

TALKING WITH NOAM

In Part II of an Exclusive Interview,
Noam Chomsky Discusses Flawed U.S. Policy on Colombia

By Andrew Kennis

In the last issue of the *Advocate*, the first question of an interview with Noam Chomsky appeared. The interview took place during Chomsky's four-day trip to New York City last November. Advocate contributor Andrew Kennis talked with whom the *New York Times* (ironically, Chomsky's nemesis) has dubbed, "the most important intellectual alive." Indeed, according to the Arts and Humanities index, he is the most quoted scholar alive. Nevertheless, Chomsky continues to be ignored and marginalized in U.S. mainstream media. Thus, the *Advocate* is pleased to give Chomsky the attention and space that needs to be given to intellectual dissidence and social criticism. This issue will feature the second question of the interview, while the remaining questions and answers will be published in subsequent issues of the *Advocate*.



aiding Colombia's "drug war"

KENNIS: In the book that you co-authored with Edward Herman, *The Political Economy of Human Rights*, you lay out three kinds of bloodbaths: benign, constructive and nefarious. Benign bloodbaths are human right atrocities
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SAME OLD SAME OLD AS ANOTHER SEMESTER BEGINS

By Tracy Steffy

It was the first day of the Spring 2001 semester and I had a 4:15 class on the third floor that was ten minutes late getting underway because — what a surprise — the door to the classroom was locked. I seem to recall numerous meetings with the President, senior administrators, and staff over the last year and a half where students argued, and the President agreed, that CLASSROOMS AND HALLWAYS SHOULD REMAIN UNLOCKED DURING THE HOURS THE BUILDING IS OPEN. So, really this should not have happened. Of course everybody makes mistakes and sometimes doors don't get unlocked when they should, but what made this particular incident so very special was the attitude of the security officer when I called to let them know we needed someone to open the class.

I called down at about 4:10 after first calling

the school operator to have her transfer me to security because even though there are phones all over the place, no one has thought to list any important numbers like security on, or near, the phones. The school operator transferred me to a phone that I let ring about 10 times. No one picked up and it never went to voice mail. (Thankfully no one was in mortal danger). I next called my program office and got the actual number (which is the pretty easy to remember, x7777 but you might want to write it down if you're not in the habit of calling security since you won't find it posted anywhere) and I then called security.

The person I spoke with was pleasant enough and said he would send someone up. After more than ten minutes, I called back to see if anyone had been dispatched. The guard on the phone answered, "I've told them, they know about it." I replied, "Thanks but I was wondering if anyone has actually been sent up yet." To which he responded, "Look, what do you want me to do

about it, you'll just have to wait. I've done all I can do." I said, "Thanks, that's a nice attitude," and waited another five minutes for someone to show up.

While this incident was moderately irritating, I couldn't help but feel that we are right back at square one again. One of the most basic things students have been asking for in the last year and a half in this building is open doors, open hallways, and open classrooms. But perhaps more importantly, we have asked for at least some recognition of the fact that the only reason anyone has a job in this building is because the students keep filling the seats in the inadequate, poorly designed, windowless, overly cramped classrooms (when they are actually allowed into them).

Which gets me back to my class. When we finally got into the room I discovered

continues on next page

THE WORST classroom I have been in so far here at the "new" Graduate Center. Last semester I endured a classroom in which there were four mismatched tables that varied substantially in height and that were in a different configuration every week. There were also two freestanding chalkboards adding to the congestion. I didn't think anything could top that room, but it was a palace compared to my classroom this semester. The room is so small that there is barely enough room for the tables. Once everyone is seated around the six tables squished together to make one, there is not even enough room between the chairs and the wall for a person to walk. I find it hard to believe that this isn't some kind of fire hazard.

Anyway, this arrangement also renders the chalkboards on the walls practically useless, unless everyone huddles on one side of the table, which I guess is possible if there are only five people in your class. The lack of clearance between the back of your chair and the wall also means that once you're in, you're stuck. If you're not lucky enough to sit on the end by the door, if you've got to get up for some crazy reason like say, to go to the bathroom or something, everyone on your side of the table is going to have to get up and step aside.

I realize that other campuses have it much worse, however how many other campuses have so new a facility that is so ill-equipped to deal with students? I seem to recall that back in the day the administration tried to "sell us" on the move with

promises of ample classroom and student space, a gym, and day care among other things. Although we do finally have day care, it has space for less than 30 children and is underfunded (the DSC has been asked to consider raising student fees in order to contribute to its funding which it so far has declined to do).

We have no gym because the funds were spent elsewhere (although, thanks to the persistent efforts of some students yoga and belly dancing classes are being offered this semester) and I'll let you be the judge on how the class and student work space rates. Yes, there are hundreds of places to use a computer (provided you can actually log on and the network is functional) but as my friend who is preparing to take his orals next week noted, there is not one space at the Graduate Center where a student can sit quietly, have a cup of coffee and read.

One afternoon he started out at 365 Express but it was too crowded, noisy and hot for that to work so he thought he'd try the Dining Commons. After about fifteen minutes up there, he was kicked out because they close at 3:00 p.m. You can't take coffee in the library and of course, it's not actually all that quiet in there either. With the constant blare of car horns and police and fire sirens, the only place to read at a table not surrounded by people clicking away at computers or overly distracting street noises is the tiny dissertation reading room on the first floor. Next stop on the quest was his own Sociology department student lounge, which although a nice place to have parties, offers little in the way of quiet space to study. The lounge is surrounded by professors' and program administrators' offices and is therefore full of people coming and going-- as it should

be, but it was certainly not a place to study.

Do not misunderstand me. I think our new library is a VAST improvement over the dungeon at 42nd street and I applaud the fact that it is finally open past 9:00 p.m. There are even a few things that are improvements for students. But the library, like so many other things at the Graduate Center, is so incredibly poorly designed to meet the needs of students it is hard to believe that the people who worked on the planning and design of this new building ever imagined that actual students would someday use the space.

Now, I will admit that if some way could be found to operate this institution without the need for any actual students, it would probably be a heck of a lot easier to run. We have so many needs, and we're so demanding. We need functional classrooms, computers that work and a network that can operate properly for more than a week at a time, places to hang our coats and leave books, safe places to park our bikes, light, air, and occasionally food and water -- the nerve of us!

But until the day comes that our presence is no longer required at this institution to keep its front doors open, it would be awfully nice for someone to apologize when we're locked out of our classrooms and to open them without the negative attitude. It would also be nice for the administration to begin to treat us with the respect we deserve and do a better job of providing us with the very basic tools we need to do our work.

I encourage everyone who can squeeze it into their overly crowded schedules to attend at least one of the community meetings with the President, and to work with your DSC representatives to continue to press the administration to live up to some of the promises it made.

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365 5TH AVENUE 5TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, NY 10016
212.817.7882
CUNYADVOCATE@HOTMAIL.COM

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EDITOR
MARK PETRAS
MANAGING EDITOR
NASSIMA ABDELLI

DESIGN
ANATOLIY KHARKHURIN

CONTRIBUTORS
TRACY STEFFY FRANK BENJAMIN
ERNEST SARTOR LOUISE AMMENTORP
MARK HALLING ARTHUR SCHERR
ELEANOR B. TIPPLER FERHAT KUTLUCAN
ROB WALLACE ANDREW KENNIS

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WRITE FOR THE ADVOCATE

SARTORIAL SOBRIQUETS

By Mrs. Eleanor B. Tippler, M.Sc.

As graduate students (and those who work with them) we make great sacrifices for our art, our craft, our science. Late nights mean bad skin. Harried schedules leave little time for workouts to trim our figures. Diets suffer under the strain of too much caffeine and Advil. One sacrifice we needn't make, dear scholars, is fashion. Short on cash, time, and basic dress sense, graduate students are notoriously poor dressers. (We remember one T.A. for our undergraduate calculus course who never even bothered to comb his hair... for the entire semester!) Were we to have a single wish for beautifying the Graduate Center, it would be a small measure of fashion onto the student body. Fashionistas and designer snobs we're not, but how we love the look of smart, cute things in nice clothes.

In the interest of the larger good and greater beauty of the Graduate Center, herewith is a collection of our favorite nearby shops and fashion secrets where one can dress with panache for little cash. Perhaps more of us can now look as if we're one of those smartly dressed English or Art History students.

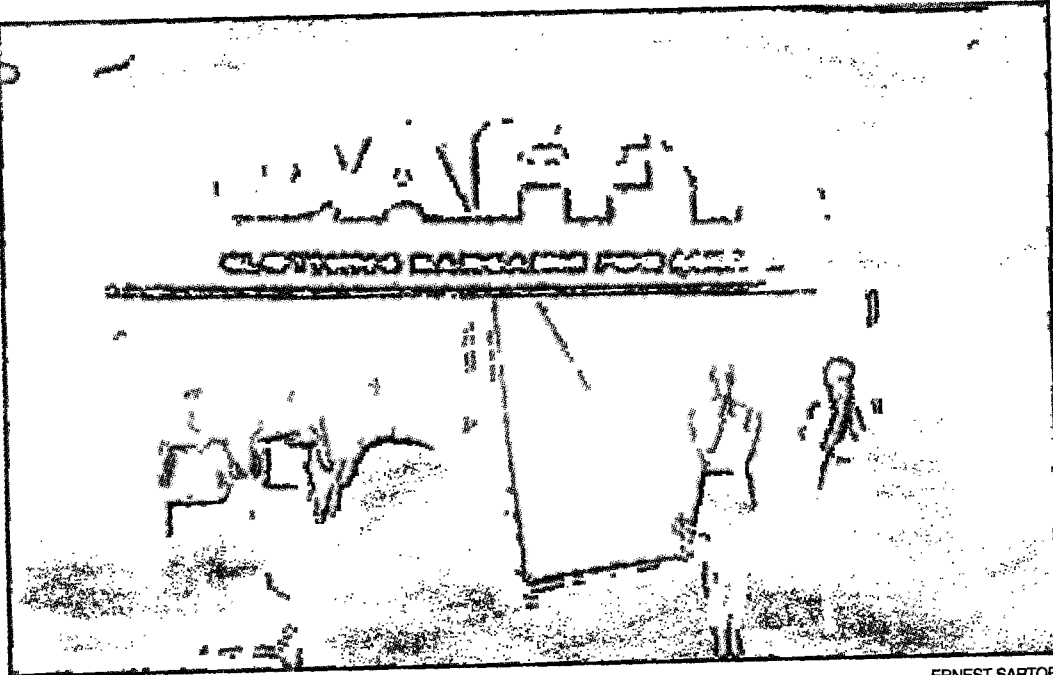
dark-haired one with whom we always make eye contact but to whom we never get properly introduced. (Ever notice how everyone looks sexier and more glamorous in the new building?)

Perhaps these urges come from the toil that grad school takes on our, ahem, extracurricular activities. Regardless, we know exactly where to go when they strike. While our usual *modus operandi* is that of studied rationality, we do know how to succumb to impulse on occasion — like the

time we seduced a rising star at an academic conference, and after a delightful evening in a downtown hotel we impulsively bought what turned out to be the best balm for our bruised kisser (None of your business and Moist Stic, respectively).

When urges get too great to ignore, just pop into Conway. Fur-trimmed red thong underwear? Sexy

Lolita fur-trimmed pink pajamas? Sheer black naughty nighties? Burgundy velvet bras? At Conway, you can look like a porn star without a porn star's salary. Just browsing through all their affordable goodies somehow makes us feel satisfied, and after a lunchtime shopping break we're back in the library knowing, underneath, we're as sexy as we feel. For those in a less daring mood, we've found adorable little accoutrements for the home like fun fuzzy slippers and fantastic little



ERNEST SARTOR

Daffy's on Broadway & 34th St.

