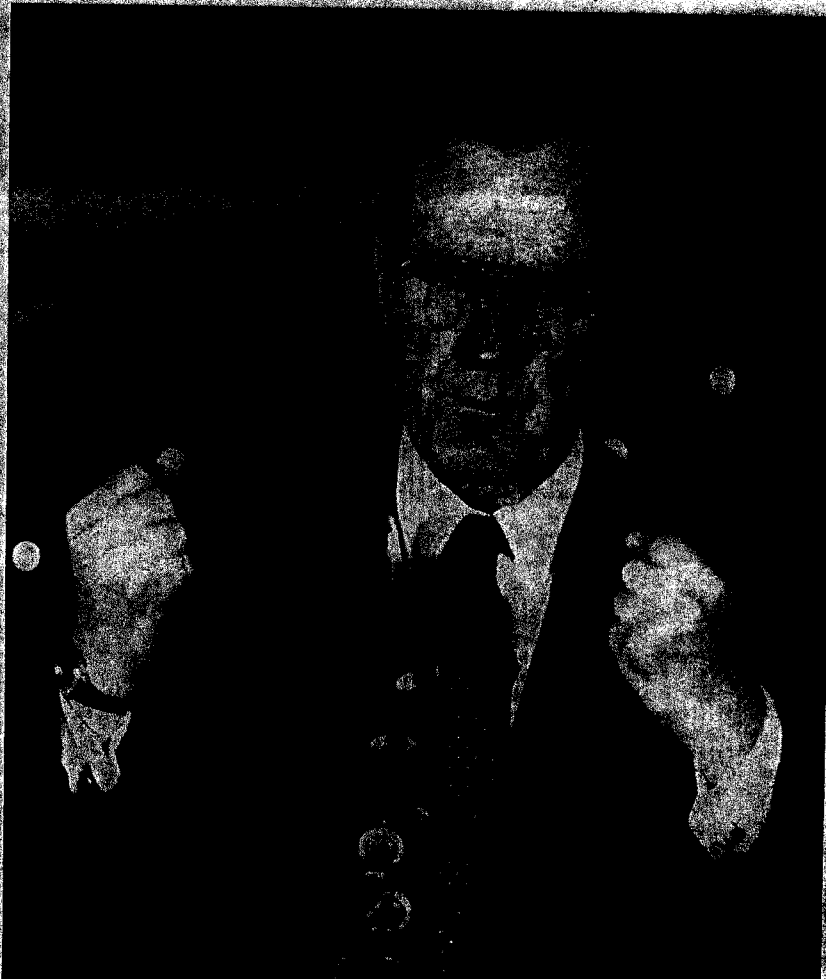


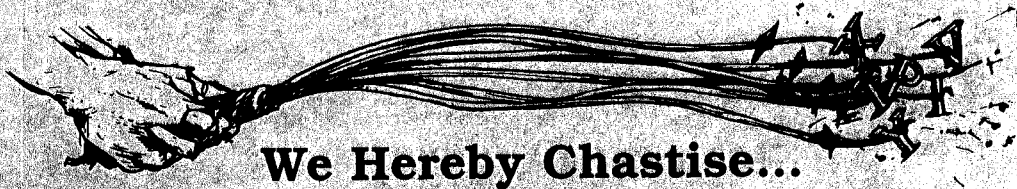


Polemicist

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

PROTEST BUSH...
COMMENCEMENT 1990!





We Hereby Chastise...

Tom Philpott, Scott Henson
Editors, *Polemistic*

They fancy themselves progressives, yet what sort of progressives display such gross insensitivity to the historic struggle of women? In *Polemistic's* SA election runoff flyer discussing candidate Tracy Silna's record on the bus issue, those two balding, overbearing "journalists" (as they sometimes design to call themselves) printed a graphic of a witch riding a broom. The cartoon was inexcusable for two reasons.

First, it suggested that *Polemistic* meant to call Silna a witch. Perhaps, as they will certainly claim, they "didn't mean it that way." Yeah, but how were their readers to know? In their rush to depict Silna as the scourge of the UT transportation system, they delivered a blow too despicable even for writers of their ilk.

Worse, their characterization offends women who practice witchcraft. And it ignores the historical uses of the witch symbol to isolate and persecute women. In Germany, England, America and elsewhere, women who live independently of men have been dubbed "witches," and then tortured and sometimes murdered. Midwives, lesbians and unmarried elderly women all suffered atrocities under the guise of "witch-hunting."

Philpott and Henson perpetuate these stereotypes and misconceptions with their careless portrayal of witches and women. For this, they have earned scorn.

James Anantha
Tracy Silna's campaign manager

When supporting free speech rights makes them popular, student politicians speak out with righteous zeal. But when it threatens the status quo—or their jobs—they're about as progressive as Glenn Maloney, the chief enforcer of the University's repressive speech restrictions.

As our readers know, *Polemistic* issued a pamphlet that attacked Silna's handling of the bus issue; she offered to trade student free-ride privileges on Capitol Metro for a nominal kickback to the UT Student Services Fee Committee. Stung by this blast of *glasnost*, Anantha declared in the following day's *Texan* that he would take steps to ensure that *Polemistic* and other alternative press "will never try to do this again." Anantha would limit alternative publications' right to endorse SA candidates, increasing *The Texan's* near monopoly as purveyor of campus opinion.

To make good on his threat, Anantha will have to get one of his SA friends to sponsor legislation to change the election codes. Such legislation would probably ban pamphlet-style endorsements from the alternative press, arguing that they look like campaign literature. But how are financially pressed journals like this one supposed to produce full issues every time we want to endorse? The state-subsidized *Texan* can afford to put out a 16-plus page paper five times a week; this issue marks only our second 16-pager ever. Also, our bus pamphlet didn't stray from usual *Polemistic* procedure: It was the third pamphlet we issued this semester.

Like the Soviet *apparatchik* who applauds *glasnost* until it threatens her, Anantha would give away students' free-speech rights to preserve his privileges in

the present Vichy-style government. Anantha should feel lucky: In real revolutions they shoot collaborationists.

Kevin McHargue
Daily Texan editor-elect

In El Salvador, newspaper editors who don't obey the dictates of governmental authority can find themselves murdered, imprisoned or exiled. But with no such threat hanging over his head, Kevin McHargue crumbled before the meager weight of outgoing SA president Jerry Haddican.

McHargue had organized a debate between SA presidential runoff candidates Toni Luckett and Tracy Silna. The questioning panel would include editors from both alternative and mainstream UT press. Right after the general elections, both camps agreed to the debate and it was scheduled for the night before the runoff.

Two days before the debate, Haddican bounded into McHargue's office and—in the most forceful moment of his presidency—demanded not only that the debate be cancelled, but that *The Texan* impose a total press blackout concerning the issue—both news and editorials. In a move that will likely set the tone for his tenure as editor, McHargue dutifully agreed.

Now this was no gun-toting Salvadoran soldier threatening McHargue. It was only Jerry Haddican, whose milquetoast administration has been most notable for its invisibility on almost every major issue. To be steamrolled by such a figure raises grave doubts as to whether McHargue can rescue *The Texan* from its ever-growing lameness.

We expect *Texan* editors to meekly bow to authority figures. But who could have predicted that McHargue would facilitate a back-room sellout to so weak an official? If McHargue has any backbone, he will publicly explain his role in this sordid incident in the "Between the Lines" section of the paper.

The Daily Texan

The Texan has been floundering for years. It's been consistently scooped on major issues by the alternative press, and barely even pretends to cover the UT campus anymore. But our frustration with *The Texan* reached new heights with the March 21 issue. Out of 20 pages, our student newspaper ran only three—that's right, three—university news stories, as opposed to twelve articles from the Associated Press. The front page contained three AP stories out of five articles, and no university coverage.

Texan loyalists argue that the paper's budget is too small, and its space too constrained, to expand its coverage. But when they get space, it's rarely put to any credible use. Often, as on March 21, they simply produce a worthless advertising supplement. If *The Texan* wants to regain respect on campus, that must change.

Incoming editor Kevin McHargue must recognize the failure of *The Texan* as an institution designed to educate and inform the university community. Further, he must act to overhaul this wheezing, stumbling bureaucracy, or bear the shame of its failures as his own. The idea of a student newspaper containing one

"University Page" is tantamount to a university having one "free speech area." Both notions are reductionist: they limit discourse and debate, and they deny students access to a free flow of information.

Instead, the entire paper should be a university paper. All AP stories, as well as state and local news without UT angles, should be relegated to one-half page of news briefs, much like *The Wall Street Journal* does with non-financial headlines. If students read about an event and want more information, they can go read a real newspaper. The *Austin American-Statesman* runs all the same wire stories as *The Texan*, anyway. For that matter, the majority of AP stories *The Texan* receives never see print. By printing briefs of all wire stories, students would have access to information about more events, not less. And since AP stories don't go into much depth anyway, running eight column inches won't inform the readers much more than just publishing the lead.

State, city and cops general reporters' positions should be abolished, and university beats should be created in their place. Why not a high-tech research beat? Certainly *The Texan* sports page would improve, as more sports received more intense coverage. Perhaps *The Texan* could even cover UT's non-faculty employees, who rarely receive decent coverage even, regrettably, in the alternative press.

The largest obstacle to implementing this transformation is inertia: the student bureaucrats who run *The Texan* just won't question the assumptions that have governed the paper for years. If he wanted to, McHargue could initiate the project unilaterally. But judging from his performance in the Haddican affair, we fear the paper will continue to wallow in its own irrelevancy, mediocrity and apologetics.

The Austin American-Statesman

The *Statesman* has been accused often in the past of serving as a public relations vehicle for local industry. But never has that relationship been more evident than in the Sunday, Feb. 25 edition's special advertising section, "Forecast Austin: Progress and Promise." In that section, public relations specialists and CEOs applauded the current Austin economy. In many cases the paper simply transcribed press releases verbatim into their newspapers. NCNB Texas' senior executive in Austin, Guy Bodine invoked the image of "cranes ... swinging into action as new office complexes go up." This should be a nightmare image for Austin, which *The Washington Post* has called the most overbuilt city in the country, but Bodine holds it up as an ideal.

Every PR hack in town wrote in, including our own UT President Cunningham, who trotted out his same, tired eight-point plan and promised a renewed "emphasis" on undergraduate education. Sound familiar? Cunningham goes on to say, however, that most of this emphasis will take the form of new committees, and that he refuses to divert money from high-tech research to undergraduate education any time soon.

We applaud the *Statesman's* brazenness in publicly declaring its subservience to local business and political interests. But its "news" should never be seen as anything but an extended press release for its Chamber of Commerce constituency.

