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Special Coverage
of the DC Peace
Protest.
Pages 6-7.



Special Section: Community
Reactions to 9/11.
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Best Bard Band Ever:
SPB. Plus Music and
Photo Reviews. Starts
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In Their Own Words: Bard Students Speak Out

KERRY CHANCE

In the days immediately following September 11th, a collective preoccupation had developed at Bard. As we have heard repeated in various forms, we have felt affected by the attacks, often in a very substantial and consuming way. *The Free Press* stopped students at random, to ask what was on their minds, to learn something about personal testimonies, and to get a sense of the general mood on campus. Bard itself — the experience of this event specifically as it was manifested here — has expectedly produced differing responses: for some the community was a source of support, for others, a site of isolation and surreality. Some expressed resistance to the possibility of an oncoming war and increasing nationalist polarities, while one student remarked that now was a time to be on America's side "or leave." Conflicting yet often strikingly interconnected stories of the event and its repercussions emerge in these quotations; they are printed here.

"I remember seeing the towers on fire, live on TV" - Maria Veits

For nearly all of us, the media has been incorporated into our initial and extended memories of September 11th, whether through the photographs of the Towers on fire, or an imagining of the people trying to escape the buildings. Reading, listening, watching, almost all day, "we couldn't stop even though [the newscasters] were saying the same things over and over," said Katherine Bauer.

"I remember the constant, in your face, exposure to the event," said Kate Lawrence, "You couldn't escape... I saw the second plane crash live on TV."

Erin Horahan said, "We didn't have a television so I just remember us huddling around the radio. It reminded me of what it must have been like during World War II."

Katherine Bauer, who actually witnessed the collapse of both buildings from Brooklyn, remarked that "Seeing it on TV actually made it more real for me..."

"I remember people's reactions" - Prakirati Satasut

Even with the media images inextricably linked to our experi-

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A March for Peace in Troubled Times



In New York City, Union Square was transformed into a vigil site.

Ten Thousand descend on Capitol for Protest against US Military Action

EMILY SCHMALL
ALISON FORBES
LIZ PELLEGRIN

Bard students joined thousands in Washington DC last week in a call for peace in the wake of the September 11th attacks. The demonstrations, originally intended to protest the annual meeting of the IMF and World Bank, attracted mostly college students with dozens of different causes.

An estimated 10,000 people marched the mile from Freedom Park to Capitol Hill while chanting anti-war slogans and beating drums. One in six Bard students were present at the protest, the highest percentage of students from any school.

A strong police force looked on silently while traffic was diverted away from Pennsylvania Avenue. There were three arrests in the morning march.

Though many had planned to attend since the protest was first called, others came on a whim. "I

was going to go skating today," Jason, a Washington D.C. high school student said, "but when I saw what was going on, I thought to myself, 'Why not?'"

Signs and t-shirts proclaimed the names of schools, including Reed College, University of Missouri, Oberlin College, and Vassar College. After nineteen hours of travel, a Beloit College student from Wisconsin felt her trip was worth the time and effort. "The United States has really become a world bully, and this event has made an example that we also work for peace," she said. "Internationally, we are saying, yes, there are Americans who empathize and understand the consequences of our actions. Nationally, we are saying there are other options than war. It was definitely worth it to come out here and get those messages across."

The demonstration, originally intended as an opposition to the IMF and World Bank, switched its

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What We Would Like to Forget about Afghanistan:

The Beginnings of Osama bin Laden's International Brigade

SANJIB BARUAH

In the days after the horror of September 11th, a number of the Afghan restaurants in New York city were deserted. Of course, New Yorkers during the first few days after the attacks in New York and Washington D.C. were hardly in the mood to go to restaurants. Yet while all restaurants may have been less crowded than usual, the Afghan restaurant I like in midtown Manhattan was nearly empty. Indeed, fearing a backlash, that evening, the owner, who is usually around to manage the restaurant, chose not to show up and left the running of the restaurant to his non-Afghan employees.

Ethnic food in New York has a peculiar relationship to politics abroad. Afghan restaurants began appearing in the early 1980s and their numbers continued to grow with the refugee exodus from Afghanistan following the Soviet invasion in 1979. After the Soviets withdrew in 1989, Afghanistan fell into a civil war among competing warlord armies that fought the Soviets. More Afghans began leaving. Some of the educated middle class refugees—professionals, teachers, businessmen—took to restaurants as a means of

livelihood in their adopted land. No one has lost more to the Talibanization of Afghanistan than this group of refugees. When New Yorkers hesitated about eating in Afghan restaurants, these refugees had to pay once more for the follies of their tormentors. Customers have now begun returning to Afghan restaurants, but this small example of our inability to make distinctions and particularize the sources of terrorism may not speak very well about our ability to respond effectively to the threat that the attacks of September 11th represent.

The brand of militant Islamic internationalism—now personified by Osama Bin Laden—is a Frankenstein created by US policy in Afghanistan following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The war in Afghanistan nearly disappeared from the American radar screen when the Cold War ended. In order to refresh my memory and, to learn more about what has been going on there, the past weekend I read journalist Ahmed Rashid's *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). In this short essay I rely significantly on

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An Attack Carried out with the Media in Mind

Prof. Tom Keenan discusses an image-conscious plan of destruction and the way it was reported

NADJA MILLNER-LARSEN

A Professor of Media Theory and Human Rights here at Bard, Thomas Keenan spoke with the Free Press about the specific role played by the media in the September 11th crisis.

Free Press: The mainstream media has been using phrases such as "America under attack" and publicized such slogans as "evil will be punished" in its coverage of the attacks on New York and Washington; this points to a more general question as to how the media has helped shape a national fervor surrounding the events of September 11th?

Keenan: Around noon on that bloody Tuesday, a Washington Post reporter asked an official at the National Security Council to explain what was happening, and was told: "We don't know anything here. We're watching CNN too." The events of September 11th were media events. The most important media actors in this story are the people who flew those airplanes into those buildings in order to get on TV.

They did it for the images, the sounds, and the stories. Think of the iconic status of the targets or the timing and duration of the attack. Scripted from the movies, it had from its inception the ethereal irreality of fiction turned true, and as it played out in the ether of our shared experience it addressed us all as witnesses, together: wherever we were, we were watching too. Not understanding—it short-circuited the frames of comprehension—but watching, because it was a publicity operation of unprecedented thoroughness, and required no shaping. There are mass graves with nearly 7,000 corpses in New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington today because the killers wanted nothing more than exposure, and they knew where the contested terrain of their combat was located. They knew they could count on the camcorders, the live coverage, the cell phones and the Internet to make this event happen, and happen around the world in real-time: they aimed not just at the buildings, but at us.

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U.S. Needs to Strengthen its Afghanistan Humanitarian Policy

RAFI ROM

As President Bush continues to utter harsh words on the fate of Afghanistan, a severe humanitarian crisis is brewing in a country that is war-torn and starved after decades of violence. Although it is the first target of "Operation Enduring Freedom," Afghanistan is still in the midst of its Cold War legacy.

Now, fear of America's response to the World Trade Center attack has catalyzed a trail of tears in Afghanistan, with 100,000 Kabul residents trekking across the harsh desert to reach the Pakistani border. 200,000 more are coming from other cities, according to recent news reports.

Afghanistan's involvement in the Cold War was far from cold. It served as the battleground for invading Soviet soldiers from the north and a frayed unassembled bunch of opposition forces. Over one million Afghans were killed, and at the end of the war the number of Afghan refugees in neighboring countries broke the six million mark.

Today, half of the country's 20 million residents are children.

UNICEF pegs Afghanistan's infant mortality rate at 163 per 1,000 born, twice that of neighboring Pakistan or the extreme totalitarian regime of Myanmar. And the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees has a budget of \$8.5 million, less than the cost of five scud missiles routinely deployed at targets in countries like Iraq or Afghanistan.

Funding the United Front, which controls a small portion of Northern Afghanistan, would be pointless. Their General, Ahmed Shah Massoud, who kept the loose alliance together, was assassinated the day before the World Trade Center attacks. And hopes that the United Front would be better than the existing Taliban are dashed with a review of the facts. Their terrible human rights record is highlighted by a massacre in May of 1997 that left 3,000 Taliban killed, according to a Human Rights Watch report. General Massoud was also part of the Mujahedeen that eventually disbanded and bore the Taliban from its ashes.

In July of 1999, the State Department proudly exclaimed, "The U.S. is the largest single pro-

vider of humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan and Afghan refugees...None goes to the Taliban or other Afghan factions." This aid, under \$25 million total, pales in comparison to the \$3 billion Congress spent on covert operations in the 1980s, or the additional \$700 million for military operations per year beginning in the late 1980s. Our aid was crucial in prolonging the war and eventually forcing the Russian troops to retreat.

In the last five years, any hope that the Taliban would restore order in Afghanistan is gone. Immediately after achieving power they began to eliminate women's rights, refused to tolerate any form of Islam in disagreement with their own, and forced their culture upon the 60% of the population that was not of Pashtun descent.

Now we applaud ourselves for sending humanitarian aid to Afghanistan, but the amount is not even a fraction of what we gave to support the opposition in its decade-long war. We applaud ourselves for this small amount of aid.

The dilemma of humanitarian aid is not that it prolongs starva-



tion and extends war. Military aid has that effect. Half commitments made by the U.S. have proven to often do more harm than good. The problem is not humanitarian aid itself, but that we don't give enough of it. If the United States is about to embark on a war including ground troops and various forms of advanced weaponry, as some fear, there must be a decent humanitarian policy to ensure that millions of Afghani civilians do not needlessly die.

A humanitarian policy is critical to our national interests in

this case. If Osama Bin Laden is to blame for the recent atrocities, then there is no doubt his success is partly due to an overwhelming animosity amongst certain sects of Muslims in various countries, including Afghanistan. Directly killing combatants and indirectly starving the rest of the nation will not help our hope to eradicate "all forms of global terrorism," it will only multiply it.

It is one thing to justify assisting the opposition forces during the 1980s. Unlike in other

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The Makings of Bin Laden's International Brigade

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Rashid's book.

In the early 1980s, US, Saudi and Pakistani intelligence agencies in charge of fashioning an effective military resistance inside Afghanistan against the Soviets and their client regime discovered that the staunchly anti-communist Islamic radicals were brave fighters. Pakistani intelligence officers in particular, through whom much of US aid in weapons and cash to the Mujaheddin (freedom fighters) was channeled, had a distinct preference for the most radical of Islamicist groups.

The infusion of sophisticated weapons and other forms of assistance worth billions of dollars by the US and its oil-rich Arab allies, notably Saudi Arabia, made Afghanistan in the 1980s an exceptionally fertile ground for the rise of a new brand of militant Islamic internationalism. Thousands of radicals from the Middle East, Africa, and Asia came to study in the hundreds of new Islamic schools (madrassa) that came up in Pakistan and along the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Most Taliban leaders and soldiers are graduates of these madrassas. Rashid estimates that more than 100,000 Muslim radicals from different parts of the world came to the region and came under the influence of the ideas of Islamic internationalism, and many of them fought side by side with the Afghan Mujaheddin.

After the Soviets withdrew in 1989, General Hameed Gul, the head of Pakistani intelligence agency, proudly described the phenomenon as "the first Islamic international brigade in the

modern era." During a period when the US and its allies were fighting communism, fears expressed by some that these militants could some day become a Frankenstein were discounted. Stirring up radical Islamicism in a remote corner of the world was seen as a small price to pay in the pursuit of the lofty goals of defeating communism and liberating central Europe. Yet these veterans of the Afghan war soon became involved in dozens of radical Islamicist movements in different parts of the world. The mayhem of September 11th is the most destructive and ambitious project to date that has been inspired by a brand of Islamic internationalism that the US had patronized in its formative stages.

Osama Bin Laden was one of those foreign recruits attracted by the holy war against communism in Afghanistan. The Pakistani intelligence agency, through which much of the western assistance to the Mujaheddin was channeled, had asked the head of the Saudi intelligence to provide a Royal prince to lead the Saudi contingent. It was considered to be symbolically important because it would show to the ordinary Muslim fighters that the Saudi royal family was committed to this holy war. While no Saudi prince was prepared to rough it out in the rugged Afghan mountains, Bin Laden, although not from the royal family, was found to be "close enough to the royals and certainly wealthy enough to lead the Saudi contingent." Bin Laden, the Saudi intelligence chief Prince Turki al Faisal and Pakistani intelligence chief General Gul became

close friends and allies.

After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989, Bin Laden became disillusioned by the bickering among the Mujaheddin leaders and returned to Saudi Arabia. However, his interest in the cause of Islamic internationalism did not wane. He took an interest in the welfare of the 4,000 Arab veterans of the Afghan war who settled near Mecca and Medina and, when Iraq invaded Kuwait, Bin Laden wanted the veterans of the Afghan war to defend the kingdom. He was incensed by King Fahd's decision to invite American troops. When 20,000 US troops remained in Saudi Arabia after the Gulf war was over, Bin Laden called a senior Saudi minister a traitor to Islam. He was then declared persona non grata by King Fahd, and in 1992 he left for Sudan. Bin Laden, however, continued to have allies in the Saudi royal family.

The Afghan resistance was critical for bringing down the Soviet Union and ending the Cold War. But once the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan and the Cold War was over, the US simply walked away from the conflict among Afghan warlords who were generously financed and armed by the US and its allies. Indeed while the West celebrated the victory of free markets over communism, the veterans of the Afghan war believed that it was their holy war that was responsible for defeating the Soviet Union, and they saw the collapse of the Soviet Union as a victory of Islam.

Once the US withdrew, the regional powers backed their favorite factions and the Afghan

war became worse; efforts by the UN to mediate between various armed factions did not go anywhere. In the mid 1990s the Taliban emerged as Afghanistan's savior (Most of Afghanistan's 30 provinces came under their control in 1995-96; the capital Kabul fell in September 1996). A Talib is an Islamic student; and by calling themselves Taliban (the plural of Talib), they tried to distance themselves from the party politics of the Mujaheddin and signaled they were not interested in power and riches, but wanted to clean Afghan society from the evils that the long war had brought. Indeed the Taliban are products of a war culture. The recruits are mostly orphans, children of an underclass who grew up in refugee camps. The Taliban leaders were all from "the poorest, most conservative and least literate southern Pashtun provinces of Afghanistan." Yet some war-weary Afghans welcomed the Taliban as an alternative to the war among those they increasingly saw as selfish, debauched and corrupt warlords.

Referring to the extreme restrictions that the Taliban imposed on women, Rashid writes, "in Mullah Omar's village women had always gone around fully veiled and no girl had even gone to school because there were none." Yet this parochial experience of the Pashtun villager is a far cry from the dynamic intellectual and cultural life of urban Afghanistan, and especially of the non-Pashtun groups like the Uzbeks, and the Persian-speaking Tajiks and the Hazaras. It is hardly surprising that the Taliban conquest of the cities and of the non-Pash-

tun areas was bloody—forcing an exodus of refugees that reached all the way to New York City.

During these developments in Afghanistan, Bin Laden acquired more international notoriety and, under US pressure, the Saudis revoked his citizenship in 1994 and the pressure mounted on Sudan to expel Bin Laden. When the Sudanese government asked him to leave, Bin Laden returned to Afghanistan in May 1996 on a chartered jet with an entourage of associates, body-guards and family members including three wives and 13 children. By 1997 he struck up a friendship with the top Taliban leader Mullah Omar.

