese	-15.7	2.3
Astronomy	10.2	4.9
Computer Sciences	40.8	94.8
Mathematics	50.5	6.1
Microbiology	91.8	0.0
Electrical/Computer Engineering	14.6	46.1
Mechanical Engineering	15.3	37.3

tion (MCC). According to the Ex-Students Association's *Alcalde* magazine, UT spent \$14 million in 1983 for land and buildings as part of an incentive package to draw the consortium. As part of the agreement, MCC pays the University only \$2 rent per year, over a ten-year period, to utilize the facilities. Assuming UT would have earned nine percent interest compounded annually (a low estimate considering current interest rates and the bull market's effect on UT's stock portfolio), *Polemicist* calculates that UT loses some \$22 million in interest on these facilities over ten years by not leasing to MCC at market value.

Apologists for the deal would note that, as *Alcalde* reports, UT receives a \$1.76 million annual kickback from MCC. But look at that kickback: six one-third-time adjunct faculty members (who never come in contact with undergraduates); half-time employment for 45 graduate students; summer jobs for 15 graduate students; and almost \$1 million in grants to UT researchers. Notably absent from this quid-pro-quo is any benefit to undergrads. What this means is UT undergraduates are not

only denied the \$14 million principal, but also \$22 million in future interest. In other words, undergraduates lose a total of \$36 million in present and future money.

Yet Bill Cunningham can claim that undergraduates' "educational experience is greatly enhanced by [research] programs." How? He never explains.

In addition, UT-Austin agreed to beef up its computer science and electrical engineering departments. In fact, these two departments are virtually the only ones at the University that experienced significant faculty growth in the '80s (see chart). The increase in both department's faculty dramatically exceeded the number of new undergraduate enrollees. Meanwhile, departments like English and government, which teach courses required for all undergraduates, struggled with growing classes and teacher shortages. Even in natural sciences like physics and math, faculty growth never matched enrollment increases. Ironically, over this ten-year period, undergraduate enrollment in the engineering college actually declined by 10.4 percent — its budget, however, skyrocketed by 155.6 percent.

The Budget Crunch

But the MCC debacle occurred when times were good. In 1984, the oil crash caused the state to lose hundreds of millions of dollars in tax revenue. At Gov. White's urging, the Legislature responded in 1985 by tightening budget outlays to the University. This inspired the UT System to impose austerity on undergraduates — but not on the corporations that benefited from the System's generosity.

In February of 1985, John Newton, then-Board of Regents chair, Peter Flawn, then-UT president, and UT System Chancellor Hans Mark held a press conference to endorse doubling tuition in 1986 and tripling it in 1987.

Later that year, Chancellor Mark threatened to lay off 3,000 employees if the state enacted its proposed five-percent budget cut. He also advocated abolishing summer school, a move which would save \$20 million. In the same time period, the University was cutting library hours drastically and imposed a freeze on faculty hiring.

But that freeze didn't prevent the University from continuing to recruit professors to fill 32 \$1 million endowed chairs in science and engineering, several of which were reserved to perform research for MCC. These chairs were created in 1984 and funded with \$16 million from the UT System and \$16 million in private donations. One June 1985 headline in the *Corpus Christi Caller-Times* — just four months after the call for a tuition hike — declared: "Money no object as Texas lassos top academicians." The freeze also failed to prevent the University from lying to *The Daily Texan*, which dutifully reported that these chairs continued to be filled because they were funded only with private donations.

In October 1985, the Board of Regents voted to spend \$20 million in proceeds from the PUF to purchase a Cray super-computer exclusively for UT System research projects. Jess Hay, then-chair of the Board of Regents, linked that purchase directly to the above-mentioned endowed chairs. The computer, he said, is "an essential next step if we are going to maximize the use of the 32 endowed chairs."

This adds up to \$36 million more — \$16 million for the research professors, \$20 million for the computer — diverted from state education funds into research and development.

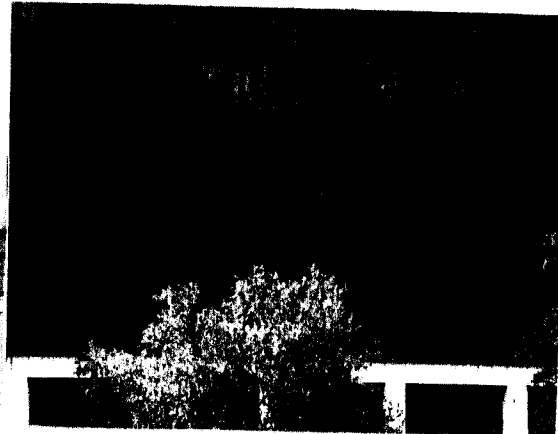
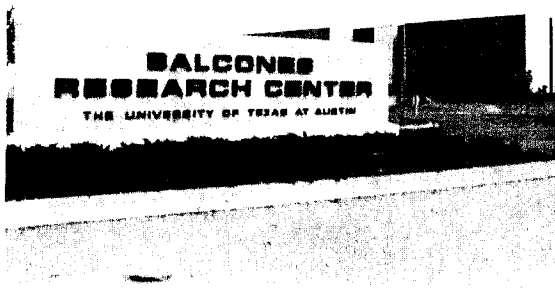
Also that fall, Chancellor Mark proposed funding for a slew of new research facilities, including a new robotics institute at UT-Arlington to complement the General Motors plant there, a new materials research center at UT-Dallas, a new biotechnology center at UT-San Antonio, a materials research institute at UT-El Paso and a high-energy physics research center at UT-Permian Basin. Of these, the UT-Arlington, UT-San Antonio and UT-Permian Basin facilities were eventually funded and built, at a cost *Polemicist* was unable to ascertain before publication.

Mark justified these extravagant outlays for research plants by explaining that only budgets for particular units in the university system that have "clear applications of creating new jobs" would be increased. While Mark never makes clear how a robotics institute — which by definition displaces workers — would boost employment, this statement reveals much about the UT System's priorities.

At a time when libraries were closing early and budget cuts were imposed on most UT departments, Hans Mark saw the



Photos by Bret Brookshire



Left: Balcones Research Center. Right: the Jesse H. Jones Communication Center. One of these buildings houses millions of dollars in research capital. The other house facilities with no profit applications. Can you guess which is which?

role of the UT System as executor of state economic policy, not as an educator of students. Hotslot professors could be hired for MCC research projects, but not to teach undergraduate English or economics classes. Industrial policy had overridden education as the primary function of our state's higher-education system.

Sematech

With the Austin economy still faltering in 1988, the UT System doled out \$50 million of Austin's \$68 million package to attract Sematech — a semiconductor research consortium consisting of the Defense Department and 14 of the wealthiest high-tech firms in the world. Of this \$50 million, UT spent \$12.3 million to buy and renovate the old Data General plant in Southeast Austin. This land was leased to the consortium for \$1 per year for 20 years according to *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. UT also allows Sematech free use of its supercomputer, which costs the University thousands of dollars per hour of use.

Austin overcame heavy competition to land Sematech — seven other states offered more money. But as Chancellor Mark explained it, Austin won out because "we [UT] put green money on the table. ... Other places also said they'd go to their legislatures. But we said, 'When you get to town, you'll have a bank account you can draw on.'" The thousands of college students who stood in long lines for financial aid that year would have loved to have heard the same thing.