Police brutality on the drag

Keeping the peace or shattering it with a night stick?

by Kamala Platt

On January 26, a Friday afternoon, in front of the University Co-op, a crowd of at least thirty passersby witnessed the arrest and beating of a homeless man who, according to police reports, had been begging. He had been sitting with two other men, one of whom was playing a guitar. When asked if they were playing for money (or panhandling—reports vary) Tommy Winegard "talked back" to the police. Several counts were initially recorded against Winegard including begging and resisting arrest. However, the only charge he faces is "possession of drug paraphernalia"—a small pipe was found in his shoe when he was searched at the police station.

When I crossed Guadalupe from campus and came upon the crowd of people, Winegard was on the ground beneath two policemen, officers Rodger Myers and Nedith Torres. One of them had him in a neckhold so that he could not breathe. His tongue was purple and there was blood drooling from his mouth; his face had turned a color I'd never seen in human flesh. Meanwhile the other policeman was beating him with his nightstick. His T-shirt had been pulled up and his exposed back was covered with swelling welts. Many in the crowd were quietly voicing disbelief and horror to one another and a couple of us began to ask for badge numbers and call out, "Police brutality!" One other person—who yelled at the cops in indignation and tried to point out to them that the man's arm was injured (it had been in a sling) and was causing him excruciating pain because of the way it



was twisted into handcuffs—was also arrested. By the time that the policeman released his neckhold so that Winegard could breathe again, I had resigned myself to standing by with absolutely no choice but to watch the suffering and potentially the death of another human being.

That moment put into flesh and blood a horror I'd experienced previously only in the abstract—powerlessness in the face of suffering and death in the exercise of greed, power, discrimination and outright malice. I thought in desperation, "We need to call the police," then realized that this was the police, that there was no one to call.

Winegard was not killed that afternoon, although the cops later told one of the others arrested at the same time that if there had not been a crowd they might have shot him. His acquaintances on the street told me sometime later that he had been hit on the head with nightsticks while in jail. This corresponded to the story of one of the students arrested who saw him taken into a cell by four policemen with chains and sticks and then heard beating going on for the next twenty minutes. The police report read that he had to be retained in a padded cell.

Less than a week later a different police officer was suspended for three days from the Austin Police Department for a brutality incident against homeless people that had occurred August 11, 1989; the suspension was the result of an internal investigation of a complaint filed by the victims. Several of us who witnessed the beating of Winegard were hoping to file a complaint against the police officers, hoping for a similar investigation. Although we had collected a list of ten names and phone numbers of bystanders who were willing to witness to police brutality we quickly found out that only a victim can file a complaint under the Austin system. We could write letters which would be kept on file, but could not ourselves initiate an investigation of the incident. Tommy Winegard, whose name we knew from police records, did not have an address or phone number. The only direct means of investigation anyhow, was internal to the police department. I began to feel that that moment of powerlessness I had felt while witnessing criminal violence was stretching itself out, and I became interested in exploring its implications.

Being a student, I went first to the library, where I found only one report on Austin police-community relations researched and written by a student, Daniel J. Friedhoff, in 1976; as its title indicates, it explores the pros and cons of "Civilian Review Boards for Processing Complaints of Police Misconduct." It was written during a time when the police force was



coming under question for racial discrimination and it cited the killing of a Mexican-American man in 1974 by Austin police and "overpolicing" in minority neighborhoods. The paper also included statistics on the complaints received from March to December 1975 broken down by race. Although whites filed more complaints than any other group, 66 percent (45) of the complaints for "excessive/unnecessary force" and 65 percent of the complaints claiming "harassment" were filed by people of color. Complaints by whites outnumbered others under less serious categories, like "conduct unbecoming to an officer" and "discourtesy." Friedhoff did not advocate civilian review boards, however, and if ever seriously considered, such a board has not been established here.

I read several books citing numerous cases of excessive force and unnecessary violence used by police, usually against racial minorities, the economically disadvantaged and homeless, and people whose political views or status in society (often professors and students) made them popular targets for malicious police. I supplemented my academic approach by asking others for their experiences and opinions. I came to realize that between the time that a police officer places one under arrest and one's case is heard in court one has in effect no rights and one is quite likely to be subjected to, at the least, psychological abuse. I also realized how unlikely it is that a police officer would be convicted of brutality in a system where the officer is brought to trial by their victim. Though I found no statistics for police brutality cases, I learned that "approximately 99 percent" of all police killings are found to be noncriminal, and many killings which occur under questionable circumstances are never even brought to court. I learned that in Austin at least one case that was being pursued in the internal investigation system was dropped because of a threat to the victim/plaintiff.

Tommy Winegard was originally approached because the police were out looking for panhandlers and he was at the wrong place at the wrong time. Ten days

later The New York Times reported that a federal district court judge in Manhattan had ruled against a Metropolitan Transit Authority ban on panhandling in subways, citing begging as a right protected under the First Amendment. One can only hope that as economic conditions for the unemployed and the underpaid workers in this country continue to deteriorate, such legislation continues to take the civil rights of the disenfranchised into consideration. However, that is small compensation in the face of the bigger picture: Human rights abuses and violence by those in authority is not just something that occurs in police states and fascist governments abroad. And it is small compensation for those of us in Austin who would like to believe that local authorities are indeed on the streets to be (as they are called in department reports) "peace-officers."

Since that Friday afternoon, I have been asking the question that came to mind the instant after my initial response to the relentless and unnecessary violence that I saw dealt upon a man who was, at that point anyhow, beyond any means to resist: if we can't call the police, who can we call?

The only answer that I see is that we must call on each other as humans with respect for each other's rights to fair and nonabusive treatment in all situations. To be effective in this we must seek strategies together. We must call attention to abuse—another witness suggested afterward that we should have immediately called the media. We've also discussed the importance of photographic evidence; I now carry a small camera beside my UT ID at all times. We must call for the "inalienable rights" of every person to be respected by the "peace-officers" in our midst.

Complaints from witnesses to police misconduct will be filed by the internal affairs division of the police department and might prove to help substantiate the validity of a victim's complaint. Initially I expected such a small action to be useless, but I found the lieutenant in charge of this division to be helpful and concerned.

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Editors' note: The authors, too lazy to put together a single coherent polemic, have instead written a series of shorter pieces. If you don't like one, please go to the next. They promise to work harder next time.

Luckett wins; now the work starts

For years, UT student politicians have failed to question the primary assumption on which the Student Association is based: that a few select students should lobby an all-powerful, hopefully benign administration for a say in university affairs. With the election of Toni Luckett, students finally have a president who challenges that assumption. Emerging not from a backroom in the Tower but rather from Austin's progressive community, Luckett has vowed to take the SA out of its office in the Union and onto the streets with the students. The era of the obedient SA president has ended, for now, even without the support of the assembly she presides over. Toni can organize the growing progressive energy on campus into a true student opposition to the administration's monopoly of power.

She doesn't limit her critique of the status quo to any narrow set of issues. Worker's rights, the shuttle bus drivers' right to bargain collectively, students' right to control the allotment of resources at the University, issues of race, class, gender and sexuality—Luckett marshals all of these issues into a broad student agenda. The very fact that Toni—an African-American woman-identified activist—could overcome the powerful forces of racism, homophobia and student apathy to get elected demonstrates the strength and validity of her views. Her election amounts to a mandate for an agenda including but not limited to: divestment, new UT policies banning discrimination on the basis of sexuality, the divorce of the University from industry, the creation of a racially and sexually diverse faculty, student body and curriculum, and universal free speech on campus.

But Toni won't simply be able to pursue her own agenda; she must also react to intrusions by the administration into the true university community: faculty and students. The most egregious of those intrusions include spending huge amounts of education money to boost private industry. *Polemicalist* outlines a few newly discovered incidents below.

Cause: Clean rooms and biotech

Less than two years after pouring \$15 million dollars into Sematech and its world-class clean rooms, the UT-System has just spent \$42 million more to provide clean rooms for academic researchers in Austin and Dallas. The *Austin American Statesman* reported this month that the University is already halfway through construction of a \$22 million, 12,000 square foot clean room at the Balcones Research Center. UT-Dallas plans to spend \$20 million on a new clean room this fall.

Amazingly, the *Statesman* article marked the first time the new clean rooms appeared in the local press, even though construction is nearly complete. In sorting through every article concerning the Balcones Research Center that the UT News and Information Service clipped for the past decade, the authors had never heard of the expenditures. UT sent a press release to *Statesman* reporter and industrial policy enthusiast Kyle Pope, but we never got ours.

These expenditures, of course, must be seen in context with the UT-System's other recent high-dollar handouts to industry. Adding up just a few key high-tech expenditures, we get the following equation:

MCC	\$50 million
32 endowed chairs	\$16 million
Supercomputer	\$20 million
Sematech	\$15 million
Molecular biology	\$70 million
Clean rooms	\$42 million
TOTAL	\$213 million

This list, of course, is wretchedly incomplete, excluding expenditures for a robotics institute at UT-Arlington, a high-energy physics plant at UT-Permian Basin, biotech capital for UT-San Antonio and others. But it provides some basis for looking at UT's spending priorities. The equation covers 15 years, between 1983 (MCC) and 1997 (the year UT's biotech spending will be complete).

Polemicalist calculates that it would cost \$18 million per year to hire enough faculty to bring UT's student-faculty ratio up to the national average. Forgoing these six high-tech expenditures alone would have saved UT \$14.2 million per year over this period. That figure doesn't include the money the University spent to

staff those facilities with research-oriented professors—and to hire such faculty. UT had to compete with the lucrative salaries offered by the private sector. Still, the figure illustrates the cost of subsidizing high-tech industry to undergraduate education.

Effect: Fee hikes and wage cuts

Even as it was building clean rooms for the microelectronics industry, the UT-System Board of Regents was imposing an austerity program on UT students and workers. At its Feb. 8, 1990 meeting, the regents approved the following measures: —New fees of between \$10 and \$40

per semester in the colleges of business administration, pharmacy and the graduate school of library information sciences to defray student advising and career placement costs.

For students who pay their own way through school, the fees cut significantly into consumption income. An upper-division business student, for example, must now pay \$80 extra per year to be "advised," which can cut directly into recreation or even living expenses.

—A new \$30 fee will be imposed for degree checks for all graduate students—a service which undergraduates get free. What is an administration for if not to process degree checks? Perhaps next they'll charge us to trim the hedges in the main mall, or to use campus bathrooms. Undergraduates must join graduate students in resisting this measure. If we accept it, the administration can use it as leverage to charge undergrads for degree checks next. Administration PR hacks will simply argue that since grad students pay for it, why shouldn't undergrads?

Incredibly, *The Texan* missed this

development completely. Why should students pay for a daily student newspaper if fails to report mandatory comprehensive fees? If it fails to perform even that basic service, why even have an official daily?

•A doubling of all library fines, and an increase in the maximum fee for all overdue books from \$12 to \$30. For the 1989-90 budget, the estimated contribution from library fines was \$250,000. The administration can reasonably expect its take from library fines to double. Library fines exist to deter students from abusing their library privileges. Yet the administration uses them as a fund-raising mechanism—even as it doles out millions to fund high-tech research.