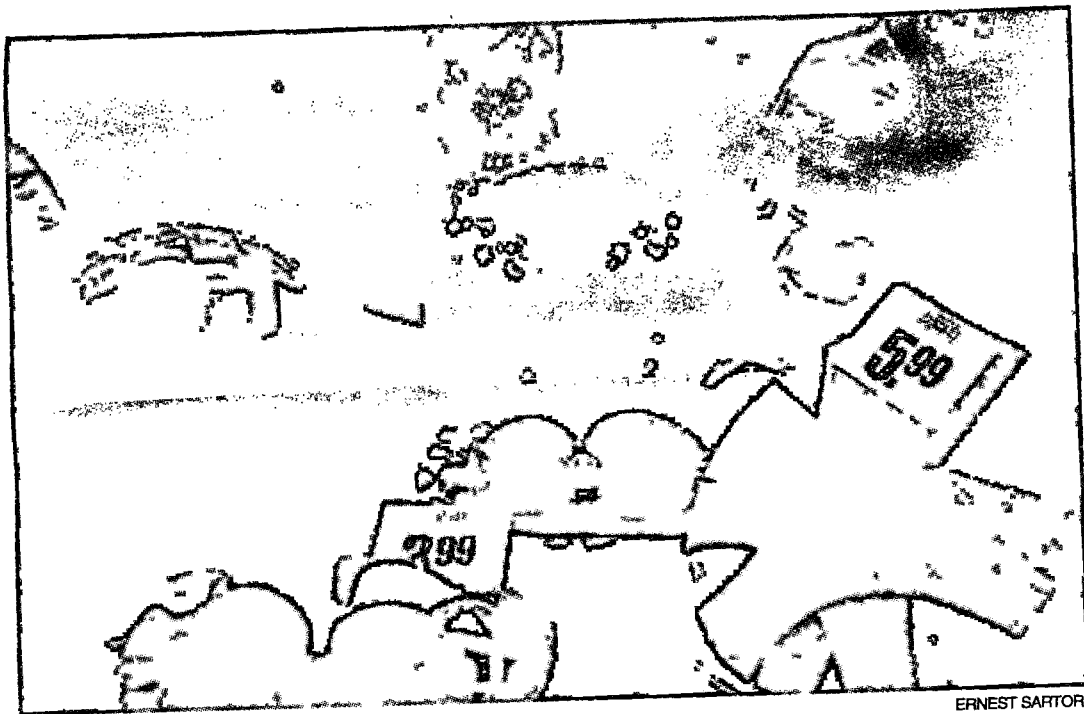
striped storage boxes — perfect for holding the love letters we're writing to our secret crush.

Daffy's
Broadway & 34th Street
Monday-Friday 10 am - 9 pm
Saturday 10 am - 8 pm
Sunday 11 am - 7 pm
736-4477

Too short on cash to even think about dressing fashionably? We have found a wonderful way to procrastinate going to the Grad Center while consuming like the dutiful American citizens we are: Daffy's. Tucked away between the Toys-R-Us and the Payless Shoestore in the "Manhattan Mall" (talk about oxymorons!), Daffy's is not for the faint of heart. After the thrill of finding the darn place and the dizzying glass elevator ride, the rush of the merchandise is almost too much to stomach: Cashmere! Leather goods! Designers! Shoes!

Our advice? Take a deep breath and remember Eleanor's shopping mantra for bargain basements survival everywhere — focus, focus, focus! Kamikaze shopping missions that are brief and often are the key to surviving Daffy's. Otherwise, even the most well-intentioned discount vultures are quickly overwhelmed by the endless racks, bulging with the possibilities of quality merchandise buried

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ERNEST SARTOR

Conway on Broadway

Conway
1333 Broadway
Monday - Friday 8 am - 8 pm
Saturday 9 am - 8 pm
Sunday 10:30 am - 7 pm
967-3460

Sometimes we get these strange urges. Perhaps they come from sitting so long in the library with all the cuties around like the swarthy,

beneath horrible sweaters with strange holes and leather patches. Unless you are truly broke, skip the clearance rack altogether and go for a single category each time you visit. We singlemindedly went on a quest for pants and after deep digging unearthed three fabulous formerly \$100 pairs of hip hugging beauties for \$15 each! We never leave before we've checked out the new arrivals section, where slightly higher priced — but definitely *au courante* — merchandise is displayed for a brief time. Buy it now or lose it forever as items in this area last about a week before getting swallowed by the aforementioned racks.

Don't start screaming in shock by the prices, please. Not only is it rude to your fellow shoppers but they will think you hopelessly naive for not already knowing that Daffy's has stuff so unbelievably cheap. If, even after smelling salts, a price really does seem unbelievable, check for make-up stains, holes, or weird stretch marks (You probably found that one on the clearance rack, right?). For the most part, you can be assured you are practically stealing quality designer duds,

Be prepared, though, as you're wearing your Daffy's finds to be admired by the trendy kids on your block. Our slightly larger than average shoe size means that we find the shoes and boots that have given us minor "fashion goddesses" status among our acquaintances. Outerwear—ever so important when one can't afford to hop into cabs all the time like those scantily clad *Sex in the City* girls—here is a steal with designer looks for less than Carhart prices. And on one bright sunny

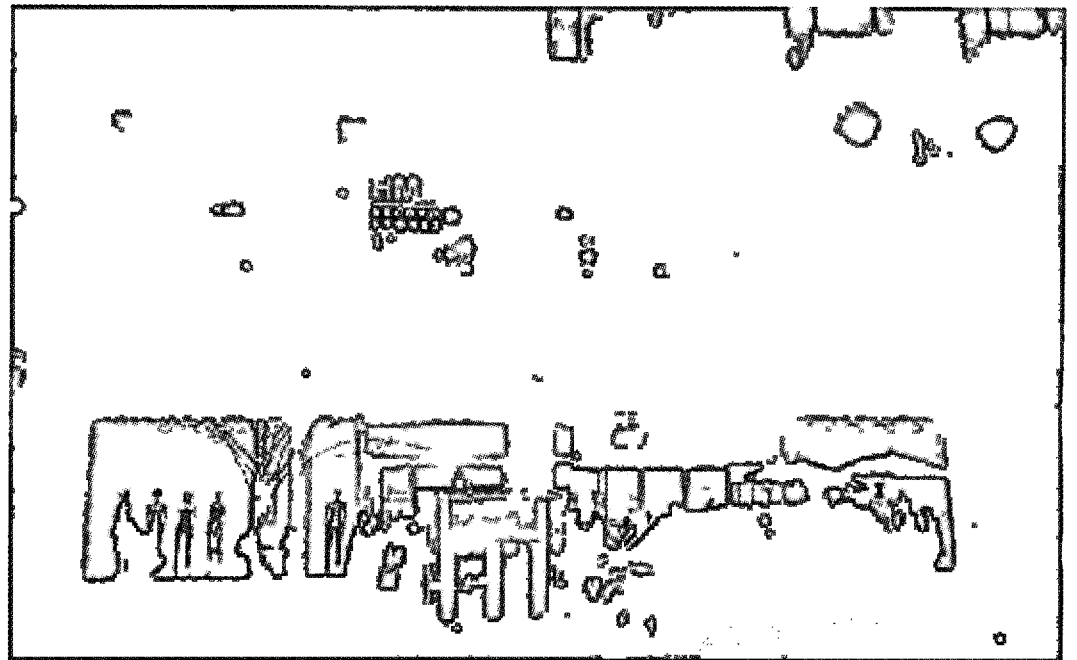
afternoon after a spirited evening of festivities we ducked into Daffy's for an emergency pair of sunglasses. Far superior to the *haserei* on sale on the street, two lovely pairs (at \$11 each!) we were trying on were admired by a Japanese tourist with such obvious envy of our effortless finds that we knew they (and we!) would be a hit on Spring Break.

On Stage of New York
197 Madison Ave (34 & 35th streets)
Monday - Friday 9:30 am - 6:30 pm
Saturday 11 am - 6 pm
725-1174

We are still willing to spend a little more to help conserve the dying breed of charming Mom & Pop shops around the city. A 20-year old haven from the din of Midtown, On Stage specializes in "activewear" for fitness and—to our delight!—fashion. If you have a run in your stockings, you needn't settle for Duane Reade any longer. On-Stage offers an epic range of durable tights and stockings for \$10-11 that includes no-fail fishnets for happy hour at the Gingerbread Man (see our column last issue). High-quality athletic leggings with flare bottoms that we

recommend for belly-dancing classes (rumored soon to be offered at the Graduate Center) can run in the \$40-\$50 range. Sports bras (\$20-30), one of the many specialty items that can leave even battle-tested Macy's and Daffy's shoppers with consumer fatigue, are available in many sizes and styles while one need trudge only 5 feet to the

dressing room and at least three people are often available (including the owners) to fetch different sizes. Last time we flipped through the 50%-off rack—happy hour!—we found a



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H&M on 34th St.

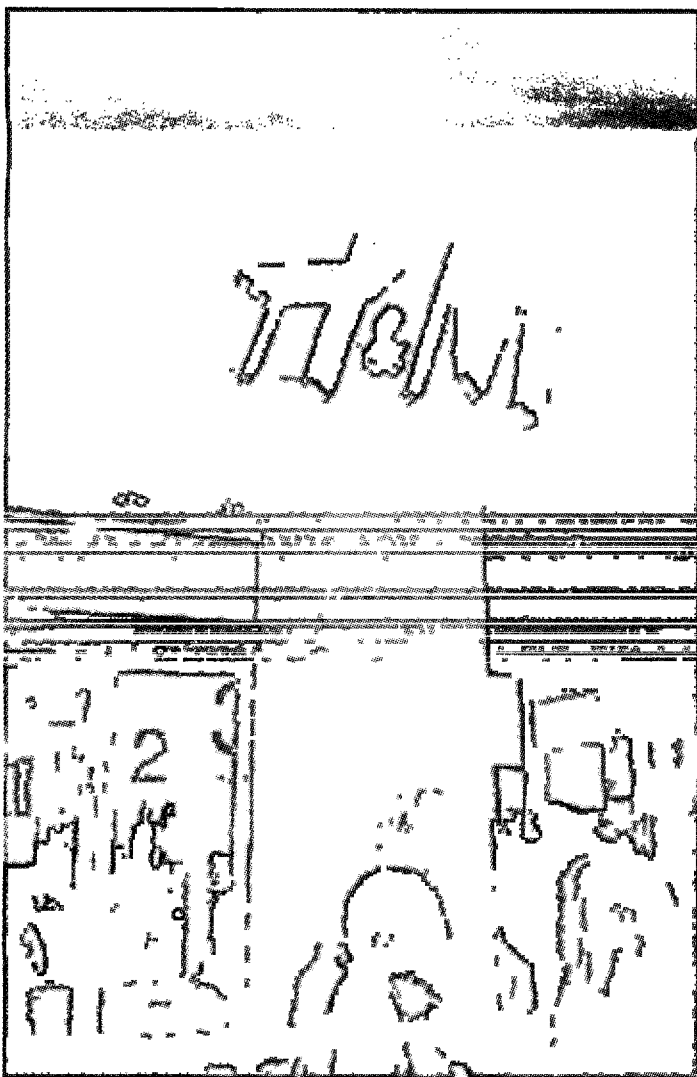
sleek high-tech turtleneck for cold-weather running (\$24, gentle readers) that may even be hip enough for the next DSC party.

H&M

34th Street @ Herald Square
Monday- Saturday 10 am- 9 pm
Sunday 11 am -8 pm
564-9922

We find that life is a series of heartbreaking trade-offs: if you want to look fashionably up-to-the-minute you have to balance the trade off between spending enough to arm a small dictatorial country or buying clothes about as well made as the peasants' rags in said small dictatorial country. H&M (or Hennes & Mauritz, if you're in the know) comes ever so close to striking this balance. Clothes here are *de moda* and always on the pulse of fashion's fickle heart. We found a tasty green leather jean-style jacket for less than \$50, a cute little pink rhinestone belt (so Tom Ford!) for our sister-in-law for a mere \$15, a trendy Tommy-style poly-fleece for our mother's *paramour* for only \$12, and for ourselves a warm winter hat that can only be described as "Swedish Porn Start Hits the Ski Slopes."

This stuff is hot. (Did we say that already?) Pink fake fur plaid coats making us look like something out of a 1970's fantasy of Pam Greir. Mini skirts in pleather, one-shoulder sweaters in amazing sparkling lurex, hair clips, scarves, sheer silk blouses, prints that look like this month's cover of *l'oguc* (or *GQ*). lipsticks, pretty satin bras, funky handbags.



