

# Third Rail

The Political Arts Magazine of the College of Staten Island

Fall 2002

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**QUEEN OF CSI**

**Marlene Springer**



KELLY REINHART



**TENURE DENIED!**

*Hear Ye, Hear Ye!*

*Her Royal Highness, Queen Marlene Springer of the College of Staten Island has announced to her subjects, that she has decided to deny tenure to Philosophy Professor Chalmers Clark. See page 7 for our story.*



# Third Rail

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## DEDICATION

THIS ISSUE IS DEDICATED TO  
HER ROYAL ANUS, MARLENE SPRINGER.  
HER TIRELESS EFFORTS TO DESTROY CSI  
WARRANT OUR RECOGNITION.

## COMMENTS & SUBMISSIONS

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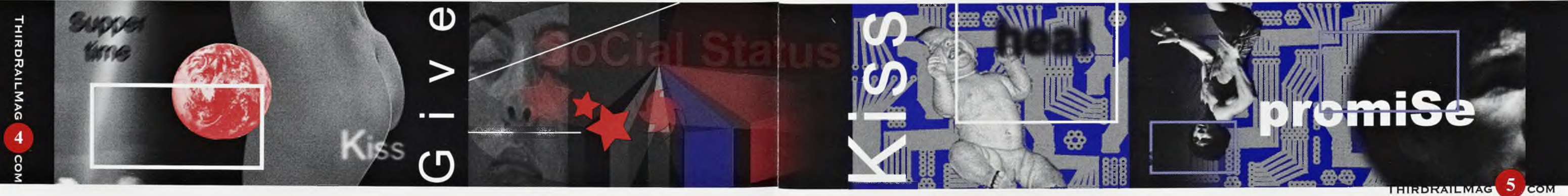
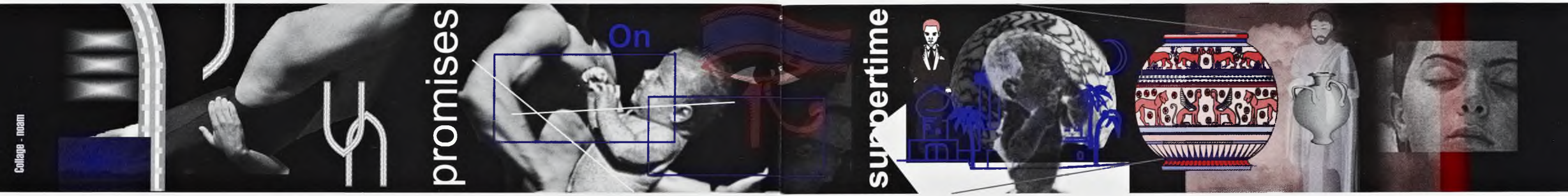
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Child's Play

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# TENURE DENIED!

by Jeff McGraham  
& Neil Schuldiner

**C**SI judges its professors by what appears to be a thoroughly democratic process. Two bodies consisting of experienced academicians – the Appointments Committee from the Department of Political Science, Economics & Philosophy, and the College Personnel & Budget Committee – each democratically voted in the affirmative that Professor Chalmers Clark’s academic, publishing and teaching record merits the granting of tenure. Having received the affirmative decisions of both academic bodies, CSI President Marlene Springer, utilizing her monarchical powers, ignored their democratic decisions, and denied tenure to Professor Clark.

This is just another example of how CSI often supplants visages of democracy by creating structures reminiscent of old-style, autocratic English monarchies (before Charles I’s execution in 1649).

Much like the queen of a small British colonial state, our very own Queen, Marlene Springer – “President” of the College of Staten Island, utilizes her power in an egregious, despotic fashion to aggrandize herself to the CUNY Board of Trustees. On the face of it, Marlene Springer advances the image of a noble, benevolent Queen who is most concerned with improving the academic quality and reputation of our campus. Yet when one gazes beyond the facade, it becomes apparent that Queen Springer has ignored the interests of her subjects – students, faculty, and staff – in favor of prostituting herself to the mandates dictated by the CUNY Trustees, which are dominated by conservative business “leaders” and lawyers from the Giuliani regime.

Professor Chalmers C. Clark, a product of the CUNY Graduate Center, where he earned a doctorate in philoso-

phy, has been instructing students at CSI since 1986 as part of the Department of Political Science, Economics and Philosophy. Specializing in applied ethics and naturalized epistemology, Professor Clark has been awarded a medical ethics graduate fellowship from Mount Sinai College of Education as well as a research grant from PSC-CUNY to travel to the Netherlands for research on physician assisted suicide. As a noted academic on the philosophy of W.V. Quine, Professor Clark’s scholarship has been cited by numerous academicians, including the Distinguished Professor of Philosophy and Linguistics, J.J. Katz. As a testament to Professor Clark’s significance to the field of Quinean studies, the editor of the *Review of Metaphysics* selected Professor Clark out of an abundance of candidates to author their memorial after the passing of eminent philosopher W.V. Quine. Clark’s interdisciplinary work on the epistemology of science, has garnered him respect by many scientists on CSI’s campus —so much so that he gave a lecture in one of their science series, thus helping to bring together the work of

professors from divergent fields of study.

After appealing the President’s decision (which was subsequently denied), Queen Marlene dispatched a crude letter informing Professor Clark of the reasons for her decision (*the contents of which are printed in its entirety on page 10*). Springer’s main criteria for denying tenure to Professor Clark lie (in what is now acknowledged by CSI faculty) to be her gross and purposeful misunderstanding of the academic distinction between refereed “journal articles” and “chapters in books”.

When the student body of CSI was informed of Queen Springer’s decision, thoughts of disappointment, outrage and anger consumed the minds of Professor Clark’s students. It had been obvious that Queen Marlene had ignored students’ evaluations of Professor Clark’s teaching skills and abilities.

After reviewing student evaluations from Clark’s classes (which were excellent), *Third Rail Magazine* began interviewing former students of Professor Clark’s. The response was unanimous. Not one student interviewed by *Third*



*Rail* had a bad word to say about Professor Clark's abilities. Rather, students found him to be a professor of the highest caliber.

In Queen Springer's letter to Professor Clark, it is curious that Marlene is careful not to question Professor Clark's teaching excellence, because as she concedes, official evaluations from students were outstanding. Many students told us that Clark was simply the best professor they had ever encountered. Several posited that he possessed a unique ability to make the most complex philosophical material digestible to average students. Having been students of Professor Clark's, both authors here, think he is quite simply the prototype of what a professor should be — organized, well spoken (a great communicator of his subject matter), knowledgeable, patient, respectful of students

needs, and a master teacher.

While one may question *Third Rail's* conclusions in regard to Professor Clark's tenure denial, CSI professors across the political spectrum, from right to left, share our conclusions. Several professors (including department/program heads) have approached *Third Rail Magazine* to submit letters describing their reactions to Queen Springer's unfair decision (*their letters appear on page 12*).

In an interview with *Third Rail*, Larry Nachman, Professor Emeritus of the CSI Political Science Department, a right-wing, conservative faculty member, shared his belief that Queen Springer's decision is unjust. On the wall above Nachman's cluttered desk is a picture of (perhaps the most heinous right-wing president in U.S. history) Ronald Reagan. Nachman, as a defender of the anti-democratic status-quo, has no issue with the general guidelines set down by the CUNY Board of Trustees regarding the granting of tenure to faculty members. These guidelines state that a president's academic judgement cannot be questioned. Yet after examining President Springer's letter, Professor Nachman concluded that Professor Clark's denial of tenure was not based on an academic decision, but rather the decision came first and the justification was created after the fact! In his words, "this decision doesn't pass the smell test." Nachman bases his assessment on several factors.

Firstly, he offered that there is a major omission in Springer's letter—she makes no reference to outside evaluators. When a professor applies for tenure, it is customary for his academic papers to be evaluated by outside experts and professors who then recommend whether tenure should be granted. Therefore, one can logically conclude that the scholars who assessed Professor Clark's scholar-

ship must have recommended tenure; otherwise Springer would have utilized them in defending her decision. Furthermore, Nachman questions why Springer's judgment is superior to professional philosophers (both in CSI's philosophy program as well as the outside evaluators).

Secondly, Nachman claimed that Springer's distinction between refereed journals being superior to non-refereed journals and chapters in books is factually wrong. In fact, Nachman posits the view that most prestigious journals are not refereed, because they are based on the good judgement of a distinguished editor. The editor of a book or journal puts their reputation on the line, so therefore they are going to be sure that the work included is of the highest quality. Nachman further claims that a responsible academic would have researched the field that the candidate for tenure is engaged in, to find out what the norms for publishing are in that discipline. For example, Nachman says that in most areas of science, writing books is not part of what most scientist do (the exception being for scientists who write popular books for general consumption, such as Stephen J. Gould, Richard Dawkins, and Stephen Hawking), instead they publish their findings in scientific journals. Logically one should not judge a scientist by the same criteria that one would utilize in judging the work of other academic disciplines. According to Nachman, if Springer would have done her homework (or in *Third Rail's* opinion, had she any degree of true competence) she would have found that some good philosophers publish relatively little, but rather they produce their work through conference papers. Nachman gave the example of the well respected Columbia University Professor, Sidney Morganbesser as someone who publishes mostly in conference papers. But Nachman also states without hesitation, that Professor Clark did indeed publish enough in accordance with the standards he was given.

Professor Clark published within the academic philosophy sphere from his superb work in medical ethics to insight-



**PROFESSOR CHALMERS CLARK**



ful critiques of W.V. Quine's philosophy. Springer also conveniently ignored in her letter that a CUNY wide committee of philosophers rewarded Professor Clark a grant to do research in Holland on medical ethics; this committee was by definition refereed.

Professor Nachman explained to *Third Rail* that he first encountered Professor Clark in the mid-80's. At the time, Clark was an adjunct professor pursuing a Ph.D. at the CUNY Graduate Center. Nachman was assigned to observe and critique Clark's teaching ability in front of a class. Nachman discovered Clark to be a teacher of exceptional ability. Professor Nachman felt that Clark refused to water down complex philosophical material, but rather explained it in such a thorough and exquisite fashion that the students could comprehend it. Nachman recognized that Professor Clark had great respect for his students. After the class, Nachman did something that he had never done before—he offered Professor Clark to come over to his near-by home to have a cup of coffee. Nachman encouraged Professor Clark to complete his Ph.D. studies, because he possessed tremendous teaching abilities and would be a credit to the profession.

Nachman's account of Professor Clark's pedagogical abilities have been echoed by numerous students and professors. Professor Clark recently taught an American philosophy class which excited both him and his students. Professor Clark was proud of the fact that the students were able to grasp the complex historical relationships between the varied schools of thought that make up American Philosophy. Many of the students were happy to have a teacher with the ability to assist them in this difficult endeavor.

Professor Clark always had time to help students improve their comprehension of philosophy. When conducting a 6:30 to 9:50 pm class he would remain after class to help students, even if that meant that he would not leave the building until after 11pm. Professor Clark was also known to spend time engaging in philosophical dialogue with students in his office; the discussions would often go

beyond the content of the particular classes that he was teaching that semester. Yet his love of philosophy would keep him engaged for hours.

Under Queen Springer's rule, it would have been more advantageous for him to expel the students from his office and keep to strict office hours so that he could conduct his research.

This represents the problem with an administrator who is completely detached from the true learning that takes place on this campus. Perhaps Queen Marlene does not care if students are learning about disciplines like philosophy. Her concern seems to be more geared towards her careerist ambitions of following the edicts sent down by "80th Street" (Board of Trustees). Many professors and progressive administrators have speculated that the CUNY Board of Trustees instructed Springer not to rubber stamp tenure appointments. Consequently, she decided to make an "example" of one of the most well thought-of professors on this campus.

In her letter of explanation for denying tenure, Springer dichotomizes between "journal articles" and "chapters in books," based on her crude notion of academic weight. Such criteria elucidates the detached and silly calculus used in her decision to deny Professor Clark tenure.

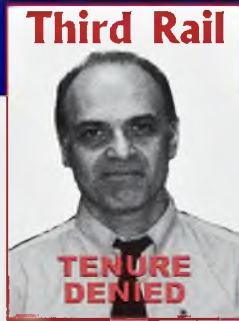
But, as Professor Nachman asked, is a third rate refereed journal of a higher quality than a chapter in a book that has a distinguished editor? The argument can be made that a chapter in a book is refereed at a higher level than a journal piece, for the very fact that a book chapter is more scrutinized because the editor has more at stake—the editor's name is on the front cover. The same is true for papers "selected" from academic conferences, because the editor or editors had to select the piece among many others, again putting their reputation on the line. On the other hand, a geographically isolated



member of an editorial board of a refereed journal has his name hidden inside the journal among many others. Therefore, does anyone really believe that a refereed journal article is *prima facie* superior to a chapter in a book? Obviously our simple minded southern Queen does!

But perhaps the best evidence disproving Queen Springer's purposeful incoherent arguments emanates from the Queen's own Duchess—Vice President for Academic Affairs/Provost, Mirella Affron. In a document obtained by *Third Rail Magazine*, dated January 2, 1997, Affron outlines the fashion in which a professor's *Curricula Vitae* (academic resume) is to be presented for promotions (such as tenure). Affron writes, "Refereeing is the critical issue, not whether articles or chapters were invited or submitted blind." Affron further asserts that "Introductions or chapters in individual books appear under (column) "B. REFEREED ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS IN BOOKS." Affron makes *no* distinction between chapters in books and articles in journals. Therefore, why are Professor Clark's chapters in books not given equal academic weight with journal articles? Clark's pieces were indeed refereed by editors. Considering Professor Clark was appointed to a tenure track position in 1996, this is the criteria which he should presumably be judged by.

CSI Professor Emerita of Economics, Robin Carey thrusts another damaging strike at Queen Springer's assertion that there is a distinction between journal articles and chapters in books. In a letter to Professor Clark (*which is reprinted in its entirety on page 10*), Professor Carey, the then-Chairperson of the Political Science, Economics & Philosophy Department, clearly explains that Queen Springer *erred* in her evaluation of Professor Clark's *Curricula Vitae*. In her letter, Professor Carey explains that Marlene misinterpreted Carey's *Annual Evaluation Conference Memorandum* and incorrectly concluded that Professor Clark had failed to live up to Carey's expectations. Professor Carey points out that articles appearing in journals and chapters in books merit *equal* academic weight and therefore Queen Marlene had misjudged Professor Clark's



publication record. Professor Carey cites her understanding of Mirella Affron's guidelines as evidence that chapters in books should be given equal weight to articles in journals. Carey's interpretation of Affron's guidelines are bolstered by the fact that Mirella Affron voted in the affirmative to grant Professor Clark tenure during the Personnel & Budget Committee meeting.

Queen Springer exclaims in her letter that it is in her "judgement" that there is a distinction between refereed journal articles and chapters in books drawn from conferences, but the queen's "judgement" should be inconsequential when compared to the rules and precedents set down by the college. Otherwise, the decisions in such matters become capricious and arbitrary (at the queen's whim or her latest, shameless self promotional strategy). Another point clarified in Affron's letter is that an article that is "forthcoming" is synonymous to an article that has been accepted under contract. Springer does not compute two "forthcoming"

articles into her silly calculus because she is not informed of who the publisher will be or the date of publication (and, of course because they are chapters in books). One must wonder why she doesn't get off her royal ass and find this information out, considering the fact that they fall under the rubric of "forthcoming," instead of looking for every possible way to be a punitive monarch.

At the conclusion of Springer's letter she employs her twisted logic by again invoking the University Bylaws and claims that she is not "reasonably certain [Clark] will contribute to the improvement of academic excellence at the college." The queen may not be certain, but faculty, staff and students acquainted with this fine professor know that he has, and

given the opportunity will, continue to contribute to this institution. One must wonder, after kicking out a professor of Clark's abilities, if Queen Marlene is truly competent enough to be in charge of this institution?

In *Third Rail's* estimation she is most surely not democratic enough to remain in her royal garb. As was the case for Charles I in 1649, *Third Rail* believes it's time for this queen to go – off with her head!

**Third Rail would like to congratulate Professor Chalmers Clark who will be a Visiting Scholar in the Ethics Institute of the American Medical Association beginning in September 2002. In the meantime, the PSC is in litigation with the CSI Administration over their refusal to grant Professor Clark tenure. More updates to come in future issues.**

## STUDENTS QUESTION QUEEN SPRINGER



**STUDENTS MEET WITH PRESIDENT SPRINGER TO DISCUSS HER REFUSAL TO GRANT TENURE TO PROFESSOR CLARK**

Hoping to convince Queen Marlene to reverse her decision not to grant tenure to Professor Clark, a group of students recently met with Springer. At the meeting students asked the Queen if she felt her decision-making capabilities exceeded the collective judgement of the faculty who compose the Personnel & Budget Committee. Queen Springer responded that she doesn't believe her judgment is superior to the faculty's. Students then queried how she could overrule the faculty's democratic decision to grant tenure to Professor Clark. At first, the Queen refused to respond to her lowly subjects (students), but when pressed, the Queen

commanded, "I have been given the responsibility to determine who should be granted tenure by the trustees of the City University of New York." One student replied, "So could you explain what exactly the criteria is in determining tenure." Angered by the question, the Queen bellowed, "I'm not discussing this with students!" After failing to be swayed, the students continued their questions. "Exactly what expertise in philosophy do you possess—that led you to overrule the democratic decision of philosophy professors to grant Clark tenure?" one student asked. The Queen admitted, "I have as much expertise in philosophy as I do in chemistry and physics, which is very little or next to nothing." The student replied, "If that is the case, then how can you make a determination that Professor Clark's teaching abilities are not suitable for the philosophy program? How can you overrule the expertise of the professors in the philosophy program who are experts in philosophy?" Springer refused to respond to the question.



