



# Polemicist

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



**Technology  
Transfer  
at UT:  
Colonizing the  
Academic  
Mind**  
*(page 4)*

*Illustration from the annual  
report of UT's Institute for  
Constructive Capitalism*

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## We Hereby Chastise...

### Fraternity Apologists

"The Greek stereotypes—depicting us as racists, elitists, date-rapers, alcohol abusers, etc.—are grossly caricatured," declared veteran frat apologist Mark Brandon in the October 12 *Daily Texan*. Brandon and others have complained hotly about the Greek "image problem," which would presumably go away if the nasty old *Texan* would start putting Greek canned food drives on the front page instead of rapes, knifings, beatings and alcohol-related deaths.

This semester a Greek mob screamed "nigger" at an African-American bus driver, surrounded him, and threatened him with violence; a gang of Greek thugs falsely accused a non-fraternity member of belonging to a rival frat and beat the hell out of him; in a similar incident, another band of Greek thugs held a man down and carved Greek letters into his face with a knife; and a 19-year-old fraternity man recently fell to his death in a drunken stupor from the roof of a frat house.

On September 17, some 50 Pi Kappa Alpha members dragged a man out of bed, blindfolded him, bound his hands and feet with duct tape and hung him naked from the roof of the frat house chanting "We've got an Aggie!" Yet frat apologist Scott Lewis could still write in the October *University Review* that "The brutal hazing of yesteryear which led to intense criticism of fraternities is simply not around anymore."

All this comes after IFC president Larry Dubinski announced at a Friars breakfast last spring that the Greek system was "entering the '90s." In fact, his speech came days after Round-up, when a gang of Delta Tau Delta frat boys had scrawled "Fuck you nigs die" and "Fuck coons" on a car and proceeded to smash it with sledgehammers—an incident which Dubinski must have known about when he delivered his speech, although the press hadn't reported it yet. What he didn't tell his fellow Friars was that the Greeks were entering the 1890s, when mobs of white racists routinely and legally lynched and murdered black folk.

Indeed, that same week a 16-year-old girl was raped at the Sigma Chi house at a Round-up party, although predictably IFC representatives denied that fraternity members were involved. With a bitter touch of irony, *The Daily Texan* ran a police sketch of the assailant—the sketch depicted a young clean-cut white man with a square jaw and short brown hair. In other words, it could have been any frat boy in West Campus. The message sent to Austin women: "Be afraid when you see this man."

Indeed, we should all be afraid. West Campus is by far the most dangerous neighborhood in town. Last fall Austin police responded to West Campus complaints of homeless folk panhandling for change by beefing up patrols and making periodic sweeps. But if the cops are watching the homeless, who's watching the frat boys?

### Peter Flawn Author, *Jackass*

In a tiny book entitled *The Uses of the University*, former UC Berkeley president Clark Kerr laid out the intellectual and moral basis for the modern "multiversity," i.e., the university as servant to the economic and military needs of the ruling class. In his new book, *A Primer for University Presidents: Managing the Modern University*, former UT-Austin President Peter Flawn accepts Kerr's assumptions without question, and attempts to define the technocrat's role in managing the multiversity.

Flawn's book, which will be reviewed in full in next month's *Polemicalist*, is indeed a "primer" for administrators in fending off what he calls, quoting Edmund Burke, "the presumptuous judgement of the ignorant"—i.e., faculty and students. Flawn emphasizes, for instance, the importance of paying "attention to the nature and direction of student political activity." He advocates fending off activist students by keeping them "under stress" about grades and advancement. "They should be under stress," he writes. "A student taking a full and demanding academic load is not likely to be planning a take-over of the president's office."

Not all of Flawn's political analysis is so sophisticated. At one point, he declares, "It is important for the university's image to have a first-class band director." His reasoning? "If you lose a football game, it will be some consolation if your band outperformed that of the rival institution." Clark Kerr he ain't.

Flawn launches virulent attacks on student press, singling out newspapers and student radio. "If you inherit an already established student-operated radio station, you can privately curse whatever president initially approved its license, but unless you can demonstrate flagrant abuses you will not be able to close it down." But Pete has a solution, perhaps based on his experience with Texas Student Publications. "Without running the risk of being accused of heavy-handed censorship, you can probably set up a board of responsible faculty and students to exercise oversight for operations and programming," he advises.

Flawn's book should cure any false nostalgia students may have for the pre-Cunningham days. But more importantly, student activists should read it (borrow or steal it—don't give this bastard your money), for it contains interesting if sometimes comically banal insights into the mindset of oppressive administrators.

### "Dollar" Bill Cunningham Sycophant to Power

"If you didn't look so senile," Sophocles' Oedipus assures an underling, "the lash would teach you what your scheming means." If John Connally hadn't acquired such vast wealth and power, the bitter lash of public retribution would surely now teach him what it means to rip off the people and plunder the earth.

Indeed, Bill Cunningham has invited him to speak at this fall's commencement ceremony, declaring him an "admirable example of leadership and public service for our state and nation." What a horrific conception of "admirable." We don't have space to relash the notorious real-estate scams and S&L frauds that catapulted this profane man to one of the most celebrated bankruptcies in U.S. history. But an excerpt from Ronnie Dugger's *Our Invaded Universities* should suffice to explain why Connally deserves scorn and not honor on this campus: "Early in 1972 William Arrowsmith, speaking in Cincinnati, charged that John Connally, then President Nixon's secretary of the treasury, had, when governor of Texas, initiated a political takeover of the University of Texas through the regents, all nine of whom he had appointed. Connally, Arrowsmith charged, acted through [then-Board of Regents chairman Frank] Erwin and the regents to replace key administrators with a bunch of political operators 'who wouldn't make successful Shinola salesmen' because the university system represents 'a third of a billion dollars in patronage' in contracts and thousands of jobs."

Graduating seniors should educate themselves on Connally's financial gymnastics, his ties to S&L thieves

like Charles Keating (Connally's presidential campaign manager in 1980) and his role in environmentally ruinous projects like the Southwest Road District out by the Barton Creek PUD. Don't quietly let sleaze like Connally disgrace your graduation. Demand the imprisonment of all white-collar criminals.

### Lawrence Cranberg Physicist, Warmonger

In a truly stunning column in the October 19 *New York City Tribune*—a newspaper produced by the political network of Rev. Sun Yung Moon—Austinite and right-wing gadfly Lawrence Cranberg provides the moral justification for the "Nuke Iraq" t-shirts. Not surprisingly it's a shallow one indeed. Cranberg declared himself in the *Austin Chronicle* "a colleague of Alan Gribben and other similarly devoted, high-minded academics" who are members of the National Association of Scholars, another Moonie-connected group.

Cranberg's column contains a number of bizarre logical twists that rival even those of his "colleague" Alan Gribben. He notes that radioactivity and X-rays have "revolutionized medicine"—especially cancer treatment. From there he points out that neutrons are used to treat prostate cancer, using "the nuclear radiation which is the trigger of nuclear fission in atomic weapons." He then calls Saddam Hussein a "malignancy," and declares "To this observer, one whose main preoccupations for 20 years has been the use of neutrons for cancer treatment, the idea that they might be used to treat a form of social and political cancer that we should call Saddamism, seems poetically just."

Cranberg wants us to get over our "Nuclear Phobia" and realize that nuclear weapons are a "natural phenomena which pervade our environment." For him, nukes are also a catalyst for economic miracles. He ends his column by promising that "Forty years hence, the citizens of a democratic Iraqi republic will look upon us as saviors who not only freed them from a monster, but set the stage for an economic miracle such as Germany and Japan have experienced in the aftermath of our victory over them." Perhaps Cranberg could cut a deal with Mikhail Gorbachev to send an ICBM to Austin, whose economy has also been slumping recently and could certainly stand a "miracle."

### Tracy Silna Political Hack, Apologist

Tracy Silna thinks she deserves to sit on more student advisory committees. "I applied last spring for several committees," she whined to *The Texan*. "I have not received notification one way or the other."

We applaud whichever student bureaucrats are responsible for blowing Silna off. In her last stint on a committee—as chair of the student services committee—Silna opportunistically used her committee position as a springboard to campaign for SA president. In order to facilitate a "refund" of student services money in time to take credit for it before the election, Silna negotiated away student free rides on Capital Metro buses if the City stopped its free-ride program. Now that Silna has left that committee, students must scramble to save free rides for students, most likely nixing her self-serving "refund."

Even so, Silna still wants in on the bus action. She told *The Texan* that although no one has been appointed to the shuttle bus committee, she is still working on it herself. If this is true, we beg her to stop. This dreadful woman has done enough damage.

# Fee Hikes & Whoppers™

## What the Union board didn't tell you about the franchising option

by Scott Henson  
and Tom Philpott

Throughout the controversy over bringing franchise food operations into the Texas Union, the debate has been framed in terms of "fee increase vs. franchising"—but the truth is more complex. *The Daily Texan* as well as pro-franchising jingoists on the Union board of directors have propagated the myth that franchising will solve the Union's financial problems caused by state-mandated pay hikes for its employees. The justification for franchising has been that the Union can no longer afford to pay Union Dining Service (UDS) employees wage increases, which are periodically mandated by the legislature.

### Fee Hikes:

#### Myths and Realities

Several obfuscations surround the immediate \$2.94 fee increase the board says the Union will need if UDS doesn't franchise. Basing its wording on these false assumptions, the November 14-15 referendum proceeds to place a financial gun to students' heads, giving them the option of either paying an immediate fee increase or selling off the student union to McDonald's and Taco Bell.

In reality, according to the Union's 1990-1991 budget projections, 67.6 percent of the Union's labor costs pay for non-UDS employees, so even under franchising the Union must still pay a substantial sum if the state hikes wages. In other words, students will have to pay a fee increase whether or not the Union franchises its dining services. At the Union board meeting where the board decided the wording for the referendum, the fact of fee increases under franchising was openly discussed, but the board made the decision to leave the issue of long-term fee increases off the referendum. *The Texan* failed to mention this key fact in its coverage of the meeting the next day.

Since that time the board has avoided discussing the prospect of long-term fee hikes or the real sources of financial problems at the Union. Take a look at the paid advertisement on page 19 of this *Polemicist*. The propaganda declares, in small print, that "neither option in this referendum addresses the long term financial concerns of the Texas Union as a whole," and then claims that "self operation" will require a fee increase in Fall 1991 while "independent contracting" will not. Union Director Andy Smith, however, admitted in an October 17 open forum with the Union board that a fee subsidy would "probably" be required next fall even if students vote in favor of franchising. *The Texan* missed reporting

this important detail as well.

In addition, all board members and Smith agree that fee hikes will be necessary after the '91-'92 school year to pay for potential wage hikes for the 67.6 percent of the Union workforce that doesn't work for UDS. The long-term need for a fee increase with or without franchising has been conveniently left out of the picture.

In fact, franchising jingoist Neel Baumgardner originally wanted to put wording on the ballot that declared that "self operation" would require fee hikes in the out years as well as next fall, but didn't mention fee hikes in the out years under franchising at all. When confronted by boardmember Kerry O'Brien over the boldly biased wording of the proposed ballot language, the board's solution was not to talk about long-term fee hikes at all, rather than admit to the student body that fee increases would be required under franchising.

Indeed, it makes little sense to sever UDS from the Union to combat rising labor costs, because mandatory wage hikes have historically not been a problem for UDS—the cost increases have come from the non-UDS segment of the Union payroll. According to UDS's top manager Bud Wheeler, UDS covered the last two pay hikes out of its own budget without taking money from the rest of the Union. In fact, under its current budget UDS doesn't receive any of the fee money that funds the rest of the Union, and in fact contributes substantially to fund its overhead.

### Franchising and Food Prices

A Union committee released a study last spring which showed that UDS charges less for food than other vendors in the campus area—most of which are franchising outlets. This means that if you have lunch in the Union a few times in a semester, you will actually save money by voting for a self-controlled UDS over franchising.

Further, franchises set the market price for their food without input from or accountability to students. But for UDS to raise prices, the student-controlled Union board of directors would have to vote. McDonald's and Taco Bell raise prices at will. An information packet and proposed contract prepared by the Union for potential vendors (dated August 28, 1990) discusses no controls on food prices. In fact, the packet describes a "tenant food service advisory committee" which deals with issues like "employee appearance" and "service problems," but never mentions prices.

Also, the figures on which franchising boosters base their arguments are

grossly inflated. Neel Baumgardner, a Union boardmember and franchising booster, admits that the Union's budget projections are based on an across the board 10-percent pay hike for employees, because that's the number the University's lobbyists submitted to the legislature. But given the current economic crisis, that's an absurd projection. Expensive financial problems like prison overcrowding and education reform necessarily must take priority over wage increases. If the legislature raised wages for state employees by 10 percent, the state would quickly go bankrupt. University employees will be lucky to get anything at all.

