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TO THE COMMUNITY: The Bard Free Press would like to express our condolences to the family and friends of Bard Senior Jane Quinn. We send our support to the community, and hope that everyone is finding the help they need in this difficult time for all of us. There will be a community gathering at the President's House on Monday, March 19th at 7pm. Contact DOSO for info. on family services for Jane.



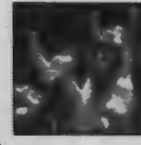
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The Hirsch Collapse: It was the Fault's Fault

JONAH WEINER

According to the Administration, the collapse of Hirsch this past Tuesday was precipitated not by structural problems of the Ravine Dorms but instead by "shifting ground." The unconfirmed theory is that geothermal drilling involved in the construction of the New Toasters may have upset underground waters, diverting them towards the Ravine and causing the landslide that put Hirsch over the edge.

Vice President Jim Brudvig said the school first became aware of the possible fall two to three weeks ago, when a fire alarm summoned an electrician to Hirsch. There a split was discovered between the front doorjamb and the rest of the building, which led the electrician to notice a slight fault line leading

along the Ravine ridge. Music faculty and studio equipment were immediately moved out of the building, and the soil and fault line were watched for an impending slide.

That same fault line, having worsened dramatically since then, is currently several feet deep at points. Bluecher, just to Hirsch's south, is set to be taken down by crane before it has a chance to collapse on its own.

Questions have been raised around at least two points. One is that when core samples were taken before the groundbreaking of the New Toasters, the instability of the terrain should have been detected. In response to this, Jim Brudvig said that at the time of the New Toaster core sample a geotechnical engineer assured the school that, if there was any question of instabili-

ty, the construction of a strong foundation under the new dorms would be more than enough of a safeguard. Apparently the foundation (left over from an old Bard theater) supporting the student housing trailers in the Bluecher-Hirsch area is not so strong, as it is feared that both the foundation and the trailers might slide into the Ravine.

The second question regards the decision made last fall to dismantle Bourne and empty the other Ravine dorms of students, which some take as suggesting that the Administration knew something about the impending problems as long ago as last semester, if not before. Fred Barnes dismissed this, saying that the moving out of students from the Ravine dorms was a coincidental part of an overall building plan. "We wouldn't have

see Hirsch on page 3...



Jonah Weiner

The Right to Narrate:

Homi Bhabha, critical theorist, speaks to Bard and the Free Press

KERRY CHANCE

As part of the Human Rights Project's ongoing lecture series, leading theorist in postcolonial studies, Homi Bhabha, presented a paper entitled, "Looking Global." Throughout his work, from Nation and Narration (1990) to the Location of Culture (1994), Bhabha has consistently questioned stable notions of culture, nationalism, and human rights, notably by applying post-structuralist and psychoanalytic theories to these concepts. His ideas about the nation as narrativized, cultural dominance as ambivalent, and borders as liminal, have contributed to the way in which postcolonial studies approaches its object. Bhabha is presently a Chester D. Tripp professor of the Humanities at University of Chicago, where he teaches in the Departments of English and Art.

In the following interview, he discusses the complex relationship between neo-nationalism and globalization, and the "right to narrate."

In an interview with the Free Press three weeks ago, Edward Said remarked that some nations have become increasingly nationalistic partially in response to globalization. In

the Location of Culture, you discuss the social articulation of difference in terms of the negotiation that occurs in the liminal space between boundaries. Globalization seems to widen this liminal space, contributing to that articulation. Can you speak to the trend of nationalism, and how it may change the dominant paradigm through which globalization is conceptualized?

I think there are two forces at play in the world today, and they play against each other in a kind of tension or dialectic. One is, as you said a moment ago, are the forces of global internationalism. These are visible in international conventions, regional economic bodies, the European Union, international treaties, so on and so forth. They are also visible in the global economy and the global media economy, and of course the global market. Also, in the increase of commodification and consumption, the culture of goods. So you have this span of everything from what we recognize in a kind of early or post War sense of international to a rapid and increasing globalization.

And the difference between internationalism and globalization some say is the whole question Bhabha on page 4...

Bard Remembers Attica

David Hilliard, Eddie Ellis, Kumasi Aguila speak on prison reform, and 60s prison rights

VINCENT VALDMANIS

Political activists and ex-prisoners Kumasi Aguila and Eddie Ellis, and former Black Panther chief of staff David Hilliard spoke to a standing-room only audience on their experiences as participants in the radical movements of the '60s and '70s and the historical legacies of America's prison system. Last Wednesday's event, sponsored by the Bard Prison Initiative, was entitled "Soledad Brother, the Attica Rebellion, and the Origins of the Modern Prison Movement."

The speakers outlined the history of the Black Panthers and the party's connection with the "prison movement," sparked by The Prison Manifesto, a list of demands including the right to adequate health services for prisoners, educational programs, and an end to the death penalty. "When we wrote the Manifesto we got every prison in the state [of California], including women prisons, to go on strike," said Aguila. "The prison sub-culture is very diabolical," he said, but the Black Panthers provided services and support for prisoners and were behind the movement that was voiced by the Manifesto.

Ellis, a prisoner present at the rebellion at the Attica state prison in 1971 in which New York state troopers shot and killed 29 inmates and 10 hostages, said, "One thing we learned in prison is prison only operates when prisoners let it operate." He noted there are more

incarceration centers in the mid-Hudson valley than colleges and said jails are becoming the universities of America's underclass. "The reason more and more people are going to prison is to control those who are disaffected by society," said Ellis. He stated one of the roles of prisons is the management of surplus labor.

Also emphasized was the need for educational programs in prisons, which have suffered in recent years in the face of budget cuts and political pressure. Aguila outlined the importance of education and asserted the cutbacks are no coincidence: "If necessary, they will destroy my brain, they will kill me mentally and spiritually, but leave my physical being alive because they can put a broom in my hand, they can still put me behind a machine. They have stopped me from spreading my philosophy of resistance. They have stopped the philosophy of becoming a new man, of making this transformation from the criminal mentality to the social scientist, to the idea of coming back to the community as an asset instead of a liability."

It is a vicious circle, said Aguila. "You [the judicial system] let certain select people out of prison so damaged, so torn, so angry, so bitter, and so unsalvageable, that you know they're going to go out and just kill and rape and just pillage the community, and in return the community is going to demand that you do a better job of

protecting them."

The speakers commented on the need to connect with a new generation of activists. "You young people need to understand the history of social change, and how we got here," said Ellis. "You have to take what you hear tonight, read, write, research, learn, teach. The movement in this country is alive and well; it's going to flourish and continue." Hilliard suggested effective means include the grassroots approach employed by the Black Panthers, who operated free busing services, transition programs, and the successful Breakfast Program for prisoners and underserved communities.

"It was very refreshing to hear the speakers' call for a revolution, in a sense," said sophomore Matt Dineen when the event was over. "Because all the messages that we get from the media and everything in our society is so cynical. We get this philosophy that there's no possibility for change at all."

April Howard, also a sophomore was similarly struck by the encouraging message the speakers expressed. "[The speakers] really knew why they were here. When guests come to talk to colleges I wonder if they're going to be judging us as an audience of middle class, spoiled white kids, but I felt like here [the three speakers] really saw our group of people as an audience that has potential [to make changes happen]."

The Arduous Journey: Hudson River Clean Up 2001

GILLIAN MEANS

Cleaning up PCBs in the Hudson River has been a hotly debated issue along the 40-mile stretch for which it has been proposed from Troy to Fort Edward. Strangely enough, this issue has not received a great deal of attention at Bard, even though it is an instance where activism could make a real and immediate difference.

Part of the reason for this could be the lack of clear facts. There are two general stances on the issue, dredge or not dredge, but the evidence supporting either has been clouded by public relations and politics. The dredging procedure involves upturning contaminated silt from the riverbed and transporting it to landfills.

Cleaning up the Hudson has been under consideration by the federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) since 1990. The issue came to a head on December 12, 2000, when the agency announced its findings from a decade of research and its plan to dredge the areas with the highest levels of polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) and hold General Electric Co. (GE) responsible for the \$460 million price tag.

The Hudson was declared a Superfund site in 1983, which means that the EPA has ultimate control over its preservation. Superfund sites "are uncontrolled or abandoned places where hazardous waste is located, possibly affecting local ecosystems or people," as defined on the EPA's Superfund Sites website. According to one GE shareholder, the Hudson River is the biggest in the country.

Many of the contaminants in the river came from GE between 1946 and 1977. As a manufacturer of capacitors and other electrical appliances, they used PCBs as a

coolant. They legally dumped approximately 500 tons over about 30 years, a maximum of 30 pounds per day, into the Hudson until the EPA banned PCBs. GE's factories continue to leak a small amount of the oily liquid into the river each year.

These are facts upon which there is wide agreement. Points of contention have arisen about the alleged health effects of PCBs, the effectiveness of dredging, and the potential disruption to communities that sit along the Hudson.

Human impacts lie at the center of the controversy. The EPA has classified PCBs as suspected-carcinogens since it banned them in the late seventies, but GE is contesting scientific support for the theory. It claims that 27 studies, 21 one of them independent of the corporation, have shown that there is no link between PCB exposure and increased rates of cancer. The majority of those studies were performed on former employees who worked with PCBs.

Studies supporting the EPA have come from lab animal tests showing that PCB exposure causes tumors in mice. In their Feasibility Report, which evaluated all possible clean up actions, the EPA said, "for eating fish, the calculated cancer risk is one in 1,000. This excess cancer risk is 1,000 times higher than USEPA's goal of protection and ten times higher than the highest cancer risk level generally allowed under federal Superfund law."

Non-carcinogenic health threats have also been considered. GE has not been as adamant in denying this claim, however, perhaps because the findings are much less in their favor.

PCB exposure from ingestion of fish has been linked to slow mental development, reduced ability to fight infection, and birth problems

in laboratory mice. In humans, there are similar tentative links.

This semester Bard has been fortunate enough to have some additional light shed on the human health dispute. Louis J. Guillette, Ph.D., of the University of Florida, who spoke February 10 on environmental contamination as part of the Distinguished Scientist Lecture Series, has studied the effects of contaminants including PCBs on wildlife in Florida lakes. His findings indicated that even levels lower than can be detected by standard equipment could cause damage to the reproductive system at the very least.

Guillette drew a correlation between the reproductive problems alligators have and those that more and more young American children have been experiencing. On February 22, Philip J. Landrigan, M.D., M.S., of Mount Sinai School of Medicine, echoed this point at the forum on "Global Environmental Changes and Human Health".

He pointed to evidence that showed decreased size of the urethra and sterility in newborn boys being caused by environmental pollution, as well as lower IQ and slower mental development in all children. To GE's claim that PCBs are harmless he said, "Lie!" Landrigan repeated the EPA's warning, saying that both parents and potential parents should keep fish from the Hudson off the dinner table if they want 'normal, healthy, intelligent' children. Guillette also

emphasized the danger of eating fresh-water fish.

In response to claims by GE such as a lack of evidence for causation between PCBs and health threats, Guillette added that there could be no direct causative evidence for such questions of human health. To have such would require laboratory testing of human subjects (i.e. exposing humans to contaminants and seeing what happens) or a natural exposure event to study.

Associative evidence is the best we have, he said, but it is in no way dismissible.

Even non-fish eaters are at risk, although not as great of one, according to the EPA. Most in danger are wildlife that live in and around the river, showing that PCBs have ecological

implications as well.

Intricately tied to this issue of human safety is the effectiveness of the actual dredging. As proposed, 13% of the river's bottom would be dredged, totaling 2.65 million cubic yards. After additional planning, the procedure would start in 2003 and take five years.

GE is arguing that dredging will only stir up contaminants that are long buried under many layers of sedimentation, thus causing even greater levels of PCBs in Hudson fish. An important part of this argument is that the PCBs are better left buried because they have cannot affect the ecosystem there.

According to the EPA and other experts, there are two main problems with this stance. The first is

that any geologic event could disturb the sedimentation bringing the PCBs up without warning. The second is that even buried, the PCBs are still a threat.

Studies of various fish species and snapping turtles have shown that PCB levels are still unacceptably high. The federal safety limit of PCBs in fish is two parts per million (ppm). Although there is no such limit for turtles (even though they are consumed), their levels around GE plants have been shown to be as high as 3,091 ppm. Some turtles used for the study, though not the ones with the highest levels, were from Red Hook.