*"I think it's horrible because she [Springer] shouldn't have a say over who has tenure. It should be democratically decided by faculty with input from students. And even if she has such dictatorial power, she shouldn't use it to overrule academic departments and faculty,"* exclaimed Kelly Reinhart, a graduating psychology senior.



## THE FOLLOWING IS CSI QUEEN MARLENE SPRINGER'S LETTER EXPLAINING HER REASONS FOR DENYING TENURE TO PROFESSOR CLARK

December 26, 2000

Dear Professor Clark,

I am responding to your request for a statement of my reasons for not recommending your reappointment with tenure effective September 1, 2001.

As a candidate for reappointment with tenure you were recommended by the Department of Political Science, Economics and Philosophy and the College Personnel and Budget Committee. I notified you of my decision not to recommend your reappointment with tenure, and you appealed directly to me. You have also asked for a statement of my reasons pursuant to section 9.9 of the collective bargaining agreement.

I write to inform you that having considered your appeal. I am not recommending your reappointment with tenure effective September 1, 2001. I write also to provide you a statement of my reasons.

The Statement of the Board of Higher Education on Academic Personnel Practice sets forth the criteria for reappointment with tenure; they are teaching effectiveness, scholarship and professional growth, and as "supplementary considerations, service to the institution and to the public.

I have examined your record in light of each of these criteria, and it is my judgment that your can-

didacy does not support a positive recommendation with respect to scholarship and professional growth.

The Statement provides in pertinent part as follows:  
*Tenure*

2) *The criteria upon which decisions to tenure are based shall be as follows:*

b) *Scholarship and Professional Growth -Evidence of new and creative work shall be sought in the candidate's published research or in his instructional materials and techniques when they incorporate new ideas or scholarly research. Works should be evaluated as well as listed, and work in progress should be assessed, when work is a product of a joint effort, it is the responsibility of the department chairman to establish as clearly as possible the role of the candidate in the joint effort.*

You received your Ph.D. in Philosophy from the Graduate Center of The City University of New York in 1994 and were appointed to a tenure-track position at the College of Staten Island in 1996. Your most recent *curriculum vitae* presents under the rubric "refereed publications," two "refereed articles," of which the more recent was published after your appointment in fall 1996.

"Except in Emergencies: AMA Ethics and Physician Autonomy," appeared in the journal

*Cambridge Quarterly of Healthcare Ethics* in Summer 1996 (4 pp.)

"The Art of Science: Quine and the Speculative Reach of

Philosophy in Natural Science," appeared in the journal *Dialectics: International Review of Philosophy of Knowledge* in 1998 (16 pp.).

Your *curriculum vitae* presents further three works that you define as "chapters in books," of which one has appeared to date.

"Liberal Education Naturalized: The Facts About Values," appeared in Vol. VII of the series *Business Education and Training* University Press of America, in 2000 (8 pp.).

Thus, your total published record under your rubric "refereed" consists of two articles and one, as you define it, "chapter in book."

You note also two "chapters" as forthcoming: "Active and Passive Euthanasia: On Letting an Issue Die," stated to be "forthcoming fall 2001" by the volume editor, and "What Good is Consent? Reflections on Decisions at the End of Life," for

## THE FOLLOWING IS CSI PROFESSOR EMERITA ROBIN CAREY'S RESPONSE TO QUEEN SPRINGER'S LETTER

February 15, 2001

Dear Chalmers,

As you know, I was dismayed to learn of President Springer's decision against recommending you for tenure. After all, you had told me you understood there had been no problems connected with your fourth year reappointment. You can well imagine that I am now horrified to learn of the critical role my December 1998 Annual Evaluation Conference Memorandum played in President Springer's decision.

I thank you for furnishing me with a copy of President Springer's letter of December 26, 2000, in which she gave the reasons for her decision, and also a copy of your vita from September 2000. Since the beginning of my Travia leave September 2000, I have had no access to personnel files, including yours.

After the P & B's positive third year recommendation in Fall 1998, Provost Affron requested that I talk to her before I put on paper the write-up of my Annual Evaluation Conference so that you would have a clear guide to what achievements were expected of you before the tenure decision in Fall 2000. I believe that the Provost felt this was particularly important in your case for, as you are aware, the third year reappointment had been somewhat problematical. The Provost's request may have resulted from her suspicion (probably correct) that left to myself I would have

been less specific, and as a result your future reappointment might be in jeopardy.

When I read President Springer's December 26, 2000 letter to you, I realized that despite the desire by everyone to give you a clear set of expectations, the Annual Evaluation Conference Memorandum turned out instead to produce a devastating misunderstanding of those expectations.

President Springer's letter of December 26, 2000 stated that you had not lived up to the Chairperson's expectations. The first failure related to the expectation of "one or two more accepted/published articles." President Springer found none since the third year appointment, as she assumed that "articles" meant articles in refereed journals, while the three articles of yours that were accepted between September 1998 and September 2000 will appear as chapters in books. Thus she did not consider under this rubric "Active and Passive Euthanasia: On Letting An Issue Die," which will appear as a chapter in Abbarno, *Inherent and Instrumental Value: An Excursion into Value Inquiry*; "What Good Is Consent? Reflections on Decisions at the End of Life," which will appear in Patton, *Theoretical and Practical Foundations of Value*; and "Liberal Education Naturalized: The Facts About Values," which was published last year (2000) in Natale, *Business, Education, and Training: A Value Laden Process*.

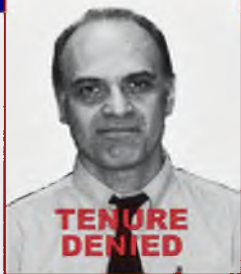
*But I had drawn no distinction, in thought,*

*speech, or in writing, between articles appearing in a journal and articles appearing in a book.*

Indeed, to me, it is the intrinsic scholarly merit of the piece that is of the essence, not the place in which it appears. Articles in books would normally be subject to some sort of review before inclusion, and, more important, all are subjected to CSI's outside evaluation process. With the wisdom of *hindsight*, I wish that I had specifically mentioned book chapters in the Memo, and then if I had misunderstood or misremembered Provost Affron's words, she could have corrected the matter when she reviewed the document.

President Springer explained that in her judgment "chapters in collective volumes drawn from conferences carry less scholarly weight than journal articles." (It might be suggested, with tongue only slightly in cheek, that if such a book chapter has one third less weight than an article in a journal, your three accepted articles to appear in books are equal to two articles in journals, and you have met, or more than met, the minimum expectation for articles accepted/published mentioned in my December 1998 memo.)

The absence of any warnings in connection with your fourth reappointment, at least none that reached you, is an important point to recognize. Assuming that I had misunderstood Provost Affron's idea of an acceptable article, you could still have taken action if you had been warned by appropriate persons after the P & B deliberations. Given the fact that your articles have been accepted by well-regarded journals like the *Cambridge*



which I am informed of neither a publisher nor a publication date. These are scheduled to appear, like  
Liberal  
Education  
Naturalized:

The Facts About Values," in compilations of selected papers drawn from conferences at which you presented. In my judgment, such "chapters" in collective volumes drawn from conferences carry less scholarly weight than journal articles.

In her memorandum following the annual evaluation conference held on December 2, 1998 for the year 1998-1999, the then chairperson of your department, Professor Robin Carey, provided you guidance and advice concerning expectations of your progress as you approached candidacy for reappointment with tenure. Professor Carey set forth the expectation of "one or two more accepted/published articles, in addition to progress on plans for the two series or book projects. She noted that this "minimal expectation would give [you] on average at least one refereed article accepted each year.

In making my judgment, I take note of the guid-

ance offered to you by Professor Carey and conclude that the minimal expectations she described therein have not been met. Since the time of your annual evaluation conference with Professor Carey in December 1998, I observe that no new article has been "accepted/published." One article is listed in your most recent curriculum vitae as submitted to the Journal of Medicine and Philosophy.

Professor Carey's additional expectations remain similarly unmet. One book project to which she refers, *The Art of Science Quine and the Speculative Reach of Philosophy in Natural Science* (its title was originally *Meaning Skepticism and Truth in the Natural Philosophy of W.V. Quine*) appeared in your curriculum vitae of February and October 1997, of 1998, and of 1999. In your 1998 curriculum vitae you describe this book project as follows: "The book builds from my dissertation, an article . . . , correspondence and two interviews with Professor Quine." In that same curriculum vitae you refer to a second book, *Rethinking Death Reviving Philosophy Perennial Issues of Philosophy in Physician Assisted Dying*, as follows: "The book builds from two research grants received that were targeted toward the issue of assisted suicide and three articles, one forthcoming and the other two in preparation." Your most recent curriculum vitae however, provides no indication of progress with regard to either of these book projects. In fact, it

makes no mention of them at all.

In my judgment, the record demonstrates that scholarly projects represented by you as underway have too often failed to advance to completion. My observation is based not only on an examination of your curricula vitae but also on the post-evaluation conference memoranda of your chairpersons: Professor Carey twice lists as accepted for publication in *Private and Public Values* a "chapter" you entitled "Why Cartesian Skepticism is 'unnatural'." I find no reference to this "chapter" in Professor Vasiliou Petratos' post-evaluation conference memorandum of the following year either under the heading "accepted" or the heading "published." I note also that it appears nowhere on your most recent curriculum vitae.

The award of tenure is a commitment by an institution to an individual as a member of its permanent instructional staff. It is my responsibility as President to recommend to the Board of Trustees, as provided in the University Bylaws, "only those persons who [I am] reasonably certain will contribute to the improvement of academic excellence at the college." It is my judgment that your accomplishments in bringing your research agenda to fruition have been insufficient to merit a recommendation for reappointment with tenure.

Sincerely,

Marlene Springer, President

*Quarterly of Healthcare Ethics* (Cambridge University Press), *Dialectica: An International Review of Philosophy of Knowledge* (Bern, Switzerland), and *The Journal of Medicine and Philosophy* (under the auspices of Baylor College of Medicine and Rice University), it is certainly not impossible that you could have withdrawn two of the articles from the books and found journals in which to publish them. We shall never know.

The other way in which President Springer argues that you have failed to live up to the expectations stems from the absence of any mention of your two projected books in your 2000 vita, one on Quine's philosophy and the other on physician-assisted suicide. Because they are not listed, President Springer may have reasonably concluded they had vanished also from your plans. But, as you recently explained to me, your reason for taking them out of the vita was that progress on the books qua books had not taken sufficiently concrete form, and you did not want to appear to be inflating your vita.

In any event, planning and other activity has taken place, and, interestingly enough, a consideration of some of it also provides an answer to the question raised by President Springer concerning what happened to the article "Why Cartesian Skepticism is Unnatural," which was to be published as a book chapter. As I understand the matter, the editor of the proposed volume *Private and Public Values* (in which the article was to appear) left academic life and left the book in a state of collapse. You have retrieved the article and are revising it with the intention of using it in your

book on Quine and his concept of truth. Another project relating to this book on Quine is the article, "Philosophy of Science and Legal Prof. Popperean and Quinean Perspectives," which you are writing with Paul I-Herskovitz. (The fact that you were asked to write an "In Memorium" essay on Quine for *The Review of Metaphysics after Professor Quine's death last winter indicates the regard in which you are held by the Quinean community.*)

Also you have done work in one way or another on the book on physician-assisted suicide. "Trust in Medicine," your article submitted in September 2000 to the *Journal of Medicine and Philosophy*, and now accepted, contains relevant material. And due in part to your receiving a PSC-CUNY grant to study the subject, your collaboration with the physician-scholar G.K. Kimsma of the Free University of Amsterdam (in a nation where physician-assisted suicide has been practiced under an experimental, legal program) has been fruitful. A work-in-progress manuscript resulting from your collaboration with Dr. Kimsma and entitled "The Good Physician and the Shroud" is already in your file. The workshops you gave at the end of September 1999 at the Hamot Medical Center, Erie, Pa, and in Chautauqua, NY, are also relevant.

Submissions for publications are also continuing, as attested to by a joint work (with Klein and Herskovitz) titled: "Philosophical Dimensions of Anonymity in Group Support Systems: Ethical Implications of Social Psychological Consequences." The essay has been submitted for review to the journal *Computers and Human*

*Behavior*, a journal that publishes under the auspices of the University of Minnesota.

My opinion of your work is that you are an excellent scholar, who will produce considerable significant work. That your work has been cited four times by other scholars so early in your career supports this belief.

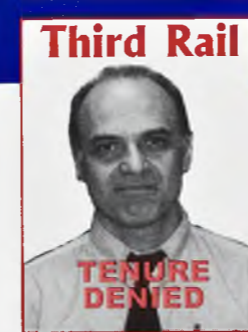
I must tell you that I regret bitterly not seeing President Springer's letter until recently. Back when it first became available, someone told me it didn't say very much, so I didn't push to see it. No one even hinted to me of the importance of that 1998 Annual Evaluation Conference Memo in President Springer's letter until February 8" or thereabouts. And I must say, one can understand her conclusion, given the different understandings of what constitutes an "article" and the confusion caused by your well-intended omissions from the vita. I hope it is not too late to rectify the situation.

With this letter I hope I have helped to set the record straight on the guidance you received and the way you have demonstrated the scholarly ability and achievement which CSI rightly expects. No questions have ever arisen about the excellence of your teaching and the generous contributions of time and energy to your students, the department, and the college. CSI needs you.

Please feel free to share this letter with other persons in whatever situations you believe it would be appropriate.

Sincerely,

Robin Carey, Professor Emerita of Economics



**CSI PROFESSOR PETER SIMPSON,  
COORDINATOR OF THE CSI PHILOSOPHY PROGRAM**

Dear Editor,  
 President Springer's decision not to grant tenure to Professor Chalmers Clark was an arbitrary act of autocratic power. Associated in this act, as the President's immediate advisers in academic matters, and most probably associated in the guilt of it too, were Provost Affron and Dean Podell. Certainly Provost Affron and Dean Podell have not used their positions of responsibility to protest the President's decision or to express any support for Professor Clark.  
 It is one of the absurdities of the CUNY system that it invests autocratic power in its highest officers. The Presidents have autocratic power over the colleges, and the Chancellor and the Board have autocratic power over the Presidents. One would think, looking at this system, that we were living in some totalitarian state and not in a democracy. Would that we could have a revolution here as the Founding Fathers did in 1776! Unfortunately that is very unlikely to happen.  
 Nevertheless, it is one thing to have autocratic power and it is another to use it autocratically. Presidents ought to use their power presidentially, since it is as presidents that they have it. To use power presidentially is to use it responsibly,

and to use power responsibly is to be always ready, and to think oneself obliged to be always ready, to give an account of one's decisions that shows them to be honest and just. If one cannot do this in a particular case, or if it cannot be shown that one has done so in a particular case, the decision should be reversed and the president in question should consider whether she is still fit to rule.

President Springer does not use her power responsibly. She uses it despotically. She uses it in a way that shows her unfit to continue as president. Her refusal to grant tenure to Professor Clark is only one instance of her despotic behavior, and indeed of her deceit. The reasons alleged in her letter to Professor Clark for refusing him tenure make no sense in themselves or in relation to the provisions of the Faculty contract. They cannot be the reasons that really prompted her to deny him tenure. They are a cover, a deceitful cover, for the exercise of naked power, in short for despotism. No one with feeling for the achievements of the American democracy can view her behavior with anything but disgust.