Until Bin Laden's return to Afghanistan, pan-Islamism and anti-Americanism were not high on the Taliban's agenda. Bin Laden and his Al'Qaida group today, according to US officials, has followers in 60 countries. These men are prepared to die for their mission of resurrecting Islam and for a man whom they see as having given up his wealth and comfort for a noble cause. But the nursery for this lethal version of Islamic internationalism and the place where the first generation of Bin Laden's foot-soldiers bonded was the mountains of Afghanistan. Ironically that experience was made possible by the billions of dollars in cash and weapons given by the US and its allies, who at that time had their eyes fixed on an enemy that has now disappeared.

Sanjib Buruah is a professor of Political Studies.

"Don't forget what happened there, on the ground and on the screen."

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So it's crucial that one pay attention, now, to the media and its shaping power, yes, but don't forget what happened there, on the ground and on the screen.

As for the present fervor ... if by "the media" you mean the three U.S. major television networks and the one serious cable news channel (CNN)—and I say "if" because of course the media (a) also include newspapers and news magazines, (b) are not limited to the United States, and (c) often report news accurately and informatively—then the answer to the question "how" is straightforward: the media have defined the primary topics of discussion too narrowly, spent too much time with predictable experts and pundits, more or less followed the agenda of the Bush Administration by and large, and done very little original reporting.

Free Press: Even Peter Jennings has suggested in a broadcast that the introduction of the "Homeland Commission" is somewhat reminiscent of a totalitarian regime; Has the Bush Administration been able to use the media, as a messenger to the people, to convince the public of America's need to change the face of not only its foreign policy, but its domestic policy as well? Have our own civil liberties been called into question?

Keenan: The shameful ugliness of the concept 'homeland defense' surpasses my ability to comment on it. The liberties of citizens, and those of our country's immigrant population, are obviously "under attack," too: already we've read of proposals

for increased electronic surveillance, preventive detention, assassination of enemies of the state, armed guards on airplanes, and draconian restrictions on press coverage of military operations, among others, and we've witnessed arbitrary searches of and assaults on those presumed to be of Arab origin or Islamic faith. Of course the Administration seeks to organize and guide public opinion through the media, as do those arguing against its regressive proposals, and of course the Administration has the upper hand, especially when reporters and editors are worried about their own 'patriotism.'

Free Press: The revenge mentality evident nationwide has involved rampant cases of racial violence. Has the media's portrayal of recent events harbored a need to construct, identify and punish the enemy even on a local level? Would it have been possible to instill another reaction, or was this reaction an unavoidable one?

Keenan: I apologize for repeating myself: the most serious violence in this story is the mass murder of September 11. Thousands of people died that day—bond traders and tourists, busboys and stewardesses—because they happened to be in 'enemy' buildings and aircraft, made into sacrificial proxies for the country they happened to be in. There is no possible equation which could relate the grim fact of their slaughter to the prejudice which it has spawned.

And it has spawned prejudice—criminal, unjustified, unforgivable violence, especially when it's effectively sanctioned by the state in the name of a so-called war on the dubiously undifferentiated amalgam of "terrorism." I don't think there's a "need" to do that, not for the state or for the media,

especially when the ideological agenda of the apparent killers is so transparent, and so transparently unrelated to their purported religious beliefs.

Some media reports and comments have no doubt contributed to a climate which tolerates violence. I don't think the reaction was unavoidable, and I don't think it's permanent. I confess that I have been surprised by the zeal with which most national media have reported on, and challenged, the new acceptability of 'profiling' and violence. Could we ever have imagined we'd see the President of the United States in a mosque, or be watching and reading repeated and impassioned reports on hate crimes and ethnic discrimination, only a decade after the shameful frenzy of prejudice that preceded the Gulf War?

Free Press: Can you suggest any alternative media we can turn to for information?

Keenan: As soon as you start reading two or three newspapers, and leave the information shores of these United States, the diversity of opinions, reporting, and sources is striking. We are not starved for news. So I can only suggest the obvious ones, and the more the better. Use the Internet and more primitive devices to watch television, listen to the radio, read newspapers and magazines and wire services from around the world. Take a look at www.bard.edu/hrp and www.infopeace.org for useful collections of articles and images and links. Scrutinize the Pentagon website, www.defenselink.mil, and the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, www.rawa.org, and the



Information and interpretation: A recent front page from CNN.com, prominently displaying the "America's New War" label, military fighter jets, and a quotation attributed to the Taliban that America should "think again" before it moves to attack.

organization Crimes of War, www.crimesofwar.org; read the Arabic and Islamic media if you can, and try to make sure you don't only read and watch things you already know you agree, or disagree, with. And remember: although the source is important, what you do with it, how you read it, is even more crucial. So even if your info intake is restricted, work over what you get with care and patience: what's at stake is nothing less than doing justice to the lives and memories of those 7,000 dead people, and sadly, to the many more to come.

In this interview Professor Keenan managed to evoke and even diagnose that eerie feeling we all experienced while watching the events of 9/11. This is a time for heightened awareness of our role as citizens of this nation, as we process the information fed to us by every radio station we listen to, every televi-

sion we watch, every newspaper we pick up. These are images that will be repeated before our eyes for years to come. Keenan points out that these images include that of President Bush's visit to a mosque; that image may have stemmed from a racist backlash, but the visual aid we have received against that backlash would never have been seen during the Gulf War. Keenan has managed to remind me that these images are not black and white, they are in full color. Our individual identities as Americans are in the process of redefinition, we may be unsettled but we should not be convinced to abandon our rights. While I have been shocked, even threatened as witness to an excessive patriotism I have never before experienced, I wholeheartedly agree that "the public is not convinced yet", not completely.—NML

Military Action without Humanitarian Aid Can Only Lead to Continued Suffering

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countries where we simply helped topple existing governments because of their leftist views, Afghanistan was under a genuine threat from its Soviet neighbors. However, aiding a war of destruction and then pulling out, leaving the country ravaged, did not help our cause at all. We left a country weak and starving, ripe for totalitarian rule and ideal for a training ground for future terrorists.

In the 21st century, all global forms of exploitation and repression are more decentralized, making it harder to pin the blame on any specific agent. The starvation game currently going on

in Afghanistan can not directly be linked to our previous efforts to militarize the opposition in Afghanistan.

However, the current situation in Afghanistan cannot be linked to any natural disaster, besides a long drought. It is linked to years of political turmoil, turmoil that we played a key role in multiplying and prolonging.

Therefore, if enough Afghanistan citizens die at high

levels, we are left with an indirect genocide, suitable for 21st century global politics.

For lasting stability, there needs to be a program in place to support strong institutions. This is where humanitarian aid, which sometimes fails, can prove successful because of Afghanistan's current dire state.

So if we attack Afghanistan in an effort to root the government

of its Taliban leaders, we must simultaneously build a humanitarian structure that could help provide for its civilians. This is the only way Afghanistan could ever rule with stability, institutional strength, and represent its country. It is also the only way to prevent an "accidental" genocide attributed more to natural problems like the current drought, instead of the constant political turmoil and brutal combat that truly plague the nation.

Military policy without a complimenting humanitarian position will only further multiply, divide, and kill the Afghani population. This will have an incredibly negative effect on the

entire international community, and could quite possibly lead to further destruction of American soil due to poor foreign policy decisions.

Unfortunately no talk of new humanitarian aid has been mentioned, and American diplomats are already meeting with the rebels from the north. We are ready to again aid the first generation rebels who lost to the second generation Taliban, blind to the obvious legacies of our first attempt, and the impending disaster of another.

Berlusconi's "Global Gaffe"

A look at contested Italian PM's comments on Western superiority over Islamic nations

RAIMONDO CHIARI

In the wake of the attacks on September 11, governments around the world expressed their solidarity with the United States. However, Italian Prime Minister, Silvio Berlusconi, went far beyond simply supporting the US' struggle against terrorism. "We must be aware of the superiority of our civilization," Berlusconi proclaimed on September 27th in Berlin, "a system that has guaranteed well-being, respect for human rights and—in contrast with Islamic countries—respect for religious and political rights."

In a delicate time when the West is stressing that the struggle is against terrorists, not Muslims, Berlusconi's words could have not been more embarrassing. Former premier Massimo D'Alema (Left Democrat) called it a "global gaffe." The European Union has

More than half of Italian television, newspapers and polling systems are currently owned by the prime minister.

also distanced itself from the remark. "I can hardly believe Mr. Berlusconi made such remarks, because the European Union is based on values such as multiculturalism and the meeting of different civilizations," said Belgian Prime Minister, Guy Verhofstadt. In Turkey, the traditionally anti-Western Islamist newspaper Akit said Berlusconi was "a new Mussolini." This sentiment was also shared by Libyan leader Mu'ammarr Qadhafi, who said, "superiority is the same justification used in the past by Mussolini and Graziani to colonize Lybia, and from the West in general to conquer the world." Al Akhbar, a major Egyptian government newspaper, went as far as saying, "Berlusconi is more dangerous than Bin-Laden."

Attempting to clarify his comments in front of the Senate, Berlusconi said, "I was misunder-

stood: I am sorry if my Arab friends were offended." Tellingly, he did not apologize for the nature of his remarks, but for the response of the Arab community. This was analogous to his response of international criticism of his campaign tactics, where he complained of being "misunderstood." His remarks about the West being superior were "modified" by a conspiracy of "Leninist systems." "If I have to be hung for only one word, in exchange for the freedom to express what I think, and what the overwhelming majority of Italians think, then I say: go ahead and hang me," he said.

The majority of Italians seem to support Berlusconi's statements. But then again, Italians live under a unique circumstance for a consolidated democracy. More than half of Italian television, newspapers and polling systems are currently owned by the Italian prime minister. All of his capital holdings fall under the umbrella holding company, the Fininvest Group. His approval ratings are conducted by his own polling agencies.



"More dangerous than bin Laden": Berlusconi sits modestly.

Journalist Curzio Maltese defines Berlusconi's style as "populism and stadium sloganism, authoritarian corporatism and anti political simplification." In fact, after Italian politics have been transformed into a media spectacle, where parliament becomes a second job for television stars, and the vulgarity of soccer and female nudity are praised values, it is not surprising to notice the indifference of the population to such a sharp, untactful, and igno-

rant statement. And it is not surprising to find on the main web page of Berlusconi's most prestigious news paper "Il Giornale" a section for "the girl of the month." And by clicking on it, again it must not come as a shock to discover nine pictures of a Junonic silicon blonde named Kati Lohmann exposing her breasts and genitalia.

But then again, maybe that's why our civilization is superior.

Responses From Around the Globe

An in-depth look at how the nations of the world, and their media, responded to September 11

**compiled by
VINCENT VALDMANIS**

As the fear and shock and sadness began to pass and the world slowly set about putting its affairs back in order after the attacks on the United States last month, the editorial pages of newspapers around the world echoed the apprehension of an unpredictable future.

CUBA

Like many other countries, the Cuban government immediately expressed their condolences after the attack, but now stresses the need for carefully planned and executed collective action. Initially the state-owned television channels interrupted their regular broadcasts to run continuous coverage of the terrorist attacks. In the words of one Havana high school teacher, "All the disagreements between the U.S. and Cuban governments have absolutely nothing to do with the sadness that Cubans feel for the American people." Reservations regarding Bush's policy since the attack has become widespread among Cubans. His power-toting declarations have caused some commentators in Cuba to believe the events of September 11 will act only as a pretext for augmenting the hegemonic and reactionary tendencies of the U.S. In response to Bush's statement that the U.S. will use "any weapons of war," the Cuban government has also officially voiced their concerns, especially over the possibility of the use of assassination. —Matt Aho

EGYPT

The prevailing sentiment

expressed in the Egyptian press over the last three weeks has been one of caution. President Mubarak has publicly urged the US to avoid making rash decisions out of anger, and complete a thorough investigation before taking any action. The fear in Egypt is that hasty US military action could spiral into a global conflict. This fear is spawned partly by the increased Israeli aggression against Palestinians since September 11. According to Amr Moussa, Secretary General of the Arab League, "Israel should not be left to continue this aggression unless the world is ready to face the consequences." —Eben Kaplan

EUROPE

Le Monde repeated the view of Barcelona's centrist *La Vanguardia* that the attacks of September 11th dispelled the notion of a world order in which America was the undisputed power. The European press, although unanimous in its shock and condemnation of the events, has mixed feelings on military action. Frankfurt's conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* favors decisive strikes, while *Le Monde* questioned aloud Bush's ability to handle the crisis and *Transitions Online*, a weekly online publication out of Prague, worried about the reaction in Central Asia to U.S. attacks. —Vincent Valdmantis

INDIA

In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, India was the first to support the United States. In the "war on terrorism", India has hopes of benefiting from the fight against such acts on an

international level. Years of conflict with Pakistan over Jammu and Kashmir are a central reason for its support of the U.S. India has tried to stay somewhat inactive in responding to other regional conflicts, and the recent lifting of their economic sanctions by the U.S. India is not naive in terms of the inherent interest the United States has in fighting the war against terrorism on a domestic level, but its optimism centers around a second phase of the war which could be beneficial internationally. The recent attacks on American soil have not halted domestic terrorism; recent incidents include a car bombing outside J&K (Jammu and Kashmir) Legislative Assembly building in Srinagar, which killed 35 and injured 70. There have also been accounts of human rights violations against Muslim students and police pressure on Muslim groups in the country. —Annel Cabrera

ISRAEL

As a state that has experienced many terrorist attacks, the events of September 11 held unique meaning for Israel. The September 11 attacks have been analyzed in the sphere of Israeli domestic policy. The conservative *Jerusalem Post* was among the few that sounded the call for war. Lamenting what it perceived as a double standard, the *Post* criticized U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell for not holding Yassar Arafat to the American position of "zero tolerance" for terrorism. "To concede the acceptability of terror anywhere is to concede it everywhere," said the *Post*. It speculated that Arafat is offering

the U.S. intelligence on bin Laden in exchange for lenient treatment. They also supported Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's decision to cancel meetings with British representatives after the British foreign secretary Jack Straw made critical comments of Israel's Palestinian policy.

Editorials and Opinion pieces in the liberal *Ha'aretz* voice feelings that the current policy on terrorism in Israel is part of an "old game that won't work anymore." The paper also urges restraint on both the Israeli and Palestinian sides. —Rafi Rom

LATIN AMERICA

According to a recent poll of 866 Latin American executives by eWorld Research, New York City and Washington, D.C. are considered more dangerous than Bogotá, Lima, Caracas, or any other Latin American city. Those polled claimed that they felt more vulnerable to terrorist attacks in the United States than in their home countries, many of which are under constant threat from guerilla fighters and paramilitary groups.

Although the foreign ministers of 34 members of the Organization of American States (OAS) signed on last week to aid the United States in fighting the war against terrorism, popular support for any military measures has been overwhelmingly negative. A Datafolha poll concluded that eight out of ten people in Brazil want the country to remain neutral, and a Gallup International poll stated only eight percent of Argentines support U.S. military retaliation toward a country har-

boring terrorists.

An overwhelming 90% of Venezuelans and 78% of Mexicans were against taking part in military action. On the other hand, nearly half the population of Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia were open to having troops from their own countries join in military action. —Danielle Brown

PAKISTAN

India's rival and America's favorite, Pakistan, is suffering from an internal struggle between the ruling moderate government and extremist factions sympathetic with the Taliban. The leftist *The News* printed an editorial yesterday asking for credible proof of Osama bin Laden's guilt in the terrorist attacks. It also urged avoiding military action and praised the more moderate language coming from the Bush White House after the president's remarks about fighting a "crusade" and catching bin Laden "dead or alive." It also reported an unconfirmed story that American commandos had engaged Taliban forces in deadly fighting. —Vincent Valdmantis

TANZANIA

In its most recent editorial, *The Express*, a weekly out of Dar es Salaam covering the Islamic country of Tanzania, continued to be against U.S. military action. "[We] are questioning... whether a military attack on a Muslim country in pursuit of Bin Laden and his cohorts won't inflame more traumatizing rage and terror against the US and her allies," it said. —Vincent Valdmantis

The Battle for a World-Wide Liberal Arena?