The EPA admits this is a decrease since the 1970s, but not enough to eliminate the risk to human and ecological health. GE claims that the present levels are due to the continued leaking of PCBs from their plants, a problem they are willingly attempting to solve. The numbers do not add up, however, as PCB levels are simply too high to be explained by the small amount being introduced each year.

The EPA is also attempting to ensure that the dredging does not leave the river worse off than before. On December 6, the New York Times reported: "In their proposed plan, the EPA takes additional steps in response to concerns that dredging will only stir up PCBs. The technology that would be used, EPA officials said, called hydraulic dredging, would answer fears expressed by local residents and complaints by GE that a dredging plan could recontaminate the river with stirred-up chemicals. A hydraulic dredger, unlike the old-fashioned clamshell machines that are used in traditional dredging work, is essentially a giant box that would be placed at the river's bottom over the contaminated area, see Hudson on page 3..."

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Don't Mess with Texas

Bloodthirsty Constitution-rapers respond to satire asking Jesus to "Smite George W. Bush"

VINCENT VALDMANIS

What happens when a student newspaper prints a satirical editorial asking Jesus to "smite" the president, Dick Cheney, and Carson Daily? The Secret Service promptly deploys agents to interrogate the author, raising serious questions about freedom of the press.

Glenn Given, managing editor of The Stony Brook Press at SUNY Stony Brook, wrote an article in early February spoofing Bush's well-publicized religious conviction that concludes, "Thank you Jesus, Jesus whose love is eternal, Jesus, bringer of Life after Death (except, hopefully, for George W. Bush)."

Days later Given, 22, was meeting with his photo editor in the newspaper's office when two Secret Service agents and campus police arrived unannounced. They interrogated Given for three hours, asking detailed questions about his personal background, medical history, and psychiatric condition. "I wasn't under the explicit threat of

arrest, but it was implied," said Given. He was questioned without legal council or witness and was not advised of his rights as an accused. They had him sign releases for medical history and psychological records, photographed him, and searched his apartment. The Stony Brook Press has since reported that 2,000 copies of the issue with the editorial are missing from a storage area, and there is concern Secret Service agents seized those copies.

Secret Service spokesman Tony Ball defended the actions, saying, "We take all threats seriously. We don't have the luxury to do otherwise."

Given's editorial was entitled "Dear Jesus Christ, King of Kings, all I ask is that you Smite George W. Bush." A faculty member (perhaps a high level administrator, Given speculates) apparently found the article threatening and contacted authorities. The Secret Service informed Given that if they received a second complaint they would file charges against him. As

a matter of national security, his article was not subject to the First Amendment, they told him. They wanted to know if Given was ever institutionalized, was a member of an anarchist or dissident group, or was familiar with Ted Kaczynski's writings. They also questioned Given about prescription drugs, violence, head injuries, bomb making, and fixation with public figures. "It was an absolutely terrifying situation, I'd never want to go through it again," he said.

But the newspaper did not go quietly into the night. "They didn't expect us to do what we did, which was go to the media and get legal council," said Given. The incident appeared in major national media outlets, including The Los Angeles Times, the Associated Press, and on CNN. The Stony Brook Press contacted The Student Press Law Center out of Virginia and The Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press wrote a letter of protest demanding an apology from Secret Service director Brian Stafford, saying "Prior to allowing federal

law enforcement agents to launch an intrusive and intimidating investigation, the government must make a reasonable attempt to distinguish between true threats and political hyperbole."

Though Given said some writers are now afraid of printing their full names in his newspaper, "With the exception of the administration, we had so much support from everyone. We had faculty, we had students, we had people writing in from across the country."

The Stony Brook Press has been highly critical of the school's administration and faculty in the past, and Given believes the administration may have been fighting back with scare tactics in the form of the tip-off to authorities. At the very least, the administration was silent during the newspaper's ordeal with the Secret Service, he said. "This was an opportunity for them to look good," said Given. "They could've said, 'we support [The Stony Brook Press]' right to say what they want, even if we disagree with it."

Administration spokesman Patrick Calabria stated the Secret Service was merely doing its duty. "Protecting the president of the United States is an important job. It is my understanding the Secret Service received a potential threat, investigated, and when there was no threat found, it was case closed," he said. "[Given] is making an assumption that what was done was unconstitutional. I'm not about to judge that."

Most disturbing to Given, however, is understanding that a faculty member made the complaint. "Knowing that there's someone that stupid [who would not recognize the satirical nature of the article and instead alert authorities] at my school makes me feel horrible that I go here," Given told the Free Press. "I think that was the problem."

It was a bad piece of satire," said Calabria. "I don't read the Stony Brook Press and I don't know anybody who does."

Jacqueline Bhabha Speaks on Trafficking of Women and Children

RAFI ROM

Less than a year ago, the United States was in the midst of the Elian Gonzalez media swill. Caught in the middle of a battle between two hostile countries and vying family interests, Gonzalez became a symbol of a growing problem in the world; the trafficking and smuggling of children, which until recently, was not explicitly defined in international law, and has come to be seen as "the darker side of globalization."

In a response to the overarching internationally recognized problem of illegal migration, the United Nations recently established the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (TOC Convention). Last Monday, Jacqueline Bhabha, director of the University of Chicago Human Rights Program, spoke at Bard in a talk entitled "Children, Trafficking, and Smuggling," which outlined the problems and differences between trafficking and smuggling children in the TOC.

Bhabha's talk was part of an "action-research project" she is currently working on, which seeks to "put on the map" these issues as well as influence law making. The focus of her work is on children "separated from their key" guardians.

Independent child migration falls into three categories: 1) children refugees, an internationally recognized humanitarian concern; 2) the kidnapping and coercion of children into slavery and prostitution, a security issue; and 3) "voluntary" migration, which falls under "criminal" behavior. The first two are defined as "trafficking" and the smugglers can be charged criminally, whereas the third category falls under "smuggling," where the migrant himself can face long periods of detention and eventual deportation.

The UN estimates there are at least a quarter of a million children refugees separated from their parents because of war and persecution in countries like Rwanda. The second, human trafficking is a multi-million dollar industry, with esti-



mates of at least 50,000 women and children smuggled annually into the US. The voluntary child migrant is a symbol of a "new globalization era status". A "Diaspora based not on a common point of origin, but a common genesis for dispersal," said Bhabha.

These three "images," make migrant law "inconsistent and sometimes contradictory." Thus, the point of the TOC convention "is to encourage states to adopt similar" approaches in dealing with trafficking and smuggling. It outlaws four specific crimes: money laundering, corruption, participation in international criminal groups and obstruction of justice.

Article three of the TOC convention definition of transnational trafficking includes the "threat or use of force," one person having control over another, and the recognizing that consent, "is irrelevant."

According to Bhabha, this definition has "four central elements." First, it establishes transnationality, which does not require the physical transportation of a migrant, but merely the "impact of the offense." Secondly, it defines an international criminal organization as one with three or more persons. The third and perhaps most important element of the TOC convention distinguishes it most sharply from other forms of commercial irregular migration, particularly smuggling." It not only includes violence, but fraud and other deceptions as well. "Thus the classic case where a vulnerable person is lured into being trafficked by false promises of

future employment is covered," said Bhabha. The fourth element vaguely defines exploitation as "the exploitation of the prostitution of others," yet leaves it up to the states to define other versions of exploitation.

This definition has incredible significance for the trafficking of children. Bhabha said that although individual countries' definition of voluntary prostitution differs, there is "no dispute that prostitution of children, by definition, is always coercive." However, although all forms of child prostitution are illegal, the definition "leaves open the question of what forms of labor is prohibited."

In contrast, smuggling "requires no evidence of coercion" and does not have to be exploitative. However, it is ambiguous in the case of children whether they fit into trafficking or smuggling, because it is not clear who makes the decision for the child. These protocols leave out the "most fundamental issue," that this form of "irregular migration is the only option," Bhabha said.

Currently, the protocols have been signed by 79 states, yet it still has to be ratified. The United States has yet to sign the Convention, out of "reluctance to bind the executive power in favor of rights," said Bhabha.

A transcript of Jacqueline Bhabha's talk can be found at: <http://www.bard.edu/hrp/events2000/bhabhaj-transcript.htm>

National News Briefs

Written and Edited by VINCENT VALDMANIS

Al Won After All

Al Gore not only won the popular vote, but the electoral vote as well, according to a study by The Palm Beach Post reported last Sunday. The infamous "butterfly ballot" design cost Al Gore the election by confusing voters into selecting two other candidates. In a special report, the newspaper found that had the "overvotes" (in which a voter selects more than one candidate) in Palm Beach been counted, Al Gore would have won the election by 6,607 votes, more than ten times Bush's slim victory of 534 votes. A summary of the findings:

- Of 19,000 overvotes, 5,330 were for Gore and Pat Buchanan, 2,908 for Gore and Socialist David McReynolds (interviewed in the Oct. 24th edition of the Free Press), and 5,062 were for three or more choices for president. The last group was discounted as voter error.
- 1,631 votes were for Bush and Buchanan. The two Gore combinations minus the Bush-Buchanan vote equal 6,607 lost votes for Gore.
- Even if one percent of the 6,607 votes were intended for Buchanan and McReynolds - more than their combined total of Palm Beach County's total vote - Gore would have won by 6,541 votes.
- If hanging chads and dimples were counted, Gore would have received an additional 784 votes over Bush.

"What it shows is what we've been saying all along: there is no question that the majority of people on Election Day believed they left the booth voting for Al Gore," said Ron Klain, Gore's Florida legal strategist and former chief of staff. Speaking for Bush, Republican former Montana governor Marc Racicot said, "You're trying too hard to find a correlation here."

Twenty-eight Palm Beach voters selected all 10 presidential candidates.

Nike Sued for False Advertising

In a lawsuit that could have far-reaching implications for corporate "greenwashing," a San Francisco environmentalist is taking Nike to court over its public statements about conditions in its factories. Mark Kasky is charging the athletic apparel company with false advertising for its public disclaimers that declare it a leader in fighting sweatshops.

Nike has so far successfully maintained that it simply engaged in Constitutionally protected free speech. The question boils down to whether Nike's public statements, in the forms of letters to the editor and news releases, can be considered "product-polishing" advertising, in which case they are subject to truth-in-advertising laws, or whether they are simply public statements protected by the First Amendment. California's Supreme Court will decide the issue in the coming months.

"Image advertising is properly viewed as a form of commercial speech ... and the use of deceptive statements of fact about one's own operation is not entitled to First Amendment or state constitutional protection under any legal theory," said California Attorney General Bill Lockyer.

David Brown, Nike's lawyer, says he's sure the court "will see that the statements of Nike about which the plaintiff complained were part of a large public debate about globalization in emerging countries."

StarLink, Genetically Modified Soy Found in Kellogg Products

The Los Angeles Times reports tests conducted by Greenpeace have found traces of the genetically modified corn StarLink in products from the Kellogg Corporation. The StarLink corn, which remains unapproved for human consumption over concern that it could produce allergic reactions, was found in veggie burgers and meatless corn dogs from Kellogg's natural foods subsidiary, Morningstar Farms. Genetically modified soy protein was also found in the food products. Kellogg performed its own test and confirmed the finding of genetically modified soy, but is sending samples to an independent laboratory to test for StarLink. The company has not yet decided if it will announce a recall, the newspaper said.

Solution to Hudson Clean Up is Problematic

...from page 2

with gaskets that then seal that area from the rest of the river. The dredged material is taken up into the box, and as Ms. [Carol M. Browner] put it, "nothing escapes."

Additionally, the EPA intends to "reseal" some of the PCB hot spots with clean soil after dredging.

Still, GE is dissatisfied. Spokesperson Mark Behan, as reported in the Times Union on February 7, wondered why the EPA "would abandon an effective cleanup program for dredging?" The program he is referring to was the EPA's short-term solution to minimize the health risks while they decided what the best lasting solution would be. This containment included laying down more layers of sediment to attempt to keep PCBs from circulating too

much. According to the EPA, dredging is needed to put the river back into best shape.

By Superfund law, the EPA must listen to public comments before making its final decision on how to address the PCBs. The EPA recently extended the public comment period to April 17, 2001, because there has been so much controversy.

They have met strong resistance the further north on the river they go. The dredging procedure requires de-watering of the sediment before it can be transferred to a permanent landfill site elsewhere. These plants would need to be set up somewhere along the Hudson close to where the most dredging will be done and local communities don't want them.

The EPA must consider nine cri-

teria before making its final decision on dredging. State and community acceptance are the final two, and at this point the most important as to whether dredging will occur. The wheels have been in motion for this move since 1990, and the final decision is only a few months away in August.