Peter Simpson  
 Professor of Philosophy

**CSI PROFESSOR DAVID TRABOULAY,  
COORDINATOR OF THE CSI LIBERAL STUDIES MASTERS PROGRAM**

Dear Friend:  
 I was surprised when I learned that Professor Chalmers Clark was denied tenure.  
 Chalmers has been teaching at our College since the 1980s and I have met him on countless occasions and exchanged brief conversations with him. He has always displayed an admirable quality of collegiality which, as I grow older, and older at our College, I have come to cherish. I have met Professor Chalmers Clark only casually, but yet I think that I know him well. As a Professor at CSI and a resident of Staten Island for 30 years, I encounter students almost daily on and off campus; students who continued their studies at graduate school as well as others who have become responsible citizens. In conversation with many of them I have often heard

them say how much they were inspired by Professor Chalmers Clark. I took special notice when they commented that he made philosophy come alive and that "he brought philosophy down from the clouds," to quote a commentator on the impact of Socrates, because I belong to the "old school" of historians who believe that the study of philosophy and history should be the foundation of learning. I am well aware that the climate of opinion on teaching in our College is that everyone is a good teacher, an opinion enunciated in large part to persuade the faculty to do more research and publication. I was Chair of the History Department for 12 years between 1976 and 1991, and this view of teaching was already coming to dominance in the latter years of my tenure.  
 The issue of tenure for Professor Chalmers Clark has touched a chord that

has taken me back to when I came to the College as a young Professor in 1971. Perhaps most people will remember CUNY as an institution battered by unending crises. But that is not the whole story. There have been periods of almost revolutionary energy and changes, not all of them, in hindsight, creative. But many of these initiatives were exciting and useful. The early 1970s was one of these moments. We were hired at various CUNY Colleges from all parts of America and the World. We were for the most part trained as traditional academics and all committed to scholarship, but we were asked to make teaching, in the concrete circumstances of students from Staten Island, New York, and more recent immigrants from practically everywhere in the world, central to the work we did. During that time we labored to create ways to improve our teaching—workshops, team-teaching, preparing new courses, requiring that all full-time faculty teach

**CSI PROFESSOR THEODORA POLITO,  
FORMER CHAIR OF THE CSI EDUCATION DEPARTMENT**

Dear Editor,  
 Chalmers Clark, a professor of Philosophy was denied tenure by President Springer last December after both his department's Appointments Committee and the College Budget and Promotions Committee recommended that she grant him tenure. At that time several faculty members appealed to President Springer to reconsider her decision. President Springer responded with silence. Her decision to deny Professor Clark tenure was and remains imprudent.  
 No doubt, President Springer disagrees with me, believing that she has executed those tough decisions that are at the core of leadership. Is she right? I do not believe so. Her decision is reflective of a general malaise that has taken hold of this college and others around the country. Higher education today consists of professionalism and research. Serious study of the Liberal Arts and Sciences are a residue of another time when we believed that they were effective guides for our existence.  
 At the center of the college is no longer the belief that the goal of higher education is the attainment of civic or practical wisdom derived from our ability to make sense together through our language. Had we still this value, Professor Clark's students would have been listened to when they collectively went to President Springer's office, appealing to her to grant Professor Clark tenure. They let her know how he

opened up new vistas for them by guiding them to see how individuals and cultures live ideas. They made this appeal in gratitude for what had been achieved with Professor Clark and what could be achieved with him for future students. Many students, in spite of experiencing vocational pressures, hunger for the fullness of life that intellectual clarity can give. Professor Clark is known to be an unusually talented teacher able to breathe new life into some very old texts. He guides students to see how these texts provide a permanent fund of human meaning and value for making sense out of the new conditions and problems of our society.  
 President Springer justifies her decision on the grounds that some of Professor Clark's scholarship appears as chapters in a book. She claims that articles in refereed journals have more scholarly weight than chapters in books. Her distinction seems trivial when weighed against the accomplishments of Professor Clark's work but symptomatic of the ailments of the present academic culture.  
 I have little faith that one college president, one faculty body, one student body, can reverse a trend in our society which has created our situation. However, I write to you today because I still have hope that one college president., one faculty body, and one student body can come to their senses and see what is being lost with Professor Clark's departure.  
 Associate Professor Theodora Polito  
 Chairperson  
 Department of Education

freshman-courses, asking faculty to talk to each other about their teaching and discuss what worked and what did not, and, most important of all, to invite students to share in this project. It was an exciting time and, as I look back on a long career at CSI, I am grateful to all those who helped to improve my teaching and to stimulate a passion that has been sustained to the present.  
 I write to recommend that Professor Chalmers Clark be granted tenure because I feel that he represents the value and importance of outstanding College teaching at our College, and also to send a gentle reminder to our College community not "to wear sunglasses," as the Cuban poet, Heriberto Padilla, once wrote, to go beyond the embellishments of official reports that declare that we are the Harvard of Staten Island, and demand that we pay more serious attention to good College teaching.

I do not want to ignore the criterion of scholarship in the granting of tenure. Faculty have always agreed that significant scholarship and recognition outside the College community should be one of the criteria for tenure, together with teaching and service to the University community. Indeed, I say unequivocally that scholarship as measured by research, publications, and papers at scholarly conferences, is vital to good teaching. My friends on the College's Personnel and Budget Committee have repeatedly told me that from the 1990s the standards for scholarship have been made more demanding. This pattern is ascendant in most universities today. The market has pervaded the Academy so deeply that a College's reputation is built by prestigious faculty with strong publication records. I have only recently seen Professor Chalmers Clark's resume and note that he has regularly written articles

on medical ethics and he has presented papers every year at important scholarly conferences. But I do not want to pose as an authority on this. My view of the sufficiency of his research at this moment is supported by his Department and the current chairpersons of the College P&B who concluded that in their judgment, considering his teaching, scholarship, and service, Professor Chalmers Clark deserved tenure.  
 Over the years, especially when I was Chair, I have on occasions too many to remember participated in appeals on behalf of faculty, staff, and students. I confess that at times this important exercise seemed ritualistic. My advocacy for Professor Chalmers Clark is not a ritual; it comes from the heart.  
 Sincerely yours,  
 David Traboulay  
 Professor of History and Coordinator,  
 MA in Liberal Studies Program



# LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

THIRD RAIL: THE POLITICAL ARTS MAGAZINE OF THE COLLEGE OF STATEN ISLAND IS SEEKING YOUR CORRESPONDENCE! SEND US YOUR LETTERS, COMMENTS, CRITICISMS, COMPLAINTS, COMPLEMENTS, AND LEWD PICTURES TO:

## SNAIL MAIL:

THIRD RAIL MAGAZINE  
C/O THE COLLEGE OF STATEN ISLAND  
2800 VICTORY BLVD, 1C-207  
STATEN ISLAND, NY 10314

## E-MAIL:

EDITORS@THIRDRAILMAG.COM

## DROP OFF IN PERSON:

ROOM 231 IN THE CAMPUS CENTER  
OR IN OUR MAILBOX LOCATED IN  
ROOM 1C-207 (STUDENT  
GOVERNMENT OFFICE)

## ON THE WEB:

WWW.THIRDRAILMAG.COM



## STOP ROBBING CSI STUDENTS

To: Third Rail Magazine

I read with great interest the information sheet that was handed out at [CSI] President Springer's convocation. I happen to be privy to other information, which I would encourage you to investigate:

- A great deal of money and human resources were spent on the Jacuzzi at the home of President Springer. CSI *Buildings & Grounds* personnel were taken away from campus responsibilities to construct a deck for her Jacuzzi, complete with expert woodworking and high-tech electrical plans. The B&G [*Building & Grounds*] personnel are routinely called into doing work at the President's home after normal working hours. Overtime charges accrue, and eventually there is less money in the budget for students' educational expenses.

- During the first week of June 2000, several college employees needed to utilize the college car to conduct official college business. They were told they could not use the car, because the President's mother was in town and she might need the car (complete with driver) to tool around town. One employee asked why the President's mother could not use the President's own college-provided car, and he was told, "don't go there."

- A barrage of student complaints were routinely lodged against the former Director of Academic Affairs, Dr. Lorelei Stevens, mainly for her nasty attitude toward students and other college staff members. In fact, several complaints were lodged against Dr. Stevens by other CUNY administrators who happened to be parents of CSI students who received extremely poor treatment from Dr. Stevens. The CSI Administration eventually promoted Dr. Stevens. As chair of the Course & Standing Committee, Dr. Stevens is the major voice in developing policies and procedures for dismissing students from CSI. For about \$80,000 per year, that's her major job. In addition, Dr. Stevens is an adjunct in the English department, but prepares for lectures and meets with students during the time she is supposed to conduct her non-faculty duties (little that they are). Dr.

Stevens is paid separately for her adjunct work, and this amounts to a clear case of double-dipping. Dr. Stevens, however, is a permanent fixture at the College, because she is a close friend of the Senior Vice President and Provost.

- [CSI President] Dr. Springer's insistence on putting her name on anything that is published is setting the college up for a tremendous expense if she ever leaves for any reason. College catalogs, department brochures, admissions materials, Center for the Arts brochures, and all administrative forms would have to be redone, if President Springer left. The cost would be tremendous, and would likely take an additional \$50,000 or more away from students.

- The Administration is very sorry to have dismissed so many students last year. The result was that there were significant losses in enrollment, and the college had to lower its admission standards at both the undergraduate and graduate levels in order to rebuild the enrollment. Knowing that enrollment would drop for over a year, the Administration failed to allocate resources to properly assist and retain nearly 900 students who were identified as probationary last year.

- Where have most of the African-American male administrators gone? We're missing the former Director of Athletics (Eugene Marshall), Dean of Continuing Education (Ronald Shepard), Director of Recruitment and Admissions (Earl Teasley), and Director of Telecommunications (Michael Morris). It just seems strange.

Signed,

Concerned Member of the CSI Community

## Editors' Response:

The allegations presented by this "Concerned Member of the CSI Community" are serious and grave indeed. In attempting to investigate these allegations, *Third Rail Magazine* has requested a variety of documents and information from the CSI Administration, which were refused. Contending that the CSI Administration had violated the New York State Open Meetings Law and the federal Freedom of Information Law (FOIL), *Third Rail Magazine* sent out several Freedom of Information

requests to the college Administration. Unfortunately, CSI's Records Access Officer, Kathleen Galvez has denied several of our requests (thereby violating the both the state's Open Meetings Law and the federal FOIL).

Illegal denials of public information such as our requests have in the past led to successful student lawsuits against the CSI Administration. The most prominent of these lawsuits was filed when the CSI College Association refused to allow student editors from *The Banner, CSI's Official Student Newspaper*, to tape CSI Association meetings. The College Association further refused to record how specific Association members voted when allocating Student Activity Fees. Not surprisingly, with the help of attorney **Ronald B. McGuire** and the *CUNY Emergency Legal Defense Project*, the CSI student journalists won their case. The New York Supreme Court ruled that the Association's decision to bar tape recordings at its meeting violated the state's open-meetings law. The court also ruled that votes taken by secret ballot are null and void. The court also prevented the CSI Association from further prohibiting the use of hand-held tape recorders. Finally, the court compelled the CSI Association to make the voting record of Association members public.

What was most infuriating to students over the course of the litigation was the fact that Student Activity Fees were used to *defend* the CSI Association against the complaints made by the student journalists. Such misuse of student fees to defend the *illegal* actions of the CSI Administration has become standard practice.

It is interesting to note, that while we cannot corroborate whether CSI President Springer illegally used the college car to chauffeur her mommy around the city, we *can* note that there are other abuses being carried out by CSI Administrators. As will be reported in our next issue, CSI Vice President, Mirella Affron has been mis-using student tuition fees to be personally chauffeured home by a CSI security officer in a student funded CSI security vehicle. When student journalists of the *CSI College Voice Political Journal* discovered this gross misuse of student funds and personnel, the

abuse by VP Affron suddenly ceased.

These cases, where student activity fees and funds were abused and exploited by the CSI Administration continue till today. If there are any faculty, staff or administrative personnel who wish to aid us in our investigations, please feel free to contact us anonymously or in person.

In regards to the letter's observation that African-American administrators seem to have disappeared from campus, we've had the same curious reaction. We also find unacceptable the lack of African-American tenured faculty on this campus and the lack of ethnic studies offered by the college. Should anyone find this surprising considering that the college in the last 15 years denied tenure to two prominent Black scholars (Professors Quincy Troupe and Onwuchekwa Jemie)? We also find it curious that the only administrative position that seems to be reserved for an African-American is that of the CSI Athletic Director. This is insulting and typical of the racism manifested by the CSI hierarchy.

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Dear Third Rail,

I can't believe that the one great arts magazine at CSI is now in the clutches of the commies. Back in the day (1990) I submitted articles to "*Ictus Review*" (as it was called at the time). I remember this guy named Manjuela (or something like that) and his sidekick JP (I never figured out what JP stood for) who used to stand around spouting commie rhetoric. I can't believe he has amassed such a following that now the whole campus is lefty. I am shocked, shocked I say because this was once a great magazine which is now full of political drivel. Who needs politics? I don't care about Mumma Jammeml, or the death penalty (hang 'em high I say ). Why can't the magazine be what it once was – a good 'zine which had pleasant articles about flowers and post teenage angst. Now you have articles criticizing CAPITALISM!! This is outrageous and unAmerican!!!!!!! You "comrades" missed the clue train because communism is dead. The free market is here to stay maximizing production for all. What's wrong with that, you long haired commie bastards!!! It brings tears to me eyes to see where this magazine has sunken.

Joe ?!@#S%^&\*,  
CSI Alumna

Editors Response:

Your letter contained a number of inaccuracies which should be corrected. Firstly, while we are acquaintances of former *College Voice*

editors, Manjula Wijerama and JP (which by the way, stands for John Paul) Patafio, we are NOT Communists, Bolsheviks, Vangaurdists, Trotskyists or Marxist-Lenninists. We do not share their view of socialism as a top-down, undemocratic, "I have all the answers and you don't" system. On the contrary, we favor a pluralistic, democratic society where the humanitarian motive dominates as opposed to the profit motive. We believe we will achieve this form of socialism through an open, participatory and honest exchange of ideas.

Secondly, as far as your comment regarding the "free market is here to stay," outside of perhaps Russia (which is a disaster), there is no truly "free market" society that exists. Many of the benefits that we citizens enjoy are the result of socialistic type programs; for example, social security, free K-12 education, medicaid, medicare, welfare, pell grants, environmental laws, etc... In fact, the reason that we can have this debate surrounding our publication is due to a non-free market system — CUNY.

Lastly, students are free to submit poetry, photography, fiction, non-fiction as well as political essays. As W.E.B. Dubois stated, "Art is propaganda," and Third Rail has always been politically oriented — just read any of our back-issues. Nowadays, we are just more overt concerning our politics.

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SELECTED RESPONSES TO GEORGE  
SPRINGER'S INTERVIEW WITH  
THE HELLFIRE (PUBLISHED LAST ISSUE)

Dear Third Rail,

While I agree that Andre is incompetent, and has most of the undesirable traits that the article claims he has, I feel that his race should be left out of it. Andre is not incompetent because he is black; he is incompetent because he is incompetent.

Peri Dreznick,  
Former Editor of *The Banner*

Dear Third Rail,

I see NO evidence of racism in George Springer's well written and historically accurate article. On the contrary, it should be commended as a vehicle for bringing up a subject that is all too often "swept under the rug", not only here at CSI, but in American culture in general.

To use it as a grounds to overturn the political will of the voters is rather like swatting flies with sledge-hammers and it can return to haunt the very people who fail to see the larger issues

contained in the article.

Robert Cachioletti, CSI Student

Dear Third Rail,

Why the fuck is it taking you so long to come out with a new issue?

Andy Zuckerberg,  
CSI Alumna

Editors Response:

Aside from our own incompetence, we failed to publish new issues due to attempts by certain members of the CSI Student Government (SG) to censor and shut down our magazine. In our last issue and on our website — [ThirdRailMag.com](http://ThirdRailMag.com), we published several articles, essays and interviews which were extremely critical of many members of SG. These pieces exposed the ways in which members of SG exploited and misused the Student Activity Fees for their own ends. After publication of our last issue, SG attempted to rescind the paltry sum of money granted to us. After they failed in this attempt, they attempted to totally defund us on the grounds that we published "racist" materials against whites. When this strategy was blocked by our lawyers, they then sought to remove us from our office and transfer us out of the Campus Center. Subsequently, our foes in SG failed to win re-election, and the allocation of publication funding was altered (albeit undemocratically), -- hence our new issue.

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RESPONSES TO OUR WEBSITE:  
[WWW.THIRDRAILMAG.COM](http://WWW.THIRDRAILMAG.COM)

Dear Third Rail,

Thank you for your article, Execution Is Not The Solution by Tara L. Martin. It had the perfect information for my report on the death penalty. I agree that the death sentence is a poor deterrent for crime.

Joe Deardurff,  
Student-At-Large

Dear Third Rail,

I am not affiliated with your school as it pertains to status, but I enjoyed seeing your website. It made me wonder what The School of Visual Arts would have put out when I was a student if the web was as accessible as it is now.