### Franchising: Financial Boon or Corporate Boondoggle

Would be franchisers fail to address a certain contingency involved with their scheme: What happens if franchises crash in the middle of their contracts? In such a scenario, the Union would experience a dramatic loss of revenue. Then the board would quickly ask students to subsidize their managerial incompetence with a hefty fee increase. Of course, by then current franchising enthusiasts like Baumgardner would be long gone, although you can be sure that the implementation of franchising at the Union would be featured prominently on their resumes.

And what happens if the market for junk food on campus won't support franchises at all? According to a report from the Union board's Subcommittee on Cooperatives, every franchise failed except for McDonald's at the Eastern Illinois University student union. Given that possibility, why should we expect franchising to succeed here? Such a case would spell the death of dining services at the Union, since to reinstate a self-supporting service would require astronomical start-up costs—funded, of course, by astronomical fee increases.

This scenario isn't as far-fetched as it may seem. An internal franchising document from last spring reveals the corporations the board has targeted. The list includes McDonald's, Wendy's, Burger

King, Domino's, Pizza Hut, Mr. Gatti's, Taco Bell, and a few chicken vendors. Almost every corporation listed owns a franchise within walking distance of campus. It's doubtful that the student market could support two Whataburgers across the street from each other. In some student Unions where franchising has been successful—e.g., UC San Diego—the campus is isolated and the Union faces no significant competition. Here, the market is already flooded with fast-food. Franchising tempts permanent disaster.

### Franchising and Student Control

The board last spring responded to student outrage over inviting multinationals into the Union by claiming that it would attract locally and minority owned businesses. The latest franchising document puts the lie to that claim. In the point system on which the Union would evaluate prospective franchises, local ownership is listed but given no point value, and minority/woman ownership merits only 100 points out of 1,000. Of the businesses listed above, none are locally based, and at least one—Domino's—actively subverts women's rights by funding the anti-choice movement. Clearly, the board's pro-franchising wing is hunting for multinationals, not small local businesses that might actually provide quality fare.

Franchising would thus cede all control over dining services to huge corporations, while still requiring student subsidies to keep the Union running. Any hope for implementing boycotts or banning styrofoam from the Union would be lost. This amounts to taxation without representation—the board will have sold off our autonomy to the highest bidder.

\* \* \* \* \*

Thankfully, all of this can be avoided if students express their determination to stop this scheme by voting for a self-operated Union on Nov. 14-15. Don't let multinational corporations and their resume-padding champions turn your Union into a giant Burger King. ♪

★ - Vote - ★  
for a Self-Operated Union  
November 14 & 15

# Free Market Scholarship

## UT, Technology Transfer and Academic Freedom

by Scott Henson  
and Tom Philpott

*"The focus on university based technology transfer has intensified over the past 10 years and much of the impetus for new programs to tap universities' treasures comes from state economic development leaders. In many ways, commercialization efforts at a university are anathema to academic traditions, culture and processes. The increased interest in university research shown by the private sector coupled with economic development policy mandates create an interesting tension within the university and between the university and these outside interests."*

—from "Universities and Technology Commercialization," a document from the press packet for the Center for Technology Development and Transfer.

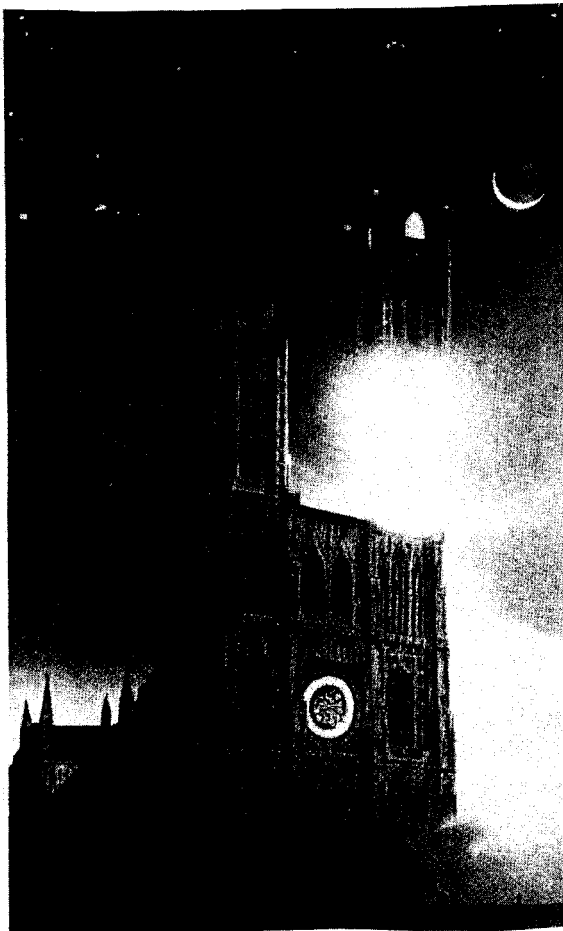
IN THE '80s, "technology transfer" became a primary goal of UT economic planners. Led by George Kozmetsky, the chief economic advisor for the Board of Regents, corporate raider, and founder of the Institute for Constructive Capitalism (IC<sup>2</sup>), these people established and used state education money to fund an infrastructure through which they hoped to exploit the "universities' treasures" for private profit. Next month *Polemicist* will perform an in-depth case study of one major technology-transfer operation; this article will survey a few of the more prominent schemes whereby UT attempts to "commercialize" marketable research.

### The Center for Technology Development and Transfer

In 1985 the legislature established the Center for Technology Development and Transfer (CTDT), which operates out of the UT-Austin College of Engineering. Austin Sen. Gonzalo Barrientos both wrote and sponsored the legislation to create the center. The legislature mandated that the CTDT pursue "discovery, development, and commercialization of new products, technology, and scientific information."

In 1987 it became fully operational after UT, with the help of Austin Representative Bob Richardson, pushed through legislation that allowed universities and their researchers to hold equity in businesses that invest in university research. According to a public relations document furnished by CTDT, "Many now believe that Texas universities have the strongest and most flexible tools available in the nation with which to commercialize university research."

The purpose of the CTDT, like other university institutions devoted to technology transfer, is to take publicly funded university research and market it for private gain. In effect, the market dictates what these faculty research rather than simply a professor's personal aca-



From the annual report of the Institute for Constructive Capitalism

ademic interests. An examination of CTDT's function reveals the processes of technology transfer common to all such entities, both public and private.

According to a CTDT public relations document, the technology transfer process goes through four stages. The first stage happens when a professor brings a piece of technology to CTDT. The Center "determines the status of intellectual property protection of the research or technology," i.e., determines whether it's legal for them to market the research.

In the second stage, CTDT analyzes, with the help of UT faculty, the technical "merit and potential" of the technology in question. Once the technical questions have been answered, the Center evaluates the potential to market the research. CTDT wants to know: "who wants it, who needs it, how many, where and why."

If a piece of technology passes this stage of the process, the next step is to develop a "strategic technology plan ...

which outlines the innovation, its applications, the market potential, the probable competition and options for commercialization (e.g. license to an existing company, start a new company, subcontract manufacturing and focus on marketing)."

In the final stage of the commercialization process, CTDT finds capital to fund the production of the technology. This can mean anything from obtaining funds to create a prototype, to testing the product for effectiveness, to actually establishing a management team and locating the venture capital to fund a new startup company. Finally, when CTDT has set up the infrastructure, it "works with the university to arrange for a license agreement to transfer the technology for commercial application."

In essence, CTDT has set up a mechanism whereby university professors insert their research projects into one end and see them pop out the other ready for the market. Since university professors

themselves, as of the 1987 law revision cited above, personally profit from this process, there exists a strong incentive to submit your research to the CTDT. Of course, of the dozens of projects submitted to the CTDT, only a few will be accepted by the Center for commercialization and fewer still will make it to market. A document obtained last spring from CTDT entitled "Projects of the Center for Technology Development and Transfer" lists only three projects that have actually resulted in a transfer of technology, and lists thirteen "projects underway" at CTDT. Given the small number of projects that succeed, professors who seek to profit personally from their research must gear their projects toward CTDT's marketing goals.

### Research Applications Inc.

During the 71st legislature (89-90), state conflict of interest law was revised to allow members of the board of regents of public universities to sit on the boards of or invest in non-profit or for-profit corporations that have licensing or sponsored research contracts with the university they preside over (See Texas Education Code 51.921). The ink had barely dried on the governor's signature before UT-System regents began taking the state up on its generous offer.

Perhaps the most egregious example involves Research Applications Inc. (RAI). Board of Regents chairman Louis Beecher Jr., Regent Jack S. Blanton, and George Kozmetsky, chief economic advisor to the Board of Regents, all invest money in the UT-oriented venture capital fund. RAI was founded in October 1987 by three members of UT's Engineering Foundation Advisory Council as a for-profit counterpart to the CTDT.

RAI maintains such close ties to UT, in fact, that the firm lists UT Vice Chancellor for Asset Investment Michael Patrick on a document obtained by *Polemicist* entitled "RAI Investment Candidates." Patrick's name appears under a heading entitled "Organizations/People with Texas Vested Interest," and beside his name appears the words "University Fund."

RAI's chairman, former UT prof and Tracor Inc. founder Frank McBee, writing in Vol. 11 No. 3 of *Discovery*, a UT-published science propaganda organ, calls RAI "a Texas corporation, privately-held and profit-oriented, whose goal is to take ideas or patents or products discovered or invented on Texas campuses and introduce them into the world of commerce in a variety of ways. Inventor, university, and corporation will share in the profits made." A CTDT public relations document refers to RAI's function as "to provide that seed investment and the support functions necessary to start businesses in return for a license, for the technology."

Another function of RAI is to assess the marketability of specific research. Two letters obtained by *Polemicist*, dated

June 27 and June 28 of 1989, illustrate this point. Both letters are from RAI president Dale Mosier to UT professors. And both concern those professors' funding proposals to the Texas Advanced Technology Program (TATP)—a high-tech and biotech R&D slush fund operated by the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board.

In the first letter, Mosier writes to Ted Bergman, assistant professor in mechanical engineering, who had apparently submitted a copy of his TATP research proposal to Mosier for consideration for RAI to discuss commercialization of his current research. Mosier tells Bergman how to make his proposal more attractive to TATP, outlining several structural inadequacies. For example: "I would also suggest beefing up this latter section under technology transfer ... It appears to me that one of the outcomes of this effort may well be a simplistic computer model that engineering people can use."

But in the end Mosier graded the professor and found him wanting, turning down Bergman's request. "It is not clear to me what the avenue for commercialization should be," writes Mosier. "I would suggest that you be continually aware of the possibilities for significant patents in your work as you understand better the nature of the problem and therefore can predict the solutions." In other words, Bergman should direct his research toward marketable, patentable ends—perhaps toward a computer model as Mosier suggests—in order to receive RAI support.

The second letter, from Mosier to zoology associate professor James Bull, shows even more explicitly the influence technology commercialization wields over university research. Mosier gives Bull a direct path for commercializing his research. He writes: "I see two major opportunities for the poultry industry. First, is the isolation of the gene for sex determination in the reptile and then transferring that gene to poultry in such a way as to have temperature of incubation determine sex. Second, is the discovery at the molecular level the mechanism of action of estrogen in reversing sex in reptiles (for which you have a patent pending) and then applying that technology to poultry breeding stocks. It is too early to speculate at this time, however, the most likely approach would be doing some additional development and specific industry testing to verify effectiveness in each specific industry."

Mosier's comments reveal much about the technology transfer process. Mosier doesn't just try to commercialize technology Bull has already produced. He actively directs Bull toward research avenues that RAI can market, telling him what the most "likely approach" to his research should be if he wants to commercialize the results. Ironically, Bull's research would be termed, in the academic world, as "basic research" because the ability to genetically dictate the sex of animals constitutes new knowledge. But as we can see by Mosier's discussion, the goals and consequences of Bull's research are purely commercial in nature.

Mosier concludes his letter with an appeal to a form of vulgar socialism. He tells Bull that "Assuming you receive the grant from the Higher Education Coordinating Board, I would be very interested in monitoring your progress and working with you when the time is appropriate for commercialization." In

nected figures include Bobby Ray Inman, former CIA operative turned research consortium director turned junk bond enthusiast, and (surprise!) George Kozmetsky.