The EPA's Feasibility Report and Proposed Plan can be found online at www.epa.gov/hudson. Submit written comments to the EPA until April 17, 2001 to HudsonComment.Region2@epa.gov or:

Alison Hess/Doug Tomchuk
Hudson River PCBs Public Comment
U.S. Environmental Protection Agency
290 Broadway, 19th Floor
New York, NY 10007-1866

Hirsch Collapse

...continued from page 1

spent so much money remodeling those dorms into office space if we knew this was going to happen." And according to Brudvig, Bourne was dismantled for structural conditions specific to it, and that when that decision was made no sign of the impending landslide had been yet discovered.

Barnes said that the chance of sliding is more or less contained to the southern end of the Ravine, a fact which should assuage concerns about the status of other Ravine Dorms and other buildings, but will nonetheless necessitate the relocation of nearby student housing trailers. Those trailers are to be moved to a space

behind Blum.

The Spring building plan to pave Ravine Road and do some landscaping in the surrounding area may be affected by the fault line as well, and the safety of the campus sewage line, which runs underground not too far away from the fault, is also being looked into.

Engineers are continuing to visit the campus, and the hope is that a less speculative idea of what exactly caused the landslide-and what will be necessary to stop it-will be reached. Until then, students and other curious parties are urged to stay away from the area of the collapse, as they may fall into a huge hole.

Bhabha in the Red Room, continued

tion of speed, some say it is the extent of permeation, and some consider this to be an effect of the compromised sovereignty of national economies of the nation state itself. However, in response to this global, international complex, there has been an increasing xenophobia, a kind of nationalism - and we have got to examine quite carefully what we mean by this. In some cases, it's the kind of genocidal nationalism that we see. Groups rape countries that were once under the yoke of the Soviet Union for instance, and demand autonomy for themselves in ways in which they cannot be sustained. I mean this is not nineteenth century nationalism, this is not a sense of *e pluribus unum*. This is really a response to years of oppression and a desire to have a sense of national sovereignty. And they cannot support it economically, or in terms of civil society. That is why you get ethnic cleansing and such.

There are other kinds of nationalism that are more to do with regionalism, like Eurocentrism. So it's not strictly nationalism, it's a kind of jingoism, or xenophobia of a regional kind. This is closely linked to globalization because one of the institutional forms of globalization is regionalism, such as the European Union. What happens there is it becomes easier to have kind of transitional tracts through



the European countries. There is what one may call a "fortress Europe" developing, in which the borders of Europe becomes more secure just as the internal borders become more fluid, which then keeps out migrant populations of people. So that creates another kind of nationalism, or a regional nationalism. We should be subtle here.

There are also nationalist movements that develop in a response to the disseminations of globalization. These movements one can call them nationalism, and they do have nationalistic configurations or symptoms. So you see, the distinction and tension is not actually between globalization and nationalism. It's the way in which nationalisms are appropriating and approximating part of the structures, economies, and discourses of globalization, and transforming themselves in that way.

Let's look at another phenomenon, again one that works off of the global market, the new global technologies, the virtual communicative internet resources, is the growth of new fundamentalisms, and this growth is like globalization. Religious fundamentalisms

be they Christian, be they Hindu, be they Muslim, do not limit themselves to the nation form. They see themselves as international movements. That can be seen as another kind of globalization.

There's also another kind of internationalism that accompanies globalization and this hybrid global nationalism or global xenophobia, which is the growth of humanitarian or universal human rights cultures. And I think that has its own kind of transnational perspective that we should not forget.

I would say that often the argument is that on one hand there's globalization and in a response to that there's a kind of nationalism. I do not think it's as simple as that. I think both globalization, and nationalization, and the new nationalism are in a profound transitional and translational state at the moment.

So it's a very complex web, and I'm going to be talking a bit about this today. The thing to remember is that the nation isn't dead. The nation survives today in a complex, compromised situation. The trace of the nation survives in all kind of ways. So whether we talk about transnationalism, post-nationalism, de-nationalization, what you have to be aware of is what part of nationness is being recycled and reiterated, transformed, reapproximated, and retranslated.

The important thing to understand is that we are living in translational times. And maybe all times are translational times. But I think it is our intellectual responsibility to understand that the ground beneath our feet is a shifting, sliding ground, and to try to actually take account of that.

You have said that writing creates a liminal "space" that links and dismantles the opposition between theory and political practice. Could this idea of liminality and writing perhaps be a way to approach human rights discourse in a non-essentialist way? In other words, how do you conceive of "rights" outside an essentialist perspective?

Let me just say that one of the things that I've been thinking about is the way in which human rights or human rights discourse does not simply take the world simply as it finds it. It is a discourse about the importance of making claims, about aspirations, about projection, about the future. If you think about this claims, aspirations, futurity, it is freedom and emancipation as non-tangible but concrete goals. If you think about it like that then the referent of human rights, the human -

whether its first generation rights, second generation rights, individual rights, or group rights, minority rights (which, of course, is at the heart of human rights) - the referent itself is profoundly complex. "What is human about human rights?" has to be in every articulation of a convention, of a human rights article, and has to be reconceptualized. Human rights then have functional, 'real' effects but, as you know, one of the main problems in human rights is how enforceable they are.

So this whole gamut of the non-referentiality but the necessity of human rights is so much like what we talk about when we talk about literature or culture. In a sense that culture is not enforceable in a way, or that the truths of literature are not enforceable. And yet they are profoundly transformative. Literary language in a very sensual sense is non-referential. That doesn't mean it does not have references but that it does not directly refer to the physical world. One of the beauties, and the powers of literature is that it is representational. And I think that's the important word. Just in the way in which human rights (re)presents the problem of the 'human' in its various guises as a claim to freedom. So literature or culture also seeks to (re)present the most advanced notions of ethicality, tolerance, communality. But it does not have a concrete referent. In fact, literature or cultural art can work its magic and have profound historical effects because it is not tethered to some simplistic, reflectionist notion of a referent. Does that answer your question?

Well, in terms of human rights not having a concrete referent, it seems to open many possibilities. How do you see the possibilities in human rights and where do you see the discourse going?

This is an interesting question because on the one hand the bearer of rights is the bearer because she or he is human, you don't have to be more than that. But rights are being continually recreated in response to what is happening in the world.

So where I see it going is in two directions. One, in the more practical, political area, I see human rights increasing its responsibility to protecting the unequal, to protecting minorities, to those, as we heard in the presentation this afternoon [by Jacqueline Bhabha], protecting those who are vulnerable, those whose freedom is fragile.

I also see human rights discourse as extending in another direction in which its ethical claims are developed in a way that is not utopian but aspirational. There's a difference between the two. Utopianism is a way of in a sense forgetting the problems of the present. Human rights can never do that. Human rights must be concerned with the continuum, the everyday, the tremendous contradictions and problems of every day life. But in the same breath, it cannot be burdened by that. It moves ahead and begins to think about ethical claims that may be prior to obligations. You know, there's this idea that all this is poppycock, and someone, I forget, John Stuart Mill or somebody said, "This is nonsense on stilts." And unless there is some-

one who is obliged to respond to the right, what's the point of the right. I think philosophers say well that's not true, that non-justiciable rights are also important. Ethical claims are the basis of rights.

So I think it's going in two directions. One, human rights trying to deal with those who are vulnerable in a very complex millennial world we inhabit. And also, it must evolve its ethical perspective.

Related to what you were just saying about a non-essentialist view of the human and of rights, you've written about the "right to narrate" in a series of essays out of University of Chicago's Reflections 2000, could you say more about that in terms of.....?

You're right to emphasize that my notion of the human is not some a priori quality. That's why nothing I've said would confirm an essentialist view. But what interests me more is the translational capacities of what the human means. I propose the issue of the "right to narrate" which will be the subject of

Library Lectures that I will be delivering in the fall in response to various things. One, in response to the fact that you now have these truth commissions, where because of the problematic nature of what a historical even is or was. We all know about the tragic tyrannies of the apartheid in South Africa, and we all know in some sense about the disappearance of radicals in Latin American dictatorships. And yet, these societies and cultures as a way of negotiating their future, as a way of making or marking some kind of transition, require an intricate, problematic ritual of public memory gathering, and public testament, or public witnessing in and through the accounts of individuals involved on both sides of these deeply wounded and wounding historical situations. So I wanted to understand what was involved in giving someone the right to narrate, and why has it become such an important issue of our time.

If what I just described is the importance of the notion of the "right" in the "right to narrate", I'm also interested in the right of narration. Because many of the issues that are being discussed in South Africa or various Latin American countries, or other parts of the world, many of these issues of public debate or record - the 'what happened' in these places where there is guilt - there are legal remedies, legal structures, there are institutional, political structures, and yet, the power of the narrative must not simply be absorbed into those institutional or political preconceptions.



Each time we know the story of South Africa, more or less, each time that story is told, something is affirmed, something ethical, something aesthetic, something political. So I want to understand the place of narrative in that context. Then that right to narrate is not simply like the first amendment right therefore. It is not something simply about the free expression of the individual. It's precisely what I've been talking about, the network of narratives, the network of stories that exist in a particular moment that are recorded from one moment to another.

So what I'm interested in is the right to narrate as enunciatory right, not just a expressive right. Therefore, my notion of who is the subject of the right to narrate is not the individual who is narrating but

The thing to remember is that the nation is not dead....The trace of the nation survives in all kinds of ways.

a whole network of discursive, cultural, political, institutional, a network of events and enunciations and constructions and writings that construct the possibility of narration. It's

an enunciatory right. I also think that coming out of the great social movements of our times - diasporic, refugee, migrant - people and groups often have a kind of split mode of being. They can be political citizens in one particular culture and cultural citizens in a very different kind of trans-national, cosmopolitan sense. They live this split. And even people who are not migrants. If all of a sudden your society, or community becomes a place where a whole range of other people settle, then the nature of jurisdiction becomes different. The very ground under your feet is being renamed, even if you never left it. But all of sudden there are influxes of people who are coming in that have their own narratives, their own histories. All of a sudden your own home becomes uncanny, to yourself and to others. And in that situation of jurisdictional unsettlement, narrative of the enunciatory kind gains a very specific force and power.

Also, a number of the people we are interested in, in the area of human rights represent themselves in terms of narrativity. So I think narrative has to be seen both in its contiguity with equality, what is justiciable. Narrative has to also be seen as the poesis of political and social practice. Making of law, of ethics, the making of history, the making of an event, is also part of the right to narrate.

Medical Attention Still Limited for Women

Reflections on National Abortion Providers Appreciation Day

AMBER BUCHHOLZ

This past Saturday, March 10th, was National Abortion Providers Appreciation Day. This "holiday", if you can call it that, perhaps sounds like a good target for many snickers and even a few jokes. Abortion is one of those firecracker subjects that either makes people explode with passionate political or religious views, or else makes them so uncomfortable that they find it impossible to discuss it in a serious light. If you take the time to think about all the realities of abortion in this country, however, the necessity and value of such a day of appreciation becomes evident to anyone of Pro-Choice persuasion.

We've all seen stories of "Pro-Life murderers" assassinating abortion providers in the headlines now and again. For most of us, however, violence against health care providers seems like a distant reality, and only likely to happen in some far away, other location. When living in Boston last year, however, I began to realize how the threat of violence is an inescapable, every day reality for doctors and nurses, when I went to Planned Parenthood for a routine check-up and had to be searched, patted down by an armed body guard, and shoved through a metal detector before I could even get in the door. Needless to say, this was an unexpected and very unsettling experience. Not only was I a bit shook up, but I was also outraged that women had to be made to feel like criminals for seeking medical attention, and even more outraged that doctors were forced to work behind bullet-proof glass.

While incidences of violence at clinics may have subsided in recent years, so has access to abortion providers. Statistics may sometimes be boring, but in this case they are just frightening. In 1992, nearly 30% of

all American women lived in a county without an abortion provider. In some states, for example Mississippi and West Virginia, that number soared up to 80%. Since 1992, the number of abortion providers has declined by roughly 20%. Today, a third of all metropolitan areas do not have a single doctor willing to provide the service. Both North and South Dakota have only one abortion provider each.

Predictably, the reported number of abortions performed annually has also declined over the course of the past decade. In the search for an explanation, many people have pointed to the fact that as the Baby Boomer generation continues to age, the number of women in their child bearing years continues to decline. Others would like to credit the Pro-Life movement, asserting that fewer women are now choosing to end their pregnancies thanks to religious education.

