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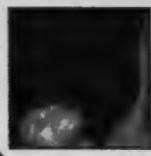
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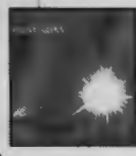
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There's No Place Like Home

Writers in residence discuss exile.

CODY O. STINE

"Exile is in. Exile is hot. Exile is now," said Bard Professor Andre Aciman at a panel discussion entitled "On Exile." What is more, exile was here at Bard in the form of a three-day workshop for scholars on the weekend of February 16.

Officially called "No Happy End: The German-Speaking Intellectual and Cultural Emigration to the UK and U.S., 1933-1945," the closed-session workshop served as preparation for a public conference to be held in conjunction with the Bard Music Festival in August 2002. The workshop brought together leading scholars on "Exilic Studies" from all over the world for three days of informal presentations of current

work and intense discussion. Participants submitted brief papers for eventual inclusion in a brochure that will serve as the program for the 2002 conference.

David Kettler, Scholar in Residence at Bard and co-director of the "No Happy End" conference, said in an e-mail interview, "The project as a whole... offers an extended opportunity to examine a set of issues that have been of interest here since the 1930s, when many of the people ousted by Hitler's Germany found hospitality here."

The Bard legacy, argues Kettler, is closely linked with the legacy of émigré scholars. "Heinz Bluecher, for example," he said, "came [here] from Berlin as a moral and political émigré [with] his wife, Hannah



Aciman, Achebe & Manea: Panelists discuss the problems of documenting the experience of exile.

Arendt." Both Bluecher and Arendt were significant intellectual and social thinkers; Arendt wrote widely on the subject of exile.

Other exiles in the Bard community include Professor Justus

Rosenberg, who worked in the French Resistance; Chinua Achebe, professor of languages and literature, who was forced to leave his native Nigeria in 1990; Norman Manea, professor of European

Studies and Culture and a Writer in Residence, a concentration camp survivor who left Romania in 1986 to escape artistic repression and censorship; and Andre Aciman, a *see Exile on page 4...*

SalAMI and SAC go Anti-FTAA

Anti-globalization and Free Trade Area of Americas groups mobilize.

ALI TONAK

Globalization has become a great issue of debate both between scholars who have been pursuing the subject for quite a while and within the public. Awareness of institutions such as the WTO, IMF and World Bank due to increasing protests all around the world and here in the United States. Free trade is one of the leading factors in an economically global world, and the majority of the people who are opposed to globalization are also opposed to one of its biggest tactics, free trade.

The Free Trade Area of the Americas is in the process of being created and if implemented will become the largest free trade area in history. It would include all 34 states in the Western Hemisphere except Cuba. The Bard Student Action Collective has formed a working group around the issue of the FTAA. The declared statement of purpose of the Anti-FTAA Working Group which meets Sundays at 4:00 p.m. is:

"The FTAA working group will work to prepare Bard College students both mentally and physically, with non-violent direct action tactics, in issues regarding

free trade and protests that will take place in conjunction with free trade. Our work will be directed mainly towards the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas due to upcoming meetings at Quebec City, QC in April. We will facilitate the intellectual education of all interested in free trade issues by organizing various teach-ins and presentations on free trade and economic globalization both in theory and in past struggles that have already taken place (e.g. Seattle WTO meetings, Washington and Prague WB/IMF meetings). We request the recognition for the sovereignty of all states and for the preservation or construction of a democratic environment within them. Free trade, as it is trying to be constructed today, undermines the environment and steals natural resources from third world countries, disregards human and labor rights and creates a greater inequality amongst the distribution of wealth. We aim to expose the exploitative nature of free trade between the super-powers of the world, and third world countries and by doing so uniting students against this issue and creating a healthy platform for discussion".

see SalAMI on page 5...

Shattered Systems Plague the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Author and Professor Yaron Ezrahi explain deep seeded weaknesses in the current Israeli political system.

RAFI ROM

As the fighting rages on in Israel's disputed West Bank territory, recently elected Prime Minister Ariel Sharon is faced with the task of building a broad coalition government between his right-wing Likud ("Unity" in Hebrew) Party and other left wing members of the Knesset. After giving a speech last Tuesday on the various conflicts and paradoxes surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Yaron Ezrahi, Professor of Political Science at Hebrew University, left feeling quite optimistic. He urged the crowd to have "faith in the Middle East," for "Israeli's optimism is not an option, it is a necessity."

Jewish-Arab conflict can be traced back hundreds of years, yet just a cursory glance at the events that have occurred since 1948, the year of Israel's independence, shows how deeply rooted this conflict is, and that all the traditional solutions have not been successful. "We have learned that military force in our conflict with the Palestinians is inherently inconclusive," said Ezrahi. "The diplomatic process," he added, "turned out to be just as inconclusive as the military process."

One of the issues hindering the peace process, he noted, is the

"inherent weakness in Israeli and Palestinian [political] systems." Ezrahi, who also works with the Israel Democracy Institute (IDI), traces the Israelis' weakness to their strange hybrid of a popular presidential and proportional parliamentary system, more similar to the democratic government of Bolivia than any Western country. Since 1992, when this "constitutional disaster" occurred, the two major political parties have shrunk in size, the political sphere has become much more fragmented and the Prime Minister has been left with little power.

Ehud Barak, for example, served a mere 19 months as Prime Minister of Israel, hardly enough time to build support for his extremely controversial peace plan. The IDI is currently lobbying the Knesset to revert to a more traditional, European-influenced Parliament. Such a government structure would create a more stable environment, allowing a strong leader to take initiative.

Yasser Arafat, leader of the Organization for the Liberation of Palestine (PLO), has "limited institutional support." There are several extremist and fundamentalist groups over which Arafat has little, if any, control. They see Arafat as a "corrupt" leader, pushing "Middle Class American ethics" on

Palestinians.

Ezrahi outlined a peace plan that he felt was the most likely to take effect, one incredibly similar to those proposed by former President William Clinton during his last month in office. Although this similar plan failed at Camp David and other territories, Ezrahi said "the same agreement rationalized by blood and fire" would be more justifiable to the Israeli and Palestinian people.

In a nutshell, Israel would have to evacuate nearly 100 settlements in the disputed territories, divide sovereignty over eastern Jerusalem, and agree to joint control of the Temple Mount in order to achieve peace. The Palestinians would have to accept this joint control, give up "the right to return" and accept a "Jewish presence in holy places."

Neither side, however, currently has a leader with the power to reach such accords. The last round of peace talks failed because the proposals did not allow the three million Arab refugees (who have remained in camps for generations in various outside countries) to return and because Barak was not able to accept Arab control of the Temple Mount.

The Temple Mount is perhaps the most bitterly contested part of *see Yaron on page 3...*

Author Da Chen Speaks at Bard

His new book *Colors of the Mountain* documents life in Yellow Stone, China.

KERRY BROGAN

The one time lawyer now author Da Chen spoke last week about writing his first book, *Colors of the Mountain*. Chen was also once a New York banker and since childhood has been a calligrapher, musician and passionate learner of foreign languages. But it is not for this multitude of talents that Chen most strikes the onlooker. As professor Li-Hua Ying expressed in her introduction, Chen captivates most with his "unbendable human spirit," his "poetic lyricism" and his ability to find humor and beauty in an environment of destruction and suffering. "There's no way to tell a sady story," Da explains. "I want to tell it happily."

Chen was born in 1962 in Yellow Stone, a small farming village on the coast of China's southern Fujian province. In 1979, when Chen was 17, he began studying at the prestigious Beijing Language Institute where he graduated with honors as an English major. He then went on to study law at Columbia on full scholarship. Still young at the time, he dreamt of returning to China to pursue a career in law. Not long after his arrival in New York, he fell in love, married, and decided to remain in the U.S.

Shortly thereafter, Chen discovered his passion for writing. Fresh out of Columbia and inspired by John Grisham, he set out to write a legal thriller. His only obstacle was, the moment he sat down to

write, memories of childhood days spent in Yellow Stone flooded his thoughts; as they found their way onto the page, Chen found his voice as a writer.

At first, Chen feared writing about himself distanced any real hopes of publishing. Little did he know, nine months later this unleashing of childhood memories would equal his first novel to be published by Random House. "I got the bug," he professed. "I was having such a great time I couldn't stop."

Upon returning home, he would crawl into the small study set opposite from the bedroom where his wife lay sleeping only to reemerge three thousand words later in a "feverish" state. For Chen, writing became a fusion of liberation and solitude, an inner journey "filled with noise and wonderful memories."

Writing in English was no setback either. Chen regards language learning and linguistics as a high art that must be studied with dedication and passion; he sees language itself as a living creature. To Chen, writing in English feels like a musical exercise that allows him to look away from himself. "Writing in English set me free," he said.

When asked to translate a section of the story into Chinese to read aloud for a radio show, his eyes welled up with tears, he stumbled even to get the words out. "When I read aloud in Chinese, every word became so real, every

word was like a dagger. I suddenly said to myself, 'You don't want to be writing this. What a pathetic childhood you've had!'"

Chen grew up in the 1960s and 1970s, a time when the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution and the hardship of famine came to define the nature of life. In recalling his childhood in Yellow Stone, he remembers its inescapable stench. Plagued with famine, the people of Yellow Stone could not afford commercial fertilizers. Manures of all types became extremely precious, so much so that, as a young boy, Chen learned to time all significant bathroom trips around his school schedule to be sure he relieved himself only in his own home. He then completed his daily after-school task: every afternoon, equipped with a basket and two large bamboo shoots, Chen set off to collect animal droppings.

Well aware that as the son of a Yellow Stone farmer, there was no more glorious way to help his father and family, Chen fulfilled his otherwise detestable duty with a spirit of adventure and creativity. Dashing along riverside trails, exploring never-before-trodden paths, Chen continuously uncovered new ways to ensure he would be the first of all the children in the village to discover fresh droppings. Every day when he returned home with an honorable collection of manure, his mother would smile and say, "What a wonderful stinking boy you are!"

As if the burdens of famine were not onerous enough, occasional typhoons would wipe out entire harvests, forcing the family to "truly tighten their belts." No longer able to afford rice (although they themselves grew it), they began eating yams. When even yams became too expensive, moldy yams proved equally sufficient. His mother, "resourceful and creative", would cut off the moldy part and make yam soup. Chen recalls a period of four months when the entire family ate only moldy yams: yam porridge for breakfast, yam soup for lunch and yams for dinner. "After a while, you begin to feel like a moldy yam yourself," he said laughing.

A pervading stench of manure and an aftertaste of moldy yams weren't all that characterized life for young Chen in old Yellow Stone. What bring his childhood memories most alive are the spirits of his father and grandfather. His father, who Chen remembers for his undying conviction to always let the blessings of life prevail over adversity, taught him to play the bamboo flute. Chen not only still plays today, but religiously begins



every talk with a performance of "A Trip to Guo Su" on his jade or bamboo flute.

The grandfather of the household did not possess the same cheery disposition as his son did, but his weariness was generally well received. As Chen's father explained it, "Grandfather has earned his right to be grumpy." Although Chen's grandfather was the son of a jinshi (the highest ranking scholar-official), he became known village-wide as a disgraced former landlord (in the early 1950's the government began taking the family's land away) and was treated accordingly.

As the youngest grandson and the last of his father's four sons, Chen shared a special relationship with him. "When grandfather would pick me up and let me play

see Da Chen on page 4...