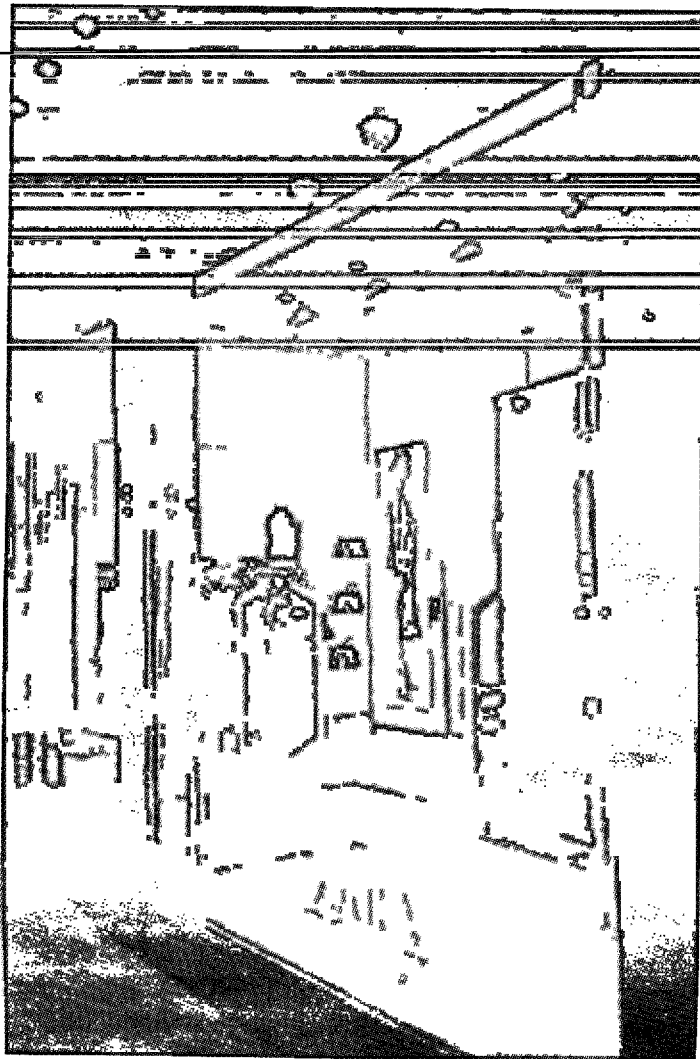
ERNEST SARTOR

H&M on 34th St.

that unlike the cheap copies in nearby H&M—will not dissolve in water. We've bagged Theory, DarylK, Dollhouse, BCBG, Calvin Klein, Todd Oldham, and the best of all, clothing in which the exclusive label has been cut out to protect the designer's over-priced image.

yes, you can have it all . . . and on your library job salary. Who really cares that the clothes are made by Bangladeshi child labor in dreadful sweatshops when you can look this cute for this little? Besides, H&M is owned by Swedes so we like to rationalize our purchases with the hope that their Scandinavian, Ikea-esque aesthetic also spreads its own idiosyncratic version of Nordic democratic socialism.

Cheap fashion comes with more than the price on your conscience, though. Other shoppers are out for blood. The only time we've been able to have a respectful shopping experience is very early on weekday mornings. Once when we and our fellow shoppers were sweltering in our winter coats, a woman used her two babies and their SUV-sized stroller to clear the sales rack for her own shopping pleasure. Perhaps the dictatorial repressiveness sewn into sweatshop clothes rubs off on otherwise gentle women, but don't say we didn't warn you.



ERNEST SARTOR

Zara on 34th St.

Zara

39 West 34th

Monday - Saturday 10 am - 8:30 pm

Sunday 12 am - 7:30 pm

868-6551

You are planning to go out after your four o'clock with that hot trendy young thing you met at the Whitney when you realize you are terribly underdressed for Asia de Cuba (You *really* thought it was nearby a rice and beans joint? You *have* to get out more often!) Quick you need to make a transformation from graduate student to suave New Yorker in less than thirty minutes and under \$200, so run to Zara. Now!

While we may be too poor to even walk into Prada, (what is it about their black-clad help that makes us feel as if they have X-ray vision for the paucity of our wallets?) we stroll into Zara as if we own the place. A Spanish chain proving yet again that Spain is the closest place to heaven on earth, Zara provides excellent, well-made rip-offs of trendy young designers almost as soon as the runway shows are over. The way they do this is a study in organizational design as well — their post-Fordist prowess has been covered by the *New Yorker's* economics correspondent. Seems Zara can make such fabulous clothes so reasonably priced by

relying on a close network of Spanish contractors, meaning the turnaround from sketch to shop floor is almost as quick as the whims of fashion. You needn't think about that, or Mondragón, or any of those alternative economic models though, when you walk out looking like Miuccia herself dressed you for about the same amount of money you'd pay for department stores' brands.

That said, this stuff isn't *that* cheap (not in the same field of bargains as Daffy's and H&M) but with skirts and trousers under \$100 and jackets around \$150 you'll come out with a trendy suit without a ton of cash. Also check out their pretty blouses (Whom do we thank for bringing lovely, lady-like blouses back into fashion?) for girls and smart, Euro-cool shirts for the guys. One of our friends made a stop by a Portuguese Zara where she landed a full-length suede coat with fake fur lining for a mere \$90 (God bless the falling escudo!) If you have a shoe or handbag weakness like we do, you might want to go by Zara only when there's a sale on, otherwise you'll find yourself weeping faux crocodile tears.

Odd Job Trading

390 Fifth Avenue (between 35th and 36th)

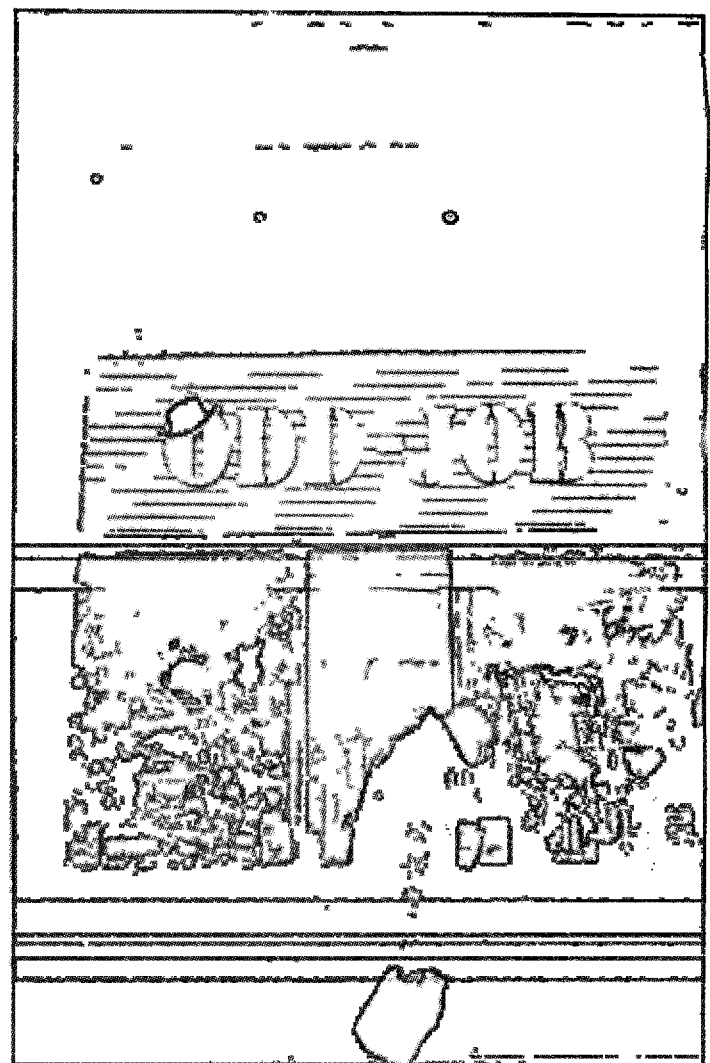
Monday - Friday 8 am - 8 pm

Saturday - Sunday 10 am - 7 pm

We love places that present their items as opportunities: like hardware stores and

libraries, Odd Job Trading and its ilk of liquidation stores (like Webers and those fantastic "Everything 99¢!" stores) give us that fuzzy feeling that everything is possible. Walk into the Odd Job near the graduate school and you'll be struck immediately by the wonders of the plastic polymer — now that the iMac-ing of design has hit the 99 cent store set, you can pick up lovely little organizers in blueberry, tangerine or any of a myriad of trendy shades. We find Odd Job is perfect for procrastination: we can walk around for hours asking ourselves, "how might we use this?" and since the inventory changes constantly, Plant stands that would be at home at Pottery Barn (where they probably were for sale at one point) could make a stylish solution to our CD storage problem; quality kitchen wares like coffee makers, blenders, hot plates, and all sorts of dishes mean finally have that dinner party in our outer borough shoebox.

We also have a tooth for their wacky rotating collection of strange snack foods: candy-cherry flavored raisins, anyone? Of course, we never dream of throwing a party without *first stopping* by Odd Job. With discount goodies from Paper House, you can dress your next party with vivid tablecloths, streamers, and grown-up party favors like the beautiful clear mesh heart boxes we recently found. Yeah, that's how we'll use those!



ERNEST SARTOR

Odd-Job on 5th Ave

AT ROBERT MOSES'S KNEE

WHERE HERMAN BADILLO LEARNED TO REMOVE BLACKS AND LATINOS FROM CUNY

By Rob Wallace

In September 1999, CUNY Board of Trustees chair Herman Badillo addressed a Center for Education Innovation luncheon. Remarking on problems in education, particularly at CUNY, the Great Educator declared,

"The problem is that in Mexico and Central America, there has never been a tradition of education... They're pure Indians: Incas and Mayans, who are about, you know, 5 feet tall, with straight hair. And when they speak about 'La Raza' they're not talking about the Spanish language, they're talking about the original Indian language. And therefore it's far more complicated problem than the problem that we're used to dealing with but nobody seems to want to face up to it."

The six-foot Badillo went on to complain about the growth of Mexican businesses in East Harlem, a neighborhood he claimed is "supposed to be Puerto Rican." Badillo's racist non-sequiturs set off a firestorm of criticism from the straight- and curly-haired alike. The Professional Staff Congress (PSC), CUNY's faculty union, denounced Badillo's statements as "derogatory and racist."

But Badillo's remarks only capped his decade-long, and currently successful, campaign against Open Admissions and remediation at CUNY. According to CUNY Central's own studies, ending remediation classes without recourse would ultimately reduce both the black and Latino student bodies by half.

Still, many were shocked that a Latino who had to struggle through language and race barriers for a City College degree in accounting would so viciously belittle other Latinos undergoing the same struggle.

Wasn't this Herman Badillo, the first Latino to run for New York's mayoralty? Protestant Puerto Rican, of Italian heritage, and married to a Jew, didn't Badillo in his 1969 mayoralty bid declare himself "a one-man integration ticket"? Isn't this the proud Badillo who told the *New York Post* that Puerto Ricans do not discriminate? And that, after all, "Blood is all the same color, and non-sectarian"?

What Shakespearean transformation turned Harlem's talented and dashing Prince Henry into the Upper East Side's bitter potty-mouth?

The problem with this dramatic sketch is that it isn't true. Badillo, like most politicians, was rotten pretty much from the start.

BADILLO'S START

We can't understand the nature of Badillo without understanding the nature of New York. Badillo is truly a native son. We need then to establish context first.

In New York City, elected officials do not run the city. They are at best managers on the proverbial supermarket floor. They exert limited autonomy, as they scamper about managing the store at the owners' bidding.

In New York City, the finance, insurance and real estate (FIRE) industries own the store. FIRE elites, with their multi-billion dollar portfolios and armies of lobbyists, command elected officials' political attentions like no other constituency. Pro-choice, pro-life, housing advocates, the PBA, Bishop Eagan, DC-37, NIMBY community organizations -- no interest group commands politicians like FIRE. FIRE contributes more money to political campaigns than all other interest groups combined. So FIRE shapes budgetary practices. FIRE, in the form of brokerage firms, controls the City's bond ratings. FIRE determines what's built and how and when serious money flows. Any major project in NYC needs FIRE fiscal backing.

Right from the start of his political career, the shrewd and ambitious Badillo understood this and sought to demonstrate his willingness to serve those elites. With the Civil Rights movement and the failures of Bull Connor-style repression, a market developed for minority vassals. Like many black and Latino elected officials, Badillo earned the elites' backing by showing early on his willingness to betray people of color, a talent Badillo has exercised ever since. His early betrayals won him the political access and financial capital he needed for later campaigns for the mayoralty.

We'll join Badillo in 1961. East Harlem, though majority Puerto Rican, is run by the Italian political machine. Badillo, a year after supporting JFK's successful bid for president, establishes the Democratic JFK Club for black and Latino voters there. The next year he supports Robert Wagner's successful reelection, but loses in the race for district leader by 75 votes.