JAMIE MILLER

In the mayhem following the attack on the World Trade Center, various camps utilized the tragedy to serve pre-existing agendas. For American isolationists, it justified further retrenchment. For the religious right, it punished sinners like feminists and homosexuals. For Israelis, it vindicated aggression and insecurity. For Palestinians, it demonstrated the extent of Arab sympathy with their cause, and frustration at the American response.

With so many competing views, how do we decide among rival interpretations? For such decisions, we have elaborate public institutions, including a bicameral legislature and an executive and judicial branch designed to check and balance one another. We also have a rich and layered civil society, a free and outspoken press, and sophisticated state and local governments.

Within this American political arena, the battle comes to a head at the junction of form and substance, wherein the form of our liberal democracy permits an open exchange of substance. This substance has few formal limits: we will tolerate anything, except intolerance. Proclaim your truth from the mountaintops, but do not kill others who proffer rival allegations. Convert your enemy through the power of ideas, not weapons.

Our leaders claim that we are advocating the same political process globally. We are fighting about how to fight for what we believe to be the truth—seeking to ensure that open, liberal norms prevail over repressive, violent approaches. Our enemy, once again, is an ideology that suffers no self-questioning.

But wait. What are the contours of the global political arena? U.S. foreign policy does not consistently champion, abroad, the political institutions that flesh out the liberal ideal at home. Why not advocate the institutions of representative democracy at the global level, and open the floor to debate about global policies? Why does the foreign policy establishment shudder at the prospect of a universal body of elected representatives armed with the power to enforce the will of the majority of world citizens?

The U.S. will not pursue such institutions, or permit this debate, for a simple reason: if we convene a global congress proportionately representative of human beings and human needs, and transfer sovereignty to the majority's will, then our ideals may be jettisoned. Maybe to a moderate Islamic theocracy. Maybe to a confused admixture of Communism and Confucianism.

In other words, the American foreign policy elite fears a liberal political regime of global scale.

It is the central irony of liberalism: it makes way for illiberalism. Freedom may let oppression in the front door.

Consider the 1920s, when a nation reeling from economic stagnation bravely drafted one of the century's outstanding, liberal, compromise Constitutions. The best in German history. Hitler then came to power, initially through democratic, legal means. Then he dispensed with the liberal institutions that had permitted his ascent to power.

The majority of people in the world simply do not live with democratic institutions. Even if autocratic states agreed to the establishment of a "world democratic state", they could, like Hitler, rise to power through the ballot box and later deliberately undermine the fragile institutions of democracy. Liberalism just doesn't have the numbers to govern the world.

Regardless, the U.S. has never possessed a clear policy about how peacefully to dispute truth claims, let alone baser national interests, in the international arena. We have a bungled history of hits and misses, of geopolitical calculations unevenly balanced by support for human rights and democratic institutions.

While paying rhetorical homage to domestic ideals, American policymakers have historically played the game of global power politics to enable our smaller population to punch above its democratically, or numerically, defined weight.

Until we move beyond the conflict in our policy, between reverence for liberalism at home and ambivalence about it on a world-wide basis, we cannot effectively fight for sane global governance.

There are at least two options for a new approach.

Option one: Confess the tension between domestic practice and foreign policy. This tactic will deflate accusations of hypocrisy, which stem from the distance between U.S. rhetoric and action. But continue to permit this disjunction to guide foreign policy until free institutions multiply, and the numbers are in our favor.

Option two: Strengthen the liberal institutions that do exist in the international arena. Join the rest of the world in supporting an international criminal court. Sign the land mines treaty. Support the Kyoto protocol on the environment. Demonstrate more respect for the views of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly. Pay U.N. dues. Engage with the world on a multilateral basis.

Hopefully, we can simultaneously pursue both these options.

And there are many more liberal institutions that we can support, and lead, at the international level. Sincerely including other nations in renewed efforts to address poverty, nuclear non-proliferation, the depletion of the ozone, even a universal missile shield—will certainly complement, and augment, our current focus on terrorism.

If we cannot aggressively pursue the creation of liberal institutions at the international level, then at least we can commit to a multilateral process for the governance of global issues. This commitment may lead us in the direction of a world-wide liberal society, where people employ reason instead of violence to persuade one another.

Jamie Miller is Deputy Director of the Bard Globalization and International Affairs Program.



Gillian Means (right) and other Bard students protest in Washington D.C. photo by Rafi Rom

Stopping Terrorism at its Source

EBEN KAPLAN

Though it is still unclear what the Bush administration's "War on Terrorism" entails, in his speech to Congress last Thursday the President pledged that America will not relent "until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated." All practical military and diplomatic obstacles notwithstanding, this aggressive policy to eliminate a terrorist threat to the country is short sighted in that it only eliminates the immediate threat. In order to ensure long term safety from terrorism, we must cut it off at its roots, by eliminating those factors that drive individuals to resort to the kind of extremism and zealotry that inspires terrorist attacks.

If the United States wishes to truly eliminate terrorism, it must stop looking at human rights as a moral issue and begin looking at them as a strategic issue essential to national security. In truth, the strategic implications of human rights are in the interest of all governments who are likely targets of terrorist attacks.

People turn to extremism as a response to bearing witness to the general suffering that comes from a lack of human rights enforcement. The individuals involved in terrorist activity are not necessarily the victims of rights violations, but their action is often in response to the injustices that they have witnessed. Extremist groups offer a way to respond to the sense of injustice spawned from the absence of basic rights. Terrorism is a means for those who feel shut out of the political process to assert their autonomy.

The failure of the United States and other governments to uphold human rights in Afghanistan is a convenient example of a situation in which a more delib-

erate rights-based policy could have curbed human rights abuses and might have diminished support for extremist groups there. The civil war in Afghanistan has spanned more than twenty years, resulting in 1.5 million deaths, displacement of large populations, famine, and the destruction of the nation's economic base.

The war has endured three phases. The first was a Soviet invasion and occupation from 1979-1989. Upon the Russian withdrawal, fighting broke out among several factions for control of the country. This ended in 1996, when the Taliban established itself as the ruling party. Since then, the groups opposed to the Taliban have formed the United Front and continue to fight.

In each of these phases, foreign powers have intensified the conflict by supporting one side against the other. Prior to the terrorist attack on the United States, the United Front was receiving support from Russia and Iran, while Saudi Arabia and Pakistan supported the Taliban. According to a recent Human Rights Watch report, the war between the Taliban and the United Front has been characterized by serious violations of human rights, including "killings of detainees, direct attacks on civilians, rape, torture, persecution on the basis of religion, and the use of anti-personnel land mines."

Civilians caught in the crossfire have little ability to affect their own future. Under such conditions, it is not hard to imagine how one could view an extreme tactic like terrorism as a legitimate response to one's condition.

There has been an ongoing effort by the United Nations to achieve some sort of stability in Afghanistan, though no agreements have ever been backed by an enforcement mechanism. In 1997, the UN established the "Six

Plus Two" contact group to promote a peaceful solution to the conflict in Afghanistan as well as to curb the flow of weapons into the country. The group consists of the six countries that border Afghanistan (China, Iran, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) as well as Russia and the United States.

Unfortunately, the "Six Plus Two" group has done little to actually help the situation in Afghanistan, since Iran, Pakistan, and Russia continue to support the warring parties, while the United States now regards pressuring the Taliban into handing over Osama bin Laden as its primary interest in the region. American and Russian motives have also had their effect in the Security Council, whose sanctions are designed to force the extradition of bin Laden rather than prevent the flow of arms into Afghanistan.

If the United States saw ending human rights violations in Afghanistan as a matter of national interest, it would have taken a harder line with the countries that continue to support warring parties in Afghanistan. Furthermore, it would have pushed for effective arms control and ensured the enforcement of any agreements. The ultimate goal of American policy towards Afghanistan (and other countries with egregious human rights violations) ought to be to establish a stable government that will uphold its people's rights.

The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon marked a change in the international system. As we continue to search for a precise understanding of how our world has changed, we can be sure of one thing: the United States, along with the other world powers, must regard the rights of people as a matter of primary interest or face a grim consequence.

The Anti-War Protest at the Capitol

PHOTOS BY JON FEINSTEIN

...continued from page 1
purpose after the September 11th attacks when the meetings of those transnational financial institutions were cancelled. People representing a wide range of causes, including the Palestinian right to return, the free Mumia movement, and anti-capitalist protesters were all present rallying for their causes as well as urging the government to "make peace, not war."

The response of police and on-lookers was mixed, but for the most part peaceful. A line of police officers, some of them holding nightsticks, others tear gas guns, prevented marchers from straying beyond the pre-determined route. Behind the police counter-demonstrators shouted and carried signs reading "Anti-Americans!" and "Bin-Laden fan club."

Though CNN aired footage of several individuals being pepper sprayed and arrested, the march overall was without violence. The Black Bloc issued a statement saying it would not perform aggressive civil disobedience out of respect for the victims of the September 11th attacks.

Protestors were aware that demonstrations in the wake of the G8 summit in Genoa, at which one demonstrator was shot and killed by police, carried a heightened risk of tear gas, rubber bullets, and arrest. "Everyone was telling me to watch out, to not get killed, to not get arrested," said Jennifer, a Bard student. "I was sort of scared, but it turned out that everything went really well."

Despite the Black Bloc's commitment to peaceful protest they appeared ready with gas

masks, black clothes, a full supply of knee and elbow pads, sticks, and makeshift shields.

But mostly the atmosphere was reflected by a group of pagans who spoke with smiles and waved white doves while singing songs of unity and peace. The mood was one of energetic solidarity, but after one game of anarchist soccer started by Bard students, numerous chants, and an exorcism of the capitalist pig by a group of pagans, the spirit began to quiet, leaving most demonstrators aggravated and tired. Over a megaphone somewhere nearby, a voice tried to keep the order by reminding the trapped demonstrators, "Our rights are being violated all over the damn place. If police bullshit does go down, please don't panic. Please don't knock people down; watch out for each other."

Most protestors believed the march was constructive. A Beloit College student thought the message might even reach President Bush. "I don't think it was completely in vain. I believe [the demonstration] caused the country to take notice, to take a pause from all of the nationalism, the American flags and the moments of silence. I hope that people seeing us here makes them realize what [the government is] doing."



Reassessing an Anti-War Stance in Washington

ALISON FORBES
with additional reporting by
EMILY SCHMALL

There is no doubt America is not as united ideologically as President Bush claims. For instance, at Saturday's anti-war and anti-racism rally, a girl no more than seven years old held up a makeshift sign that read, "People can Change Even if They're Bad." And on a wall in a train heading from Manhattan to Poughkeepsie reads someone scribbled "All towel-heads must die." This is indicative of the range of arguments that confront us.

The Bard community has a hard time relating to the hawkish hard-line stance the Bush administration is currently advocating in our response to the terrorist attacks three weeks ago. However, it is hard to accommodate both ideals of peace and the need for some sort of retaliation.

...After conversing with a loved one late Thursday night, I started to reconsider my reasons for attending the September 29th demonstration in Washington D.C. I never thought I would question my support of peace, but then again I never thought I would have to question an actual alternative to war. After trying my best to answer the hypothetical, I proceeded to write a pro/con list of reasons for attending the rally. After gathering my thoughts (a compilation of high school history, mass e-mails and highly stylized news reports), I realized that the mere act of participating was an answer in and among itself.

Joining together and marching as a single unit was not solely about peace and saying "no" to war, it was a platform for any group, organization, or individual to remind the government that the people are raising consciousness and becoming better informed. As the rest of the world declared that the United States had finally gotten the 'wake-up call' it was bound to receive, demonstrators gathered not in contempt, but in understanding. They grieved for the lives that were lost as well as for those yet to be lost if the cycle of violence perpetuates.

In coming together, a sense of solidarity was achieved, even if it was somewhat biased and fleeting. People had the opportunity to voice their disdain for the racism towards Arabs and Muslims. The demonstrators confronted the unfortunate truth of our situation and embraced what they have in common. It is in having the liberty to state these facts that Saturday's rally, regardless of the outcome and the dis-

torted news reports, was a success. It served as a perfect example of how the personal liberties that we Americans are so terrified of losing mean nothing if they are not exercised.

One El Salvadorian poet who spoke at the rally suggested through his use of verse that "poets should be allowed to run the country." At the moment I applauded this statement as I found the sentiment uplifting and rather beautiful. However, I soon realized that this was among one of the few suggestions I heard raised on how we should respond as a country. And this I suppose could be con-

"Joining together and marching as a single unit was not solely about peace and saying 'no' to war"

sidered one of the downfalls of Saturday's gathering. Sentiments were expressed, but there were not many answers discussed.

How-

ever, as most issues are not black and white, neither is this one. The rally at Washington did not receive an enormous turnout and concrete answers to the nation's problems were not found, but it was something: There was a reaction. People stepped forth and voiced their opinions. People educated themselves and shared ideas. And even though the issue continues to be gray, a certain understanding was arrived at that day. People do not want to kill. People do not want to see Afghani children suffer any more than they already are. People want to get rid of borders. They want to improve United States foreign policy. They want to see restrictions on the sale of guns. They want to improve international relations so future terrorist attacks can be prevented. They want to preach peace so the notion of violence is not regarded as the best and only solution. They want to raise consciousness and oppose racism and protect civil liberties.

The idea of war and retaliation is still debatable to most of us. Our opinions and biases, and the controversial historical facts, seem to complicate this issue too much for a final resolution to be reached. The issue is huge, the dynamics are confusing, and the effects are possibly lethal. However, as controversial and as overwhelming as these problems remain, the demonstration held in Washington on Saturday, September 29th helped make these issues more tangible as well as more approachable. People were reminded that they have voices and opinion and, regardless of the platform or stance that individuals chose to take, September 29th provided an opportunity for those opinions to be openly exercised and for those voices to be clearly heard.



Against a Military Response

by Elizabeth Frank

My daughter and I live in Greenwich Village, just below 14th Street. She had just left the house and was on her way to school when I heard an airplane flying very low and much too near, and froze in instant panic, thinking some jerk had lost control of his private jet and was about to crash into a nearby building (or my own). Then, much to my relief, the sound faded away. Minutes later, the phone rang and it was my daughter reporting that she had just seen two jets slam into the WTC, one after the other; what should she do, continue on to school—Stuyvesant High School, about a minute from the WTC—or come home? Come home of course, I said. After awhile we went out; the first tower had already collapsed. As we walked west toward the river, we heard someone scream and by the time we reached Greenwich and could look south, the second tower was gone as well and all we could see was a gaping smoke-filled absence. Over on the West Side Highway, we ran into kids from Stuyvesant. They were shaking; they had seen people jumping out of the burning buildings.

Like everyone here, we grieve for the dead. My daughter knows of several kids who have lost parents. Over the past two weeks we have seen fliers of the missing on walls and windows; we have visited Union Square and lit candles. Every day the smoke from the crash site drifts upward, bitter and foul. And we're afraid—afraid to take the subway, afraid to go to a movie theater, afraid to cross a bridge or drive through a tunnel. I'm scared of every airplane I hear.

But I am against a military response with every nerve and cell in my body. I don't know what to do about terrorism, and I don't think anybody else knows either. I am quite sure, however, that killing people in Afghanistan won't stop it and will only create more hate-filled "martyrs". I think of my students, remember Vietnam, and don't want one single one of you to go to war, no matter what the cause. No previous war we have ever fought is capable of supplying the right analogy or the right metaphor for this situation. So we are in a terrible muddle and it's better to admit it than pretend that war is the answer.