Spring 2001 Budget Results

| Club Name | Fall 2001 | Requested | Allocated | Club Name | Fall 2001 | Requested | Allocated |
|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| AASO | n/a | \$3,550.00 | \$1,500.00 | Martial Arts Club | \$800.00 | \$2,920.00 | \$900.00 |
| Annandale Ale | \$0.00 | \$350.00 | \$350.00 | Migrant Labor Project | \$0.00 | \$350.00 | \$350.00 |
| Arnold Schwarznegger Film Club | \$0.00 | \$45.00 | \$0.00 | Mind's Eye Theater | n/a | \$350.00 | \$0.00 |
| Audio Co-op | \$1,100.00 | \$1,215.00 | \$500.00 | Minor Demon & Co. | \$400.00 | \$865.00 | \$610.00 |
| BARC | \$410.00 | \$501.50 | \$450.00 | MSO | \$1,000.00 | \$1,600.00 | \$1,200.00 |
| Bard Aid | \$600.00 | \$1,300.00 | \$1,000.00 | Observer | \$5,250.00 | \$6,050.00 | \$5,000.00 |
| Bard Journal of Social Sciences | \$3,300.00 | \$3,200.00 | \$3,200.00 | Photo Club/Student Darkroom | \$750.00 | \$2,616.16 | \$1,000.00 |
| Bard Prison Initiative | \$2,100.00 | \$4,715.00 | \$2,800.00 | Pottery Club Proposal | n/a | \$350.00 | \$0.00 |
| Bard Snow Club | n/a | \$350.00 | \$200.00 | PSI | \$250.00 | \$365.00 | \$300.00 |
| BSO | \$2,200.00 | \$2,714.00 | \$2,000.00 | Queer Alliance | \$2,500.00 | \$2,655.00 | \$2,250.00 |
| Chess Club | n/a | \$740.00 | \$400.00 | Quiet Revolution | \$0.00 | \$500.00 | \$0.00 |
| Christian Student Fellowship | \$200.00 | \$685.00 | \$350.00 | Rocky Horror | \$0.00 | \$350.00 | \$350.00 |
| ClubKnit | \$150.00 | \$330.00 | \$330.00 | Root Cellar | \$500.00 | \$1,715.00 | \$1,000.00 |
| Creative Music Alliance | \$1,800.00 | \$3,500.00 | \$2,000.00 | Roving Readings | \$650.00 | \$125.00 | \$125.00 |
| Cricket Club | \$350.00 | \$500.00 | \$400.00 | Rugby Club | \$650.00 | \$2,185.00 | \$585.00 |
| Dance Club | \$1,000.00 | \$4,500.00 | \$2,200.00 | SILK | \$300.00 | \$635.00 | \$500.00 |
| DeKline | \$800.00 | \$1,225.00 | \$500.00 | snowbArd | n/a | \$350.00 | \$150.00 |
| Dime Store | \$230.00 | \$450.00 | \$450.00 | Sound System | \$1,100.00 | \$877.84 | \$0.00 |
| Earth Coalition | \$0.00 | \$1,078.95 | \$500.00 | Student Association | \$2,550.00 | \$2,745.00 | \$2,745.00 |
| EMS | \$1,195.00 | \$1,438.27 | \$1,438.27 | Sudent Action Collective | \$5,000.00 | \$5,476.05 | \$4,800.00 |
| Entertainment Committe | \$10,500.00 | \$14,350.00 | \$10,500.00 | Swing Club | \$650.00 | \$1,000.00 | \$650.00 |
| Fantasy Action Experience | \$600.00 | \$1,155.00 | \$750.00 | The Englishman | \$0.00 | \$350.00 | \$200.00 |
| Film Committee | \$8,000.00 | \$8,100.00 | \$8,100.00 | The Gentlemen's and Ladies' Laughing Club | n/a | \$350.00 | \$150.00 |
| Fraud Magazine | n/a | \$350.00 | \$0.00 | The Outdoor Club | \$0.00 | \$350.00 | \$350.00 |
| Free Press | \$1,700.00 | \$4,500.00 | \$2,250.00 | Transcriptions | \$0.00 | \$350.00 | \$350.00 |
| Harnessing Life | n/a | \$807.00 | \$0.00 | Women's Alliance | \$700.00 | \$1,480.95 | \$1,000.00 |
| ISO | \$2,500.00 | \$3,553.00 | \$2,800.00 | WXBC | \$175.00 | \$1,300.00 | \$0.00 |
| Jazz Heritage Club | \$1,400.00 | \$1,600.00 | \$1,000.00 | Zine Library | \$175.00 | \$389.00 | \$350.00 |
| JSO | \$1,200.00 | \$1,670.00 | \$800.00 | | | | |
| LASO | \$2,300.00 | \$2,800.00 | \$2,700.00 | | | | |
| | | | | Total | \$67,035.00 | \$109,922.72 | \$74,383.27 |

Nobel Prize Winner Speaks at Human Health Panel

Bottom line? If you ever want to have normal children, don't eat fish from the Hudson.

GILLIAN MEANS

The seventh in the Bard Center for Environmental Policy's "Open Forum Series" addressed issues dear to the hearts of many Bard students and Hudson Valley residents. The distinguished panel on "Global Environmental Changes and Human Health" included 1985 Nobel Peace Prize recipient Eric Chivian, M.D., of Harvard Medical School; director of the Center for Risk Science and Public Health, John Balbus, M.D., M.P.H., of the George Washington University School of Public Health and Health Services; and Ethel H. Wise Professor and Chair Philip J. Landrigan, M.D., M.S., of Mount Sinai School of Medicine. Ecology professor Felicia Keesing, Ph.D., moderated, and director of the

"It is simply unacceptable what we are doing to ecosystems. We are incredibly lucky to be alive at this point in history because we have the capacity to turn this around..."

Center for Environmental Policy Joanne Fox-Przeworski presented the panel.

Chivian spoke first, starting the evening with an anti-hunting joke. He focused on the implications of species and biodiversity loss for human health, pointing out that some experts predict at the current rate we will lose one quarter of the world's current species in the next 50 years.

Global warming was implicated as a major factor in species loss, and Chivian enumerated the ways in which our disregard for the natural world will only hurt the human race. He ended with a plea for political leadership from the United States and accountability for overuse and waste from individuals.

"It is simply unacceptable what we are doing to ecosystems. We are

incredibly lucky to be alive at this point in history because we have the capacity to turn this around," he said. Human health is "totally dependent" on ecosystem health.

Balbus followed Chivian, covering three points: climate change is real and there has been a notable increase; environmental change is one among many stressors on human health and the availability of resources to rich and poor determines how bad the effects are; and the U.S. needs to invest to counter the stressors.

As a public health officer, he cited numerous instances of how climate change has and will continue to exacerbate the impacts of disease and national disasters.

Landrigan approached the subject from a smaller level. He discussed the "cross-connections" between environmental contamination, climate change, etc. and clinical abnormalities seen in children. Asthma, birth defects, developmental disabilities, and childhood and testicular cancers were all among the afflictions for which he believes chemicals to be responsible.

On the topic of GE contaminat-



Talking and Pointing: Landrigan raps about cancer.

ing the Hudson with PCBs, he said, "They say PCBs do not reach humans. Lie." Landrigan suggested that pregnant women not eat fish or seafood from the Hudson if they want their children to reach their maximum IQ and health.

Questions following the talks focused on activism and reconciling the needs of the marketplace and the environment. To the latter, all three speakers agreed that there is no trade-off, although the solu-

tions are not easy. Chivian predicted the person to popularize renewable and alternative energy will be the "next Microsoft."

"They're not incompatible," he said.

Yaron, continued

...continued from page 1

the conflict, with both Israelis and Palestinians claiming it, citing historical references going back hundreds upon hundreds of years. Currently, the Temple Mount's outer wall is known to Jews as the "western" or "wailing" wall. This wall is all that is left of the Second Temple of Jerusalem, and now makes up part of the Muslim al-Aqsa Mosque.

In an intensely symbolic statement last September, Ariel Sharon, with a group of prominent Israelis, went to the Muslim "Dome on the Rock." The Israeli-Palestinian clashes that continue to this day began with that symbolic trek. The peace talks have remained stalled since and Israelis, most particularly Ariel Sharon, have criticized Barak's response and rendered him a lame-duck Prime Minister.

On the right to return, which Ezrahi called a practical impossibility, Arafat cannot currently compromise due to the weak and incredibly fractured PLO that he "barely controls." Israelis feel that such an influx of Arabs would negate the concept of a "Jewish State." Moreover, Ezrahi pointed out that such a divided Israel would have little success in dealing with ethnic conflicts. The only solution would be to create a separate Palestinian state with little Israeli presence, now an impossibility because of the large settlements in the West Bank of Jewish communities, ironically first sponsored by the Labor Party and continued by Sharon's Likud.

Ezrahi traces the current splintered Israeli government to cultural beliefs. Although nearly 70 percent of Israelis support peace, over 60 percent of those who voted in last

month's election chose Sharon, whose political and religious ideologies differ greatly from those of the Israeli people. Ezrahi said the

"Jewish people of Israel dread one thing more than the absence of peace--that is internal divisions."

So when right-wing politicians and right-wing settlers threaten violence, the larger Israeli population "hesitates." Then the right-wing campaigns on "domestic unity" and "internal solidarity." In a sentiment that is definitely deeply rooted in Jewish history, the desire for "security" over anything else continues to dominate Israeli politics. Until the "Israelis and Palestinians find the price of peace better than the cost of war" such an ideology will continue to plague the peace process.

In a critique of right-wing rhetoric, Ezrahi said "their idea is to make the largest ghetto in Jewish history." Yet the left is currently without a leader to counter such an ideology.

Ezrahi entertained the possibility that Sharon could succeed in the peace talks where others have failed because of his stance as a right-wing politician. He called a trio of Shimon Perez (Nobel Peace Prize laureate and twice Prime Minister), Barak and Sharon potentially "invincible," because they could possibly consolidate the right and left.

Unfortunately, as Ezrahi was speaking to the Bard community, Barak announced that he would not accept the Ministry of Defense

Although nearly 70 percent of Israelis support peace, over 60 percent of those who voted in last month's election chose Sharon, whose political and religious ideologies differ greatly from those of the Israeli people...

position that Sharon had offered him. Nonetheless, Sharon continues his attempts of "uniting" the 18 fractured parties in the Knesset. Currently American support of the peace talks is non-existent, with President

Bush calling Clinton's plan "dead." So "Israel continues to be trapped in this gray zone between inconclusive violence and inconclusive diplomacy."

Professor Ezrahi has written and published extensively on the impact of modern science and technology on democratic governments and the conduct of public affairs. He is the author of several books, most notably 1998's "Rubber Bullets: Power and Conscience in Modern Israel."

The event was sponsored by Bard's Human Rights Project and directed by Professor of Languages and Literature Tom Keenan. Upcoming events include a student presentation on the sanctions of Iraq (March 5, Olin 306) and two presentations on March 12 by Jacqueline and Homi Bhabha called "Children, Traffic and Smuggling," and "Looking Global," respectively. For more information contact Assistant Director Bridget Conley, e-mail, conley@bard.edu or call, (845) 758-7332.



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R E D H O O K

Spy Scandal Rocks the FBI: Are we gonna die?

With last week's arrest of Robert Hanssen, the world can only be saved by James Bond... again.

CONNOR GAUDET

A high level FBI agent was arrested last week on charges of international espionage on a scale not seen since the Aldrich Ames spy scandal. Robert Philip Hanssen, 56, is charged with working for Moscow for the past fifteen years. Hanssen has been a top-ranking official specializing in Russian counter-intelligence for the past 25 years.

Hanssen was arrested in a park in suburban Virginia near his home when he was caught trying to deliver a garbage bag full of highly classified documents to Russian intelligence agents. He was to have received \$50,000 at a different location for the drop.

Mr. Hanssen has allegedly received a total of \$1.4 million dollars since 1985, \$600,000 in 33 packages of cash and diamonds,

and an additional \$800,000 deposited in a Russian bank account. In exchange, Hanssen has allegedly handed over 27 letters and 22 packages to Russian and Soviet agents. During the 15 years of contact he never once actually met his contacts in person, referring to himself only as "Ramon" or "B," and never told them what agency he worked for.

Hanssen has been charged with espionage and conspiracy to commit espionage. These charges are punishable by life in prison or death since he compromised nuclear secrets...

Hanssen allegedly initiated the relationship with the Soviets in 1985 with a letter implying that he would be willing to exchange information if they would, in turn, compensate him. He ended the letter with the names of three KGB operatives who had been recruited as U.S. spies. Two of the operatives, Sergey Motorin and Valeriy Martynov, were subsequently tried, found guilty, and executed. The third, Boris Yuzhin, was imprisoned.

Since that first contact, Hanssen has allegedly given information revealing nuclear information and electronic surveillance techniques, in addition to the names of those U.S. spies. In a single 1988 drop he handed them a secret CIA staff study of KGB recruitment, a top-secret compendium of future intelligence requirements, a classified FBI review of Soviet defectors and recruitments, and top-secret CIA documents on U.S. nuclear programs.

Hanssen would often mock the U.S. and its abilities in his letters, telling his handlers that they "overestimated the FBI," and likened the nation to a "retarded child."

This is only the third case in the FBI's history where an agent stands accused of espionage. In 1984 Richard W. Miller was convicted of espionage. In 1997 Earl Edwin Pitts pleaded guilty to spying for Moscow. Experts say that this is by far the worst of the three.

Officials at the Russian Embassy in Washington declined to comment.

Married with six children, Hanssen was well known around the office for his gloomy personality and dark clothing. Due to these



peculiar traits fellow agents referred to him fondly as "Dr. Death" and "The Undertaker." One such agent, when asked for comment said, "He looked like a matinee villain."