Amazingly, *The Texan* didn't report this obvious austerity measure, either. Must we pour yet more student money into *The Texan* before its editors feel they have sufficient resources to report such basic, critical student issues? *The Texan's* failure to do so dramatically confirms its need to shift resources to campus issues from "safe, national and international issues (see the *Daily Texan* chastisement, page 2).

•Wage cuts for blue-collar personnel. Students rarely consider non-faculty university employees when they talk of austerity measures. But the same forces that extract large fees and fines from students also drive down the wages of blue-collar employees.

According to the chancellor's docket #50 cited above, starting wages for the following personnel categories under "Building and Allied Trades Titles" have been cut: Electrician foremen; electricians; plumber foremen; plumbers; masons; sheetmetal workers; maintenance foremen; air conditioning leaders; air conditioning mechanics; electronic technicians and elevator maintenance mechanics.

By cutting starting salaries, of course, UT ensures that current employees are unaffected, thus lessening resistance. But if UT continues to cut starting wages even as inflation climbs, UT employees will end up underpaid and disgruntled with their jobs. Do we really want to cut wages for elevator maintenance mechanics? Think about it.

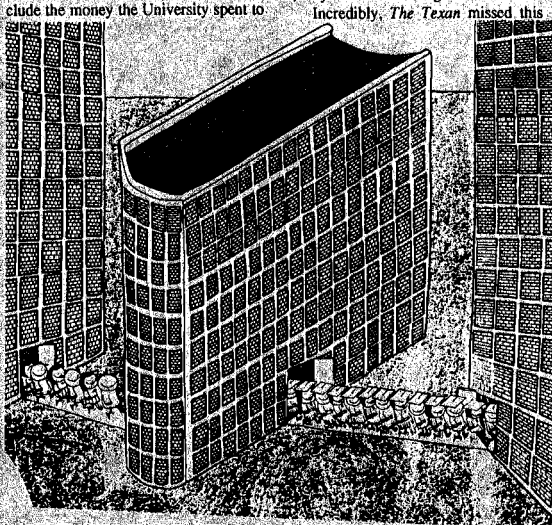
As *Polemicalist* has shown in the past, high-tech research profs have received large pay increases in recent years. For instance, on average, electrical engineering professors received 69 percent wage increases over the 80s, adjusted for inflation.

UT's disgraceful wage policy merely reflects larger trends: austerity towards marginalized groups (students and workers) and bounty for high-tech intellectual capital (engineering profs). But it also points up the necessity of solidarity between students and workers. The multi-million dollar subsidies that UT supplies the high-tech industry conflict with both student and worker interests. To fight for more undergraduate funding without encompassing workers' rights to decent

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The World as We Know It

by Scott Henson & Tom Philpott



Solidarity in action

A brief history of the shuttle bus drivers' union

by Gene Stroop
 Shuttle Bus Drivers' Union officer,
 reprinted from *High Beam*, the newsletter
 of ATU 1549.

Why do we have a Union here—has it made any difference? Well, here's what I remember about the union's history:

In the early days of the UT shuttle bus operation, the company (TEI) followed some bad habits, like giving charters to supervisors and giving good routes to favored drivers, running buses with unrepaired safety defects, and promising safety bonuses and pay raises and then backing out. So in 1972 the drivers came together in a union and demanded that the company bargain with them over work assignments, safety and pay. The company refused to bargain—so in February 1972 the drivers went on strike. The company hired "scab" employees to try to break the drivers' strike, but they couldn't do it. After eight weeks of providing bad service to UT, the company finally agreed to put the striking drivers back to work, pay them all a raise, and sign a contract with the drivers' new union, ATU 1549.

By fighting for a contract, the 1972 union drivers gave us our still-existing right to have a grievance and arbitration procedure. If we had not won this right we could still be fired for no reason and there would still be nothing we could do about it. But because of the grievance and arbitration procedure, many employees have kept their jobs and some have received

back pay for the time they were off the job.

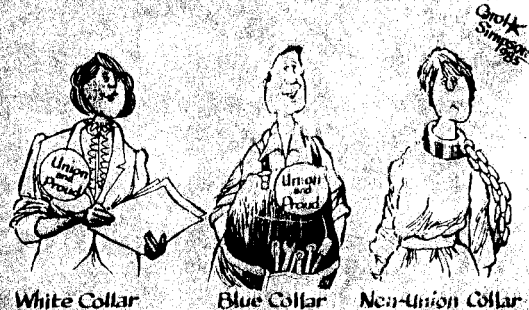
The 1972 union drivers also gave us our still-existing right to bid for a regular day shift. Without this right, we could be told on any given day that "our" shift is not "ours" any more, because the company just gave it to somebody else.

The 1972 union drivers also got us the right to refuse to drive a bus if we believe its condition may risk the health or safety of any person, including ourselves. That right still exists, even though most of us act like we don't believe it.

And, thanks to the 1972 union drivers, we have leaves of absence, seniority, pay for jury duty, regularly assigned buses, the right to substitute routes, and payroll deduction of union dues (instead of paying dues out of our pockets).

By 1974, the union had got us a better contract that included all previously won rights, plus a pay-raise, a cost-of-living increase each year and safety guarantees.

In 1975 the union got us our break during each shift. The IF schedule was just too demanding without a break in the middle. So all the union drivers on the IF route just started sitting out one lap in the middle of our shifts. It spread like wild-fire. Drivers on all the other routes started doing the same thing. The same week, about 30 union drivers walked in on a meeting of the UT shuttle bus committee, and when it was over, we had official break periods. And in 1975 the union got us more humane schedules and the five-minute rule—so it's okay to arrive early



by five minutes or less.

In 1976 negotiations, the company set out to bust the drivers' union. The company made a "take it or leave it" offer, and refused to negotiate further. The drivers had to go out on strike again. Again, the company hired strikebreakers and promised all of them permanent jobs. But a few months later, most of the strikebreakers were out of the buses, and the drivers who were on strike were back in.

The company tried to fire many of the drivers during the strike, to try to prevent them from returning to work. But the National Labor Relations Board found the company guilty of violating federal labor laws and ordered the company to put all strikers back to work. Then the NLRB

held an election, in which the drivers and maintenance employees voted for ATU 1549 to be their official voice. The company appealed, but the judges ordered the company to recognize the union and get to the bargaining table. Ever since then we employees have had the right to bargain, with a union as our voice.

In recent years the union members have held on to their bargaining rights and gained further improvements whenever possible—driver shuttles, trash cans on the lot, clean restrooms (this needs attention) and paid charter meals and motels.

TEI, the old company, never stopped fighting against our bargaining rights—our human rights. Laidlaw has never

continued on page 11

Hate crimes: How to protect ourselves

by Frank Roberts

Since the start of the year a number of hate crimes have occurred against the gay and African-American community that have gone completely unreported. On February 10, a gay couple was assaulted and robbed of their jewelry right outside of the Boathouse danceclub. Then on February 24, an African-American man was assaulted by a gang of nazi skinheads (particularly one named Mark Dagger, backed by a Dallas gang) in the Liberty Lunch parking lot. Two other attacks on gay people have also occurred during this time.

According to a member of Austin ACT-UP, the victims of these attacks have avoided calling the police because of their record of violence against both gay people and people of color. Calling the police for protection is often counterproductive, since cops harass innocent people while the attackers are left on the scene. This is what happened at Liberty Lunch when the police refused to arrest the skinheads, and



actually gave the attacker medical attention.

How can a gay couple be beaten up outside a gay bar less than a year after 20,000 people participated in an Austin march for Gay Power? Why time and

again are a handful of nazis allowed to intimidate hundreds of people at shows into submission, crash our parties, and beat us up because of our race, sexual preference, hair length, etc.?

Certainly we are vulnerable as individuals to their organized violence, but we are far from powerless. We can organize ourselves and create a presence where their hate crimes occur. By organizing ourselves to respond en masse we can defeat the one advantage these racists and homophobes have against us: the fear of the individual against their wrath. We can act together against such repression, as many have done successfully here in the past and in other cities. We can and must stop it.

We need to document and spread the word about this violence. Write down the details of every instance of violence and send it to Hate Crimes Alert at the address below so we can document it in the alternative press. Or write a story or letter yourself or make flyers with the details and paste it up around town. Tell the

bands to speak out against this violence and make it unwanted at their shows.

It isn't that we need to start something entirely new as much as we need to circulate and expand what is already being done. Organizing against this violence goes on daily in Austin. The African-American community has extended its campaign against police violence to the University of Texas as well as around the city. *The Women's Alternative Times* magazine and University NOW organize against sexism. And ACT-UP is on the frontlines of a vigorous battle against homophobic repression.

It is hard to believe we can go on performing or enjoying music if we live in fear of violent hate crimes because of what we look like or what gender we're attracted to. We would all rather concentrate on developing the positive projects in our lives rather than struggle against hatred. However, we must do both.

c/o Hate Crimes Alert
 P.O. 7962
 Austin, Texas 75713-7962

Note to our readers

The editors would like to thank everyone who subscribed, donated or came to our benefit. We couldn't produce a magazine without you. To date we have raised and spent about \$3500 for the magazine, the largest part of it coming from donations and advertisements from a handful of good-hearted local merchants.

Our recent benefit was a great success. Having just bounced our last check to Texas Student Publications, it couldn't have come at a better time. We erased \$150 worth of debt, and contributed to the production funds of both Polemicist and The Women's Alternative Times. We'll definitely have another one soon, since the first was so successful. As a result, we were able to print 6,000 copies of this 16-page issue.

Today, of course, we're just as broke as we ever were, if out of immediate debt. So please send money or a subscription to help us produce one more big issue this semester. We'll also issue a couple more pamphlets in April. In addition, please support our advertisers, and tell them who sent you.

Subscribers have expressed worry

that the magazine may be too broke to publish enough issues to fill their subscription. We'd like to assure them that Polemicist intends to fulfill all its subscription obligations. If we don't come out exactly at the first of every month, it's only because we couldn't raise the money in time. But the question is when we'll produce a magazine, not if. Polemicist also periodically issues smaller pamphlets; these will be mailed to subscribers with their next full issue.

Polemicist gladly accepts submissions of prose, poetry, and art. But because of space constraints, we cannot promise that any given submission will run. In particular, we'd like to find writers on local environmental issues, as well as on issues affecting women and the gay and lesbian community. Call 452-9631 for size and deadline information.

Finally, Polemicist and other UT alternative press will host a Read-In on Friday, March 30 at noon on the West Mall. Support UT alternative press and come pick up the various new issues of our publications.

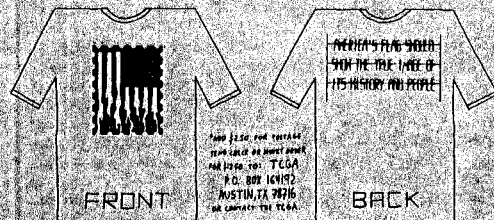
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Having politically correct sex? or, Do I bend a little to the left?