The remaining \$38 million of UT's commitment was generated through a bond issue, which the legislature paid back the following year. But not before the UT System had eaten \$3 million in interest payments. By *Polemicist*'s estimates, UT will lose \$56 million in interest on that land (at 9 percent compounded yearly) over the course of the 20 year contract. Combined with the \$15 million in "green money," this comes to some \$71 million

in current and future monies lost to the state's higher-education system in the name of industrial policy.

And what kickbacks does UT receive for this "green money"? *The Chronicle of Higher Education* says UT will receive savings from hiring Sematech employees as adjunct faculty, from use of equipment purchased by Sematech that will be available to the University and from having a handful of graduate students employed at the facility. In addition, some UT faculty members will receive research grants for high-tech projects.

Some of these "savings" — like hiring Sematech employees as adjunct, non-teaching faculty — will yield dubious benefits as cost-cutting devices. But no one can, in good conscience, argue that any of them benefit undergraduate education.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY AND THE ECONOMY

Despite all the losses to higher education *Polemicist* has outlined, however, industrial policy advocates will argue that these expenditures are really investments in the future. But are those investments really worth the costs?

To a student at the University today, investments in Texas' future economy mean little. Most students are here only four or five years, and then move on. If their educations are bastardized by skewed spending priorities, their futures will be limited by the poor education they received in their youth. And as *Polemicist* has shown, massive expenditures on research today translate into long-term funding shortages because of the loss of interest and dividend income UT would have gained.

And there's no guarantee that these investments will boost employment. In 1982, when the deal was cut to bring MCC to Austin, the city's unemployment rate stood at 5 percent. Since then it has risen steadily to well over 6 percent, despite the

supposed growth in high-tech fields. If UT's industrial policy has created any jobs, they would appear to be statistically insignificant.

Outside of short-term construction jobs available when these plants are initially built, most jobs with high-tech firms are filled with talent from California, Illinois, North Carolina or Massachusetts, seldom from Texas. In addition, high-tech expenditures by universities only boost research projects. Most high-tech goods are actually assembled by low-paid women in the Third World. Texas Instruments may contribute research funds to Austin's Sematech and to MCC, but its production facilities have shifted to factories in El Salvador and some 16 other Third World nations.

And high-tech ventures, once hailed as "clean" industries, have proven to be among the worst of environmental polluters. In Silicon Valley, the poisonous chemicals necessary to manufacture microchips have leaked into the air workers breathe and the water they drink, resulting in illness and birth defects. Moreover, the Austin plant of Advanced Micro Devices — a Sematech member — was recently cited by the National Wildlife Federation as one of the 500 worst polluters in the country. Over time, environmental cleanup and rising health care costs resulting from high-tech pollution will strag, not boost, the economy.

THE BI-PARTISAN CONSENSUS

Like most of our country's bad policies, diverting state education funds into research and development springs from a broad bi-partisan coalition.

The UT System's involvement in Texas' industrial policy began in 1982, when then-Governor Mark White, with the aid former UT president Peter Flawn, maneuvered to use UT funds and facilities to lure MCC to Austin. In response to falling oil prices in 1984, White formed the Texas Science and Technology Coun-

cil — an ideologically balanced committee packed with heavyweights from politics, academia and industry. Their mandate was to formulate a "five-year plan" to diversify the economy and boost Texas into "a leading position in fostering research and development and advanced technology."

Members of the Council included many familiar faces, including now-Secretary of Education Lauro Cavazos, Henry Cisneros, UT-Austin provost Gerhard Fonken, MCC chief and former CIA deputy director Adm. Bobby Inman, Robert Kirk (CEO of LTV Aerospace and Defense Co.), UT System Chancellor Hans Mark, Austin lawyer and Sematech attorney Pike Powers and Texas Instruments chairman Mark Shepherd, among others.

Texas politicians joined the call with nary a dissenter. All 29 members of the Texas U.S. congressional delegation met in a closed meeting with the likes of Fonken, Mark and other Council representatives to formulate plans to pursue high-tech projects. It was only the second time in the 99th Congress that the entire delegation joined in a meeting. Even the liberal gadfly Jack Brooks jumped in, proclaiming that "it boils down to our getting more Texans appointed to the appropriate national scientific boards ... That's what it takes."

Arch-conservative Texas Senator Phil Gramm agreed: "We're all going to have to push together to make sure that Texas has good representation on national scientific boards, where research grant determinations are often made."

Gramm's Democratic counterpart, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, even designated an aide to perform liaison functions between "any university in Texas that wants to go after a major scientific research contract and the government agency that intends to grant the research award." Supporting Bentsen in this effort was his long-time political foe and former Republican state **See Industrial Policy, P. 12**

The Health of the State

Report on El Salvador: Negotiations Stall, Repression Escalates

As the U.S. Congress voted to increase its underwriting of the Salvadoran government of Alfredo Cristiani, government repression escalated during October. Meanwhile, peace talks between the government and representatives of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, (FMLN), stalled.

As the peace talks began the third week of October, plainclothes members of the Salvadoran security forces attacked a citizen vigil for peace at the National Cathedral. Death squads linked to the ruling party, the Republican National Alliance (ARENA), destroyed the homes of opposition political leaders and the facilities of the Lutheran Church in the capital, San Salvador.

THE TOUGH ROAD OF NEGOTIATION

Class differences are not settled over a cup of coffee. That's the central lesson of the current round of negotiations taking place between Cristiani government and representatives of the FMLN. In September, both sides pledged to meet each month until a settlement can be reached. During the week of October 16th, the talks continued in Costa Rica.

Room for serious negotiations was enlarged dramatically on January 24 when the FMLN offered to participate in the presidential elections (scheduled for March) if the elections were postponed until

September to provide time to arrange security agreements and register supporters. As Sara Miles in a recent edition of NACLA reports, "For perhaps the first time since the war began, Salvadorans felt peace to be a real possibility and not merely a rhetorical posture."

The government rejected the FMLN proposal of January, deciding to proceed with the elections in March. Disappointed with the government's decision, the Salvadoran electorate abstained from voting. Indeed, during this decade, in the five elections that have been held in El Salvador, participation has consistently, and precipitously, fallen with each round.

OCTOBER BREAKDOWN IN COSTA RICA

Concessions were hard to come by this month in Costa Rica. The Cristiani government represents the political arm of the landed oligarchy which controls El Salvador's agricultural and industrial wealth. The FMLN represents an armed struggle rooted in the poverty and powerlessness of unequal access to land.

The Cristiani government does not see this reality. The Salvadoran Army's press service, COPREFA, paints the FMLN as "terrorists" to whom the offer of amnesty

is generous. This offer of amnesty — made by the Cristiani government in Costa Rica as pre-condition to further negotiation — is tantamount to surrender for the FMLN.

As FMLN representative Salvador Samoyoa explains, "we are not dealing only with a war between the FMLN and the government, but a civil war that affects the entire country. The government wants, in 24 hours, to end a war that has lasted ten years."

FMLN leader Joaquín Villalobos added: "We don't come to say no to an agreement to cease hostilities, we come to say yes to an agreement that has serious basis. After a war like ours — so bloody, so long — we can't have confidence in the good will of

the other party. It would be absurd and illogical."

NEGOTIATION AND THE "STRATEGIC COUNTER-OFFENSIVE"

The FMLN continued urging for a "negotiated, political solution" to nearly ten years of civil war can only be understood within the context of the 1989 "strategic counter offensive." Launched in January, the FMLN's strategic counter offensive intends to break preconceived notions of what "insurrection" and a final victory mean.