I think too that we have to raise our awareness and join the rest of the world. We have seen ourselves as a "City on a Hill" for far too long. Having spent a good deal of time during the past two and a half years in Eastern Europe, I can tell you that there is enormous hatred and resentment toward the United States. Our time would be better spent figuring out why so many people think we're hypocrites, exploiters, and murderers in our own right. From the "humanitarian" bombing of Belgrade to the sanctions against Iraq to the impoverishment and wretchedness caused by the "economic shock treatment" and "austerity measures" of the International Monetary Fund, we have caused enormous misery amongst peoples our government tells us we are trying to help. I'm not against patriotism and love of country. I understand and feel as well the rage and grief and desire for retaliation. But please, don't go off to fight and kill. Ask questions, talk, learn—and then change the world, by peaceful means.

Elizabeth Frank is Joseph E. Harry Professor of Modern Languages and Literature at Bard.



A perspective on the smoking towers, taken from Williamsburg, Brooklyn, early September 11th. photo by Katherine Bauer

History and the September 11th Terror

by Mark Lytle

The attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon was unprecedented. Nothing like it has ever happened before in American History. Yet, when the unexpected happens or tragedy strikes, we often turn to history for comfort in the possible lessons we can learn. An analogy to a past event offers some perspective on what at first strikes us as extraordinary and unknowable. History at least affords us the chance to put our present fears into the context of familiar stories.

As events unfolded on September 11, news commentators made frequent reference to Pearl Harbour. On December 7, 1941 Japanese forces attacked the territory of the United States. Thousands of Americans died, though in that instance most were military personnel. Franklin Roosevelt declared it a day of "infamy." The inadequacy of the Pearl Harbour analogy was readily apparent. The enemy at Pearl Harbour was obvious and the purpose of the attack, no matter how shocking, made sense. A long period of tensions between the United States and Japan had raised the spectre of war. By crippling the American, the Japanese facilitated the expansion of their Pacific empire. Americans had some sense of the struggle that lay ahead, when Franklin Roosevelt asked for a declaration of war.

Still, Pearl Harbour does afford some valuable insights. December 7 shattered deeply held American assumptions. Sheer distance did not afford absolute security. Modern technology made the once unimaginable all too possible. Never again would Americans assume that they were safe

from foreign threats. Americans learned as well that people they had dismissed as racially inferior and hence incapable of such a bold stroke had in fact developed a modern war machine. As with the World Trade Center attack, Pearl Harbour aroused fear and loathing mixed with a begrudging acknowledgement of the enemy's capabilities.

More than one hundred years ago Americans were shocked to learn that the battleship Maine had sunk in Havana harbour. To this day, no one knows for certain what caused the explosion, though naval experts later determined that a faulty boiler, not Cuban or Spanish sabotage, was the most likely explanation. The immediate reaction, without any evidence about who was responsible, was a call to arms. The Maine, like the Pentagon, was both a symbol and instrument of American military might. "Remember the Maine, to hell with Spain," crowds chanted. Within three days Congress passed a huge military spending giving President McKinley the means to make a war the objective of which was far from clear.

If the Maine analogy holds a lesson for us it might be this: the causes of war bear little relationship to the consequences. War is an imperfect and unpredictable instrument of foreign policy. Most

Americans had not anticipated that the war with Spain over Cuba would open an era of American imperialism. A free Cuba became an American protectorate. The United States also acquired Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines and annexed Hawaii. That may have pleased expansionists like Theodore Roosevelt, but it did not please the Filipinos who fought the United States bitterly for their freedom.

Perhaps, the best analogy to September 11 would be the sinking of the Lusitania on May 7, 1915 off the coast of Ireland. Much like the World Trade Center, this Cunard line ship was a powerful national symbol. At over 600 feet and 30,000 tons, it reflected Britain's role as the world's great maritime power. Luxurious almost beyond description, one overawed American politician described it as "more beautiful than Solomon's Temple—and big to hold all his wives." For U-20 a German submarine the four-funnelled ship was a target of opportunity. Without warning it launched a torpedo that ripped into the ship. Eighteen minutes later the "Queen of the Atlantic" went down with "a terrible moan," killing 1,198 people including women and children, among them 128 Americans.

The rhetoric from Washington was inflamed. Former Presi-

dent Theodore Roosevelt likened the attack to piracy except on a "vaster scale of murder." America's political leaders generally saw indiscriminate killing as an act of barbarism. No matter that the Lusitania was in fact heavily laden with munitions. Attacks by submarines had no precedent in warfare. Before World War I the line between combatants and innocent civilians had remained generally clear. But in this instance and with the use of poison gases and aerial bombardment, technology shattered previous understandings about the conduct of war. In a total war the line between civilian and military disappeared. In 1915 Americans had not yet learned that lesson.

Twentieth Century American history provides other suggestive analogies. The Chinese crossing the Yalu River into Korea on October 16 and the Tet offensive in January 1968 represent intelligence failures on a par with Pearl Harbour. In these two instances the United States found itself at war with far weaker enemies. Despite that advantage it could not easily defeat its foes without great risk to its national security and the possibility that escalation would turn regional conflicts into World War III. American power proved unsuited for the task at hand. History would seem to suggest that in these instances a coherent political objective was more essential than the vast resources of the world's great superpower.

The Maine, the Lusitania, Pearl Harbor, the Chinese at the Yalu, Tet—are all imperfect analogies for the events of September 11. Still, they do have something to tell us. Each event triggered a

sense of outrage, national commitment, and moral righteousness. Yet they did not produce a plan for achieving the objectives for which war was fought. In each of those cases we did not really understand who our enemy was or for what we or they were fighting. Our noble endeavours took us in directions we never intended to go. The war with Spain left Cuba mired in poverty and corruption and the United States astride a Pacific Empire; World War I did not make the world safe for democracy nor did World War II. Victory in Korea over the Chinese would have involved the United States in "the wrong war, in the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy." As for Vietnam, an enormous commitment of human and material resources failed to achieve "peace with honor."

February 15, 1898; May 7, 1915; December 7, 1941; October 16, 1951; January 30, 1968; September 11, 2001 are all days that will live in infamy. The epic events of those days shattered deeply held assumptions about American security. They forced Americans to adopt new world views more suited to the realities of time and place. That history warns us that the world is a dangerous place. It repeats itself as tragedy for those who think they know who their enemies are or how and where they will strike.

Mark Lytle is Professor of History and Social Studies Director, American Studies Program, at Bard.



A Brooklyn rooftop view, after the collapse of both towers (top), Looking south, down 6th Avenue, at empty air where the Towers used to stand (bottom). Photos by Katherine Bauer and Rafi Rom

The Slippery Slope of a "War on Terrorists"

by James Chace

As the US government prepares for a "war" against terrorism (or what President Bush called a "crusade"—a term soon retracted by his spokesperson), what I find most worrisome are the unintended consequences of such a conflict. In any broad-scale military action, the nature of the war can change almost overnight. For example, in 1914, the German thrust into France, aimed at cutting off the French army on the German border, was stopped in its tracks by the French army at the river Marne. The battle of the Marne meant that what all the belligerents had thought would be a short war turned into a horrifyingly bloody long war. The greater the casualties, the more difficult it was for either side to make peace. And when the Western allies finally defeated Germany, the terms of the German surrender were excessively harsh, which in turn helped lay the groundwork for the World War Two. At this writing, we do not know the government's war plans. But history teaches us that things will not turn out as either side hopes.

In this particular instance, the gravest danger of a war against terrorists who are apparently Muslim "fundamentalists" is that an American-led crusade will radicalize large numbers of

Muslims who are not fundamentalists and who are not in sympathy with the so-called bin Laden terrorist organization. Were this to happen, the dire scenario of Islam against the West could come to pass. This would mean that the United States military could well become embroiled in Central Asia, and that instability in the Middle East would thus increase. Were such regimes as Saudi Arabia and the Arab states bordering the Persian Gulf thrown into chaos, the oil supplies, which most of the world depends on, would be threatened, and this would almost surely result in an ever deeper military involvement by the United States, Western Europe, and Japan.

Admittedly, this turn of events is a worst-case scenario. But if the American military response does not clearly destroy the terrorist organization that launched the attack against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, then the stakes will rise. Then, as Emerson so aptly put it: "Events are in the saddle, and ride mankind."

James Chace is Paul W. Williams Professor of Government and Public Law and Administration, Bard College, former editor, World Policy Journal, and former managing editor, Foreign Affairs.

When Nationalism Feels Right...

by Sarah Dopp

I was raised in a white middle-class household. My biggest concern growing up was my parents' divorce. Outside of that, nothing could hurt me. I didn't have to take care of myself if I didn't want to—I had loving parents to see to that. I read the newspaper only to see what movies were on. I ignored the "current events" portion of Social Studies class. My childhood was my childhood, and I had complete control over it—or at least, I could see everything that affected it.

Now, I am a freshman in college. And just as the comfort of carefree dependency left me, so did my sense of national safety.

I watched those World Trade Center towers crumble over and over again on CNN in the Campus Center Cinema. My eyes were glued to the big screen. I knew that was the end of my bubble of security. Though I wasn't fretting about a friend or uncle who worked in the building, I was crying for the national loss.

Figure the average American person knows 30-50 people on a

fairly close level—this includes extended family. Add in somewhere between 100 and 1,000 acquaintances. Multiply that by the estimated 6,000 casualties. This is how many people

are mourning. This is how widespread our actual, concrete grief is.

Suddenly, all I can feel around me is a great desire to band together and bomb the hell out of anyone who harbors terrorists. I listen to conversations around me and I hear the words "war" and

"draft." I leaf through news articles, trying to catch up on 18 years of national foreign policy history, but I still don't understand enough. I don't understand why groups try to hurt other groups, and why countries try to change each other, and why there has to be a bully for the world to function smoothly.

To me, it all seems like a playground argument (yes, I'm bringing this back to childhood again). One person has all the best stuff, and thinks he's better than everyone else. And someone else gets

mad, and breaks his favorite toy. And so he responds by getting all the other kids to gang up on him...but on the playground, by this point, someone's mom separates them all and gives them each a time-out.

I was grateful when I grew past the stage of my peers immaturely sabotaging each other. Now I'm disgusted to see the world superpowers doing that.

With my childhood kicked out from under my feet two-fold, I'm forced to be an American in a way I never wanted to be before. I love my country. I love the safety it's brought me for 18 years. I love my fuel-inefficient car and my expensive laptop. I love my IRA and my one-hour Wal-Mart photo lab. I love my freedom to write this article. But I don't love immaturity with power. And I don't love this persistent fear that power will, in fact, corrupt horribly. As for my profoundly different concept of the world and my place in it, I have mixed feelings. I'm more aware, but I'm also more aware.

And I know one thing for sure: Someone out there, whether it's Bush or Bin Laden, should have a mom saying "go to your room."

Sarah Dopp is a student in her first year at Bard.

...And When it Doesn't

by Jonah Weiner

The image of the Twin Towers hemorrhaging smoke and then dropping in straight grey columns floored me, literally. My mouth was wide and my hands clutched at my head for maybe 15 minutes straight. The shock resonated unbearably that day, I felt set upon from all sides, from innumerable angles; tremors have persisted since. The explosions, the collapse, images of people jumping down Murray Street, up Church, alongside City Hall park, across the Brooklyn Bridge, walls on 14th street covered with photographs of the missing—all hit me as a violent disruption in something intensely personal, worked painfully through an incomprehensible moment of staggering death.

What was threatened, what was disrupted, what came to my mind? A construction of Home, having grown up in New York; the emotional condition of my parents (I knew they were safe, at least); A reliance on the City in understanding myself that I didn't know I'd developed: what I saw on television was a familiar, living, breathing corpus, not only damaged but affronted, hurt.

The skyline is the view from my living room at home. My reaction to September 11th may involve a feeling of wounded National safety and pride in some way (I've certainly asked "how could this happen here?" etc.),

but the Nationalistic line—an ideology summed up for me so perfectly in the vulgarity of so many yellow ribbons, so many American flags tied to cars—is too facile, too insensitive. It's not mine, it's not really anyone's.

This attack was not a matter of a poorer nation or group attacking a richer one out of jealousy, out of opposition to principles of democracy, nor out of something so alien to "our way of life" that it can only be made sense of as evil. What you recognize in this situation is that such a simple schematic can't possibly work, that what's involved is a challenge to the concepts of "nation," to the distinction between soldiers and civilians, to the distinction between hegemonic acts of brutality and those that come under the adjective, political through and through, "terrorist."

We clutch for points of stability in times of crisis. They can, I guess, come from anywhere. It's strange, disheartening, and unfortunate, though, that some of us find ourselves clutching with such gross righteousness at unchallenged signs of Americanness, whether they be aggressive sports-rally chants of "U-S-A" or a somehow vastly more disturbing counterpart, "expensive laptops" and IRAs.

Jonah Weiner is a student in his senior year at Bard.

When Home is Blocks from Ground Zero

by Azikiwe Mohammed

When I heard about the World Trade Center I had the same reaction everyone else in America had. I was disgusted. I was surprised. How could this happen to America on American soil in what we all thought was peace time? But the Pentagon is so well defended, how could they be hit? All of those people knew at least one other person that is now deprived of their friend. From the initial impact of the news I couldn't function normally for quite a while and writing this I still grasp for words. Even though I was grief stricken, something hadn't quite hit home. When this catastrophe became real for me was when I went home and put hands on the people I loved most. Making tangible what seemed to be a bad Hollywood film was number one on my priority list.

The day it happened everything was shut down, so I took the first train I could get on the day following and tried to get back to where I needed to be; Tribeca.

I live on North Moore Street approximately eight blocks from the World Trade center, consequently my neighborhood has been hit hard. There are blockades preventing nonresidents from

getting anywhere and residents have to show identification showing where they live. There are no cars on the streets, they have all been towed. The only cars left are the ones that have been demolished or military vehicles. Tribeca is now a military base. It teems with Hummers camouflage and abbreviations from FBI, to the NYPD on down to some that I had never seen before. The streets smelled like sulfur and there was a coating of dust on nearly everything. I didn't have proper identification in order to get past the police lines so the officer posted at the barricade was giving me a hard way to go. I only had a bill addressed to me with my address on it, and my old high school id card proving that I was the person the bill was addressed to. He kept on saying it wasn't valid and my argument was that I had been let past before with it. He then said that the other officer must not have cared that this was a war time. This was the Wednesday that it happened. Bush had yet to call us to war as he did this past Saturday, everything was still in the air but the officer still said that it was war time. I took a look at my neighborhood that moment



Smoke from the crash spreads across the horizon, above a closed Manhattan-bound L Train stop.

and put together all of the fragments that added up to an ugly picture. Tribeca was officially a war zone. No matter how much we tried to ignore it, there was no denying the military presence or the scent in the air that smelled like bad news. It is time like this when I love my home the most. Times when there is no good in the foreseeable future and the sky is tinged dark that Tribeca pulls together and rises from the rubble. At about one in the morning when me and my friend Willy were walking home we noticed a truck in front of her house. It turns out

that it was donations to the Salvation army and they needed help unloading. I saw all of my neighbors that night if not lifting, doing something helpful for no other reason than they knew it needed to be done and their hearts were aching to help. This is how the entire neighborhood was. The majority of the stores that were open were open with free coffee and sandwiches for rescue workers, there was applause whenever a uniformed man left the scene, the sheer amount of goodwill exhibited that night was enough to, well enough to bounce back in the face

of adversity, and it also served as a mirror for the rest of our countries response to this tragedy. We pulled together and flooded the volunteer organizations with so much help they had to turn people away.

My life is forever changed along with the lives of the rest of America, but if each neighborhood shows half as much heart as Tribeca has in the face of time to come, than I have faith that all will work out marvelously.