As a reward for his support, Mayor Wagner appoints Badillo as deputy real estate commissioner. By the end of 1962, Badillo becomes the city's first Commissioner of Relocation, serving through 1965, only four years before his run for the mayoralty as, in his words, "the only liberal."

As Relocation Commissioner, "liberal" Badillo's job is to help remove thousands of

working class people out of their neighborhoods and often against their will. The residents' homes are subsequently demolished by the City and highways and opera houses are built in their stead. Whole neighborhoods, with their own histories and emotional ties, are annihilated. Though Badillo supervises programs whose declared aim is to help residents move to comparable housing, thousands are left to their own devices.

MOSES AND THE EXPULSION OF BLACKS

Badillo didn't start such "slum clearance." As Joel Schwartz has pointed out in *The New York Approach: Robert Moses, Urban Liberals and the Development of the Inner City*, Jacob Riis famously exposed slum conditions in *How the Other Half Lives*, not because he wanted ghettos helped out, but because he wished them razed as health hazards.

The most famous neighborhood annihilator was Robert Moses. With potent liberal backing, Moses spent a quarter of a century as a member of the permanent government, reshaping New York City's physical and social landscapes with unprecedented independence. Moses served as Park Commissioner, City Planning Commission member, and Construction Coordinator through three mayoral administrations—LaGuardia, O'Dwyer, and Wagner.

Accompanied by the city plutocracy, liberal civic organizations and developers, Moses used Title 1 of the federal Housing Act of 1949 and his Committee on Slum Clearance to clear-cut swaths of housing lived in by the poor. Instead, pricey condos, university campuses, medical centers, arts complexes, and infrastructure projects were built. The evicted poor and working class, typically black and Latino, were relocated to poorly constructed projects or left on their own.

With Title 1 and other tools, Moses and his allies built, among other projects, Columbus Circle, Cooper Square, Lincoln Center, the UN, Stuyvesant Town, Fordham University, parts of New York University, Mount Sinai Hospital, Pratt Institute, printing plants for the *New York Times*, and Morningside

Gardens where I lived for 27 years. Robert Caro, in the *Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York*, put the relocations that accompanied Moses projects at 250,000 New Yorkers for highways, and tens of thousands for other projects.

Moses's actions "created new slums as fast as they were cleaning the old," writes Caro.

BADILLO LEARNS

One such project was the Lower Manhattan Expressway. The 2.4-mile, eight-lane expressway was first proposed in 1927, endorsed by the City Planning Commission in 1941 and finally approved by the city's Board of Estimate in 1960. The expressway was to link the Holland Tunnel on the West Side and the Williamsburgh and Manhattan Bridges on the East Side. From the nearby map, we can see the expressway arteries were to weave through neighborhoods, turning New York, according to one critic, into an East Coast version of Los Angeles.

The expressway was part of a larger development plan pursued by Chase Manhattan's David Rockefeller, and the Downtown-Lower Manhattan Association he chaired, to turn Lower Manhattan into a "golden ghetto" where financial executives could live and work. Little Italy, Chinatown, and the Lower East Side would be cleared of 50,000 working people to permit the finance industry to "walk to work."

Mayor Wagner, a rabid proponent, emphasized how the federal government would cover 90% of the costs of the expressway, New York State the other 10%, with the City contributing a miniscule \$220,000. He also cheered the construction jobs that would result. The president of the Downtown-Lower Manhattan Association declared the Expressway would "stimulate business activity, improve property values and bring increased tax revenues to the city," important FIRE priorities.

But at what human cost? Two thousand families and 800 businesses employing 10,000 people would be forced out of the area.

In 1962, Mayor Wagner, burned by community protests during the development of Manhattantown on the Upper West Side, established the position of Relocation Commissioner and appointed Badillo with 200 employees and, by 1965, a budget of over \$2 million. In June 1962, Wagner had Badillo begin a plan for relocating residents for the expressway project.

In December Badillo released the report, assuring adequate and affordable housing would be found for the 1,972 families the City would remove for the Expressway. Based on overly optimistic estimates of available housing in nearby areas, Badillo declared in the report that "On the basis of current relocation practices and procedures of the Department of Relocation, and in the light of studies just completed, I can report that the relocation load for this project could be taken in stages and suitably accomplished."

With the liberal veneer long a characteristic of forced removals in New York City, Badillo declared his intentions to found a "citizens relocation advisory board" and "to institute a full program of social services which will facilitate the process of relocation and at the same time render vital social case-work to the families who will be so intimately affected by this procedure." In this language, fuzzy-wuzzy social services are provided to a population that, if left alone, would not need them to begin with. And a governmentally enforced relocation is treated as if an unavoidable natural disaster like a hurricane or flood.

Badillo admitted in his report the relocations wouldn't be without its problems. "This does not, of course, mean that the relocation for this project can be accomplished without pain or strain or some individual cases of hardship. Practically speaking, every major relocation involves some hardship for some. But in this case, I can report that with the cooperation already described, the job can be done," Badillo wrote.

THE HUMAN COST

But for the people to be actually moved, the Expressway represented more than "some hardship." To a *Times* reporter, neighborhood residents cursed Wagner, others cried. The relocation stipends and new low-cost housing were viewed by residents as little compensation for the loss of their neighborhood.

"A world is being destroyed, a way of life," declared Reverend Gerard LaMountain. "There are people here 80 years old who have never lived anywhere else. The neighborhood is everything for them," he continued.

"The expressway is a death blow to Little Italy," Anthony Dapolito, co-chair of the Citywide Organizations Against the Lower Manhattan Expressway, told the *Times*. The area to be demolished was, ironically, considering Badillo's background, characterized by a large Italian population and a growing Puerto Rican one. In a way, Badillo proved himself an advent of his later declared creed - "Blood is all the same color, and non-sectarian" — and willing to sacrifice neighborhoods of his own people for private ambitions.

Fierce community opposition met the

highway and relocation plans. Opponents cited the destruction of the neighborhood, the likely pollution that would result from the increased traffic, and the existence of non-disruptive alternatives for alleviating downtown traffic problems. An array of politicians, smelling electoral blood, piled on, including Representatives Ed Koch and John Lindsay, and Borough President Percy Sutton, all of who would oppose Badillo in later mayoral elections.

Such sustained opposition spelled the death knell for the Expressway. Lindsay, elected mayor in 1965, killed the project in 1969 in favor of a highway that looped about the perimeter of Manhattan Island.

Still, David Rockefeller was able to realize many of his designs for Lower Manhattan, protecting the \$40 million investment Chase Bank had in downtown real estate. Chase Manhattan Plaza, the World Trade Center, and Battery Park City were built with the help of the Port Authority and Rockefeller's brother Nelson, who happened to be governor.

Protecting investments doesn't mean helping New York. The Twin Towers added to the millions of square feet office space downtown never filled. Millions of dollars in public bonds were issued through the Port Authority to pay for Lower Manhattan's development at the expense of low- and middle-income housing funds for the outer boroughs. For more, see Paul Du Brul and Jack Newfield's *The Abuse of Power: The Permanent Government and the Fall of New York*.

Our point here is that Badillo's relocation plans for the Lower Manhattan Expressway exemplified what became his standard stock in trade. He has provided the FIRE elites the racial cover they've needed to remove minorities from where they live, where they work, where they go to school.

Others appreciated the work. Before the 1965 elections, Badillo resigned as Relocation Commissioner to join City Council President Paul Sorevaro's slate. Sorevaro, running for mayor, wanted Badillo to win him minority support. It didn't work: Sorevaro lost, but Badillo won the Bronx borough presidency he would use as the launch pad for his own run at the mayoralty in 1969.

Badillo's vehemence about and verve at removing blacks and Latinos from CUNY are not just the result of an old man's political conversion. They are very much the outgrowth of skills developed over a career of four decades, right from his first appointment. Badillo appears very much, like all politicians, a man of his era, shaped by the political and economic terrain of the city and the private cancers of his heart.

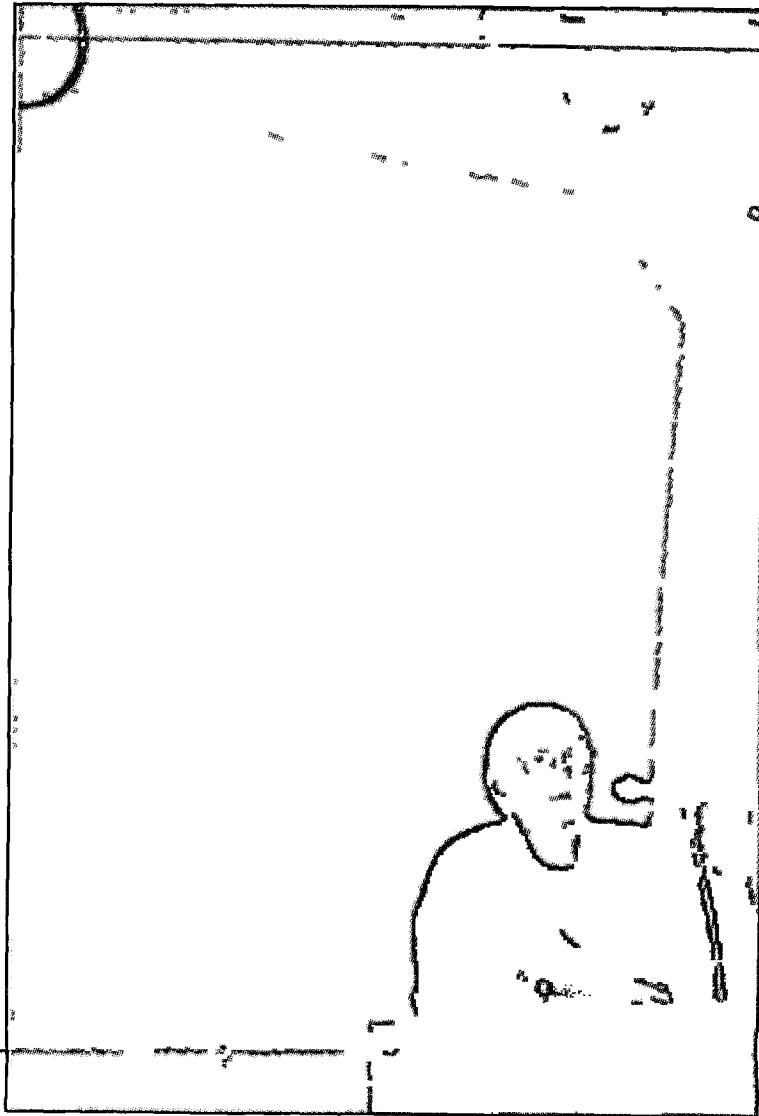
Research assistance: Kim Williams-Guillen

HERMAN, HOROWITZ, AND THE GRAD CENTER WHITEWASHING

By Rob Wallace

When asked at a 1999 Doctoral Student Council plenary for her thoughts about Herman Badillo's derogatory comments about Mexicans and Dominicans, CUNY Graduate Center President Francis Horowitz punted. Horowitz told the plenary she had her own private thoughts about the comments, but would not share them here. As one then-DSC co-chair pointed out afterwards, Horowitz is no wallflower—puh-leez—only minutes before sharing at length with the plenary her own opinion about the type of security the Grad Center should have.

Horowitz's reticence could be explained as an attempt to refrain from souring a relationship with the Chair of CUNY's Board of Trustees. But other CUNY campus presidents spoke out against Badillo's derogatory comments, including Hunter College's then-President David Caputo. At City College, interim President Stanford Roman weakly censured Badillo's remarks as "unfortunate," noting Badillo had apologized. Still, that's much more than Horowitz, who clamped shut and adopted a gag



President Horowitz did not comment on Badillo's racist remarks

policy.

Maybe there's something to hide. Because Horowitz represents the Grad Center as a whole, her muteness on such a no-brainer—Badillo's raw bigotry—seems to instantiate the Grad Center's own problems with race. In a city half minority, the Grad Center is white, white, white, lily white.

According to Grad Center statistics (see Appendix 7.2 in the Graduate Center's Self-Study and reproduced here), the student body as of Fall 1998 was composed of 3,629 doctoral and Master's students. One thousand eight hundred fifty two (51% of the student body) are white, 221 (6.1%) African American, 211 (5.8%) Latino, and 130 (3.6%) Asian American. There are 773 (21.3%) "nonresident aliens."