Editors' note: This article first appeared in the UCLA alternative newspaper *Free Association*, but its content could apply to this and most other left publications. We'd like to print local articles on gay and lesbian issues, but we've had trouble finding writers. Until we do find them, we will continue to reprint articles to fill this gap in our coverage.

By Pete Sigal

After quickly volunteering to write an article for this alternative "radical" newsmagazine, I almost immediately found myself having second thoughts. What kind of useful article could I write? What kind of ideological litmus test would my article have to pass through in order to get printed? Not that I don't trust the editors of this magazine. After all, a few of them are friends of mine, and they're good people even if they have little understanding of the subjects about which I would want to write. No, my problems have more to do with what audience this magazine will seek, what audience it will get, and how that will determine the magazine's agenda.

If it is like most "radical" newsmagazines, this one will aim for a diverse audience, particularly targeting the "third world" communities. It will start with a core of readership that is primarily made up of white heterosexual "progressives." The editors of the magazine must make a creative attempt to outreach to the other audiences they want. Yet, in attempting such an outreach, most other alternative media outlets (e.g., the LA Weekly) have simply tried to use Marxism in a non-traditional manner, not understanding why many of us in the targeted communities reject the Marxist ideology.

The reasons for this rejection have been stated over and over again and I will not repeat them here. I will simply say that in communities that are constantly repressed by all governments, there is little trust in an ideology that gives more power to a government (even a "worker's government!"). So, if these "radical" newsmagazines, which since the end of the 1960s have led the battle for the hearts and minds of the "new left" (here I refer to those political activists who come from the traditions of the civil rights movement and the anti-war movement, most of whom have rejected traditional Marxist ideologies and economic determinism), continue to advocate Marxism, they will never understand the needs of the communities for whom they suggest the "revolution" is being waged.

More specifically, I want to ask, why can't the members of the "new left" who are editing and reading this magazine understand the gay and lesbian community? Many do not profess doctrinaire Marxist ideologies—although a majority support some form of Marxism—and most maintain open minds to other people's



beliefs. Yet few understand or even attempt to understand the relationship of politics and revolution to the person who wants to get fucked at an orgy full of men much less the person who gets off by having a fist in his ass.

Many straight "leftists" are uncomfortable around gay men who are openly sexual and promiscuous. And just as many condemn those who practice leather sex and sadomasochism as "fascistic." The Marxist left has historically refused to endorse a revolutionary agenda that includes sexual liberation, and has often been openly homophobic. Much of the "old left" continues to condemn gay and lesbian sex as a "bourgeois vice." The "new left," having developed out of the civil rights and anti-war struggles of the sixties, tends to be less openly homophobic, but, nonetheless, most "new leftists" still fail to understand the important role sexual liberation must play in any "revolution."

While many gay men die of AIDS, most of the "new left" has failed to respond to the crisis. The anti-gay U.S. government's criminal negligence during such an epidemic could have given the "new left" an issue that would have shown the gay community that "new leftists" do care about gays and lesbians, but all the "left" proved was its own homophobia. As Cindy Patton points out, "the radical left... saw AIDS as an individual problem for a particular group of gay men who overindulged in that private activity of sex." In other words, most "leftists" have failed to understand the relationship of politics to gay and lesbian sex.

Although Patton continues, "in a few cases, leftists brought their political expertise to bear on AIDS organizing... there have been virtually no structural or

ideological ties between the 'political' and 'sexual' cultures. Straight leftists appear comfortable defending the right to engage in private consensual sexual acts, but perplexed about where to stand on the public, social consequences of those acts.

Unlike the right, the left took a long time to grasp the idea that because AIDS was connected with sexuality it made a tremendous potential weapon against lesbian and gay rights and culture." Straight "leftists" have never understood the development of a distinctly gay culture. While these same "leftists" realize that distinct cultures exist in the Black and Latino communities, they can't understand a culture based on sexuality. It just doesn't fit in with a materialist analysis of the world.

Yet, both gay men and lesbians have developed distinct cultures. For gay men that culture is most obvious in major urban areas, where we have created gay space most notably in bars and cafes. In these spaces gay men can relate to each other based on their sexuality as well as any other interests. These spaces provide the opportunity for education, socialization and politics as well as drinking, dancing, drugs and sex. In addition, many urban areas have well-developed gay and lesbian central areas (e.g. West Hollywood) where gay men and lesbians can be themselves and can control their lives within their own communities. Gay men and lesbians have developed a large and distinct collection of literature, music, theater, poetry, film, pornography, etc. Essentially, despite the extreme repression of same-sex relations by the larger society in the United States where the very existence of sexually active gay men and lesbians can be ruled illegal by the state, we have developed an alternative culture

and economy where we can have some control over our own lives and our own sexualities.

Still, the existence of this protective culture leads many "leftists" to conclude that gay men and lesbians are part of the "decadent bourgeoisie," and that the culture developed is based on this decadence is "fake." Once again, this degradation of gay and lesbian culture is based both on homophobia and on a lack of understanding of gay and lesbian sex. In other words, to most straight "leftists," gay and lesbian sex is something that can be protected as long as it is kept private, but the public display of that sex, the public culture, is a more confusing issue.

Clearly, straight "leftists" need to develop a greater understanding of the pro-sex agenda of many gay men and lesbians. In these days of the AIDS crisis, this agenda has come under attack from the right, has been ignored by the left, and has been inadequately defended by the gay and lesbian community. At the same time, understanding one's own sexuality, whether gay, lesbian, straight, or bisexual, has never been more important. As Douglas Crimp has pointed out in his essay, "How to Have Promiscuity in an Epidemic," the public and explicit nature of sex in the gay male community has helped prevent the spread of AIDS as it has made it easier to promote safe sex education.

Indeed, with a pro-sex agenda, we must promote the positive sexual pluralism and sexual promiscuity of the gay male community. "Gay male promiscuity should be seen... as a positive model of how sexual pleasures might be pursued by and granted to everyone if those pleasures were not confined within the narrow limits of institutionalized sexuality." In a repressive patriarchal society the only accepted sex is that which establishes male dominance over women. Sex as equals is unacceptable. Promiscuity and open relationships are unacceptable because they suggest a flaw in man's control over women. Sex between men is unacceptable because it offends the macho mystique. Sex between women is unacceptable because it is rebellious and men can't control what lesbians do in bed.

Radical sexuality in its extreme form becomes leather sex, where two people who trust each other test their limits, role play, inflict and take pain, etc. Leather sex represents the sex that takes place between members of the leather community, a tight-knit, trusting community. It demands complete communication and understanding between members of the community.

States one member of this community, "Watching him put a surgical glove on his fist and then greasing his whole arm, it's an incredibly erotic experience. The trust I feel. The idea of letting him in, of giving up total control, of seeing his hand and then his forearm disappear into

continued on page 15

Interview

Michael Conroy on the Nicaraguan elections

Interviewed by D.C. LaWare

Michael Conroy, professor of economics at UT Austin, was an observer of the recent elections in Nicaragua as part of the Latin American Studies Association. In the past 10 years Conroy has traveled to Nicaragua more than 30 times and has written extensively about the economy of revolutionary Nicaragua. The following article is a transcript of a taped interview conducted on March 14, 1990.

Q: A lot of the mainstream media has portrayed the Sandinista defeat as another defeat for Marxist-Leninist state planning and international socialism. To what degree was the Sandinista revolution a socialist revolution?

A: That depends on your definition of socialism If the keystone of the Soviet, Chinese and Cuban revolutions was the nationalization of the means of production, that was only partially done in Nicaragua, to an extent less than that of Mexico, Peru or Brazil The private sector, including the truly independent cooperatives, accounts for more than 60 percent of the GDP in Nicaragua, whereas in the Soviet Union, China or Cuba, the private sector would not exceed 8 or 9 percent of the GDP to this day. If you want to look at the structure of power and the forms of political expression that characterize the Chinese, Soviet and Cuban models, Nicaragua has from its first days been substantially more democratic.

Q: Then what were the most important economic changes made by the Sandinistas?

A: One way of looking at the Nicaraguan Revolution is that it represents the best-coordinated and most aggressively articulated reform, after a revolution, that we have seen in Latin American history, but reform along a structuralist, non-Marxist line. That means agrarian reform, which is not necessarily Marxist. Increasing the social sector ... in terms of education, pensions, health, etc. increases the role of the state, but still with a fundamentally private sector economy.

Q: The mainstream press has tended to blame the Sandinistas for the economic crisis, but how has the war contributed to the economic problems facing Nicaragua?

A: The only way to make sense of the Contra war is to see it as economic aggression. It made little sense as a military strategy because they never had the capability of seizing and holding a single town. It made a lot of sense as economic warfare because Nicaragua is an exceedingly fragile, open economy primarily in the hands of the private sector. And what the Contras did is they [waged war] on the private sector. They would go up into the mountains in the outlying areas of the country and scare the producers into reducing their production, scare them off their land, or at least force them off their land for enough time each month so that their agricultural production fell

One of the things you will see after the election is people will be more open about the full effect of the Contra war. People in Nicaragua were unwilling to admit the extent of the economic impact because they didn't want to give the Contras the credibility of being able to say they were [economically] effective.

Q: You said at a talk which you gave last week that UNO was such a disparate coalition that it had no coherent message. What, then, did it offer to the people?

A: The closest you could find to a central issue in the campaign statements, or speeches, was getting the Sandinistas out of power, so it was essentially the U.S. agenda. They would talk about how important it would be to end the war, bring peace to the country, and primarily that meant getting the Sandinistas out of power.

Q: So what did the UNO victory represent?

A: The best way to understand the outcome of the election is not that people were positively accepting UNO for what it was providing, but rather they were given two choices: to accept the claims that were being made by the Sandinista government that, "We're almost there, one more step and we've got it won ... and that one step is voting us in for another six year term." Because then, the Sandinista leadership claimed, they would be legitimate, then the U.S. will stop the Contras, then the U.S. will lift the embargo and everything will get better. The choice was to accept that proposal ... or to give in and say that the Sandinistas are never going to be able to make peace with the U.S., and the only alternative we really have is not to turn to another political party that is a little different from the Sandinistas, but to turn back to the U.S. and say, "We give up ... we are simply going to accept the group that you have said you are willing to support."

Q: So then you think the election was in a way a plebescite on whether Nicaragua could maintain an independent course from the U.S.?

A: That's correct. It was a vote by the Nicaraguan people about whether they were willing to continue the struggle given the price they have been made to pay over the last ten years. It wasn't whether they liked the Sandinistas or not, it was whether they believed the U.S. was willing to let up, to accept the legitimacy of the result if they voted for the Sandinistas. The only way the people could be sure of bringing the war to an end [and bring about] a fundamental change in economic condition was to elect someone other than the Sandinistas, and UNO was the only one out there.