Hanssen has been charged with espionage and conspiracy to commit espionage. These charges are punishable by life in prison or death since he compromised nuclear secrets, and was involved in causing a death.

As disturbing as the entire situation is, the FBI feels it is important to keep its goals focused on not only punishing this great injustice,

but also making sure it can never happen again.

Questions are being raised as to how this happened for so long without anyone finding out. Specifically, the agency's policy on the frequency with which the polygraph test is being examined. Hanssen did not take the test once during his entire 15-year reign as spy. The FBI is now considering making it a regular requirement for agents working on important secretive projects or in departments dealing with sensitive intelligence.

Exile, continued

...continued from page 1

professor of languages and literature at Bard, who was forced to leave Egypt in the 1960s to escape anti-Western nationalism and anti-Semitism. (The latter three participated in "On Exile," the open discussion on Feb. 16.)

"Even Leon Botstein was born in Switzerland of Polish Jewish parents in exile and grew up with this experience," said Professor Kettler. So the conference "is not just another academic circus remote from the interests of students. It connects with living Bard history."

The question of how to connect with this living history, and with the larger subject of exile, is somewhat more complicated, and became a subject of heated debate early in the conference.

Of the 22 scholars who participated, two large divisions formed: those scholars who favored a theoretical approach to exilic studies, and those who favored a more experiential approach.

During the first session, two very theoretical papers were presented before Hanna Papanek, of Harvard University, voiced her objection. "I find myself feeling increasingly uneasy in these discussions," she said. "The experience of exile is absent." She also pointed out that describing only the intellectual émigrés leaves out nine-tenths of the exiles, and therefore nine-tenths of the experience of exile. After all, she pointed out, the émigré intellectuals were, for the most part, "accepted in their adopted countries."

Lydia Goehr, a philosophy pro-

fessor from Columbia University and co-director of the conference, was one of the first to object to the primacy of an experiential approach to exile. Goehr argued that the experiential question was in fact the "most abstract question of all," going on to say that experience could not be considered the only legitimate witness of exile.

In response, Papanek said she claimed no primacy of experience as a witness, but simply wanted to point out that both the theoretical and the experiential perspectives were necessary in order to get the whole picture of exile.

Two large divisions formed: those scholars who favored a theoretical approach to exilic studies, and those who favored a more experiential approach.

Professor Kettler, describing this particular conflict, said, "There were disputes and even some shouting and a wonderful flow

of energy and creative excitement, with everyone realizing throughout that the scholarly issues here were full of our own flesh and blood. After some twenty intense hours, people had to be coaxed out of the meeting room by repeated calls."

In an e-mail interview, Kettler provided a metaphor to explain why these issues were so central and hotly debated: "Think of a gathering of mutually distant clusters of relatives and other connections gathered to divide up a legacy. You can imagine the tensions and conflicts involved. Now subtract from the image the idea of coming to some lawyer's office, who reads them a will: there is no disinterested lawyer and there is no will. They have to construct both the setting and the conditions of the inheritance (including what it means to

inherit). But retain the sense of entitlement and the conviction that there is a treasure somewhere."

This uncertainty was also expressed by several of the participants in the first session of the conference. "What are we talking about?" asked one professor. "Figures? Texts? Institutions?" Another chimed in, "The topic is so unstable."

Kettler pointed out that these conflicts were part of the reason to hold a preliminary, private workshop before holding the public conference in 2002. "The continuity between the workshop and the conference in 2002 is not left to chance," said Kettler. "The workshop identified areas of agreement and lines of cleavage. We have started post-conference mutual consultations."

Describing the closed-session workshops, Michael Donnelly, Chair of Sociology at Bard and co-director of the program, said, "This is a kind of shorthand that we couldn't use in a public conference. Everyone here has been working intensely on this subject, and so we share a common vocabulary. We don't have to worry about the interests and knowledge of an audience, because there isn't one."

But Kettler stressed that this workshop was more than mere preparation for the 2002 conference; it would also prove helpful to all the participants, as scholars and teachers. "Teachers learn a lot from their students," he said, "but teachers also are in danger of getting spoiled by their power over students... At a conference with their peers, that does not happen. They have to make their work stand up before people who may well know more. That scholars go through such experiences is good for them

Da Chen, continued

...continued from page 2

with his long beard, I saw light and life return to him. In a way, I felt responsible for his happiness, for his being all right." When Chen was four his grandfather began teaching him calligraphy, which is considered the highest form of art in China and is seen as a reflection of one's inner beauty.

Today, Chen signs all books with a brush so that his grandfather may live on in the ink of the page. The title, too, originated from a poem his grandfather had inscribed on the couplet that hung over the doorway of their home. The couplet reads: "Colors of the mountain will never leave our door," and, "Songs of the mountain will linger forever in our ears."

Chen considers *Colors of the Mountain* a tribute to the Yellow Stone

that is no more. Today, Yellow Stone is a manufacturing base where five out of every ten plastic watches are made. That the old Yellow Stone has been washed away not by a typhoon but by modernization does not seem to bother Chen. "Modernization is wonderful," he confessed. "It comes with a cost, but so be it. Today, the people of Yellow Stone don't have to dig up tree roots for food. They may not

know tranquility, but they have food in their bellies. They have color TVs to connect them to the rest of the world."

For those of us present on the evening of February 20, the songs of Yellow Stone's mountains may never linger in our memories the way they will for the members of the Chen household. Thanks to Da Chen, though, the legacy of the old Yellow Stone lives on not only as a stench-ridden village plagued with famine, but as a village that resonates with tranquility

Chen considers *Colors of the Mountain* a tribute to the Yellow Stone that is no more. Today, Yellow Stone is a manufacturing base where five out of every ten plastic watches are made.

and timelessness; a village where the elderly men, bearded and bleary-eyed, rise with the dawn and sleep at sunset; "where one can hear the squeaking of the wooden bridge at the touch of farmers' feet at sunrise;" and where Chen spent many a

morning playing his bamboo flute on the backs of water buffalo.

The legacy of Yellow Stone lives on, too, in inspiring us to remember the power of the "unbendable human spirit," to overcome adversity, and in reminding us to search for beauty in all places, in all people, in all times.

Bush Administration Moves to Change Iraq Sanctions

Secretary of State Colin Powell voiced support for a lifting of the current ban on consumer goods into Iraq as long as there are stricter rules on the importation of military equipment.

JASON SCHWARTZ

In a move that the Bush Administration hopes will squelch growing criticism from the international community of U.S. foreign policy on Iraq, Secretary of State Colin Powell announced last Wednesday that he would support an effort to lift sanctions on the import of consumer goods into Iraq as long as importation policies took significant steps to ensure the exclusion of military equipment.

In the aftermath of the two recent air strikes on air installations outside Baghdad, governments around the world have called on the U.S. and Britain to reevaluate their strategies for containing Iraq's Ba'ath regime, given that there is a wealth of evidence that the current policy of economic isolation and punitive bombing, in addition to having done nothing to undermine President Saddam Hussein's power base, has in fact inflicted additional misery and tribulation on the Iraqi people.

The two most recent air strikes, the first a joint U.S.-British effort, the second solely a U.S. mission, conducted on February 16th and the 22nd respectively, allegedly targeted Iraqi anti-aircraft installations within the no-fly zone. The two no-fly zones, which cover most of

Northern and Southern Iraq, were originally set up for humanitarian reasons by the French, British, and American governments following the Gulf War in an attempt to protect Shiite Muslims in the south and Kurds in the North. Both groups had faced threats of extermination from the Ba'ath regime. Following the expulsion of the UN delegation investigating charges that the government was again building up biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons of mass destruction, the justification for the continuance of this policy shifted to an argument for international security, essentially proposing that the prevention of Iraq from rearming itself in violation of international law was in the international community's best interest. The no-fly zones were never authorized by either the United Nations or the United Nations Security Council, and the French government now opposes their continuance.

U.S. support for the current policy is also becoming increasingly tepid, especially in the military sector, and consensus is building that it is time for a change. But, far from the more sober approaches favored by other states, sentiment within the American military intelligence community, according to experts, leans in favor of escalating the

scope of the conflict into a state building operation targeted at overthrowing Saddam's government. Key figures close to Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld have openly expressed "enthusiastic" support for such an undertaking, with Rumsfeld's chief assistant going so far as the recent publication of the outline of such a plan in a noted U.S. policy journal. During the previous Bush Administration, the government-sanctioned study of potential methods for replacing Hussein recommended a U.S. engineered military coup by the leaders of the Iraqi Armed forces, a position that quite probably has not changed significantly, and one which would lead to only a marginal improvement in Iraq's horrific humanitarian record. This leaves Secretary Powell as the sole non-interventionist among the war hawks, which include, many suspect, Vice-President Dick Cheney.

Adding to this atmosphere of unease is the fact that all of the latest data from the recent actions is supportive of those critical of

recent military expenditures in under tested technologies that often turn out to be extremely expensive, inefficient, and ineffective. Over the course of the attack on February the 22nd, 60% of the U.S. smart bombs deployed failed to detonate. According to British Intelligence, a

Adding to this atmosphere of unease is the fact that all of the latest data indicates that military technologies often turn out to be extremely expensive, inefficient, and ineffective.

significant portion of the remainder missed their targets by distances as great as 100 kilometers. The Iraqi media, a state-controlled and notoriously unreliable source, has reported that in both strikes only civilians were killed or injured. Friendlier sources in the region suspect that the damage to military installations was minimal.

Furthermore, the break-up of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations has provided President Hussein with the means to win back the favor of the Arab world, which was turned off by the 1991 invasion of Kuwait. Following his announcement that Iraq would contribute over \$100 million euros to "the cause of Palestinian Liberation and the destruction of the Jewish State," the coverage of affairs relating to Iraq

experienced a dramatic shift to a more favorable stance within much of the Arabian media.

Hussein's anti-social behavior and perceived personal instability have up until recently kept him isolated far more efficiently than any sanctions, but with the breakup of the global coalition in opposition to his regime, investors are clandestinely beginning to make contacts within Iraq and engaging illegally in trade. Businesses from a number of countries, including Singapore and Italy, have been observed undertaking in such transactions. However, none have been as troubling or unexpected as the White Houses' comment, released a day after the second bombing, that the campaign was specifically timed to avoid killing or injuring Chinese workers who were laying down a fiber optic cables system that would vastly improve the ability of Iraqi anti-aircraft systems to track and down U.S. fighter planes. China, as is to be expected, has denied the allegation. The accusation comes after an increase in the fragility of U.S.-Chinese relations following recent findings that human rights violations within China are much more serious than was previously suspected.

Trouble in Mexico

Arrests, melees, and a debate over whether or not to recognize day light savings time.

VINCENT VALDMANIS

Thirty people were arrested Wednesday at a meeting of the World Economic Forum in Mexico. Clashes between police and anti-globalization activists began after protestors tried to force their way around a roadblock built about 13 miles from the site of the meeting in Cancun.

At least one person was hurt in the melee. A small group of activists were earlier

allowed in to the conference for talks with a delegation of bankers, politicians, and businessmen.

As at other demonstrations at gatherings of global economic institutions like the IMF and World Bank, protestors in Mexico were pressing for an alternative to the current global economic system. Wednesday's showdown was the latest in a series of high-profile economic gatherings interrupted by police crackdowns and vocal demonstrators. At the World Economic Forum's last meeting in Davos, Switzerland,

police surrounded the convention center with rolls of barbed wire and conducted security checks on trains as far away as Paris and Milan.

Meanwhile, President Vicente Fox, of the conservative National Action Party, is in a dispute over more than free trade

with Mexico City's mayor, Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador. Obrador, who is a member of the leftist Party of the Democratic Revolution and a possible presidential

contender in 2006, refuses to synch the capital city's clocks with the rest of the nation's for day light savings time in May. The dispute has blown into a constitutional crisis with a lawsuit destined for Mexico's Supreme Court over who has the authority to set the time, the mayor or the president. Fox declares the time change necessary to help Mexican companies coordinate with their trading partners in the U.S. Obrador argues the change disrupts people's biological clocks and unsafely sends children off to school in the dark.

SalAMI, continued

...continued from page 1

This working group has planned a series of activities in order to accomplish their above stated goals including a screening of *This is What Democracy Looks Like* (a documentary on the Seattle WTO protests), a forum on the Economics of Globalization and a visit from Canadian activist organization SalAMI.

Mike Gagné and Cory Legassic from SalAMI (which means "dirty friend" in French) brought to Bard a three day program consisting of a teach-in on globalization, tabling at the Campus Center and a training in non-violent direct action. SalAMI was formed in 1998 in order to resist the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, (MAI or AMI in French). According to Gagné and Legassic they were successful in hindering the process and contributed to the cancellation of the agreement.