You don't have to be a bean counter to see the Grad Center does not provide New York City residents equal access to doctoral-level education. The Grad Center does have several programs aimed at minority recruitment: CUNY Pipeline, Project Ascend, and the MAGNET Program. But these minority recruitment programs are apparently insufficient, huge photos of minority graduates in the Grad Center's windows notwithstanding.

GIULIANI SHREDS BILL OF RIGHTS; COSTS NEW YORKERS \$50 MILLION

By Mark Petras

Ready, you have only one year left in office. Don't you think you should be spending that time taping up New York City's copy of the Bill of Rights rather than continuing to shred it? Don't you think you should be spending your time apologizing to New Yorkers for having treated them as subjects instead of citizens? Don't you think you should be reading up on case law surrounding the First Amendment, Fourth Amendment, and other Constitutional provisions for liberty so your decision making this year can for once avoid violating the civil rights of your fellow New Yorkers?

Last month you cost New York City taxpayers \$50 million when your administration settled a lawsuit filed on behalf of tens of thousands of New Yorkers who were illegally strip-searched after being arrested for minor "quality of life" violations. Such violations included loitering, disorderly conduct and subway offenses. Many people strip-searched were harmless, law-abiding citizens who had

never before been arrested.

Worse still, the Department of Corrections carried out these strip-searches despite a 1986 federal appeals court ruling asserting that the Fourth Amendment prohibits the government from strip-searching people charged with minor offenses. According to the ruling, corrections officers or other representatives of the state may strip-search such offenders only if they have just cause to believe the arrested parties are concealing weapons or contraband.

According to a front-page article in the *New York Times* (Jan. 10, 2001), the \$50 million settlement is the most costly of any civil rights suit ever filed against New York City, and "appears to be one of the largest civil rights settlements against a municipality anywhere." Clearly, Giuliani should be embarrassed for burdening taxpayers with a \$50 million bill and for having violated the Fourth Amendment rights of so many citizens. Yet on Jan. 10th, 2001, Fox News played a soundbyte of Giuliani stressing the importance of strip-searches in detecting razor blades that can be

used against corrections officers.

Razor blades? The common citizen who gets arrested for the first time for violating traffic codes or smoking on the subway carries a razor blade? The common citizen has such a proclivity toward violence that he or she would readily lunge at a corrections officer with his or her alleged weapon? This is what our mayor thinks of us—the people who pay his salary?

The thing is, I have not yet been able to figure out if our mayor is a calculating demagogue who takes pleasure in his blatant Constitutional violations, or if he is merely an idiot who simply has no idea how to run a city without violating people's basic rights. I am inclined to believe the former. Regardless of which it is though, clearly Giuliani has failed this city. Miserably.

Some time ago I heard about a grassroots movement to have Giuliani recalled from his mayoral position. It is too bad that movement never succeeded. Now, it is 2001 and we are stuck with his sorry ass for another year.

ESCAPE FROM PARK AVE: A MEMOIR

By Frank Benjamin

The following novelette recounts the tragic hand of fate as it slammed down on Frank Benjamin while living on New York City's Upper East Side. Mr. Benjamin, a doctoral student in the CUNY English Department, has been reported as missing by the police since August 1999. With an eye to public service, the *Advocate* presents yet another episode in the tragic life of Mr. Benjamin in the hopes that it may provide clues to his whereabouts and earthly (or not) status.

VI. HELENA UNBOUND

Frank followed Helena's still dripping body down a long corridor filled with marble pigs, engaged in lovemaking and donning permanent visages of wild ecstasy. These strange relics of some mad artist's studio, however, attracted Frank's attention less than the tightness of the towel that wrapped around Helena's voluptuous frame. As Helena turned to go into the kitchen, Frank couldn't help but notice her toned, glimmering legs and golden, swinging hips which the towel, in its minuteness, failed to conceal.

To Frank the kitchen seemed to have come out of a featured pictorial in *Architectural Digest*. Bright Italian tiles in black and alabaster lay on the floor, like a freshly printed crossword puzzle, their immaculate glow competing with the smoothly polished surfaces of the black slate kitchen counters above. The cabinets were equally majestic, made of Shanghai teakwood (though Frank thought they were of bamboo) and everywhere, it seemed, hung brass cooking pots and sterling silver utensils that enhanced the room's overall gleam.

"My goodness," exclaimed Frank, "did you just put this terrific kitchen in?"

"Oh, no," replied Mrs. Applebee in a voice of surprise, "the kitchen has been here since we bought the place in '69. It's just that I don't like to cook. Making meals is such a messy and complicated affair after all. Donald and I much prefer eating out or ordering in."

As she spoke, Helena pulled a stool out from under one of the counters. "The leashes are up there," she said as she began an awkward ascent up the stool determined to reach the destination of her extended finger. As Helena was standing on the very tips of her tiptoes in an attempt to reach into an enormously cavernous cabinet, disaster struck. The knot that had clamped her towel to her hips suddenly relented and Frank found himself staring at a perfectly toned, perfectly tanned, perfectly naked Helena Applebee.

"O My!" Helena and Frank gasped in unison. A cold sweat splashed across Frank's cherry red forehead as he stared at his tumultuously tantalizing boss, who, as it turned out, was a "true blonde" indeed (the query had ever so innocently floated across Frank's mind but minutes earlier). After a

moment of apparent fright, Helena regained her calm with surprising dispatch.

Staring down at Frank, Helena quickly admitted her foolish crime: "Clumsy me. I just dropped the leashes. Frank, dear, can you help me down so I can retrieve them?"

As Frank moved closer to the chair to fulfill her request, his entire body began to shake as though it was unaware of what else to do. With eyes clenched tightly shut, Frank offered the nervous branch of his left arm as a leaning post. This Helena feverishly clutched before thrusting her entire body onto his tall, athletic, albeit, completely unsuspecting frame. Her arrival buckled Frank's already wobbly knees and sprawled him backward several feet along the tiled floor with Helena in tow.

Though chilling in its aspect, the accident had left its victims healthily intact. On top of Frank, Helena caressingly eased her full, soft breasts and hardened tips across the body of the young gentleman who had cushioned her fall. She then gently lifted his head towards her own and, with feverish longing, stared into his eyes. "Take me, Frank, make love to me now," Helena insisted in moaning instruction.

"I will certainly NOT make love to you, Mrs. Applebee," a stunned, yet still conscious Frank

replied as he loosed himself from Helena's vise-like embrace. "I only came up to walk your dogs, something else I was not supposed to get involved with per our agreement."

Looking as though her feelings had been run over by a Tampa Bay lineman, Helena with a pouty frown responded, "O Frank, can you at least give my towel back to me? It's so chilly without you holding me tight."

This request Frank obeyed. He then waited with his back turned until Helena was as decent as a voluptuous ex-Rockette, attired in next to nothing, could possibly be.

Dropping her coy demeanor, Helena suddenly took on a professional air. She marched to where the dog leashes had landed and proceeded to instruct her young helper to the day's task.

"Frank, I recommend walking Eveline and Lulu in Central Park for an hour and then taking them to Poodleland for a snack. I always bring them there after they've been good ... they expect it."

Helena then lightly kissed Frank's cheek in appreciation. "See you when you come back," she smiled as she wiggled her hips in the direction of the bathroom.

CUNY-LINGUS Know the facts!

What is it?

CUNY-LINGUS is a highly communicable form of poetic and prosodic exhibitionism. This chronic *malady* has been known to strike over-theorized and over-worked Graduate Students, with a particular vulnerability detected among under-paid and mal-nourished Ad-junkies. Although it is not fatal, this chronic illness may seriously debilitate body, mind and soul - if we students have the latter two.

What are the Symptoms of CUNY-LINGUS?

The *malady* expresses itself through a loss of Witt-genstein, a pale facial Culler, a frying of the critical anatomy, an Ardendce of the mind and a Dryden of the mouth - making one want to Spitzer in the Saussure. Some patients also describe a sensation of "I Can't, I Cant, I Kant", among a Bloom of other unpleasantries.

Am I at Risk? Can I be Exposed?

You most definitely are. Recent studies demonstrate that there are no CUNY-LINGUS-specific risk groups. Anybody can be exposed to the *malady*, depending on behavior. Among the more Hazard-adamous habits are the intra-venal use of Lacantamenes and Derridapiates; unprotected Shlovsky; or even smoking Jahdamer to get Heidegger. How not to be exposed?

Is there a Cure for CUNY-LINGUS?

Not before graduation. But there is treatment. The Graduate Student Program (GRASP) has recently launched a pilot-program to face the growth of this threat here at 365, Fifth. The CUNY-LINGUS: YOU ARE NOT ALONE support group is at the service of all those willing to expose their writing. As a part of this joint effort, students will be meeting periodically for poetic-prosodic-musical (pastoral-comical-historical) Jamesons... or better, Jam Sessions. If you would like to read your poetry or prose, in any language, be sure to contact us at cunylingus365@hotmail.com and reserve a slot of time in our first Jam Session. Also, let us know if you would like to help organize our support group. And remember: you can be helped.

CUNY-LINGUS Inaugural Jam Session

What: Graduate Center Poetry & Prose Readings

When: Friday, February 23rd, 6:30 PM.

Where: At the DSC Social Lounge, Room # 5414

Please do bring food and beverages!

ADJUNCT ORGANIZING UPDATE

By Mark Halling

The adjunct movement continues apace, both at CUNY and nationwide. It's been a busy couple of months and the next few show no signs of slowing down. First off, agency fee for adjuncts is scheduled to be enforced as of February 1st. Agency fee refers to the policy of automatically deducting union fees from a worker's paycheck. Historically, our union, the Professional Staff Congress, has enforced agency fee for full-time instructors, but not part-timers. The upshot of this policy has been systematic disenfranchisement of part-timers in all categories (adjuncts, GTFs, etc.). But with a new leadership now controlling our union comes a new set of priorities, and the New Caucus has committed itself to reversing the scandalous policy of making it as difficult as possible for adjuncts to participate in the organization.

This does not mean that adjuncts are automatically members; we still must sign union cards. But this decision is a major leap forward in our efforts to achieve full membership in the organization that negotiates on our behalf policies regarding wages, benefits, and working conditions. The PSC is now working with adjuncts on an organizing campaign (titled "Strength in Numbers") towards making us full members. They know (although we must continuously remind them) that they can't win a good contract without a strong support base. So if you've heard it once you've heard it a hundred times, THE TIME TO JOIN THE UNION IS NOW.

By enrolling in large numbers we make it much more likely that the contract now under negotiation will include the provisions we want: pay parity, full health and dental benefits, unemployment benefits, tuition remission, and better working conditions. Call us now, (212.817.7890) and we'll get you signed up. Dues are only about \$7.70 per paycheck (about \$140 a year) although the union is considering changing the dues structure to a percentage basis that will reduce fees for adjuncts even further.

Things are also moving forward with our planned hearings before the Higher Education Committee of the New York State Assembly. The chairman of that committee, Ed Sullivan, is deeply sym-

thetic to adjuncts and their plight and is supportive of our efforts to take our case before his committee (probably sometime in mid-March). Getting the legislature involved could be a huge step for us, so we need to make a strong impression on them about our situation. Perhaps the central objective of these hearings will be to build public and political awareness of the threat to higher education by the growing use of part-time academic labor. An important way of doing this is through personal stories by adjuncts. If you have a story you want to tell to the Assembly, let us know (markhalling@msn.com).

On a less local front, Kristin Lawler (the other co-coordinator of the Adjunct Project) and myself have recently returned from California, where we attended the fourth conference of the Coalition of Contingent Academic Labor (COCAL), a national group of part-timers, graduate students, and full-timers who are off the tenure track. Over 150 people from the US and Canada attended, and all left the conference believing that a serious national movement of part-timers is ready to take off.

The goals of the conference were multifold. Perhaps the main one was to discuss strategies to reverse the trend toward the exploitative use of adjunct labor in higher education. In addition, the conference proved useful in forging links and coalitions with other part-time organizations in North America. Especially useful for the Grad Center contingent was the opportunity to discuss with groups spread hither and yon the possibilities of pursuing legislative remedies for the exploitation we experience here within CUNY. This foundational work of linking local and national struggles is critical if we bear in mind that the adjunct situation at CUNY is partly due to the regional labor market for academics.

An important accomplishment of the conference was the decision to hold sometime next fall what will be called "National Equity Week" to raise public awareness of the abhorrent conditions faced by part-timers and to lay the groundwork for ongoing organizing activities. Activities for the week are being discussed but it is sure to culminate in a day of demonstrations in various cities around the country. Stay tuned.