Q: A lot of commentators have pointed to the Sandinistas' potential power in the National Assembly as a sign of their continued strength. How much power

does the Nicaraguan constitution grant the National Assembly, and will the Sandinistas be a potent force in it?

A: It's a strong central government, but, for example, no changes in the constitution itself can be implemented without a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly, and UNO does not have that. A lot of the relationship between the Assembly and the Presidency is still evolving. It's only been four years that Nicaragua has had a functioning modern constitution, and during this period it has had a Sandinista majority in the Assembly, so that the Sandinistas have been able to get most of what they've wanted through the Assembly relatively easily. The UNO government will not have anywhere near the same control over the functioning of the Assembly, because it's supporters are not from a single party, are not subject to party discipline, do not have a track record of discipline, but rather have a track record of tremendous factionalism. I don't envy Mrs. Chamorro the problem she is going to have governing ... because the constitution limits the amount of change that can be done by decree So what you have is a situation where, ironically enough, the defeat of the Sandinistas is going to put the democratic process to a much greater test.

Q: So you don't see the Sandinista defeat entirely pessimistically?

A: No. One does not have to say that this is the end of the revolution, because the Sandinistas are capable of defending many, if not most, of the major achievements of the revolution in the National Assembly, and are willing to organize to defend them in the streets, if necessary Secondly, if the revolution was seen as a revolution with ultimately democratic tendencies, then at some point there was going to be a need for a government supportive of the revolution to be voted out of power in order to demonstrate those fundamental democratic tendencies. And the fact that the Sandinistas have responded as well as they have to the loss is a positive commentary on their internal organization and their long-term goals within the country One could also argue that [because of the Sandinista reforms] Nicaragua begins this post-Sandinista leadership in a better economic position than most of the rest of the Central American countries, because the social tensions associated with the grossly inequitable distribution of land has been mitigated by the fact that the Sandinistas achieved a redistribution of land. And if now they can take state farms and give them to the Contras who come back and want their land back, you would have a second transformation accomplished during a ten-year period which would make it politically much easier to govern Nicaragua than it is to govern Guatemala, Salvador or Honduras, because they haven't had that social transformation and the increase in equity it brought about.



Early Vote on El Salvador Likely in Congress

by Charley MacMartin

The Bush Administration and Democratic leaders in Congress are rushing action on the so-called "Panama/Nicaragua" supplemental measure of \$800 million, Rep. Fascelli (D-FI), head of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, wants to see a vote on this authorizing measure before the Easter recess, which begins April 6.

Different proposals on El Salvador aid may be attached to the bill, along with other measures on a variety of issues. The current parameters of the El Salvador debate are:

1. Rep. Solarz (D-NY), a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, wants to attach language calling for "tranching," or release of the aid in six-month installments after presidential certification that conditions are improving in El Salvador and the aid is warranted. In order to stop the aid, Congress would have to pass a resolution and then amend the votes to override a likely presidential veto of the resolution.

2. "Liberal" members of the House Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee favor an approach like that of Senator Dodd in the Senate: a 50 percent cut in the military aid to Cristiani's government unless the FMLN refuses to enter UN-mediated negotiations, and a 100 percent cut if the ARENA government refuses to talk or is overthrown by the ultra-right. It is also possible that some Democratic Party Committee members may promote a stronger approach similar to that of the Dellums bill, calling for an immediate freeze on aid to El Salvador.

Within the Foreign Affairs Committee, Solarz probably has a majority, counting the Republicans and conservative Democrats.

Fascelli's approach to the "Panama supplemental" is to split it into two segments, to be voted separately: part 1 is the Panama and Nicaragua aid, and part 2 is the El Salvador language and the other amendments.

The struggle within the Foreign Affairs Committee this week is over whether to rush to a vote on El Salvador before the recess, as Fascelli wants, or wait until the Moakley Task Force recommendations are issued, which will probably occur during the Easter recess. Moakley and other liberals are arguing to wait, and then base the policy on the Task Force recommendations.

Either way, we are likely to see debates and votes on El Salvador in House Foreign Affairs and the full house very soon, possibly before April 6 or, if not by then, before the end of April. Action will then shift to the House Appropriations Com-



mittee, where the approach in the authorizing bill is likely to be followed closely.

CISPES' position is that no aid to the ARENA death-squad government is acceptable. During April, Austin CISPES calls upon Texas constituents to demand of their Congresspeople that they oppose and work to stop all aid to Cristiani's government.

Lessons from "Contra Aid" debates of the 1980s

Why doesn't CISPES take a supportive position on any of the legislation proposed? To build a principled movement against the criminal foreign policy of the United States, our message must be that all Salvadoran aid must stop now! While we are not opposing the "Dodd approach," neither does it go far enough. We should also be urging members of Congress to pressure the Cristiani government to lift the undemocratic state of siege, and cease repression against the trade union, peasant, displaced and student movements. To do otherwise drags us—as a movement—into the exact arena in which the elite of this country want us to participate: legislative lobbying and unprincipled compromises. Indeed, this was the failure of the solidarity movement during the 1980s in support of the Nicaraguan revolution. We were sucked into tedious debates over how much aid should be given to a war by proxy; the position of no aid to the contras all but disappeared in Congress after 1985.

As Congress Debates, Salvadorans Die Carlos Colocho, member of the Salvadoran construction workers' union (SOICSCES), was assassinated near his workplace on the morning of March 20 by men in civilian dress who identified them-

selves as members of the Salvadoran Air Force.

Carlos Colocho worked at the construction project run by the company, COGEPAR, which builds housing in Apopa just north of the capital, and is funded by the Italian government. The construction workers at the site have been involved in several labor conflicts with the company, involving protracted work-stoppages in which the union won several demands involving conditions and benefits for workers.

The construction site has been militarized by troops of the Atlacatl Battalion and the Air Force for the past few months.

Community Organizer Abducted

In further news last week, Carlos Castro, leader of PADECOES (Committee for Community Development) was abducted by heavily armed men in civilian dress on Saturday, March 17. He was captured in the community Barro La Cruz, Via el Triunfo, in the northern part of Usulután province. This is the area where nearly a thousand refugees repatriated from the San Antonio refugee camp earlier this month.

PADECOES members say Carlos was taken by the Treasury Police and then transferred to National Police headquarters, though the Police have not formally recognized his detention. Carlos Castro is a member of the Executive Council of PADECOES, and of their Relations Commission

FMLN Announces Deescalation in Conflict

During March, the General Command of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front unilaterally halted attacks against the infrastructure of the ruling ARENA government in El Salvador. The intent was to provide a constructive step toward achieving the participation of the Secretary General of the United Nations as a mediator in peace talks between the FMLN and the Salvadoran government of Alfredo Cristiani. The ARENA government responded with a statement that offered little beyond self-congratulation for Cristiani and the Salvadoran Armed Forces.

In addition, Cristiani stops short of accepting an active mediating role of the part of the UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. Instead, the statement calls for the "renewal of talks ... under the good offices of the United Nations." The vague nature of the government's position of what the UN role should be has been a sticking point during negotiations in March.

On March 15, the FMLN General Command issued a second statement

warning the government of El Salvador that its lack of clarity put at risk the peace process in El Salvador. The FMLN's statement is reprinted below:

The FMLN General Command welcomes the government's acknowledgement of the FMLN's good will gestures. However, we see the absence of a corresponding attitude in their response as a negative sign. In light of this, we declare the following:

1. That the government's response attempts to disparage our gestures. It has never been FMLN policy to attack or injure the civilian population. Our gestures clearly contribute to facilitating the participation of other political and social forces in the process of reaching a political-negotiated solution, and in the effort to humanize the conflict.

2. That the government and the Armed Forces continue violating Human Rights, bombing civilian areas, subjecting the country to a permanent state of siege—whether legally decreed or de facto, maintaining a constant of systematic policy of detention and torture of leaders of popular organizations and of military cordons and searches of their offices, of harassment of the repatriated communities, and of sabotage of the property of the residents of the FMLN control zones.

Meanwhile the trial of the Jesuit priests' murderers is at a standstill; the suspects have been promoted or sent outside the country. Efforts are being made to promote to Defense Minister the officer who actually gave the assassination order, and the person accused of being the main executioner is being allowed to live in a luxury apartment.

3. We are in agreement as to the permanent, serious, substantive, and moderate character that the negotiation process has to have.

4. That the government is morally and politically obliged to immediately stipulate good will gestures, extend civil liberties, and end the daily human rights violations and all forms of aggression against the civilian population.

5. And we warn that for the government and the Armed Forces to believe their daydream that the FMLN is weakened, and that to attempt to harden their position on the war would be lamentable for the people's goal of peace and democracy. This error would only lead to deepening the war and postponing the chances for negotiation, democratization, and peace in El Salvador.

The statement was signed by members of the General Command: Schafik Handal, Eduardo Sancho, Salvador Sanchez Ceren, Francisco Jovel, and Joaquin Villalobos.



Cispes announces an educational meeting Tuesday March 27 at 7:30 in the UT Student Union, Room TBA, with reports from El Salvador in March. Check the Union bulletin board for details.

Toward a radical politics of legalization

by Phil Smith

The prohibition of certain recreational drugs to suppress their non-medical use has become a dead end. The wars against drugs proclaimed by administration after administration have only worsened the social ills they claim to combat. And under the direction of President George Bush and Drug Czar Bill Bennett, the cure may well become worse than the disease.

This country has spent a century in vain attempts to suppress drug use through police action. California made opium smoking illegal in 1889 as part of a racist campaign against Chinese immigrants. Heroin and cocaine were banned by the Harrison Narcotics Act in 1916. Marijuana was criminalized in 1937, and the ill-fated prohibition of alcohol lasted from 1919 to 1930. LSD was banned under federal law in 1967. Amphetamines, barbiturates and sedatives came under the purview of the Controlled Substances Act in the early 1970s. The process continues to this day with the designer drugs—Ecstasy, Eve and other synthetics—joining the index of prohibited substances as they are developed.

In the two decades since Nixon's Operation Intercept shut down the U.S.-Mexican border, the war against drugs—or more precisely, against drug users and dealers—has expanded in scope, expense and ambition. As the bankruptcy of the law enforcement approach becomes increasingly apparent, the anti-drug frenzy has taken on an unprecedented shrillness. It has also become more ferocious as Bush and Bennett, the nation's anti-drug cheerleader, unleash police-state measures on the entire population in an effort to justify the continuation of a failed and counterproductive policy.

And despite a full-blown propaganda offensive and such repressive measures as Zero Tolerance, harsh prison sentences, mandatory drug testing of students and workers, the militarization of our borders, and now even military intervention in Latin America, the War on Drugs is increasingly viewed as a dangerous failure.

Tens of millions of Americans in effect scoff at Bennett's and Bush's fundamentalist vision of "a drug-free America" by continuing to choose to use illegal drugs despite an army of cops, informers and piss testers. For the most part, the "Great Refusal" of the drug users is inchoate; they provide no eloquent rationales for disobeying the drug laws, they merely ignore them.