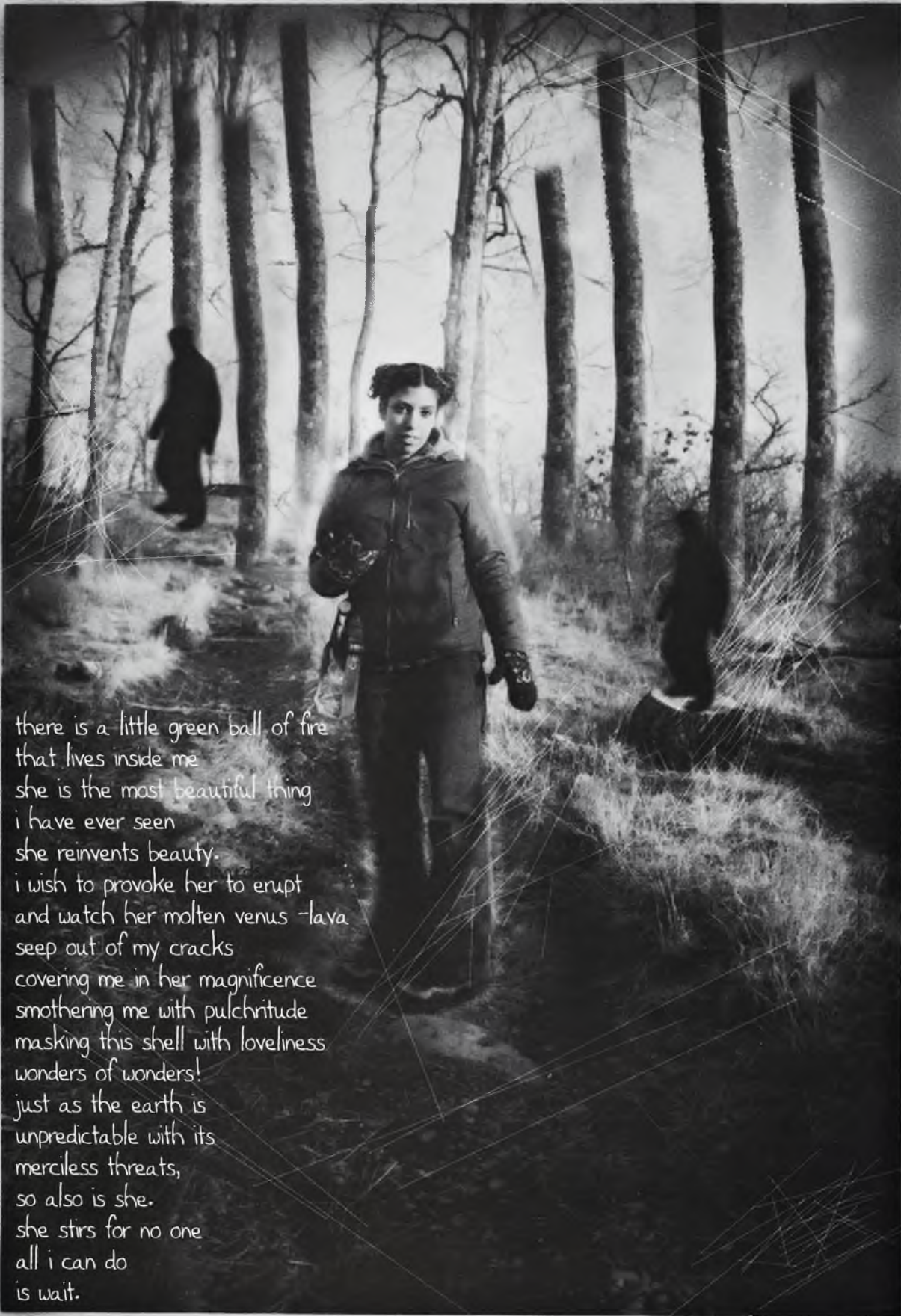
Best Wishes,  
Sol Robbins

P.S. If you have the time please visit <http://www.criticaleye.org>



*Third Rail Congratulates Former Banner Editor-in-Chief, Perri Dreznick and Former Banner Business Manager, Shawn Fisher on their recent wedding!*





there is a little green ball of fire  
that lives inside me  
she is the most beautiful thing  
i have ever seen  
she reinvents beauty.  
i wish to provoke her to erupt  
and watch her molten venus -lava  
seep out of my cracks  
covering me in her magnificence  
smothering me with pulchritude  
masking this shell with loveliness  
wonders of wonders!  
just as the earth is  
unpredictable with its  
merciless threats,  
so also is she.  
she stirs for no one  
all i can do  
is wait.



upon the sea edge,  
walking into foam and shells,  
my lungs gulp down air thick with salt  
with every wave, my toes sink deeper  
into the earth.

If I stand here long enough i will soon  
become one with the water  
at 23 I still cannot tell where the  
sea ends and the sky begins

words by Rachel Richards  
images by Anthony Gargiso



# MANUFACTURING CONSENT

by Harry Flood

Welcome to the  
factory floor.....

**The product?**

Things that are not essential,  
but *hard* to live without.

What's being supplied here is demand.  
Want.

Craving.

All you could desire. All you can imagine.  
Maybe more than you can handle.



CONSUME



ACQUIRE



EAT



DRESS



## “WHY IS THIS CHILD SMILING?”

asks a recent print ad of a cute tot blissfully snoozing. “Because he has lived his whole life in the biggest bull market in history.” Cue the smug nods, the flush of pride. For here, swaddled in Baby Gap and lying in a Morigeau crib, is the immaculate American kid, born in the best damn place and time there has ever been. A child wanting for nothing.

He will soon learn, of course, to want everything.

Americans are beyond apologizing for their lifestyle of scorched-earth consumerism. To the strange little cabal of moralists — Robert Frank, Jedediah Purdy et al. — who have recently questioned the official program, the response has mostly been to crank up the volume and drown the doubt out. Global consumer culture? Supersize it, baby. Pile on the wattage, horsepower, silicone, cholesterol and RAM until the lights flicker, the smoke-alarms shriek and the cardiac paddles lurch to life. Give us marbled steaks and sport-utes, please, and put it all on our tab — we’re good for it. Because we are working dogs. And we have worked out the formula for millennial prosperity: keep your head down and your wallet open, and watch the economy roll. Enjoy the rollicking good times while building “the America we deserve.”

Time was, decadence on this scale was something to fear. If one group of people was gobbling up resources out of all proportion to its needs, consuming at thirty times the rate of other groups of people, at everyone’s

expense, well . . . that was bad karma, to say the least. Their society was surely soft, cancerous and doomed.

But somehow, the First World has managed to give it all a happy spin. We have decided not to avoid decadence but to embrace it. Crave it. Buy it. Sell it. What’s decadent? Ice cream with the density of plutonium, a bubblebath with a barley-flour chaser, that great new Gucci scent called “Envy.” Decadence is just the celebration of universal human appetites, fully expressed — and any premium wiener who’d object to that idea must already be half-dead.

There’s no mistaking contemporary America for Versailles-era France or Rome in the time of the Caesars. Decadence has grown up, grown cool, grown systematic in its excess. It’s an indoor trout stream in the tasteful lakeside mansion of a software magnate. It’s leasing, rather than owning, a fine German automobile so you can exchange it for a new one in ten months. You don’t see the new deci-billionnaires of Silicon Valley splashing their wealth around wantonly, like the ‘80s Wall Street crowd. What you see is specific,

laser-guided generosity — like cutting friends and relatives into the IPO, or buying a tax-deductible



painting by your boss’ kid. Keeping the money in the family. The woman most recently canonized by the American media was a personal shopper, by trade. (It was said Carolyn Bessette Kennedy, whose job was to purchase things for other people too wealthy or time-pressed to purchase things for themselves, personified elegance, refinement and understatement.) The new design aesthetic, as seen in Wallpaper magazine, is sexily minimalist, with high design and hyperattention to every detail. Labor-intensive and expensive as hell, but worth it.

See how much we’ve grown up? Can you understand now why the rest of the world has its nose to the glass, wanting a piece of this?

THIRDAILMAG 22 COM

**MANUFACTURING  
CONSENT**



# MANUFACTURING CONSENT



Perhaps decadence isn't a thing but a behavior — some gesture just arrogant and shameless enough to be Bad (read, good). An American golf fan, swept up by jingoism, spits on a rival golfer's wife at a prestigious international tournament. A real-estate mogul erects a great middle-finger of an apartment building shadowing the United Nations. The most powerful man in the world proves he is pathologically unable to apologize.

Or maybe decadence goes deeper than a behavior, as deep as the emotion that hatched it. The Motion Picture Association of America fixes an R rating on films that include profanity, nudity, sex, violence or "decadent situations." So understanding decadence may simply involve renting a few saucy blockbuster action pictures and monitoring the responses they provoke. As the beloved stars appear on the screen, predictable thoughts materialize in the primitive hindbrain of the viewer: I want your hair. I want your money. I want to see you naked on the Internet.

Not every American lives a decadent life, of course. But decadence, as the marketers say, has great penetration. Those who aren't themselves trashing hotel rooms or being photographed in their swimming pools for InStyle magazine, end up thinking a lot about those who are — because the culture of celebrity (or the culture of "ornament," as Susan Faludi calls it) is the water we're all swimming in. Refracted through the glass of the tank, the contours of the world outside tend to distort.

A Canadian newspaper recently quoted a Toronto woman who had

taken a leave from her law practice to stay home with the baby. She was grumbling that the family was now forced to get by on her husband's \$37,000 salary. "I love to live in poverty," she said, sardonically. "It's my favorite thing in life." The story was supposed to be about the social trend of professional women making domestic choices. But it was really about a different social trend altogether: the hyperinflation of the concept of "enough."

To borrow journalist Robert Kaplan's metaphor, the First World is driving a Cadillac through Harlem. The passengers are hermetically protected. The air-conditioner is on, Wynton Marsalis is issuing from the stereo, beers chill in the minibar. It's hard to make much out through the tinted windows, but no matter. Nothing that's happening outside has any bearing on what's happening inside. At least, that's our willful illusion. It's an illusion that seems indefinitely sustainable, though it isn't.

Decadence is self-delusion on a massive scale. Like the motto of the new gadget-packed magalog Sony Style — "things that are not essential, yet hard to live without" — it's about convincing ourselves of the value of this lifestyle, because to question it would force choices we're not prepared to make.

How much do I deserve?' we all ask ourselves, if only implicitly. 'Not just money, but adventure, sex, fizzy water, educational opportunities, time on the beach, peace of mind — the package. How much do I deserve?'

A thoughtful answer might be, 'I don't deserve anything. The notion that some people are just naturally more entitled than others is for Calvinists, Monarchists and Donald Trump. It simply doesn't feel right to claim more than a modest reasonable allotment. If I've happened to stake a claim on a rich crook of the river, that's my good luck. The guy upstream has worked just as hard as I have. So I share.'

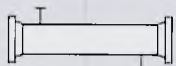
But that view now seems downright un-American. 'How much do I deserve? All I can cram in my mouth, brain, glove-box and day-timer,' says the hard-charging capitalist. 'I've earned it. And you haven't earned the right to tell me differently.' That's why, when the Australian ethicist Peter Singer wonders, "What is our charitable burden?" it strikes so many Americans as unusual, controversial, bizarre. For a lot of folks, the calculation of an acceptable level of personal sacrifice is easy: It's zero. No other answer computes. I think that partly explains the extreme responses Singer evokes. He touches people in a place they don't like to be touched.

Are Americans today intrinsically more base and self-centered than other folks, past and present? Hard to make that argument fly. It's just that never before in history have so few barriers been placed in front of the expression of a National id. No opponents challenge us. No authority figures monitor us. No threat of consequence or reprisal encourages civility, modesty, fairness or grace. The

DRIVE



DRINK



FUCK



PURCHASE



GRAVE

# MANUFACTURING CONSENT



"life of struggle" that Schopenhauer identified as essential to man isn't obvious in the contemporary US. The struggle against want has been won; all foes have been conquered but one. That one is boredom, the opposite of suffering.

Not long ago, the actor Charlie Sheen, an Angels baseball fan, bought up all the tickets in a left-field section of Anaheim stadium and sat out there by himself, pounding his mitt, hoping to catch a fly ball. (None came his way.) Why did he do that? Because he could. America is decadent because nothing prevents it from being so. "Because I can" is the ironic successor to the more earnest, Kantian, "Because I should." When there's no other rationale for a behavior, and none seems to be required, that's decadence - no less so for the smirky tagline.

Decadence is what happens when the energy of a whole society gets channeled into the trivial or the mercenary. In the age of the supercharged Dow, everything reduces to an "opportunity," at an incalculable (though unacknowledged) cost.

As hurricane Floyd blew through Florida, day-traders jumped into the commodities markets looking to cash in on tragedy. Orange juice and cotton futures shot up. Lumber futures rose because homes smashed to flinders would presumably need to be rebuilt. Then the hurricane moved northward, and traders eased off, waiting to see if there would be, as one trader put it, "any real damage." "I don't think morality has anything to do with the way markets work, that's what this is telling you," a labor economist reached for comment summarized. What does it tell you when the most powerful engine of the country, a chief driver of its culture, functions independent of human

morality?

I pondered that question recently while sitting on the throne in the bathroom of the office where I work. Often there are magazines to read in there, but on the last few occasions there haven't been - only catalogues. Another sign of the times. In the most private of the day's moments, where we used to relax and be told a story, now we gaze at pictures of a car or a computer or a coffeemaker. Consumer lust loosens the sphincter and in an almost orgasmic spasm, we let go. (Of maybe the last thing we're willing to let go.)

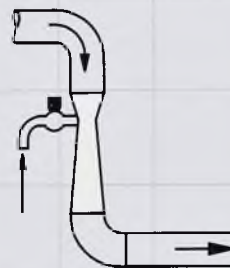
It's tempting to think of decadence as a personal act with personal consequences (namely, to the soul.). If that were true, it would all come down to a matter of taste, and we could agree to live and let live with our own strange preoccupations. But decadence is really a political act. Americans aren't living large in a vacuum; they're living large at the expense of things and people: the growing underclass, the stability of the economy, the texture of mental environment, the planet itself. Every mile we log alone in the car, every sweat-shop-made sneaker we buy, every porn site we visit, every tobacco stock we day-trade in, is a brick in wall of the new world we're creating. Not everyone got a vote in this process; yet everyone pays the price. Eventually, everyone pays an incredible price.

"In a new way, America's decadence has made it vulnerable," a friend offers. Today, all is well, so keep your eye on today. Ten years ago the average personal savings rate in North America was about ten percent. Now it's zero. "If the Dow tumbles, people literally will not be able to tolerate a diminishment in their lifestyle. You'll see consumer rage, deeper and deeper debt problems as consumption patterns hold constant but income falls." Because, the thing is, the desire doesn't go away. The manufacture of desire won't slow down, even if the manufacture of everything else does.

HOW



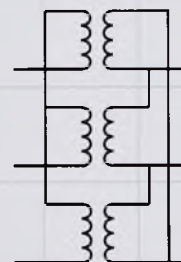
MUCH



DO



I



DESERVE

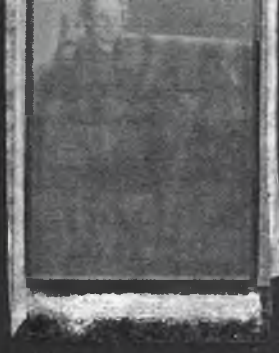


?



*The child's days escape adult time; their time is swollen by subjectivity, passion, dreams haunted by reality. Outside, the educators look on, waiting, watch in hand, till the child joins and fits the cycle of the hours.*

*-Raoul Vaneigem*



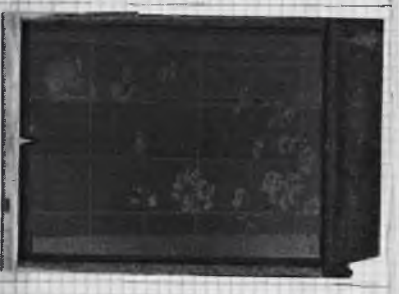
the loneliness  
i feel  
right now  
is really  
freedom  
in sheep's clothing

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three voices  
lovely as the  
day was special  
more over  
faith  
was born today  
in my  
heart



LOST  
NUMBERS



summer days come  
to an end  
i was re-born  
metamorphosis  
manumission  
...many people  
made it unique  
especially  
me.

5  
FEE 24-29



LOST NUMBERS  
by: Anthony Gargiso  
w o r d s  
by: Rachel Richards



you danced today  
with a freedom  
my eyes have never seen  
twisting and  
turning  
with the splendor  
of  
mother earth  
not-to-sh-ahhh







# PEACE?

# No Chance...

by Professor Benny Morris



**F**or the past two decades, Professor Benny Morris - a prominent Israeli leftist, international academic, kibbutznic, and a leading figure in Israel's Post-Zionism camp - has been advocating the notion that Israel's official version of history has been filled with misconceptions and misleading myths. With the publication of *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem* in 1988, Professor Benny Morris became one of Israel's "New Historians" who forced his country to confront its partial role in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians. Later, citing moral and ethical reasons, Morris refused to fulfill his Israeli military duties in the West Bank and was subsequently arrested and jailed. For the last 20 years he has been a prominent critic of the State of Israel. More recently, he has shocked his allies in the Left with his criticism of the Palestinian liberation movement and its leadership. As the cycle of violence in the Middle East intensifies, Professor Benny Morris explains in the following essay why he has shifted the propensity of blame for the breakdown in negotiations, from Israel to the Palestinian leadership, and expounds on why he believes a peaceful coexistence is impossible in the near future.



The rumor that I have undergone a brain transplant is (as far as I can remember) unfounded – or at least premature. But my thinking about the current Middle East crisis and its protagonists has in fact radically changed during the past two years. I imagine that I feel a bit like one of those western fellow travellers rudely awakened by the trundle of Russian tanks crashing through Budapest in 1956.

Back in 1993, when I began work on *Righteous Victims*, a revisionist history of the Zionist-Arab conflict from 1881 until the present, I was cautiously optimistic about the prospects for Middle East peace. I was never a wild optimist; and my gradual study during the mid-1990s of the pre-1948 history of Palestinian-Zionist relations brought home to me the depth and breadth of the problems and antagonisms. But at least the Israelis and Palestinians were talking peace; had agreed to mutual recognition; and had signed the Oslo agreement, a first step that promised gradual Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, the emergence of a Palestinian state, and a peace treaty between the two peoples. The Palestinians appeared to have given up their decades-old dream and objective of destroying and supplanting the Jewish state, and the Israelis had given up their dream of a “Greater Israel”, stretching from the Mediterranean to the Jordan river. And, given the centrality of Palestinian-Israeli relations in the Arab-Israeli conflict, a final, comprehensive peace settlement between Israel and all of its Arab neighbors seemed within reach.

But by the time I had completed the book, my restrained optimism had given way to grave doubts – and within a year had crumbled into a cosmic pessimism. One reason was the Syrians’ rejection of the deal offered by the prime ministers Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres in 1993-96 and Ehud Barak in 1999-2000, involving Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights in exchange for a full-fledged bilateral peace treaty. What appears to have stayed the hands of President Hafez Assad and subsequently his son and successor, Bashar Assad, was not quibbles about a few hundred yards here or there but a basic refusal to make peace with the Jewish state. What counted, in the end, was the presence, on a wall in the Assads’ office, of a portrait of Saladin, the legendary 12th-century Kurdish Muslim warrior who had beaten the crusaders, to whom the Arabs often compared the Zionists. I can see the father, on his deathbed, telling his son: “Whatever you do, don’t make peace with the Jews; like the crusaders, they too will vanish.”