For example, in Cuba and Nicaragua, insurrection meant a triumphant period of fierce battle climaxing on a specific date

when popular troops marched into the capital. But in El Salvador, the people are not battling a Batista nor a Somoza. Instead, the armed struggle is against an entire class: The rich oligarchy historically referred to as the "Fourteen Families." Since 1981, the terrain of combat has been further complicated by an escalated U.S. role in the form of 1.5 million dollars *each day*.

As a result, a final insurrection isn't seen as a specific red-letter date when the dictator is thrown out, but as a process incorporating the entire population: political, mass movement as well as armed insurgents. Two trends have emerged as a result of this "new thinking." First, the people's war has been "irregularized." That is, the crucial attacks against the government are carried out less by the well-trained, standing armies of the FMLN, but more by "urban commandos," young people and members of the large unemployed population. The 1984 destruction of the largest bridge, the Cuscatlan, typified the previous FMLN attack; now, strategic strikes against Army offices and government vehicles, in response to government repression are common. The disruption factor is higher in this "generalized" strategy in which attacks — like those in late September — occur in dozens of cities around the country simultaneously.

Second, the "strategic counter-offensive" puts negotiation squarely back in the plans for popular victory. FMLN strategy now defines a "political project" that includes all sectors of the society — religious, labor, student — as a starting point for negotiating an end to the war and reconstruction of a popular government.

But the ARENA government of Alfredo Cristiani remains incalculant. Government reaction to the rejection of amnesty by the FMLN in October unwittingly revealed the government's conception of peace. President Cristiani said: "I don't see the problem the FMLN has with ending the hostilities, because after that the government will take necessary measures to pacify and normalize the country."

CONTINUED REPRESSION

The escalation in selective repression against labor organizers and popular organizations reveal the ARENA meaning of "to pacify and normalize." On October 15th, members of the Permanent Committee for the National Debate for Peace (CPDN) had planned to carry out 24-hour vigils in five churches and then to leave in marches for an activity in the Civic Plaza. However, governmental security forces violently forced people out of three of the five churches. As a result Jorge David Piñeda, a member of the National Association of Campesinos (ANC) was cap-



As the walls of the community church of Los Ranchos, Chalatenango, reveal, the repopulated towns of northern El Salvador are supported throughout El Salvador and the world. Religious organizations, including the Lutheran Church, play an important role in negotiating the repatriation projects, bringing thousands of displaced Salvadorans back to their homes. International solidarity — sister city projects, delegations and foundations — contribute to the reconstruction and defense of this fragile, yet determined campaign of repopulation. Photo by Peter Robertson

tured.

By Monday, October 16th, over 400 people were occupying the Metropolitan Cathedral, and a smaller group continued its vigil in El Rosario church from which they marched to the Civic Plaza to join the rally which began at 5 p.m. A few thousand gathered throughout the evening to listen to speakers and music.

At about 9:30 p.m. shots were fired at a group of people from the National Debate who were on watch around the Civic Plaza. Nelson Ernesto Martínez, a peasant from the department of La Libertad was critically wounded in the stomach and another was shot in the leg. Later at 11 p.m., shots were fired into a group and two more were wounded. In the middle of the night, shots were again fired but most were inside the Cathedral at this time and none were wounded.

While there was little presence of uniformed military in the area, the military was clearly responsible for the attacks. Members of the National Debate who witnessed the men in civilian dress fire shots the first two times, pursued them. They caught three of them; one had an identification from the First Infantry Brigade, another from the Air Force, and the third was a former member of the security forces. All three men were escorted to the National Police Headquarters as evidence of the military attack against a peaceful activity and that participants had no intention of acting against the military.

The Non-governmental Human Rights Commission (CDHES) offers no encouraging news in the record of the Salvador government's human rights abuses either. The statistics CDHES presents for September 1989 show the increase of only continue their repression.

On Thursday, October 19th, a caravan of ten students and professors from the National University of El Salvador (UES) were reported captured as they travelled to visit political prisoners from the university community imprisoned in Tonacatepeque and Ilopango jails. Mauricio Mejía, Secretary General of the UES, denounced this new attack against the university community, stating that some 15 university students, professors and workers have been abducted by government security forces during the week of October 16th alone.

It's time for the ARENA government, as well as the Bush Administration and the U.S. Congress, to admit what has long been evident. Peace in El Salvador will not be hastened by increasing the funding for the Salvadoran Security Forces. Real peace will only be achieved through fundamental change in the economic, political, and social fabric of El Salvador.

by René Trevino
and Charley MacMartin

Trevino is a UT government senior and a coordinator for CISPES, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. MacMartin, an Austin resident, coordinates a student exchange program with the University of El Salvador.

For more information on the current Salvadoran reality, see:



Education in the repopulated areas: San Jose Las Flores, Chalatenango. In the early 1980s, these Salvadorans, amongst hundreds of thousands more, were driven from their homes and towns in northern El Salvador by the government Army and Air Force. After spending most of the decade in Honduras, living in refugee camps, Salvadorans are returning to the northern areas to repopulate and reclaim their homes. Education in a war zone has given learning a practical urgency. Mathematics, reading and spelling are mixed with home-building, sanitation and reconstructing the community after renewed invasions by the Salvadoran Army. This one-room schoolhouse pictured above is presently occupied by the Salvadoran Army and rendered useless for educational purposes. Photo by Peter Robertson

The NACLA Report, "D'Aubuisson's New ARENA," Volume 23, No. 2, July 1989.

The NACLA Report, "FMLN New Thinking," Volume 23, No. 3, September 1989.

Both are available at Garner & Smith Bookstore, as well as Guadalupe News and the Benson Latin American Collection.

POSTSCRIPT:

As this issue goes to press, the captured university professors and students cited in this article were released. However, repression against the university community continues. On Friday, October 27, at 9:15 am, a high power explosive was thrown into a crowd of students at the University of El Salvador. The students were gathering to join a procession to the cemetery where Herbert Anaya, assassinated director of the Non-governmental Human Rights Commission is buried. Anaya was assassinated by death squads on October 26, 1987, for investigating human rights abuses. According to a statement released by the university administration, at least five people were hospitalized with serious wounds and at least 13 others were injured.

Slideshow on
El Salvador
Welch 2.316
Tuesday, Nov. 7
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sponsored by CISPES

Texans Rally for Choice
Sunday, Nov. 12
2 p.m.
South Side of Capitol
Sponsored by The Texans for Choice and
the State Choice Coalition
Main Speaker: Faye Wattleton,
President of Planned Parenthood
Federation of America
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Phil
to have
Texas

The Plow is Moot: Another mindbending capitalist atrocity

by Bernard and Lorie Engert

The most important agricultural tool, the plow, has been used since prehistoric times.

— Fink & Wagnall's, 1986

If anything, the common moldboard plow has been the most important implement of environmental destruction throughout history and up to the present moment in modern, technologically advanced America. Due to the plow's fundamental flaws, agriculture has become twisted, the environment has been assaulted, the food supply has become tainted, and consumers have been brainwashed, not to mention more and more beset with worries concerning the safety of their food.

In order to understand exactly what is wrong with the plow, a brief explanation of the basic interactions between plants and soil is in order. Soil is composed of two parts: inorganic matter like sand, clay and other smaller pieces of the earth's original rock, and organic matter such as decayed plants and vegetables and animal manure. The latter contains all the ingredients essential to plant life.