The teach-in held on Tuesday night by SalAMI was a crash course on the arguments against globalization. Without going into specific detail the SalAMI duo used, the metaphor of a sports game with the name of Globalization, with two sides consisting of The Greed Team: Kings, capitalists, the rich etc.; and The People's Team: students, the poor, labor, human rights activists, environmentalists, etc. The metaphor included the general public as the audience which remained undecided at this point. The international organizations affiliated with globalization such as the WTO and the IMF were intro-



Teachin' it up: French activists getting "dirty".

duced as referees to this game.

An interesting point was made by Gagné who stressed that in his opinion globalization might be regarded as a recent event that was launched with the formation of the Breton Woods Institutions but that in reality it was just another form or name for a long sought policy. He continued by adding that for thousands of years the strong and wealthy classes of certain countries have been invading others for their natural and human resources and even their culture. He stressed that it did not matter whether this process was carried out by Christopher Columbus through imperialist conquest or by the WTO in the form of globalization "We see globalization as the most recent form of conquest," he said.

The Anti-FTAA Working Group has planned further activities in

conjunction with the FTAA and the protest in April. They have stated that they will try to bring other groups organizing for the protest as well as SalAMI. One such group is CLAC (La Convergence des luttes Anti-Capitalistes/The Anti Capitalist Convergence), which has stressed that they will try to use a "diverse range of tactics" and at this point seem to be more insistent on shutting down the trade negotiations.

If you would like more information or would like to travel to Quebec with activists from Bard contact at992@bard.edu.

Voice of One or Voice of Many?

Does being a student of color mean that you have to speak on behalf of all students of color?

TAMARA PLUMMER

Bard College is seen as not only a place to think, but also a place to be an individual with your own thoughts, opinions, and feelings. However, this is a privilege that not every student on this campus is allowed to have. There are some of us who aren't allowed to be an individual; we are representatives of an entire group.

The above statement might confuse some, but others will know exactly what I am talking about. If you understand this situation you have probably been "the minority" in some fashion in your life. A good example of an individual's opinion becoming group opinion is the incident between the Free Press and some concerned students on Campus. After a Free Press article that was written last semester, many students felt it dealt with certain incidents in a non-journalistic way; most people's perception was that the "concerned students" was BSO. This was mostly because of the fact that some people spoken about in the article were students of color and some of the students offended by the article were also students of color. However, the "concerned student" population included a racially diverse group of

students. BSO has no formal stance on the situation, BSO as an organization doesn't have a relationship of ill will towards the Free Press. What individuals in the organization feel are the individuals' feelings. A letter that was written to the planning committee concerning limited funding for the Free Press was not only signed by Black and Latino(a) students, but it was also signed by other ethnicities as well. For whatever reasons the perception is that if one Black student is concerned it is an issue that the entire Black Student

Organization will address or has an opinion on. This is not always the truth. If I, as a Black student, have an opinion it isn't representative of all Black people; neither is it representative of BSO. As a student, I have a brain, ideas, feelings, and opinions that are not completely motivated by my race or ethnicity. There are other things that make up my identity that go beyond just the way I look. (Does this rhetoric sound familiar?)

It's not that I don't want to be seen as a Black person, for that would be like not being able to see me. However, I am saying that when you look at someone, you have to balance the outside perceptions with the appreciation of the inner complexities of every human being (cheesy). It is a hard job, but we all have to do it. It saddens me that this doesn't happen more often.

Now it is time for the infamous list of questions:

1. Why is there a need to have a spokesperson for every group, especially students of color?
2. When a white student says something in class, do you see it as the white perspective?
3. How do you identify yourself? Does it make you feel like you have to represent your entire "group"?

We are all people who talk a lot about individualism, but rarely practice it on others. I know that I do it all the time and must constantly work past my prejudices and stereotypes, what are you doing to change yours?

If I, as a Black student, have an opinion, it isn't representative of all Black people; neither is it representative of BSO.

Giuliani Smears Elephant Dung on Constitution

LEONORA STEIN

Giuliani, the piece of excrement who is mayor of my home city, New York, has threatened to cut off funding to the Brooklyn Museum of Art if they do not cancel an exhibit he deems obscene. This exhibit, which features 94 contemporary black photographers, opened February 23rd. The main object of Giuliani's hate is a painting titled "Yo Mama's Last Supper," photographed by Renee Cox. The portrait features Renee Cox, nude, surrounded by twelve black apostles.

Renee Cox, who was born in Jamaica and raised Catholic, had this to say in response to Giuliani's plan to close the exhibit; "Why can't a woman be Christ? We are the givers of life."

A similar breach of the First Amendment on the part of the Mayor occurred in September, 1999, in response to an exhibit called "Sensation." The work of art that caused such controversy was a painting of the Virgin Mary

covered in and surrounded by elephant dung. The artist is from Africa, where elephant dung in agricultural societies is useful and necessary. However, whether or not this image was meant to laude the Virgin Mary or not is irrelevant. If the painting offended Giuliani, he didn't have to try to shut down the



Pictured: "The Pieta", 1996

entire museum; he could have simply avoided going to the exhibit.

Instead, the Mayor withheld the museum's annual 7.2 million dollar city subsidy. He then sued the museum in state court. The museum filed a countersuit in federal court, where the judge ruled that Giuliani had violated the First Amendment and restored the funding to the museum.

This time the blatantly racist and sexist mayor has vowed to take the case to the Supreme Court. He called the Cox painting, as well as some others in the exhibit, "disgusting" and "outrageous" and complained that anti-Catholicism "is accepted in our city and our society." In my opinion, Giuliani should stop worrying about the oppressive forces of anti-Catholicism and start reading the Constitution.

The Mayor withheld the museum's annual 7.2 million dollar city subsidy. He then sued the museum in state court.

Just What Does BRAVE Do?

In-depth with Bard's Response to Rape and Associated Violence Education

CHRISTINA MASKER

There is a lot more to BRAVE than most people imagine. The acronym (Bard Response to Rape and Associated Violence Education) might lead people to believe that BRAVE members are only involved with violent sex crimes, but this is not the case. BRAVE members deal with many other aspects of sexuality and sexual health. Members of BRAVE are trained to handle many different sorts of problems that can arise in a college community such as Bard.

Before I describe the purpose of BRAVE on campus, I want to talk a little bit about who BRAVE members are. BRAVE's membership is of both genders, multi-racial, and includes people of various sexual orientations. If a student wishes to speak to a person of a particular sex or a particular sexual orientation, then that request can be granted.

Although BRAVE sometimes coordinates its activities with other groups on campus, and members of BRAVE may also belong to other groups, we work alone in dealing with calls and personal stories. When a student calls a BRAVE member, the member is acting only in their capacity as a BRAVE counselor. Our goal is to treat all survivors, secondary survivors and perpetrators equally, without regard to their gender, race, or sexual orientation. Everything that comes to BRAVE is strictly confidential. It is never necessary to give us your name or the names of anyone

involved in the situation about which you are calling. Although BRAVE members do have a program director, Peri Rainbow, she does not report cases to the administration or to any other authority figure in the Bard community. What you have to say stays within BRAVE.

The purpose of BRAVE is to aid in crisis intervention; to offer support to survivors and secondary survivors (friends/lovers/relatives of survivors) of sexual violence and assault; and to offer contact numbers, information and options, counseling, and education about issues regarding sexuality, sexual assault, and relationship violence. BRAVE members are also here to transport you to the hospital after an assault. They also have connections with SAFE units in local hospitals.

BRAVE is available to answer any questions that people may have regarding sexual health and sexuality. The belief that BRAVE deals only with rape is not true. BRAVE counselors receive training and information about a much wider range of issues of sexuality.

There is also a very strong educational aspect to BRAVE. The BRAVE office is available to aid students with research on issues relating to sexuality. For personal interest or writing papers, the BRAVE office has many resources that can be checked out by students, including information that students may not have on campus.

BRAVE conducts many events on

campus and participates in community events. A major event happening this year in Poughkeepsie is the "Take Back the Hudson Valley" event on April 20. Although still in the planning stages, this event is going to end with a two-by-two candlelight march across the Mid-Hudson Bridge and a speak-out on the other side where people can share their stories. There has been talk of inviting such notables as Ani DiFranco, Dar Williams, Hillary Clinton, and Natalie Merchant. For more information about this event, feel free to call the BRAVE office.

BRAVE sponsors a movie series, showing films once a month every month except for April (sexual assault awareness month), when three movies will be screened. In addition, BRAVE is planning the Clothesline (April 21) and a speak-out for the Bard community (April 22). These events are designed to educate people about the reality of the problem of sexual assault and rape, which exists even on a campus like Bard where many people think it does not or could not occur. The truth is that it does, and BRAVE members hope to raise people's awareness and get them involved in some way, even if this just means attending BRAVE events to show support for what BRAVE members are doing. You will also see BRAVE members doing presentations in dorms this semester, and BRAVE members are always a part of L&T to inform the freshmen of our function on campus.

SLC Update: Thursday Night Shuttle Service Extended

The Student Life Committee has been working with the Administration to extend shuttle hours to Tivoli on Thursday nights. This service would be provided in an effort to reduce the number of drunk drivers on the road between campus and bars in Tivoli.

The Administration agrees with this plan, with two caveats. First and foremost, the Administration does not want the improved shuttle service to be seen as a signal to go out and get plastered before classes on Friday.

Secondly, the Administration rightly feels that there's a point at which they cannot condone such behavior and the student body should take responsibility to address its own conduct by taking a few sensible steps: make better use of designated drivers, drink with restraint,

and question the frequency with which you become piss drunk on a weeknight while attending a school costing upwards of \$32,000 a year.

Improved shuttle service is not yet certain, but the Student Life

When traveling to Tivoli show your support for the plan by using the van provided for you by the school instead of taking your roommate's car and potentially totaling it in the woods.

Committee will keep you updated. In the mean time, when traveling to Tivoli show your support for the plan (and your environmental awareness) by using the van provided for you by the school instead of taking your roommate's car and potentially totaling it in the woods. The Administration is doing its part to make the campus safer and reduce drunk driving; we need to work a little too and comport ourselves with some responsibility.

Redefining Diversity at Bard

An in-depth look at what it means to be "diverse" and what Bard can do to be more aware.

SETTI-SEMHAL PETROS

Bard exists in a bubble as an inaccurate microcosm of the real world in terms of representation of cultural diversity, but also a fair reflection of societal phenomena. The issue of diversity at Bard is quite a sensitive one that, in the past, has not gotten the proper attention and even-handedness it deserves.

There seems to be a general reluctance to talk about diversity, and the reasons for this differ depending on who is asked. Some have a general mistrust of school papers, which could misquote or misinterpret someone's words. Others are skeptical and weary from past experiences, where, despite outward efforts, nothing seemed to change. Untenured professors fear entanglements in this sort of provocative topic because of the possible political repercussions. Students who do not have so many of these restrictions are the only ones who may be able to demand change from the administration and Bard community.

This politically correct attitude of widespread silence among all but students has been counterproductive. Confrontation that could have arisen, as well as learning that could have come from it, has been averted. Friction occurs naturally in

an environment where individual differences are brought forth and dealt with. Confrontations of this sort, ranging from ignorance of another's value system to outright racism, occur rarely at Bard. When they do, however, they tend to tear at sections of the Bard community. Both facts are testament to the need for dialogue about diversity. They also show that, in the Bard community thus far, different factions have simply tolerated each other, rather than engaging one another.

To begin with, one possible reason that this arrangement takes place is the scarcity of cultural diversity in the student body and faculty. Is it possible to have a liberal arts education, especially one that Bard is reputable for, without diversity? Most people, such as Director of Multicultural Affairs Nicole Woods and Professor of Political Studies Omar Encarnacion, agree that the developing mind of an individual requires interaction with people who are different from oneself. Whether those differences be values, religion, gender, or others, the interaction of them is important to increase sensitivity and competency necessary later on in life. Any setting that does not partake or reflect this, especially a college setting, is problematic.

But as Dean of First Year Students John Kelly pointed out,

those who come to this institution are fully aware of the complexion of the campus. "Diversity is not an issue to their coming here."

It is hard enough to agree on the definition of diversity, let alone how to get it at Bard. Does diversity mean people of different ethnic backgrounds? If one's intention is to bring people with different ethnic backgrounds to a homogenous group, then one should consider the possibility that their socioeconomic backgrounds or education allow them to have similar values and philosophies. It is possible to add ethnic diversity and still have a group of like-minded people with superficial differences.