The centerpiece of TRTF's operation is its Texas Research Park, located in San Antonio. The CEO of Concord Oil

In its literature, TRTF declares its purpose as:

- Creating and managing research and development with maximum commercial potential.
- Commercializing research results with an emphasis on the formation of new companies.
- Providing the physical environment within which these activities occur—the Texas Research Park."

TRTF claims non-profit status, but these purposes reveal a clear commercial agenda. The foundation has even entered a partnership with University Patents Inc., a publicly traded company that "provides universities with pre-financing and technology transfer services," according to TRTF literature. The two entities together operate VenTex, a venture capital fund that finances microelectronics and biotechnology-oriented start-up companies.

VenTex's operating structure mimics CTDT's (see above). The company first acquires a promising technology, performs feasibility and proof-of-principle tests, and then develops a prototype. Then VenTex locates professional management for the project, performs the necessary marketing analysis, and develops a strategic plan for implementation of its marketing strategy.

Like CTDT in Austin, VenTex will provide the Institute for Biotechnology with a built-in mechanism to put professors' research on the market. Board of Regents Chair Louis Beecherl Jr. calls the biotech institute "one of the most significant partnerships between industry and academia." UTSA Health Science Center president John Howe III told the *San Antonio Light* that "The institute will focus on biomedical research with commercial applications." In other words, UT administrators even subject biomedical research to a marketing litmus test.

\* \* \* \*

In essence, these technology-transfer schemes take engineering and science professors, who are paid (usually quite well) by the state, and turn them into free labor for Texas venture capitalists and technology-based industries. This transaction takes place under the veil of "economic development," which hides the true nature of the relationship: that taxpayers and tuition-paying students subsidize the payoff to a few private investors.



### From the annual report of the Institute for Constructive Capitalism

other words, if the state subsidizes Bull's enterprise, Mosier will be happy to reap the rewards for his privately owned company. Presumably, if the board turned Bull down, Mosier wouldn't be so "very interested."

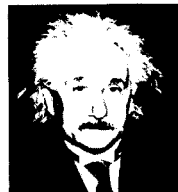
In both cases, Mosier's letters display the influence of technology transfer on professors' research—he presents the two scientists with the impetus to bend their research to the dictates of the market. If professors want to receive the benefits RAI could offer, they must play by RAI's rules.

### Texas Research and Technology Foundation

Another egregious example of regental involvement in commercializing UT research involves recently-appointed regent and former right-wing congressman Tom Loeffler and the Texas Research and Technology Foundation (TRTF). Loeffler sits on both the Board of Governors and the Board of Trustees of TRTF, which operates a self-described "non-profit" research park and venture capital operation in San Antonio.

The governing board overflows with other big names from Texas politics, industry, and academia, including UT. The Board of Governors includes former Governor Dolph Briscoe, former San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros, billionaire H. Ross Perot, Austin banker Ben Love, and real estate tycoon and S&L-cra high roller Trammell Crow. UT-con-

Company donated the land for the 1,514 acre park on March 19, 1986. Almost two years before, however, in October 1984, the UT-System Board of Regents agreed to build an Institute of Biotechnology in the park. It wasn't until a full year after the land donation to TRTF that H. Ross Perot donated \$15 million to build the UT Biotechnology Institute the regents had promised three years earlier. In January of 1990, *The Wall Street Journal* reported that the program expected to attract \$130 million in capital "by early this year." But as of June 1, 1990, UT's biotech institute stood as the park's only resident, and TRTF's venture capital fund, VenTex, had raised only \$3.6 million.



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# The price of 'free' information:

## How UT and the state attack the Texas Open Records Act

by Kathy Mitchell

In the past months students have used the Texas Open Records Act to discover information on the English 306 controversy, UT President Cunningham's relations with multinational corporations, the University's financial structure, and UT's connections and position in the political economy of Austin and the state. But recently our access to information has come under attack. Universities by their very nature should provide a free and open environment for the exchange of information, and the very fact that UT doesn't makes a strong statement about the moral basis on which the University stands.

UT is the single largest line item in the state budget, possesses more political clout than any other state agency, and actively uses its vast resources to make economic decisions that effect the entire state. Still, its top officials—usually wealthy businessmen—are all appointed, and there's simply no popular input into its decisions outside the influence of a few large donors. More than any other state agency, UT's deserves close scrutiny, and the Open Records Act is the only vehicle by which we can monitor its actions. The following article will discuss the recent infringements on student access to university documents, and provide a brief legal and political history of the evolution of Texas open records law.

### The Bond Market for Information

In a recent telephone conversation, Vice Provost Patty Ohlendorf demanded a \$144 bond for an open records request on materials relating to a Freeport-McMoRan research contract with the University. She went on to say that the \$144 was only an estimate, and that the final bill might be higher depending on the amount of time individuals like Natural Sciences Dean Boyer spend with their files. In a letter outlining the charges, she wrote that students would pay Dean Boyer of Natural Sciences \$50.00/hr. for the time it takes him to go through his correspondence. Further, the letter concludes that the amount of time the President's Office might need to "excise student info" cannot be estimated, and the costs can be added later if significant.

Ohlendorf admits that this was in fact a policy change, accelerated by the open records requests received from by the administration this summer. "Although I plan to write a Policy Memorandum addressing costs now that we have received clarification on the matter from legal counsel, I have not yet had time to do so," she wrote on Sept. 19. Six weeks and many open records requests later students still have received no statement from the Administration outlining the legal basis for the new policy.

### The Sharpstown Bank Scandal of 1971 implicated a number of legislators and government officials in SEC fraud, conflict of interest and bribery.

Students have never before been asked to cover labor fees for highly paid individuals like Boyer or System Attorney Mel Hazelwood. Ohlendorf said that the Vice President's office had applied for an attorney general's recommendation a year ago, but had received nothing until, at the end of the summer, the VP's office pressured the attorney general to respond. She claims to have the approval now for charges, but has produced no evidence of it.

System Attorney Hazelwood, in a letter dated Sept. 10, informed us that his own opinion regarding fees for students and student access to information was not written down anywhere—although he would base future charges upon it—and that the Open Records Act does not require the production of new records. In other words, the system has created a new policy but does not feel inclined to produce a policy statement for students to read as a guideline.

A high fee for open records virtually closes off student access to information and undermines the basic purpose of the act. Written into law in 1973, the act guarantees that "all persons are, unless

otherwise expressly provided by law, at all times entitled to full and complete information regarding the affairs of government and the official acts of those who represent them as public officials and employees. The people, in delegating authority, do not give their public servants the right to decide what is good for the people to know and what is not good for them to know. The people insist on remaining informed so that they may retain control over the instruments they have created. *To that end the provisions of this Act shall be liberally construed.*" (italics added).

### Origins of the Act:

#### The Sharpstown Bank Scandal

The Texas Open Records Act was drawn up in the wake of government banking scandals remarkably similar to the S&L scandals that plague us today. The Sharpstown Bank Scandal of 1971 implicated a number of legislators and government officials in SEC fraud, conflict of interest, and bribery, and sharpened public awareness of the high costs of a secretive governing body.

The SEC filed a stock fraud suit implicating Houston banker Frank Sharp, then-Governor Preston Smith, Attorney General Waggoner Carr, House speaker Gus F. Mutscher, one of his aides, and former Representative Tommy Shannon, in a scheme to conceal assets by switching them among three banks and two insurance companies as each firm came under SEC scrutiny. Further, defendants attempted to avoid FDIC regulation by having legislation introduced that would enable state banks to be insured by state insurance companies rather than the FDIC.

According to the SEC petition, "The defendants caused large sums of money to be loaned to certain legislators, employees and members of the Executive Branch," including Dr. Elmer Baum, one of the three members of the Texas Banking Board. Governor Smith and Dr. Baum each made over \$62,000 profit on insurance company shares sold six weeks after their purchase from Sharp.

In other incidents, indictments of several former state legislators on "numerous counts of theft of state funds and property brought unusual and encouraging political pressures from a large segment of the general public for substantive action," according to then Rep. J. Nowlin, one of the legislators who worked on the original Open Records legislation.

The Texas Open Records Act represented a commitment on the part of many legislators to a more open and accessible government. The act shifted the burden of proof from the person requesting information to the agency. People no longer need to demonstrate their reasons for looking at their own government's records. The agency must now demonstrate that the requested information falls under a specific exemption or turn it over.

The act guarantees that no governing body may make crucial policy decisions without open hearings, that citizens can observe all meetings where votes are taken or where crucial information is imparted, and that anyone can apply for

records filed with a state agency. If the agency chooses not to release information it must, within 10 days, state the attorney general's ruling governing the exemption. If there is no current attorney general's ruling, the agency must apply for one. In general, advice and opinions exchanged among policy makers is protected from disclosure, but all forms of information exchange are public. We do not have the legal right to view the process by which our administrators make decisions, but we do have the right to know the information upon which administrators base their decisions.

### The "Protection of Certain Information" Law

In the last five years, however, several legislative changes have diluted the Act's force, particularly as it relates to the University. Some of the most important changes were passed into law, not through the committee charged with public information law, but through the education committee, and tacked onto the education code.

This "back-door" amendment strategy has been used since 1981 by the Reagan-Bush administration in its war on the federal Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Texas Open Records clause 3(a)1, like the Federal exemption (b)(3), allows agencies to withhold information that is made secret by other Federal or State law. In other words, legislation may be written by committees other than the FOIA/Open Records oversight committees, without being reviewed in a public records hearing. These changes are often drawn up by those sympathetic with increased restrictions.

### At the national level, the 'back-door' procedure created major restrictions on the availability of previously unclassified information.

At the national level, the "back-door" procedure created major restrictions on the availability of previously unclassified information. The FOIA was amended through the Anti-Drug Abuse Act that allows agencies to "neither confirm nor deny" the existence of records pertaining to criminal investigations, informants, intelligence or terrorism. The Atomic Energy Act of 1981 allows for prohibitions against the "dissemination of unclassified information" (my italics) pertaining to atomic energy defense programs. A new classification, *enforcement sensitive*, was invented in 1982 just for the EPA, which may now choose not to disclose otherwise unclassified material. Since then such new categories have proliferated, like the Department of Energy's new *Unclassified with Deletion* regulation, extending to regulatory agencies a broader power to limit access to data on the companies they are sup-

posed to regulate.

Texas Senate Bill No. 840, added to the Education Code by the Education Committee, Aug. 26, 1985, instituted protections for "all information relating to a product, device, or process, the application or use of such a product ... developed in whole or in part at a state institution of higher education, regardless of whether patentable or capable of being registered ... that have potential for being sold traded or licensed for a fee." The University grounded its full scale attack on conflict of interest law in this crucial "Protection of Certain Information."

## Gonzalo Barrientos, State Senator and UT system lackey, wrote both sections of the bill, analyzed it for the committees, and pushed it through both Houses.

Senate Bill 840 at the same time established the Center for Technology Development and Transfer which legalized corporate/faculty partnerships for the commercialization of research and approved board shareholding "in corporations engaged in the development, manufacture, or marketing of products, technology, or scientific information under license from the board."

Administrators and faculty protect information about basic scientific research even before any commercial potential has been proven. This undermines the scientific exchange of ideas that has long been a tenet of university-based research.

Gonzalo Barrientos, State Senator and UT system lackey, wrote both sections of the bill, analyzed it for the committees, and pushed it through both Houses without any significant changes from the original wording. The only person to testify before the Senate committee, was then head of the General Council for the UT System, James L. Crowson. According to Crowson, the legislation raised no first amendment questions with regard to the general protection from disclosure of scholarly material that might, in the future, be saleable. The public hearing, posted without fanfare, brought no further testimony, and the House passed the bill by non-record vote.

Texas legislators honed the definition of "intellectual property" further with Senate Bill No. 321 of 1987. This act created new exemptions from public release for materials collected privately but donated to public institutions, including oral history interviews, personal papers, unpublished letters, rare books and original manuscripts. Sec. 3(a)(20) now exempts materials like those at the HRC from public disclosure at the discretion of the donor or the University. The same act also protects the names of applicants for the job of President until finalists have been chosen, and protects

We wanted to run a picture of the foyer to President Cunningham's office and the eight secretaries who work there, but Cunningham's executive assistant, Joyce Moos, turned us away, declaring that Cunningham does not "open up" his office to "commercial businesses," like Polemicist. To see what type of businesses Cunningham does "open up" his offices to, see article, page four.

### All the President's secretaries: Staff members compile students' Open Records Requests

"curriculum objectives and test items by educational institutions."

Not only is more University information protected, but people who request information are likely to pay more as a result of another "back-door" incursion. In 1989 the legislature passed H.B. 1285, a huge package which completely revised at a technical level the ways agencies must gather and access information.