But the action of the moldboard plow essentially buries all organic matter far beneath the surface of the soil. Thus, the crop plants cannot reach these vital nutrients as their delicate roots go no further than eight or ten inches beneath the surface of the soil. It's these roots which carry food from the soil — usually rich in organic matter — to the plant, allowing healthy growth. Other tap roots grow further into the soil for support and water.

But, the rotting layer of organic matter that is now buried more than a foot beneath the surface of the soil, thanks to the plow, acts as a barrier to capillary water rising from below, due to its highly absorbent quality. This interruption of nature brings an onslaught of problems.

To compensate for the lack of vitamins and minerals in the denatured soil, the modern farmer, backed with all the brilliance of modern agricultural science, adds large amounts of chemical fertilizers, which, being inorganic, effectively poison the soil and all that it produces.

Because each plant is different, not all plants react positively toward their poison treatments. To compensate for this snarl, North American corporate seed suppliers dreamed up hybrids. This creates a volatile situation. There is no genetic variation among hybrid plants, allowing the corporate "poison control centers" to develop exact chemical doses that will sustain each type of clone in "life." In other words, the fertilizer companies have discovered a veritable "designer fertilizer" market, reaping untold, hideous profits.

Furthermore, with no genetic variations, these hybrid plants become easy prey to insects, disease and complete destruction by the elements to this tampering with the

natural diversity in plants which often gives them the biological edge against these adversities. So, what's next but those chemical guys seize this golden opportunity to rain more poisons, now in the form of pesticides, upon the plants. Contamination spreads, ultimately affecting human lives and health. The genius of science has created a problem so complex, with the solution buried beneath so many layers of deceit and greed, that the simple path that must be returned to becomes ridiculously simplistic in the eyes of modern, technologically brainwashed humanity.

Just witness the undisturbed forest floor with its richness of organic matter strewn "stoppily" about — so untidy and unsightly compared to the neatly manicured rows of the modern American farm and garden. Such untidy habits in nature have been producing endlessly and abundantly for millions of years with no help from humans.

Two hundred years of the abusive plow took their toll during the drought of the 1930s and '40s, leaving the Midwest a veritable barren dustbowl. In addition to burying all organic matter, the plow loosens the soil allowing air to enter, further drying it out. Also, the soil surface, robbed of its natural protective layer of organic matter, or "mulch," was left defenseless to the winds which accompanied the drought, causing erosion and dust storms.

If the natural mulch layer had been in place, could the dustbowl have been prevented and the destructive forces of the drought lessened to the extent that the farmers would not have been forced off the land? That question can never be answered. All we know is that these farmers fled west to become squatters and to repeat the devastating process all over again in California's San Joaquin Valley, and this time with a vengeance due to the never-ending "advances" of agri-chemical wizardry.

Meanwhile, Nature's irony flourished on the abandoned farms in the Midwest that became overgrown as She was allowed to rebuild what humans had destroyed — meanwhile the poor, brainwashed squatters began the toxicification of the soil, groundwater and produce of California.

These arguments against the plow were raised by Edward H. Faulkner in his 1943 book, *Plowman's Folly*. A highly recommended work, it is dismaying and telling to note that it is no longer in print. Beginning with the premise that "no one has ever advanced a scientific reason for plowing," this county agent for Kentucky and Ohio and Smith-Hughes teacher of agriculture systematically and scientifically proved the folly of this ancient device.

Further in the book, he advances the now widely accepted disc harrow as the best alternative to plowing. Consisting of sharp vertical discs, slightly slanted, the

disc harrow can efficiently and effectively, and on a large scale, incorporate all existing vegetation into the top few inches of the soil. With the organic matter near the surface, plants can receive all the vital nutrients and achieve easily a naturally high level of health — without any additional chemicals from ever-intruding humans. A healthy plant holds an abundance of minerals and produces less sugar, making it less appetizing and susceptible to pests and widespread infestation. Perhaps paradoxically, weeds do not fare well in soil naturally rich in available organic matter and present a real problem only in poor, denatured soil, which they are more suited to.

So even though Faulkner's theories have become widely accepted, this chemical death-cycle is still practiced to a great extent in this country — too great an extent to be acceptable. In fact, any use of these antiquated methods is unacceptable as the earth's delicate eco-systems are becoming ever more fragile and dangerously close to total collapse. If you are interested in doing something to reverse this decline of nature and help to make the plow and chemical obsolete, here are a few suggestions: First, BUY ORGANIC! As Don Strachan writes in his article, "The Real Farm Crisis & How You Can End It," (in *Whole Life Times*, 12/88):

Personal ecology is social ecology: every penny you spend on food supports either the monolithic corporations that are destroying the world or the land stewards who are trying to restore it. People raise two arguments against organic produce: 1) It's more expensive; 2) It doesn't look nice. It costs more sometimes because it doesn't receive the massive subsidies Agribizzies poison food gets. But when you consider medical bills and the price to the planet, the poison is penny-wise and pound-foolish. As for looks, remember the wicked witch in Cinderella: the beauty conceals the poison within.

Further suggestions include cutting down on dining out, as few restaurants serve organic vegetables, and all are wasteful—uneaten food goes to landfills, not compost (the decayed organic matter which knowledgeable farmers use as a natural alternative to fertilizer).

Circulate petitions calling for government aid for sustainable farming and research, and taxes on synthetic pesticides and fertilizers. Write Americans for Safe Food, CPSI, 1510 16th Street NW, Washington, DC, 20036 for more ideas on how to save the earth and its inhabitants from destructive farming methods.

Even better than buying organic: GROW YOUR OWN! Bill Mollison, founder of Permaculture Institute, notes, "U.S. yards with their 30 million acres of

water hogging lawns, could produce all the food we need, at several times the yield per square foot of the Agribizzies."

Permaculture is an alternative farming and gardening system, carrying Faulkner's ideas even farther with an all-encompassing constellation of ideas with emphasis on fruit trees, as well as fish farming, beekeeping, recycling, biological pest control and organic soil management. For more information, send a few dollars to: Permaculture Institute of North America, 4649 Sunnyside N, Seattle, WA, 98103.

Have no fear if you're an urbanite apartment dweller — no yard is no excuse. You can grow all you need in an area with enough room for a dozen 5-gallon pots. For complete instructions, see "Growing Plants in Containers: New Guidelines for a Deck Garden," \$3 from Barbara Daniels, P.O. Box 813, Fairfax, CA 94930.

There are a plethora of organic gardening books available these days. One of the best is *How to Grow More Vegetables Than You Ever Thought Possible on Less Land Than You Can Imagine*, by John Jeavons. This book gives step-by-step instructions for the complete beginner, based on the Biodynamic/French Intensive Method of organic horticulture. It, and a wealth of other books on related subjects, can be obtained through Bountiful Gardens, a project founded by Jeavons to promote and provide materials for organic farming and gardening. Send \$2 for their catalog of unfainted, non-hybrid seeds, organic fertilizers and books at: Bountiful Gardens, c/o Ecology Action, 5798 Ridgewood Rd., Willits, CA 95490.

Another company with an even more extensive catalog of organic (or "open-pollinated") seeds and literature is Seeds Blum — also only \$2. Write them at: Seeds Blum, Idaho City Stage, Boise, Idaho 83706. They also offer "heirloom" seeds, handed down from generation to generation by home gardeners.

Or go to your local booksellers and demand that organic gardening literature be kept on the shelves. Or have them order *How to Grow More Vegetables* from Ten Speed Press, P.O. Box 7123, Berkeley, CA 94707, for you, your family, friends and neighbors, at least. This book makes an excellent Christmas gift!