Azikiwe Mohammed is a student in his first year at Bard.

Statement from Scholars of Islam

JONATHAN BROCKOPP

Statement from the steering committee and members, Section for the Study of Islam; Statement from scholars of the Islamic religion

We are grief-stricken at the horrifying events of this past week. Yet as scholars of the Islamic religion, we must take time from our grief, and the counseling of our students, to help prevent the continuing persecution of Muslims on American soil. The attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center are nothing short of murder. Those office workers did nothing wrong, nothing to deserve such a terrible fate, and the murder of innocents can never be justified and must not be tolerated. Anger and frustration at the death of these men and women are completely understandable and shared by us all, yet that anger must not be directed at individuals utterly innocent of these terrible crimes.

We have heard and witnessed many reports of verbal and physical attacks against Muslims (and people who were thought to be Muslims) throughout the U.S., and Muslims have been warned to stay home or to avoid wearing traditional dress. Our own Muslim students, many of whom come from South Asia, Africa or the Middle East, are fearful of what may happen to them in the days to come. Particularly distressing is the fact that many American Muslims have fled to the United States, seeking a haven from intolerant regimes in Kosovo, Afghan-

istan or Iraq. For them now to face intolerance and violence here is an abuse of our Nation's most deeply cherished beliefs. Likewise, many of our Muslim students have only just arrived in this country, seeking here new hope and solutions for the poverty and violence they face at home.

Statements of hate or racial slurs are not a part of the American way, and we join President Bush and others calling on all Americans to respect the rights of Muslim Americans. Further, we urge people of good faith everywhere to reach out to Muslim neighbors. Churches, synagogues and temples should hold interfaith services of mourning, arrange for pot luck dinners together and work to heal the rifts that recent events have caused. Muslims from overseas should be invited to tell their stories. We should learn about the poverty and authoritarian regimes that they have fled, not to increase our pride in the United States, but to learn ways we can help alleviate the social and political diseases that cause disaffected young men to see Muslim extremists as leaders. We believe that education is the antidote to further violence on both sides.

American Muslims are good neighbors, devoted to their families and to following God's commands to do good works. There are

now some eight million Muslims in the United States, and mosques are to be found in most every major city. The overwhelming majority are peace-loving human beings who share the shock and despair of all Americans. They know that terrorist acts in the name of Islam are a perversion of their most sacred beliefs, and the actions of a few should not characterize the whole.

"Only 20% of all Muslims are Arabs (and about 50% of all Arab-Americans are Christian). Most are from the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia or Africa."

With over 1 billion adherents, Islam is the second-largest religion in the world after Christianity. Like Christians and Jews, Muslims believe in one God who has sent a series of prophets into the world "to command the good and forbid the evil." Jesus is revered in the Qur'an, the scripture of Islam, as are Abraham, Moses and the virgin Mary. According to Muslims, the Qur'an was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad some 600 years after Jesus' birth. It was written in Arabic, and Arabic is still the religious language of Islam. But only 20% of all Muslims are Arabs (and about 50% of all Arab-Americans are Christian). Most are from the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia or Africa.

Although many Muslims might differ with Israeli policy, Muslims do not hate Jews; rather Muslims honor Jews and Christians as fellow recipients of "the book", God's revelation to all

humankind. In fact, the Qur'an commands all Muslims "If they incline toward peace, then you should too!" Suicide is utterly forbidden in Islam, and war must be declared by the State, not by individuals. These injunctions explain clear statements by the governments of Syria, Saudi Arabia and Libya denouncing Tuesday's attacks. Radical groups like Hamas have also denounced it, along with the Palestinian leadership. Such political statements must be taken seriously as they are backed up by all major religious authorities, from the Rector of al-Azhar University to the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia, who forbid suicide missions, especially terrorist attacks against civilians. Just this past Friday, Sheikh Mohammed Sayyed al-Tantawi of Al-Azhar, the highest institution in Sunni Islam, denounced the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. In his weekly sermon to thousands of worshippers in Cairo, he said: "Attacking innocent people is not courageous; it is stupid and will be punished on the day of judgment." Sheikh Tantawi added "It's not courageous to attack innocent children, women and civilians. It is courageous to protect freedom, it is courageous to defend oneself and not to attack." Likewise, President

"Let us now join together as Americans and respond to this act of hatred with compassion and understanding, reaching out to our Muslim neighbors and stopping the cycle of violence."

Mohammad Khatami of Iran in an official statement said: "On behalf of the Iranian government and the nation, I condemn the hijacking attempts and terrorist attacks on public centers in American cities which have killed a large number of innocent people."

As scholars of religious traditions, we observe that religious symbols are used for political motives all over the world in Hindu, Christian, Jewish, and Muslim traditions. However, we must critically distinguish between politically motivated deployment of religious symbols and the highest ideals

that these traditions embody. Just as most would regard bombers of abortion clinics to be outside the pale of Christianity, so the actions of these terrorists should not be accepted as representing Islam in any way.

As Tuesday's events gradually shift into the past, the horror of what has occurred becomes even clearer. Many of us have been hit personally by these attacks; we grieve, we cry and we search for answers. Let us now join together as Americans and respond to this act of hatred with compassion and understanding, reaching out to our Muslim neighbors and stopping the cycle of violence.

Jonathan Brockopp is an assistant professor of Religion.

When Normalcy Becomes the Most Difficult Goal

by Jim Eigo

September 11th was a Tuesday, and I order ice cream on Tuesdays. I order big tubs for Kline, B&J pints and "novelty ice creams" for down at DeKline.

By the time I got to work, I was just starting to understand what I was hearing on the radio. A jumble of information; airline crashes and a fire in the World Trade Center. I went straight into the dining room, where I, along with about 75 or so students were staring in horror and disbelief at images that, at this point, have been tattooed on our collective memory.

Everyone in the room looked glazed. I think we were all sort of waiting for Orson Welles' voice to break in to announce that this was some overwhelming follow-up hoax to "War of the Worlds."

"I remember my boss coming in at one point. He watched the TV for a few minutes, looked at me and said quietly, 'We have to keep busy. We have to make sure everything is all right.'" The look on his face was the same look of shock that could be read on all of our faces. The look in his eyes told me, "I don't know how either, but we just have to try..." And we did...

The next few days were pretty surreal. The flip, "How you doin'?" was replaced by a more inquisitive and genuine, "How are you?" You didn't have to turn on the TV for stories of loss or fear of loss. I spoke to some students that I knew were from the city. "You get in touch with everybody?" "Yeah, finally.." or "No." and one very depressing "I just keep thinking of more people to call, you know...?"

In some ways, this has been positive. This already close-knit campus community, I feel, has pulled even closer together. It hasn't seemed like the nationalistic togetherness so often caused by a common enemy, such as the sentiment we see sweeping

across our country now. What I have seen on this campus, what I have heard of other people experiencing is something I feel our world is sorely in need of, and that is empathy. Our community is very diverse. Here we have students from Manhattan, from Minnesota, from emerging democracies around the world, as well as Muslim and non-Muslim students of middle-eastern descent. Each of our experiences and opinions are as varied as our backgrounds. It is impossible not to be affected by this. Whether you have spoken to one person, two people, or two hundred, each time you hear something from another perspective, it helps us to mold, to temper our own understanding of this situation. Isn't that what we need

as individuals, as a nation, as a planet - to heal through more understanding?

September 11th was a Tuesday, and as silly as I felt with all that was going on, I still found myself on the phone ordering Chubby Hubby, Chunky Monkey, and Wavy Gravy. The confused pointlessness in my voice was echoed on the other end with a voice

seeming to say, "I can't believe we are still going through the motions, but OK." The landscape of the chat board was barren for a couple of days. People seemed a little less concerned with overcooked vegetables, oily pasta, and hydroponic, organic, free-range whole-wheat bagels. But things seem to be getting back to "normal." What other choice do we have? As Dr. Dylan prescribes, the only thing to do is keep on keepin' on...So the other day, when some one was trying to explain to me why we NEED a peanut butter grinder in the server, it felt a little reassuring - like everything was gonna be O.K. I certainly hope so...

Jim Eigo is manager at Kline Commons.

On Homesickness and Nausea

by Ronete Levenson

The two ailments I've identified as the most painful to deal with are homesickness and nausea. They both debilitate you and there's no immediate remedy, (especially nausea, while on a sail boat with no land in the distance). While I didn't suffer from the latter (with the exception of some Kline trip aftermaths) I was, undeniably, homesick as I began college this year. It was nothing new to me; I had always gone to summer programs and camps waiting with baited breath to depart and then upon arrival questioning my sanity as to why I had ever wanted to leave home. But, I always got through it, and at the end of the summer felt that I had accomplished something (despite my teary phone calls home threatening hunger strikes if I were forced to stay).

I don't know why I get homesick. Possibly just because I miss the company of those I love. I never realized how much affec-

tion meant to me until I had to go without it. Having to deal with new faces in a strange environment, not knowing where my next class was, but too shy to ask (even if I had wanted to ask the ever-present lump in my throat would have prevented it). Looking to the ground as I walked to hide the tears in my eyes, I wished I could once again be in my own bed with my dog and a clean shower nearby. Another reason for my homesickness may be that when away I always feel a lack of control. When I am near my family, I hold the belief, albeit misguided, that I have the ability to protect them. At college I tried relying upon phone calls to deceive me into believing that they were closer than they actually were.

One day, phone calls offered no solace. The phone lines all over Manhattan were down and I wasn't able to reach of any of my family members. That day was Tuesday, the 11th of Sep-

tember. After hearing the news of the attack upon the World Trade Center, my world slowly crumbled as my fears came alive. For several hours I walked around not quite sure what to do with myself. I gazed upon the red faces of my fellow students. I blinked back tears when I was approached, feigning stability. I couldn't eat, I couldn't sleep, and I couldn't think. I was utterly dazed.

Although I can't count my blessings enough for the health of my family members, unfortunately not all friends made it out okay. I don't know what I would've done without the support of faculty members and friends who stood by my side and lent me their open arms and hearts, (not to mention their cell phones). When asked what I think should be done in retaliation, I'm confounded. I just don't know. All I question is who believes they have the right to pull apart families, crush hearts, and ruin lives?



Over the course of several all-night vigils, Union Square found itself decorated with candles, flowers, flags and photographs. Photo by Rafi Rom

Americanism and Humanitarianism

by Alexandra Regala

The tragic events that occurred in Manhattan only a week ago are starting to produce the common aftereffects that come hand in hand with the loss of innocent lives. These aftereffects involve the formation of attitudes that contain hopes to fight back and retaliate in violence. However, we should look at these events in a broader, larger view (a humanitarian one as opposed to a purely American one—a lesson for humankind not limited to just the here and now, but rooted in a desire for genuine transformation of human society for a better future for all peoples, that rejects the cycle of violence which perpetuates violence ad nauseum) and one that is not jingoistic, but more rational as well as intellectual.

You may have noticed that assistance is given primarily to Western European countries; wherever and whomever else it may be given to, it emanates from national interests as defined by the state—this is still the existing paradigm, where all nation states make decisions on that basis....It is this definition of US national

interest, as translated into foreign policy—particularly in countries of color in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America—that has resulted in untold suffering for other peoples, which is responsible for so much hatred and anti-US feeling in those countries. Surely, you haven't forgotten that just about every monster and dictator practicing repression and oppression was created and propped up by the US, as per their definition of national interest over time (Sukarno, Suharto, The Shah of Iran, Marcos, Mahatir, Noriega, etc. and yes, even Saddam Hussein were US creations at a time when they needed a strongman against Khomeini in Iran). I see history through a whole expanse of time and fabric of patterns rather than isolated incidents—nationalist themes, of whatever nation-state, simply do not appeal to me, because this is an archaic institution that has served its time and should pass into oblivion, as far as I am concerned. As Einstein said, "Nationalism is the measles of mankind!" Terrorism is abominable, for the

blood of ordinary innocents is shed, but until one understands why anyone or anything is the target of terrorism, one has failed to address the problem. Vested interest groups will use the emotionalism and insanity of the moment to promote their interests, and, yet again, the unthinking majority plays right into their hands. I prefer to see sanity and compassion rule.....and yes, the more rabid and redneck comments I heard from the radio stations: "While we're at it, why don't we bomb everybody that doesn't think like us".....or the Pakistani woman (an American of color) in NY who was run down by someone looking to hit back.....these convince me that a larger perspective and picture is needed, an opportunity to learn from and initiate meaningful paradigm shifts.....the "we" / "them", "winners" / "losers" mentality is too juvenile and un-evolved for me to comprehend.....

Alexandra Regala is a student at Bard.

The skyline as seen from New Jersey. Normally the Twin Towers are visible through the gaps. Smoke, still issuing from the wreckage, is faintly visible and marks the spot.
photo by Vincent Valdmanis



Radio Giant Bans Judas Priest, Frank Sinatra citing "violent imagery"

VINCENT VALDMANIS

The nation's largest radio broadcaster and concert promoter suggested to its stations last week that they pull 150 popular songs from their playlists in response to the terrorist attacks three weeks ago.

Clear Channel Communications, owner of 1,213 radio stations and 19 television stations in the U.S., sent to its program directors a list of condemned songs that includes Savage Garden's "Crash and Burn", The Doors' "The End", and the Talking Heads' "Burning Down the House."

The list tilts heavily toward classic rock and folk rock as well as contemporary metal and alternative. Most of the songs all have death as a theme, use violent imagery, or contain the words "bomb," "fire," or "airplane."

Some songs on the list, such as Frank Sinatra's "New York, New York" and Louis Armstrong's "What a Wonderful World," have been defended, with the argument that they are dissimilar to more direct material like Mudvayne's "Death Blooms" and Judas Priest's "Some Heads Are Gonna Roll," also on the list.

Internet newsgroups, citing Clear Channel's decision to blacklist all songs by Rage Against the Machine, are charging the company with jingoism and censorship. Because of its size the Texas-based company is also being criticized for creating defacto FCC broadcast rules.

Clear Channel CEO Mark Mays responded in a press release by emphasizing that station managers' compliance with the list is voluntary and "even some movie companies have altered their release schedules in light of the mood in America today."

Few are heartbroken, however, over the removal of Alanis Morissette's "Ironic."

Discrimination and the 9/11 Fallout

by Jennifer Jimenez

This is a time in which so many emotions plague us all—sorrow, pride, uncertainty, fear, frustration, and misunderstanding. Although we may have very unique perspectives on the situation, it is an important time for dialogue and action—to share our thoughts and listen to the voices of others. While varying opinions may bring both insight and dissonance to our environment, we must remember that this is an environment that values learning and thinking. This learning and thinking is best utilized with an open mind, one that not only challenges one another's views, but challenges our own beliefs as well.

The media shares images of hate crimes and other incidents targeting Muslims, Arabs, and others mistaken to be part of those communities. They have been told to "go home." For some, fear has overridden the desire to step out-

side of the safety of their homes. Places of worship have been targeted. Mosques have been vandalized. How easily we forget that the original inhabitants of this land are the American Indians and that if we should expect anybody to go home, it would be all of us as descendants of immigrants. How easily we forget that one of the foundations of this country was freedom of religion. Historically, this country has been comprised of people who had left their homelands because of religious persecution—who sought religious freedom. In this modern-day land of "justice and liberty," no one should have to fear leaving their homes because of who they are, the way they dress, or the things they believe. At this institution of higher education in particular, we must support diverse ideas and schools of thought, various religions, or the lack thereof—all

those things that make our Bard community unique among others. Our acceptance of difference must not be limited to our campus community, but should extend to all the people and places that comprise the various facets of our lives.