Until September of 1989, the law governing fees simply said that costs "shall not be excessive," and that agencies should make "every effort to match the charges with the actual cost of providing records." Under H.B. No. 1285, part of a larger revision of the Government Code, this has been amended to specify "costs of materials, labor and overhead." "Overhead" leaves the agency, in this case Patty Ohlendorf's office, a great deal of leeway to charge students for the infrastructure of Open Records production. "Labor" can be tabulated as she sees fit. This is a direct reversal of the precedent set by Attorney General's opinion (JM-114, 1984), which had held that "A governmental body may not charge for employee time in editing records or in making records available."

Further, while the new 1989 law provides for fines if the agency has overcharged, it also states that the defendant (student) must be able to prove the University "did not act in good faith in computing the costs." The law also provides additional protections ("affirmative defenses") for agencies which are sued for documents.

And while the Act deems that agencies must limit fees for labor and overhead to a "reasonable" level, it does not specify how that term will be defined. In a recent fee decision, Attorney General Jim Mattox found in favor of the requestor, who appealed a fee of \$95.00 for the production of a document from

the Texas Highway Commission because he had been charged for employee time to *put together* a document that in fact already existed in bound form.

### What They Want to Hide

Recent open records requests have pinpointed President Bill Cunningham's and Provost Gerry Fonken's direct and per-

sonal interference in the modification of the syllabus for English 306. And the president's appointment book revealed that not only does he make a \$50,000 salary from Freeport McMoran, but he also spends his vacation at the Freeport House in Colorado and much of his time jetting to Freeport and other board meet-

**see Open Records, page 17...**

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# On the Political Economy of the Middle East Crisis

by Kathy Mitchell  
and Scott Henson

The fear of "U.S. dependence on foreign oil" among policy makers has underwritten the U.S. invasion of Saudi Arabia and a government-corporate partnership to undermine protection of environmentally sensitive areas. The invasion itself has deflected the efforts of OPEC leaders to fit into a world oil market dominated by the U.S., and covered up the history of U.S. covert relations with Saudi Arabia. Inflammatory descriptions in the media of vast Middle Eastern oil reserves, based largely on estimates from unexplored and partially surveyed areas, lead us to believe that without unrestricted access to Arab oil we will face the downfall of civilization as we know it. The following discussion—primarily drawn from the oil and business press as well as industry sources—attempts to dispel some of the misconceptions surrounding the political economy of the Middle East crisis.

## Arab Oil:

### The Myth of U.S. Dependence

According to the World Almanac, OPEC produces 35 percent of the world's oil, but Arab members produce less than half that amount. Contrary to popular belief, OPEC is not a consortium of Arab nations. Of the 13 members, only seven are Arab. Major OPEC producers include Venezuela, Nigeria, Ecuador, Gabon, Indonesia, and Iran. The Arab states combined produce only 17 percent of the world's oil, and the Middle East produces substantially less than that.

Iraq and Kuwait combined produced less than nine percent of all U.S. oil

COMPANY	Total output (add 000)	U.S. output (add 000)	Europe Canada	Middle East (and other for.)	M.E. as % of total	U.S. as % of total
ARCO	718.6	648.5	7.9	13.4	2%	90.50%
SHELL	508	427	81	no data available		84
BRIT. PETROL	1412	784	478	93	6	55.5
PHILLIPS	218	102	88	exploratory Egypt only		46.7
CHEVRON	949	481.9	344.1	31.2	3	50.7
EXXON	6634	2634	2797	145	2	39
AMOCO	815	304	144	267	32.7	37.2

Accurate Middle Eastern output figures are very difficult to get because American oil companies do not have to report their overseas operations in any sort of detail. The above figures represent the largest possible amounts that might be coming from the Middle East. Many of the M.E. figures also include substantial African output, esp. Nigeria and Chad, because most companies combine these figures. Some companies simply categorize output under U.S., Europe, and Rest of World.

imports between January and May of this year, according to estimates from the American Petroleum Institute (API), the oil industry's primary trade association and lobbyist. The U.S. fulfills more than half its oil needs with domestic production, and imports the other 41 percent from a variety of nations. The non-OPEC producers (U.S., Britain, Canada, China, Mexico, the Soviet Union) dominate the world's oil market. Texas alone produces 1.7 million barrels per day—twice the combined Iraq and Kuwaiti exports to the U.S. The United States is not dependent on middle eastern oil.

In addition, American companies are not now heavily invested in the Middle East. Exxon, with 5.9 million acres for exploration and drilling in Egypt and 840,000 acres for active development in

Yemen, procures a mere .01 percent of company revenues from the Middle East. Shell Oil, which began last year to draw oil from 10 new wells in Syria, attributes only 0.13 percent of revenues to its total foreign assets, which include wells in Brazil, Cameroon and Malaysia, as well as Syria. Like most American oil companies, Chevron's primary foreign interests lie in the British North Sea, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Nigeria, Sudan, Chad, and other African nations.

Further, most oil companies have developed vertically integrated systems to cushion the fluctuations in oil prices. Since the first oil crisis in the late '70's, companies like Mobil, Chevron, Exxon, and Middle East-based companies like ARAMCO have expanded operations to include both wells and refineries. When the price of oil goes up, the wells sell oil to company refineries at the higher price and make a greater profit margin. The refineries that have to pay more and see their profits go down the same amount. Mobil illustrates the approach, called the "upstream/downstream model", in its 1990 annual report. On the page entitled "Upstream", the company claims "Higher crude prices, efficiencies raise profits 25%". Five pages later, the Downstream managers announce "Earnings off 27%, but better than in other tough years". Since the oil companies own all the facilities from production to refining to retail distribution, the upstream/downstream approach stabilizes profits over time.

The sharp rise in oil prices is a function not of the current availability of oil, but of speculation in the oil futures market since the start of the current U.S. escalation. The oil industry has suddenly incurred a higher degree of risk from the perspective of a futures buyer, and the decisions of futures speculators are used as indicators of the amounts of oil available to purchasers. In fact, other OPEC nations and non-OPEC suppliers have been more than able to fill standing orders and discover supplies for future contracts.

The American Petroleum Institute (API) estimates combined Kuwaiti and Iraqi pre-embargo oil output at 4 mil-

lion barrels per day (bpd). That amount can easily be made up through other suppliers. In the September 26 *Oil Daily*, European Economic Community Energy Commissioner Antonio Cardoso Cunha declares the oil price rise "totally unjustified and indefensible." Oil stocks in Europe and elsewhere are at "unusually high levels," he says, and already the loss of Iraqi and Kuwaiti production "has been made up."

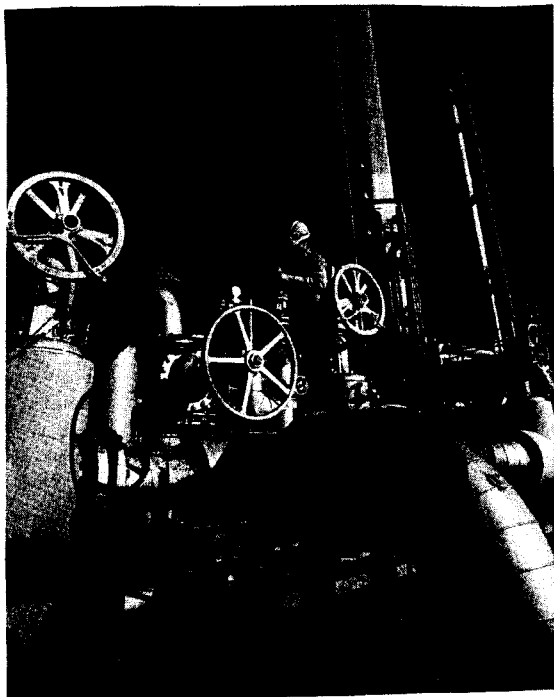
Other sources corroborate Cunha's assessment. As of September 10, according to *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly* (PIW, a right-wing insider oil magazine), Saudi Arabia had already marketed more than 1.5 million bpd "on the basis of customer requests for extra volume." In the same issue, *PIW* declares that "Venezuela is pulling out all the stops in efforts to add 500,000 barrels a day ... by year's end." According to the September 20 *Oil Daily*, "with Nigeria and other OPEC members chipping in, the OPEC level of production may reach the OPEC ceiling within three months, as all members increase production." In September *PIW* noted that Saudi Arabia alone "has enough surge capacity to boost output next month by a further 10%," although "all of this volume may not be saleable."

Even Kuwait can profitably make up for the loss of its domestic supply by shifting to foreign production. The Kuwait state oil company, KPC, recently moved its overseas production subsidiary to London, alongside its London-based refining and marketing branches. KPC's U.S.-based drilling still operating normally. In fact, the company is currently increasing its output in Yemen, Egypt and Australia, and is exploring interests in Vietnam and Malaysia. According to *PIW*, "Confidence is high that KPI can operate profitably. Restrictions on its assets are being gradually lifted. Like other well stocked oil companies, KPI has profited from the crude oil price hike."

## Assault on the Environment:

### The Hidden Agenda

When policy makers talk about our "dependency on foreign oil," suspect a hid-





den agenda. The major oil companies and their industry lobbyists have long used the "dependency" argument to combat environmental and labor constraints surrounding domestic oil production. President Bush's call for an immediate increase in domestic oil production gives the companies the perfect opportunity to abolish those constraints. According to *PIW* the White House may also push for quicker action with federal agencies that are blocking new energy production for environmental or other reasons."

Within days of the initial troop deployments, Charles DiBona, President and CEO of API, appeared before Congress to lobby for the immediate opening of a large domestic rig off Santa Barbara. API, the oil companies' primary industry group, declares that the best "short term" solution to the "latest energy crisis" is "opening the Point Arguello field off the California coast." DiBona told Congress that the Chevron-owned rig could be brought on line immediately and produce 100,000 bpd. *PIW* reports that the Department of Energy has already followed API's lead, using the crisis to pressure California environmental regulatory agencies to open the rig.

According to Santa Barbara County's Water Agency manager, Rob Almy, however, Chevron will require at least six months to begin pumping oil, and another 18 months to reach full production levels. Further, the pipeline currently in place would only carry a maximum of 40,000 bpd. A larger production would require tankering the oil, and Chevron hasn't yet received its tankering permit, which is being contested over potential violations of toxic emissions in three California air basins. "Absent some form of national emergency that supercedes state and federal law, Chevron must follow county permit regulations," said Almy.

The Middle East crisis has been used by Chevron and the industry lobby to try and override local control concerning environmental issues. A Santa Barbara group called Get Oil Out! and the Energy Division of the Santa Barbara County Resource Management Office had succeeded in preventing production until safe transportation of the oil could be guaranteed. According to Kelly Quirke of San Francisco Greenpeace, a pipeline already exists from the Point Arguello field to Chevron's refining facilities in

El Segundo. But because Chevron is a "vertically integrated" oil company (see above), it prefers to tanker its oil to the refinery rather than pay the All-American Pipeline Company for transportation costs.

Tankering the oil would not only increase the risk of a Valdez-style oil spill at Point Arguello, but the 136 tanker trips per year that would be required to transport the oil would release hundreds of tons of toxic air emissions in three southern California Air Basins—Santa Barbara, Ventura, and Los Angeles—all of which already violate federal clean air restrictions. Quirke says to his knowledge, Chevron has been the only oil company in California that has actively tried to manipulate the Middle East crisis to open environmentally sensitive areas for production.

California Governor George Deukmejian, during a press conference on education, insisted that "environmentally sensitive" offshore drilling should begin immediately instead of risking rushed implementation during a national crisis.

But the California coast isn't the only environmental target under assault by the oil industry. API also advocates a "long term" strategy to reduce "dependence" on oil imports, again concentrating on dismantling environmental protection statutes. For the past decade the oil industry has explicitly linked the need to lower "dependency" on oil imports by increasing domestic production under the rubric of "national security."

A 1987 discussion paper by the American Petroleum Institute entitled "Petroleum Production on the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge Coastal Plain and the National Interest" lays out this critique explicitly, complaining bitterly that the U.S. imports oil from "unstable" regions. The paper states: "This single factor—the concentration of a large fraction of free world reserves in a politically unstable area—is a key source of national security risks. While this risk cannot be averted entirely, the associated costs can be reduced and delayed by policies which encourage domestic petroleum exploration and production and a reduced dependence on imported oil. Development of the petroleum resources of the ANWR [Arctic National Wildlife Refuge] coastal plain could make a significant contribution to reducing import dependency by the early 21st century."



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Nuclear energy means more energy independence.