And most drug users are not social revolutionaries. On the contrary, they embody mainstream values. Unlike participants in the 1960s drug boom, these people espouse no counterculture. Instead, they personify the entrepreneurial myths of American capitalism. They have no fundamental quarrel with our society; they only use unaccepted means to achieve conformist ends.



But the glaring failure of prohibition symbolized by the "crack epidemic" is sparking a growing chorus of systematic dissent from widely divergent perspectives. Bennett's demagogic appeals to save our "Judeo-Christian ethic" notwithstanding, economic conservatives and liberal reformers alike are elaborating arguments in favor of legalizing the illegal drug economy.

Legalization and the ravages of the market

The free-market right, led by economist Milton Friedman, Reagan Secretary of State George Schultz, and the arch-conservative Bill Buckley, attacks drug prohibition as being contrary to human nature, which by their definition means market behavior obedient to the inexorable laws of supply and demand.

They argue that state interference with attempts to supply the apparently unquenchable thirst for drugs is not only futile, but socially destructive. They quite correctly point out that many of the social ills falsely attributed to illegal drug trafficking are, in fact, the direct consequence of attempts to suppress it.

Consider, for example, the street crimes committed by addicts desperate to finance their habits. The free marketeers logically point out that drugs are overpriced because of their black market status. The price of legalized drugs, they argue, would be much, much lower, reflecting only production costs and normal profit needs.

They also argue that legalization would end the bloody turf wars among drug-selling gangs. These gangs are Frankenstein's created by the mad scientists who dictate prohibition; their very raison

d'être is to supply banned substances and reap the vast profits inherent in an underground economy. By legalizing the drug markets, both the violence and the windfall profits would disappear. In the free market view, drug gang violence is a tax, paid predominantly by inner-city dwellers, for the continuation of prohibition.

The free marketeers also point out that legalization would break the power of the cartels, or at least allow them to take their rightful place among multinational capitalist organizations. They argue that the Ochoas and their ilk would gladly trade "narco-terrorism" for legitimacy, and there is historical evidence to support the assertion.

These arguments are logical indictments of drug prohibition, but they also highlight the social-Darwinist calculus of economic conservatism. This ideology of old, wealthy white men shows little concern for the real-world, destructive impact of drug addiction—especially when addicts are members of repressed minority communities far from the protected daily reality of wealthy, white America. The free-market critique, then, cannot by itself serve as the basis for a radical and progressive approach toward a politics of legalization.

The liberal critique and its failings

The liberal-reformist critique of drug prohibition does address some of the concerns left untouched by the free market conservatives. Public officials such as Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke, Federal District Judge Robert Sweet of Manhattan, and Detroit's Rep. George Crockett, Jr. (D-MI), call for legalization on humanitarian and public-resource allocation grounds.

"Our courts are burdened down with these drug cases ... and here we are talking about spending additional billions to build jails and prisons to send people to. Decriminalization is the only solution," Crockett told the *Detroit News* last December.

His concerns about imprisonment as the primary response to drug use and trafficking are well-grounded. The state and federal prison systems are in crisis, largely due to overcrowding. According to the Justice Department, the rate of drug arrests has risen nearly 400% in the last two decades. In 1988, 850,034 persons were arrested for drug offenses, and that number undoubtedly grew even higher last year. More and more drug offenders are being sentenced to prison. Between 1970 and 1986, 10-20% of state prison admissions were drug offenders; now the figure is 20-35%, according to the National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

It's obvious that heightened drug law enforcement will lead to a mushrooming prison population. Not counting county jails, there were 673,000 people incarcerated in U.S. prisons in mid-1989. (Incidentally, this gives us the distinction, along with South Africa and the Soviet Union, of leading in prisoners per capita among the industrialized nations.) The NCCD estimates that by 1994, the number will have increased to 1.1 million.

Last summer, Czar Bennett shrieked that, "A massive wave of arrests is a top priority for the War on Drugs." To pay for Bennett's authoritarian mania will cost \$1.2 billion in federal funds this fiscal year, but Bush and Bennett also want the states to spend \$5-10 billion to expand their prison capacities. That covers construction only; at an average operating cost of \$25,000 per inmate per year, the states will need \$35 billion for prisons in the next five years.

This policy will subject hundreds of thousands of non-violent people to the dangers and degradations of imprisonment, and cost the public dearly, but there is little evidence to suggest that it will lessen drug use.

Liberal reformers also note the lack of emphasis on education, treatment, and rehabilitation. Despite the lip-service paid to progressive components of the War on Drugs, the education and treatment infrastructure is unable to cope with the scope of problematic drug use. Of course, treatment—like most medical services—is available for those with large incomes.

Treatment professionals tell *The New York Times* that in New York City, persons seeking treatment face a six-month waiting list. Similar situations exist in Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., Detroit and across the nation. Federal Judge Robert Sweet, in calling for controlled legalization, urges that the \$9 billion Bush and Congress allocated for the drug wars be used instead for treatment and rehabilitation. Sweet also calls for taxing drug sales to finance treatment programs.

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The reformist critique presents a more socially conscious appraisal of the nature of the problem than either the War on Drugs or its free market critics. But by remaining squarely within the liberal "good government" tradition, the reformers remain blind to the insights provided by a fundamental, radical analysis of American society.

Legalization; a radical agenda

The growing public furor over drug policy opens new political space for radical critics. This radical dissent must be firmly grounded in an overarching critique of late capitalist American society—the larger context of the War on Drugs. This critique has at its base a vision of a society founded on economic as well as formal political democracy, but it must also take into account the anti-authoritarian impulse deeply ingrained in our society.

Within such a critique, and given the authoritarian political project embodied in the War on Drugs, legalization of the use and traffic in illegal drugs becomes not only thinkable, but also desirable as the most progressive means of addressing the problem, and as a method of unmasking the attempt by the late capitalist state to increase its sphere of domination and hegemony. Bush and Bennett are pushing a project of class domination, racial division, and U.S. militarism.

Further, we must note the difference between recreational drug use and self-destructive drug abuse. No one advocates a nation of junkies; what is needed is an informed—not propagandized—population that understands both the pleasures and the dangers of various intoxicants. The radical position must therefore support drug education, treatment programs and rehabilitation.

But beyond promoting an enlightened and responsible attitude toward drugs, radicals must challenge the Bush-Bennett drug hysteria on the following grounds:

1) The anti-drug frenzy serves the interest of reactionaries by obscuring the

underlying conditions—based on the economic-political structure—which impoverish our cities and their residents. As long as the focus is exclusively on "Crack Street," no one asks why drug abuse is such an attractive alternative to the straight life.

2) The War on Drugs is racist, both in its genealogy and in its willingness to sacrifice black and brown communities. Historically, drug laws served as instruments for oppressing minorities, from the anti-Chinese opium smoking ban in California, to the hysterical racist propaganda accompanying the criminalization campaigns of the 1910s and 1930s. Government officials plied an acquiescent mass media with vile propaganda of the "dope-crazed niggers are raping our white women" variety—the lineal predecessor of the Bush campaign's Willie Horton ads.

3) The War on Drugs is a cover for U.S. adventurism and intervention abroad. As Scott Henson pointed out in the October Polemicist, the drug war takes the place of anti-communism and the struggle against terrorism as a means of drumming up support for international adventures. The invasion of Panama is a recent, glaring example of this, but by no means the only example.

U.S. troops are training the Colombian, Peruvian and Bolivian armed forces for ostensible drug interdiction purposes, but all of these countries face internal opposition—serious guerrilla movements in Peru and Colombia—which is opposed by the United States. The War on Drugs obscures very real imperialist motives for American intervention on behalf of reactionary civilian and military regimes in Latin America.

4) The War on Drugs is a means of class domination and threatens the rights of American workers. Twenty-two million Americans have now had to undergo demeaning urine tests, according to SmithKlineBeecham, one of the booming drug testing concerns. Drug testing of workers must be viewed as part of a full-fledged onslaught on the American labor movement, and as an attempt to extend

employer control over the private, off-duty lives of workers.

And, in a sad irony, drug tests do not measure impairment or intoxication, merely the presence of chemical substances. Thus, workers are fired or disciplined for off-duty acts that bear no relation to their ability to do their jobs. Nor do most tests include alcohol; the most commonly abused drug in the country.

The class aspect of drug law enforcement is also evident in its emphasis on poor minority communities and its lack of interest in going after bankers, realtors and other "respectable members of the community."

Drug Czar Bennett chooses to ignore white middle- and upper-class entrepreneurs in favor of flooding our inner cities with more armed men. He ignores massive increases in cash entering the banking system in Miami or Los Angeles; instead, he crows over evicting poor black families from public housing in Washington, D.C.

5) The War on Drugs brings the police-state ever closer. Under the cover of waging war on drugs, Bennett serves as pointperson for a concerted assault on American civil and constitutional liberties. Property seizures, mandatory drug tests, increasing numbers of police, use of the armed forces for law enforcement, tighter scrutiny of financial records, searches of students, the encouragement of the informer culture, attacks on the Fourth Amendment, the seizure of subscriber and/or customer lists from legitimate businesses and the harassment of criminal defense lawyers—the list of encroachments by the repressive apparatus of the state goes on and on.

The drug warriors wage a never-ending propaganda campaign designed to persuade the public to voluntarily give up its right to privacy. Bennett also attempts to intimidate his crusade's opponents by portraying them as "traitors" or "morally bankrupt." Actually, it is Bush, Bennett and their bullet-head buddies who betray traditional American freedoms by attempting to curtail our rights in the name of their holy crusade. To paraphrase Benjamin Franklin: "Those who surrender their liberty to preserve their security deserve neither."

These notes on a radical politics of legalization are necessarily telegraphic; much ground has been covered in a sketchy fashion. This piece should be viewed as a contribution to the emerging debate on drug policy, and it is hoped that it will stimulate further discussion and criticism within the left and radical communities.

**Send
Bush
Broccoli**

Police brutality

continued from page 3

We must call a halt to the abuse of power and we must call ourselves together to break down the police lines of power distinctions.

Only if we refuse to recognize as valid authority that discriminates against and abuses people according to economic and societal power can we ever hope to feel safe from that discrimination for ourselves, our families and friends. We must educate ourselves concerning our civil rights when being arrested—no one will inform you of your rights (outside of TV land) when you or someone next to you is being arrested.

I would urge anyone who lives in Austin and is concerned about human rights abuses, apartheid, and other systems of injustice and discrimination anywhere in the world to also be aware of what is going on in our own front yards. Maybe by actively opposing brutality we can encourage even the "peace-officers" among us to treat their "clients" with dignity—or at least refrain from "unnecessary violence."

Drivers' Union

continued from page 5

stopped fighting these rights either. Some companies don't want to recognize human rights whenever the humans are at work.