But my main reason, around which my pessimism gathered and crystallized, was the figure of Yasser Arafat, who has led the Palestinian national movement since the late 1960s and, by virtue of the Oslo accords, governs the cities of the West Bank (Hebron, Bethlehem, Ramallah, Nablus, Jenin, Tulkarm and Qalqilya) and their environs, and the bulk of the Gaza Strip. Arafat is the symbol of the movement, accurately reflecting his people’s miseries and collective aspirations. Unfortunately, he has proven himself a worthy successor to Haj Muhammad Amin al Husseini, the mufti of Jerusalem, who led the Palestinians during the 1930s into their (abortive) rebellion against the British mandate government and during the 1940s into their (again abortive) attempt to prevent the emergence of the Jewish state in 1948, resulting in their catastrophic defeat and the creation of the Palestinian refugee problem. Husseini had been implacable and incompetent (a dangerous mix) – but also a trickster and liar. Nobody had trusted him, neither his Arab colleagues nor the British nor the Zionists. Above all, Husseini had embodied rejectionism – a rejection of any compromise with the Zionist movement. He had rejected two inter-

national proposals to partition the country into Jewish and Arab polities, by the British Peel commission in 1937 and by the UN General Assembly in November 1947. In between, he spent the war years (1941-45) in Berlin, working for the Nazi foreign ministry and recruiting Bosnian Muslims for the Wehrmacht.

Abba Eban, Israel’s legendary foreign minister, once quipped that the Palestinians had never missed an opportunity to miss an opportunity. But no one can fault them for consistency. After Husseini came Arafat, another implacable nationalist and inveterate liar, trusted by no Arab, Israeli or American leader (though there appear to be many Europeans who are taken in). In 1978-79, he failed to join the Israeli-Egyptian Camp David framework, which might have led to Palestinian statehood a decade ago. In 2000, turning his back on the Oslo process, Arafat rejected yet another historic compromise, that offered by Barak at Camp David in July and subsequently improved upon in President Bill Clinton’s proposals (endorsed by Barak) in December. Instead, the Palestinians, in September, resorted to arms and launched the current mini-war or intifada, which has so far resulted in some 790 Arab and 270 Israeli deaths, and a deepening of hatred on both sides to the point that the idea of a territorial-political compromise seems to be a pipe dream.

Palestinians and their sympathizers have blamed the Israelis and Clinton for what happened: the daily humiliations and restrictions of the continuing Israeli semi-occupation; the wily but transparent Binyamin Netanyahu’s foot-dragging during 1996-99; Barak’s continued expansion of the settlements in the occupied territories and his standoffish manner toward Arafat; and Clinton’s insistence on summoning the Camp David meeting despite Palestinian protestations that they were not quite ready. But all this is really and truly beside the point: Barak, a sincere and courageous leader, offered Arafat a reasonable peace agreement that included Israeli withdrawal from 85-91% of the West Bank and 100% of the Gaza Strip; the uprooting of most of the settlements; Palestinian sovereignty over the Arab neighborhoods of East Jerusalem; and the establishment of a Palestinian state. As to the Temple Mount (Haram ash-Sharif) in Jerusalem’s Old City, Barak proposed Israeli-Palestinian condominium or UN security council control or “divine sovereignty” with actual Arab control. Regarding the Palestinian refugees, Barak offered a token return to Israel and massive financial compensation to facilitate their rehabilitation in the Arab states and the Palestinian state-to-be.

Arafat rejected the offer, insisting on 100% Israeli withdrawal from the territories, sole Palestinian sovereignty over the Temple Mount, and the refugees’ “right of return” to Israel proper. Instead of continuing to negotiate, the Palestinians – with the agile Arafat both riding the tiger and pulling the strings behind the scenes – launched the intifada. Clinton (and Barak) responded by upping the ante to 94-96% of the West Bank (with some territorial compensation from Israel proper) and sovereignty over the surface area of the Temple Mount, with some sort of Israeli control regarding the area below ground, where the Palestinians have recently carried out excavation work without proper archaeological supervision. Again, the Palestinians rejected the proposals, insisting on sole Palestinian sovereignty over the Temple Mount (surely an unjust demand: after all, the Temple Mount and the temples’ remains at its core are the most important historical and religious symbol and site of the Jewish people. It is worth mentioning that “Jerusalem” or its Arab variants do not even appear once in the Koran).

Since these rejections - which led directly to Barak's defeat and hardliner Ariel Sharon's election as prime minister - the Israelis and Palestinians have been at each other's throats, and the semi-occupation has continued. The intifada is a strange, sad sort of war, with the underdog, who rejected peace, simultaneously in the role of aggressor and, when the western TV cameras are on, victim. The semi-occupier, with his giant but largely useless army, merely responds, usually with great restraint, given the moral and international political shackles under which he labors. And he loses on CNN because F-16s bombing empty police buildings appear far more savage than Palestinian suicide bombers who take out 10 or 20 Israeli civilians at a go.

The Palestinian Authority (PA) has emerged as a virtual kingdom of mendacity, where every official, from President Arafat down, spends his days lying to a succession of western journalists. The reporters routinely give the lies credence equal to or greater than what they hear from straight, or far less mendacious, Israeli officials. One day Arafat charges that the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) uses uranium-tipped shells against Palestinian civilians. The next day it's poison gas. Then, for lack of independent corroboration, the charges simply vanish - and the Palestinians go on to the next lie, again garnering headlines in western and Arab newspapers.

Daily, Palestinian officials bewail Israeli "massacres" and "bombings" of Palestinian civilians - when in fact there have been no massacres and the bombings have invariably been directed at empty PA buildings. The only civilians deliberately targeted and killed in large numbers, indeed massacred, are Israeli - by Palestinian suicide bombers. In response, the army and Shin Bet (the Israeli security service) have tried to hit the guilty with "targeted killings" of bomb-makers, terrorists and their dispatchers, to me an eminently moral form of reprisal, deterrence and prevention: these are (barbaric) "soldiers" in a mini-war and, as such, legitimate military targets. Would the critics prefer Israel to respond in kind to a suicide bombing in Tel Aviv? Palestinian leaders routinely laud the suicide bombers as national heroes. In a recent spate of articles, Palestinian journalists, politicians and clerics praised Wafa Idris, a female suicide bomber who detonated her device in Jerusalem's main Jaffa Street, killing an 81-year-old man and injuring about 100. A controversy ensued - not over the morality or political efficacy of the deed but about whether Islam allows women to play such a role.

Instead of being informed, accurately, about the Israeli peace offers, the Palestinians have been subjected to a nonstop barrage of anti-Israeli incitement and lies in the PA-controlled

media. Arafat has honed the practice of saying one thing to western audiences and quite another to his own Palestinian constituency to a fine art. Lately, with Arab audiences, he has begun to use the term "the Zionist army" (for the IDF), a throw-back to the 1950s and 1960s when Arab leaders routinely spoke of "the Zionist entity" instead of saying "Israel", which, they felt, implied some form of recognition of the Jewish state and its legitimacy.

At the end of the day, this question of legitimacy - seemingly put to rest by the Israeli-Egyptian and Israeli-Jordanian peace treaties - is at the root of current Israeli despair and my own "conversion". For decades, Israeli leaders - notably Golda Meir in 1969 - denied the existence of a "Palestinian people" and the legitimacy of Palestinian aspirations for sovereignty. But during the 1930s and 1940s, the Zionist movement agreed to give up its dream of a "Greater Israel" and to divide Palestine with the Arabs. During the 1990s, the movement went further - agreeing to partition and recognizing the existence of the Palestinian people as its partner in partition.

Unfortunately, the Palestinian national movement, from its inception, has denied the Zionist movement any legitimacy and stuck fast to the vision of a "Greater Palestine", meaning a Muslim-Arab-populated and Arab-controlled state in all of Palestine, perhaps with some Jews being allowed to stay on as a religious minority. In 1988-93, in a brief flicker on the graph, Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organization seemed to have acquiesced in the idea of a compromise. But since 2000 the dominant vision of a "Greater Palestine" has surged back to the fore (and one wonders whether the pacific asseverations of 1988-1993 were not merely diplomatic camouflage).

The Palestinian leadership, and with them most Palestinians, deny Israel's right to exist, deny that Zionism was/is a just enterprise. (I have yet to see even a peace-minded Palestinian leader, as Sari Nusseibeh seems to be, stand up and say: "Zionism is a legitimate national liberation movement, like our own. And the Jews have a just claim to Palestine, like we do.") Israel may exist, and be too powerful, at present, to destroy; one may recognize its reality. But this is not to endow it with legitimacy. Hence Arafat's repeated denial in recent months of any connection between the Jewish people and the Temple Mount, and, by extension, between the Jewish people and the land of Israel/Palestine. "What Temple?" he asks. The Jews are simply robbers who came from Europe and decided, for some unfathomable reason, to steal Palestine and displace the Palestinians. He refuses to recognize the history and reality of the 3,000-year-old Jewish connection to the land of Israel.

On some symbolic plane, the Temple Mount is a crucial issue. But more practically, the real issue, the real litmus test of Palestinian intentions, is the fate of the refugees, some 3.5-4 million strong, encompassing those who fled or were driven out during the 1948 war and were never allowed back to their homes in Israel, as well as their descendants.

I spent the mid-1980s investigating what led to the creation of the refugee problem, publishing *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* in 1988. My conclusion, which angered many Israelis and undermined Zionist historiography, was that most of the refugees were a product of Zionist military action and, in smaller measure, of Israeli expulsion orders and Arab local leaders' urgings or orders to move out. Critics of Israel subsequently latched on to those findings that highlighted Israeli responsibility while ignoring the fact that the problem was a direct consequence of the war that the Palestinians - and, in their wake, the surrounding Arab states - had launched. And few noted that, in my concluding remarks, I had explained that the creation of the problem was "almost inevitable", given the Zionist aim of creating a Jewish state in a land largely populated by Arabs and given Arab resistance to the Zionist enterprise. The refugees were the inevitable by-product of an attempt to fit an ungainly square peg into an inhospitable round hole.

But whatever my findings, we are now 50 years on - and Israel exists. Like every people, the Jews deserve a state, and justice will not be served by throwing them into the sea. And if the refugees are allowed back, there will be godawful chaos and, in the end, no Israel. Israel is currently populated by 5m Jews and more than 1m Arabs (an increasingly vociferous, pro-Palestinian irredentist time bomb). If the refugees return, an unviable binational entity will emerge and, given the Arabs' far higher birth rates, Israel will quickly cease to be a Jewish state. Add to that the Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and you have, almost instantly, an Arab state between the Mediterranean and the Jordan river with a Jewish minority.

Jews lived as a minority in Muslim countries from the 7th century - and, contrary to Arab propaganda, never much enjoyed the experience. They were always second-class citizens and always discriminated-against infidels; they were often persecuted and not infrequently murdered. Giant pogroms occurred over the centuries. And as late as the 1940s Arab mobs murdered hundreds of Jews in Baghdad, and hundreds more in Libya, Egypt and Morocco. The Jews were expelled from or fled the Arab world during the 1950s and 60s. There is no reason to believe that Jews will want to live (again) as a minority in a (Palestinian) Arab state, especially given the tragic history of Jewish-Palestinian relations. They will either be expelled or emigrate to the west.

It is the Palestinian leadership's rejection of the Barak-Clinton peace proposals of July-December 2000, the launching of the intifada, and the demand ever since that Israel accept the "right of return" that has persuaded me that the Palestinians, at least in this generation, do not intend peace: they do not want, merely, an end to the occupation - that is what was offered back in July-December 2000, and they rejected the deal. They want all of Palestine and as few Jews in it as possible. The right of return is the wedge with which to prise open the Jewish state. Demography - the far higher Arab birth rate - will, over time, do the rest, if Iranian or Iraqi nuclear weapons don't do the trick first.

And don't get me wrong. I favor an Israeli withdrawal from the territories - the semi-occupation is corrupting and immoral, and alienates Israel's friends abroad - as part of a bilateral peace agreement; or, if an agreement is unobtainable, a unilateral withdrawal to strategically defensible borders. In fact in 1988 I served time in a military prison for refusing to serve in the West Bank town of Nablus. But I don't believe that the resultant status quo will survive for long. The Palestinians - either the PA itself or various armed factions,

with the PA looking on - will continue to harry Israel, with Katyusha rockets and suicide bombers, across the new lines, be they agreed or self-imposed. Ultimately, they will force Israel to reconquer the West Bank and Gaza Strip, probably plunging the Middle East into a new, wide conflagration.

I don't believe that Arafat and his colleagues mean or want peace - only a staggered chipping away at the Jewish state - and I don't believe that a permanent two-state solution will emerge. I don't believe that Arafat is constitutionally capable of agreeing, really agreeing, to a solution in which the Palestinians get 22-25% of the land (a West Bank-Gaza state) and Israel the remaining 75-78%, or of signing away the "right of return". He is incapable of looking his refugee constituencies in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Gaza in the eye and telling them: "I have signed away your birthright, your hope, your dream."

And he probably doesn't want to. Ultimately, I believe, the balance of military force or the demography of Palestine, meaning the discrepant national birth rates, will determine the country's future, and either Palestine will become a Jewish state, without a substantial Arab minority, or it will become an Arab state, with a gradually diminishing Jewish minority. Or it will become a nuclear wasteland, a home to neither people.

*Professor Benny Morris teaches Middle East history at Ben-Gurion University, Beersheba, Israel. His next book, The Road to Jerusalem: Glubb Pasha, the Jews and Palestine, is published by IB Tauris.*

“Unfortunately, the Palestinian national movement, from its inception, has denied the Zionist movement any legitimacy and stuck fast to the vision of a “Greater Palestine”, meaning a Muslim-Arab-populated and Arab-controlled state in all of Palestine, perhaps with some Jews being allowed to stay on as a religious minority.”

“Jews lived as a minority in Muslim countries from the 7th century - and, contrary to Arab propaganda, never much enjoyed the experience. They were always second-class citizens and always discriminated-against infidels; they were often persecuted and not infrequently murdered. Giant pogroms occurred over the centuries.”

# HOLLAND HASH BAR



Coffee, Tea, Rolling Rock and other alcoholic beverages, and Dutch home-grown cannabis are on the menu at *Tops Coffee Shop* on the Prinsengracht (Prince Canal) in Amsterdam. A special license is required to sell alcohol, but not soft drugs. Hash and weed are sold by the gram, including a selection of Domestic, Foreign, Afghan and Manoli varieties from the East. These soft drugs are offered legally in the 500 “Brown Coffee Shops” in The Netherlands.

“The Netherlands is the only place you can do this. It’s illegal where I come from, Suriname [a Dutch Colony],” said Jerry Wellie, the bartender at *Tops Coffee Shop*, who has lived in Amsterdam for five years. “When you smoke marijuana you don’t harm anyone,” he said.

“Following the liberal uprising of the 1960s and Woodstock, cannabis and hash were commonly used even by members of Parliament,” stated Wellie. Thus, about 30 years ago a law was passed to legalize soft drugs and brown cafes were born.

Approximately half the coffee shops in The Netherlands are located in the capital city of Amsterdam, many in established residential neighborhoods.

“The attitude is much more relaxed, maybe too relaxed,” said Theresa Nylen, a modern dance student at the Theatre School in Amsterdam. For the past two years, Ms. Nylen, a Swedish

citizen, has lived in Amsterdam and she was astonished when she first arrived in the country and went to a coffee shop. “It’s an easy choice to make here,” said Ms. Nylen, “Just ask for the menu.”

But Veronica Hutton, a graduate student in finance at UCLA in California said, “I don’t feel comfortable to smoke here. I only feel comfortable in my own house.” Ms. Hutton was in Amsterdam to do research for an American insurance company.