## The nuclear industry exploits the Middle East crisis.

In this vein, API now advocates "opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge coastal plain to oil and natural gas operations and making more of the federal outer continental shelf available for petroleum development" as a "long term" solution to petroleum "dependency." Oblighingly, according to *PIW*, "The Department of Energy is expected to recommend reopening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil exploration as a partial solution to the problem of growing import dependence."

The day after Iraq invaded Kuwait, Senator Frank Murkowski (R-Alaska) amended the Defense Authorization bill to include a clause directing the President to open federal lands to oil exploration and drilling if oil imports ever reached 50 percent of consumption. The President would be required "to prepare a schedule under which exploitation of these lands would go forward, substantially exempt from other federal laws," according to the Bodega Bay, California Local Government Coordination Program bulletin. "At the top of this hit list would presumably be the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge."

Not only the oil industry but also the nuclear lobby has taken advantage of the crisis for its own ends. Advertising campaigns around the country by nuclear lobbies like the U.S. Council For Energy Awareness have focused on escalating the use of nuclear power. Claims one ad: "This excessive dependence on foreign oil could poison America's economy and our national security. One-hundred twelve nuclear plants will not be enough to meet our rapidly growing demand for electricity. We need more plants. Im-

porting so much oil is a danger America must avoid. Such opportunism ignores the reality of the sources of America's oil supply, and manipulate the current crisis for particularistic interests. The rhetoric of oil dependence underwrites not only militarism abroad, but environmental destruction at home. **IP**

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# Saddam, the U.S. Media, and the Palestinians: Organizing against racist stereotypes

This article is a reprint of a speech given at the *Comparative Literature Cultural Studies Conference*, Oct. 4 - 6, here at UT. The panel focused on problems and strategies of organizing in the UT community. The struggles of the PSC are of particular relevance to the current militarism.

by Jaleh Hajibashi

Anti-Arab racism, the marginalization of the Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC) as a "radical" group, and widespread ignorance about Middle Eastern cultures and histories make any productive dialogue about the current military intervention and its relation to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict a challenge.

The aims of this article are as follows: (1) To particularize today's anti-Arab racism in the United States by describing in some detail anti-Arab racism as it is manifest in Austin. (2) To question the portrayal of the PSC as a so-called "radical" group in light of our actual objectives, clearly articulated by the national PSC. The calculated labelling of our solidarity organization as "radical" discourages serious consideration of the PSC's positions. (3) To highlight American ignorance of Middle Eastern cultures, suggesting the extent to which this ignorance is politically efficacious and therefore quite actively perpetuated in most American institutions of learning.

The situation in the gulf has exposed anti-Arab feelings in rather obvious ways as of late. Those of us who are of Middle Eastern extraction or who work on the Middle East professionally or politically know that the eruptions of anti-Arab racism which accompany political turmoil in the Arab world are symptomatic of a problem which is present even when it isn't blatant. The T-shirt slogans and political cartoons that we see every day demonstrate by the very force of their condensed hatred that anti-Arab racism (or more accurately, anti-Middle Eastern racism) in this country is deep-rooted and extensive.

Keeping that in mind, let's look at a couple of the blatantly racist T-shirts which are, judging from the presence of ads in *The Daily Texan*, and the presence of the actual T-shirts on the drag, finding a market on this campus.

The first shirt (see Figure 1) depicts a map that symbolically advocates the wholesale nuclear destruction of Iraq, Kuwait, Iran and the upper part of Saudi Arabia. What is perhaps most culturally telling about the shirt is that bonus megatons draw special attention to the added attraction of an excuse to obliterate Iran, and that the nuclear fallout extends well in to Saudi Arabia. Never

mind that Iran is not on Saddam's side; never mind that officially the Saudis are U.S. allies; never mind that millions of people would burn; Middle Eastern people would be fun to kill. Like a video war game, the more people who die, the more bonus points.

The shirt which reads "I'd fly 10,000 miles to smoke a camel" (see Figure 2) also reveals the American propensity to either not recognize, or simply disregard, cultural and national specificities in the Middle East. The representation of the Arab in the gunsight fails to draw any distinction between our enemy and the

region to a racist slur. Three of the caricatures are of course readily identifiable as Saddam Hussein, Ghadafi, and Khomeini. The fourth character, a sort of generic oil-rich sheik type, very heavy into Islam (judging from the symbolic sword), effects yet another blurring of our supposed allies with our enemies and reinforces the fact that the racism we confront here is of a particularly expansive sort.

As it was in the case of the other anti-Semitic racism this century has witnessed—that which targeted Jews for genocide—so it is with the Muslims as

on the national level and in Austin because of the fact that our organization is referred to as "radical." Where does this label come from? The PSC does recognize the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Because the PLO is portrayed in American media as "radical," and because Yasir Arafat is identified as a "terrorist," by extension the PSC gets labelled a "radical" group. Any connection with the PLO is still very much exploited by groups who oppose the PSC to discredit the speakers we bring and any information we make available.

When Edward Said, a member of the Palestinian National Council and a professor at Columbia, spoke at UT last month about the gulf crisis, people attending were leafleted as they entered the auditorium. The propaganda urged them to "ask Edward Said about his ties to the PLO." A picture of Arafat with Saddam Hussein illustrated the leaflet.

As PSC members, we have to deal with this, in spite of the fact that the PSC is not involved in internal Palestinian affairs or policy decisions. By its very definition—as a group in solidarity with the Palestinian people—the PSC must allow that the Palestinians have the right to designate their own leadership. Is it really "radical" to recognize the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinians when all UN member nations except Israel and the US have done so?

The portrayal of the PSC as "radical" has not been limited to the conservative right in this country. There has been considerable hesitation on the part of left or progressive groups to involve themselves with the PSC as well, because of what was until recently a very widespread perception of Israel as a haven of liberal democratic values in the midst of a large grouping of hostile Arab Islamic nation-states. The Austin chapter of PSC was initially not welcomed by local progressive groups. Fortunately, times have changed and now many campus and community organizations recognize the blatant violations of human rights and international law occurring under Israeli occupation (among them the Austin Peace and Justice Coalition, the New Jewish Agenda, the Steve Biko Committee, and the Black Student Alliance).

The human-rights violations with which we concern ourselves include: deportations of Palestinians from their native land, administrative detentions (no explanation or trial required for imprisonment of up to six months), communal punishment (house demolitions, extended curfews), expropriation and active settlement of occupied territory, closings of universities and secondary schools, and beatings and tear gassing of



Figure 1: Racist T-shirt sold on the drag

Arabs we are supposedly there to protect. The *jalabeyya*, or long garment which the targeted Arab is wearing is not at all representative of typical Iraqi dress. Rather, the *jalabeyya* is prevalent in those countries who are ostensibly our allies, most notably, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Egypt. Same goes for the camel.

Take a look at the cartoon from the *Austin-American Statesman*. (Figure 3) For those who don't know the significance of the dates on the oil rigs, 1956 marks the war which took place when Nasser (Egypt's president at the time), tried to nationalize the Suez canal. England, France and Israel didn't think it was Egypt's to nationalize. 1967 was the year when Israel defeated Egyptian, Jordanian, and Syrian forces, taking the Gaza strip, the West Bank, the Golan Heights, and the Sinai Peninsula. The logic of using these dates to prove that Arabs and Iranians have a long history of being blood-thirsty "crusaders" escapes me. Linking Hussein's present actions with what happened in '56 and '67 in this uncritical fashion exemplifies the gross distortion of historical fact that pervades the U.S. media.

The cartoon also presents a telling example of Arab stereotyping. The unidentifiable figure on the far left shifts this cartoon from a jab at particular leaders in

well; religious difference is added to ethnic difference in order to make the hatred stronger. All too often, such racist images, combined with decontextualized attempts at representing history, pass for political humor among U.S. pundits and cartoonists.

Last spring a card which depicts Yasir Arafat on his knees, hands outstretched, his racial features exaggerated, was on the trendy racks of cards by the registers at Whole Foods Market. The joke of the card hinges on a rather weak pun. "Yas Sir" is spelled in black dialect on the front, "that's my baby" sung by the kneeling Arab inside. The Arab as "nigger" is apparently amusing even at a progressive grocery store. Could a leader of any other struggle be insulted so overtly? What, for example, would happen if Nelson Mandela were subjected to the same race-based insult?

The problem of anti-Arab racism is of course very much a problem of the Palestine Solidarity Committee: We have a much harder time educating people about the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the issues which surround it when the media preconditions the public to hate the ethnic group we stand in solidarity with.

As mentioned earlier, the PSC has had problems working effectively both

school age children. From within the PSC, we wonder why it is "radical" to ask that such things be stopped, or at the very least that our government stop subsidizing such abuses through the some \$4 billion we give Israel in foreign aid every year.

More difficult to understand, perhaps, is why it's "radical" to question the isolation of human rights struggles from one another. The national PSC has worked hard to provide a network for the productive explorations of connections between the issues of: the people in struggle in South Africa and Latin America, those of racial minorities in this country, and those of the Palestinians. Here in Austin, we have tried to bring the national organization's concerns to bear on our local chapter. ANC members, eye witness delegations which have included Black and Hispanic delegates, and both Palestinian and Israeli women activists have been provided a forum to speak in the Austin community by the PSC.

Further, PSC explicitly combats discrimination in all its forms: religious, racial, sexual. The Palestinian Declaration of Independence issued in November of 1988 states that the PLO has officially recognized Israel's right to exist and makes explicit the prohibition of discrimination on the basis of race, religion and gender. In contrast, the exclusionary nature of a religious state should be as apparent in Israel as it is in Iran. Yet think about how often you have heard the term "radical" Zionist, or fundamentalist Jew in the media in juxtaposition to how natural it feels to say "radical Palestinian" or "fundamentalist Muslim."

The PSC may be radical in the sense that it does seek to make extreme changes in existing views and institutions—but it is most assuredly *not* an essentialist, isolationist or anti-Jewish organization, a fact which is attested to by the diverse membership of the group and the work that has been done toward building coalitions with other progressive organizations in the university and Austin communities. *We are a group of people concerned with the mechanisms of marginalization and oppression as they are deployed not just in the case of Palestini-*

*ans, but in general.*

Following Edward Said's lead in thinking about the relations of language to reality, of knowledge to power, we ask: How it is possible for the word "Arab" to condense a number of countries, religious identifications, languages and cultures into a single stereotyped image in the minds of a large number of Americans? Why do words like "Arab," "Palestinian," "Iranian," and "Muslim" all begin to run together? And how is it that the words "terrorist," "radical" and "fundamentalist," appended to any of the four identities just mentioned, become redundancies?

We wonder why it is that only specialists know that there is more to the centuries-old traditions of Middle Eastern literatures than the *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* (that is, Edward Fitzgerald's re-writing of Khayyam), *1001 Nights*, and Naguib Mahfouz; or why most people don't know that Persian is not a dialect of Arabic. We wonder why books about Islam as a religion, and books which are ostensibly "fiction" are placed in generic Middle Eastern studies sections or even Middle Eastern political science sections, instead of the more generally accessed fiction or religion sections in large Austin bookstores. (For examples, check the UT Co-Op and Half Price Books.)

With all these questions running around in our heads, as PSC members we set out to organize events or to sit at a table on the West Mall and meet the immediate consequences of such culturally and institutionally encouraged ignorance of our fellow students.

Once one has worked with the PSC, it's easier to see the historically specific, politically-based factors which have determined that "Palestine" is not a word which shall appear in a dictionary of the English language as an independent entry; rather, it will be relegated to the ancient past where it can be used to locate Jewish identity. *Webster's* defines a Jew as a member of a nation existing in Palestine from the 6th c. B.C. to the 1st c. A.D. It is also less of a mystery why an Israeli is defined as "a native or inhabitant of the republic of Israel" yet there is no entry for "Palestinian." It has been possible through a systematic distortion

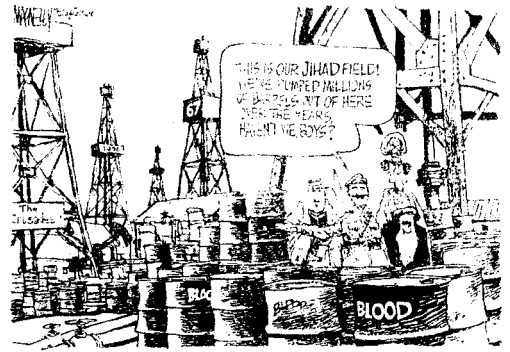


Figure 3: Cartoon from the *Austin American-Statesman*

of historical facts to ensure that a Palestinian who was born in Jerusalem, to a family that had lived in the city for generations is neither a native nor an inhabitant of either the historical land of Palestine or the modern state of Israel.