The opposite, including people of vastly different socioeconomic backgrounds from the general population, can cause self-segregation and lead to stereotyping of those with differences.

Current recruitment processes have been designed with this dichotomy in mind. The intention is that at least a limited introduction of diversity will allow Bard to change from the outside in, becoming diverse on a broader scope. Unfortunately, this has not happened.

Right now in general there is a low retention rate of both faculty and students, especially those from diverse backgrounds. Bard must be willing to change itself from the inside out. At this point it seems logical to focus efforts on diversifying the curriculum.

As of now, very few of the faculty have multiculturalism in mind when selecting the texts used for classes or creating the syllabi.

Nicole Woods suggested that questions on how diversity comes into play in one's teaching should be part of the criteria for hiring faculty. In this day-and-age where everyone is aware of gender, not to mention ethnicity, professors who do not consider how ethnicity shapes their teaching are not worth hiring.

While Bard's administration does make efforts, some of them are often misguided. As Kelly said, Bard is not able to offer students as much money as many other colleges can and is therefore unable to compete for certain students that would bring about diversity. Endowments are given to departments that are deemed "apolitical" and "all-inclusive," such as the arts.

Take for example the Performing Arts Center. Would such funds be donated for a multi-cultural center?

While most colleges are changing their diversity requirements, Bard does not seem to have any. Bard shows where its priorities are not necessarily by what it does but what it does not do and how it chooses to distribute its resources. For the most part, Bard is no different from any other New England liberal arts college.

The grim reality is that at Bard, a student can go through four years without considering issues of diver-

sity, be it in the classroom or in the social sphere. Most of Bard operates "under the illusion that because we are above the fray, and liberally minded, we are all right," said Woods. "But at core it is tolerance."

Some faculty members do not broach the subject of race in fear of how it will be received, while others have made assumptions from past experiences that they will not be understood and so they do not bring it up either. In some instances of disagreement between faculty and students, the problem that may have been a matter of race is made an academic issue or matter of performance. Yet the faculty always has its way.

This is one in a series of articles that will further investigate diversity at Bard. For those readers who are not aware of the issues brought up, the hope is that now that you are, you will no longer be a breeder of tolerance, as so many of us have been. The purpose of this article was to open up dialogue and make people question whether it is the state of our curriculum, the state of the Bard community, or even our inherent prejudices.

It is hard enough to agree on the definition of diversity, let alone how to get it at Bard. Does diversity mean people of different ethnic backgrounds?

A New Vegetarian Co-op Is Needed, But Not in Sands

A co-op should be created so that students can live co-operately and organically, not escape the Coke machines.

JOHN DEBOER

In her op-ed piece for the February 19 Observer, Emily Shapiro urged students to get behind the movement for a new co-op in Sands. As a frequent guest at Feitler, I am in complete agreement that another co-op would be a positive thing. But not in Sands. And, more importantly, not for the reasons Shapiro gives.

Sands is one of the most coveted pieces of real estate on campus. Only the tiny Gahagen, beloved of overachieving science majors, and the absurdly wonderful single-with-a-private-bathroom Manor 208 are more eagerly snatched up at room draw. For upperclassmen who want to live on main campus without the sterility of a Toaster or the cave-like isolation of Stone Row, Sands is the only choice. By contrast, when I was a freshman, Feitler was an isolated quiet dorm to which people fled in last-ditch attempts to escape the death metal and incense of their disastrously mismatched roommates. When a couple of students successfully persuaded the administration to turn it into a co-op, its conversion took nothing from anyone, and instead transformed this

neglected dorm into a thriving, hip, community, where everyone wants to live.

Moreover, the reasons for doing so, as far as I am aware, were very different from the reasons outlined in Shapiro's article. Three years ago Kline was operated by a company called Flik International, and had not undergone the extensive renovations that have led to greater choice and variety. Currently it is an annoying hassle to eat vegan at Kline. Back then, it was much more difficult. Add to this the moral and political reasons for wanting to live cooperatively and organically, and you have a respectable set of reasons for starting a co-op.

What reasons does Shapiro give? In an effort to describe what her co-op-desiring comrades are hoping to escape, she describes the horrific state of dorm life at Bard today: loud music, drinking & puking, and, most diabolical of all, Coke machines in the lounges. In other words, things that many of us would consider to be synonymous with "Bard." Alternately, she describes the utopian joys of living in a co-op, where, it goes without saying, no one will be loud, puke, or drink Coke. Interestingly, these

include "accentuating diversity," "pursuing open-mindedness," and "learning about oneself through resolving conflicts communally." There is also talk of art exhibits and poetry readings. They can't do all these wonderful things off campus because they get financial aid or scholarships, and "simply cannot afford to live off campus."

To me, the argument seems to come down to, "We're the good kids, and we deserve the best dorm on campus. Those bad kids who are loud and unruly can live in Tewksbury or Robbins." This strange elementary-school sense of entitlement is both revealing and offensive. If these people are so interested in "resolving conflicts communally," why can't they resolve their conflicts with the obstreperous hooligans across the hall? If they are "pursuing open-mindedness," why are they holing themselves up in one dorm? Roving Readings presents poetry weekly all over campus, binding all parts of campus together as only lame student poetry can, and if you are so offended by Coca-Cola daring to serve you their product right in your own home, why not cover it up with a display of student art, and in so doing bring some color to the

"commercial wasteland" of your dorm?

Right now, the housing selection process is about as fair as it could possibly be given the disparity between the number of students and the number of rooms. One ends up in a mansion or a pit based on only two things: academic effort as reflected in class standing, and sheer dumb luck. Now a bunch of

spoiled brats think it is their right to live in Sands as sophomores because they don't like loud music at four in the morning? For once I am forced to agree with the administration, and kindly suggest that if you're going to take financial aid money from the school, you can damn well learn to live with the colorful obnoxiousness of the rest of us.

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Shankar is Wrong, Wrong, Wrong!

A response to a response on the question of the Israeli/Palstinian conflict over Israel

AARON CATZ

People must hear the facts before making a judgment. Although my first article was a product of objective analysis, it was general enough to be obscured. I now must take on the task of explaining Israel's position on the three main issues involved in reaching a settlement. They are: the status of Jerusalem, the Palestinian "right of return", and the West Bank. By examining these points in detail, one will come to see the real implications of Arafat's rejection of peace. Gopalakrishnan's article claimed that all of Israel's concessions were unjust and insufficient. By the end of this article, one will see that what appears reasonable lies within the realm of pure idealist fantasy. When his solutions to the conflict are actually put into context, not only are they ridiculous, they are harmful to both Palestinians and Jews.

Let's examine the issue of refugees. When Israel declared its independence in 1948, the Palestinians were offered full citizenship. The Palestinian refugee problem is a result of the 1948-49 Arab-Israeli War that ensued. The invading Arab armies told the Palestinians to return after a victory that was never won. Between 600,000 and 750,000 Palestinians fled from what is now Israel, two-thirds of whom never even saw an Israeli soldier.

While Israel absorbed over 850,000 Jews from the Middle-East who were forced violently from their homes in the wake of its independence, the Arab states refused to allow the integration of their own Palestinian brethren, preferring instead to exploit the refugee problem which they had created to serve their own political agenda. From 1948 to the present day, the refugees have been held up in poverty and despair as a deliberate policy pursued in order to denigrate Israel in front of the world community.

The Palestinian insistence on a "right of return" of refugees to the Jewish state has always been intertwined with the continued aspiration to destroy Israel. The infamous PLO Covenant of 1968, which adopted the destruction of the state of Israel, stated in its Article 9: Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine. Thus it is the overall strategy, not merely a tactical phase. The Palestinian Arab people assert their absolute determination...to work for an armed popular revolution for the liberation of the country and their return to it. The fundamental point should be understood clearly and without illusion. When supporters of Palestinians speak of implementing their "right of return" to Israel, they are not speaking of accommodation within Israel; rather they are using a well-understood code phrase for the overthrow of Israel. Since Israel is neither responsible for the creation of the refugee problem nor for its perpetuation, there is no reason for Israel to absorb 3.5 million refugees. If the war had not been forced upon Israel by the Arab

countries and the local Arab population, the refugee problem would not exist.

There is one viable solution to the refugee problem, which Israel has proposed. This is a plan by which refugees would be able to settle in a future Palestinian state. This would require a major international financial effort, in which Israel would participate and help refugees settle. When the Palestinians abandon their dream of destroying the Jewish state by having it overrun by millions of Palestinians, a key aspect of the Palestinian-Israeli dispute can be resolved. Until then, the refugees' lives will have to wait.

Since Israel will never allow such a return, insisting on the "right of return" will only serve to justify the refugees continued confinement by the Arab states. Also, according to Noam Chomsky, the result of a Palestinian return, "would be intolerable to civilized opinion." While it is upsetting to find such opinions as Gopalakrishnan's on the Bard campus, his stance on Jerusalem is even more problematic. To understand the feeling I experienced, some background information is needed. Only then you will see what is implicit in his dismissal of Israel's offers, and thus be moved as well.

When the state of Israel was established, a U.N. resolution declared that Jerusalem was to be administered by the United Nations. Instead, the Arabs overran the Jews from East Jerusalem, many of whom had lived there for centuries. A 1949 armistice agreement was broken, in which the Arabs had guaranteed "free access to the Holy Places and cultural institutions". For the next 19 years, Jerusalem was divided, with no Jew allowed into any part of East Jerusalem. The Jewish quarter was annexed by Jordan, which proceeded to erase the evidence the Jews had ever been there. 58 synagogues, some dating back to the 13th century, either destroyed, or used as stables and garbage dumps. The Western Wall, Judaism's holiest site, became a slum.

Reasonable people wonder what would happen if East Jerusalem was to be placed entirely under Arab rule again. In 1995, the Palestinians promised to "ensure free access to, and not make any changes to, the Jewish holy sites" on land to be given up by Israel. These sites included the venerable "Shalom al Yisrael" synagogue in Jericho, and Joseph's Tomb in Nablus. Today, neither exists. In October, Palestinians burned down the synagogue. When Joseph's Tomb was transferred to the Palestinian Authority, it was immediately trampled and destroyed. The site was then rededicated as a mosque. This after the Palestinian Authority gave their word to protect the site. Now, a systematic effort is again underway to destroy the evidence of the Jews' historical presence in Jerusalem. The Palestinian Ministry of Information asserts that Jerusalem's historical evidence reveals "nothing Jewish". Archeological items dating back to

the Second Temple period are being destroyed in the areas in East Jerusalem that are under Palestinian control.

The re-division of Jerusalem was the most astonishing out of all of Israel's concessions at Camp David. Israel would have given up sovereignty of the Temple Mount, with the Palestinians to have control over the Arab neighborhoods outside the walls of the Old City and even partial controls of the Muslim and Christian sections inside it, with East

Jerusalem to become the capital of Palestine. For the sake of peace Barak was willing to cross the line almost no politician in Israel ever would, and for that nobility he paid the price politically. Now consider Gopalakrishnan's criticism: "Those concessions would have allowed Israel to...retain defacto control of East Jerusalem". This only means that Israel would not back the control of Judaism's holy places. The fact is, only when the holy sites in the land of Israel have been under Israeli control have the freedom of worship and the sanctity of the sites been guaranteed.

In regards to the Jewish presence in the West Bank, Israel's position is that, since Jordan and Egypt never had legal sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza, these areas could not be considered "occupied territories" under international law. Jews have been living there throughout history. Israel took control of the West Bank in the 67' War, in a clear act of self-defense. Nevertheless, Israel has been wrong in the past for its handling of the territories. The lack of civil and political rights for the West Bank and Gaza Arabs became a distressing moral dilemma. Yet now that Israel has handed over the areas containing nearly 100 % of those Arabs, they no longer live under Israeli rule but live under Arafat's repressive regime. The retention of some settlements in the West Bank was not even the main throwback for violence. Instead, Arafat used Jerusalem and the "right of return" to justify the armed conflict.

There are valid reasons for the Israeli presence in the West Bank. One must ignore the rhetoric about the Palestinians' humble desire to "direct their own affairs" and have "a stable home for their children." If the Palestinian's "affairs" didn't threaten Israel's security, only then would "the occupation" be unjustified. The Palestinian Authority refuses to fulfill any of its obligations to disarm terrorist groups or hand any suspects over to Israel. Nor has it fulfilled its most basic commitment: to refrain from anti-Israel propaganda. Arafat has



Arafat: That's Right.

authorized the Fatah militia to fire on Israelis, with guns supplied by the Palestinian Authority. He has released dozens of Hamas and Islamic terrorists from prisons, leading to a series of deadly terrorist attacks on civilian targets. While describing Israel's security threat as "a ragtag group of civilians armed almost entirely of stones," Gopalakrishnan brings up the "extra-judicial" assassinations of terrorists, even though the Palestinian Authority refuses to apprehend these murderers, leaving Israel with no other alternative for ensuring its safety.