As always, Kristin and I can be reached at 817-7890, or room 5938 of the Grad Center.

THIS THING CALLED LOVE

By Ferhat Kutlucan

People everywhere around me
They tell me what love is
I heard it's something magical
An awesome feeling of butterflies inside

It will surely make you feel good
And bubbly all the time
But sometimes are better than others
Love can sometimes break your heart

Now I have to make a choice
After all the things I've heard
How am I supposed to know?
Til I take the chance myself

I've already made up my mind
And know exactly what to do
For the first time in my life
I will welcome this thing called-
"LOVE"

TOGETHER

By Ferhat Kutlucan

How am I supposed to know
That love is for real?
How am I supposed to know
Who to give my heart to?

All I know is
The day would soon come
When my greatest dreams
Would finally come true

Everyday I wait
Every moment I dream
That she will be here
And embrace me in her shoulders

And together...
We will dream

TALKING WITH NOAM

Continuing. Beginning on front page

the U.S. media and State Department do not care about, nefarious bloodbaths are atrocities that U.S. enemy states commit, and constructive bloodbaths are atrocities that the media and State Department support. Currently, it is apparent that the two areas in the world where some of the worst human rights atrocities are being committed, Colombia and Israel, would seemingly aptly qualify as examples of constructive bloodbaths. Basically, the U.S. media have reported that we are dutifully supporting Israel in its brave defense from Arafat's conspiracy to carry out a violent uprising, and in Colombia, that we are fighting the drug war right at its source. As is often the case, reality seems to differ from the pretenses of the corporate media. What are the real reasons why these bloodbaths are constructive and in the overseas press, can we actually find reporting and analysis that does not assume State Department positions without question?

CHOMSKY: Well, you'd be very unlikely to find anything much in the [U.S.] corporate media, because it would be surprising for them to depart from the interests of the owners, the advertisers, the state, that they are closely linked to, and the intellectuals who are part of the system of support for ideology. You do find

some evidence, but it is inconsistent with the positions they are taking and there's no articulated version of it [as systemic analysis is not undertaken].

In those two cases that you mentioned, I think we should recognize that in the Israel case, it's what the British press calls a slow massacre, it's not a bloodbath. It's very carefully finely tuned - in fact, they tell you, the Israeli army tells you, not in English, but in the Hebrew press that they want to keep the deaths below a certain level . . . Colombia is a different story . . . it has a grotesque, horrible history. I mean the violence in Colombia goes back about 100 years, around the early part of the 20th century, there was a war in which 100,000 people or so got massacred in an internal war. It's been a very repressive society, [yet] it's a rich society, [as] there's a lot of resources and a lot of potential wealth. [But] the wealth is very highly concentrated, in a very narrow elite. There's been peasant revolutions and everything, all throughout the century.

In 1948, a sort of progressive and kind of a populist candidate was assassinated and that set off what they call the violencia period in which probably a couple hundred thousand people were killed. By that point, the U.S. was getting involved, this was part of the whole system of controlling hemisphere. The Eisenhower administration sent arms - but it was mainly the Kennedy administration which like, in most areas, extended very harshly the whole counterinsurgency and repression program. And specifically in Colombia. They sent a mission to Colombia, which had a report that people should really read, [whereby] a green beret and a General or Colonel

they're starving.

Meanwhile, the U.S. economic policies kicked in, which is important. Neoliberalism did not begin in 1980. In the 1950's, Colombia was a wheat producer, and that was undercut by the U.S. food for peace program. Now the food for peace program kind of sounds nice, but what it was in fact, was a subsidy from U.S. taxpayers to U.S. agribusiness to provide support for third world dictators.

KENNIS: Sounds like the U.S. food for oil program for Iraq.

CHOMSKY:

It's not quite like that. This was supposed to be a very benevolent program to give food to starving people and that sort of thing. But if you really look at the mechanisms - I mean of course, it was a taxpayer subsidy to agribusiness, that's where the food comes from. How do you send it there, though? It actually went to specified countries [and often their respective dictatorial regimes] where

in fact it was turned into what was called counterpart funds, so they got local currency, which they could use and very often used for repression and military support and ended up buying U.S. arms with it. What it did in Colombia was undermine wheat production, because the wheat producers can't compete with free food coming from the U.S., so that died [free, in that it was U.S. taxpayer subsidized food for U.S. agribusiness].

The big move was around 1970, where the non-aligned countries - as decolonization had gotten somewhere - were becoming a force in the world. They organized a program which included a call for what they called a new world international economic order. It was around 1970 and UNCTAD, the U.N. agency for Trade and Development, was set up to support this, to

continues on next page



WHY THE AVERAGE AMERICAN GOES TO HELL

-- I forget = [where] Yarborough was sent down under Kennedy and they gave him the Colombian military advice. And the advice [from Kennedy] was to use paramilitaries and to use terror, against what he called "known Communist proponents" - which in the Latin American context means, you know, anybody: peasants, human rights workers, priests, anybody who is out of line. And the Kennedy administration also provided arms and training for that and it sort of continued.

By that point, there was kind of a pact - there were two parties, they're called Liberals and Conservatives, but it's kind of like the Democrats and Republicans. There was a little difference between them, and they had different faces and [were different] landlords and industrialists and stuff like that. But [the two parties] made a pact, to share the rule. So, they like shift every year from Liberal to Conservative and so on. That's called a democracy here and so everybody hails it as a wonderful democracy. Most of the population is not even disenfranchised, but can't eat, you know,

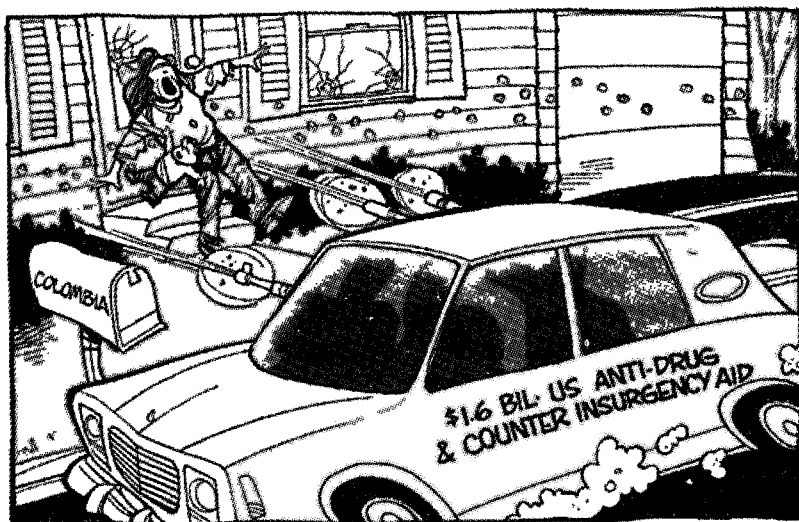
be the economic advisers for this. Of course, it was just laughed at [in the first world] and turned down flat. But part of it, was a program to maintain commodities at a relatively stable level, as commodity prices oscillate all over the place and it's extremely harmful [to the underdeveloped world].

Inside the rich countries, like say the United States or Europe, commodity prices - like food - are kept reasonably stable by huge taxpayer subsidies. So, there's tens of billions of dollars given, by now mostly to agribusiness, to keep prices within a certain range so they don't move up and down too fast. Well, that's what the third world wanted and what it means there, is survival. I mean, if you are a peasant producing coffee, and the price goes down one year, you can't tell your children don't bother eating this year, maybe they'll go up next year. If you're agribusiness, yeah, you can manage - you know, - you shift around your expenses of something. [The price stabilization program for the underdeveloped world, on the other hand,] of course, was killed though. And the effect was to drive peasants out of coffee production.

In fact, then, when the neoliberal policies kick in - like in Bolivia and elsewhere - they are all flooded with and have to accept U.S. agricultural and European Union agricultural exports - which are all subsidized and so on - and of course, they all undercut [domestic production] of agriculture; the same thing happened in Haiti, in fact, practically everywhere. That's one of the reasons why wages are going down in Mexico, contrary to whatever economic model predicted, not that economists were paying attention. But if you look at economic models, they all have nice theorems which prove wages are going to go up, even though they are going down. One reason is that the models didn't take account of the fact, even though plenty economists were telling [those who made such predictions], that the effect of NAFTA, is going to drive huge numbers of Mexicans off the farms. Where are they going to go? [Predictably,] they fled into the cities and lowered wages. But some people stay on the farms, like in Bolivia and Colombia. So, what happens to them?

The economists have an [answer for this, they posit that] you become a rational

peasant. There's a whole theory on rational peasants and a bit of literature on it - they probably teach it here [at Columbia]. Rational peasants understand the market and they understand that



DRIVE-BY SHOOTING

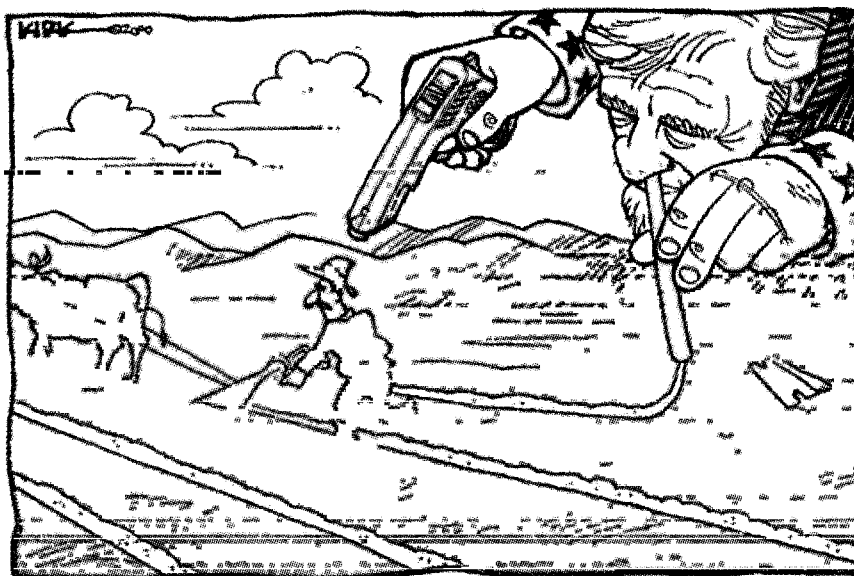
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you produce for profit and you produce for export and of course, you want to produce for a stable market. Now just spell that out: you produce for export, for profit, for a stable market, what does that spell? That

spells cocoa.

So, they were driven into drug production. That's a consequence of neoliberal policy and is probably the reason why the whole land is blowing up. And then of course, when ["rational peasants"] do that, [the Colombian military, trained and funded by the U.S.,] comes in and kills them.

This all interacted with the ongoing peasant uprisings and guerilla movements and so on, which go way back. And by now, the insurgency is out of control. FARC, the main guerilla movement, is very big and all over the place and even runs a large part of the country. You can argue about what it is, but officially, it has a kind of social democratic program which is enough to scare the daylights out of the Colombian business community and the United States. So, you naturally kick in with a counterinsurgency program,



COLUMBIA POLICY

and since you can't blame it on the Russians anymore, it's drugs.

It can't be a drug program. If it was a drug program, you wouldn't do it this way...

KENNIS: Especially when the [Colombian] military is apparently involved with drug trafficking.

CHOMSKY: The [Colombian] military is involved with narco-trafficking and even the American army is. Just last year, they had to pull

out the Colonel who was running the U.S. counterinsurgency program there because his wife was caught narco-trafficking and he ended up in jail or something like this. I mean, you just can't be in the elite in that system unless you're part of this. The military is in it and the paramilitaries are in control of a large part of it... furthermore, the [U.S. supported counterinsurgency] program is not even designed to do anything about drugs. The peasants in the drug producing areas and indeed the leadership of FARC are [essentially] saying 'look, we prefer to do alternative crops but we need some support. The only thing we can make money on is drugs. We don't want to produce drugs.' One way to deal with that is to provide support for alternative crop programs.

The U.S. is providing nothing. It's providing some, but not in the areas with guerilla control. In the areas of guerilla control not a penny goes to alternative crop programs.

Apart from that, the whole thing is lunatic. Does China have a right to bomb North Carolina? I mean, North Carolina is producing drugs which are killing tens of millions of Chinese. Does that give them a right to bomb North Carolina? Well, why not, if we have a right to bomb Colombia why don't they have a right to bomb North Carolina?