Austin PSC works to overcome the barriers posed by racism and ignorance to provide a place for Palestinian culture

to be experienced and appreciated, and to provide information which affirms, despite what the dictionary and the American media would have us believe, that Palestine is a place, and the Palestinian people have a right to self-determination. P

Contact PSC at 322-9226.

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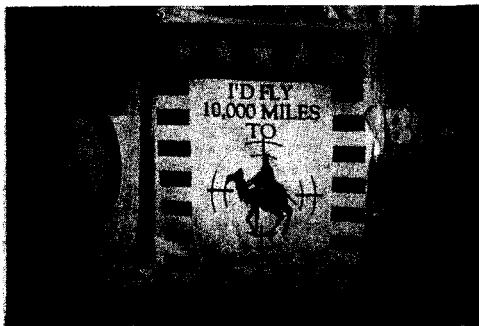


Figure 2: Another racist T-shirt

# Oil Policy and U.S. Covert Action in the Middle East

by Kathy Mitchell and Scott Henson

The specter of a surprise Iraqi invasion which caught the United States and the Western world off its guard has been central to the rhetoric surrounding the U.S. buildup in the Middle East. In truth the oil industry press gave ample warning of the coming invasion, and by its silence, the U.S. government gave every indication it would not interfere. And as for the incredible swiftness with which President Bush mobilized his troops for Operation Desert Shield, the history of U.S. covert actions in the region throughout the '80s gives insight into the speed, strength and force with which American troops were dispatched to the region. Understanding the recent OPEC politics and the recent history of American-Saudi oil politics can help explain heretofore overlooked questions about American goals and motivations in the Middle East crisis.

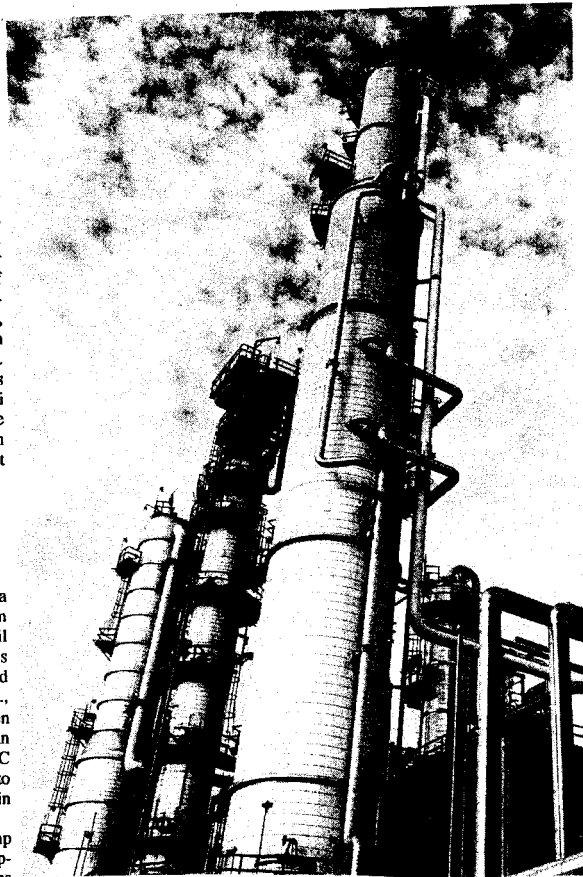
## The Iraqi Invasion: Surprise Attack or Public Knowledge?

Iraq's defiance of Kuwait's OPEC quota busting tactics received praises from American policy makers as well as oil industry representatives in the months before the invasion. The U.S. long backed the objectives of Iraqi oil policies—i.e., limiting supply to increase prices—even after Iraq bombed American tankers in the Persian Gulf. In May 1990, OPEC nations met to set quotas, intending to facilitate a slow and steady increase in oil prices.

Most countries would rather not pump to their full potential, because oversupply causes oil prices to fall. Countries like Kuwait, however, have huge reserves and relatively small populations. They can more than compensate for a small price drop through massive overproduction. In the short term, this strategy reaps great profits at the expense of oil producers who abide by their quotas.

According to the August 1990 issue of the industry journal *World Oil*, "Iraq has been one of the few countries with large productivity to adhere to OPEC production quotas, and it insists it will continue to do so." Saddam Hussein, at an emergency meeting of the Arab League in May, charged that Kuwaiti quota violations had cost Iraq \$14 billion. By the beginning of July, Kuwaiti violations drew world attention, and Saddam sent his Prime Minister to Kuwait and to Abu Dhabi in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) to argue for the original quotas. By July 17, Saddam Hussein began to threaten the use of force to protect oil prices.

According to the July *Middle East Monitor*, Iraq depends on oil for 95 percent of its foreign exchange earnings.



The Saudis sold South Africa oil at the bidding of the U.S.

Iraqi revenues had already fallen some 20 percent from 1989 levels. A \$1 per barrel reduction in oil prices amounts to a \$1 billion drop in Iraqi income. Further, in a dispute over the Rumaila oil field at the Iraq/Kuwait border, Iraq claimed that Kuwait had been "slant drilling"—i.e., drilling at an angle across the Iraqi border to bleed Iraq-owned oil fields. In a memorandum, Henry M. Schuler of the Center for Strategic and International Studies wrote that the Kuwaiti monarchy was "acting aggressively—it was economic warfare."

By the OPEC meeting of July 25, Kuwait's continuing violations drew further threats of force, and American oil economists approved. "Baghdad's willingness to use force to advance its oil policy goals stands in sharp contrast to Saudi Arabia's past leadership, which was ultimately based on decreasingly effective threats to flood oil markets. Iraq's strategy is likely to result in higher and less-volatile oil prices than Riyadh's

past approach" (*Petroleum Intelligence Weekly*, July 30). That's a high compliment from the conservative oil press. In the weeks between this OPEC meeting and the invasion, Iraq began to assemble troops at its borders, while Saddam Hussein tried to work out an agreement with Kuwait. The U.S. was hardly unaware of the concerns Saddam Hussein had expressed, and given Hussein's public declarations, could hardly have been surprised at the invasion.

## Peace Shield to Desert Shield: Southern Africa Connections

Ex-CIA director George Bush can hardly be viewed as the morally outraged American President acting on principles of "oil for all" and self-determination for the Kuwaiti royal family. U.S. buildup can be traced to a ten-year history of military negotiations with the Saudi government that began with the AWACS arms deal of 1981.

In the Fall of 1981 Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia received a cherished contract to purchase \$8.5 billion of AWACS aircraft from the United States. General Richard Secord, of Iran-Contra fame, steered the sale through Congress against heavy lobbying. Fired marine Lt. Col. Oliver North, then a National Security Council aide, was the administration's facilitator in the sale, for which he received the prestigious Defense Meritorious Service Medal in 1983.

The arms program, formally called Peace Shield, was officially launched in 1984 and specifies that 35 percent of the ground support systems for the AWACS will be installed and run jointly by American and Saudi State companies. King Fahd insisted that the arms deal must be accompanied by long term investment in Saudi development, and specified that Saudi nationals must be part of the training and implementation of the AWACS program.

This long term proposal, which took nearly eight years to develop, has now come to fruition in the form of American arms support and manufacturing companies located in Saudi Arabia itself. According to Business International's *Investing, Licensing and Trade Conditions in Saudi Arabia*, May 1990, by the end of March five projects had been approved under the first phase of Peace Shield, and had been capitalized to the tune of \$278 million. Others were being arranged. In other words, since the initial arms sale in 1981 the U.S. has slowly dug in as a ground support presence at the invitation of the Saudi government. Americans shouldn't be surprised at the speed with which U.S. forces assembled in Operation Desert Shield. Thanks to Operation Peace Shield, we were already there.

The AWACS arms purchase of 1981, Operation Peace Shield, has been crucial to the development of the Administration's military strategy, not only in the Middle East but throughout the world. As a result of what one administrative aid called "the AWACS rule" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 6/27/86), the administration has been able to channel Saudi investments directly into "anti-communist movements" all over the world.

American businessman Sam Joseph Bamieh testified before the House Subcommittee on Africa, 6/1/87, that in a conversation in late 1981, Prince Fahd "said he was very happy about the fact that finally they got an agreement on the AWACS...an understanding was arrived at whereby, he said, we will supply funds, meaning the Saudis' funds, and raise other funds from friendly governments to Saudi Arabia and sources other than Arabia, to fight, to help you guys fight, the anti-communist movement around the world." Under questioning Bamieh stated that the agreement included no specific locations. "When I asked him where, he says, anywhere the Administration will ask us to. When I said when, he says,

The following interview was conducted by a Polemictist editor with Darryl Cherney at the Hole at the Wall on October 1 in Austin. Cherney, an Earth First! activist from Humboldt County, California, was the victim of a car bomb last May along with his organizing partner Judi Bari. At the time of the bombing, Cherney and Bari were in the process of organizing Redwood Summer—a massive direct-action campaign to stop the destruction of old-growth redwoods in northern California.

Redwood Summer targeted Maxxam Inc. and its CEO Charlie Hurwitz, a corporate raider from Houston, Texas. Cherney was in Austin to participate in a Earth First!'s Barton Creek Week and to research George Kozmetsky, the chief economic advisor to the UT-System Board of Regents, long-time corporate raider and business partner of Hurwitz's, and former director of Maxxam. What follows is only half the full text of the interview—if we have space (read: money), next month we'll run the other half.

**Polemictist:** You've just finished Redwood Summer which was one of the most massive mobilizations of people for direct action around an environmental issue in American history. How would you evaluate Redwood Summer? Was it a success? Did it fulfill your expectations?

**Cherney:** Well, we had about 3,500 people participate over a three month period of time between June and September. And that exceeded our expectations. We felt that the redwoods were a good issue to mobilize people around, but we are not redwood elitists. That is, we are not only interested in protecting redwoods. We wanted the redwood to be a spokesree for other species. We explored building alliances with the labor movement. We felt we were setting a prototype for actions in the future. Also we knew that we would be training thousands of people in non-violent direct action tactics and those people will now go home to their respective communities prepared to do the kind of Earth First! protests we think are effective all over the country.

It was our intent to slow down the logging and to call attention to what we call "speciesism," which is discrimination against species other than human. We did slow down the logging this summer. We did it by bringing national attention to the issue both through grass-roots organizing and by working through the media. And the California Department of Forestry actually did slow down their [logging] approval process, they've admitted that. Of course they won't give us credit for it, but having the public eye focused on their timber harvest approval definitely did slow them down. We did actually protect a couple of groves with our bodies as well. Nevertheless the amount of giant redwoods which are being cut down—still the number is about 10,000 acres a year—is unacceptable.

But we never expected to be able to stop the cutting of old growth or force the companies to log for sustained growth in a short three month period of time. As far

as the drawing attention to speciesism is concerned, we definitely woke the timber industry up like never before both in northern California and in the Pacific Northwest and this is a process in which first the loggers and then the public are awakened to the problem. Earth First! essentially is serving as an alarm clock. We all know nobody likes their alarm clock but everybody has one. And now we feel ready for the next step: alerting people to the real problems such as speciesism and corporate exploitation.

## Redwood Summer and Beyond: An interview with Earth First! organizer Darryl Cherney

**Polemictist:** As a follow-up to Redwood Summer, you're now in the process of organizing what you call Corporate Fall. Describe Corporate Fall and what goals you expect to accomplish. **Cherney:** Basing campaigns on the seasons is a concept that we're introducing and I think it's a good one. For one, it puts us more in rhythm with the Earth in terms of the kinds of campaigns that we're doing. But secondly it gives us a bit more of a long-term approach, even if it's in three month increments.

During Redwood Summer activists were blocking bulldozers and essentially getting in the way of the logging. Unfortunately the loggers are the one forcing dictating corporate policy in the ancient redwood forests or anywhere else for that matter. Those people live in ivory towers and places like Houston and Austin, Texas. And Charlie Hurwitz of Maxxam in Houston and George Kozmetsky in Austin are two of those people that we want to target for the next three months during our campaign called Corporate Fall.

So what we plan on doing is sit-ins in corporate offices, leafletting secretaries as to how they can subvert their company legally. We plan on protesting outside the buildings, going to Hurwitz's and Kozmetsky's houses and protesting out there. Essentially holding the corporate titans responsible for the destruction they're wreaking. The motto of Corporate Fall is "The Earth is not dying, it's being killed, and the people killing it have names and addresses."