Rather than laying accusations upon Israel, it is time to hold Arafat responsible. It is no accident the current violence exploded at a time when Israel was more willing to make the unprecedented, far-reaching compromises that are necessary for peace than at any time in its history. The so-called "uprising" is no more than a calculated effort by Arafat to achieve his furthest political aims through violence rather than negotiations. To blame Israel for the current crisis and for using excessive force is worse than a distortion; it is the opposite of the truth. Gopalakrishnan's claim that Israel is "deliberately targeting children," is a wonderful example of the way opponents level their criticism at Israel. Since Israeli positions are situated outside of population centers, the Palestinian Authority must transport children to their locations. There they serve as human protection for the Palestinian police and militia who direct gunfire at the Israeli outposts. That the Palestinian leadership could encourage such behavior as part of their military and political campaign against Israel is almost beyond belief. The loss of life is unfortunate, but the responsibility lies with Arafat, who initiated the violence and has yet to call for a cease-fire.

As the cost of the war grows worse, many Palestinians want to see the game of provoking Israeli soldiers before the news cameras come to an end. Yet the silence by the extreme left over the role the Palestinian leadership has played in

this violence is harmful not only to Israelis, but to the Palestinians themselves. Their ideals of abstract justice ignore entirely the question of Jewish entitlements. But their blind stance on this conflict must be understood on another level. They support the Palestinian "just struggle". But what has this struggle ever achieved? One would think if their position had any value, it would be in defending the rights and interests of the Palestinian people. In opposing peace in 1948, the Palestinians lost their homeland. The 1967 War cost them control over the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Arafat and the Palestinian people have once again rejected peace and chosen conflict. In this respect they are responsible for their own suffering. Arafat was given an opportunity to bring tangible, considerable benefits to his people. But by refusing to compromise, his image of a relentless crusader and his popularity in the Arab world have both increased. So why should he compromise? He has the U.N. Security Council, the western media and the entire Arab world behind him. All things being equal, it would have been better if the Palestinian leader had signed a final agreement renouncing any future claims to Israel. Better still if the PA were to keep that promise. But Arafat has proven just how costly his consent to a "final settlement" will be. Most people in Israel now wonder if anything can be done to simply stop the violence.

The Palestinian leader will eventually move to declare an independent state, and since Israel has already given the Palestinians the key elements of statehood, it couldn't stop him. But neither Israel nor the international community will have to recognize such a state or give it any aid. A Palestinian state is acceptable to Israel, but the handing over of power and responsibility was supposed to be done through agreement in order to ensure, as far as possible, that it would not be a hostile state. Unfortunately, the Palestinian side has systematically violated every aspect of the Oslo accords intended to make that happen. When Arafat declares his state, Israel will have to redraw the lines from which it will defend itself. The acts of terror will continue, and Israel will have to retaliate. Both sides will be condemned to suffering on a greater scale than ever before. Once Arafat is gone, all semblance of order in the West Bank will collapse, and the possibility of reaching a peace agreement will be lost.

Now it seems obvious that what Arafat has done is reprehensible. I believe that the facts speak for themselves. But having read this, you can make your own judgments. If you are going to take the opposing position, at least now you know what this stance means on a practical level. I am done writing on this conflict, for I have nothing left to say. Let the rest say what they will.*

Election? Italiano? Craziani!

A look at the upcoming elections in Italy: Who's running, and what does that mean for the country?

RAIMONDO CHIARI

The Parliamentary Italian Republic may not be as politically stable as the American Presidential Republic, but it certainly is more democratic. Unfortunately despite the wider choice compared to the American two party system, the Italian Spring 2001 confrontation leaves little space for excitement. There is not much enthusiasm in the prospect of the future prime minister.

The election date is still uncertain. President of the Republic Carlo Azeglio Ciampi will dismiss the Parliament on March 8. The elections between the dominating left and right coalitions and the other smaller parties should be held between April 22 and May 13.

The winning coalition will have to obtain the majority of parliament seats to be endorsed by Ciampi.

The cast of the two coalitions follows. The Casa delle Libertà (House of liberties), and the L'Ulivo (the Olive Tree), represent the right and left respectively.

La Casa delle Libertà is the alliance of the large parties and other conservative groups. The main parties are Forza Italia (Go Italy) guided by businessman Silvio Berlusconi, Alleanza Nazionale (National Alliance), the reformed wing of the neo-fascist party lead by Gianfranco Fini, and the Lega Nord (Northern League) under the saliva dripping leadership of Umberto Bossi. Bossi promotes federalism and the ultimate goal of recession for the rich industrious North from the less developed, tax

sucking, Mafia run, and Rome centralized South.

L'Ulivo represents the alliance of the Democratici di Sinistra (The Leftist Democrats) the new name of the reformed ex-communist party, under the Secretary of Walter Veltroni; the Margherita (the Daisy) a center-left political partnership of the Catholic groups designed to overcome the past fragmentations of the center-left coalition. The front man, young good looking mayor of Rome Francesco Rutelli, is the nominee head of the Ulivo. Also important in the coalition are Comunisti Italiani (Italian Communist), the split wing of Communist Refoundation, which was the wing that said "no" to changing the name and program of the old Communist party in the early 1990s (and now is running independently outside the coalition). The fusion between Verdi (the Greens) and the Socialisti Democratici Italiani (Italian Democratic Socialists) is the final component.

There are additional ex-Christian-Democratic (DC) recycled politicians and their respective small parties on both sides to add additional volume in the aftermath. The DC legacy is tied to the unsurprising participation and interest of the Church, which fortunately has been warned to stay out of the process. The separation of state and religion is mandated under Article 7 of the Constitution, but this is very hard to maintain when the Pope's own state co-exists in the Italian political capital.

Berlusconi is the nominee for



the right and brings his business experience to the whole political system, which he feels should be run as a corporation. He is the owner of Mediaset, a network including three main television channels, various weekly newspapers; the soccer club A.C. Milan, the publishing company Mondadori, and the shopping center La Standa to name a few. As the richest man in Italy, he uses all of his resources to sponsor a demagogic campaign that in my opinion looks more like propaganda.

Only that this time, unlike 1994 when he suddenly entered politics, he is not allowed to indiscriminately bombard the television audience with his 24-hour advertisements. Once elected with this technique in 1994, he was also able to convince the electorate to say "no" in a referendum for less advertisement on television.

The absence of TV ads does not stop the determination of the "cavaliere." Italy is now covered with immense billboards depicting Berlusconi's air brushed solarium tan face and Forza Italia flags in the background. The over-imposed slogans promise "Safer Cities,"

"Easier Adoptions," "More Dignified Pensions," "Improve Italy". His "Less Taxes for Everybody" goes hand-in-hand with the winning motto of 1994: "One Million New Jobs." According to the polls it is paying off; the right is significantly ahead.

Disappointingly Rutelli has not been able to counter-act in a more sophisticated manner. After criticizing the ridiculous display of pure show biz, the left decided to hire an American campaign wiz. This resulted in an analogous billboard counter-campaign. Rutelli's big smily face with different over-imposed sound bites; essentially the same deal. Fortunately some good spirited fellow Italians nation wide are going around painting round red noses on the billboards revealing the true clown nature of the present political climate.

Nevertheless, it still represents a better alternative to the right, even if the left has lost its identity and does not capture the charisma, hope and counter-culture it possessed during the 50 years of "blocked democracy" headed by the Christian Democracy, along with the secrete services, the Mafia, and

the CIA. During the Cold War, Italy could absolutely not go Communist, regardless that it was the second largest party. It is trying to preserve and invest in those valuable social services such as free education (including college), free public health, and social security, which the right is pushing to privatize.

The Ulivo has a wiser long-term approach toward immigration, drug reform (the current Health Minister Veronesi spoke of the need to legalize marijuana), preservation of the environment, respect and reform of the judiciary system (and not defend self interest by discrediting the judges). Now that the pragmatic steps of economic unity have been taken, Italy is consolidating itself in the European Union, it is essential that a wise and functional government will take the first concrete political steps.

On election day Italy will hold its breath. Maybe we do not have the leaders, the institutions, the laws, and the mentality to keep the political boat floating in a dignified matter. I would love to see more functional ideology and less demagoguery. Yet despite a general sense of jadedness, there is one comforting thought that keeps me going. Berlusconi stated that in case of loss in this election, he would retire from politics. It is not mass moving ideology, but it is a good enough reason to go cast a vote. The election date is still uncertain, but certitude is set in stone in my mind: let's get him out.

You Cannot Escape the Forces of Globalization

And I don't think that's half bad.

MATTHEW RICHARDS

Hold the front page! Stop the press! Hot news is just in from a meeting sponsored by the Student Action Collective. And it's bad news for anyone who sympathizes with the anti-WTO protests in Seattle. Globalization is inevitable. That's the word from the three wise men who spoke on Monday night at a session entitled "The Economics of Globalization: Institutions and Impacts."

What's more, the one making the most resounding declaration of globalization's inevitability was not a WTO-loving capitalist, but a Marxist professor from U. Mass Amherst named Max Fraad-Wolff. When Fraad-Wolff talked about the inevitability of globalization, however, he was not referring to the irresistible rise of multinational corporations. He expects to see the global economy becoming increasingly integrated in future, but not necessarily in its present form.

Fraad-Wolff and his Amherst colleague Maxim Maximov both criticized current trends in globalization, while Bard Professor Chris Magee was there to defend the status quo.

Magee started off the evening's discussion with a defense of interna-

tional capitalism in general, and the WTO in particular, based on neo-classical economics. He mentioned the advantages of international education, telling the many international students at the meeting, "I benefit by having you guys in my class". He then argued that the arguments in favor of international education also apply to international trade in other goods and services.

One of the main axioms of free market capitalism is that 'competition is good'. Magee used America's auto industry to this principle, saying that competition from Japanese manufacturers in the 1970s forced Chrysler, Ford and General Motors to treat American consumers better. Since international trade increases competition, neoclassical economists are in favor of it.

Turning to the much-maligned WTO, Magee conceded that large, rich countries are disproportionately powerful in the organization. He contended, however, that this kind of disparity is inevitable, WTO or no WTO. In considering the organization's role, he said, "you need to think about the alternative: bilateral trade negotiations." Magee claims that, if the WTO did not exist and small countries had to negotiate one-on-one with the United States,

they would be in an even weaker position.

Magee went on to suggest that the WTO could in theory be used to protect the environment. If environmental standards were introduced into WTO agreements, then they could be enforced by using punitive tariffs against countries that break them. The same applies to labor standards, though Magee says that these should be decided by individual countries. The problem is that disagreements over labor and environmental standards have killed off trade negotiations in the past, and Magee predicts that they could do so again, so he isn't optimistic about the prospects of a WTO-backed environmental accord.

While Magee focused on particularly thorny problems associated with globalization, Fraad-Wolff took a step back and challenged some fundamental assumptions about the nature of globalization. For him, the crucial development over the last 25 years is not the increasing volume of international trade, which he says is merely the continuation of a centuries-long trend. He says the big change over recent decades, the radically new globalization, has been the spread and export of unregulated capitalism based on the exploitation of

labor.

Fraad-Wolff declared that using neoclassical economic theory to argue against globalization is to engage one's opponents on their own terms, "the equivalent of an athletic team ceding permanent home field advantage." He offered the audience an alternative theoretical platform: Marxian class analysis. Comparing today's Third World to early nineteenth century London, arguably the birthplace of modern capitalism he said that gaping inequality, child labor and poor air quality made the two "shockingly similar."

"You shouldn't stand in the way of international trade", says Fraad-Wolff, because to do so is to attack the wrong target. Instead, he says we should consider how products are produced and distributed, and the implications for the environment, race and class relations, and other issues of concern.

Fraad-Wolff's colleague Maxim Maximov backed him up, using Russia's brutal introduction to market forces as an example of how "vast movements of financial capital are often blind to the negative social consequences they give rise to."