The whole thing is so outlandish you can't even discuss it.

And in fact, furthermore, just to finish this story off, it's not even controversial that the drug problem is here and that there is a way to deal with - namely treatment. There are studies, government funded studies like the one RAND corporation did which everyone quotes, where they found that if you compare the cost effectiveness of the various approaches, just the plain cost effectiveness of it, treatment and prevention are 25 times as effective as out-of-country efforts - you know, like trying to destroy them - and about 7 times as effective as police work and 10 times as effective as border interdiction.

Well, how much money in these new plans is going into that? Answer: nothing. A couple of people in Congress tried to introduce a small, a little tiny piece in the Plan Colombia program for prevention and treatment was killed.

I mean, they are not interested in the drug program. What they are interested in is a cover for counterinsurgency. And in fact even if they *were* interested in the drug problem, the whole basis is totally immoral, as you can see at once by asking

why don't we support the Chinese bombing of North Carolina? Now you know if the media were even minimally interested in the topic they would tell you all these things, because they are not big secrets.

A partial transcript of this interview is accessible in a web based format (and will soon have a number of links within the body) at <http://bari.iww.org/~iww-nyc/CUNY>

DID YOU SAY ACADEMIC HONESTY?

By Nassima Abdelli

On page 39 of the Student Handbook 00-01, students are informed that the Graduate School of CUNY is "committed to the highest standards of academic honesty." It provides no example of what academic honesty really encompasses, suggesting that it may be a chimera. Instead, it lists a few acts of academic dishonesty, suggesting that it is prevalent: these deeds "include - but are not limited to - plagiarism, cheating, bribery, academic fraud, sabotage of research material, the sale of academic papers and the falsification of records."

It is added that "each member of the academic community" is urged to "give full, fair and formal credit to any and all the sources that have contributed" to the elaboration of a project. "The absence of such formal credit is an affirmation that the work is fully the writer's." The spiel on academic honesty continues with a brief description of plagiarism.

Then the Student Handbook proceeds to inform the reader of the penalties that would befall a student who has not given full credit to the sources of the submitted paper "examination, project or other academic work." It graciously invites "a professor, an Executive Officer, a program, a group of faculty, an administrator or another student" to press charges of academic dishonesty against a student. There is no

hotline number or a reward yet. But beware, Big Program is watching YOU.

Do not look for any indication of what would befall a professor, an Executive Officer, a program caught falsifying a document, or endorsing an article without fully crediting the student(s) who participated in its conception. Does that imply that professors, Executive Officers and programs are above scrutiny? It is unfortunately my experience with some CUNY administrators and professors. I taught at CCNY for 6 years and in 1997 my signature was forged by a tenured professor/administrator in order to pass a student. My obdurate attempts to find the author of my forged signature and to give the "full, fair and formal credit to any and all the sources that have contributed" to the forgery and its cover up were not heard by the powers that be.

One question I often ask myself is why is it so hard for a student to be heard when pressing charges against a professor/administrator even when in possession of irrefutable evidence such as the falsification of a signature on a change of grade form? According to the Student Handbook, falsification is unquestionably "an act of academic dishonesty." So where is the catch?

Perhaps, academic collegiality and academic honesty are mutually exclusive. Stephen Kahn, professor in the philosophy department and previous provost at the Graduate Center offers a possible

explanation. In *Saints and Scamps: Ethics in Academia* he wrote: "departments should have in place a process for conducting hearings, whereby students who believe themselves aggrieved are afforded the opportunity to have their case adjudicated. Determinations should be made by a committee of senior faculty members who, by prior understanding, are prepared to rule against any of their departmental colleagues, no matter how distinguished" (1986). In light of this quote, I begin to suspect why there is no reciprocal invitation to press charges of academic dishonesty against a tenured professor/administrator who engages in reprehensible conduct.

My case and perhaps the deliberate absence of information in this section of the Student Handbook regarding a scenario in which a student is aggrieved strongly suggests that:

- 1) the CUNY administration is not prepared to assign blame to a fellow colleague.
- 2) it is permissible and even licit for a CUNY tenured professor/administrator to engage in acts of dishonesty without being blamed by his/her peers.

To obviate the absence of a similar invitation to file a complaint against a professor in the Student Handbook, I request that the section on academic honesty be revised and that an advisory panel be created where professors and students work together towards more precise definitions of academic honesty and academic dishonesty.

Please send your comments and responses to this article to nabdelli89@hotmail.com.

THE STORY OF LEONARD PELTIER

By Andrew Kennis

In an exclusive interview with the "elders" from the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee (LPDC), *Advocate* reporter Andrew Kennis traveled in the van that was used to transport the elders during the march for clemency for Leonard Peltier in New York City on December 10, 2000.

Peltier was wrongfully convicted of murdering several FBI agents. Wrongfully, at least, if one of the officials admitting that they did not know who shot the agents during one of the trials in 1984, counts as reasonable doubt (while on stand as a witness, Lynn Crooks stated "we can't prove who shot those agents." Crooks was a Federal Prosecutor involved with the Peltier case). December's march was one of many across the nation in an effort to force President Clinton to grant clemency for Peltier. Additionally, Clinton was pressured from officials as well, as the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights wrote a letter to him advocating clemency, as did Congressman Don Edwards, a former FBI agent. Even one of the judges who denied an appeal by Peltier in the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals, now supports Peltier's release. Despite such public and official pressure, Clinton denied Peltier's application for clemency.

Included amongst the elders was Rosalyn Sitting Bull, whose house was riddled with bullets during the shoot out in which Peltier has been in jail for over a quarter of a century now.

ANDREW: Why does Peltier have a better chance for release now, as opposed to past years?

CATHY THUNDERBIRD (LPDC): Because more people are aware about the government's ability to trump up charges now, in part, because of organizing done via the internet.

ANDREW: How are you connected to Leonard's struggle?

ROSALYN JUMPING BULL: Well, my house was the site of the shoot out where two FBI agents died and where one Native died as well. Leonard was convicted for their deaths, wrongly so, and my houses were destroyed as a result of the shootouts.

ANDREW: How were your houses destroyed?

ROSALYN: Because there were so many bullets in the houses, that three houses on my property had to be destroyed. New ones have since been erected, but irreplaceable belongings such as a picture of my brother who died in World War II have since been lost.

CATHY: By the way, the Native who died in the shoot out, his death was never investigated. When it comes to people of color being victims, they always look the other way. You can see that right here in NYC, with Diallo and Dorismond, for instance.

Andrew (to both Cathy and Rosalyn): What has the American Indian movement (AIM) achieved in the past three decades?

ROSALYN: It has helped us achieve a greater sense of identity and aided in efforts to preserve our Native language (Lacota).

CATHY: AIM has definitely helped preserve our culture, even though a lot of their other goals were not achieved, mostly as a result of FBI repres-

sion similar to what the Black Panthers experienced. A lot of people though, feel that Natives should merely assimilate. People just don't understand that all we want is to merely preserve our culture, our language, our traditions, and our autonomy. Nobody has a problem with other cultures showing pride and dignity about their ethnic roots.

LOU ANN MARRERO (LPDC): Yes, Cathy is right, you hear "why don't Natives just get a job" and "why don't they just get off the Rez" all the time. There is a lot of pressure on Natives to assimilate and forget about their heritage.

ANDREW: Has Leonard received much media attention in light of the latest efforts to get clemency from the President and also in light of the significant amount of mass protests being conducted across the country (i.e. approximately 5,000 people marched and rallied in NYC; other cities that participated included Minneapolis, San Francisco, Toronto, Seattle, and Boston)?

SHARRON BUTTON (Peltier activist from CT): Well, it doesn't seem like there has been much penetration of the mainstream media. I can speak from my own personal experiences in the past, where I have tried to get this issue into the mainstream media, and I can say that all my efforts were blocked and were unsuccessful. There is basically a media blackout of Leonard.

Note: For further information, people interviewed recommended the book *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* and a documentary by Robert Redford titled "Incident at Ogala." Those interested in helping out with the struggle to free Leonard can get in touch with the LPDC by phone at (785) 842-5774 or via e-mail at lpdc@idir.net. LPDC's web site can be accessed at: <http://www.freepeltier.org/>

SATISFACTORY PROGRESS AND STUDENT APPEALS POLICIES

By Nassima Abdelli

Your chances of earning a doctorate may be doomed if you receive a letter indicating that you are not making "satisfactory progress." Definitions regarding this evaluation can be found on pages 26 and 27 of the Graduate Center Bulletin 1999-2000 and on pages 32 and 33 of this year's Student Handbook. In brief, to be categorized as not making satisfactory progress, a student must meet at least one of the following conditions:

1. Have a grade point average of less than 3.0
2. Have an "open" grade (INC, INP, ABS, ABP, NGR, whose definition can be found on page 30 of this year's Student Handbook)
3. Have not passed the first examination after completing more than 45 credits
4. Have exceeded the time limit for the degree: "all requirements for [doctoral] degree must be completed no later than eight years at most after matriculation."

But students should know that "a student can petition the Office of the Associate Provost and Dean for Academic Affairs to waive any specific requirement for the degree" (p. 27 of the Bulletin). The Graduate Center Bulletin does not give any specific information on this. For example, can a student have his or her first exam, second exam or dissertation requirements waived? The Bulletin does not say.

Note that "students who are employed as graduate assistants on departmental adjunct lines or as research assistants by individual grant holders must show satisfactory performance in these activities. If this performance is found unsatisfactory, such employment may be terminated. This type of termination is independent of satisfactory academic progress." However, these two may be related for often, if a student is not any longer a registered doctoral candidate, that student cannot work on campus.

What can you do in case you receive a letter stating that you are not making "satisfactory progress"

knowing that it indicates that your re-enrollment in the program for the following semester will be blocked? On page 43 of this year's Student Handbook you will find under the Student Appeals Policies and Procedures a section on "Dispute Concerning Academic Termination." It is indicated that the student must appeal the decision to the Executive Committee of the doctoral program where the student is matriculated. Evidence will be reviewed and "the student shall be given opportunity to withdraw from the program before any official action is taken."

Should students take this as a favor? The student can appeal the final decision of the Executive Committee within 30 days by writing to the Provost who refers the matter to the Student Academic Appeals Committee. This Committee will make "recommendation to the Provost's Office where the determination shall be final." But as Ann Batiuk, Assistant to the Associate Provost told me, students have no recourse within the Graduate Center structure to protest the Provost Office's final decision; they can only resort to outside legal counsel. And in light of how the Student Appeals Committee proceeds this may be the best advice the Office of the Associate Provost and Dean for Academic Affairs offers students.

To begin with, there is no entry in the Student Handbook or in the Bulletin about the composition of the Student Academic Appeals Committee or its functioning. According to Ellen Burns, Secretary to the Vice President for Student Affairs, "It is not supposed to be there." I could not disagree more, for this Committee makes the ultimate recommendation that is likely to influence decisively the mysterious person in the Provost's office who renders the final judgment. The reason the person making the decision is mysterious is because the Handbook and Bulletin do not indicate exactly who in the Provost's office has the final say.

To get this information, which should be readily

available in the students' booklets, I had to contact the Office of the Vice-President for Student Affairs, then Ann Batiuk and Linda Edwards, the Associate Provost and Dean for Academic Affairs. They informed me that this committee is an ad hoc "standing committee of nine faculty members (three from the Social Sciences, three from the Humanities and three from the Sciences) elected by the Graduate Council."

Ann Batiuk proceeded then to tell me that the committee never meets the student. The nine faculty members read the letter sent by the student to the Provost's office. The committee members contact the executive officer of the program where the student is registered. Linda Edwards sent me the guidelines regarding this committee. Also according to Linda Edwards, very few cases have reached the Provost's office and "over the past six years between a quarter and a third of the appeals have been upheld." This means that only 25 percent to 33 percent of the students' appeals are granted.

Of course, a few questions come to my mind:

1. Who supervises the work of the nine faculty members?
2. How does the administration monitor conflicts of interest? For example, what if there is a professor on the appeals committee with whom the student has had differences?
3. Why is the "success rate" so low? And does that imply that faculty members of the Student Academic Appeals Committee rarely go against their peers' decisions?
4. Would the Provost's office go against the vote of the Student Academic Appeals Committee?
5. Can students making appeals access the records of the ad hoc committee dealing with their case?
6. In brief, is there any insurance against a biased procedure?