What we're finding out the more we research Charlie Hurwitz, George Kozmetsky, Michael Milken of Drexel Burnham, and so many others is that these people are involved in more than one scam. For example, Charles Hurwitz and George Kozmetsky are involved not only in the looting of the redwoods but in the looting of the savings and loans, specifically United Savings and Loan of Texas which was once Texas' largest thrift. We see Drexel Burnham financing both the Pacific Lumber takeover and selling junk bonds to United Savings and Loan. We see Charlie Hurwitz looting desert habitat of bighorn sheep, and

draining creeks in Tucson to build golf courses.

In a sense, Kozmetsky and Hurwitz think very globally. We see them surrounded by criminal figures such as Michael Milken, Mark Rich who is corporate public enemy number one with a \$500,000 price tag on his head for tax evasion, and Ivan Boesky, of course, who made \$3 million on insider information in the Pacific Lumber deal, and Boyd Jeffries who was another broker Hurwitz was involved with and he was

us, in a sense, want to ban the bomb. We're not bombmakers, we're trying to ban the bomb.

However when you look at the track record of guys like Charles Hurwitz and George Kozmetsky, who are very wrapped up in the military-industrial complex, they're actually people who make bombs, and who actually use bombs all the time during their normal everyday operations in logging, mining and oil businesses. So, in a sense they are bombers, they're bombers of the Earth. The question is are they bombers of people, and certainly their track records and the track record of their friends would indicate that we can't rule that out.

**Polemictist:** One of the more innovative and controversial aspects of your organizing in northern California has been your and Judi's attempt to bridge the gap between the environmental and labor movements. Describe your and Judi's work in trying to bridge that gap.

**Cherney:** Judi Bari spearheaded the founding of an IWW Local #1 at the Georgia Pacific mill in Fort Bragg, California. IWW stands for the Industrial Workers of the World. They are the Wobblies, the radical labor union founded in 1905 by Mother Jones, Eugene Debs, Big Bill Hayward and basically an all-star cast of labor union organizers. Their position was "no compromise," they advocated sabotage, they sang a lot of songs, so if they bear a resemblance to Earth First! it should be no surprise.

And the fact that Earth First! is now affiliated closely with the Wobblies was perhaps inevitable. The Wobblies essentially were bused by the FBI. Tens of thousands of them were arrested during the Palmer raids in the 1920s where J. Edgar Hoover studied under the tutelage of A. Mitchell Palmer and cut his chops. Once again it's no surprise that the FBI is targeting the direct lineage of the Wobblies with Earth First!

Judi, with seven years of organizing experience in the U.S. Post Office in D.C. and the retail clerks union in Baltimore came into the Georgia Pacific mill as an outside organizer but immediately won the hearts and souls of a number of sawmill workers who had been affected by poor worker safety conditions, most notably a PCB spill which had actually poisoned a number of workers; one severely—he will die, in fact.

If you just think about the implications of that, they are phenomenal. Not only would that completely bridge the gap between the two groups the timber industry wants most to see fighting, but it really does change the whole dichotomy of politics on the west coast if that was to become a success. So, the fact that Judi Bari became a target for assassination was no surprise at all. But the fact that she could wear an Earth First! shirt and organize sawmill workers is a tribute not only to Judi's astounding abilities as a labor organizer, but also to Earth First!'s no compromise positions. And it clearly shows the potential—Earth First! doesn't have to turn off rank and file timber workers, who have their hands directly on the machinery, I might add. ♪

also convicted of parking stock and is a convicted felon.

So Hurwitz and Kozmetsky are essentially amidst a den of thieves, which, you know, if one judges them by their friends, then one could at least extrapolate that Hurwitz and Kozmetsky deserve intensive criminal investigation. However we know that those investigations are not forthcoming because the government would much rather investigate poor people in Oakland as part of their war on drugs than rich white corporate authoritarians who have enough money to pay off anybody they want.

**Polemictist:** The type of organizing that you and Judi Bari do in northern California is certainly not without consequences. In fact, that's a pretty big understatement. The best-known example is when you and Judi were the victims of a pipe bomb in her car on May 24 last spring. What has come of the investigations of the bombing—what's the status of the attempt to find out who's behind the incident?

**Cherney:** Basically there has been no investigation of the bombing, except the blatant attempt to frame two non-violent Earth First! activists, i.e., Judi Bari and myself. Even the letter that took credit for the bombing signed by "The Lord's Avenger" which the police say accurately described the bomb was not researched at all by the Oakland police or the FBI, so it's very clear that they have no interest in finding the bomber. However, they have a great interest in smearing the environmental movement and Judi and I in particular because of the successful work we've done in raising public consciousness as to the plight of the forests, and in directly organizing thousands of people to take part in activism surrounding deforestation in the United States.

For the benefit of folks who don't know me or Judi, besides lifetime track records of non-violence, I can tell you that I've never lit a firecracker in my life. I've never hit another person with my fist in my life. Judi organized with labor unions 10, 15 years ago for seven years. She's committed to both humanitarian as well as ecological goals. And both of

# The Revolution is Necessary

## Decisive Steps in El Salvador Bring the Civil War to a Head

by Charley MacMartin

The province of Santa Ana spells home to El Salvador's coffee kings. The rich who extract their wealth here are fiercely independent and cruelly unforgetting of attempts at organizing by local day-laborers and peasants. Simply to form a cooperative farm in the Santa Ana province risks certain death. October 1990 continued this bloody tradition.

In Santa Ana, on the road to Metapan, the body of Hector Martinez was found on Oct. 15, tortured and shot. Martinez had been an organizer and leader of the Salvadoran Peasant Union.

The following two days saw two more tortured bodies left by death squads on the same road: one a teacher, the other a farmer.

### Decisive Events

The continued bloodshed in El Salvador during 1990 gave rise to two events that will irrevocably change this country. First and foremost is the decision on October 18 by the U.S. Congress to cut in half the military aid to the government of El Salvador.

Second is the Sept. 24 "Proclamation to the Nation" by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), describing the insurgents' vision of a post-civil war El Salvador.

Meanwhile, in the United States, solidarity groups are raising funds this fall

for medical hospitals of the FMLN and are preparing to respond to continued attacks against civilians by the Salvadoran Armed Forces.

### Fighting for an Aid Cut

October's vote to slash military aid to El Salvador comes during a national campaign to stop all aid to the ruling ARENA government in El Salvador. CISPES committees around the country employed "street-heat" tactics during September to embarrass U.S. Senators who refused to take a stand against aid to El Salvador. In Dallas, U.S. Senator Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX) received a thirty-five count felony for each time he voted for aid to El Salvador during the 1980s.

The centerpiece of the fall campaign to end aid is a 30-second television advertisement that aired in major cities during September and October. The ad features a check being written for military aid to El Salvador, interrupted by gunfire and images of the Jesuit priests killed in El Salvador by the Armed Forces in November 1989. The punchline is a call to U.S. Senators to halt all assistance to ARENA President Alfredo Cristiani's government.

Controversy over the television ad only increased the public presence of debate on aid to El Salvador. Rejection of the ad by television channels in major U.S. cities ran two-to-one against acceptance. One Washington, D.C., station

referred to pictures in the ad of Salvadorans killed with U.S. bullets as "grotesque and disturbing." The controversy made headlines in the *Washington Post* (September 19), in the *Los Angeles Times* (October 9 and 10), in the United States largest Spanish daily, *La Opinion* (September 9), and in at least seven other major papers.

Mexico's daily newspapers ran stories on September 20 and *Diaria Latino* in San Salvador picked up the story as well. In both Washington and New York, vehement rejections by television channels' advertising departments sparked the interest of the people in the newsroom who—knowing a good story when they saw one—ran the ad on the evening news broadcast!

### Cristiani visit to U.S. a bust

ARENA government president, Alfredo Cristiani, visited the United States in late September and early October. His popularity at an all-time low, Cristiani found U.S. law-makers reluctant to meet with him. Officials on Capitol Hill, according to Congressional aides, see Cristiani as either unable to control his army or complicit in the army's abuses during his 17 months as president.

In addition to the cool reception by Congress, demonstrations and street blockades followed Cristiani around the United States. On September 25, Cristiani was forced to cancel a visit to the

Beverly-Wilshire Hotel in Los Angeles after CISPES activists tied up traffic around the building. In New York, Cristiani's October 1 talk before the United Nations was postponed as CISPES and religious activists blocked the entrances.

### Details of Aid Cut

The U.S. Senate version of the aid cut, the Dodd-Leahy bill, approved in late October, carries the same restrictions as language passed in the House earlier this year in June. Fifty per cent of military aid, \$42 million, is held back pending certain conditions placed upon both the Salvadoran government and the FMLN.

The same night that the Dodd-Leahy bill passed, Senators Graham (D-FL) and McCain (R-AZ) attempted to introduce an amendment supported by the Bush Administration which would have forced the FMLN to lay down its weapons before any political agreements were reached in negotiations with the Armed Forces. Only the most recalcitrant Senators—including Jesse Helms (R-NC), Orrin Hatch (R-UT) ... and Lloyd Bentsen—voted for this amendment which was quickly defeated. (The other U.S. Senator from Texas, Phil Gramm, was absent for both of the evening's votes.)

### The Democratic Revolution

On September 24, the FMLN unveiled its third national statement of political goals since the guerrilla's formation in October of 1980. Entitled, "The Democratic Revolution," the proclamation outlines the FMLN's view of the crisis in El Salvador, the FMLN's strategy to eliminate both its own army and the government's army, and the FMLN's view of an El Salvador without civil war.

The document describes in detail the "four great changes" that must occur before the roots of the civil war can be cut. The first change describes "an end to militarism" through the abolition of El Salvador's two armies. The second point is a full elaboration of a "new economic and social order" in El Salvador which demands economic democracy (land reform, national health care, and ecological policy).

The third "great change" calls for "national democratization" of El Salvador's political institutions: judicial, legislative, the media as well as electoral. The fourth point of the proclamation describes the "restoration of sovereignty and an independent foreign policy."

The six-page document sharpens the negotiations between the FMLN and the Armed Forces by forcing the latter, according to the rebel leaders, to either comply with or ignore the basic changes in Salvadoran society necessary to insure a lasting peace. *continues...*



Protesters block entrance to United Nations in New York during visit by Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani on October 1. The protest successfully blocked Cristiani's motorcade, forcing postponement of his address to the U.N. General Assembly. Over twenty demonstrators were arrested by New York City police during the blockade. Photo credit: Michael D'Elia.

**A Hot November**

Sitting at a restaurant in Austin recently, Mauricio Mejia Mendez rubbed his face wearily and stared into his coffee. "I do not like the looks of what we can expect in November. The Army would rather kill than compromise," he said. As General Secretary of the University of El Salvador (UES), Mejia Mendez, is all too familiar with Army threats and attacks against civilians in El Salvador. The UES is at this moment surrounded by Salvadoran Army tanks. The Army accuses the UES of "subversive ideas" which "threaten security."

In addition to surrounding the UES, the Army in October threatened Lutheran Bishop, Medardo Gomez, for his continued pastoral work with El Salvador's poor. Because of the threats, Gomez was forced to work of a hotel to protect himself from attack by death squads at night. In

an October communique, the Army threatened public sector workers with jail sentences if worker demands for better wages and for rehiring continue.

With negotiations between the FMLN and the Armed Forces stalled, the atmosphere throughout the country is tense. One student at the national University commented November 1st in a phone interview, "I cannot be sure what will happen the next four weeks, but the Army never has been in a weaker position. Things could be very hopeful or things could be very bad, very bloody." P

*MacMartin works with the local committee of CISPES, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. For more information on El Salvador or on what CISPES is doing to support the revolution, call us at 474-5845.*

**Announcement from the General Association of Salvadoran University Students:  
The university will not die**

SAN SALVADOR, Oct. 18, 1990

The General Association of Salvadoran University Students (AGEUS) denounces before the national and international community the fact that on Thursday, October 18, troops from the First Infantry Brigade, with reinforcement from armored vehicles and tanks, positioned themselves in a threatening manner around the University of El Salvador campus.

This act arises from plans designed by Death Squad President Alfredo Cristiani and the High Command of the Armed Forces to militarily invade the UES once again with the objective of privatizing the Alma Mater of the Salvadoran people. This violation would leave more than 30,000 students, who do not have the economic resources to pay, without an education.

We also denounce the fact that during the last days, Cristiani and the High Command have begun a disinformation campaign tying the UES to violent acts

and the next supposed FMLN offensive. This campaign is nothing more than a device to prepare the ground for another invasion of the UES campus.

Therefore, we call on all the international organizations, sister universities, national unions and the Salvadoran people to lend their solidarity, so that together we will stop the enemies of science and culture from setting foot on our University campus again.