The events of September 11th affect us all. There has never been a greater opportunity for us to use tragedy as a means to come together and support one another. As a new member to this community, I hope that we use this common thread to our advantage, by playing an active role in denouncing hate, supporting those most in need, and finding ways to unite our diverse community.

We have all been discriminated against or persecuted at some point in our lives. What we must remember is that we are all people, we are one community and we need to stand together now

more than ever...now that some have sought to break us apart. As a gay, and a Black man, James Baldwin endured his own share of hate and persecution. In times like these I find his words most fitting:

"Some of us, white and black, know how great a price has already been paid to bring into existence a new consciousness, a new people, an unprecedented nation. If we know, and do nothing, we are worse than the murderers hired in our name. If we know, then we must fight for your life as though it were our own—which it is—and render impassable with our bodies the corridor to the gas chamber. For, if they take you in the morning, they will be coming for us that night."

Jennifer Jimenez is Bard's Assistant Dean of Students and Director of Multicultural Affairs.

We Must Come Together and Speak Out!

by Phinn Markson

We spent our Monday night at Vassar College with like-minded students from Smith, and SUNY New Paltz listening to Leslie Feinberg. What was initially planned as a talk about unity turned into so much more, as most things have because of September 11th. A call for action has been made and it is not the typical separation of grassroots organizations, and other minority groups, but a true call for solidarity. We can no longer be various sub-groups of the minority population, it is time to become one minority and act together for our common future not just as people of the United States, but instead as people of the world.

On Saturday the 29th of September, there was a demonstration in Washington. We cannot let this be the first war of the year; instead let us make it the first time in this century that all people act together for the common good. We were not alone; students, professor, and the community were with us. This is our future, more important than the volleyball, or tennis game, or dare I even say it, that paper you have due on Monday. This is a better reason for not doing your work than the usual excuse that consists of drinking, getting high, and any other form of procrastination that you usually find. Act now to stop war and racism. This is the international A.N.S.W.E.R.

"Unless we stop President Bush and NATO from carrying out a new, wider war in the Middle East, the number of innocent victims will grow from thousands

to tens of thousands and possibly more. A new wider US and NATO war in the Middle-East can only lead to an escalating cycle of violence. **War is not the answer.**

We must also act against racism. Arab American and Muslim people in the United States, in Europe, and elsewhere, as well as other communities of color, are facing racist attacks and harassment in their communities, on their jobs and at mosques. Anti-Arab and anti-Muslim racism is a poison that should be repudiated.

The US government is attempting to curb civil liberties and to create a climate in which it is impossible for progressive people to speak their minds. The Bush administration is attempting to take advantage of this crisis to militarize US society with a vast expansion of police powers that is intended to severely restrict basic democratic rights.

On September 29th, tens of thousands of people had planned to demonstrate against the Bush administration's reactionary foreign and domestic policy and the IMF and World Bank. In light of the current crisis, with its tragic consequences for so many thousands of people, we refocused the call for our demonstration to address the immediate danger posed by increased racism and the grave threat of a new war. We call on people to continue to demonstrate around the world.

Please hear this call because this is our future and we are all working for it. We cannot hide or separate ourselves any further. This is too important.

Civil Liberties in a Time of Crisis: Don't Tread on Me!

by Rafi Rom and Vincent Valdmanis

America has a troubling history of allowing its tradition of dissent to ring hollow during times of great crisis. Already the Bush administration has openly endorsed policies that would no doubt restrict our civil liberties. But what is equally disturbing is the lack of tolerance from the progressive camp towards those who utter differing opinions.

Unfortunately, debate is unwelcome in times like these. The implication is that it is weak, cynical, and unpatriotic. Bill Maher, host of "Politically Incorrect," was recently roundly admonished by White House spokesman Ari Fleisher for poking fun at Bush. "The reminder is to all Americans that they need to watch what they say, watch what they do, and that this is not a time for remarks like that," snapped Fleisher.

This icy response to disagreement was also alarmingly present at Saturday's rally at Freedom Square. Activists fighting for the voiceless descended upon a man in a University of Nebraska sweatshirt who held a sign reading "Support your own president or get out. Back your own country." "You're out of your fucking mind," said one protester. "I want you to leave," announced another woman. Later one obviously mentally ill man waving a placard demanding the end of the "foreskin holocaust" was cornered by protesters and scolded. An anti-state protestor declared that someone should have the police arrest the man. A security volunteer told those, lecturing the man to

"please not engage in any type of dialogue" because "it perpetuates [this sort] of behavior."

The message of the progressive protester and Ari Fleisher is the same: now is not the time for dissent. Either you blindly follow the flag, or you burn it. Where is the middle ground in times of crisis?

We have often been critical of the policies of our government. Yet we must also be critical of the intolerant elements of a movement that is attempting to create a more open society around the world. Protesters cannot righteously defend causes of anti-racism, anti-war, and anti-exploitation without safe guarding the civil liberties that guarantee the right to protest. To a great degree, we must be tolerant of intolerant speech; and as we demand accountability and free exchange from our government, so too must we allow our own political movements to be challenged by the public.

Now that our president is calling for a covert war on a shadowy and borderless enemy, the need to be candid and forthright could not be greater. With the Congress, the military, and the nation standing undivided behind him, the president has been extended carte blanche to advance missile defense, tax cuts, court-appointments, and foreign policy in the name of defeating terrorism. Now more than ever is the appropriate time for a constructive, dissenting voice.

Dialogue Needed to Address Terrorism

by Bernard Geoghegan

In the coming response to terrorism, Americans must reject assertions that unity demands acquiescence before voices advocating unqualified commitment to any singular national response. As the framers of the constitution recognized, it is through internal debate that we identify the best course for mounting a defense of our principles and our nation.

One goal of this debate should be to reach beyond jingoism and use September eleventh's vile attacks as an opportunity to demonstrate our deserved status as a world leader. Recent months have witnessed our diminishing stature abroad as America demonstrated its lack of commitment to talks between North and South Korea, the ABM treaty, the Kyoto Accord, and The World Conference Against Racism. It is unclear how or if these choices have eroded American credibility, but it will be wise to listen more closely to our allies in the coming months. The support of foreign governments will prove vital to pursuing

American interests, and our ability to gauge the needs and concerns of other nations may be the most vital component of shoring up international support.

America should foster non-violent responses to terrorist violence. There is an urgent need for international conversation regarding the causes of and appropriate responses to terrorism. As attacks in Russia, Spain, and elsewhere have demonstrated, terrorism is not monopolized by any religious or ethnic group, but its unfortunate prevalence can become an occasion for working together—already recent events have prompted a cease-fire between Palestine and Israel. Additionally, restoring the funds recently cut from the Agency for International Development and the State Department will indirectly invest in anti-terrorism and America's long-term security.

Even conceiving of our response to terrorism as a "war" may set conceptual parameters that ultimately hinder our

response. In the fight against faceless, stateless, and loosely organized coalitions, tanks and missiles will prove inferior to conversation and negotiation with our friends. Nations including Jordan, Egypt, and Pakistan have shown a willingness and ability to help counter terrorism, but they have also stressed the need for measured responses that neither indiscriminately punish the citizens of so-called "rogue" nations nor neglect the goodwill exhibited by nations hopeful to work with America. Only dialogue addressing the social circumstances that cultivate terrorism will ultimately surmount the problem.

By designating terrorists as mindless "haters of democracy and freedom" or irrationally driven agents of evil, we blind ourselves to their genuine motives and prevent ourselves from identifying future threats. This assault was planned and deliberate, attacking the Pentagon and the World Trade Center, the quintessential symbols of our military and economic

might. Within this attack is a message that must be scrutinized to discern the character and cause of terrorist opposition. For many, America is thought of as the nation that spearheads an Iraqi embargo which has cost half a million Iraqi children their lives due to malnutrition, medical shortages, and other basic privations. Those attuned to this humanitarian catastrophe are comparing it with the mounting death toll in New York and in some cases questioning the distinction between terrorism and state-sanctioned embargoes that comparably result in decimating civilian populations without effectively challenging any ruling regime or military target. The United States must take thoughtful action to discourage such comparisons.

Recall, it was not long ago that America used its power to strengthen the hand of rebel Islamic extremists within Afghanistan, nor was it very long ago that we lent our support to Saddam Hussein's military in a war against

Iran. As our president talks of war and our troops assume stances of preparedness, thoughtful citizens are troubled by recent polls indicating that most Americans support military response, even at the cost of thousands of innocent lives. The most cowardly and pernicious aspect of the attacks in New York is their target: unwarned civilian populations. Will America pursue a similar course?

We must scrutinize politicians' rhetoric and the frenzied exhortations of media commentators, not allowing patriotic fancy to obscure the dimensions of this crisis. Ultimately, by conceptualizing our nations' interests in increasingly wider spheres, we can overcome terrorism and realize a greater unity preserved not through economic and military coercion, but rather through democratic and magnanimous enlightenment.

Bernard Geoghegan, class of 2001, now lives in Poughkeepsie.

The Attacks from a European Perspective

by Tatjana von Prittwitz

Wake up! The search for the truth: the winding path of self-examination

Every day Master Zuigan used to call out to himself, "Oh, Master!"

And he would answer himself, "Yes?"

"Are you awake?" he would ask.

And he would answer, "Yes, I am."

"Never be deceived by others - any day, any time."

"No, I will not."

These words spoken by a Buddhist master 1,200 years ago resound in this troubled world, in which our idea about truth is often mediated by many layers of processed information. The many dead and the startling images of the crumbling symbols of wealth and power affected the whole society, and everybody shares the burden of sorrow and grief over the lost lives from over 60 nations. This scar will heal differently for each and every one of us and so differs our way of dealing with this wound. However, this process is influenced by all sorts of parameters: the individual relationship to the victims, the degree of intimacy that we hold to ourselves, our immediate surrounding, a dominating impact of the media, and a more general atmosphere of the country's attitude towards the trauma. Most often we are not aware of these intertwining dimensions and we think we are freely leading our lives, whereas they are actually dictated by unrecognized emotions, subtle cultural and political dominations, and an eerie pushing by what everybody else does. Only a step backwards can help to gain a more distant overview and a more objective perspective—in order to

get closer to the heart of the matter.

As we all know, President Bush declared a crusade against the responsible terrorists and the countries that harbor this terrorism, and the American strength is paraded these days in almost all middle eastern countries—enough to turn not only Afghanistan cowardly. This is at least the old and familiar strategy handed down from the former presidents, as shown for example with the thousands upon thousands of Iraqis killed in the Gulf war. Some argue that now the moment has come to reply once again with a bombardment; others desire more peaceful negotiations. The aim, to defeat global terrorism, presents itself clearly, although historical turning points are often not directed by clear-minded decisions but rather by a conglomerate of economical, political, and also emotional restraints. Many Americans want to have their thirst for revenge thoroughly satisfied; the EU cautions that this would be a fight against terrorism not the Islam. According to what you want to hear, you can tune into every imaginable scenario: outrageous accusations by Falwell or profound reflections by Chomsky (www.zmag.org); people who see this as a just payback (www.workingforchange); those who hope that Americans are now becoming more politically aware and integrated in the global picture (Francis Fukuyama); and others who recognize our greed for oil as the crux of the issue (www.nrdc.org). And the news abroad often emphasizes other, delicate topics: the American support of the Taliban during the Afghanistan war against Russia, and their training of the fanatics

with weapons delivered by the CIA; the US support for Israel's military occupation and the continuous devastation of Iraq as a result of sanctions. It can become difficult to distinguish between opinions and facts, documentation and psychological dependencies. For example, the authenticity of the images of the Palestinians' joy about the disaster has been questioned. This raises the question: on what ideas of reality are we building our beliefs (truths, for which some are ready to die)?

In order to understand what has happened, we must bring a critical mind and inquire about the background coherences, and a curious mind, for instance by feeling inspired to learn more about a foreign culture. We must get a sense of the array of possible reactions to this action and ponder over alternatives. Who would like to be reduced to an unconscious pattern of impulses that dictates our behavior? This is the point when we have to ask ourselves: "Am I awake?" "Do I understand which parameters constitute my attitude, and do I maintain the flexibility to change my theories?" And this definition of the self-position can only be defined in response and in dialogue with those around us. We need to listen, take other peoples' concern seriously and not shut down when we don't agree. Do we want to grow or to limit ourselves? If you vote for ignorance, find out for yourself what the isolation does to you. If you are longing for indiffer-

ence, reflect on what inspires you. We have to start with ourselves in order to understand the mechanisms of the world, because along with this self-examination come insights into the whole range of human condition, and world politics just reflect these games of self-assertion.

To be in America these days as a foreigner from Europe is not easy. How must it even be as a Muslim, or coming from Afghanistan? The overpowering presence of the American flag, often tied to an unquestioned patriotism, makes me, having learnt from the German history, uncomfortable.

FAZ, one of the most renowned German newspapers, the lack of an open and informative discussion in the American media. "The unanimity of the sanctimonious and reality distorting rhetoric of almost all politicians and commentators in the [American] media in these last days, is not worthy of a democracy." During heated discussions in this country I realized the cultural differences in tackling the current situation and it was startling to me, to which degree the foreigners questioned the obvious and engaged themselves in historical and political reflections. This is a sensitive position to be in: to receive information from abroad, which few want to acknowledge here, and to address issues without making the dialogue partner feeling criticized or offended. American self-esteem is high, if not to say unbroken—

"we are the greatest nation on earth"—and being from Germany I learnt to be skeptical when such unexamined claims are made. What would be a way to address American self-centeredness and not sound arrogant myself? How could we all take this crisis as a chance to learn something about ourselves and others?

The dependency between all people of this world has become too interconnected to be able to isolate oneself. Once the absolute necessity of a universal integration is realized; and a taste for authenticity starts to manifest itself, there is no other choice than to strive for a life in honesty and respect for all sentient and insentient beings. Our explosive world situation, which could bring an end to all our hopes, desires, fears and angers, shouldn't be about arguments such as blame, guilt, etc., as there is no country on the face of this earth which hasn't created bloodsheds. It is now up to all of us who take the gift of their lives as something precious and valuable to work on a set of moral and ethical values—established in agreement with common sense after long processes of diplomacy and education (and security systems)—that leave enough freedom for different beliefs and life styles. It might take a long time and certainly impresses less at first glance than a big bang, but it certainly has a lot more staying power and it might be our only, if not last, chance. Therefore, not to be deceived by others means to take responsibility for one's own life—and for those of others. How awake are you?

Tatjana von Prittwitz works at the Center for Curatorial Studies.

Around Annandale

Important Fellowship Information

The Watson Fellowship offers a year of independent study abroad.

Deadlines: October 15 – Statement of intent (one page)
November 2 – Full application

The Fulbright offers a year of research in a foreign country

Deadline: October 12 – Full application

All materials for both fellowships due at the Associate Dean's Office, Ludlow 208. Any questions please call Maureen Forrestal, Director of the Office of Career Development

URL Information: www.watsonfellowship.org; www.iie.org/fulbright

Julia Rosenbaum
Associate Dean
and Visiting Assistant Professor of Art History
voice: 845-758-7365

New Workshop on the Creative Process

Resistance and Grace: A writing-based workshop for students from all divisions exploring how we get stuck and unstuck in our creative work

Bard College now offers a new writing-based workshop for students from all divisions who feel blocked in their academic or artistic work. The workshop will be a safe but challenging place to explore the nature of both blockage and the flow of creative energy. These sessions will help each student identify the place from which their best work comes, the outside impediments to their work, and the inside resistance that they put up to their own forward movement. The aim will be to provide both experiences of dissolving resistance and practices through which students may relieve resistance on their own. Though no academic credit will be given, and little writing will be required outside of the six weekly meetings, much work will be encouraged. The workshop will be led by Dorothy Crane, CSW, Bard College Counseling Service, and Bob Seder, MA, Academic Services, writing instructor, Institute of Writing and Thinking associate. While we offer no guarantee of smoother work, it is our hope that the participants come through the workshop able to work more often with economy and grace.