Perhaps these are factors, but one can't discredit the reality that in rural, often poverty-stricken areas, women are not always able to make the trip to a distant clinic, which may be several hours away. Even a student here at Bard would have to travel nearly an hour, to Planned Parenthood in Poughkeepsie, unless she has about \$1,000 to pay for the service, or she doesn't mind reporting it to her parents' HMO.

The fact that one in five doctors who were providing abortions in 1992 are no longer offering the procedure can only serve to exacerbate the circumstances that were already less than ideal, and leave many women without any safe choice, just by default.

Why are fewer doctors choosing to perform abortions today? One reason might be that they fear for their safety, and no longer want to take the risk. Said one health care provider whom I spoke to: "It's true, not a day goes by that I don't realize how I am putting myself at risk. The work I do is important, it's essential, and I feel good about my decision [to provide abortion services]. But then, every time I walk out the door [of the clinic], the thought crosses my mind that some zealot could be standing there waiting to kill me."

Although violence against doctors is an undeniable reality, in all fairness the majority of Pro-Life demonstrators are not out to kill. They are out to promote what they view as the saving of babies' lives, not the taking of doctors' lives. For many people, the decision to not have an abortion is strictly personal. For others, the issue becomes a crusade, and demonstrators have gone to unbelievable lengths to convince doctors to stop providing abortions, and women not to seek the service.

Some protesters have been known to write down the license plate numbers of women visiting clinics, in order to trace where these women live. Protesters then call the women at their homes to try to persuade them to "choose life". Other protesters have used similar methods to trace doctors to their homes, and then mail them literature and graphic pictures in the hope of convincing them to stop providing the services. Most often, protests come in the form of demonstrations outside clinics, which according to some is an exercise of the Pro-Life groups' First Amendment Rights, and according to others amounts to the harassment of doctors and patients seeking medical care.

Perhaps it is not fear of being

murdered that keeps many doctors from providing abortions, but an unwillingness to face such methods of protest. A look at the demographics among doctors who have discontinued the service over the past decade may suggest this, as the greatest decline in abortion providers has occurred at hospitals and private practices. In today's health care system, where patients are treated as consumers, angry protesters are bad for business. Today, 70% of abortions are provided in specialized clinics. The doctors and nurses who work in such clinics most likely are more dedicated to the cause of providing women with choice than are the health care providers in more generalized practices.

As "women's health" becomes a more specialized field, so too does Pro-Life activism. There now exist many protest groups specifically dedicated to targeting individual clinics or organizations such as Planned Parenthood. One representative of such a group alleged that Planned Parenthood was a corporation, in the business of selling death: "Planned Parenthood International has launched a relentless campaign to push women and girls around the globe into buying birth control. They make money off of killing babies," he said.

When I asked him to clarify whether he was inferring that taking birth control amounted to killing babies, he answered with "Most definitely! Getting women hooked on birth control is a money making scheme, and directly conflicts with the Lord's will. God has provided us with a means for family planning, but His way is largely ignored in our society for many reasons. Instead, these corporations sell us sex, and then they sell us pills to make sex more convenient. Planned Parenthood does not want to help women, it only wants to make money." I pointed out to this man that a month's supply of birth control costs \$20 at my local pharmacy, and only \$6 for college students at the local Planned Parenthood office; to this he had no comment.

Many Pro-Life activist groups would like to claim that they have been successful over the past decade in preventing many abortions, taking credit for the decline in the number of providers. While they may be partially right in their assertion, there is one fact that nearly all Pro-Life activists seem to be forgetting: decreasing the number of abortion providers, or even making abortion illegal, is not an effective way of eliminating abortion.

As the health care provider whom I spoke to pointed out: "In the two decades before the Roe v. Wade court decision, almost seven million women went 'underground' see Abortion on page 6...

"Planned Parenthood International has launched a relentless campaign to push women and girls... into buying birth control. They make money off of killing babies."

Even a student here at Bard would have to travel nearly an hour, to Planned Parenthood in Poughkeepsie, unless she has about \$1,000 to pay for the service, or she doesn't mind reporting it to her parents' HMO.

IMF Fiasco in Turkey (again)

A critical look at the IMF's impact on the Turkish economy

ALI TONAK

"New Order to the Lira", "The People will pay the Price", "The IMF's Grim Prescription" were a few of the headlines on Turkish newspapers towards the end of February when the Turkish Lira dropped approximately 40% in comparison to the US Dollar. The road was paved to such a devaluation by the current trend of banks declaring bankruptcy and most analysts had predicted such a crisis in the economy. 2 days previous to the 18% drop of the stock market the government successfully illustrated its incompetence with a fired argument between the Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit and President Ahmet Necdet Sezer ending with the Turkish Constitution flying across the room where top government officials were meeting. Although such actions are not considered unusual in Turkey, where last month a member of the parliament was killed during a meeting due to a heart attack after a fist fight, the addition of this political tension to the economic one led to an explosive outcome.

This crisis has been compared to that of the South Asian financial crises and the solutions offered are also very similar. The IMF and World Bank have taken on the task of forming a consortium consisting of private banks and governmental officials in order to overcome the still continuing crises. While the projected numbers for the yearly inflation had been between 10 and 20% the numbers discussed at this point are around 49% (one most also note that the Turkish

Government is notorious for always underestimating incredibly). Some of the solutions that have been offered are the combination of all national banks and to increase the financial aid given by the IMF to Turkey, in spite of the recent 20 billion and the large sum of aid given in December.

In line with most of the critical views of the IMF we see that although the Breton Woods Institutions have practically been running Turkey's economy since the early 80's they are still incompetent. They have experienced such crises situations before and have not been able to foresee and prevent others from happening. It is easy enough to shun those who are opposing the IMF and the World Bank by trying to point out that globalization is inevitable, we should bow down our heads and accept it and that capitalism is just the only way out. But this is not as easy for single working mothers in Turkey to do the same when they have a son in college and bills to pay. Because when they get sick they have to wait in line for days to get treated in a public hospital crippled by the competition coming from the privatized ones. The water, telephone and electricity companies have become privatized monopolies forcing people to pay the amount they demand. All done under the strict guidelines of the IMF and World Bank. We should be able to put ourselves in place of others before we come to conclusions. It is not always what it looks like on paper and we can not treat injustices like these as if they were an experiment gone wrong.

Correction from last issue

In the last edition of *The Observer*, an article regarding a Co-Op in Sands was credited to Emily Shapiro, when in fact it was Emily Steinberg who had been the author. In the following issue of the *Free Press*, John deBoer wrote a response to Steinberg's article; however, deBoer was not aware that the *Observer* article had been miscredited, and he directed his arguments toward Shapiro by mistake. We at the *Press* feel this was an unfortunate error, and apologize to both Emily Shapiro and Emily Steinberg for not catching this mistake before publication.

We also forgot to credit Sam Morgan for the Vultracock picture.

Editorial Notice

All opinions expressed in the *Opinions* section of the *Bard Free Press* are those of the author alone and in no way represent the views of the Editorial Staff or the paper. Responses to any piece appearing in the *Opinions* section are welcome. Send your thoughts to us via email at kc886@bard.edu

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Touch Spring with the Earth Coalition

JORDAN BAIN
and LEITH NYE

As students, faculty, squirrels, and birds alike eagerly await the advent of spring, Earth Coalition prepares to welcome this resurgence of life with many exciting activities. In a nutshell, the Bard Earth Coalition works to heighten ecological awareness and engage the campus and surrounding community in environmental activism. Earth Coalition will be hosting many events, movies, speakers, campaigns, and even an Earth Day celebration. Everything we have scheduled is open to all members of the Bard Community.

In the last week of March, Kevin Russell, founder of the Rain Forest Awareness Project, will give a multimedia presentation about his experiences working with the native people of the Rain Forests of Borneo, one of the Earth's oldest, most diverse ecosystems. He will discuss the conflicts between these people's culture and the recent invasion of corporate globalization. Later in the semester, on April 12th, in collaboration with the Psychology Club, Earth Coalition will co-present a holistic workshop on healthy sleeping and waking habits and dealing with stress in college.

Also being organized are events for Earth Week, the last week in

April. Internationally renowned reporter Ross Gelbspan, author of the climate crisis alert book *The Heat Is On*, will be giving a lecture and discussion on the latest scientific and political developments of the ecological crisis. Throughout Earth Week, there will be a film series in the campus center focusing around ecological perspectives and tabling for FoodAgenda 2000, a campaign to pressure the federal government to 1) phase out factory farming, 2) help place a global moratorium on Genetically Engineered foods, and 3) phase in 30% organic agriculture in the United States by 2010.

Also planned for Earth Week is a piano concert featuring original music with an environmental theme by Leslie Holland, a talented Bard student. Dan Zinder is working with Earth Coalition to organize local involvement in Scenic Hudson's annual Great River Sweep. We also plan to put up clotheslines around campus behind dorms. This will reduce wasted energy by dryers, and add a natural fresh scent to students' garments! Come do your small part in making the Sawkill more beautiful and healthy. Other potential Earth Week activities include educational nature walks around Bard lands and Tivoli Bays, a benefit concert in the Old Gym, and a bonfire celebration/campout in the community

garden. Sometime this semester Earth Coalition hopes to work in collaboration with Bard Aid to throw a party to benefit cleanup efforts in Galapagos Islands whose fragile ecosystems were recently endangered by 200,000 gallon oil spill. At most of these events BERD and Earth Coalition will be selling some fly organic cotton Earth Day T-shirts. Watch for signs and flyers all over campus, of course!

Bard College, like any institution of higher learning, uses copious amounts of paper. While we have a fairly adequate recycling program thanks to our new Environmental Resources Department, Earth Coalition will be working with American Lands Alliance in a TreeFree campaign to get all Bard facilities running on 100% post-consumer recycled paper, cut all ties with logging corporations not practicing sustainable forestry, and hopefully switch over to alternative fibers such as canaf (a variety of hemp). A significant portion of multinational timber companies' sales and profits come from academic institutions, and organizing at Bard will just be a small part of this nationwide campaign to cripple corporations not engaging resources sustainably.

Who wants to go sailing? Pete Seeger's organization, Clearwater, which has been absolutely instru-



Pass the Caviar: Clearwater bigshots drink expensive wine

mental in pressuring the EPA to demand full remediation from General Electric of the PCB contamination in our beautiful river, needs Bard Students to (wo)man its flagship schooner, the Clearwater, to continue pressure into the Bush Administration this spring. As soon as the Hudson begins to warm up more, watch for flyers and come sailing for a day! There will be people of all ages, and Earth Coalition will organize groups of students to get on board and educate ourselves while sending a

powerful message while sending a powerful message of community solidarity to our local and federal governments.

With so many activities, who has time for class, anyway? Earth Coalition is trying to make everyday action and awareness a more integral part of Bard life. Anytime you can attend a workshop, event, or action, please look out for flyers and posters, or to contact the group, send an email to ecoalition@bard.edu.

Naga Makes the Boys Gaga

MAE WILLIAMS

Deep within the shadow of the fur-trade hides an unknown tale of terror. This terror is the strife of the naga.

Few have heard of the trials of the great naga of Inner Papua New Guinea, as these furry animals have been extinct from the wild for centuries. When European explorers first traveled through these regions, they fell in love with the nagahide boots that the Tsnasi tribes would make from the hides of these rodent-like deer. They saw that the boots were soft and supple and the leather was unlike any other that they had encountered either back in the old country or in Australia and New Zealand. So, being typical explorers, they shot as many of the sacred "rabbit-deer" as they could find and headed back to Western civilization with their new finds.

Nearly a century later, the nagas are no longer found in their natural state as excessive poaching has led their population to extinction. These animals live on in captivity, however, and are raised and slaughtered by the thousands each weeks in farms all over both the US and Canada. These farms (if we can even call them that) are located far below ground and out of the site of animal rights groups. Many veniment activists have never even heard of these wonderful animals as their terrible fates are so poorly publicized.

The conditions of these ranches are horrific, to say the least. The nagas are pinned so tightly into their cages that they can barely get



Smashing Skulls, Pissing on Groundhogs: In its natural domain, the Naga doesn't take shit from nothing, beating up chumps for money.

enough oxygen to breathe, let alone enough room to stand on their own two feet. The creatures are fed only on the moldy hay that is discarded by the ranchers of the nearby cattle ranchers as it proves a hazard to the health of their own cattle. The only supplement to their diets being the corpses of their diseased or already slaughtered kin. As they have no room to move around, many of the legs and necks of these "rabbit-deer" are twisted and contorted and their hooves grow to obscene length making it impossible for them to move even if they were freed from their cramped conditions. The cages of these animals are seldom cleaned and they are forced to wallow in their own excrement.