So start your compost pile today — kitchen wastes, lawn clippings and those annoying falling leaves can all be turned into naturally rich, FREE fertilizer, ready to mix into and layer on top of your soil in spring a few weeks before planting. That's how to create the healthiest, easiest, best-producing garden you could ever imagine, one that will only improve in the years to come as the soil becomes richer and richer. We can save our planet only through love and cooperation with Nature, rather than through abuse and foolishness.

Editors' note: Bernard and Lorie Engert live in Berkeley, California, and grow wonderful tomatoes.

All the President's Tripe

Cunningham deconstructed and debunked

by Tom Philpott
and Scott Henson

In mid-October, only weeks after *The Daily Texan* ran a white space with President Bill Cunningham's name on it, our student paper allowed Cunningham to print some 100 inches of cheap huckstering — and didn't even charge him the usual rate for advertising. Cunningham wrote the articles in an odd question-and-answer format, in which he swings at fat pitches that he claims students threw at him. Many students thought that these were questions *The Texan* submitted; they weren't, but they certainly were lame enough to be.

We disagree with *The Texan's* decision to run the three-part piece; Cunningham had his chance to respond to *The Texan's* challenge, and he failed to do so. Since the piece did run, however, and since *Texan* editor Karen Adams chose not to critique it, *Polemicist* has decided to expose Cunningham's fraudulent apologetics.

Cunningham frames the understaffing crisis in terms of student-teacher ratio, which he correctly identifies as quite poor: 22.27 to 1, 44th of the 50 state flagship schools in the nation. He then he asserts that the University lacks the funds to hire enough new faculty to address the problem. He says that the University plans to hire 50 new faculty members to improve the ratio, but that "between 200 and 300 additional faculty positions will be needed to solve the [University's] class-availability problems."

But he also notes that the national average for flagship state schools is a ratio of 17 to 1, and that it takes 90 professors to improve the ratio by one point. That means we would need 513 new faculty members to match the national average. At first glance, then, Cunningham's situation might attract sympathy: He's struggling under what he calls "budget constraints" to hire 50 new professors, when he really needs the seemingly unreachable figure of 513.

But let's look at those "constraints." He complains that "we have a classic funding problem — more students and less money." Do we though? Cunningham cites massive enrollment growth since 1979, but much of this growth occurred among graduate students, where understaffing isn't a problem. Among undergrads, enrollment increased from 34,617 to 38,303 between fall 1979 and fall 1989 — approximately 10.6 percent. Meanwhile, the UT budget grew from \$149,645,196 in 1979-80 to \$308,567,188 in 1988-89, the last year for which we have figures. This amounts to about a 50 percent increase, adjusted for inflation. Additionally, Cunningham cites a 12 percent budget hike for 1989-90, adding to this astronomical sum. So, budget increases have far outstripped enrollment over this period.

What did they spend that money on? Not new faculty. The UT-Austin faculty grew by only 7.1 percent during the same period. Five-hundred-thirteen new faculty members, at an average annual salary of \$35,000, would cost the University just under \$18 million per year.

Yet Cunningham pretends that state-imposed funding mechanisms prevent him from hiring more than 50 professors. As he explains it: "on the average, the university receives [from the Legislature] approximately seven times the support for Ph.D. students and three times the support for master's students that it receives for undergraduate courses."

For starters, not all of UT's budget comes from the Legislature — in fact, only 40 percent of the University's budget comes from the state. The rest comes from tuition and from interest on the Permanent University Fund.

And Cunningham has more control over the funds that do come from the state than he lets on — much more. In 1985, the Legislature gave UT System universities the power to move money from one line item of the budget to another, according to the *Austin-American Statesman*. If Cunningham ever got the urge, then, he could divert money from graduate research programs into undergrad programs. He just doesn't want to.

It's not quite accurate to call Bill Cunningham a liar — what he actually does is use figures selectively to make his case sound realistic, and omits the most important data which would make the University look bad. But Cunningham does lie by omission, and if they're smart, students — especially our "student leaders" — will never take what he says seriously again.

In particular, students should look dubiously on Cunningham's arguments for reducing or "controlling" enrollment. He asks himself, "If enrollment is a serious problem, why doesn't the administration simply reduce enrollment?" In posing that question in those terms, Cunningham allows himself to shift the debate away from

finance and aim it directly at students. He goes on to equivocate somewhat, saying that among other things a "kind of populist philosophy" among Texans prevents him from outright attacking enrollment.

But, he boasts, "University does have the tools at its disposal to maintain its enrollment at 50,000 students." That statement is disgusting for two reasons. First, it doesn't reveal that only about 38,000 of those students are undergrads, which isn't significantly higher than in 1981. More offensively, though, framing the argument that way allows him to arbitrarily set his limit at 50,000 students. If present trends continue, this means that under such a limit undergraduate enrollment will actually decline. The trend throughout the '80s has been steadily increasing graduate enrollment, and only slight growth among undergrads. A cap on enrollment would force the University to slash undergraduate enrollment to maintain high growth among graduate students.

And since Cunningham and UT System Chancellor Hans Mark see research as an integral part of UT's "mission," they would be hard pressed to stop growth among grad students. From students' point of view, there's no reason to even consider an enrollment cap. With all the funds that have poured in since 1979, UT could support many more undergraduates than 50,000 — if only the UT System would stop investing its funds in private industry instead of hiring teachers (see "," page).

Cunningham simply shames himself defending that policy. In the third installment of his series, which amounts to an extended apology for having transformed the University into a research institute, our president writes: "The University ... has a responsibility to the state and the nation to conduct high-quality research. In the United States, it is public policy that basic research will be undertaken in university laboratories." In other words, Cunningham advocates diminishing the quality of undergraduate education to serve some nebulous notion of "national inter-

est."

Next time you're standing in line for a required class, don't forget to feel all warm and patriotic: the funds that would've paid your professor are off somewhere serving national "public policy."

Not only that, writes Cunningham, "if the nation's major universities fail in their research mission, the United States will not be competitive in the world marketplace, and we will lose touch with our heritage, our culture and our values." Cunningham never explains how our place in the world marketplace relates to our heritage, culture and values. But his association of "marketplace" with those qualities reveals much about the man — that's what you get when you hire a former business school dean to run your university. No one else would assert that you could buy and sell those things like commodities in the open market.

Cunningham expects us to knuckle under to his vision of a university like obedient sheep. "Undergraduate students at the University have opted to attend a major comprehensive research university with a significant commitment to graduate education and scholarly research." Thus, he continues, we were "aware that the University is not a small liberal arts college." Yes, we knew. But who told us that UT administrators would be lining the pockets of multinational corporations with student dollars?

The point of criticism is not, as Cunningham suggests, to convert the University to a "small liberal arts college." Rather, the point is to make the administration account for the money pumped into the University since 1979 by the Legislature and tuition hikes. (At that time tuition was \$2 per semester hour; today it is \$16.) And it's also to hold Cunningham accountable for his statements. He announced in the last *Texan* piece that "we have succeeded" in making the University "first-class." That's asinine, and student leaders and

See Cunningham, Pg. 12

Tom's

TABOOLEY

105 W. 20th Street
Hours: 7:30-7:00 M-Th

Austin, Texas
7:30-5:00 Friday

The Parallel University

A Review of Jonathan Feldman's New Book: *Universities in the Business of Repression*

Universities in the Business of Repression
The Academic-Military-Industrial Complex in Central America
Jonathan Feldman



by Charley MacMartin
FRAMING THE ISSUE

In 1985, US campuses erupted in demonstrations against university investments supporting the apartheid regime of South Africa. Over the next three years, scores of universities divested from, or partially removed from their investment portfolios, companies which do business in South Africa. Students pressed for more responsible investment of university funds, education about apartheid expanded and international pressure against the Pretoria regime mounted.