In 1998, when foreign investors lost their nerve and started pulling out

of Russia, the national government defaulted on its debts and the country plunged into financial crisis. Maximov claims it's not the mobility of modern finance that cause problems, but rather the force that drives its movements. That force is the quest for ever-larger profits, the need to maximize return on assets. Fraad-Wolff had words of encouragement for anti-globalization protesters, saying that they have "already registered on the radar of international organizations." But he cautioned that they need to think rigorously about the issues involved, and went so far as to say that it would be "ethically hazardous" to oppose the WTO without taking economics classes first. The last question from the audience was about the future of globalization. None of the professors offered any concrete predictions - as Maximov memorably put it, "it's hard to predict the future if you don't have crystal balls." There was a consensus that there will be an increasingly global economy. The question that went unresolved was what kind of economy it will be, and what kind we would like it to be.

MUSIC



Artist: The Band
Albums: *Music from Big Pink* and *The Band*
Label: Capitol

Of all of the great bands of the 1960's few were as talented multi-instrumentalists as the Band. They are often associated with Bob Dylan, with whom they collaborated in the studio and on several world tours, but they are accomplished and deserved songwriters in their own right. Recently, Capitol decided to digitally remaster many of their recordings, including their brilliant first two albums *Music from Big Pink* and *The Band*.

Having only listened to these recordings on vinyl I must confess my personal astonishment with the sound quality on both discs. The

liner notes also are a great help as they shed light on The Band's recording process and inspirations for various songs. Both albums also include bonus tracks including outtakes and alternate mixes and takes. These bonus tracks range from good to less-than-good, and sometimes it is quite obvious why they were never released, but several deserve appreciation and are welcome as supplements to original recordings.

Their second, self-titled recording is probably the masterpiece of The Band and its crisp sound seems to benefit most from the remastering. The long production hours spent recording this album are all rewarded here-The Band has never sounded this good. *Tyler Drosdeck*



Artist: Melt-Banana
Album: *Teeny Shiny*
Label: A-Zap records

You'd think that this band couldn't progress any further in their "power slop with an edge sound" but indeed they have. "Teeny Shiny" combines elements of Scratch and Sniff and the experimental Charlie LP to produce Melt-Banana's best album so far. The drums still reel out like machine guns and Yako's singing is still frenzied. And, of course, guitarist Agato proven that he still knows more about searing guitar noise than you do. On top of that, songs like "First Contact to Planet Q" and "Warp, Back Spin" are gratuitously more cracked-out and energetic than previous releases. "Moon Flavor" and "Cub, Not

Cube" even have odd glimmers of pop sensibility! Yet of course Melt-Banana isn't for everyone. But for those who already love the band, "Teeny Shiny" is a must have. *Tosh Chiang*



Artist: Papa M
Album: *Papa M Sings EP*
Label: Sea Note / Galaxia

David Pajo is certainly one of the more interesting guitar players of our time. Through his career he's been involved in a quite diverse range of projects including Squirrel Bait, Slint, Tortoise, Royal Trux, The For Carnation, Palace, as well as several "solo" projects titled, respectively M, M is the Thirteenth Letter, and Aerial M. For the time being, he is known as Papa M, though it should be noted that Papa M Sings is quite a departure

from his previous work under this name.

For starters, as its title suggests, this mini-album centers itself around Pajo's words. He's only sung on one other "M" track, but here he has packaged together six original songs that are at once wistful, humorous, and often even touching. The third track, "I Of Mine" is a clear standout, which Pajo seems to sense as he's printed its lyrics on the back cover of the packaging. A testament to peace, joy, and home, this song in particular seems to sum up the album's central themes.

In a show at Tonic in New York City this February, Pajo was at ease with his new musical direction. It's unclear whether he plays all of the instruments on the record (as he's done in the past), but in performance he was joined with a couple of other guitar players, a drummer, and a violinist. Though Pajo began the performance on his own, the others gradually joined in, playing casually and with pleasure. Like his performance, the record lives in modesty and spontaneity. In the scope of things, this album will probably be mostly ignored, but it succeeds in its purpose and it's a pleasant listen to boot. *Tyler Drosdeck*

Dirty Hearts Cain Rock 2001



Jonah Weiner

I don't know if it can be made any clearer that the best place for shows here, Bard Band or otherwise, is the upstairs of the Old Gym. Crazy Brad Alter has some problems with Red Room expatriation, and I assume he isn't alone in saying that "there's no chance for any type of community upstairs." Maybe Brad likes having people up in his grille-us more than the Chocki lyrics let on, though, because the Red Room is infamous not only for incredible heat but for its packed crowd space. In any case the discussion here is not the ideological embrace of one room over another but the things which happened this past Friday post-Vultra Cock (VC's performance reviewed elsewhere by someone who must be their publicity agent); namely, the sets by Cain and Dirty Hearts.

Brian Yanity may be charming but he has nothing on the lead singer of Cain. This guy's parents are apparently both opera singers (sorry if that's wrong, it's a rumor I didn't make up) and his singing voice is impressive. Of course you can't tell most of the time-he prefers growling-but it was there on Friday in Cain's set-opening cover of Black Sabbath's "Paranoid." In a very abstracted way, Cain capital-

izes on something that Chocki (the now-retired piratecore Bard Band who wrote songs about Jonny Cristol, Usher, and the Gorton's fisherman, and played in ski masks and speedos) did last year, which is a violent but nonetheless recontextualizable espousal of decisively non-indie rock music. Blazing a trail out of the disaffected and towards the joyfully dorky, both bands seem to have a similarly energizing effect on audiences (though I don't think drunk girls in halter tops ever passed out in the front row of a Chocki show). Another difference besides the drunk girl contingent is that, for one thing, whereas Chocki would cite a band like the Locust as their heroes, Cain finds anything like the San Diego hardcore scene still too wimpy (black highwaters and white socks are for nerds) and sets their goal somewhere closer to Slayer. The other difference, and it's an important one, is that Cain seems much less ironic, face paint and acronym (Christ Aborted In Nativity) notwithstanding. What helps them take themselves seriously is that they're an incredibly tight act and do metal well. It should also be mentioned that Dan Brunner looks so bad-ass behind a drum kit that I think he should at the very least walk around campus at all times lit by a strobe.

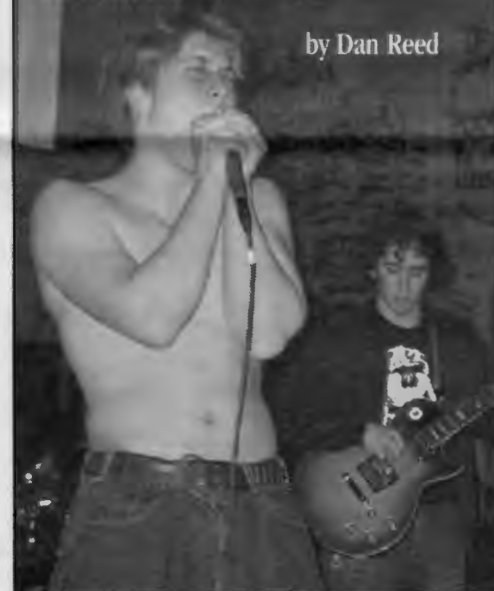
Strobe or no strobe, Max McDonald, guitarist for Dirty Hearts, found the Old Gym a bit

too intensely lit Friday, and so I lent him my cool Prada sunglasses (I'm just kidding), which he wore before and after the band's set. Dirty Hearts played no covers this time, which was unfortunate as I would have liked to see how Britney Spears would come off miked and with a sound crew. Even Andy Ryder (see his column in the last Observer) would agree that the structural interrogation enacted by the Hearts' attempted (re)inscription of mainstream bubble gum pop into a sub/cultural textual network so otherwise intent on keeping that supposed other more or less firmly outside of itself was done so less than deftly.

The Hearts' sound was better at this show than it has ever been before. The great choice of adding April Haley (violin) to the band, for one thing, was finally made clearer, as the audience could actually hear it. Max's riffs came to life and are still in my head, as did Brendan Harman's basslines, as animated as his own suave onstage dance moves. Greg was great in the Red Room and great here too, which makes sense because part of his programming and wiring as a drum/love machine includes a built-in soundboard. In all seriousness Dirty Hearts are really very gifted songwriters. Their compositions move between murky wastelands, impassioned build-ups, and powerfully effective rock-outs that give the audience everything it wants, and complicate this Mogwai-esque postrock dynamic with subtle ideas from math-rock, post-punk, and garage.

VultraCock: Ultra Rock

by Dan Reed



Is Vultracock the best band of the last 25 years or simply the best ever? That is the question on the minds of all those who attended Friday's Vultracock concert. Those privileged enough to have attended were treated by some of the most inspiring and revolutionary music heard in this hemisphere for quite some time.

The concert, which was on the main floor of the Old Gym, also featured Atrap La Mouche, Cain, and Dirty Hearts. But Vultracock, who played second, seemed to have sparked the most interest among the bands despite their relative newness to the Bard music scene. This interest could be explained away by skeptics as merely due to Vultracock's significant advertising rush in the days before the concert which was highlighted by a flyer which featured a prominent drawing of the male genitalia.

However, a significant amount of interest in the band came from the very positive buzz that stemmed from their first show a few weeks earlier. No matter why

the audience was assembled in the storied venue of the Old Gym, where such illustrious Bard bands such as Grammy award winners Steely Dan once played, it was blown away by the fascinating mix of spectacle and music that Vultracock exploded onto the stage with for 6 daring and eclectic songs.

The band demonstrated a very broad range in the first two songs of the set titled respectively "Cruise and Kidman" and "Lisa". "Cruise and Kidman" displayed the band's ability to create a sense of insanity and menace as ominous chords were repeated over and over as singer Nick Patnaude writhed and pranced and sang incoherently yet very impressively as layers of feedback plied on top of each other into a frenzy of tortured madness.

When the band transitioned into "Lisa", it demonstrated its pop sensibilities as the band began to incorporate a more traditional blues rock sound into its wall of feedback and the heart wrenching performance art of Patnaude. Throughout the set, the band exhibited its considerable talent and evoked comparisons to the Rolling Stones, the Velvet Underground, Sonic Youth, the Jesus and Mary Chain, the Beatles, and the Doors.

Guitarist Kent Johnson demonstrated remarkable skills with his guitar and an ability to draw the audience into the constant heart-break that his notes evoke. Bassist Brian Yanity brought to the band

see Vultracock page 11



Live hip-hop can be disastrous. Studio production can paint a pretty picture of an MC's skills and it often takes little more than a live performance to tear that picture to pieces. Anyone at last semester's Percy P show knows something about at least one extreme case of this: no need for MCs who rhyme like they had to run up six flights of steps to get to the mic, and whose beats, uncreative to begin with and further distorted by poor acoustics,

sound like they ran up from the same place.

Thankfully, anyone at LMMental's Old Gym set last Saturday can claim an experience closer to the other extreme. An unsigned four piece (MC, drums, bass, and keyboard) from Philadelphia, LMMental shattered the cliché that any hip-hop act worth seeing costs too much to bring to Bard. Their MC rhymed quickly as hell, but not in the gim-

two hooks.

Soul and/or Jazz piano samples seem to make for consistently fool-proof rap beats (see certain Rob Swift or Invisibl Skratch Piklz tracks, or the Reflection Eternal song from the first *Soundbombing* LP) and in this very specific sense it can be said that LMMental's keyboardist, with his Fender Rhodes-style sound, filled part of the role such samples might have played in a DJ-based set, with a restrained

amount of elaboration. The drummer was the most talented member of the band, capable of superanimated solos whose complexity, expanse, and control referenced both free-jazz drumming and E. Honda's special Hundred Hand Slap move. Taking the idea of an MC battle to a place not often visited, the drummer battled the MC towards the end of the set, challenging him to spit as fast as he could drum. The MC lost out, but put up a pretty good fight.

Another battle was maybe the best point of the set, in which three members of the crowd were brought up on stage for a freestyle cipher—an MC trying to work up audience participation can be pathetic ('How many heads in here from the BX?!!' isn't the best question to ask a bunch of Bard kids), but with this open invitation to rhyme the line between stage and crowd started to blur more generally and soon it was striking how any pulse of energy felt in the room was felt almost completely in common. An electric call and response and dancing-on-stage came next, but when the MC threw his mic down to breakdance, countless members of our patently awkward and physically inflexible liberal-arts enrollment (even official B-Boy Dan Lichtblau) must have felt a pang at not being able to do much more in the way of participation than sim-

ply look on.