The ranchers even usually

locate the slaughtering facilities within the farm buildings. They do not want to expend the money to build a separate building from that which houses the nagas. These slaughtering areas are usually located within the center of the pens in order to allow for greater warmth in the winter and thus, the naga are forced to watch the slaughter of their kin. The methods for slaughter are extremely inhumane, as the animals are usually simply skinned while alive.

We must put an end to the exploitation of this lovable, furry creature by bringing its strife to the eyes of the general public! If you support this noble cause, you must write your local Congressperson, Senators, and even the President!

Abortion continued

...continued from page 5

each year to receive illegal abortions in the states where it was outlawed. This circumstance not only results in terminated pregnancies, it also results in a dangerous situation for the women. Thousands of women died each year from complications due to illegal abortions, and tens of thousands of women were drastically and permanently injured."

The only effective way of preventing abortions is promoting responsible decision making, and providing women with birth control options. Contrary to what many conservative religious groups would like to assert, making birth control available to women and girls, as well as discussing reproductive health with groups of young people, does not necessarily result in more unwanted pregnancies or girls becoming pregnant at a young age. The United States takes perhaps the most conservative approach to family planning education in the Western world; it is also the leader among industrialized nations in teenage pregnancy. In the United States, 23 out of 1,000 women of child-bearing age seek an abortion each year. In the United Kingdom, that number is 15, in the Netherlands, only six. These statistics would seem to take the steam out of any argument in favor of cutting back women's access to health care.

Any person who feels a commitment to a woman's right to reproductive freedom should take the time to reflect on the current trends in this country, toward a more conservative (if not Puritanical) approach to sexual health and family planning, and toward a society that seems complacent about a de facto elimination of choice, if not an outright legislative ban. Given these factors, a day for appreciating those health care providers who have made the commitment to help women maintain control over their reproductive lives has become a necessity, as well as an excellent catalyst for raising awareness.

No matter how sure you are that you are not ready to become a parent, the choice whether or not to have an abortion is never an easy one. For anyone who feels the need to discuss their feelings surrounding a pregnancy or the choice to have an abortion, there are many resources around the Bard Community. BRAVE counselors are available around the clock, and can be reached by beeper at 382-0818. To make an appointment with Health and Counseling Services, call 752-7433. For the Planned Parenthood office in Red Hook, call 758-2032, or Poughkeepsie, call 471-1540.

The Struggle Between Animal Rights and the Support of Small Businesses

In defense of the recent B.A.R.C. protest of "Up to Date" in Poughkeepsie

MONIQUE ROBERTS

So, apparently there is a controversy on campus as to why B.A.R.C choose to target an independent line for its latest fur demonstration versus a chain store or some larger corporate power, such as Burlington Coat Factory who we targeted last year. Indeed, Up to Date, a fancy woman's clothing store located in Poughkeepsie is independently owned. When Animal Rights Mid-Hudson Valley asked us to join their campaign against Up to Date we too had some reservations about targeting an independent line as many of the members of the collective are sensitive to the struggle of independent businesses to compete with larger corporate power. I guess the real question for us is: is it okay for anyone, rich or poor, to make money from the suffering and exploitation of another living creature? The free market may say yes, but our answer is no.

The fur industry is perhaps the cruelest and most unnecessary example of human vanity and greed that exists. Perhaps during the Stone Age it was acceptable for our human ancestors to kill animals for their fur, as it was a matter of survival. Today, we have so many synthetic options that there really is no excuse for buying fur or leather, in my opinion.

I also think it is important to emphasize that the modern process of killing fur victims is very different. The Stone Age barbarian probably just clubbed his or her victim once in the head and then perhaps broke its neck, a fairly natural process that may appeal to you Darwinists out there. In modern fur farms, animals spend their entire lives in cages and suffer extreme stress and torture before being sys-

tematically executed. Creatures of the wild are also victims of the fur industry as many are caught in steel-jawed traps and suffer long, drawn-out deaths.

The woman's clothing store Up to Date, which shockingly necessitates a need for this type of cruelty because of its fur line, was politely asked several months ago to reconsider selling fur. The owners called the police instantly. This kind of hostility launched the next step in our campaign. Our belief is that since their fur line is just one part of a larger store, we do not foresee that dropping the line would cause them to go out of business. In fact, we believe that dropping the fur line might actually bring in new, more conscious consumers. As we like to say, "compassion is the fashion".

I also think it is important to emphasize that the modern process of killing fur victims is very different.

Who Doesn't Love Children?

Russian Community of Kitezh Blends a Commitment to the Earth with Concern for Children

AMBER BUCHHOLZ

While scouring the Internet looking for things to do with my summer vacation, I stumbled across the website for a beautiful community in Russia, called Kitezh.

Formed in 1993, Kitezh functions on many levels: first, it is a partnership of families who provide homes and schooling for orphaned children. Second, it is a community dedicated to living in harmony in nature, utilizing organic gardening methods and alternative energy sources. Thirdly, it is an experiment in social organization, blending principles of both Western and Eastern philosophies with the traditions of self-management and collective living.

The Kitezh community is not affiliated with any government or religious movement. The concept of private ownership

also does not figure in to their community: All members of Kitezh work to benefit the community as a whole. All wages from outside work or profits from individual trade are pooled into a central fund; this, together with a stipend the community receives from the State for caring for the orphaned children, covers about half the living costs for all the members of Kitezh.

Although the community is able to produce a substantial amount of their food from their organic farm,



God's little blessings: These two precious cherubs enjoy candy, games, and, friendship

still there remains the cost of clothing, farming equipment, building and school supplies. Kitezh is dependent on support from outside sources to make up the remainder of their living costs.

If you would like to be a part of a group of students interested in helping the Kitezh community, please come to an informational meeting on Thursday, March 22nd at 8:00 p.m. in the Student Center Blue Room. Everyone is welcome!

aesthetic landscape: COST, REVS, YME?, SMITH, SANE, GIANT, KMARTONER, ESPO, &c. I really began to admire what these artists had done for the city. For perspicacious observers, they had actually changed the way we look at art, and the frame through which we look at it. But then again these guys are legends, the Mondrians, and Rauschenbergs of their field.

Although these two things seem completely unrelated, I wanted to set up both my love for our library and my fascination and appreciation with graffiti to establish myself as an apt critic of the writer who ever so gracefully hit up the porch of Stevenson Library. To this person, who as far as I can tell writes MYDOR, I would like to say a few words. Firstly, your style is tired

and juvenile, and secondly your placement is among the worst I have ever seen. You have failed to address the two things any good graffiti writer might tell you are critically important, while at the same time violating what I see to be an unspoken graffiti code of ethics. Did COST and REVS ever hit up New York Public on 42nd and 5th? No. Do you think it is because they couldn't? I highly doubt that. These exemplars of what any graffiti artist could only hope to be haven't vandalized New York Public because it's New York Public. There are just some spots people don't hit. Police trucks, police officers, corporate buildings, and department stores are all fair game as far as I am concerned, but a library... have some tact.



Reexamining the Napster Court Decision

CHRISTINA MASKER

So the court decision has been handed down and it is official: Napster can no longer offer its services for free and thereby improve the lives of millions through music. A friendly letter from one of our Senators (John Sweeney) has informed me that Napster tried cutting a deal with the record companies, paying them \$1 billion to settle the copyright infringement. According to this deal, Napster will pay \$150 million to the major record labels and \$50 million to the smaller, independent labels. That means that you, the consumer, now have several payment options. There will be a fee from \$5.95 to \$9.95 per month for unlimited downloads, and less expensive options that limit the number of transactions you are allowed to make. This first settlement offer was rejected, however, and further deliberations will be held sometime in the near future.

Now this deal seems okay for Napster and not outrageously expensive for people who download a rather large number of songs on a monthly basis. There are, however, a number of alternatives to Napster which might now come under the harsh scrutiny of the record labels and the courts. It is possible that the people who run these other sites will get spooked and follow a deal similar to Napster's and avoiding the publicity and court appearances, or shut down altogether. There will be someone, I am sure, who tries to brave the legalities and will still allow avid music fans to download music for free as long as possible. There are servers that connect you with Napster while not registering you with Napster itself, and this is still in operation now.

So what is the big upset with Napster? Many people think that Metallica and the other bands that sued need to stop whining. They have a ton of money anyway, right? Moreover, most of their sales

come from tours. Statistics show that record sales have not dropped because of the availability of music on the internet. So why are Dr. Dre and Metallica throwing a fit? Are they simply money-grubbing bastards who want every penny they can get to add to their already amassed fortune? I mean, a "true" musician just wants his or her music to be heard and appreciated, so what is the deal?

According to the U.S. Judiciary System, the problem is about copyrighting. Napster is not required to take all of the free downloads off the web, but only the ones that are copyrighted. This way the underexposed groups who are not signed to labels can still benefit from the exposure that Napster can offer them while successful and signed musicians can still make money from royalties. It is a win-win situation for the musicians, but not so much so for the consumer. Some would argue that by being able to preview more than one song from a particular album they are better able to assess their desire for buying it, and in this way Napster actually helps sell albums. Others argue that everyone should be able to enjoy music, and that even shutting down Napster will not stop people from finding ways around the copyright laws. There will still be friends whose CD's one can borrow and copy; there will still be radio play and other websites from which to obtain this music.

Will the court ruling affect the way that music is treated on the internet? Most definitely. Will it prevent most people from obtaining copyrighted music from the web for free? No. The court ruling might deter some from downloading music, and may even decrease it significantly. I respect that musicians have a right to their work, but it isn't as if other people are making a profit from what they have done through Napster. The court ruling simply means that fewer people will be able to enjoy the hard work of popular musicians.

Only Herbs Catch Ups on the Library

BRYAN GUNDERSON

With a quartet of 300 level politics courses, I spend a good chunk of my waking hours in the library. I have come to appreciate what I once thought to be a hideous collection of architectural styles as somewhat of a home. I have a certain deference for the library: a sort of fundamental respect for a building whose contents and desks represent a timeless, and durable commitment to scholarship. But my concern is not with my own sense of reverence, but rather with that of others.

After almost a year in New York City, I came to appreciate graffiti on building tops. I started to know the names of the artists who really make a difference in New York's

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Religion: Back in Business, Unitarian Style

A call to heed the rhythms of nature, draw upon wisdom, and confront evil with justice.

ELIZABETH SCHWARTZ

In today's society, religion has become a matter of some debate. The more suburban school shootings that occur in this country, the more people have been talking about school prayer and the like. There is also a lot of worry that the new president is violating the first amendment by allowing government funding to support faith based charity services. The idea of religious conflict is as scary as ever, what with the genocides in other parts of the world and, more recently, the destruction of ancient statues belonging to the "wrong" religion. I turn to my own religion for answers and, as biased as I may be, I believe it's got them. One of the ironies of Unitarian Universalism is that we stand firmly against proselytizing, and we want everyone else to do so as well.

Most people haven't heard of Unitarian Universalists, (or UUs, as we call ourselves) and I find that the best way of explaining it is by relaying how I came to practice it. However I feel it is appropriate here to first layout our principals. There are seven main principals that the majority of UUs abide by, and the six others that serve better as a reflection on our history than on our practices (my religious education didn't include these). The motto includes a commitment to the following principles:

- The inherent worth and dignity of every person.
- Justice, equity and compassion in human relations.
- Acceptance of one another and encouragement to spiritual growth in our congregation.
- A free and responsible search for truth and meaning.
- The right of conscience and the

use of the democratic process within our congregations and in society at large.

-The goal of a world community with peace, liberty, and justice for all.

- Respect for the interdependent web of all existence of which we are a part.

The living tradition shared by UUs is drawn from many sources. The first is direct experience of that transcending mystery and wonder, affirmed in all cultures, which moves us to a renewal of the spirit and an openness to the forces which create and uphold life. We also treasure the words and deeds of prophetic women and men, which challenge us to confront powers and structures of evil with justice, compassion, and the transforming power of love. We draw upon wisdom from the world's religions, which inspire us in our ethical and spiritual life. For example, Jewish and Christian teachings call upon us to respond to God's love by loving our neighbors as ourselves. Humanist teachings counsel us to heed the guidance of reason and the results of science, and warn us against idolatries of the mind and spirit. We also acknowledge the value of spiritual teachings of earth-centered traditions, which celebrate the sacred circle of life and instruct us to live in harmony with the rhythms of nature.