Or so the logic goes. What lessons do student activists take away from the divestment struggle? Can divestment be a useful strategy to end US support for repressive governments and mercenary armies in Central America? What role do universities play in supporting the current US war in Central America?

WAR AND PROFITS

These are the questions which Feldman's book addresses. In three parts, Feldman attempts to draw the following political analysis of the war in Central America. First, the United States is conducting its largest military operation since Indochina against the people of Central America. This war has cost hundreds of thousands of Central Americans their lives and has created an obstacle to self-determination in the region for which the United States is directly responsible.

Second, transnational corporations (TNCs) benefit economically from both the social inequality and the escalation in conflict. Companies which produce agrochemicals reap enormous profits from Central American economies based on export crops (e.g., cotton and coffee). For example, Shell Oil of Houston produces

the toxic chemical pesticides aldrin and dieldrin-5 in El Salvador and distributes them throughout Central America.

The concentration of land ownership that makes such production possible requires military hardware to keep peasant and labor movements sufficiently cowed. This latter necessity provides an export market for companies such as Texas' favorite, Bell Helicopter, which sells helicopters to the armies of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala. E-Systems of Dallas, Texas (which has on its board of directors former CIA director William F. Raborn) sells aircraft to the government of El Salvador.

UT FALLS IN LINE

Third, the complicity in profiting from bloodshed includes not only the traditional partners—business and military—but involves the structure of university education. University complicity takes two forms: research and investments. The Pentagon and the university are inextricably linked as Departments of Defense (DOD) and Energy (DOE) funding increasingly flood the university.

Amid a generalized fiscal crisis, universities have turned to the area where funds are available to develop programs and increase university prestige. The University of Texas System ranks third—behind only MIT and Johns Hopkins—for the magnitude of university contracts for research, development, test and evaluation with DOD (FY 1987).

Before the defense community funds an university research program, the university must prove itself fiscally sound. University investment portfolios stand as a critical part of transforming universities from centers of higher education into big business. As such, the traditional liberal pursuits of free thinking and social critique wither beside the "parallel university" of military engagement and corporate interlocks.

These connections become positively incestuous. Exxon Corporation, historically a stable investment, lists on its board Jess Hay, also found among the UT System Board of Regents. Not surprisingly, combined UT System investments in Exxon make UT the fourth largest educational investor in this corporate criminal. The UT System also places heavy investments in General Electric, a major provider of arms to the government of El Salvador. Shell Oil, mentioned above, shares a corporate board member, John F. Bookout, Jr., with the chancellors council at the University of Texas.

IS \$14.00 WORTH IT?

The examples above reveal two important features of Feldman's book. Not only does the University of Texas figure promi-

nently in the continuation of war in Central America, but in addition, the information about Texas's role is easy to glean from the reams of information that the book holds. The multitudinous tables as well as a healthy appendix are worth the cost of the book alone for student organizers and anyone else who's interested in how their university is being bastardized in the name of profits and national security.

Feldman argues for "selective divestment" as a strategy to turn the tide on the US war in Central America. A divestment movement focussing on Central America could mobilize against the repressive role of TNCs in the region.

According to Feldman, "divestment actions can represent a form of countervailing power on behalf of workers' struggles against the TNC as employer and as ally of the repressive state." Further, divestment could provide a context for joint actions by North American activists and opposition movements in Central America. Finally, the success of South African divestment earlier this decade, Feldman claims, proved the strategy as an effective one for mobilizing students and the university community. But to mobilize for what?

A CRITIQUE OF SELECTIVE DIVESTMENT

Doug Calvin, the national student coordinator for the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), suggests caution in applying divestment as a "strategy to win" in Central America.

"Divestment," Calvin contends, "in part deflected the student movement away from concern for liberating South Africa and towards struggling against a very real sense of powerlessness in the university." Moreover, many campuses can tell of resources and energy being poured into exasperating meetings with trustees and into endless trials after the many arrests.

Feldman admits that divestment has its shortcomings in Central America organizing. In particular, the South African labor movement pronounced itself solidly behind a divestment campaign that could potentially, for the short term, take away jobs from South Africa. In Central America, the labor movement has not given such a clear, unequivocal signal.

Divestment can be an important tactic, but only a tactic. Earlier divestment campaigns were no longer just vehicles to mobilize students to support South Africa, but rather grew to be the goal. Once thwarted, or ironically enough, once successful, the movements collapsed. Divestment is best used as a tactic for organizing within a larger strategy for liberation.

Finally, past work on Central America has given the movement here links to

popular organizations in the countries of the region that the South Africa movement of 1985 (let alone earlier attempts at divestment in the late 1970s) did not enjoy. As such, divestment is not the only potential tactic which brings the two movements together for simultaneous actions. Previous work stoppages by California longshoremen to coincide with political events in El Salvador provide examples of how the two movements can work to strengthen one another.

Feldman has taken an important step in both exposing the degradation of education under monopoly capitalism as well as opening dialogue on Central America strategizing. For this, the book is worth supporting. The next step will be to take the different themes begun in the book—university autonomy, divestment, and a military economy—and develop them both thematically and in terms of praxis.

Universities in the Business of Repression by Jonathan Feldman. South End Press, 1989. May be ordered through **Bookwoman** at 324 East 6th St., Austin.

Other recent titles on Central America include:

Power in the Isthmus by James Dunkerley. Verso Books, 1988. For sale at Garner and Smith Bookstore on Guadalupe in Austin.

A Dream Compels Us: Voices of Salvadoran Women with a preface by Grace Palcy. Compiled by New Americas Press. South End Press, 1989. For sale at **Bookwoman**.

Polemicist

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Minority, from P. 3

Many more departments have one minority professor — home economics, geography, government, linguistics, psychology, microbiology, marketing, advertising, journalism, speech, music and the chemical, electrical and petroleum engineering departments, to name just a few.

The number of minority candidates in the sciences is admittedly smaller than in liberal arts, but the size of the pool is less of a problem than the size of the commitment. One notable exception is pharmacy, which has nine minority faculty for about 600 students. Nationally, almost twice as many minorities receive doctorates in the social sciences and humanities as in science, and yet the situation in liberal arts is little better than that in science.

Minority professors at UT are not just condemned to being a token in their departments; in liberal arts, they often are also alone in their fields. Lubiano is the only person teaching African-American literature, Manuel Ramirez is the only professor who studies cultural and racial factors in psychology, and Mercedes de Uriarte is the only scholar in the nation who teaches a course on reporting on Latino communities.

But UT doesn't want lots of people studying "minority subjects" like Afri-

can-American literature and Chicano politics, or studying any subject in a progressive manner because that would create an "ideological imbalance," to borrow King's phrase. This term, of course, is inaccurate. In actuality, some sort of ideological balance might be achieved by hiring people in diverse areas.

Minority scholars tend to be more progressive. They seldom fall within the narrow definition of the mainstream — traditional subjects studied traditionally and focusing on Anglos or ignoring race altogether — because that definition generally excludes minorities. Three of the five candidates rejected in the English department last year taught some form of Chicano literature. One other taught African-American and Third World literature. Mercedes de Uriarte, a journalism professor calls such subjects "ghettoized."