The first meeting will be held on Wednesday, October 17, 7:00 PM, in the Blue Meeting Room on the second floor of the Campus Center. All interested students are welcome to attend to the first meeting. Bring your notebook and the writing implement of your choice. Pre-registration is not required. After the first meeting enrollment will be limited, and participants will be asked to commit to attending the remaining five meetings.

If you would like more information, feel free to contact Dorothy Crane, x7433.

Updated Student Government Roster Fall 2001

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Student Judiciary Board Chair: Mehnaz Rabbani (mr737)
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Planning Committee Chair: Bianca D'Allesandro (bd626)
Educational Policies Committee Chair: Katheryn Ross (kr284)

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The Budget Forum came and went. Please come next time, as there will be booze for the abusing and is actually a very important function of student government and decides matters of fund distribution. Four-Square Four-Ever. *photographs by Mike Castillo*

Phat WTC Rhymes for the 2G

submitted by Danny Gibson

We, the Flowers of Disgust, are baffled and saddened by these events.

Flowers of Disgust condemn terrorist activities of 09/11/01.

History shows that in a time of great national tragedy and/or crisis it is the job of popular entertainers across the land to sell-out and become jingoistic shills for an ill-conceived and hollow militarism. We, the Flowers of Disgust, present the Bard community with the following tight rhymes.

Thank you.

"WAR2K"

Now down at Lib'ty Plaza dey's a'cleanin' up th'bodies,

Innocent bystandas wit' malevolent jihadis,

Faces charred an' broken an' dey clothesiz turned t'rags,

Dey's a'loadin' em togetha in a thousan' body bags.

Come on an' tell me Mr. Mullah (cuz I jus' ain' undahstandin')

Why you say dat Allah's wantin' such a wiggy landin'.

You offer 'em salvation t'attack th' US nation,

An' yo' food justification fo' dey killah aviation.

I got salami in m'sammich an' th'copsiz on th'scene.

Giuliani sey th'dammich iz th'worst they's evah been.

Ma'hattan residen' sa'pushin' down there south a'street Fo'teens.

An da' presiden' (das'Bush) in town ta call in da' Marines.

Hijacker cruisin' high-up in a hijacked plane,

Gonna jack th' highest tower 'cuz he jacked-up in th'brain.

Anger pent-up an' gone. (F-fly-a-fly!) To th' Pentagon.

An' th'mournin' is on. (C-cry-a-cry!) Till th'break o'dawn.

"1-800-WTC-2BAD"

My girl Eleano'
Worked on th'top flo'
Fo' World Trade Centa Organic Grocer-ey Sto'

But dem jetfightaz to'
Thro'dem buidlinz, fo' sho'
An' that's why Eleano'
Ain't with us no mo'.

[Or possibly: An' that's why Eleano' / Jumped out th' windo'.]

"YO! GIULIANI!"

VERSE ONE:

Yo! Guiliani!
Got a hot dog on a stick!
Yo! Guiliani!
Mutha timebomb tick-tock-tick!
Yo! Guiliani!
Bruthaz downtown fleein' up!
Yo! Guilinai!
Blood floweth o'er my cup!
Yo! Guiliani!
OBL in NYC!
Yo! Guiliani!
Gotcha barkin' up 'iz tree!

CHORUS:

BOOM-BOOM-BYE!
Like tha fish to tha fry,
Witha mutha-humpin-eva-
lovin' planez in th'sky!
What*you* gonna say onna Judge-
a-ment Day?

Hey Rudy! [What?!]
CRY, BABY, CRY!!!

VERSE TWO:

Yo! Taliban!
Got issue witcho' style!
Yo! Taliban!
Been brewin' fo'quite a while!
Yo! Taliban!
Dubya gettin' on yo' case!
Yo! Taliban!
World leadaz red in th'face!
Yo! Taliban!
The true Muslim faith, y'shame!
Yo! Taliban!
Quitcha terrorist harborin' game!

HARDCORE BRIDGE:

Don'blo'ya nose;
Jus'stay on y'toez!
When th'maniakz goez
And busts'up tha'PARTY
Jus' keep it real,
Fo' a bruthaz las'meal!
When th' FAA feelz
Like closin' LAGUARDI--
A! With tha curbside check,
Out like tha dinosaur! Swab

tha deck!

Of tha warship off Manhattan!
Flushingz, tha Bronx, and
th'Isle a' Staten,
Gotta come 2-getha, unite!
Rudy, lead the fight and we

can

right the blight!

[Keep your peace.....loaded and
cocked!]



Untitled media montage by Ben Wadler, sophomore



Opinions and submissions do not necessarily reflect the beliefs of the editorial staff of the Bard Free Press. With regard to the nature of this issue, no submission responding to the World Trade Center attacks was turned away. Questions and reactions are encouraged, and should be directed to freepress@bard.edu or campus mail: Bard Free Press

Untitled

Emily Schmall

A sudden general feeling of moroseness over comes the campus as students attempt to get through to family and friends in New York and Washington D.C. Conversations are dominated by questions and speculations about who has caused this unbelievable distress to befall the nation. As in the city, the college's phone lines are crowded as everyone is clouded with uncertainty about the impact of this morning's events. Though no new promises, students hang on to every word regarding this gripping tragedy, lining themselves up along the walls of the Campus Center and Kline dining hall, anywhere a television can be accessed, hoping for word of what happens next.

The panic sets in as one newscaster makes this morning's events comparable to Pearl Harbor. The coping mechanism for many was a call home; the large makeup of the student body coming from New York State, verifying that family had been far from the two sites of assumed terrorist attack. The quiet of unknowing settled in around 2 pm, hours after the first plane had crashed into the World Trade Center. Students, staff and faculty stood transfixed around radios and t.v.s anxiously awaiting new news.

This is the second Pearl Harbor

The smoke, the colors change over

Where the world trade center used to be.

The whereabouts of the mayor and the chief of police are unknown

Something of a communication crisis

The ambassador at Taliban

Alan Greenspan is well protected

Israel and Poland have seen sharp stock market drops

The Sears Tower and the John Hancock building have closed

Terror attacks hit U.S.

United Airlines Flight 93 Airliner

Headed from Newark, New Jersey, to

San Francisco, crashed near Somerset, Pennsylvania-

Police said initial reports

Indicated no survivors.

All aircraft flights in the United States

Have been suspended.

Rumors about what were in that van were flying.

I think we have to pray.

We have no word yet what the president is doing, what he will do.

They're not able to get inside the Pentagon to actually rescue people.

New York City's in full panic alert.

Our connection to the outside world is down

Due to terrorist activity in New York City.

We wait for word on where the president's going and

Where we go from here.

Casualties are streaming at the New York City hospitals.

World wide reaction

Everyone was let off at Chambers Street.

All you can see is smoke and dust.

It's like a blizzard in July.

>From the 80th floor, they were jumping

Apparently out of desperation.

One of the survivors was having a telephone interview with Dan Rather.

They had oxygen tanks on their back

So they were going into the thick of

The vicinity.

By 11 am, Arafat has condemned what has happened,

No one is taking any credit.

Several orchestrated terrorist attacks

The number of casualties is horrific.

Hudson Valley bridges do remain open

This in some way provides assurance

But if you happen to be stuck in Boston

Without any way to get out

The magnitude is something that has us all really horrified,

We can't really quantify it

We have no word on numbers of casualties

Osama Bin Laden

One man was saved by the flash of a photographer's camera,

Giving enough light to see through the thick dust

People have been remarkably calm

This will not stand.

A very confident Bin Laden calls for attacks on the United States

What is the rationale behind targeting civilians?

At around 1:30 Guiliani said, "Be calm, evacuate lower Manhattan."

President Bush vows to hunt down those responsible

This exceeded apparently the capacities of the intelligence operation

Blame U.S. policy

The Taliban should be considered co-equally responsible for this.

Islamic Jihad, Hamas deny responsibility

This is an extraordinary, sophisticated operation, said Samuel Berger

We should be careful about jumping to certitude;

We'll know soon enough.

It is lunch hour here, and we're looking at

Madison Square Garden

Almost empty

The building started shaking, kind of moving like a wave, a Port Authority employee recalls.

Mention that crazy, pre-apocalyptic sunset we had last night.

This is a time for all of us to

Come together as one,

And realize that all of our lives have just changed, Beverly told Bard at 3.

thebardfreepress.vol3.issue2

September 11, 2001

Mikhail Horowitz

Moon dust patinas an abandoned police car. A search dog collapses, overwhelmed by the stench of so much flesh. Gleaming for just a moment in morning sunlight, a man and a woman hold hands as they drop from the 80th floor. What's left of a wheelchair smolders; what's left of a face is shrouded by faxes. Miles away, a blizzard of trading sheets papers the streets of Brooklyn. On CNN, Yasser Arafat donates blood. And two days later, at the bottom of a crushed pile of rubble, a cell phone continues to ring.

Entombed in debris at the bottom of this bad dream, someone answers the phone. The caller is a multitude—a weeping ghost of Hiroshima, a walking skeleton of Auschwitz, a starving girl in an African refugee camp, a Belfast mother who's lost both sons to car bombs, and two dead schoolboys, one Israeli, one Palestinian. They all begin talking at once, yet every word is clear as a flowing stream.

"I Know Not What..."

As all other international students, I was deeply shocked and disturbed by the events of September 11th. It was simply heartrending to see the grief of all on campus, and to know that a heavy blow has been dealt to America's sense of security, happiness and culture. I believe however, that the grief the losses generated have induced in many an increased humility towards the suffering of others, a humility that should now guide them in their response to this trauma. This sensitivity should unite and not divide the survivors. Here is a poem written 57 years ago in a country called Hungary, a piece that notwithstanding its age expresses the feelings of many of us now.

May mercy be not belated,
George (Gyorgy Toth)

"I Know Not What..." by Miklos Radnoti

I know not what to strangers this dear landscape might mean,
To me it is my birthplace, this tiny spot of green;
Ringed now with fire, it was, once, my childhood rocking me;
I grew there as a fragile branch from the parent tree;
O may my body sink back to that life-giving soil.
This land is home to me: for if a bush should kneel
Before my feet I know its name just as its flower,
I know who walks the road, whither and at what hour,
And I know what it might mean if reddening pain should fall
Dripping summer dusk down the lintel or the wall.
For him who flies above it, a map is all he sees,
This living scape of being but symbols and degrees;
The reader of the maplines has neither known nor felt
The place where the great Mihaly Vorosmarty dwelt;
What's hidden in the map? Yes, barracks, mills, and arms,
But for me crickets, oxen, steeples, quiet farms;
With field-glasses he marks the crops and industries,
But I, the trembling laborer, the forest trees,
The twittering orchards, vineprops with their tended grapes,
And the old granny in the graveyard where she weeps;
And what is targeted as rail or factory
Is just a lineman by his signal-box to me,
And children watch him wave his red flag for the guard,
And sheepdogs roll and tumble in the foundry-yard;
And in the park the traces of loves that once loved me,
The honey taste of kisses sweet as bilberry,
And on the way to school you'd not step on a crack,
Lest you'd forget your lesson, or break your mother's back;
The pilot cannot see that paving stone, that grass:
To see all this, there is no instrument or glass.
For we are guilty too, as others are,
We know how we have sinned, in what, and when and where;
But working people live here, poets in innocence,
Breast-feeding infants with their dawned intelligence,
And one day it will brighten, hid now in safety's dark,
Till peace shall write upon our land its shining mark
And answer our choked words in sentences of light.

With great wings cover us, O guardian cloud of night!

Jewish-Hungarian poet Miklos Radnoti was sent to labor camp and finally shot dead in November 1944

(Translated by Zsuzsanna Osvath and Frederick Turner)

Source: *The Lost Rider: A Bilingual Anthology*. Published by Corvina Publishers, Budapest, Hungary

Reactions from Around Campus

What Bard Students had to say about the World Trade Center attacks

...continued from page 1

ences on the day of the attacks, perhaps even more so, our memories take shape around the moment, the place, or the immediate feelings that are associated with hearing the news for the first time.

Prakirati Satasut remembers going to class that day, "I found out from my professor. I thought it was a joke." This dull, numbing shock—as Jacob Grana put it, "a complete disbelief"—seems to capture many of our initial responses.

"I most remember being in a daze," said Erin Horahan, "It was just so unreal, like a movie or a dream."

Caroline Tran described "a feeling of total confusion...of helplessness..."

"Everyone just walked around in a daze that day. People were crying, freaking out, no one understood what all of this meant," said Rachel Mahoney.

Kate Lawrence remarked, "It was just so numbing to everyone."

"It was really unreal. I didn't realize what was going on," said Sara Weisman.

"I couldn't believe it," repeated Rafael Freitas, "I still don't believe it."

Some also noted experiencing not only an emotional deadening or confusion, but also an intensity—a flash of anger or even a surge of patriotism.

Zachary Holbrook remembers an immediate "sense of fury that is unusual for me. The next day I was calm but it was something I never felt before. It was not even directed toward the people who carried out the attacks."

"I was struck by how quickly I became aggressive," said Meghan-Michele German, "and so did the people around me...I think we need to get our military in gear."

Grana said, "I couldn't comprehend how that could happen to the strongest country in the world, that we could just be brought to our knees by fanaticism."

Certainly, for many of us from New York, or with family and friends in the area, a different kind of panic and fear set in upon hearing the news. Phone lines were jammed, and some went through the day or days without a confirmation that those they cared about were safe.

Saupan Chau was "worried about her family", who live about ten blocks away from the Trade Center.

Rubbaba Ali said, "The first things I thought about were if my relatives in the city were worried about were missing or dead."

Rachel Mahoney said, "There



Defiance and mourning mix in New York City

are over six hundred people missing from my home town."

"One of my friends died," said Paul Hottenstein, "She had just started working in the World Trade Center. She was from my high school, and two years ahead of me."

"I've been thinking about what's going to happen with the war." - Rubbaba Ali

Some of us are still waiting on the missing, or for the next stages of Bush's "war on terrorism" to

unfold. Some have gone to the anti-war protests in DC, and some have placed American flags on cars or in windows. Our responses to this war, present or future, cannot be

simply reduced to whether or not we feel a part of the American "us," which Bush has pitted in opposition to "the terrorists."

"What has been preoccupying me is how much division the attacks have already caused. Some people are very much pro-war, and a minority of people are pro-peace. I think it is a division that will be hard to reconcile," said Zachary Holbrook.

"Our President has put us in a bind with the language he has been using. He's been so quick to move forward in war that I don't feel we have the choice anymore," said Jacob Grana, "I'm for retaliation but now we have no choice."

"I'm really anti-war," said Erin Horahan, "but I'm also realistic, and realistically I know that there will be some kind of retaliation."

"I've been preoccupied with the fact that we are at war, and that ultimately it's going to be our generation that has to fix this mess. But the decision to go to war was made for us by the people who orchestrated the events," said Rachel Mahoney.

"I don't understand why we need to go to war in some place, where there is no real government responsible. But knowing the US, we love to go to war against things we can't win -- like the war on

drugs," said Jesse Allen.

Peter Bixler said, "Personalized ethics ought to be nullified by one's nationalistic pride, and that's the only constructive stance anyone can have right now."

"We are going to kill a lot of innocent people," said Allison Hobbes.

"I just don't understand how the country is channeling its fear and terror into revenge." - Kate Lawrence

Within a few days of the attacks, and only increasing since war was declared on an undefined 'enemy', hate crimes have been taking place all over the country, on domestic airline flights, in grocery store parking lots, and in people's homes. Despite our positions on war, we have certainly felt fear and anger about those racialized and racist responses to the attacks.