*The people will not be silenced with tanks and machine guns!*

*We want to study without a military encirclement!*

*The University of El Salvador refuses to die!* P

CISPES PRESENTS:  
Doble Cara  
a documentary chronicling  
the 1989 FMLN offensive  
Nov. 12, 7:30 p.m.  
Eastwoods Room; Tx Union 2.102

**Free El Salvador Now!**

- Stop all U.S. aid to El Salvador
- Support negotiations with all sectors of the popular movement, including the FMLN
- End impunity of the armed forces

**Saturday, November 17  
Work-A-Thon**  
Nationwide Campaign of Constructive Action  
Registration 10:00am  
Pan American Park, Austin

Austin CISPES, in conjunction with the Housing Resources Association, will coordinate a day of constructive action to counter the destructive policies and misplaced priorities of the U.S. and Salvadoran governments. We will rehabilitate low income housing in Austin and the pledges our workers collect will go to medical aid and community organizing projects in El Salvador.

**Be a Worker or Sponsor a Worker!**  
For more information call: 474-5845

**CELEBRATE!**  
**The First Anniversary of the Collapse of the Berlin Wall**  
An open performance activity on the east side of Guadalupe Street, across from Whataburger, Friday, November 9, 1990, at 12:00 noon.  
Preparations are being made now.  
Call Mark at 472-2970.  
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# • LETTERS •

*"For what cause, O man, chargest thou me thy daily complaint?" — Boethius*

## KTSB and Student Autonomy

When KTSB came into existence, the members of the former Student Radio Task force [SRTF], for a variety of practical reasons, decided to affiliate with Texas Student Publications [TSP]. It has not always been an easy relationship, but it is one we feel is necessary for our survival. It was also the decision of SRTF, not TSP or the UT administration, to create the post of Broadcast Supervisor, to advise the students on programming and to oversee the complicated, if not well-endowed finances of the station.

Your chastisement in the September *Polemistic*, while undoubtedly offered in the spirit of free discourse, contains several factual ambiguities that we wish to clarify. KTSB has no playlist and, therefore, no cause to fire anyone who doesn't follow it. We also give DJs the opportunity to make editorials at the appropriate time.

Andrea Morrow, the current Broadcast Supervisor, does not have the final say in what gets played on the air, although she has voiced her concerns about possibly obscene material. Given the current political climate, both nationally and perhaps especially at UT, and the delicate status of our application for an FM license, while KTSB finds restrictions on our free speech revolting, it behooves us to exercise some degree of caution. Andrea also did not and cannot fire any staff member, no matter what they may or may not be guilty of, and she had no say in the hiring of current station staff. Finally, no one has ever been fired for playing any one song, be it "I Spent My Last Ten Dollars" or any other.

As for the station's budget, Andrea's salary does indeed take up a good portion of it. While money is something we never have enough of, our music director, Robin Longman, indicates that the nine hundred dollars allocated to purchase records only fills holes in the record library. It should be remembered that most record labels are all too happy to send us free copies of everything including selections from their back catalog.

KTSB is proud to be UT's student-run radio station, and we will not willingly let ourselves be trod over by any non-student entity iron jackboot. Indeed, several of our staffers are currently working on changes in our relationship with TSP designed to preserve student control. Although we've chosen to work within the University bureaucracy, we have no intention of abdicating our responsibilities to the student body.

Feel free to worry about the University, but don't worry about us. We're still in charge.

John Curvan  
Station Manager, KTSB

This letter was signed by 13 others, of which nine were listed as "managers" or "directors."

## ✍ The Editors Respond:

First, we repent for overstating Morrow's institutional power, although we find it odious that she's paid so much and that KTSB's leadership so willingly panders to her "concern[s]." Further, we apologize for mistating the reasons for the firing of the staff member in question. Former station manager Chuck Ashley tells us that the staffer was fired not just for playing the 2 Nice Girls song, but also for using his musical show to make "political" statements. Still, we find this tightly enforced dichotomy between "music" and "politics" reductionist, false, and all too imitative of the way "professionals"—read: apologists—use the radio medium.

We find bitter irony in KTSB's leaders assuring us that, "we will not willingly let ourselves be trod over by any non-student entity iron jackboot," and that they are "still in charge." After students on his staff demanded that KTSB negotiate with KOOP radio's representative Jim Ellinger over the possibility of sharing Austin's last FM radio frequency, Curvan opened his mouth obligingly as

Texas Student Publications shoved an iron jackboot down his throat.

At an October 4 TSP meeting, TSP boardmember Red Gibson, a tyrant and long-time opponent of critical journalism, moved that TSP General Manager Dick Lytle fully control any negotiations with Ellinger, including the decision whether to negotiate at all. KTSB DJ Jennifer Wong suggested that students—in particular the station manager—should share some responsibility in the negotiation process, what with KTSB ostensibly a student station and all. Lytle riposted that students should trust him, since he had their best interests at heart, and that therefore no student input was necessary.

During this time, while other students struggled to maintain some semblance of student autonomy for the station, Curvan remained eerily silent, and even nodded approvingly as Lytle rebutted Wong, stripping Curvan of all authority in the matter. Later, at a Broadcast Advisory Committee meeting, Curvan

apologized for Lytle, who has no intention of negotiating. Several student staffers suggested informal negotiations with Ellinger, but Curvan declared that student negotiators would appear "unprofessional," and that such important tasks should fall to administrators.

In our September chastisement we declared our fear that TSP "may have designs on creating another KUT—a 'UT' radio station that operates with no student control or even input." Curvan's apologetics only make those fears more urgent; indeed, he seems determined to make them come true. Any license KTSB receives would fall automatically under the control of the Board of Regents, who already control KUT.

Only a staff mutiny can keep this from happening. When the FCC holds hearings on which station—KTSB or KOOP—should get the license, disgruntled KTSB staff should make their own presentation to the feds. They should compile all the documentation they can about TSP interference at the station, and describe how the University systematically refuses to allow students to participate in KUT. Such discord in the ranks, with any luck, should swing FCC approval in favor of KOOP radio.

Bill Cunningham, lording over student puppets like John Curvan, must not be allowed to control another FM frequency in Austin.

♣

## DE-FACING THE 90s



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## Covert Action

...continued from page 12

whenever they ask us to."

The specific structure of Operation Peace Shield came about as a result of negotiations between the King and the Administration over the extent of Saudi support for these movements. Bamieh further testified that Fahd "was trying to get as many Saudi nationals to be part of the training on how to use the AWACS and its systems, and he said he managed to get a better number than he thought he could, simply because he agreed to fund anti-communist movements."

The primary benefactors of the "AWACS rule" in the 80's were UNITA forces in Angola under Joseph Savimbi in South Africa, and the Afghan rebels. In particular, Bamieh testified that he had been approached by Saudi businessman Ali Bin Mussallam in 1983 about a \$100 million dollar contract with the Moroccan government for vehicles, which would be paid for by Saudi Arabia. Of that \$100 million, Mussallam indicated that the Saudis wanted \$10-15 million "to go help the Angolan rebels". That's in addition to a \$50 million Saudi support package received by Savimbi the year before.

CIA director William Casey had been crucial in lining up Saudi oil for the South African apartheid regime. In 1984, the year the Peace Shield program was officially launched, Prince Fahd began to hold private meetings with CIA director William Casey according to documentation and testimony revealed in the Congressional investigation. General Secord, in a meeting with Bamieh, asked the businessman to set up an offshore company which would as-

sist in the incremental sale of oil to South Africa. According to Bamieh, "this company would buy the oil from the Saudis and then make about 75 cents, a dollar, a barrel by turning around and selling it to South Africa." Secord suggested that Bamieh's company could make \$50-100 million dollars a year in profits from this one arrangement alone. In an effort to convince the businessman to accept the arrangement, Secord pointed toward the Mediterranean Sea and said "Bill Casey is out there, Mr. Casey is out there, with His Majesty, King Fahd, talking about those same issues."

South Africa, under an international oil embargo, has developed huge reserves by stockpiling from these illegal purchases. Recent issues of *The Oil Daily* outline South Africa's plan to offer some of its reserves on the open market. South African Finance Minister DuPlessis said in an interview, "When the oil boycott against us is lifted we will begin to reduce these reserves." South Africa is highly vulnerable to effective oil sanctions, as 20 percent of its energy is oil based and its military sector is dependent on fuels refined from imported crudes. No crude oil is produced domestically, but the fact of South African oil surpluses indicates that the country has easily circumvented the embargo. Additionally, higher prices have led more producers to break the sanctions.

Over the past decade, South Africa's chief suppliers have been Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman. Today, while Saudi Arabia arranges for permanent air support units from the United States, South Africa takes advantage of the frenzy in the international market to attempt a general end to the oil embargo. JP

## Open Records

...continued from page 7

ings. Open records requests have produced invaluable documentation of donors and their gifts to various departments and the Chancellor's account, as well as the entire investment portfolio for the System, a 1,300-page document never before examined in its entirety by students.

\* \* \* \*

Students are only just beginning to learn how to access the documents upon which important University decisions are based. According to Op. Atty. Gen. 1976, No. ORD-137, for example, the intra-agency memorandum exemption that the University has been using very liberally to withhold documents pertaining to English 306, the Black Student Alliance, student activism, the Sexual Orientation Clause, and other subjects, "does not protect documents when the agency has adopted those documents as the basis for its decision."

When the administration responds to a request for the documents pertaining to its consideration of the BSA's PRIDE (a student proposal for curriculum reform), for example, by giving students copies of PRIDE itself, we know that they are withholding other information upon which they base their decisions. We have a right to know upon what information and analysis our administration bases its policy decisions that affect all of us.

Our right to know should not be a matter for debate. JP

Vegetarian potluck dinners happen the first & third Thursday of each month at 7:00 pm at 3404 Cedar Street! 467-8516.

Volume 2, No. 2 • November 1990

## Polemicist

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*Polemicist*, an alternative student newspaper at the University of Texas at Austin, is published every month or so when we can afford it. We're broke and they just shut off our phone. **Someone please send \$191.42 to pay the bill.** We also need a subscription to the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. Send any of the above-cited gifts, or submissions and other correspondence to:

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# Facts & Issues

## Texas Union Dining Services Referendum November 14 / 15, 1990

Due to rising overhead costs and state mandated wage increases, changes in the Union Dining Services (UDS) operation are necessary.

Currently, UDS covers its direct costs, but it has been unable to cover the full amount of related overhead expenses.

The purpose of the upcoming referendum is to decide whether to fund overhead costs for the current operation or to try an alternative food operation.

Neither option in this referendum addresses the long term financial concerns of the Texas Union as a whole.

### Self Operation - Important facts:

- **Lower prices**

According to a study conducted by the UDS/Marketing Committee, the average UDS prices are lower than the food prices of surrounding vendors.

- **Responsive to students**

UDS has made initiatives in the area of environmental awareness (such as reusable and paper cups in place of polystyrene) and has consistently maintained a healthy, nutritious food selection.

- **Jobs**

UDS provides 63 full time and 150 part time employment opportunities to University students and Austin community residents.

***TOTAL UNION FEE with Self operation will not exceed \$25.94 per long semester beginning in Fall, 1991 (A \$2.94 increase per long semester and a \$1.47 per Summer session increase in the Texas Union fee will be required beginning in the Fall of 1991).***

### Independent Contractors - Important facts:

- **Bid specifications**

The bid specifications will be developed by the Board of Directors and are subject to State and University purchasing procedures. Some issues that will be addressed in the bid specifications are minority/women business ownership, local ownership, student employment, nutrition, and pricing.

- **Time frame**

The vendors will have an initial contract period of three years with two one year options to renew.

- **Jobs**

67 full time and 150 part time positions will be eliminated in the Union and UDS. Outplacement and training workshops would be provided for these individuals. Potentially, jobs would be available with contract vendors and through other University departments.

- **Financial Structure**

The Union will receive a percentage of contract vendor gross revenue which can be applied to the Union's operating budget.

***TOTAL UNION FEE with Independent contractors will not exceed \$33.00 per long semester beginning in Fall, 1991 (This option does not require a fee increase for the 1991-92 school year)***

### LOOK for the following activities...

- Brown Bag Lunch on Wednesday, November 7 at 12 noon in the Eastwoods Room
- Forum on Tuesday, November 13 at 3:30pm in the Presidential Lobby
- Ads in the *Texan*
- West Mall tables: Oct. 31; Nov. 2,5,8,9,12,13 from 11:00 to 2:00

*If you have questions or need more information, Board members can be reached at 471-1945, ext. 325 or come by the Board office (UNB 4.404) on the 4th level of the Union in the Student Activities Center.*