"Minorities are often interested in writing about their place in history. In most departments, that isn't as respected as writing about other things," de Uriarte says. Velma Garcia's Chicano politics class was cancelled this fall when she left UT. So far, "There's no real quick move to replace Velma with a new Velma," Vitalis says. In government, the search for minority candidates and the creation of a neo-conservative social theory center are being carried out simultaneously. Vitalis

says, "No one will say we neglect minority recruiting, but it's not a high priority."

With UT's shortage of faculty, departments should be beating down Cunningham's door to get those free President's fund positions. Yet 70 percent of the fund was unused last year, out of both laziness and ideology. Manuel Ramirez describes the psychology department's recruiting efforts as "benign neglect." He thinks the subjects minorities often pursue, which involve racial and cultural factors, may be perceived as "soft subjects" in a department trying to be a hard science. "If a minority showed up who was a famous biopsychologist, they'd probably hire him," he says.

On Their Own Again?

Unfortunately, all those departments which were left to their own devices in minority recruitment and decided it wasn't worth the hassle will continue to be left alone. "I get the sense that money is considerably tighter this year," Meacham says, already sounding, if not like King, then a great deal like William "it's-beyond-my-control" Cunningham. If money is apparently more scarce for trifling things like minority recruitment, departments will have to take more responsibility for recruiting minorities and finding money to finance new positions. Since many de-

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partments have done such a dismal job in past years, even with the President's fund available to them, this year's results should be "depressing" and "hair-raising" indeed.

Even departments that do want to attract minority scholars can be thwarted by the administration's ability to veto any candidate it wants to. Departments need guarantees that the administration will stay out of hiring decisions, and need financial assistance to compensate for the enormous difficulty of persuading minority scholars to come to UT.

That Reputation Thing

Just as a lack of minority faculty discourages minority students from coming to UT, the reverse is also true. The minority scholars UT seeks to hire — those at the top of their fields — can go to virtually any university in the country. There is little point in them coming here, to a department with few or no minorities in a mediocre university with a reputation for racism and an unencouraging administration, and they usually don't.

Whether UT truly wants to integrate its faculty is a question that can only be judged by the administration's previous actions. Considering the difficulty in getting and retaining faculty like Daugherty and Lubiano, some people are obviously judging — and reaching a conclusion.

Letters: "For what cause, O man, charest thou me thy daily complaint?" —Boethius

Why Manage the Crisis?

Dear editors:

There really is nothing "radical" about Scott Henson's solution to the continuing crisis of education (even if a solution was what we really need). (*Radical Alternatives to Understaffing*, *Polemicalist*, no. 1, p.4-5, 11). In fact, Henson is actually engaged in the same project as the UT administration: *managing a crisis caused by students*. The crisis of education (of which UT is only a microcosm) has been going on for more than twenty years and clearly began in the student struggles of the 1960s. That it was caused by student demands and struggles has even been acknowledged by many including the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in its 1973 report (in mystified terminology of course) — which is more than we can say for Henson.

To understand why we do not want to manage the crisis we must understand exactly what and for whom it is about education that is not working. Henson is right to point out that the fundamental role of education is disciplining us to accept work as our primary purpose in life. This has always been the function of the university from the point of view of the university. On the other hand, we struggle to make the university something completely different; a place where we can learn and develop in ways that subvert this process of molding us into disciplined workers so that we can discover the multi-dimensionality and richness of life. So when Cunningham talks of the crisis in education at UT, he means that the university is not churning out well disciplined, retrainable workers ready to work for the next 40-50 years.

What we must do is to analyse just how this crisis was brought about. It turns out that the refusal of students to be molded into docile workers and their positive demands for using the university for their own needs are the causes of crisis that is wreaking havoc on the UT administration. Rather than digging deep to the roots of the crisis at UT and finding that it is students who have struggled to push up enrollment by 15,000 in the last twenty years, Henson instead blames Cunningham and Mark for "their (mis)management" (p. 11) of a "problem" they have never been able to control. Unlike Henson, we have no desire to manage the crisis because it is not our crisis. Focusing on the administrators of the system, as Henson does, can only help to mystify the role our struggles have in causing their crisis.

In fact, *Henson's solutions can be used by the administration to help them manage their crisis by destroying our power to use the university for our own needs*. For example, Henson's first two ideas for solving the crisis are classic: divide and conquer. His proposals would divide undergrads not only from their potential allies, professors, but from their fellow students, graduate students, as well. Just as the purpose of education is different depending on whose side you are on, so are the activities of professors and graduate students. Henson clearly does not understand this fact.

Professors are used by the university to discipline students and get them back in line. Yet, both students and profs undermine this function when they struggle for a different kind of relationship that satisfies their own needs rather than those of

the school. Henson's first solution, making profs work more by increasing their workload, is exactly what the university is already trying to do. Combined with attacks on grade inflation and other requirements of employment, UT is using our struggles for higher enrollment to force profs to do more work, thus hoping to turn them against students so as to blame us as the cause of their problems (which they are currently refusing to do). The question isn't one of overemphasis on research (we all know that the university is a fundamental instrument of reproducing the system) but of using profs to instill discipline in students.

Turning undergraduates against graduate students can only be another tool that UT can use to further divide us and defeat our struggles. By suggesting that graduate enrollment be cut Henson is using UT's policy against undergrads against grads! If the source of the problem isn't enrollment, why does he propose intensifying what competition UT is already trying to create between us by calling for graduate enrollment cuts? This solution makes clear his fundamental confusion over the source of the crisis. Instead of seeing the potential for graduate and faculty research for opening up space for areas of study — such as African-American or Womyn's studies — to subvert the discipline process he calls for attacks on us. What needs to be attacked at UT is not research because it is research per se, but those specific areas and uses of research that we find objectionable, like military research. The battle is not research vs. learning, because UT's version of learning is us learning to subordinate all of our life to work. *The battle is between their process*

of discipline and our struggles to open up spaces to learn and develop in ways that subvert such molding so that we can discover the multi-dimensionality and richness of life.

What good does blaming the UT bureaucrats (such as in the Hans Mark piece) do for us in understanding the function of education in a society organized around work and our struggles to undermine it? Focusing on the crisis of education, or UT in our case, should offer a political understanding of our struggles for greater access, more space to study our true history and heritage so we can arm ourselves with knowledge to resist the present organization of society, and our demands that UT pay for it with more financial aid, and more Black, Chicano and Womyn faculty. If one intends to help us understand and extend our own struggles then blaming so and so for "mismanagement" is clearly dangerous if not actually in direct opposition.

Everywhere we look, students are engaged in fierce struggles against having their lives subordinated to schoolwork or any work. Cheating, sharing answers, and buying tests or notes are only refusals of the work required of us to learn to repress our desires for life to a lifetime of work. Skipping class (as your graphic on p. 10 advocates), using financial aid to go to Padre Island, buy a stereo, or even put together an alternative paper are powerful refusals of the work discipline that lies at the heart of education. What needs to be done is for us to examine how these activities are struggles that undermine the assembly line production of UT and how

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Industrial Policy, from p. 5
 party Chairman Peter O'Donnell.

With the 1986 election of Bill Clements, the consensus escalated. With many of the same public figures as his allies, Clements led the battle to draw Sematech to Austin, using tens of millions of tax and tuition dollars as incentive.