Clearly, the odds are not in the favor of the student and perhaps seeking outside legal counsel is your best bet.

HOW TO APPEAL A GRADE OR TERMINATION FROM A DOCTORAL PROGRAM

By Nassima Abdelli

The following information details how students can go about filing an academic appeal to dispute a grade or to challenge their termination from a doctoral program. This information does not appear in the student handbook; it can be obtained from Associate Provost Linda Edwards. For a general description of the types of student appeals and the general policies governing these appeals, including the time limits on appealing to the Provost's Office, consult the GC Student Handbook section titled "Student Appeals Policies and Procedures." Academic appeals typically are handled by the Associate Provost and Dean for Academic Affairs within the Provost's Office.

A. Filing an Appeal

1. Students may meet with the Associate Provost to review the appeals procedure.
2. All appeals to the Provost's Office must be made in writing.
3. Appeals must be presented to the Provost's Office within the time limits outlined in the GC Student Handbook.
4. Students are encouraged to include copies of relevant documents with their letter of appeal.
5. Students are entitled to examine their program file, under supervision, and may request copies of documents

relevant to their appeal. (While students are entitled to see their student records, there are some items, such as exams, for which they will not be provided copies).

6. If the appeal is in process at the time of registration, the student is entitled to register. If the appeal is denied, the student may complete the semester or withdraw and receive a full tuition refund for that semester. (Students who accept student loans during the semester during which their appeal is in process must return the amount of their loan to The Graduate Center upon denial of their appeal if they elect to withdraw.)

B. The Student Academic Appeals Committee

1. The Student Academic Appeals Committee is a standing committee of the Graduate Council. It comprises three faculty members from each of the three academic divisions (Humanities, Social Sciences, or Sciences) of The Graduate Center, for a total of nine members.
2. For any individual appeal, three faculty members from the appropriate discipline area and currently serving on the Student Academic Appeals Committee will be called on to meet, hear, and discuss the appeal. In addition, an ad hoc faculty member from the student's program—one who has not been involved with the student in the program and is neutral—is asked to join the hearing. Note that members of the Appeals Committee will not sit on appeals from their own program, but will be replaced by another member of the standing committee.
3. The Appeals Committee investigates and makes a rec-

ommendation to the Associate Provost. The Associate Provost renders the final determination.

4. The student will be notified in writing by the Associate Provost of the outcome of his or her appeal.

C. Responsibilities of the Program

1. The program is responsible for providing the Associate Provost with copies of relevant documents from the student's file.
2. It is recommended that the Executive Officer provide a chronology of relevant documents, meetings and decisions.
3. The Executive Officer may be asked to appear at the meeting of the Appeals Committee.

D. The Meeting of the Appeals Committee

1. The student will be notified in advance of the meeting of the Appeals Committee.
2. The student may state his/her case in person to the Appeals Committee. The student may have someone accompany him/her to the meeting although the Committee addresses the student only.
3. The Committee may also choose to speak to the Executive Officer or faculty members from the student's program.
4. The Appeals Committee treats all proceedings as confidential.
5. The recommendation of the Appeals Committee is submitted in writing to the Associate Provost.

THEFT OF THE WHITE HOUSE

By Louise Ammentorp

Bush 2's CIA daddy, his governor brother, an undemocratic electoral system, appointed supreme court judges and an aging consumer advocate were all accomplices in the theft of the white house, a grim beginning for the 21st century. Behind all this is big oil and the so-called "old economy," the most reactionary sector of the US big bourgeois, whose slogan is "States Rights" and the "South will rise again."

Bush 2's cabinet nominations should be ample proof of this despite the "neo-colonial" multi-racial composition. We now have Colin Powell heading the military. He emerged as hatchet man to make the destruction of civilization's cradle in Iraq more palatable. Bush 2's latest appointment is the pathological right winger John Ashcroft who lost a Missouri Senate seat to a dead man, thanks to the mobilization of the Afro-American voters. Ashcroft is the embodiment of the neo-confederate politician. He allegedly has ties to numerous white-supremacist groups and the infamous Bob Jones University.

New Jersey's "open for business" governor, Christie Todd Whitman is now the head of the EPA. Whitman's appointment should be a lesson to the Nader environmentalists about the differences between Bush and Gore. Whitman addressed the environmental crisis and pollution issues in Jersey by consistently putting the burden of the crisis on working and middle class families. For instance, she has continually pressed for stricter car emission standards, which makes it practically impossible for vehicles over 10 years old to pass inspection. At the same time, for every "polluting" car taken off the road corporations receive "pollution credits" so that they can crank up their own noxious output.

Bush's first move as president was to attack funding for organizations that provide counseling or abortion services. The danger to the life of

Mumia Abu Jamal has clearly risen now that we have the president who orchestrated the real life Texas lethal injection massacre, killing over 140 people during his reign as Texas governor. The retrograde trend that brought Bush to power has international and local ramifications. The murder of Laurent Kabila, president of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the "Christmas Coup" at WBAI in NYC are but two examples. There may be no difference between Bush and Gore for those privileged enough not to have to worry about such mundane issues.

On the positive side, tens of thousands of people protested Bush's inauguration, the most since Nixon was elected in 1968. If this mass movement begins to forward a consistent democratic program including the abolition of the electoral college for one person one vote; the abolition of the Senate for one house; an end to the appointed judiciary for elected judges; equal rights and reparations for Afro-Americans as well as self-determination for Afro-Americans, Chicanos and Native Americans; then it can change from a mere protest movement into a revolutionary movement for people's democracy. Though the Confederacy was defeated militarily in the Civil War they weren't defeated culturally and philosophically. The entire idea of "States Rights" must be buried in the garbage heap of history along with the Republican party itself. All this must be accomplished while building independent political organization of the multi-national working class and the democratic middle classes towards a People's Democracy as the next step in the struggle for Socialism. In the immediate future we must create an atmosphere that paralyzes the thief in the white house. Otherwise we will bear unfortunate witness on a national and international level to the same kind of thuggery that we got in NYC from Rudy Ghouliani.

BORROWED RHETORIC?

By Arthur Scherr

Thomas Jefferson's first inaugural address stands among the most famous presidential statements in American history. In his speech, delivered March 4, 1801 (standard Inauguration Day until the Twentieth Amendment, adopted in 1933, changed it to January 20), following his victory in the first contested presidential election in the Western world in which one political party peacefully took over the executive power from another, Jefferson acknowledged that the violent "contest of opinion" between the Federalist and Jeffersonian Republican parties, which had reached its height in the presidential campaign of 1800, might give "strangers" the impression that the republic was about to self-destruct.

Au contraire, Jefferson reassured his audience. Though in his victory the "will of the majority" had prevailed, the "equal rights" of the minority would be protected. In the most celebrated sentence of his speech, he further reassured his hearers, "every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans, we are all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments to the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated when reason is left free to combat it."

As Jefferson's most recent biographer, Joseph J. Ellis, observes in his award-winning biography, *American Sphinx*, "Apart from the natural rights section of the Declaration of Independence, this is probably the most famous political statement that Jefferson ever made" (182). Scholars have often interpreted Jefferson's statement as a plea for political reconciliation after the abusive party battles of the 1790s.

But there is less historical awareness that the third president may have been deliberately copying earlier, virtually

identical statements of leading Federalists when he ringingly uttered, "We are all republicans, we are all federalists." His good friend and later political ally James Madison, and his ruthless political foe William Loughton Smith, a South Carolina Hamiltonian Federalist, both preceded Jefferson in using this phrase.

In concluding Federalist Number 10, probably the most famous of the Federalist Papers composed in 1787 to defend the new Constitution, Madison wrote: "In the extent and proper structure of the Union, therefore, we behold a Republican remedy for the diseases most incident to Republican Governments. And according to the degree of pleasure and pride, we feel in being Republicans, ought to be our zeal in cherishing the spirit, and supporting the character of Federalists."

Of course, Jefferson was well acquainted with *The Federalist*. In 1790, he praised it as the best book on government ever written in a letter to his son-in-law and nephew, Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr. As might be expected of someone, who liked to flatter his friends, he had earlier written Madison that *The Federalist* was, "in my opinion, the best commentary on the principles of government, which ever was written." Moreover, he held the book in his library.

He continued to admire the work, especially his friend Madison's contribution. In 1800 he included *The Federalist* in a list of books on politics he recommended to the young law student Joseph Carrington Cabell, who later, as a state legislator, was instrumental in helping to found Jefferson's University of Virginia.

In 1814, years after his retirement from the presidency, Jefferson once more highly recommended *The Federalist* to a young lawyer named John Minor as a major work on the general subject of politics, ranking with John Locke, Algernon Sidney, Baron de Montesquieu, and a few others.

Even more significantly, in March 1825 Jefferson assigned *The Federalist* as required reading for

law students at his University of Virginia, ranking it with the Declaration of Independence, Washington's Farewell Address, and the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 against the Alien-Sedition Acts as among the best books for an understanding of the principles of the United States government, the Constitution, and the precise meaning of representative democracy. (Jefferson himself was the author of two out of three of these paradigms of political science). He regarded *The Federalist* as an authority to which appeal is habitually made by all, and rarely declined or denied by any as evidence of the general opinion of those who framed, and of those who accepted the Constitution of the United States, on questions as to its genuine meaning. Thus Jefferson may have gained his inspiration for the most well-known phrase in his Inaugural Address from Federalist #10. Another, less eminent possible source for Jefferson's statement was South Carolina Congressman William Loughton Smith, whose pseudonymous "Phocion" essays, written to discredit Jefferson during the Federalist effort to defeat his first bid for the presidency in 1796, contained a similar phrase. Titled *The Pretensions of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency Examined*, "Phocion's" articles, which first appeared in the Federalist *Philadelphia Gazette* of the United States in October 1796 and a few weeks later in pamphlet form, depicted Jefferson as simultaneously a hypocritical, fanatical democrat and a fumbling, visionary philosopher who if elected president, would bring the nation to ruin.

Phocion/Smith's remarks on the nation's underlying ideological consensus closely resembled the words of Jefferson's inaugural address five years later. Commenting on a piece by the pseudonymous Virginia Republican "Hampden" that had inspired his philippic, Smith/Phocion wrote, "Hampden, in bringing forward Mr. Jefferson's republicanism as a title to public favor, could not have seriously intended this very common and universal qualification as a mark of any peculiar merit. It is to be presumed that we are all republicans." In the course of his travels, "Phocion" added, "I have never met with a citizen of the United States, who expressed a wish for any other form of government for the United States, than the republican." (19)

As was often curiously the case with partisan tracts that denounced him, Jefferson owned a copy of Smith's pamphlet. Ironically, he may have obtained the

inspiration for his 1801 dictum, "We are all republicans, we are all federalists," from this hostile source.

The appearance, nearly verbatim, of the immortal phrase from Jefferson's inaugural address in these two prominent, earlier sources – Federalist Number 10, which Madison composed in his nationalistic, Federalist phase before he joined Jefferson in forming the Republican party in 1791, and William L. Smith's diatribe, *The Pretensions of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency* suggest that either consciously or unconsciously Jefferson mimicked the rhetoric of these predecessors when he inserted these words into his inaugural.

Even more directly than historians have assumed, he thereby sought to conciliate his Federalist opponents to his new Republican administration by borrowing language they had previously used to defend their projected nationalist policies (Madison) or to impugn his credibility as a statesman (Smith): "We are all republicans, we are all federalists."

Historians are increasingly emphasizing Jefferson's tendency toward deviousness in his public and private life. Scholars like Ellis, Stuart Leibiger, Elizabeth Marvick, and Conor Cruse O'Brien stress his personal duplicity and assert he often sought to claim credit for the accomplishments of others (they also claim that he too eagerly denied some of the less notable achievements with which they credit him, such as siring children with a young slave girl).

As Pauline Maier stressed in her recent book, *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence*, even in his greatest piece of writing, the Declaration of Independence, he borrowed many of his ideas, and often his exact wording, without attribution from slightly earlier, contemporary sources such as George Mason's *Virginia Declaration of Rights* or from venerable classics like John Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*, not to mention more obscure works.

Therefore, it seems probable that, in composing the most eloquent public words of his political career in his first inaugural address as president, Jefferson did not scruple to plagiarize the works of others, whether they were his friends or enemies. In that message's appeal that "we are all republicans, we are all federalists," as in the Declaration of Independence a quarter-century earlier, Jefferson was once more expressing the "American mind" in words that were not his own.