I came out of a household where religion meant, at the most, lighting my dad's menorah for seven nights of the year and celebrating Christmas with my mother's family in New York (her aunt even had a small wooden manger scene set up in the back of the house near the bathroom). But things started to change when my mother got involved with the pro-choice

activists from the local Unitarian Universalist church. It would be from this church that I would learn the foundations of the religion which the principals above describe. This is what I think of as the way one ought to view the world. It wasn't until I found UUs outside of the church that I began to recognize the promising atmosphere that is created when UUs gather to be spiritual. This is what I think of as they for people to find religion together.

Around the time I was in the fourth grade, my sister and I began attending the Religious Education (RE) there on Sunday mornings. It took me a while to piece together what I was supposed to say to people when they asked me about my religion, since we never talked about it in RE. Instead we learned about other religions, about racism and sexism, and for a whole year in middle school, about sex. Finally, in the eighth grade, we did have a class which was specifically structured to teach about Unitarian Universalism. We learned the names of famous UUs, including Thomas Jefferson, Henry David Thoreau, and Louisa May Alcott; and we learned the seven principals.

Now that I had memorized something, at least I had the dogmatic evidence that whatever was going on here, it was indeed a religion. It was a religion, however, that did not dictate faith. I later learned that UU churches differed dramatically, right down to calling them churches in the first place. Members of the Cedar Lane Church, which I attended in Bethesda, Maryland, often compared our head minister's sermons to college lectures. His Sunday speeches were often philosophical,

anecdotal, and sometimes educational. To me, they were boring, and inconsequential. My view of the universe wasn't that much different from what it probably would have been had I never stepped inside the place.

Things really changed for me personally when I became old enough to go to the national assembly held every June. I still feel that no one has really explained to me what the whole religion is about, but there I learned what it meant to the teenagers gathered from around the country. Officially I was attending the assembly as a Youth Delegate and part of the fun was being an equal member of a decision-making body, especially since the thousands of adults seemed to listen to us more than to each other. But the events that opened my eyes to the nature of the religion were the workshops were run and attended by teenagers every night at 11:30.

As in the morning adult versions, the non-specifics were enough to make an atheist feel comfortable, but goal of these teenagers, gathering together in the dark room around a lit chalice, was connection. What I love about every UU youth worship I've attended, is the feeling that I'm part of a temporary community of open, honest, trusting people. The activities that induce this feeling often encourage everyone to open themselves up to each other, to whatever degree they feel comfortable with. This can include going around to share words one-on-one with others, either reaching out or personally revealing -again, to whatever degree each person is comfortable with. Other activities are more group-wide, recognizing common feelings or differing views, but always with understood respect. It

is also not uncommon for the activity to be based on artistic creation. My favorites include optional hugging. Before and after the main activity, the appropriate atmosphere is created with music, poetry, and sometimes a guided meditation. This is the definition that I have found for spirituality.

This spirituality was nowhere to be found at my church, so I sought it out by attending weekend-long conferences (affectionately called cons) held at other churches and congregations. At these cons, the other high schoolers and I were able to let loose everything that we felt was being oppressed by the daily grind at school. I truly expected Bard to be one big con. I have found people here to be generally as open-minded as any Unitarian Universalist, but -- with the exception of some moments during L&T -- I do not feel the community of a con here. I recently attended a young-adult conference held by the group of UUs at Vassar College. Again, it was of course not the same as the cons I had attended back home, but it was special in its own way.

Since then I have been toying with the idea of starting up a group of UUs at Bard. I have seen a couple of chalice necklaces on folks around campus, so I don't believe I am alone in that interest. I also have a hunch that many people attending Bard would not only find satisfaction from such a group, but given the chance to interactively create such an atmosphere, would simply take off. I feel most tempted because of how much we have to share with one another. We are all going through very similar experiences, and we could learn a lot from the different perspectives we each have.

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Bard, China and the Environment: Exposed!

KERRY BROGAN

Against the backdrop of soaring development in China, increasing concern over environmental degradation has inspired university students throughout the country into organized action. Environmental activist leader, Lu Hongyan ("Red bird"), and NGO Ecolgia director, Randy Kritkauskas, came to Bard on Monday, March 12th to speak to students here about the movement in China.

"The fate of the environmental situation in China is crucial for all of us," Katherine Gould-Martin, director of Bard in China, said. Whereas in the U.S. we have a small number of people using an excess of resources, in China, we have a huge number of people using far fewer resources. With a rapidly developing economy and a population of approximately 1.3 billion, the rising strain on resources could have a global effect. Kritkauskas further stated, "In China in the next 25 to 50 years, the future of the world's environment will be written."

Kritkauskas compared the

emerging environmental movement in China today to that of the Soviet Union in the mid 1980's. In the attempt to smooth the transition into an open-market economy and more open society, Gorbachev made a calculated effort to allow the forming of "groups." Students and former dissidents collaborated to lead grassroots independence movements and the environmental movement blossomed, revealing students' role in its success as pivotal.

Kritkauskas sees this situation as parallel to the situation in China right now. "At this point in China's history, new leaders are emerging. Students today have the ability to make a difference; they understand the importance of public participation and critical thinking, qualities that are not historically valued in young people."

In the past five years, Lu Hongyan has emerged as one such young leader. In 1995, Lu Hongyan founded E.V.A.S.U. (Environmental Volunteer Association of Sichuan University), the first student-led environmental organization of southwestern

China. She was stirred into action after a heated conversation when a classmate, a "Business and Management" major, asked if being an "Environmental Studies" major meant you learned how to clean streets. Angered by his ignorance and shocked by a realization of her own unknowingness about the actual condition of the movement, Li set out to found E.V.A.S.U.. At this time, the organization claimed its mission was to raise general public awareness about the environment, to conduct research on the local effects of environmental degradation and to actively involve young people in developing the movement. Since 1995, the organization chooses one topic annually around which to base research and environmentally sound action. In 1996, they organized tree planting sessions to promote student participation and community support; in 1997, they conducted research on local ecological degradation; in 1998, they launched the program, "Exploring and Enjoying Nature;" in 1999 they documented the economic, social and ecological effects of the logging ban implemented

after the flood of 1998; today, they are working to promote the protection of the Tibetan Antelope.

Lu Hongyan now teaches at Sichuan University in Chengdu (where she was once a student of ecology) and continues to lead the movement locally and by coordinating with international NGO's. Because of the courage of Lu Hongyan and other student leaders, the future of the independent environmental movement in China looks promising. In 1996, the number of student-led environmental organizations nation-wide totaled a minuscule 10; today that number totals 78, and continues to grow.

These various groups, spread nation-wide from Beijing to Guangzhou, work independently so as not to create tension with the government or hinder cooperation. Nevertheless, they express solidarity in the sharing of a common goal: to raise awareness of the severity of environmental degradation and its domestic as well as global impact; to improve the knowledge and skills of organization members, particularly leaders; and to initiate grassroots, "bottom up" action in

progressing the movement forward. All organizations combine education and entertainment in their aim to work off of the media's effectiveness in raising public awareness and in engendering an indirect response by the government. The students also find that they hold much more influence on the local level than they could hope to on the national level. Recently, several organizations effectively initiated the cleaning of local lakes and an agreement by campus restaurants to stop using disposable chopsticks and unrecyclable packaging.

Noting the students' growing success, Kritkauskas remarked, "The key is to listen instead of imposing our model of environmental action on them. We have to develop strength and sensitivity from the students." Kritkauskas also emphasized the indispensable importance of continuing to show support for the students and for the movement. "We must tread lightly and gently, plant trees together, exchange information, strand millions of little threads of support that, like silk, when bound together, one day become unbreakable."

MUSIC

Arab Strap are Go



Maxwell McDonald

By 1997, Scotland's indie renaissance had begun to creep westward. Belle And Sebastian's *If You're Feeling Sinister* garnered underground acclaim and Mogwai's *Young Team* appeared on hip top-10s on both sides of the Atlantic. Arab Strap have managed to avoid the unanimous praise that has been bestowed upon their contemporaries, even though the three groups' rise to popularity seemed set to be linked. There had been collaborations: members of Belle And Sebastian have contributed their musicianship to a handful of Arab Strap tracks, while Aidan Moffat of The Strap has lent his voice to a couple of Mogwai tunes (Moffat has also been immortalized by his peers; he is the titular "Boy With The Arab Strap," and the subject of Mogwai's "Waltz For Aidan").

As far as Arab Strap's own music goes, it is perhaps obvious why they have been left out of the Scottish limelight (at least Stateside). While both Belle And Sebastian and Mogwai have been lauded for making their influences obvious while infusing them with

fresh songwriting, Arab Strap's sound is harder to pin down. The group, at the core of which lies vocalist / keyboardist Aidan Moffat and guitarist / keyboardist Malcom Middleton, has forged a sound completely of their own devising.

Arab Strap's first record, *The Week Never Starts Round Here* (1996), was a lo-fi skulk through the alcoholic wasteland of Moffat's nightlife. Replete with squeaky acoustic guitars and minimal drum-machine presets, the album was based around Moffat's cynical monologues and lacked the eclecticism which would appear as the duo's goal. While appealing for its consistently depressing atmosphere, its redundancy is also the album's weakness.

By their second full-length, 1998's *Philophobia*, Arab Strap had perfected their sound. The songs' minimalism seemed more deliberate, and Middleton's arpeggiated riffs were flavored by the occasional touch of cello, piano, trumpet, and synthesizer. Arab Strap also infused more melody into their writing, but as this was filtered through Moffat's drunken (and

often sexually explicit) singing/speaking, the group gracefully maintained their ability to not overdo it.

In 1999, the band made the strange decision to put out a live record, entitled *Mad For Sadness*. Arguably the band's best release, *Mad For Sadness* brilliantly manages to give their sparse arrangements a true power. Often rocking-out songs that crawl along in their studio counterparts, the Arab Strap live performance alternates between an almost Mogwai-esque wall-of-sound powerhouse and airy, room-filling ambience. Unfortunately, in true Arab Strap don't-give-a-fuck style, the live album was limited to only 3000 copies and was not released domestically.

Elephant Shoe was also released in 1999 to lukewarm reviews. By this point, Arab Strap were being credited as a five-piece, adding a full-time drummer, bassist, and female vocalist. Without giving up their trend of applying one unique texture to each song, Arab Strap delved deeper into subtlety. *Elephant Shoe* is an album that can

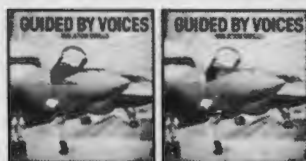
easily be listened to from beginning to end without the listener even realizing it. With few exceptions, nothing is obvious, nothing is advertised. Over time, however, the songs reveal themselves to be true "growers," and the result is a quiet album that pairs Moffat's slow-motion narratives with music so ethereal it's barely there.

Arab Strap's latest studio release, *The Red Thread* presents a jarringly inconsistent focus. Seeing the band once again billed as a duo, it opens with the acoustic, drum-free "Amor Veneris" which seems to circle around a song but never arrive at it. That said, other quiet tracks like "Infrared" and "Screaming In The Trees" are subtler than ever. The sudden arrival of vocalist Adele Bethel in "Infrared," (Bethel providing the female counterpart to Moffat's weary slur) makes the entire song worthwhile. The same goes for the guitar and string swells of "Screaming In The Trees," which sound as though they're reaching across a vacuum.

Other tracks destroy the trademark Arab Strap moderation with overproduction. On "Last Orders," the poignant guitar line would be much more effective if so much shit wasn't going on in the background. And never before has an Arab Strap chorus been so announced as on "Scenery." The sudden switch from drum machine simplicity to multi-tracked lushness can't help but sound forced.

Arab Strap's penchant for dance rhythms is still present. The record closes with the excellent "Turbulence," which starts with the same stuttery disco beat the band has favored for their entire career. "Love Detective," the album's single, rides a pimp-passed groove that could almost be a new-millennium hip-hop hit. This track also boasts *The Red Thread's* only entirely spoken-word performance by Moffat; a former band staple which seems to have been forgotten for now. Another standout track is "The Long Sea." The best of the record's big-production numbers, it's a doomy epic which finds vocalist Bethel singing from the eye of the storm, "Don't go too far."