Texas politicians and power brokers are a rowdy lot -- their varied interests give them much to argue about. But when oil prices crashed in the mid-'80s, they rallied behind a single principal: that Texas must spend public funds to "diversify" the

Cunningham, from p. 9

especially the mainstream student press have failed us by not pointing that out. Instead, it took a national newsweekly -- *U.S. News and World Report* -- to tell us that not only isn't UT a "first-class" university, it's not even in the top 25.

As the man who presided over the University's decline, Cunningham must bear the sting of the lash as we strive to reclaim it for students. Sure, he's just a lackey for the Regents and Chancellor Hans Mark. And he's certainly more appealing, at least personally, than the presidents our Board of Regents usually unleash on us. But as Christ said, "By their fruits, ye shall know them." And by their fiscal allocations, ye shall know them, too.

The fruits of Cunningham's labor have degraded the intellectual and moral basis of the University. That's why the time has come -- indeed, it's past time -- to demand his ouster. Then we can attack the structures that drain UT funds to serve the interests of the nation's monied classes.

economy by drawing high-tech industry. To compete with other states trying to do the same thing, Texas would need capital -- both physical and intellectual. That capital, these decision-makers agreed, would be developed at and drained from the state's public universities.

The solution: rebellion

Proponents of industrial policy know that citizens can't vote to stop these policies -- the bi-partisan consensus ensures that. And of course, no one can vote for or against UT officials. But much of the inertia behind these policies comes from the sheer ignorance of their supporters about their effects on students' education. While faculty generally support research

Letter, from P. 11

they lie at the root of the educational system's crisis. The school systems in this country are turning out "lemons," as *Businessweek* lamented in October 1988, who are worthless to their employers because they are unwilling to submit to a lifetime of work and boredom. Such refusals to spend one's life working did not magically appear out of nowhere but grew in the schools in the struggle against schoolwork and circulated to the workplace. These struggles are what lies at the base of the UT and the system-wide crisis of education. Cutting enrollment is only a euphemism for attacking those areas of struggle in which we are strongest.

It is a recognition of the ongoing struggles of students as well as many others

projects, it's unlikely that most of them make the mental link between funding for research and understaffing on university campuses -- the faculty without vested interests in the policy are a potential source of support for students' cause.

Students at other universities have already begun demanding an end to industrial-policy-driven austerity. According to the Oct. 30 *Nation*, students at the University of New Mexico occupied the president's office for thirteen days last spring. And at Rutgers, reports *The Nation*, 71 students clashed with police after storming the dean's office. Their chant -- "fight, fight, education is a right" -- could serve as an apt rallying cry for austerity-plagued UT students. Austerity protests

throughout this country and the world against spending their lives working that can go far in understanding the crisis in education and at UT in particular (as well as with drugs and El Salvador, as they failed to do in their other articles). *Rather than offering better mechanisms to manage the crisis, we need to highlight the struggles that caused it and circulate them so that we can rupture the use of work as the means to organize society and move on to exploring and experiencing the wideranging ways of living life.*

Keep struggling and give 'em hell!

Ross Dreyer
 Robert Ovetz

Henson Responds

I don't disagree with much of Ovetz and Dreyer's comments, in principle. After all, I took Harry Cleaver's classes too. But their proposals and method of critique are unrealistic and out of touch with the students they purport to champion.

As for my advocacy of cutting graduate student enrollment, I explicitly limited this suggestion to students who are little more than unpaid or even paid researchers for the interests of capital. Though I understand the controversiality of this stance, I will stand by it. Ovetz and Dreyer say that cutting enrollment is a euphemism for attacking students where they are strongest. But grad students doing, say, defense research, are so strong because they are acting as an arm of capital.

As for the research issue, emphasis on research has permeated other areas besides high-tech and military fields, to the detriment of the learning process. Ovetz and Dreyer suggest that if we would only shift emphasis of research to fields other than military and business-related research, everything would be okay. Yet the UT libraries are going broke trying to purchase the thousands of academic journals

also broke out at Stanford, Ohio State, University of Wisconsin and Cal-Berkeley.

All these schools have lower student-teacher ratios than the University. We have no excuse to be docile. If we don't demand that our school's funds go to education instead of industry, no one will do it for us.

A demonstration will be held at noon on the West Mall, Friday, November 3 to show Cunningham and the Board of Regents that students won't sit back while their educations are denigrated for the sake of profits. Come join us and show your support for students' right to receive the education they pay for. Or, wait until next spring, and grumble while you wait in line at adds and drops.

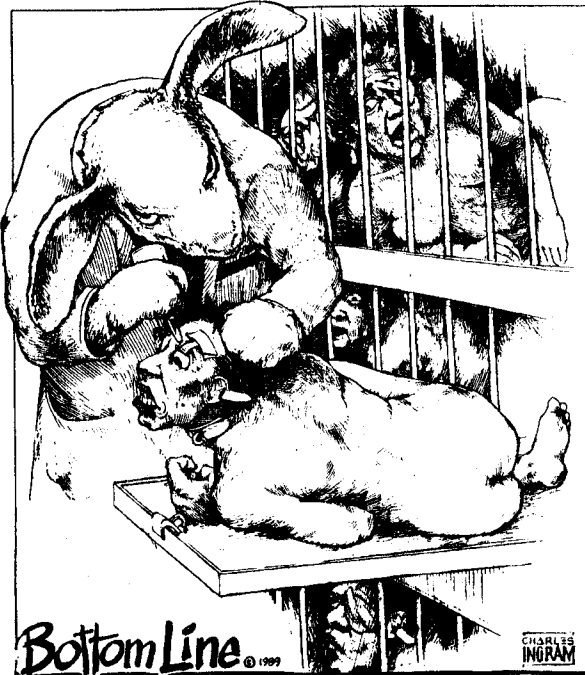
filled with the type of liberal research Ovetz and Dreyer advocate. The vast majority of this material will go forever unread because it is indeed useless.

As for *Polemicist's* tendency to pinpoint individual players in the UT community, the decision to bastardize learning in defense of profits was made by a handful of individuals who can be identified and held accountable for their actions. If they are allowed to run roughshod over students with no opposition but class-skipping and test-cheating, then the fundamental issues won't be confronted.

Incidentally, when *Businessweek* says the education system is turning out "lemons," it means that one-third of all American adults can't read or write. To celebrate this fact as "class struggle" means advocating mass-scale illiteracy and the subsequent loss of economic and political rights and opportunities. It's not a "revolution" I want any part of.

Ovetz and Dreyer seem to think that individual struggles like cheating, class-skipping and spending financial aid or leisure will eventually lead to some type of classless university society, much like Marxists' promises of the last 120 years. Albert Camus would call such fantasies an "appeal" -- an appeal that will inevitably be denied. Ovetz and Dreyer disregard the pressing issues of the day in favor of some promised future satisfaction. But that cannot be a strategy for change. Evolution is merely the world non-participants use to describe a series of revolutions over time. Failure to confront present injustices and those who perpetrate them in favor of abstract theory is the worst type of intellectual masturbation and moral cowardice. -S.H.

In the tradition of Reagan deficit financing, *Polemicist* went to press without the faintest idea where the money is coming from. Ads and donations are desperately needed and gleefully accepted.



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Dedicated to the "scientists" at the UT Animal Research Center

If politics, government, corruption, the future of education, the University of Texas, literacy, the environment, glasnost, racism, sexism, abortion, the future of the family, AIDS, any or all of these or a host of other current problems arouse you and move you, then...

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