Dujeous is a bigger band, with seven members to LMMental's four (add a trumpet and two MCs), but packed less of a punch in their headlining set. Verse structure was less spontaneous and so, rightly or wrongly, felt less energetic. Three MCs harmonized and repeated choral refrains (Jurassic 5 meets Boyz II Men?) over "cool" jazz grooves that bordered on Easy Listening (the trumpeter was an exception on this last count, and it was largely his initiatives that brought the band to more arresting places). In a way, though, Dujeous's shortcomings grew necessarily from both the challenge that they set up for themselves—trying to do a realized merge of hip-hop and jazz—and from the context set by LMMental. The opening act, though maybe less musically ambitious, chose to abstract the integral part played by a DJ and put it into the interpretive grips of a live band limited to three instruments (four, if you count the MC's beatboxing). Dujeous tried to put the DJ's role out of the picture and replace it with the orchestrations of a more or less uncomplicated downtown jazz band—this may have come off a bit better had it not put itself next to an act so much more recognizably (and so successfully) hip-hop.



Miss Wyoming Book Review by Rafi Rom

Douglas Coupland has a knack for crises. In *Generation X*, his memorable slackers pondered over how not to become like their parents, yet at the same time yearned for some of the stability of family life. In another novel, *Microserfs*, the Microsoft drones-turned-start-up-visionaries try to cope in a world that puts so much emphasis on work and stock shares that social lives never matured past the age of 16.

Meet Susan Colgate and John Johnson, the mid-grade celebrity protagonists in Coupland's newest book, *Miss Wyoming*. At the start of the book, the two find themselves back in a lifestyle they've both tried to shed. Colgate, a child beauty queen, meets Johnson, who after an overdose of drugs sees a vision of Colgate (it actually turns out to be just a rerun of her show *Meet the Blooms* playing in his hospital while he was unconscious), prompting him to escape from his daily life.

The night after they meet and love sparks fly, Colgate disappears. Johnson, in several moments of heroism and star-struck love, decides to find her.

Colgate and Johnson each represent people so sick of the world they live in—in this case, low level stardom—that they dropped out altogether. In *Generation X* Coupland dealt solely with this mentality, but the focus of *Miss Wyoming* is neither Colgate's one-year hiatus or Johnson's short-lived nomadic experience in the Southwest, but what they now have

to do back in society: cope with real life pressures that overcame them once before.

The plot of *Miss Wyoming* is a hybrid of mystery, suspense, thriller and science fiction all thrown into one mega-soap opera. This allows the author to "bend" reality in a way that proves quite amusing. Johnson befriends a video store clerk, Ryan, and his girlfriend Vanessa. The two help him on his hunt to find Colgate using a wide array of strange devices, like a MissSpellCheck (MSP), that can identify and locate anyone.

It also works well for satirical purposes. Colgate's miraculous survival-without-a-scratch of the crash landing of a 747 gives the author free reign to explore all sorts of media-induced frenzy. Yet this also separates the reader emotionally from the novel.

Perhaps the most interesting relationship is between Colgate and her mother Marilyn, who forced Susan since she was "Jean Beneat Ramsey and a half" into a career in beauty pageantry. From pageant to pageant Susan hones her "Miss America" skills under the pressure of her mother, who desperately wants her child to become famous and never experience the redneck life she once had. Colgate never forgives her mom for this, even following her rise to stardom after she won but then forfeited the "Miss Wyoming Teen-USA" title.

Coupland has a gift for character development. Even his most boring creation generally comes to life in ways unimaginable. Yet in

Miss Wyoming, although all of the characters have their moments, the reader is left with gaping holes in his understanding (or identifying) of them. There are too many sideline characters that have potential but by the end of the novel their status stays the same. For instance, Johnson's mother Doris and his "one true friend" and movie accomplice Ivan both have important roles in the book plot-wise but Coupland mistakenly sacrifices their evolution for the sake of brevity and an over the top storyline.

That does make the reader focus on the two protagonists, but even they do not change from when they meet in the first chapter to the end of the novel. Their change happened in the past, and is essentially complete during the "present tense" chapters.

All of Coupland's novels have a relatively unorthodox writing style. In *Miss Wyoming*, he opted for a Dean Koontz-esque combination of mixed flashbacks weaved into a story line that the reader is not sure where it is going till halfway through the book.

Coupland should have filled the reader in a little less about what happened during their respected vanishings. It would be more interesting if we knew solely what the media told society, for often times Coupland uses media as a device that shows potential. Tabloid presence surrounds some of the best scenes. This would catch the reader more off guard and force oneself to actually think about how we all fall into this tabloid trap.

Coupland's ultimate failure was his use of archetypes over actual characters. I found myself more interested in the plot twists than the overall arch of the story or any character development. By making fun of low-grade pop culture, Coupland became it. *Miss Wyoming* feels a little too empty.

Vultracock Vultracock Vultracock GO

... continued from page 10

much of its intensity with his feedback laced bass playing. Drummer Ben Dangi exploded throughout the show in an intense tribal rhythm that persisted constantly and brought unity to the cacophonous distorted chords and the naked indecipherable singing. The keyboard play of Jamie O'Shea brought very interesting dimensions to the music.

The question on everyone's mind as to whether Vultracock was the best band of the last 25 years or simply the best ever was answered in different ways throughout the audience. Peer Counselor of the newly constructed Shelov dormitory Dylaina Young said "25 years" without hesitation.

A sophomore who wished to remain anonymous was less quick in her response as she thought out her response of "Oh my God. Um, 25 years. I'm gonna have to be critical, not critical, but a little harsh." Still overwhelmed by the music, Englishman Daniel Prendergast

could only respond, "Soul searing riffs layered over earth shattering rhythms." As the set ended the audience exploded in enthusiastic cheering and applause although no panties appeared to be thrown at the stage.

Some band members tried to remain modest in spite of the overwhelming response. "I thought it went well considering we've only been together a couple of weeks. Can't complain. It wasn't perfect, but was it supposed to be?" commented Yannity. Such modesty only demonstrated the band's willingness to grow and change and not grow complacent. This willingness is impressive in a band which is already so overwhelmingly talented and promising.

Whether Vultracock is the best band of the last 25 years or simply the best ever is still in debate. But one thing remains clear and is echoed in the words of Dangi. "The Millenium is waiting for its band. We have arrived."

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Jeff Wall, the Man Behind the Lightbox

With a retrospective at the Whitney Museum, Wall speaks at Bard on his work, criticism, and the tension therein.

HUFFA FROBES-CROSS

Every picture connected to the name Jeff Wall swims in an ocean of writing. Not only because innumerable critics have made his work the subject of intense scrutiny, but because of the essays and interviews the artist himself has made about his work. Wall seems to be an artist incredibly at home in the often alienating world of art criticism that, in many ways, makes an artist become a "Jeff Wall." It shouldn't come as a surprise that Wall worked as an art historian for many years before beginning to take photographs. Although not necessarily an entertainer, he is a very comfortable and articulate speaker.

Both Wall's critical engagement with his own work and his ease as a speaker were very much in evidence on the 18th of February when he gave a lecture in the Weis Cinema at Bard. The lecture was structured as a straightforward survey of Wall's work—with focus on individual sections—with the overriding theme being the extent to which he created the scene photographed in particular pictures.

Wall was as careful as he is in his images to problematize the distinction between the "set-up" and the "documentary" photograph. He referred to a group of his photographs as "pseudo-documentary," suggesting the ways in which the



Before: Study for "A Sudden Gust of Wind (After Hokusai)", 1993

found event and created event bleed into each other in these works. In his process, Wall emphasized the extent to which chance events and unexpected developments with the actors and the scene in front of the camera affect the eventual photograph. The basis for many of his works, Wall noted, was his observation of actual events that he actually saw during the course of his life. Thus he extended the creation of his pictures beyond the actions of

his own isolated ingenuity.

Many of his works have been said to draw extensively on, especially 19th century European painting. Wall, himself noted one example where, in his photograph "The Storyteller", a group of figures seem taken from a Manet. Claiming that this was an accidental allusion, Wall established a pattern he carried through the rest of his lecture by playing down his consciousness of these references. Rather than pulling rank on

He referred to a group of his photographs as "pseudo-documentary," suggesting the ways in which the found event and created event bleed into each other in these works.



After: "A Sudden Gust of Wind (after Hokusai)", 1993

the critics who have found these elements in his works, Wall suggested that these interpretations had equal validity, if not when compared with his own. Once again, he seemed very conscious of his position in the art world and critical perceptions of his work and set about the task of reworking them or at least introducing some kind of doubt into commonly held ideas about his art.

The last slide Wall showed was a new work he had done for an upcoming show. It was a photograph of an open grave in an average suburban cemetery. The grave seemed to have filled with water from a recent rainfall suggested by the cloudy sky. Upon closer inspection underneath the water were starfish and coral, the grave itself was an impossible tide pool.

This photograph which seems naively fantastic, makes sense only when surrounded by the rest of Wall's oeuvre. This jarring blotch of unreality in an otherwise extremely believable space connects his "pseudo-documentary" photographs to his more outright fictional works almost placing one inside the other.

Of course, the tidepool is only fantastic for being in a grave so the relational quality of Wall's work seeps into the interior of the piece as well. This photograph, so dependent on the relationship it gathers for its success was a plausible conclusion to a lecture in which Wall presented himself as an artist always working within and from a complex context which is never being fought, but encouraged to lend its support to his work.

Kenneth Josephson, the Man Behind the Hairy Arm

J.R.VALENZUELA

To paraphrase Stephen Shore's introduction—for visiting photographer Kenneth Josephson's lecture last Thursday night, what has become so commonplace and presents itself as very much a product of today—photography that investigates the nature and history of photography—has been a part of Josephson's oeuvre for over thirty years.

He began photographing seriously after being drafted by the army and stationed in Germany. Afterwards he studied with Minor White in Rochester, both Aaron Siskind and Harry Callahan in Chicago and then taught at the Chicago Art Institute for nearly 40 years.

The lecture coincided with the opening of a major retrospective of his work now on display at the Whitney through May 27th. He began with slides of a commercial photographer's black and white work from the World War Two era. These were staged scenes with exaggerated gestures of business and daily life meant for advertising, as well as the occasional group wearing clear plastic formal wear or posing around a cow. Saying that his interest lay in the speculation and assumptions that these found photographs thrive on when taken out of context, some of his own early work explores a similar concern.

Beginning with postcards of

specific buildings and locations, he would go to and rephotograph the original scene, then make a print in the same scale as that postcard. The finished work would be a collage of sections of the color postcards mounted on his black and white print. Sometimes taken several years after the original, there exists a many-leveled tension between the postcards and the base print. While technically they are aligned so that the perspectives match, new buildings are cut in half by an abrupt shift to a skyline it was never a part of. Color-saturated surfaces drop off to monochrome.

His later work refined this tension by having photographs within photographs. Josephson made extensive use of Polaroid materials, whose instantaneous nature allowed complex relationships between many different layers of representation and reproduction to develop in a short period of time. These images incorporate multiple views of a scene, often shot at the same time with different cameras in a variety of formats. As with the postcard collages, while the various representations call attention to

themselves as distinct objects, there is an overall visual continuity; a head will be where a head should be, or the pattern of pebbles on a beach will match and align between photograph and the actual stones. The final images present photographs as both tangible autonomous objects and transparent windows, one inside the other.

The fact that much of his work stems from imposition of himself in conjunction with a forced perspective and appraisal can make the images (and him) seem arrogant...

A series employing mattes introduced an object normally used in the presentation of actual prints into the space being photographed. In a standout image, a matteboard is held up to frame the hand of a passenger in a passing car, and

Josephson's shadow with cowboy hat in the foreground. The hand is the central focus, but is isolated and separate from the rest of the photographic frame.

Referencing early photographic surveys of the American West, an extensive series has Josephson holding measuring sticks in front of or towards landmarks both natural and manmade. A hairy arm clutching a ruler reduces statues and mountains to backdrops, evoking the casual and at times tasteless conventions of tourist photography. The foreground presence of the



Above: "Chicago", 1973, one of Josephson's postcard collages.

observer reigns supreme.

The fact that much of his work stems from imposition of himself in conjunction with a forced perspective and appraisal can make the images (and him) seem arrogant, illustrations of an overarching point that makes the rest irrelevant.

Speaking in person and showing the full spectrum of his work, quite the opposite proved true. He came across as a humble and thoughtful man. Relying heavily on slides and more personal experience than self-reflexive analysis, his lecture did not captivate. It did explain that his aims have always been centered around exploration, rather than critical or sarcastic statement.

Josephson's recent landscapes

and travel photographs show the same formal concerns as his earlier projects. His shots of olive trees during harvest have the dappled high contrast light present in so much of his other work. The trees themselves are covered in translucent shrouds, so that the tree's shape is read through the surface undulations and shadows cast on the cloth. Regardless of the subject or the motivation, his lifelong conceptual interests come through.

As a lecturer, Josephson left something to be desired in terms of really discussing these lifelong interests. Thankfully his work and his current show speak volumes.