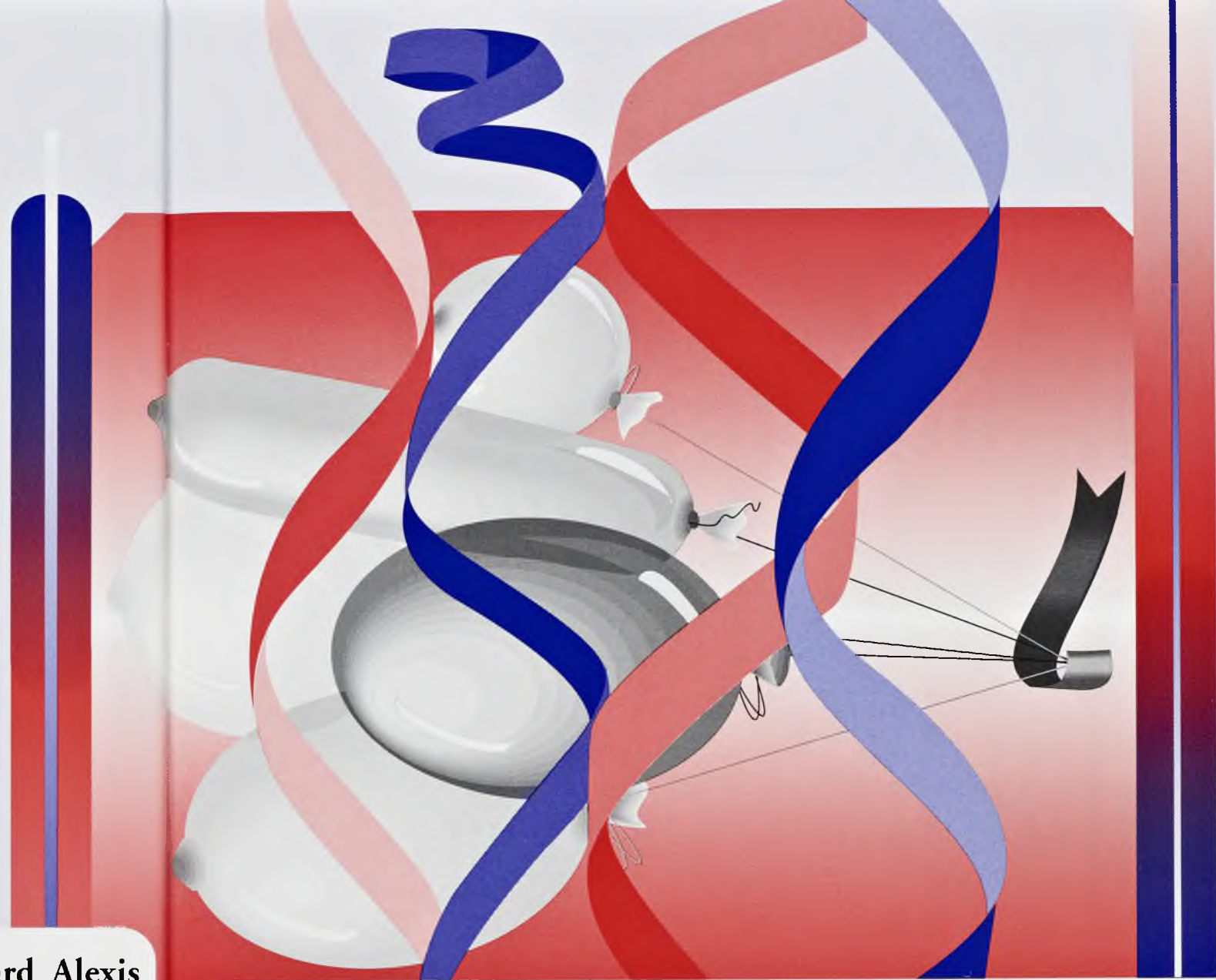
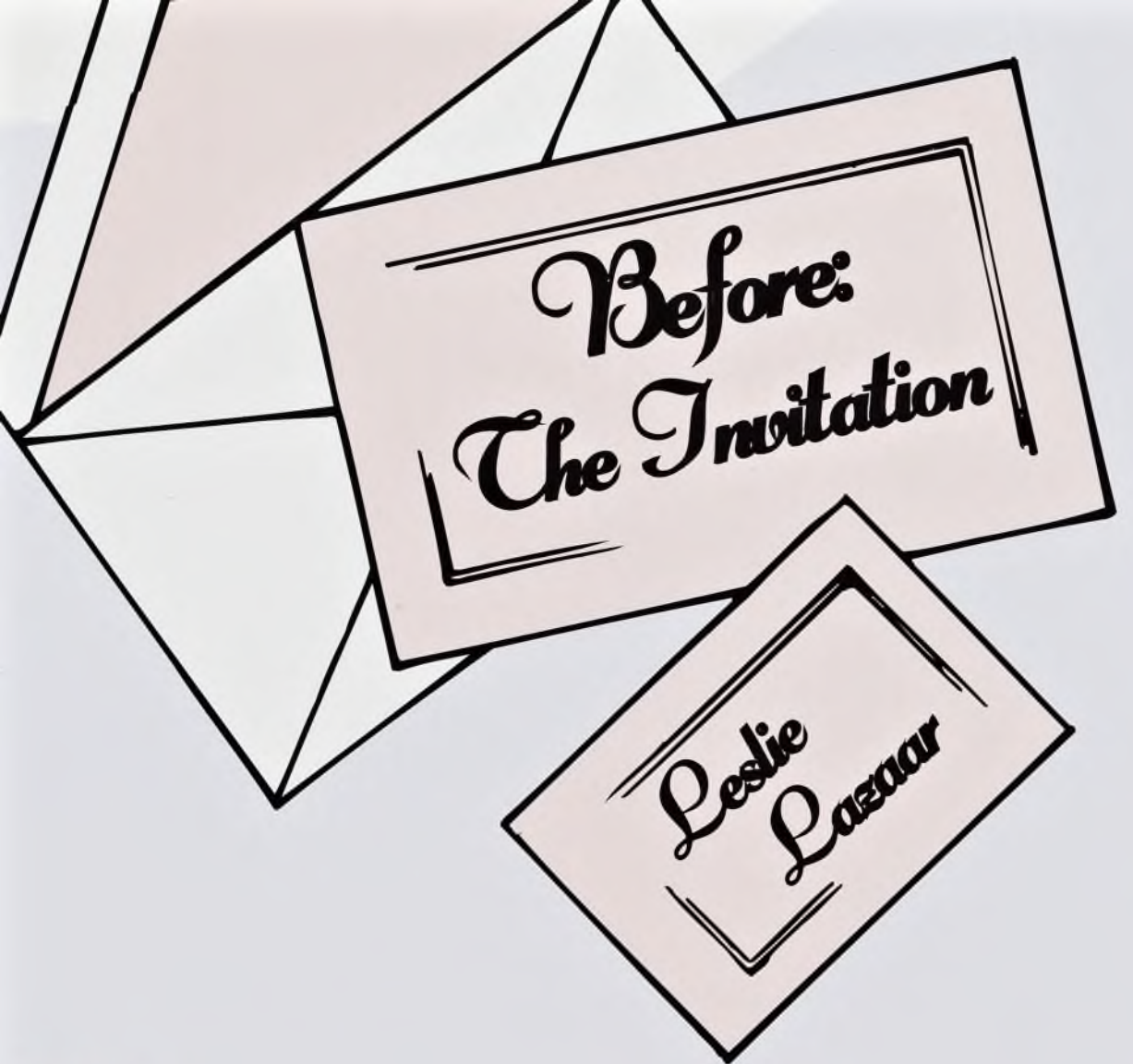
Jimi Hendrix and Led Zeppelin posters are part of the decor at *Tops Coffee Shop*, and Bob Marley music plays regularly. This dimly lit coffee shop is equipped with video games and eight computer links, which are not common at other cafes. Ms. Hutton cued up to use the computer at *Tops* so she could e-mail her boss in America.

“I wonder what my boss would say if he knew where I was conducting my business from,” she said.

Six cafe tables and rattan chairs are nestled outside the front of *Tops Coffee Shop*, where customers can sit and enjoy a cappuccino or a joint as the canal tourist boats and leisure watercraft cruise by. This section of the Prinsengracht Canal consists mainly of 17th century residential buildings, The *Van Halen* bed and breakfast, *Hair Point Beauty* salon, two bakeries and one of the many antique shops found in Amsterdam.

So when you visit Amsterdam and you see the abundant coffee shops, remember that the menu may not be limited to just coffee or tea.

Photographs & Essay by Nancy Fama



“Hiyah, Christine! Hiyah, Rachel! Hi everybody!” I heard Alexis loudly screech to her friends who were maybe just five feet away from her amidst the noise and chaos of the cafeteria.

Even though I was sitting a few tables away from her, her voice startled me. I had been reading *Wuthering Heights* for my A.P. English class. *How obnoxious*, I thought, considering how close in distance Alexis was to her friends as I watched her file and greet each of them with phony air kisses. But that was Alexis for you, always trying to be the center of attention. I sighed and went back to reading my book.

I was about a few extra words in when something Alexis said made my head shoot up immediately.

“So yeah, my dad and I went shopping at Lord and Taylor’s and Bergdoff Goodman’s in New York last week to go looking for my prom dress, ‘cause you know that me and Kevin are going together, right? Afterwards, we walked around the city and then he took me to eat at Tavern on the Green. My dad is so fuckin’ cool, he’s like a girlfriend,” she announced to the cafeteria. Everyone was her captive audience, even if they pretended not to listen.

“Yeah, your dad is great,” Christina agreed, nodding.

“We couldn’t find a dress in my size unfortunately. They were all too big,” she said, and then pausing, perhaps for

emphasis. “So he’s gonna take me to Sax next week.”

“Gosh, I wish my dad would do that. He doesn’t even have the time,” Heather, another one of Alexis’s clones and admirers, stated.

“Yeah, I love my dad. I’m so glad he’s able to do these things for me,” she said, her eyes glancing towards me as she said it.

I sat there in disbelief. I looked at her and her friends who started giggling. I then quickly shut my book, grabbed my belongings and ran out of the cafeteria. I heard a burst of laughter as I fled past them, with Christina saying, “Gosh, what a baby! You’d think someone had just died or something.”

Three months earlier my father *had* died. Not many people knew about it. But somehow *she* did.

"What?" she asked from her seat.

"Come here this minute!"

All eyes were on us as Alexis sauntered over without a care in the world. "Yes?" she asked innocently.

"Now I'm going to say this and I'm only going to say this once: if you don't behave I will not hesitate to send you to the dean," he scolded. "Now stop making fun of Ms. Clarke and do your work!"

I wanted to die right then and there. Not only was it bad enough that I told on Alexis, but now the whole class knew about it and I knew they would all side with her. Alexis, however, appearing humble for once, simply stared at the floor and nodded yes.

Mr. Levine seemed satisfied. I, on the other hand, was hoping that a bolt of lightning from the heavens would strike me down or that something would fall from the sky and knock me out. Anything to escape where I was. I just knew that from this moment on my high school years were doomed forever.

"Now return to your seats."

As we did, I could sense the hatred in the room towards me. Everyone held looks of disgust or detestation on their faces as I walked passed them.

"Baby!" Alexis hissed as we both sat down yet surprisingly, she said nothing else for the remainder of the period.

It wasn't until I came home that I noticed the dissected grasshopper in my book bag. And so began my descent into hell.



Maybe I was crazy but I still wanted to go to the reunion.

### D-DAY

The day of the reunion I woke up feeling something awful. "Mommy," I tried to yell, longing for that nurturing mothers often provide. *Ugh, I don't feel so good*, I groaned. I made a feeble attempt to pull my body up but it didn't work and my head crashed back onto the pillow.

Mustering enough strength I yelled even louder: "Mommy, come here please!"

She still had not heard me. "What?" she called. It came from downstairs. She was probably bustling around in the kitchen making breakfast.

"I don't feel so good," I said, more to myself than to her. Then it hit me. Today was the day I would have to face *her*.

Her head popped in a few minutes later.

"What did you say?"

"I don't feel so good."

"What do you have? A temperature?"

She walked over and placed her palm on my forehead. "Yes, you do feel a little warm."

"I think I'm coming down with something."

"Okay, I'll go get the thermometer and a cold compress," she said and went into the bathroom.

A few minutes later with thermometer in my mouth, I thought that maybe I could still go. I again reminded myself that how important it was to make an appearance. Everyone would think I was a chicken if I didn't show so I had to be there, *I just had to*. That was what my mind was telling me.

But my body was saying something else. And there it was, in plain view on the thermometer: my temperature was 101 degrees.

"You definitely should stay inside today," my mother instructed, as if I weren't old enough to reach that conclusion myself. She placed the cool, damp cloth on my forehead and headed for the door. As she was about to leave she turned around and said, "Oh dear, I just realized something. Isn't your high school reunion today?"

I nodded solemnly.

"Well, I don't think you're well enough to go, honey."

Knowing she was right, knowing that I should stay home and rest, I whimpered, "I know," while turning my head on the pillow so she couldn't see the look of devastation on my face.

Sensing my disappointment, she stood there silently and then after a few moments, in an earnest attempt to cheer me up, said, "I'll make you some toast and hot cocoa, okay?" In her mind, I was still five years old.

I forced myself to look at her and give her a smile. "Thanks," I muttered, half sincerely.

She stood there for a few more awkward moments before finally exiting the room. And I, wishing I *were* five years old again, pulled the covers over my head as the tears rapidly came down.

After breakfast I slept on and off until around 3:00 in the afternoon. Feeling a deep melancholy but at the same time a tremendous weight lifted off my shoulders, I thought about what I was missing out on. I pictured Alexis looking more extravagant

and beautiful than ever. And, of course, she was probably married to some successful Wall Street broker or something. She herself wouldn't be working, though. Alexis wasn't the working type. She wouldn't dare lift her perfectly manicured fingers or mess up her perfectly coifed hair if she didn't have to.

Then again, maybe she was living miserably. Wasn't there some truth to that old proverb, the one that says, *What goes around, comes around*? After all the nasty things she's done to me and to others, shouldn't she be the one in agony? What helped me most in high school, what saved me actually, was the belief that something better was coming. There had to be some redemption, some recompense, either emotionally or materially, for people who have been hurt all their lives. After all that suffering, there just had to be. Those people who win the lottery, they didn't just win out of sheer luck. They were chosen by God or some higher power because of something unfortunate that happened earlier in their lives. And if that wasn't the case, if their lives were, on the contrary, rather good and ordinary, then something dark and ominous was lying in wait for them and that would scare me more than anything. Wasn't that the way things worked?

But now I would never find out about what happened to her after graduation. Maybe that was why I felt so disappointed. I needed to know whether or not she was suffering just like I was.

The only thing I *did* know about her was that she went to Adelphi University for a year or two and then dropped out, which neither surprised nor satisfied me. School was never very important to her, unlike me. Doing well in school was the only way I felt validated, felt that I, Joanna Clarke, was actually worth something. So I worked hard.

Yet despite my efforts, I became only salutatorian at my high school, even though I was positive that my grade point average was two-tenths higher than Debi-Ann Valerio's. But she was involved in more extracurricular activities than I was and she also excelled on the girls' volleyball team, I was told. Most importantly, she was also prettier, but they didn't tell me that of course.

Aside from a phone call from Teresa earlier in the afternoon, the house was pretty quiet. My mother was out grocery shop-

ping. I was alone. Feeling slightly better, I wrapped my comforter around me and slowly made my way downstairs.

Other than watching television, which I wasn't in the mood for, I didn't know what to do. My Saturdays were often like that.

After taking some aspirin, I lay down on the couch trying to erase the image of this gorgeous blonde with her husband and two adorable children emerging from a Mercedes Benz and entering the catering hall. All talking and movement would automatically cease, as all eyes would be on this beautiful family.

*"Who is that?" someone would ask.*

*"That's Alexis Harris," another would answer. "You remember her. The one who was voted 'Most Likely to be a Model or Actress.' Well, she's doing just as well as everyone expected. Living in the Hamptons in some gorgeous mansion by the beach."*

*"And whatever happened to Joanna Clarke, the girl nobody liked? I thought she might be here too."*

*"Probably too scared to show up," a third would reply. "After all, she's still living at home with her mother. Why would she want to be around successful people like us? Someone who works in a drugstore? What a loser!"*

*Guffaws would fill the room.*

*Stop it! Stop it!* my mind screamed in frustration. *I have to stop thinking about her!* Instantly I sprang up and looked around the room searching for something, anything, to take my mind off Alexis and the reunion. My eyes fell upon the oak bookcases that housed our family albums. My mother must have kept every picture from the day my sisters and I were born up until now. Thousands of pictures stored in albums meticulously labeled and placed in chronological order.

I decided to look at one of them, which I enjoyed doing from time to time. By random, I chose one from my childhood, when I was around the age of eight. I came across pictures of everyone: mom, dad, Teresa, Christa, and me. There were the ones from Christmas with my sisters and I standing around the tree. The ones of us opening our presents, the looks of both surprise and ecstasy on our faces. All memories captured on film. Dad took most of the photos so I didn't see him too often but the ones he was in reminded me of how happy a man he was, how proud he was of his three little

girls, how close we were as a family back then before . . . he left us.

Then there were the ones of Christa's 10th birthday party with all of her friends and me and Teresa surrounding her as she proudly stood in her front of her cake, eager to blow out the candles. Aunt Marie's wedding, my mother's sister. My great-grandmother Rose, whom I hardly knew, in the hospital before she passed away. Such wonderful memories in all, both bitter and sweet at the same time.

Then I came to the pages containing pictures of my family and I standing next to Mickey Mouse. We had gone to Walt Disney World that summer. I didn't remember much about what happened there except from what my mother told me. For the most part we had a good time but at one point I gave my family a pretty good scare. Somehow, one day at the park, I had gotten separated from them. My parents were terrified that something awful happened to me. Police were notified, Disney staff was on alert. Everyone frantically searched for this eight-year-old girl from Long Island, fearing the worst. Fortunately, to my family's relief, no stranger or weirdo had snatched their daughter away. So where had they found me? Standing in front of an 8-foot statue of Cinderella, the blonde princess, of all places. My family, to this day, has no idea as to why I was so enchanted by her but apparently I stood gazing upon her figure for quite some time. Maybe it was her beauty or how she seemed so god-like. Her eyes transfixed me. Maybe I wanted and believed that I could be her – this perfect, beautiful princess. When the police finally located me and brought me to my family, both of my parents started crying out of relief, but at the time I couldn't understand what all of the fuss was about. All I cared about was that I wanted to be Cinderella. It wasn't until I came home that I learned that dark brown-haired, olive-skinned complexion girls didn't become princesses. I remembered turning my bedroom upside down as I anxiously searched through all my fairy-tale books, looking for princesses who might resemble me but with no luck.

I sighed to myself. It's funny, the things you remember about your childhood. Even then it was like I already knew.

So that is how D-Day went – or

more appropriately, how it didn't. Disappointment and sadness intermingled with relief yet leaving me to wonder *what if? What if I had shown up? What would it have been like to see everyone again? To see her?*

The list of possibilities seemed endless. Maybe my classmates would have acknowledged how great I looked. Maybe they would want to be my friend. Maybe *she* would have been apologetic, begging for my forgiveness. She was suffering after all. Dying from cancer or her child had been killed in a car crash. She was sorry for making fun of me and for desecrating my father's name. She now understood what death was like. Maybe she was divorced. Her husband left her for a younger woman. No, that couldn't be, she was only 28 years old. Yes, he did abandon her and their three small children. She got pregnant right after high school. That's why she dropped out of college. Maybe her parents divorced. Father lost his job and subsequently all their savings. How terrible! Maybe she became an alcoholic (she did like to go out and drink as I recall.)