There may be times when one wishes the band had listened to this warning, but overall, *The Red Thread* is an album worthy of assimilation into the Arab Strap repertoire. While a few tracks do try too hard, the album has on its side some of the best songs the group has ever produced. Much like the way many Strap songs are justified by a simple addition, *The Red Thread* is made worthwhile by its most restrained moments.



Artist: Guided By Voices
Album: Incision Drills
Label:TVT Records

Okay you bastards--I love jingly-jangly pop. You should too. From the melodic guitar hooks to the shimmering harmonies, pop music can just be so much fun. With this said, I'll tell you that Guided By Voices is one of the best damn bands in the indie-pop genre. And their latest effort, *Isolation Drills*, is a refreshing return from the arena-rock sound of 1999's *Do the Collapse*. That's right, they've shrugged off Ric Ocasek's producing abilities and gotten rid of those damn synths. And somehow Rob Schnapf (of Elliot Smith and the Foo Fighters fame) manages to produce an album that does Rob Pollard's songwriting justice. The ex-4th grade schoolteacher's bril-

liance is lucidly allowed to shine; Ric Ocasek refused Pollard alcohol in the studio, but at least this album is a triumphant return to his binge-fueled ways! Even so, the music of this band still speaks damn well for itself.

First off, if you don't know, Guided By Voices relishes that warm and fuzzy four-track sound. And though they've given the four-track up, they've kept their lo-fi tendencies. You are going to buy this damn album anyways; you'll find out for yourself. *Isolation Drills* starts off well with "Fair Touching"--an upbeat song that is everything a pop song should be. Elliot Smith then helps out on the guitar-driven "Skills like This." The third song too, "Chasing Heather Crazy" has a nice intro and is simply great. Like any GBV album, *Propeller* or *Bee Thousand*, there are always some songs that well, don't sparkle so well as the rest. And like *The White Album* (this might be an unfair comparison, but you can stuff it!), GBV's albums could always trim some fat-

but damn are those jewels of songs gorgeous! Other songs of note are "Glad Girls," "Pivotal Film," and "The Brides Have Hit Glass."

The trademark melodic harmonies, guitar riffs, explosions of emotions and untouchable songwriting qualities are fully accessible here. Of course, musically, this album may not be anything incredibly new from GBV, but if you can appreciate the heights of 1994's *Bee Thousand*, than you'll fucking love *Isolation Drills*. GBV plays May 3 at Irving Plaza in NYC. *Tosh Chiang*



les savy fav
indiepunk on sub pop

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THE PLACE OF PROPAGANDA IN MANUFACTURING CONSENT



Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media, a documentary on MIT linguistics professor and outspoken political theorist Noam Chomsky, played in the Campus Center theater last week. A copy of the film, directed in 1992 by Mark Achbar and Peter Wintonick, is available at the reserve desk of the library.

Early in *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media*, Chomsky is seen on a television program arguing against "sane, rational people" who effectively align themselves, through skepticism or otherwise, with institutions of authority they may nonetheless recognize as wrong. Later on we see Chomsky characterized by a debate opponent as a "dreamer" who finds before him only two kinds of people, Liars and Dupes. Chomsky would have to defend himself against this characterization, but only inasmuch as it simplifies and essentializes his position; he would certainly not dismiss it as altogether baseless, because for Chomsky the media do represent manipulative and deceitful forces of power, that have as their object a public marginalized, dulled, and duped.

On one side, then, we have a chastisement of would-be free- and critical-thinkers whose very criticality acts to paralyze them and, on the other, a call for the public to question/criticize the authority and legitimacy of any "coercive" institution it encounters ("sometimes the coercion will be justified," Chomsky tells an interviewer in the film, "but ninety-nine percent of the time it will not"). I'm interested in highlighting these two ideas because through them there can be seen an important opposition at work in *Manufacturing Consent*: it comes into play the moment at which the viewer realizes that the film, lauding and allying itself with an outspoken and compelling case against propaganda, is in fact a very good example of propaganda itself. This moment might occur before the film has begun, as its production credits and title are listed. The production company for *Manufacturing Consent*, Necessary Illusions, takes its name from one of Chomsky's books (so does the film's title, from another). Chomsky originally found the phrase "necessary illusions" in a peculiar understanding of democracy expounded by Reinhold Niebuhr, that holds that a public is unfit to make deci-

sions in its best interest, and therefore necessary illusions in the service of this interest must be communicated down from an ideally sagacious and benevolent elite who know what is best. One of Chomsky's main indictments of the mass media references this model, arguing that as agents of self-interested and coercive power structures (as opposed to sagacious and benevolent ones), the media operate, illegitimately, according to the principle of "necessary illusions." And what "in more honest days we called 'propaganda,'" goes the Chomskyan argument, has become today nothing less than institutionalized: disarmed, we call it the Evening News, the Daily Paper, and so forth. The closely related phrase "manufacturing consent" speaks to the process whereby the consensus of the public is wrought and controlled by powerful mechanisms of illusion-making of institutional propaganda so deeply entrenched in the day-to-day (and the democratic society) as to appear in many cases all but invisible.

Manufacturing Consent thoroughly implicates itself in illusion-making, in a graver, more expressly manipulative sense than that in which artifice and illusion can be argued are linked definitionally to filmmaking (and whether it does so self-consciously or not is a question at hand). The film paints Chomsky as a real Person's Person; we see him speaking comfortably throughout the film in venues ranging from a large lecture hall at American University to a comfortable sit-down on a Laramie, Wyoming radio talk show. He is seen always with humility, but never without firm resolve. One of the film's early gags (and one characteristic of its flashy style of documentary) is to show text of a much-quoted line from a New York Times book review ("[Chomsky is] arguably the most important living intellectual") alongside lines from the same review that call Chomsky's ideas on foreign policy "maddeningly simple-minded." Extremely close-up and fast-panning footage of the article itself is cut back and forth between film of Chomsky poking fun at himself about the extraction of the more flattering blurb by his publisher. His debonair/somber conclusion, though, is that if a media giant like the New York Times hadn't thus balanced its praise of him, "I would have known I was doing something wrong."

That Chomsky, either good humoredly self-deprecating or under attack from others, will be seen invariably landing on his feet, is one of the film's central tenets. Any debate he enters into he wins, whether it is one initiated between him and an onscreen opponent (William F. Buckley Jr. of *Firing*

Line comes off as especially slimy, snide and villanlike as he takes Chomsky on; the rat-featured caricature of him that *Manufacturing Consent* shows just before its Firing Line footage helps this image along) or whether it is one initiated, in a way, between Chomsky and the audience itself (as audio of his talks plays, the screen will often confront us with bulleted lists-spelled out in bold, bright, typeface over accompanying graphics-of the more particularly incendiary words we hear). The documentary's delve into propaganda to this end ranges from the unsubtle to the outright jarring: in one sequence, stock footage of a boxing match is edited into footage of a debate between Chomsky and a Dutch government official, and as Chomsky makes his closing argument the interspersed footage shows one heavyweight landing punch after punch and finally knocking his opponent to the canvas.

In a way these examples, while certainly doing little to disguise the admiration the filmmakers have for Chomsky (they suggest Gen X Leni Riefenstahls with a sense of humor), are not so destabilizing or incredulous to me, nor should they be to any mildly sympathetic viewer. There is, though, a point at which the film's credibility gets violently complicated, and this comes in the section entitled "Concision: No Time for New Ideas," wherein it is discussed why Chomsky has appeared so little on mainstream news programming like *Nightline* or *The MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour* (now *News Hour with Jim Lehrer*).

In a phone interview with *Nightline* producer Jeff Greenfield, we hear him say that some "important intellectuals" are incompatible with television appearances: "You've got a twenty-two minute show," says Greenfield, "and if someone is going to take eleven minutes to answer a question, it's as good as having someone on who can't speak English." In answer to this quote we see footage of Chomsky behind the lectern: "The problem with 'conclusion', the reason they want someone who can give an answer between commercials, in 600 words or less, is that such a constraint prohibits anything being said but a conventional answer. You say something like 'Russia invaded Afghanistan,' fine, people will nod, but if you say something not accepted, you need time to back it up, you need to show evidence."

Amazingly, almost as if the implications of this point could be instantly forgotten, a sort of Best-of-Chomsky sequence immediately ensues. To its (counterintuitive) delight, the audience cheers on an editing marathon of quick Left-Wing-Intellectual-*enfant-terrible* Chomskyisms (an outstanding example is "If the Nuremberg laws were enforced, every American president since World War II would be thrown in jail").

Even in a state of delight, the viewer of the film is concerned somewhere that *Manufacturing*

Consent, while apparently celebrating Chomsky, is in fact greatly undermining him: the link Chomsky sets up between concision (this concept entailing, of course, rhetorical maneuvers of the media such as soundbytes, rapid editing, etc) and conventionality gives way to nothing less than a fast moving series of Chomsky soundbytes. What conclusion can be drawn here, the extreme argument goes, except one that implicates Chomsky himself in conventionality and mediocrity? Or, according to a less extreme argument, one that implicates the film in manufacturing the consent of its audience, in the same dupe-making it attacks in the mass media (and this to the

detriment of any concern for a more fleshed-out understanding of what Chomsky says)?

This moment in the "Concision: No New Ideas" section is all the more revealing in that it can be read as a potent miniature of what is maybe

the film's most bothersome dynamic: the propagandistic mediation of the filmmakers between Chomsky and the audience, which renders him, if not conventional, certainly constrained.

The argument, however, cannot stop here, as the question is immediately begged whether or not the efficacy of the film is in truth compromised by its own manufacture of consent. The stock argument comes to mind, but will not suffice, that maintains that in the interest of subversion the filmmakers explode media/propaganda conventions by appropriating and redeploying them. Subversion is certainly at play

here to an extent-the computerized insertion of footage of Chomsky into distinctively corporate environments (a shopping mall television bank, a sports stadium megascreen, etc.) is a good example of this tendency-but to say this alone would be premature, because it is ultimately unclear what the filmmakers' relationships are to their implication in propaganda. It is not so clear that they use it as a self-conscious device to explode it from within. The abovementioned point that the film's production company has called itself Necessary Illusions might be made to suggest such self-consciousness but, held up to what actually happens in the film, it is far from conclusive evidence: a viewing of the film in search for any such clarity comes up with nothing: the act simply does not give.

Putting the filmmakers' intentions aside, or at least in the background, I turn back to the two opposed ideas highlighted at the start of this article, as the viewer of

Manufacturing Consent can ultimately make sense of his/her experience of the film as complicated and informed by the tension between both: As soon as he finds illusion-making at work in nearly every corner of the film, the viewer's critical side must spring into action (and perhaps it occurs to him that in so doing he is in line with the Chomskyan ideal of constant institutional analysis); but swinging immediately into the picture, in response to this, is Chomsky's own indictment of those "sane, rational people," who paralyze (and thus incriminate) themselves in the supposedly wise stance of skepticism. There is a seeming paradox to be found here, but it turns out to be just the opposite of paralyzing. The viewer feels that the film, insofar as it creates an irreconcilably propagandistic mediation, sells Chomsky short-that he is being in a way reduced and symbolized, and that this is unsatisfying. But what is so interesting is that hints of an unconstrained, more realized Chomsky are nonetheless able to reach the audience in spite of the constraints; they cut through the grips of the mediation and put the viewer into a state of great unease-contenting oneself with skepticism will not do, nor will a dismissal of the film's imperatives as manipulative and illegotten, because one is powerfully impressed upon by the sense of something desperately true about what Chomsky says and the way he says it-and though this may occur as a direct address in Chomsky's chastisement of the "sane, rational people," it hardly occurs there alone, and is active in the intelli-



gence and challenging morality of everything we hear Chomsky say. The opposition between the Dupe and the Active Interrogator we feel working itself out on us, then, strikes an unstable note. We are left with an intense desire for resolution-what is this but a call to in some way act?

In this way *Manufacturing Consent* is a piece of propaganda that succeeds in spite of itself-and does so precisely because of its dual attitude toward propaganda, both attacking and (ambiguously) employing it at the same time. The promotional material for the film calls it "a crash course in intellectual self-defense." It isn't lying.

Second Year Master's Students Exhibit at CCS

J.R. VALENZUELA

The first round of Spring Exhibitions of second-year graduate students is on display at the CCS museum through March 25th.

False Start, curated by Cecelia Brunson looks at the tension between the crowd and the individual at a sporting event, a tension rooted in the expectations and magnitude of the action. Brunson says "it is like a rhythm that increases and decreases...this dialectic of homogeneity and difference, mass versus individual, freedom versus control which connects the works."