In 1986 and '87 Laidlaw refused to bargain with us over the terms of their drug testing policy, fired seven drivers, suspended 18, then tried to fire some of the 18. But an arbitrator ordered Laidlaw to return everybody to work and stop us policy—all because Laidlaw had deliberately ignored the employees' bargaining rights.

Since Laidlaw can't legally sneak around our right to bargain, now they want to mow it down in contract negotiations. For more than a year and a half since negotiations began in September 1988, Laidlaw has continually refused to talk MONEY unless the union representatives would agree to handcuff the employees' bargaining rights. Our answer is no. Why?

Only by standing together in a union have we been able to get any rights we have. Above all else, just remember this: Until the drivers got together in a union, they never got paid more than the minimum wage rate. That's a fact. Back then that was \$1.60. Today minimum wage would be \$3.35, but our pay is two or three dollars higher as a result of union contracts.

In this country, human beings are equals. Even if they work for a company, a union of human beings can participate in the decisions that affect their lives while at work. The right to bargain is, quite simply, our right to stand up for ourselves and for each other. If we gave that up, we might as well be stomping on the fingers of all those people over the last 18 years, who held on when it was their turn. Now it's our turn—we will hold on to our bargaining rights.

Book Review

Domestic covert action: How it happens and what we can do

War at Home: Covert Action Against U.S. Activists and What We Can Do About It, by Brian Glick, South End Press, 1989. \$5.00 paperback, 92 pages.

Reviewed by Aurolyn Luyck

Combining a clear-eyed assessment of the obstacles faced by peace and justice activists with a surprisingly optimistic outlook on resisting political repression, Brian Glick's *War at Home: Covert Action Against U.S. Activists and What We Can Do About It* is already proving itself an indispensable tool for political activists entering the 1990's.

In 92 concise pages, Glick offers a brief historical outline of political repression in the U.S. since the end of World War I, focusing on the COINTELPRO operations of the 1960's, the grass-roots investigative work that brought them to light in the 70's, and their continuation throughout the 80's despite the official "shutdown" of the program that followed the half-hearted revelations of Watergate.

Glick expertly documents the illegal tactics used by the FBI to disrupt organizations and harass individuals critical of U.S. government policy; the extensive footnoting of newspaper and government document sources (some of which are reproduced in an appendix) should convince even the most skeptical reader of claims which would otherwise seem incredible. The reader doesn't get far (as indeed many activist groups didn't) before "disruption" and "harassment" are extended to include cold-blooded murder, as well as other practices that provoke only jaded nonchalance when met in back-page newspaper articles on Third World dictatorships, but shock when encountered in the context of North American "democracy."

The level of violence that federal agencies have deemed acceptable in their repression of internal dissent will come as a surprise to many readers who thought Kent State was the outer limit of our government's domestic blood-letting. The American Indian Movement alone lost 69 members to FBI killings between 1973-76, as Glick notes, "a rate of political murder comparable to the first years of the Pinochet regime in Chile."

The Black Panther Party and other Black Nationalist groups also were targets of commando-style raids and selective assassinations. The pivotal murder of twenty-three year old Illinois Black Panther Party chairman Fred Hampton in 1969, described in detail by Glick, culminated in a citizens' investigation which forced the federal and local governments to pay \$1.8 million in damages to Hampton's family.

Of course, such settlements are hardly a deterrent for an agency funded by the continued use of assassination against Communist Worker Party members and Puerto Rican independence activists in the late 1970s.



The accounts of violence, while the most gripping, are outdone in practical value by Glick's nuts-and-bolts descriptions of how government agencies have used agent provocateurs, forged letters, false media stories, anonymous phone calls, bogus publications and other disinformation to create divisions and exploit existing tensions within opposition movements. For longtime activists who have experienced the difficult diplomacy of coalition work and the heartbreaking frustration of seeing personal conflicts hinder or destroy political effectiveness, these sections of the book may have the ring of revelation.

As Texas' own covert action insider-turned-ally John Stockwell noted at his talk here in Austin a few months back, "the government spends hundreds of thousands of dollars hiring and training people to disrupt our meetings, discredit our actions, and poison our personal relationships, and then the left feels guilty because we don't work well together!" Glick also reveals how FBI "investigations" of right-wing groups like the Klan often serve as a cover for actual cooperation in acts of violence against leftist groups.

Yet in true activist tradition, far be it from Glick to describe a problem without outlining a solution. Though we can't make covert action go away, we can take steps to protect ourselves against it. Glick's clear articulation of such measures is what makes his book a must-read for political activists. Though he sometimes stuns with his revelations that many of our most paranoid FBI musings have actual basis in fact, Glick never loses sight of, nor allows his readers to lose sight of, our most important objective, which is the target of

all this covert action: our effectiveness in organizing an ever-broadening base to work against repression and towards a more just society.

Though the reader may experience a certain amount of paranoia after becoming aware of the formidable operations we are up against, it is crucial to remember that such paranoia serves the purpose of repression by leading activists to act out of fear and suspicion, or stop acting altogether. The FBI knows this and uses it to its advantage, one effective tactic noted by Glick is to direct suspicion of being an agent onto a loyal member of the group, thus disrupting political effectiveness and communication and often driving out effective organizers. Glick's suggestions on keeping lines of inter- and intra-group communication open and other methods of defusing government harassment make *War at Home* an invaluable practical handbook.

Beyond its strictly practical value, *War at Home* gives us back a piece of our history by sketching the stories of movements and individuals that too often got lost in the hegemonic morass of the mainstream media. Hopefully, younger readers will learn something of the martyred heroes that for many are only the vague recollection of a name, if that. In addition, *War at Home* holds special interest for Texans in Glick's discussion of the FBI operation against the Dallas Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

Glick's book is necessary reading, not just for political activists, but for anyone who is affected by domestic covert action, which is to say every citizen of the United States. The illusions of democracy and rule by law are powerful enough that most Americans are unaware of the political violence and illegal activities our government carries out against its own citizens, much less the dozens of political prisoners sitting in U.S. jails at this very moment.

Glick's accessible gem of a book is a political eye-opener as well as a practical guide, and at only \$5.00 it makes a great (late) stocking-stuffer or just-because gift. Try giving it to your parents; read it yourself and pass it on to a friend. In the end, the best defense against covert action is exposing it; sharing information is one type of political action that everyone can engage in, and books like this one make it easy.

For a more in-depth accounts of U.S. government repression, I recommend three weightier books that provide excellent documentations of the political history of "the other America": Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States* (Harper & Row 1980); Robert Justin Goldstein's *Political Repression in Modern America* (Schenkman Publishing 1978); and Bud and Ruth Schultz's *It Did Happen Here: Recollections of Political Repression in America* (University of California Press 1989).



earth day 1990

Sunday, April 22, 1990

compiled by
Michael Fabrizio

The first Earth Day: April 22, 1970

Earth Day 1970 was the largest organized demonstration in history. More than 20 million people participated in the event that gave birth to the modern American environmental movement. Activities ranged from nature walks to direct action against major polluters. The Mayor of New York banned automobiles from Fifth Avenue and 100,000 people attended an eco-fair in Union Square. The U.S. Congress formally adjourned for Earth Day to enable members to attend teach-ins in their districts. In response to the concern voiced by Earth Day activities, the Environmental Protection Agency was created in 1971. The Clean Air Act and the Clean Water Act soon followed. — *From the Earth Day 1990 organizers in Stanford, CA*

On April 22, 1970, the world celebrated the first Earth Day. Nearly 20 million people participated. It was the largest, cleanest, most peaceful demonstration in America's history. But don't call it a success. Because the problems are still with us. Pollution. Overpopulation. Overkill. Slums. Racism. Wasted resources. Planned obsolescence. A widening war.

On April 22, a generation dedicated itself to reclaiming the planet. A new kind of movement was born — a bizarre alliance that spans the ideological spectrum from campus militants to middle Americans. Its aim: to

reverse our rush toward extinction. If the environmental movement succeeds it will profoundly change corporations, government, and the way each of us lives. But it faces obstacles that are political as well as technical. And the battle lines are already being drawn. — *from the book Earth Day—The Beginning, published in May 1970.*

The next Earth Day: April 22, 1990

Some of the problems that fueled the original Earth Day have been addressed effectively. Others have only grown worse. Moreover, our planet now faces a diverse array of new ills: Greenhouse gases, ozone holes, acid rain, toxic wastes, expanding deserts and shrinking rainforests. It is time for another Earth Day, this time international in scope, linking local concerns to global crises. Many decisions about how to participate must be made at the local, regional, and national levels. However, some consistent elements will unite these diverse activities into a coherent force. Some specific accomplishments we hope to achieve:

- A worldwide ban on chlorofluorocarbons—chemicals that destroy the ozone layer and contribute to global warming.
- Slowing the rate of global warming and the spread of acid rain by promoting renewable energy and energy efficiency.
- A halt to global deforestation coupled with a program to plant a billion trees.

- Implementation of strong, effective recycling programs in every community and a ban on packaging materials that are neither recyclable nor biodegradable.
- A comprehensive hazardous waste program, emphasizing source reduction.
- Organization of a powerful international agency with authority to safeguard the atmosphere, the oceans, and other global commons from international threats.
- The adoption by all countries of strategies to stabilize their populations within limits that are sustainable using environmentally available agricultural and industrial processes.

Earth Day on Campus

The Natural Sciences Council of the College of Liberal Arts will be celebrating Earth Week April 16 - 20. Each day will center on a different aspect of environmentalism:

- Monday** The interrelation of animals and plants
- Tuesday** Recycling
- Wednesday** Nuclear plants and wastes
- Thursday** Pesticides
- Friday** Health effects

President Cunningham and the deans of all the colleges have been invited to plant trees on campus. Throughout the week, exhibits will be open at the Texas Memorial Museum and the UGL. Texas Agricultural Commissioner Jim Hightower has been invited to speak about pesticides on Wednesday, and on Thursday evening, Dr. Donald Carlton, president of Radian Corporation, will moderate a panel discussion. At each event, the seedlings will be distributed, which will then be planted at an East Austin park on Earth Day, Sunday, April 22.

For more information or to volunteer, contact Candace Chandra, Natural Sciences Council Vice-President, at 471-3285.