Maybe she would like to be friends. Hang out. Go shopping. Show me how to be more beautiful, likeable. Show me what I've been doing wrong and she right. Maybe she was dead. Maybe. Maybe. Maybe.

There was only one thing left to do. I walked over to the bar and grabbed the first thing I saw: a bottle of Southern Comfort. I checked the clock. There was still time to make it to the reunion if I hurried. I forced myself to drink the whiskey until it was half empty. Then I crept upstairs to my mother's bedroom. There was a gun my mother bought for protection after my father died. She kept it stored in her bedroom closet where it had been waiting for me all this time.

I wasn't planning to use it to hurt her. I just wanted to ask her why. Why was I chosen out of all my classmates? What was it about *me* that made me a target? Why couldn't it have been someone else? I had to know. She would never speak to me otherwise, which is why I needed the gun. I was still feeling ill but that wasn't going to stop me. If I didn't find out at the reunion, I may never get the chance. One way or another, Alexis Harris was going to have to answer to *me*. This will be a reunion she will never forget. I hope she shows up.

by Boris Koyfman

## TOP 5 MOVIES OF 2001

**1. In The Bedroom** - Todd Field's masterful direction and Sissy Spacek's touching performance makes this a powerful film experience.

**2. Mulholland Drive** - A Hollywood dream rendered enigmatically (and beautifully) by the great wierdo of cinema, David Lynch. It's a tragedy that should have seen Aussie Naomi Watts receive a nomination for this year's Oscar.

**3. Amelie** - Jean-Pierre Jeunet creates a love letter to Paris worth a thousand kisses.

**4. Bridget Jones Diary** - Give Renee Zellweger 20 extra pounds, an inferiority complex, an English accent and you got one kick-ass comedy. Best date movie of the year.

**5. Memento** - Brings memories of such time-shifting classics as Pulp Fiction. But make no mistake, Memento's a daringly original and suspenseful treat.

## WORST MOVIES OF 2001

**1. Pearl Harbor** - maybe the worst war movie in the past 10 years. A Titanic clone that sunk much faster to the bottom of the ocean. I'm glad to say it flopped.

**2. Freddy Got Fingered** - Tom Green shows us why Drew divorced him. What was the problem, Ms. Barrymore? Was it Tom jerking off a horse?

**3. Moulin Rouge** - What do you get when the two leads can't sing and dance but do anyway? Nicole Kidman and Ewan Macgregor in Moulin Rouge. - What do you get with numbers like "Like A Virgin," "Diamonds are a Girls Best Friend"? Baz Luhrmann's flashy, lightning fast quick-cutting, absurd, talentless (it could go on, but what's the point) musical.

**4. Glitter** - Mariah Carey's pseudo-biography and her pseudo-acting gave me the biggest laughs of 2001. I got my fingers crossed for a sequel.

**5. Hannibal** - This wasn't scary, just disgusting. Absolutely no suspense. Sir Anthony Hopkins should be ashamed. But that's hard to do when you got paid a cool 15 million to do it.

(Dis)honorable Mentions: The Mexican, Along Came A Spider, The Mummy Returns.

## MOST OVERRATED FILMS OF 2001

**1. Moulin Rouge** - a vapid experience that gave me the migraine of my life.

**2. The Royal Tenenbaums** - an entertaining, but empty family comedy. Also, it's not funny enough and can't compare to Wes Anderson's far superior offering Rushmore.

**3. The Score** - a dull as a sponge mop heist flick. Too much wasted talent: Robert DeNiro, Edward Norton, Marlon Brando and Angela Bassett.

**4. The Man Who Wasn't There** - It's on way too many critics top 10 lists. If you like the Coens (and I do, a whole lot) then check out their earlier, far better films, such as Raising Arizona, Fargo and The Big Lebowski.

**5. Gladiator** - I know it came out last year, but I'm still pissed about it's Oscar win for Best Picture. It's a shallow, muddy actioner that should have been left in the dust by the great Traffic. It's two and a half hours bored me and I don't care that this might be Staten Island's favorite movie; just ahead of Road Trip.

**Amelie** is an adorable, inventive romantic comedy from the visionary French director Jean-Pierre Jeunet (*City of the Lost Children*, *Delicatessen*). Audrey Tatou stars as Amelie, a pretty waif in need of of some t.l.c.. Ever since she was a child, she has been seeking affection from her physician father. The only time he would touch Amelie was during her physicals. She would get so excited that her heart would pound, prompting daddy to believe his daughter had cardiovascular problems.

Now she's 20, working in a little french cafe, still searching for love. Amelie wants a boyfriend. Wants one bad. Eureka! She develops a plan to help the people around her in order to find happiness for herself. That's what makes Amelie such an endearing character. She helps a lovelorn stalker find love. She brings entertainment to a cranky old man. Amelie also stumbles upon a boy; Nino, a lonely guy working in a porno shop. This could be the one! Amelie playfully flirts and plays mysterious games in order to gain his affection. And how could he resist?

Jeunet creates an imaginary Paris where suffering is non-existent and life is a fantasy. Who cares? Amelie is too cute and imaginative for you to notice. Go see this movie with your significant other. This is one of the best date movies of the year.



**In The Bedroom** is an astonishingly good thriller/character study that stays with you long after you've walked out of the theater. Sissy Spacek is exhilarating as Ruth, the New England broken hearted mother of Frank Fowler (Nick Stahl), whose romantic involvement with Natalie, played exceptionally by Marisa Tomei, turns devastatingly tragic.

I highly suggest you see the movie before proceeding with this review. GO SEE IT RIGHT NOW. Or at least wait for the video or DVD. It's that good. In *The Bedroom* is the best movie of the year.

Allright, for those who dare tread onward...

Frank Fowler, a young man fresh out of college graduation, returns home with an older hottie, Natalie (Marisa Tomei). Frank plays with her two sons fathered by her estranged rich-boy husband Richard (William Mapother, Tom Cruises cousin). Ruth feels bad vibes about Frank's new lady. After all, she's 8 years older, has two kids, is still married, (to an abusive piece of shit), and Frank is just out of college on the way to graduate school. Matt seems proud and even envious of his son regarding his conquest of this beautiful woman. He's almost amused by the situation.

Trouble brews when Richard comes back for Natalie. She tells him off. A horrifying fury grows inside Richard as he watches 20-year old Frank "take" his Natalie away. Violence erupts. Richard smashes Frank's hard, but not hard enough to get the dumb kid to call the cops on this crazy asshole, going against the advice of his mother. That is the problem. Frank and his parents hardly communicate aside from the usual chit-chat. Matt and Ruth are also quite uncommunicative with each other.



Richard comes back. This time, to finish the job. In a hauntingly terrifying scene, Frank is shot in the face with a distraught Natalie kneeling beside his lifeless body.

Richard is arrested, tried and sentenced for the slaying. After a week in jail he walks out on bail. Ruth and Matt are shattered and in a state of catatonic depression while Richard is back working nights as a bartender.

Matt and Ruth begin to turn on each other in their time of grievance. Their inability to efficiently communicate almost destroys their marriage.

Controversy has ensued over the vigilante theme of the movie towards the end. Pay no attention. This is no Steven Seagal movie where he and DMX go after drug dealers. In *The Bedroom* cuts deep.





# my *Sexuality* sexuality

*Y*estersay I went to the Duchess Country Fair; my daughter and I watched cows being milked. A suction device pulled the milk out of their udders, and squirted it into big 8 gallon glass containers. We watched the cow's behinds. I noticed, for the first time, that the vaginas of cows are directly below their assholes. Every time a cow shits, some of her shit dribbles over her vagina.

*I* imagined fucking a cow. It seemed unsatisfying. Cows have very few emotions. I want the animal I am fucking to respond to me. Fucking a cow would be like fucking a suitcase—except for the weird thought: “Omigod! I’m fucking a cow!”

*I*n another shed, I saw a sheep’s vagina, as she lay on her back, having her hoofs trimmed. Her vagina was large and human-looking, as I’d been told. It frightened me—its fragility, its delicateness. I feared that a sheep might enjoy sex exactly as I do; that a sheep and I might reach orgasm together.

—Sparrow



# 10 Reasons: A RESPONSE TO DAVID HOROWITZ

by Professor Ernest Allen, Jr. and Robert Chrisman

## 1. There Is No Single Group Clearly Responsible For The Crime Of Slavery

Horowitz's first argument, relativist in structure, can only lead to two conclusions: 1) societies are not responsible for their actions and 2) since "everyone" was responsible for slavery, no one was responsible. While diverse groups on different continents certainly participated in the trade, the principal responsibility for internationalization of that trade and the institutionalization of slavery in the so-called New World rests with European and American individuals and institutions. The transatlantic slave trade began with the importation of African slaves into Hispaniola by Spain in the early 1500s. Nationals of France, England, Portugal, and the Netherlands, supported by their respective governments and powerful religious institutions, quickly entered the trade and extracted their pieces of silver as well. By conservative estimates, 14 million enslaved Africans survived the horror of the Middle Passage for the purpose of producing wealth for Europeans and Euro-Americans in the New World.

While there is some evidence of blacks owning slaves for profit purposes—most notably the creole caste in Louisiana—the numbers were small. As historian James Oakes noted, "By 1830 there were some 3,775 free black slaveholders across the South. . . . The evidence is overwhelming that the vast majority of black slaveholders were free men who purchased members of their families or who acted out of benevolence." (Oakes, 47-48.)

## 2. There Is No Single Group That Benefited Exclusively From Slavery

Horowitz's second point, which is also a relativist one, seeks to dismiss the argument that white Americans benefited as a group from slavery, contending that the material benefits of slavery could not accrue in an exclusive way to a single group. But such sophistry evades the basic issue: who benefited primarily from slavery? Those who were responsible for the institutionalized enslavement of people of African descent also received the primary benefits from such actions. New England slave traders, merchants, bankers, and insurance companies all profited from the slave trade, which required a wide variety of commodities ranging from sails, chandlery, foodstuffs, and guns, to cloth goods and other items for trading purposes. Both prior to and after the American Revolution, slaveholding was a principal path for white upward mobility in the South. The

white native-born as well as immigrant groups such as Germans, Scots-Irish, and the like participated. In 1860, cotton was the country's largest single export. As Eric Williams and C.L.R. James have demonstrated, the free labor provided by slavery was central to the growth of industry in western Europe and the United States; simultaneously, as Walter Rodney has argued, slavery depressed and destabilized the economies of African states. Slaveholders benefited primarily from the institution, of course, and generally in proportion to the number of slaves which they held. But the sharing of the proceeds of slave exploitation spilled across class lines within white communities as well.

As historian John Hope Franklin recently affirmed in a rebuttal to Horowitz's claims:

*"All whites and no slaves benefited from American slavery. All blacks had no rights that they could claim as their own. All whites, including the vast majority who had no slaves, were not only encouraged but authorized to exercise dominion over all slaves, thereby adding strength to the system of control."*

*"If David Horowitz had read James D. DeBow's 'The Interest in Slavery of the Southern Non-slaveholder,' he would not have blundered into the fantasy of claiming that no single group benefited from slavery. Planters did, of course. New York merchants did, of course. Even poor whites benefited from the legal advantage they enjoyed over all blacks as well as from the psychological advantage of having a group beneath them."*

The context of the African-American argument for reparations is confined to the practice and consequences of slavery within the United States, from the colonial period on through final abolition and the aftermath, circa 1619-1865. Contrary to Horowitz's assertion, there is no record of institutionalized white enslavement in colonial America. Horowitz is confusing the indenture of white labor, which usually lasted seven years or so during the early colonial period, with enslavement. African slavery was expanded, in fact, to replace the inefficient and unenforceable white indenture system. (Smith)

Seeking to claim that African Americans, too, have benefited from slavery, Horowitz points to the relative prosperity of African Americans in comparison to their counterparts on the African continent. However, his argument that "the GNP of black America makes the African-American community the 10th most prosperous "nation" in the world is based upon a false analogy. GNP is defined as "the total market value of all the goods and services produced by a nation during a specified period." Black Americans are not a nation and have no GNP. Horowitz confuses disposable income and "consumer power" with the generation of wealth.

## 3. Only A Tiny Minority Of White Americans Ever Owned Slaves, And Others Gave Their Lives To Free Them

Most white union troops were drafted into the union army in a war which the federal government initially defined as a "war to preserve the union." In large part because they feared that freed slaves would flee the South and "take their jobs" while they themselves were engaged in warfare with Confederate troops, recently drafted white conscripts in New York City and elsewhere rioted during the summer of 1863, taking a heavy toll on black civilian life and property. Too many instances can be cited where white northern troops plundered the personal property of slaves, appropriating their bedding, chickens, pigs, and foodstuffs as they swept through the South. On the other hand, it is certainly true that there also

## Ten Reasons Why Reparations for Slavery is a Bad Idea—and Racist Too.

By David Horowitz

I

### THERE IS NO SINGLE GROUP CLEARLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CRIME OF SLAVERY

Black Africans and Arabs were responsible for enslaving the ancestors of African-Americans. There were 3,000 black slave-owners in the ante-bellum United States. Are reparations to be paid by *their* descendants too?

II

### THERE IS NO ONE GROUP THAT BENEFITED EXCLUSIVELY FROM ITS FRUITS

The claim for reparations is premised on the false assumption that only whites have benefited from slavery. If slave labor created wealth for Americans, then obviously it has created wealth for black Americans as well, including the descendants of slaves. The GNP of black America is so large that it makes the African-American community the 10th most prosperous "nation" in the world. American blacks *on aver*

*age* enjoy per capita incomes in the range of twenty to *fifty* times that of blacks living in any of the African nations from which they were kidnapped.

III

### ONLY A TINY MINORITY OF WHITE AMERICANS EVER OWNED SLAVES, AND OTHERS GAVE THEIR LIVES TO FREE THEM

Only a tiny minority of Americans ever owned slaves. This is true even for those who lived in the ante-bellum South where only one white in five was a slaveholder. Why should *their* descendants owe a debt? What about the descendants of the 350,000 Union soldiers who died to free the slaves? They gave their lives. What possible moral principle would ask them to pay (through their descendants) again?

David Horowitz's article, "Ten Reasons Why Reparations for Slavery is a Bad Idea and Racist Too," recently achieved circulation in a handful of college newspapers throughout the United States as a paid advertisement sponsored by the Center for the Study of Popular Culture. While Horowitz's article pretends to address the issues of reparations, it is not about reparations at all. It is, rather, a well-heeled, coordinated attack on Black Americans which is calculated to elicit division and strife. Horowitz reportedly attempted to place his article in some 50 student newspapers at universities and colleges across the country, and was successful in purchasing space in such newspapers at Brown, Duke, Arizona, UC Berkeley, UC Davis, University of Chicago, and University of Wisconsin, paying an average of \$700 per paper. His campaign has succeeded in fomenting outrage, dissension, and grief wherever it has appeared. Unfortunately, both its supporters and its foes too often have categorized the issue as one centering on "free speech." The sale and purchase of advertising space is not a matter of free speech, however, but involves an exchange of commodities. Professor Lewis Gordon of Brown University put it very well, saying that "what concerned me was that the ad was both hate speech and a solicitation for financial support to develop antiblack ad space. I was concerned that it would embolden white supremacists and antiblack racists." At a March 15 panel held at UC Berkeley, Horowitz also conceded that his paid advertisement did not constitute a free speech issue.

As one examines the text of Horowitz's article, it becomes apparent that it is not a reasoned essay addressed to the topic of reparations: it is, rather, a racist polemic against African Americans and Africans that is neither responsible nor informed, relying heavily upon sophistry and a Hitlerian "Big Lie" technique. To our knowledge, only one of Horowitz's ten "reasons" has been challenged by a black scholar as to source, accuracy, and validity. It is our intention here to briefly rebut his slanders in order to pave the way for an honest and forthright debate on reparations. In these efforts we focus not just on slavery, but also the legacy of slavery which continues to inform institutional as well as individual behavior in the U.S. to this day. Although we recognize that white America still owes a debt to the descendants of slaves, in addressing Horowitz's distortions of history we do not act as advocates for a specific form of reparations.

existed principled white commanders and troops who were committed abolitionists.

However, Horowitz's focus on what he mistakenly considers to be the overriding, benevolent aim of white union troops in the Civil War obscures the role that blacks themselves played in their own liberation. African Americans were initially forbidden by the Union to fight in the Civil War, and black leaders such as Frederick Douglass and Martin Delany demanded the right to fight for their freedom. When racist doctrine finally conceded to military necessity, blacks were recruited into the Union Army in 1862 at approximately half the pay of white soldiers—a situation which was partially rectified by an act of Congress in mid-1864. Some 170,000 blacks served in the Civil War, representing nearly one third of the free black population.

By 1860, four million blacks in the U.S. were enslaved; some 500,000 were nominally free. Because of slavery, racist laws, and racist policies, blacks were denied the chance to compete for the opportunities and resources of America that were available to native whites and immigrants: labor opportunities, free enterprise, and land. The promise of "forty acres and a mule" to former slaves was effectively nullified by the actions of President Andrew Johnson. And because the best land offered by the Homestead Act of 1862 and its subsequent revisions quickly fell under the sway of white homesteaders and speculators, most former slaves were unable to take advantage of its provisions.