In Paul Pfeiffer's *The Long Count*, a video clip of the 1963 boxing match between Cassius Clay and Sonny Liston loops on a small LCD screen projecting out from the wall. The boxers have been digitally erased and only transparent silhouettes remain. The crowd is visible through them as they continue to come after each other. It is a powerful abstraction that reduces the event itself into the merest visual disturbance, the athletes themselves extraneous.

Other work includes Javier Tellez's series *A Season in Hell*, photographs in which the artist copied the design of tourism posters. The original images have been removed and now "Venezuela the Best Kept Secret of the Caribbean" reads across pictures of prison inmates during their sports and leisure time. The men are posed in groups with towers and guards hovering in the background. The slogan is as inappropriate for the picture as the prison environment seems to be for the men depicted inside them. Brunson suggests that the images disclose "the idea that there is a hidden system of repression in play." It can take many forms, from the physical discipline of the athlete to the monitored and compulsory context of a prison and the mobocracy of the stadium.

Espejos Enterrados/ Buried Mirrors, an exhibition curated by Gabriela Rangel, includes videos, films, and photographs that respond to the telenovelas of international Spanish-language television. Despite the criticisms that brand

telenovelas as trite melodrama, they have been incredibly successful worldwide. This level of cultural saturation interests the artists in the exhibition, who Rangel says employ telenovelas "as a means for investigating how class, gender, race and national constructions are delivered to the global economy via televisual imagery."

Wuthering Heights, a black and white video by Daniela Lovera and Juan Nascimento, is a reworking of a 1970's television production. Frozen shots of exteriors, interiors, and individual objects within them act almost as set pieces in two-dimensional space. The original editing and narrative that has been carefully reduced or nullified is further removed by the compartmentalization of the screen image. Actors jump from one section to another, with a changing array of objects and establishing shots surrounding them.

The large-format color photographs from Luis Molina-Pantin's series *Inmobilia* show stage sets from telenovelas. They are quite similar to old black and white

Hollywood sound stage photographs, even showing lighting and studio equipment. The walls spread to the edge of the photograph, and the spaces seem plausible up until the lighting is noticeable. Objects and spatial dimensions take on greater meaning in the vacated fiction of the stage. This meaning is what he tries to explore, "the ways in which," Rangel explains, "spatial configurations and material objects are institutionally and privately used to classify, organize and define social spheres."

Correspondences, curated by Amanda Cruz, director of the CCS, features pairings of artists and work from the permanent collection. For the most part, the connections are clear; the photographs of Larry Clark and Nan Goldin make for a natural comparison; similar styles and formal concerns demarcated by, among other things, the presence/absence of AIDS. This leads to the kind of generational links and differences that Cruz is after. But another pairing, Robert Morris and Arturo Herrera seems a bit weak, in that the only real common ground

is their choice of felt as a medium.

Leggerezza, curated by Ilaria Bonacossa, looks at contemporary Italian artists whose shared concerns, Bonacossa says are "characterized by a new artistic freedom, moving between media like nomads, disregarding tradition and living their work with a generous dosage of humor." Included in the exhibition are photographs, sculpture, drawings, video and videogames. Stefania Galeati's *The story goes about deep sighs and long thoughts* consists of a video showing an open field where a bulldozer and excavator are locked in combat. As in much of the work presented, the concept is simple, almost to the point of ridiculousness. The humor is grounded by low-tech execution and an unpretentious objective style.

All in all, a strong group of shows are on display, with *False Start* and *Buried Mirrors* working with each other as explorations of Latin American media and popular culture.

From Dust Till Donald: Muniz's *The Things Themselves*

HUFFA FROBES-CROSS

"They are like little churches." "They are like gigantic three-dimensional abstract paintings." I remember saying these things the first time I saw a Richard Serra sculpture in person. It was at the massive retrospective at the L. A. Museum of Contemporary Art that was shown a few years ago. I felt completely overwhelmed at the time, and I thought to myself that I was viewing these pieces in some kind of immediate way. My reaction seemed to be somehow beyond the grasp of a knowledge of language or art, a visceral reaction of fear, pleasure and awe. But looking back now on my thoughts, and the things that I had said, every gut-wrenching feeling was also a feeling of recognition. "Oh my God, these are like little churches." Each feeling was carried by, and emerged within a remembering of something else, something that was not the rusted slabs of metal towering over my head right at that exact moment. In fact, my reactions of joy and intimidation were themselves thoughts had through recognition, a recognition of other things which cause those feelings being there in front of me in what I was experiencing.

So right now, in this moment, I feel as if there is something unresolvable and impossible in art like Serra's. Art that doesn't want to be "art" but just wants to be. This brings me to *The Things Themselves*, itself a name, which extends beyond, in fact, does not even clearly state, those things themselves to which it refers. This name belongs to an exhibition of photographs by Vik Muniz showing at the Whitney. These are images of dust on paper, the dust is collected from the various galleries of the Whitney. But it is hard to just see

the dust, because it has been pushed around, removed and added, in such a way that it looks like something other than dust. Specifically the formations of the dust resemble other photographs. However, it is both strange and utterly common that it is also hard to just see the photographs, because, of course, the photographs look very much like something other than a photograph. This statement may be so obvious as to be unintuitive. What does a photograph look like except something else? Particularly what it is "of." Now, do you see what I'm saying? To take it from the other side, a photograph is "of" but it also "is" (I guess). It is plastic-y paper and little microscopic bits of silver that do a remarkably good job at hiding behind the patterns they create. So to return to the "of" and the "about," of both this article and the photographs which are now emerging from dust in my

memory as I dutifully train it on Muniz's images. These photographs drawn in dust, shown to us in silver, behind glass, are photographs of sculptures. Sculptures shown at the Whitney during the 60's and 70's. Works by people like Richard Serra, Donald Judd, and Barry Le Va. Now, if you are confused as to what these photographs look like, if you are confused in this sentence as to what photographs I am talking about, if you are further confused as to what I am talking about in a more general sense, then feel yourself in this moment, you

might be having an experience somewhat like (although, of course, infinitely different from) what I had while I was looking at these photographs.

To clarify, that is to deceive you; clarity is certainly not what Muniz will give you when you enter this gallery. Muniz has collected dust from the galleries of the Whitney. He has collected photographs of installations made by "minimalist" and "post-minimalist" (extreme deception through clarity here) artists. He has copied these photographs by manipulating the dust he collected from the galleries on pieces of paper so that the shapes the dust creates resemble very closely the photographs of the installations. He has then photographed the dust that has been so manipulated, and BAM! this is what you see when you come to see this show. Of course, this is all a lie, but a good one, a nice white minimalist one that will help along the way.

Let's come back to feelings. They jumped out at me immediately both beckoning death beneath Serra's steel and looking death straight in the face of Muniz's infinite play of mirror images. Both these artists bring us to an endpoint of some kind, and what we find there at the end in each case is not exactly the real end, but a sense of the end. Serra's sculptures obscure the path through which you arrive at the intense reactions that they often inspire. They come to mean what they mean so quickly, and so



At Work: Vic Muniz in his studio, at work on *Picture of Dust*

easily, that for most of us we don't feel the coming but just the meaning, just the end. We can only then look back and slowly trace the history of these reactions through references and recognitions of the infinite field of culture that makes them up.

The Things Themselves are very different. Looking at a photograph of a Donald Judd sculpture mounted on the wall one can't help but see a photograph of grayish dust with the odd hair or anonymous glob strewn within it. One looks at steel, paper, silver, dust and hair simultaneously. And they occupy the same space in your field of vision. There is no basis on which to make a definite decision as to what information should get priority and what should be made simply the vessel of that information. A playful confusion sets in, and here is where a sense of the end comes. As opposed to the end that is the meaning, however, it is the end of meaning. An end to the ability to decide what that meaning is. But slowly you may regain your senses, or your habits, and realize without cer-

tainty, that there still is a photograph of dust, a photograph of a sculpture, and a drawing of a photograph, in front of you, that without being able to decide what is in front of you all these things are still there and maybe they never depended on a decision for their existence in the first place.

Muniz has remarked that these photographs might make those who view it view the original pieces differently. If we unfairly assume that the 'originals' to which Muniz refers are the sculptures installed in the Whitney in the 60's and 70's, these photographs place an endless puzzle between these works and the viewer. But the confusion spreads beyond, and infects this assumption, it is not clear what 'original' Muniz is describing, and after looking at steel drawn in dust emerging in silver on plastic there is no one material which seems to take precedence.

PANTERA BRINGS "SOUTHERN STEEL" TO POUGHKEEPSIE

*Free Press sits down with drummer
Vinnie Paul*



How's the tour going?

Fantastic, best headline tour I can remember ever having. We're having a great time, the bands playing great, the other bands have been phenomenal, every night its sold out or near sold out.

Are you putting out a new home video?

Definitely, we're going to try to get it out by Christmas, we're filming every night, Dime (Dimebag Darrell, guitarist) is doing some editing while we're out on the road. It's called *Pantera IV*, imagine that. It is going to cover everything where the last one left off. Writing and recording all of *Reinventing the Steel*, and being on tour in Europe and Japan. We finish this tour April 2, then we're going to Alaska, Korea, New Zealand and Australia. I'm sure we'll have a lot of footage from that. And in the summertime we're doing an amazing tour, with six bands, hopefully indoors everywhere. Four of the six bands are already confirmed, its going to be *Pantera*, *Slayer*, *Static X* and *Morbid Angel*, with two others two be added. It's going to be called "Extreme Steel Meltdown."

Talk about some of the side projects you've done.

Pantera is the main focus, but there is this thing that me, Dime and Rex did with David Allen Coe called "Rebel meets Rebel," which is a country metal ho-down, that will probably be released sometime this summer, either on Elektra or some independent label.

What is your involvement with David Allen Coe [Coe is infamous for his racist lyrics]?

He was playing at Billy Bob's in Dallas and we dropped in, I gave him the home videos. The next day he called us and said, "Man, you dudes are just like me, man, you're the outlaw of your kind of

music. We oughta hook up and write some songs." This dude is like 62 years old and he's into metal. We got the record pretty much completed we just need to mix it. It's just a fun project.

Explain the influence Limp Bizkit has had on Pantera.

Limp Bizkit has had absolutely no influence on my band over the last couple of years. I think what they do the do really well, and they can keep doing what they want, and if you ask them, they'll probably tell you Pantera was the biggest influence on them.

Do you hope that maybe one day Pantera will be on Carsons Daly's Total Request Live?

No. We've had a number one album in '94, a number 4 album in 2000, we don't need to be on the TRL, Philip Anselmo would take a knife and slit his own wrists if he saw Carson Daily come dancing across the stage saying "Yo! Yo! We're at the MTV Beach Party and here's that new hit from Pantera!" That's not what we're all about.

How do you think American culture portrays the South?

I don't care what people think. People from the South are proud people, a rebel flag to me when I was a kid always meant that you were a person from the South, it didn't have anything to do with slavery, racism, or anything like that. That's the reason why we embrace the rebel flag and have it as part of our logos and T-shirts. People are so narrow minded that they only think one way and one way only, and they need to listen to some other band that they like better.

What do you think of George W. Bush?

The State of Texas is a great place, man, and if he had anything to do with it then he did a damn good job. But I have never

seen anything a President's done in my entire life that has affected me personally, except maybe change the legal drinking age. If this dude can get my income taxes lowered from 40 percent to 32 percent than I might have to take a second thought, and say, "wow, this dude's pretty cool." But otherwise I don't care one way or the other.

What do you think about the government's stance on Marijuana?

Well, we can solve a lot of problems that we have. People aren't going to gravitate to it as much, because it would be legal, anyone could have it. If you taxed it, think of how much more revenue the government could have, it wouldn't be such a bad thing. We'd have a lower crime rate because everyone would be mellowed out.

Whats your favorite way to smoke pot?

Definitely bong, because my throat burns up otherwise.

As a fan who owns your four glam rock albums before you came out with *Cowboys from Hell* on Elektra Records, I was curious why your biography doesn't mention them.

It's pretty simple. Everything that Pantera stands for and is today came from *Cowboys From Hell* which came out in 1990. We were really trying to discover ourselves, musically, imagewise, everything. When we wrote the material for *Cowboys From Hell* we knew exactly where we were going. Obviously it was the best material we had written because we got a major label record deal. We built our reputation from there, so there really is no point for that to be in our bio, because to me there are two versions of Pantera.

Rafi Rom