For more information or to donate time or money

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|
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| Earth Day 1990 | Earth Day 1990 |
| PO Box AA | Austin Center for Policy Studies |
| Stanford, CA 94309 | PO Box 49373 |
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What you can do

There are many ways that you can be friendly to the environment, but the one change you can make that will have the most impact is to eat less meat. A typical farm animal eats 7 times as much grain than it produces as meat. This wastes an incredible amount of food, land, and water. In the U.S., over 260 million acres of land have been cleared to graze cattle or to grow grain to feed them. Over half of the water used in the U.S. is used to grow grain to feed farm animals. The typical American diet requires 4,000 gallons of water per day to support, while a vegetarian diet uses only 1,200 gallons, and a pure vegetarian diet uses only 300 gallons. For more information about vegetarianism, contact LOVE (Legion of Vegetarian Enthusiasts), Box 7382, Austin, TX 78713, (512) 467-8371

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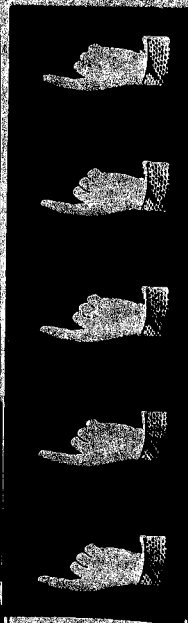
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Join Wheatsville Co-op at Waterloo Park for the Earth Day 1990 Celebration Sunday, April 22nd



Also, listen to 'Save the Earth,' live from Japan, Brazil and across the U.S. on KUT-FM, Saturday April 21st, 8:00 p.m. underwritten by Whole Earth Provisions Co. and Wheatsville Food Co-op.

• L E T T E R S •

For what cause, O man, charges thou me thy daily complaint? —Boethius

Uimost and critical journalism

Dear editors:

As an avid reader of your paper, I completely agree with the basis of your article, "Free Speech at UT: The Truth Shall Set You Free" (February 1990). But as editor of *Uimost*, I feel it necessary to point out serious factual errors that distort your portrayal of our magazine. If you had taken the time to check them, I think you would have come to different conclusions.

First of all, I have never taken a journalism class in my life, and the article claims that I had to take five to become editor of the magazine. Only *The Daily Texan* has such requirements. So I question the validity of the argument that the UT department of journalism exerts an "intellectual hegemony" over *Uimost*.

Later in the story, you argue that *Uimost's* potential advertisers are "hoodwinked" because we can afford to hire a consulting firm to estimate a readership at far higher than circulation. What you left out: Readership figures are a standard measure for publications, so the "*Uimost* farce" doesn't exist, unless you chastise all magazines in general. Even if advertisers aren't familiar with the difference between circulation and readership, we make the distinction for them. Also, we didn't hire anyone to come up with our readership figure—we wouldn't have been able to afford it. The study was organized by the UT advertising department for free.

This "brand of reportage that systematically bows to the prerogatives of authority figures" does not happen at *Uimost*, either. In fact, there are those of us who are offended that you lumped us up together with *The Texan* under the label "bureaucratized mainstream UT press." This label contradicts our basic philosophy about journalism; in fact, we feel that *Uimost* has more in common with *Polemicist* than *The Texan*. *Uimost* has a history of investigative reporting that challenges the administration. Unfortunately, a *Polemicist* reader would have no idea of this because *Polemicist* chose to ignore it. For instance, while you ridiculed *Texan* editor Karen Adams for clinging to the "overcrowding myth" throughout last semester, you failed to mention that during the same period of time, an *Uimost* cover story, "Overcrowding: The big lie" (Winter 1989), lambasted the administration for its screwed policies and PR pap. We've managed to cause enough trouble that Jess Latham, a Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board member, has responded to us, as well as Gonzalo Barrientos, a state senator. UT President William Cunningham has even called Students' Association members in a panic, trying to schedule an emergency meeting because of this *Uimost* article.

I have looked forward to reading *Polemicist* articles (and still will be), but I have been disappointed in this one. Still, while we think it necessary to chastise you for shoddy reporting about *Uimost*, we do appreciate the excellent work of the earlier issues. So *Uimost* is enclosing an ad for your next issue to show our support. After all, we're working toward the same goal.

Jennifer Wong
Editor, *Uimost*

Polemicist responds:

We appreciate the financial support, and repent for our errors in reporting the *Uimost* editor requirements. Still, *Uimost's* editorship was approved by the TSP board. And her explanation of the readership/circulation question, as well as her assertions of *Uimost's* alleged "investigative reporting" demand rebuttal. First, she declares that "Readership figures are a standard measure for publications, so the '*Uimost* farce' doesn't exist, unless

you chastise all magazines in general." No, Jennifer, we don't have to chastise all magazines. Go look through an issue of *Fact Sheet Five*—it contains several thousand grassroots magazines, the vast majority of which don't use "readership" figures. Wong goes on to explain that *Uimost* "didn't hire anyone to come up with our readership figure—we wouldn't have been able to afford it." She then adds the clincher: "The study was organized by the UT advertising department for free." No, Jennifer, it wasn't free; the communications school that you so disdain subsidized your journal to perform that study. Will the advertising department now provide the same service for *TWAT*, *Griot*, *Tejas*, *Suburban Nightmare*, or *Polemicist*?

As for critical journalism, the article "Overcrowding: The Big Lie" Wong champions isn't nearly as polemical or incisive as the title implies. Susan Hays, the author, utterly misses the entire point of the understaffing crisis, which is that the administration diverts education money into subsidies for the private sector. She acts as if the administration boosts research just for prestige and because it's "easier to make it look like they're accomplishing something" to the Legislature. That's a shallow critique indeed.

She hauls out former UT President Peter Flawn as a kind of savior. She writes that "administrators must take the initiative and begin stressing substance and standards more than image and tangible monetary returns on investment in higher education. They might begin by listening to ex-UT President Flawn." But Flawn, whose academic background lies in oil geology, was an early booster and architect of the industrial policy that still plagues students. Yet Wong holds up this article as an example of how *Uimost* doesn't "systematically bow to the prerogatives of authority figures."

In harking back to the golden age of Flawn, and in applying such a cosmetic critique to the understaffing crisis, *Uimost* isn't printing critical thinking; in this case, it's engaging in a slave morality. We'll never solve the understaffing crisis by listening to any administrator. *Polemicist* attacks Cunningham because he serves the interests of outside constituencies and marginalizes students—not because we think if he leaves all our problems will solve themselves.

Images must be stopped

Dear editor,

My fellow students: What is this thing called *Images*?

If not a garish unnecessary rag concocted by a mediocre college daily in a pathetic attempt to make up for lost funds caused by years of mismanagement, arrogantly elbowing into the Thursday entertainment weekly market while enjoying the advantages of state support and tax-free printing press and yet brazenly trying to woo advertisers away from Austin's beloved, nonprofit *Chronicle*? What if not this?

To try to redress these imbalances, I have found myself employing the following tactic at places that carry both publications: First, divide the stack of *Images* in half. Then put a stack of *Chronicles* on top of each. Thus, *Images* becomes a sort of consolation, or booty prize, for people who missed *The Chronicle*. It's easy! It's fun! And I haven't been caught yet! Plus I think that if the tactic is applied on a wide scale, it should have a measurable impact on comparative return rates, and the comparative advertising revenues.

A. Student

Polemicist,

an alternative student newspaper at the University of Texas at Austin. Is published every month or so when we can afford it. Subscriptions are \$10 for 5 issues. If you can afford it, please send more. Send subscription requests to:

504 W. 24th #28
Austin, TX 78705
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Resumés - \$10

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<p>Mary A. Baker 800 W. 24th St. Austin, Texas 78705</p> <p>Objective: To show everyone this resume I got typed for only \$10.</p> <p>Education: BBA in Accounting, UT Austin, May 1990</p> <p>Experience: 9/84-8/89, Bob's House of Finances Part-time bookkeeper, CPA Assistant</p> <p><i>References available upon request</i></p>	<p>Also: Papers typed for \$2.00 a page!</p>
--	---

Not shown at
actual size

(512) 467-8371

Michael Fabrizio

World as we know it

continued from page 4

wages would allow UT to play these elements off against each other. Meanwhile the source of these offensive measures—UT's industrial policy—would continue to flourish. Students must learn to contextualize workers' issues, and build links between the two groups to support and sustain each other against a common foe.

A Woman's Work...

Comparing the faculty salaries of men and women in the English department raises few surprises—but it is quite angering. Deriving our numbers from the 1989-1990 UT-Austin Budget, we find that women in the UT English department make 74 cents on every man's dollar. The number of women in the English department is higher than the University average—37 percent compared to about 25 percent—but women are concentrated in lower-paying associate and especially assistant professor positions. Here are the numbers:

	Women	Men
Full Professors	2	30
Associate Prof.	11	23
Assistant Prof.	8	4
TOTAL	21	57

Worse, women who have taken on positions of considerable responsibility to undergraduates in the department earn far less than their male counterparts. For example, Maurine McElroy, the department's undergraduate advisor, oversees the progress of nearly every undergraduate English major. She works through scheduling snafus, counsels new majors, and faces a deluge of frustrated undergrads at registration time every semester. She makes \$38,000 a year. Larry Duban, on the other hand, makes \$48,000 a year. As director of the department's honors program, he handles a fraction of the



Oh, so that explains the difference in our salaries!

students McElroy does and under much easier conditions; she deals with average students who have to scramble to get into oversized classes; he deals with a few dozen students who have their choice of several small classes every semester.

No rational system of pay increases could award Duban \$10,000 more per year than McElroy. The disparity reflects a latent paternalism in the department's salary and promotion structure. Women handle the grunt work while men get the flashier jobs that ensure the fast track to full professorship.

Even when women do achieve prestigious positions, they're undercompensated compared to men. Betty Sue Flowers, director of the Plan II program, makes \$66,667 per year. Some five male full English professors make more, and none of them hold administrative positions. The highest paid male professor makes \$110,057—nearly twice Flowers' salary.

We looked into the English department because of its relatively high percentage of women faculty, figuring it would be a significant case study in the wage gap. The same study can be performed for any department by anybody with a calculator—just ask for the budget at the reserves desk at PCL.

Do I bend to the left?

continued from page 7

my asshole, of going through the pain until I move over that barrier into total pleasure, into an ecstatic, trance-like escape from a dog-eat-dog world, it's the most radical and erotic thing I can do. Sometimes I don't even get a hard-on, but that's not important when I move beyond the barrier of pain." Leather sex, rather than being simply about dominance and submission, is about people giving in to each other completely and voluntarily. If these people are not complete equals, voluntary submission becomes a farce.

The leather sex community understands the need for radical social change as a quest for freedom and more. As Geoff Mains states, "as a sub-culture leather refracts the values of Western society to create its own vision. It takes images of masculinity, the use and abuse of power, and the values of creativity, and pits them against the perils of human arrogance and the realities of human limits." Again here

the radical pro-sex message is that sexual repression in the Western value system must be replaced by a sexual freedom that allows all people, all sexual beings, to become equals and to test their own desires and their own limits.

With their current homophobia and lack of understanding, most straight "leftists" have failed to respond to the AIDS crisis in any appropriate manner. Marxist analysis will not give them the answers. Straight "leftists" must in turn learn the lessons of radical sexuality if they are to make any attempt at understanding gay and lesbian culture. While most gays and lesbians do not practice leather sex, and many do not understand it, such radical sexuality stresses the need for freedom, trust, understanding, and knowledge of the self, exactly the qualities that straight "leftists" need when dealing with the gay and lesbian or any other community. Similarly, every repressed community needs to work to understand the traits of radical sexuality in order to truly formulate an all-inclusive revolutionary agenda.