#### 4. Most Living Americans Have No Connection (Direct Or Indirect) To Slavery

As Joseph Anderson, member of the National Council of African American Men, observed, "the arguments for reparations aren't made on the basis of whether every white person directly gained from slavery. The arguments are made on the basis that slavery was institutionalized and protected by law in the United States. As the government is an entity that survives generations, its debts and obligations survive the lifespan of any particular individuals. . . . Governments make restitution to victims as a group or class." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, March 26, 2001, p. A21.)

Most Americans today were not alive during World War II. Yet reparations to Japanese Americans for their internment in concentration camps during the war was paid out of current government sources contributed to by contemporary Americans. Passage of time does not negate the responsibility of government in crimes against humanity.

Similarly, German corporations are not the "same" corporations that supported the Holocaust; their personnel and policies today belong to generations removed from their earlier criminal behavior. Yet, these corporations are being successfully sued by Jews for their past actions. In the same vein, the U.S. government is not the same government as it was in the pre-civil war era, yet its debts and obligations from the past are no less relevant today.

#### 5. The Historical Precedents Used To Justify The Reparations Claim Do Not Apply, And The Claim Itself Is Based On Race Not Injury

As noted in our response to "Reason 4," the historical precedents for the reparations claims of African Americans are fully consistent with restitution accorded other historical groups for atrocities committed against them. Second, the injury in question—that of slavery—was inflicted upon a people designated as a race. The descendants of that people—still socially constructed as a race today—continue to suffer the institutional legacies of slavery some one hundred thirty-five years after its demise. To attempt to separate the issue of so-called race from that of injury in this instance is pure sophistry. For example, the criminal (in)justice system today largely continues to operate as it did under slavery—for the protection of white citizens against black "outsiders." Although no longer inscribed in law, this very attitude is implicit to processes of law enforcement, prosecution, and incarceration, guiding the behavior of police, prosecutors, judges, juries, wardens, and parole boards. Hence, African Americans continue to experience higher rates of incarceration than do whites charged with similar crimes, endure longer sentences for the same classes of crimes perpetrated by whites, and, compared to white inmates, receive far less consideration by parole boards when being considered for release.

Slavery was an institution sanctioned by the highest laws of the land with a degree of support from the Constitution itself. The institution of slavery established the idea and the practice that American democracy was "for whites only." There are many white Americans whose actions (or lack thereof) reveal such sentiments today—witness the response of the media and the general populace to the blatant disfranchisement of African Americans in Florida during the last presidential election. Would such complacency exist if African Americans were considered "real citizens"? And despite the dramatic successes of the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 60s, the majority of black Americans do not enjoy the same rights as white Americans in the economic sphere. (We con-

tinue this argument in the following section.)

#### 6. The Reparations Argument Is Based On The Unfounded Claim That All African-American Descendants of Slaves Suffer From The Economic Consequences Of Slavery And Discrimination

Most blacks suffered and continue to suffer the economic consequences of slavery and its aftermath. As of 1998, median white family income in the U.S. was \$49,023; median black family income was \$29,404, just 60% of white income. (*2001 New York Times Almanac*, p. 319) Further, the costs of living within the United States far exceed those of African nations. The present poverty level for an American family of four is \$17,029. Twenty-three and three-fifths percent (23.6%) of all black families live below the poverty level.

When one examines net financial worth, which reflects, in part, the wealth handed down within families from generation to generation, the figures appear much starker. Recently, sociologists Melvin L. Oliver and Thomas M. Shapiro found that just a little over a decade ago, the net financial worth of white American families with *zero* or *negative* net financial worth stood at around 25%; that of Hispanic households at 54%; and that of black American households at almost 61%. (Oliver & Shapiro, p. 87) The inability to accrue net financial worth is also directly related to hiring practices in which black Americans are "last hired" when the economy experiences an upturn, and "first fired" when it falls on hard times.

And as historian John Hope Franklin remarked on the legacy of slavery for black education: "laws enacted by states forbade the teaching of blacks any means of acquiring knowledge—including the alphabet—which is the legacy of disadvantage of educational privatization and discrimination experienced by African Americans in 2001."

Horowitz's comparison of African Americans with Jamaicans is a false analogy, ignoring the different historical contexts of the two populations. The British government ended slavery in Jamaica and its other West Indian territories in 1836, paying West Indian slaveholders \$20,000,000 pounds (\$100,000,000 U.S. dollars) to free the slaves, and leaving the black Jamaicans, who comprised 90% of that island's population, relatively free. Though still facing racist obstacles, Jamaicans come to the U.S. as voluntary immigrants, with greater opportunity to weigh, choose, and develop their options.

#### 7. The Reparations Claim Is One More Attempt To Turn African-Americans Into Victims. It Sends A Damaging Message To The African-American Community

What is a victim? Black people have certainly been victimized, but acknowledgment of that fact is not a case of "playing the victim" but of seeking justice. There is no validity to Horowitz's comparison between black Americans and victims of oppressive regimes who have voluntary immigrated to these shores. Further, many members of those populations, such as

#### IV AMERICA TODAY IS A MULTI-ETHNIC NATION AND MOST AMERICANS HAVE NO CONNECTION (DIRECT OR INDIRECT) TO SLAVERY

The two great waves of American immigration occurred after 1880 and then after 1960. What rationale would require Vietnamese boat people, Russian refuseniks, Iranian refugees, and Armenian victims of the Turkish persecution, Jews, Mexicans Greeks, or Polish, Hungarian, Cambodian and Korean victims of Communism, to pay reparations to American blacks?

#### V THE HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS USED TO JUSTIFY THE REPARATIONS CLAIM DO NOT APPLY, AND THE CLAIM ITSELF IS BASED ON RACE NOT INJURY

The historical precedents generally invoked to justify the reparations claim are payments to Jewish survivors of the Holocaust, Japanese-Americans and African-American victims of racial experiments in Tuskegee, or racial outrages in Rosewood and Oklahoma City. But in each case, the recipients of reparations were the direct victims of the injustice or their immediate families. This would be the only case of reparations to people who were not immediately affected and whose sole qualification to receive reparations would be racial. As has already been pointed out, during the slavery era, many blacks were free men or slave-owners themselves, yet the reparations claimants make no distinction between the roles blacks actually played in the injustice itself. Randall Robinson's book on reparations, *The Debt*, which is the manifesto of the reparations movement is pointedly sub-titled "What America Owes To Blacks." If this is not racism, what is?

#### VI THE REPARATIONS ARGUMENT IS BASED ON THE UNFOUNDED CLAIM THAT ALL AFRICAN-AMERICAN DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES SUFFER FROM THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF SLAVERY AND DISCRIMINATION

No evidence-based attempt has been made to prove that living individuals have been adversely affected by a slave system that was ended over 150 years ago. But there is plenty of evidence the hardships that occurred were hardships that individuals could and did overcome. The black middle-class in America is a prosperous community that is now larger in absolute terms than the black underclass. Does its existence not suggest that economic adversity is the result of failures of individual character rather than the lingering after-effects of racial discrimination and a slave system that ceased to exist well over a century ago? West Indian blacks in America are also descended from slaves but their average incomes are equivalent to the average incomes of whites (and nearly 25% higher than the average incomes of American born blacks). How is it that slavery adversely affected one large group of descendants but not the other? How can government be expected to decide an issue that is so subjective - and yet so critical - to the case?

#### VII THE REPARATIONS CLAIM IS ONE MORE ATTEMPT TO TURN AFRICAN-AMERICANS INTO VICTIMS. IT SENDS A DAMAGING MESSAGE TO THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY.

The renewed sense of grievance — which is what the claim for reparations will inevitably create — is neither a constructive nor a helpful message for black leaders to be sending to their communities and to others. To focus the social passions of African-Americans on what some Americans may have done to their ancestors fifty or a hundred and fifty years ago is to burden them with a crippling sense of victim-hood. How are the millions of refugees from tyranny and genocide who are now living in America going to receive these claims, moreover, except as demands for special treatment, an extravagant new handout that is only necessary because some blacks can't seem to locate the ladder of opportunity within reach of others — many less privileged than themselves.

## REPARATIONS TO AFRICAN-AMERICANS

## HAVE ALREADY BEEN PAID

Since the passage of the Civil Rights Acts and the advent of the Great Society in 1965, trillions of dollars in transfer payments have been made to African-Americans in the form of welfare benefits and racial preferences (in contracts, job placements and educational admissions) - all under the rationale of redressing historic racial grievances. It is said that reparations are necessary to achieve a healing between African-Americans and other Americans. If trillion dollar restitutions and a wholesale rewriting of American law (in order to accommodate racial preferences) for African-Americans is not enough to achieve a "healing," what will?

## IX

WHAT ABOUT THE DEBT BLACKS  
OWE TO AMERICA?

Slavery existed for thousands of years before the Atlantic slave trade was born, and in all societies. But in the thousand years of its existence, there never was an anti-slavery movement until white Christians - Englishmen and Americans - created one. If not for the anti-slavery attitudes and military power of white Englishmen and Americans, the slave trade would not have been brought to an end. If not for the sacrifices of white soldiers and a white American president who gave his life to sign the Emancipation Proclamation, blacks in America would still be slaves. If not for the dedication of Americans of all ethnicities and colors to a society based on the principle that all men are created equal, blacks in America would not enjoy the highest standard of living of blacks anywhere in the world, and indeed one of the highest standards of living of any people in the world. They would not enjoy the greatest freedoms and the most thoroughly protected individual rights anywhere. Where is the gratitude of black America and its leaders for those gifts?

## X

THE REPARATIONS CLAIM IS A SEPARATIST IDEA  
THAT SETS AFRICAN-AMERICANS AGAINST THE  
NATION THAT GAVE THEM FREEDOM

Blacks were here before the Mayflower. Who is more American than the descendants of African slaves? For the African-American community to isolate itself even further from America is to embark on a course whose implications are troubling. Yet the African-American community has had a long-running flirtation with separatists, nationalists and the political left, who want African-Americans to be no part of America's social contract. African Americans should reject this temptation.

For all America's faults, African-Americans have an enormous stake in their country and its heritage. It is this heritage that is really under attack by the reparations movement. The reparations claim is one more assault on America, conducted by racial separatists and the political left. It is an attack not only on white Americans, but on all Americans - especially African-Americans.

America's African-American citizens are the richest and most privileged black people alive - a bounty that is a direct result of the heritage that is under assault. The American idea needs the support of its African-American citizens. But African-Americans also need the support of the American idea. For it is this idea that led to the principles and institutions that have set African-Americans - and all of us - free.

Chileans and Salvadorans, direct their energies for redress toward the governments of their own oppressive nations—which is precisely what black Americans are doing. Horowitz's racism is expressed in his contemptuous characterization of reparations as "an extravagant new handout that is only necessary because some blacks can't seem to locate the ladder of opportunity within reach of others, many of whom are less privileged than themselves." What Horowitz fails to acknowledge is that racism continues as an ideology and a material force within the U.S., providing blacks with no ladder that reaches the top. The damage lies in the systematic treatment of black people in the U.S., not their claims against those who initiated this damage and their spiritual descendants who continue its perpetuation.

## 8. Reparations To African Americans Have Already Been Paid

The nearest the U.S. government came to full and permanent restitution of African Americans was the spontaneous redistribution of land brought about by General William Sherman's Field Order 15 in January, 1865, which empowered Union commanders to make land grants and give other material assistance to newly liberated blacks. But that order was rescinded by President Andrew Johnson later in the year. Efforts by Representative Thaddeus Stevens and other radical Republicans to provide the proverbial "40 acres and a mule" which would have carved up huge plantations of the defeated Confederacy into modest land grants for blacks and poor whites never got out of the House of Representatives. The debt has not been paid.

"Welfare benefits and racial preferences" are not reparations. The welfare system was set in place in the 1930s to alleviate the poverty of the Great Depression, and more whites than blacks received welfare. So-called "racial preferences" come not from benevolence but from lawsuits by blacks against white businesses, government agencies, and municipalities which practice racial discrimination.

## 9. What About The Debt Blacks Owe To America?

Horowitz's assertion that "in the thousand years of slavery's existence, there never was an anti-slavery movement until white Anglo-Saxon Christians created one," only demonstrates his ignorance concerning the formidable efforts of blacks to free themselves. Led by black Toussaint L'Ouverture, the Haitian revolution of 1793 overthrew the French slave system, created the first black republic in the world, and intensified the activities of black and white anti-slavery movements in the U.S. Slave insurrections and conspiracies such as those of Gabriel (1800), Denmark Vesey (1822), and Nat Turner (1831) were potent sources of black resistance; black abolitionists such as Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Richard Allen, Sojourner Truth, Martin Delany, David Walker, and Henry Highland Garnet waged an incessant struggle against slavery through agencies such as the press, notably Douglass's *North Star* and its variants, which ran from 1847 to 1863 (blacks, moreover, constituted some 75 % of the subscribers to William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* newspaper in its first four years); the Underground Railroad, the Negro Convention Movement, local, state, and national anti-slavery societies, and the slave narrative. Black Americans were in no ways the passive recipients of freedom from anyone, whether viewed from the perspective of black participation in the abolitionist movement, the flight of slaves from plantations and farms during the Civil War, or the enlistment of black troops in the Union army.

The idea of black debt to U.S. society is a rehash of the Christian missionary argument of the 17th and 18th centuries: because Africans were consid-

ered heathens, it was therefore legitimate to enslave them and drag them in chains to a Christian nation. Following their partial conversion, their moral and material lot were improved, for which black folk should be eternally grateful. Slave ideologues John Calhoun and George Fitzhugh updated this idea in the 19th century, arguing that blacks were better off under slavery than whites in the North who received wages, due to the paternalism and benevolence of the plantation system which assured perpetual employment, shelter, and board. Please excuse the analogy, but if someone chops off your fingers and then hands them back to you, should you be "grateful" for having received your mangled fingers, or enraged that they were chopped off in the first place?

## 10. The Reparations Claim Is A Separatist Idea That Sets African-Americans Against The Nation That Gave Them Freedom

Again, Horowitz reverses matters. Blacks are already separated from white America in fundamental matters such as income, family wealth, housing, legal treatment, education, and political representation. Andrew Hacker, for example, has argued the case persuasively in his book *Two Nations*. To ignore such divisions, and then charge those who raise valid claims against society with promoting divisiveness, offers a classic example of "blaming the victim." And we have already refuted the spurious point that African Americans were the passive recipients of benevolent white individuals or institutions which "gave" them freedom.

Too many Americans tend to view history as "something that happened in the past," something that is "over and done," and thus has no bearing upon the present. Especially in the case of slavery, nothing could be further from the truth. As historian John Hope Franklin noted in his response to Horowitz:

"Most living Americans do have a connection with slavery. They have inherited the preferential advantage, if they are white, or the loathsome disadvantage, if they are black; and those positions are virtually as alive today as they were in the 19th century. The pattern of housing, the discrimination in employment, the resistance to equal opportunity in education, the racial profiling, the inequities in the administration of justice, the low expectation of blacks in the discharge of duties assigned to them, the widespread belief that blacks have physical prowess but little intellectual capacities and the widespread opposition to affirmative action, as if that had not been enjoyed by whites for three centuries, all indicate that the vestiges of slavery are still with us."

And as long as there are pro-slavery protagonists among us, hiding behind such absurdities as "we are all in this together" or "it hurts me as much as it hurts you" or "slavery benefited you as much as it benefited me," we will suffer from the inability to confront the tragic legacies of slavery and deal with them in a forthright and constructive manner.

"Most important, we must never fall victim to some scheme designed to create a controversy among potential allies in order to divide them and, at the same time, exploit them for its own special purpose."

REFERENCES & FOOTNOTES FOR THIS ARTICLE ARE ON  
THIRDRAILMAG.com

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## Still I Rise

You may write me down in history  
With your bitter, twisted lies,  
You may trod me in the very dirt  
But still, like dust, I'll rise.

Does my sassiness upset you?  
Why are you beset with gloom?  
'Cause I walk like I've got oil wells  
Pumping in my living room.

Just like moons and like suns,  
With the certainty of tides,  
Just like hopes springing high,  
Still I'll rise.

Did you want to see me broken?  
Bowed head and lowered eyes?  
Shoulders falling down like teardrops,  
Weakened by my soulful cries.

Does my haughtiness offend you?  
Don't you take it awful hard  
'Cause I laugh like I've got gold mines  
Diggin' in my own back yard.

You may shoot me with your words,  
You may cut me with your eyes,  
You may kill me with your hatefulness,  
But still, like air, I'll rise.

Does my sexiness upset you?  
Does it come as a surprise  
That I dance like I've got diamonds  
At the meeting of my thighs?

Out of the huts of history's shame  
I rise  
Up from a past that's rooted in pain  
I rise  
I'm a black ocean, leaping and wide,  
Welling and swelling I bear in the tide.

Leaving behind nights of terror and fear  
I rise  
Into a daybreak that's wondrously clear  
I rise  
Bringing the gifts that my ancestors gave,  
I am the dream and the hope of the slave  
I rise

I rise  
I rise.

By Maya Angelou



*Let me do*

*I want to touch your beautiful face and body*

*I want to touch your beautiful face and body*

*I want to touch your beautiful face and body*

**I want to kiss you**

*I want to touch you like you want to be touched*

*I want to touch you like you want to be touched*



A view  
of  
our  
planet  
is  
a  
glimpse of  
divinity.