"We have to maintain the equality of minority groups. We cannot use this as an excuse to take away their rights...It is safe for them here at Bard but in Kingston or Red Hook I'm not so sure." Prakirati Satasut said.

Maria Veits recalls the morning of September 11th, "My neighbor knocked on my door, and asked to use a phone card so she could call her boyfriend in New York, I asked her what happened, and she said, 'the fucking Arabs are bombing New York.'"

Kate Lawrence said, "I'm just shocked at what I've heard on the radio - repeated acts of violence against people identified as 'Arab'. I just don't understand."

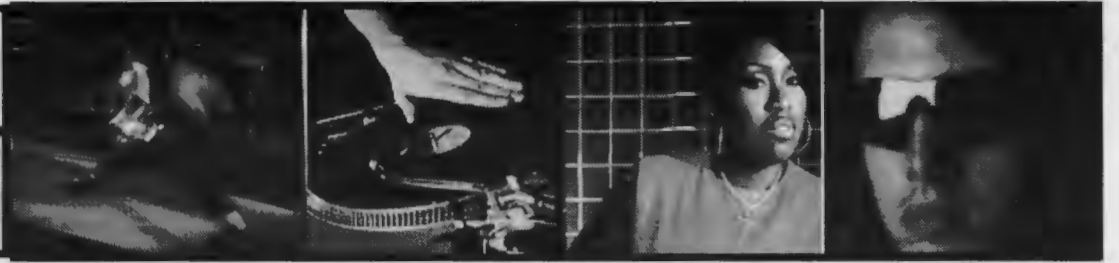
"I've been feeling insecure," said Rubbaba Ali, "I'm Muslim, and I've heard that girls wearing veils have been killed, so I'm a bit afraid."



photos by Danielle Brown, Rafi Rom, and Huffa Frobes-Cross

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Weapons Music/
theblowup.com

Though they're known to play Chelsea galleries and Wednesday nights at SPA, the ARE Weapons would place themselves at the determinedly DIY, low-fi end of the current synthesizer-based rock scene that has made art openings and dance clubs its signature stomping grounds. ARE's self-titled full-length (for a while impossible to find, now reissued and available on *the blowup.com*) is a mix of minimalist Casio-style melodies, drum machines, disembodied samples, and rhymes about knife fights, street gangs, and a stressed hand-to-mouth ethos. Which is all to say that 80s Dance Hit-quoting or intensely detailed laptop music that simulates/updates Kraftwerk—I'm thinking of acts associated with the International Deejay Gigolo label—is not what you get here. ARE Weapons decide on a smaller sound and more traditional rock and old-school hip-hop arrangements. Their most obvious (and acknowledged) influence is Suicide, but filtered through a cracked lens of hip-hop self-promotion ("You love it when the Weapons start to sing/ Always wrecking everything") and a general sense of self-irony that Alan Vega was probably without when beating up people in his audiences and singing about murder. ARE Weapons aren't, though, a Suicide parody band. They make reference to that early 80s sound in a partially tongue-in-cheek but nonetheless potent theater aimed at revitalizing a mythical New York City underground. Their image—unshaven, long-haired, wearing cut-off gloves and leather motorcycle caps—speaks to this,

as do their lyrics (see, most explicitly, "New York Muscle"). A three-song EP for the song "Street Gang," released on Rough Trade, led to an NME "single of the week," which probably means that the next ARE record will have a much less limited pressing and, most likely, a much less limited budget. And here we find the unironic success of a band so intent on painting itself as dead broke and on-the-fringes: it's not altogether illegitimate for one to think a little more money might kill their style. *Jonah Weiner*



Quasi
The Sword of God
Touch and Go

Only a matter of seconds after *The Sword of God*, Quasi's latest release (August 21st, 2001—their first on Touch and Go Records, their fifth in all) starts playing, a gargantuan lime green organism might swoop down and hit you in the chest, causing you to shriek and run for cover in the corner. While the bug is escorted outside by your braver half, the album continues, informing you that "there's nothing you can do". Alas, the winged creature will not be enthused furthermore by the scrumptious sounds of Sam Coomes' (ex-Elliot Smith, ex-Heatmiser) vocals, keyboards, and stringed instruments, or Janet Weiss' (Sleater-Kinney) drums and backing vocals. *Sword* is consistent with Quasi's format—happy, poppy, upbeat songs married (unlike the band members) with morbid, melancholy, and pointed lyrics.

On *Sword's* seventh snack, "The Curse of Having it All", Janet poignantly sings (!) "Breakdown—abandon all that you know / Breakdown—let all your bitterness go". Janet's voice here, as on "Nothing, Nowhere," brings a unique depth to *Sword*, driving

and rounding out Coomes' vocal contribution. (Authors' note—Janet should sing more).

The beginnings of a few songs do start to sound similar to past material. But despite this, the trademark tempo, punctuating bass, synth, bird calls, mythology, vocal harmonies, and bagpipes, mix with beautifully cynical lyrics to make *The Sword of God* a Quasi-satisfying listening experience.

When all is said and done, both Sam n' Janet would each rather eat a pound of raw bacon than smack their mothers in the face. *Hanna Lie*



The White Stripes
White Blood Cells
SFTRI Records

If you don't know this band then you're missing out on hard-hitting Beatles-quality rock and roll. Still riding the immense success of *De Stijl*, The White Stripes have followed up with *White Blood Cells*—an album of arguably poorer quality, but still excellent, material. Jack White's lyrics stick to his repertoire of dead loves, school time innocence and sorrow, but of course Jack still has enough time to rock out to his four chord ac/dc riffs and southern blues chops. His ex-wife (indeed, they've lied about being siblings) Meg also pounds out her 4/4 beats like a blacksmith forging some kind of massive wicked metal construction while the addition of an organ is sometimes eerily heard. Jack's voice too still exhibits an incredible range and volume.

But one thing to get straight is that there is no "Hello Operator" or "Apple Blossom" on this album; there is no immediate standout, badass single with the same catchiness. However, "Dead Leaves and the Dirty Ground" packs enough power to get your grandma raising her fist to the power chords.

"Hotel Yorba" has a southern-folk feel to it and a memorable foot-stomping chorus. "Fell in Love with a Girl" is good pop-rock. There's also an odd instrumental bit called "Aluminum" in which Jack over-over drives his amp and runs himself humming through some filters. A really minimal, sweet song called "We're Going to be Friends" is also pretty chill.

So, if you're already a fan, get this damn album. The vinyl editions come in bright cherry-red wax! And, if you don't know this band, then just get *De Stijl*. Either way, Jack and Meg want to remind you what simple post-marriage, pseudo-sibling rock and roll is all about. *Tosh Chiang*



Solex
Low Kick and Hard Bop
Matador Records

Almost all of Solex's music is constructed from samples, but I would never describe it as "sample based music," a phrase which calls to mind hip-hop probably more than anything else. Although many hip-hop artists may be moving away from sampling in the past few years, making music from other recordings was more or less the way hip-hop producers made their beats for a significant period of the genre. Often times the number of samples used in a given song would be very small and the groove would be maintained by the steady repetition of a single small recorded moment. It's this sound of an extraordinarily steady rhythm made by employing the consistently precise repetition of a piece of sound, which is so far from the sound of a Solex piece. The title track, of Solex's new album *Low Kick and Hard Bop*, opens with Elizabeth Esselink (a.k.a. Solex) shouting "Elizabeth! Elizabeth!" then a wobbly synth bass over a studding snare beat kicks in.

This repeats for a few moments before metamorphosing altogether as an over the top bluesy harmonica sample begins repeating over it. Already these two parts create an off balance rhythm. Furthermore, their cultural associations are widely disparate, ranging from early hard house and disco to modern blues rock. This would be enough to get Solex pegged as a post-Beck genre hopper, and a decidedly unhip-hop one. Yet as this song continues it, much like more or less every other song on the album, just becomes stranger and more disperse. Solex breaks from that now dull tradition of throwing a couple easily predictable if culturally diverse samples together to make an "adventurous" song (an unfortunate legacy of Beck's success). Instead, throughout *Low Kick and Hard Bop*, she continues to make unpredictable references in her choice of samples which are not brought together and stabilized by a calming 4/4 beat but are placed to create less obvious time signatures and stranger cultural, tonal, and stylistic juxtapositions. Her vocals which are also most often harmonizing with the instruments at odd intervals are rarely particularly emotive or moody but maintain the ambiguity of her compositions. Using few notes she draws out syllables in a kind of momentary droning as she sings. Out of these strange combinations Solex's songs emerge less like a series of musical quotations, so often what sample based music is heard as, but as an odd experiment in composition that tries to be informed by the styles it draws upon rather than imitate each one separately. *Huffa Frobes-Cross*

AALIYAH
1979-2001



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photo moderation in brief.

getting to know the music writers: playlists



HUFFA FROBES-CROSS

Esquivel, *Latinesque*
 Matthew Herbert, *Let's All Make Mistakes*
 Can, *Future Days*
 HO! *Roady Music from Vietnam*
 John Oswald, *Plunderphonics*
 Roy Smeck
 David Holmes, *Let's Get Killed*
 Tom Recchion, *Chaotica*
 Suicide, *s/t*
 Toby Rean & the Common People, *Outta Space*

TOSH CHIANG

The Clash, *Give em enough rope*
 Superchunk, *Come pick me up*
 Guided by Voices, *Bee Thousand*
 The Flaming Lips, *Zareeka*
 Sleater-Kinney, *Dig Me Out*
 Yo La Tengo, *And then nothing turned itself...*
 Squarepusher, *Hard Normal Daddy*
 The New Pornographers, *Mass Romanic*
 The Ginger Ninjas, *Jump Jump & the Shiny Star*
 Cornelius, *Fantasma*

JONAH WEINER

Nelly, *Country Grammar*
 Grauzone, *Die Sunrise Tapes*
 Troubleman *Mix Tape*
 Trans Am, *The Surveillance*
 The Normal, "TVOD/ Warm Leatherette" 7"
 Tuxedo Moon/Adult., "No Tears"
 Various, *No New York*
 Missy Elliot, *Miss E...So Addictive*
 Trans Am, *Surrender to the Night*
 Kool Keith, *Spankmaster*

The Fischer Art Gallery was recently host to work by 19 recently moderated photo majors. A head-on and objective style characterized most of the projects, and this more than anything seemed to connect the work of so many different artists. Space considerations mean that I will cover just those photographers and projects that I had a working knowledge of before the show.



In the front space were Sam Morgan's color landscapes and some recent digital prints. Deserted places, forests, streets, beaches are inhabited by a figure of a young man. He is usually off to a corner, sometimes far in the distance, presumably observing the same as the viewer. His shots of a couple kissing on the street go even further to show these figures as a part of a vast and complex surroundings but not necessarily the acme of the photograph. That they stand out so clearly from the blurred sidewalk crowd around them is balanced by the giant walls and signs of buildings that tower behind.

Lindsey Hoffmann's color photos depicted the type of activities that might repel one at first but in one way or another offer a sort of visceral tug. They ranged from a thin layer of dried white glue being removed from someone's face to the gutting of a fish. In a downward view, a foot slams down on a packet of ketchup,

sending the contents shooting across the frame. The colors are deeply saturated and the views are very close cropped. They read as distinct incidents, but in each a confrontation between curiosity and hesitation. All of them seemed to take you up to the point of uncertainty, right after the action has begun and the consequences become clear.

Caroline Clough's group of self-portraits was punctuated by three color prints. The first shows her seated with an almost manic smile on her face and an anonymous arm reaching down to her shoulder, the second her walking along a backyard fence eyeing the camera literally tongue-in-cheek, and the third her naked against a bathroom window with a toy gun in her mouth. All of them were very funny and somewhat unsettling at the same time. Her control of these scenes is compromised by her attitude towards the camera, her comic suspicion and eventual abandonment towards its depic-

tive and revelatory potential. Kaman Tse's portraits, while clearly posed also managed to suggest plausibility. Her subjects are all in the process of doing something, be it carrying laundry or coming from a workout at the gym. These are not merely suggestions of activity, and while the poses could work in a studio all her subjects are in situ. They stand still for the camera, gazing towards it in at least momentary calm, but their own task at hand seems to pull at them to end this momentary lapse.

While the work covered here is not comprehensive, it is indicative of the kind of fully realized and mature projects that were on display. It was a strong showing and bodes well for photography at Bard.

By J.R. Valenzuela
 Photo by Jon Feinstein

SMARTER than LIFE
 the smartest people at bard



"Are you are on the terrorists' side or are you on SPB's side?!" In a packed Old Gym show Friday Sept. 14th, Bard-based hip-hop/pop trio Smartest People at Bard came out to say what the mass media won't: Osama bin Laden is a hater. Passing American flags out to the crowd and incorporating an electric guitar into the anthemic "Good Times for Bad People," SPB firmly established themselves as not only brilliant, but patriotic. Jason Hammerstein (pictured with sunglasses) makes the beats which are hot as hell: he's a hitmaker, as evidenced by many many new joints already enjoying airplay on Jams 96.3

Albany FM. Clearly the record sales of SPB's self-titled debut, released last semester, have climbed interstellar: how else could MC Feitler (right) afford those Versace Coveralls? Ross Holland (above, left) was also keeping it gully, singing sweetly through gold fronts that spelled out his father's name. It's the year 2003, LL Cool J is wack as fuck, SPB are the Greatest Of All Time, they will never fall off, they are richer than anyone.
 by Kirk Musicus
 photos by Mike Castillo.



"...The tragedy should not be used to recklessly start a war that could actually unleash an endless carnage of innocent people and all of this on behalf of justice and under the peculiar and bizarre name of 'Infinite Justice.'"

Cuban President Fidel Castro, September 22nd, 2001

"We have a court that has essentially stuck its finger in God's eye. We have insulted God at the highest levels of our government. God Almighty is lifting his protection from us."

Pat Robertson, Sept 13th, 2001

"To people from all over the country who want to help, I have a great way of helping: come here and spend money. Go to a restaurant, see a show. The life of the city goes on."

Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, Sept. 16th, 2001



"I met one of my colleagues from another [news] agency on the way in [to the building], and he told me Kissinger's handlers had just stepped on stage and whispered something in Kissinger's ear. Then they'd announced to the audience that New York seemed to be under attack. Journalists crowded around Kissinger and shouted questions, but he didn't seem to have any words. He looked so worried and confused, and scared. Kissinger looked scared."

Elizabeth Souder, Dow Jones Newswires

"I really believe that the pagans, and the abortionists, and the feminists, and the gays and the lesbians who are actively trying to make that an alternative lifestyle, the ACLU, People for the American Way, all of them who have tried to secularize America - I point the finger in their face and say, 'You helped this happen.'"

Jerry Falwell, Sept 13th, 2001

"The US government has failed to recognize the interconnectedness of all the forms of violence...Terror is still terror whether it is from death from starvation, fear of enslavement by corporations or fear of bombs or airplanes falling. Until we understand the violence of our economic, military and foreign policies, we will continue to foster the conditions that make this kind of terrorism possible."

Anti-Capitalist Convergence

"This crusade, this war on terrorism, is going to take a while. We will rid the world of the evil-doers."

President George W Bush, Sept. 16th, 2001



"I, on behalf of all the members of the Nation of Islam and on behalf of many millions of Muslims here in America and throughout the world, lift our voices to condemn this vicious and atrocious attack on the United States. In this very dark hour in American and world history, the greatest need for us and for the leadership of this nation is Divine Guidance."

Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan, September 16th, 2001

"This is the world's fight, this is civilization's fight."

President George W Bush

