



United States  
Department of  
Agriculture

Office of the  
Secretary

1400 Independence  
Avenue, SW

Washington, DC  
20250-0100

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

In recent months, there have been delays in implementing parts of USDA's International Food Aid Program, particularly the 416(b) activities. This could be because the Office of Management and Budget has requested much more information about the commodities, physical conditions in the various countries and financial matters.

The Food Assistance Policy Council, which includes senior representatives of the Departments of Agriculture and State, and of the Agency for International Development and the Office of Management and Budget, has the responsibility for these programs. It was established by Executive Order 12752 by President Bush on February 25, 1991.

I have attended two meetings relating to this matter in recent weeks --- the latest of which was January 20, 2000. At that meeting, the Council considered aid for people in approximately 65 countries. It recommended direct feeding humanitarian assistance to 27 countries. The Council also recommended, subject to review by the Office of Management and Budget, humanitarian assistance to 20 other countries to be furnished through a food aid monetization process. It also recommended aid to eight (8) other countries, but subject to decisions by people at the White House after considering political matters.

The monetization process seems to be of much concern to some of the people at OMB. This method of furnishing aid has been used for 25 or more years. For hungry people in many countries, this seems to be the most efficient and effective way to deliver food and its benefits to those who need it.

Donating the food to a Private Voluntary Organization which sells it in the local market helps to keep prices lower for the people. The funds from the sale of the food then can be used for such purposes as acquiring local commodities for schools or other worthy groups, medicines for those in need, daycare and other mother-child assistance programs. The proceeds can also be used for AIDS prevention and treatment, agricultural development, education, public works and small

2-22-00

Lais - You should follow  
up with Burkhardt's  
office. B. —

January 24, 2000

'00 JAN 25 PM 1:04

1125100

Seam -

Should we put in  
the system?

Yes

no

Send to Burkhardt?

COORDINATE

w/ OMB

Yes

no

BC SG

RED 201

EW

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton  
Page 2

enterprise development. Such activities can have a longer humanitarian input on the lives of poor people.

It is my impression that the people at AID, the State Department and the Department of Agriculture who work on this Council have a great deal of knowledge about the need for food in the various countries and have very good judgment about determining who needs the assistance, the kind of food that should be made available in each country, and the most effective method for getting the food to the people who need it.

They deserve high commendations for their work; but they need to be allowed to do their work.

It is my hope you will let the people at OMB know that this program does much good for many people in other countries, that it is used only when there are surplus agricultural commodities, that you are for this assistance and that OMB should support it, including the monetization part.

Sincerely,

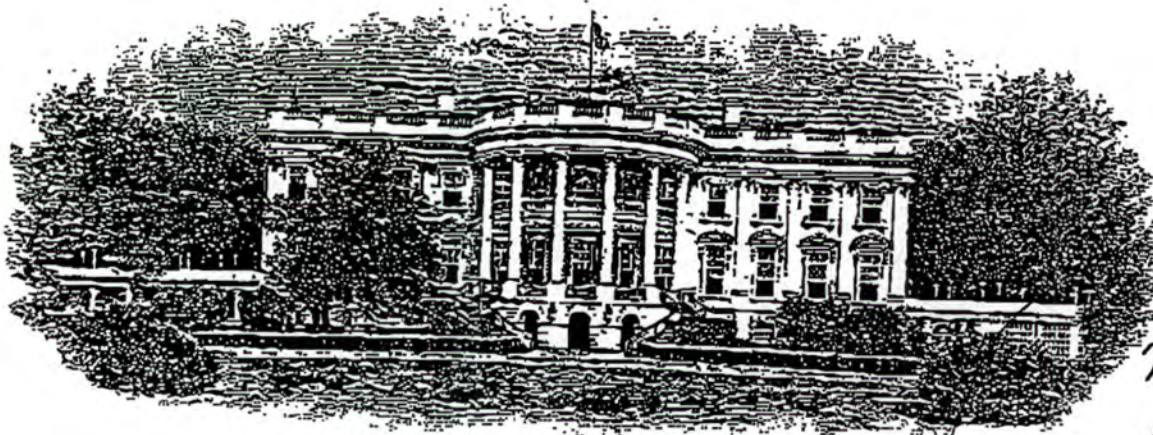
A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Carl S. Whillock".

CARL S. WHILLOCK  
Special Assistant to the President for  
Agricultural Trade and Food Assistance

CSW/frj



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WASHINGTON  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF



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John Podesta

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2-2-00  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
February 2, 2000

MR. PRESIDENT:

We are working with OMB to prepare  
a reply on your behalf.

*Padesta*  
Sean Maloney

*Can someone sign  
on this - As letter  
checked out  
PM*

*copied  
Padesta*



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2-2-00

00 JAN 25 PM 1:04

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AgricultureOffice of the  
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The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton  
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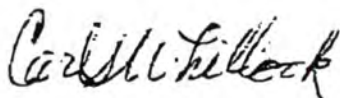
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CARL S. WHILLOCK  
Special Assistant to the President for  
Agricultural Trade and Food Assistance

CSW/fj

STEPHEN HORN  
38TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

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WASHINGTON, DC 20515  
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(562) 425-1336

# Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-0538

January 19, 2000

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INFRASTRUCTURE

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AND TECHNOLOGY  
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The Honorable William J. Clinton  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, D.C. 20500-0005

Dear Mr. President:

Following the recent hijacking of an Indian Airlines plane on December 24, tensions between India and Pakistan have increased again. The repeated standoffs between these two important nations will continue to feed their mutual mistrust unless the two sides can meet with one another and share a frank exchange of views.

You can take pride in the initiatives you have made to mediate various international disputes. I urge you to consider visiting both India and Pakistan this year to lend your personal assistance to fostering a much needed dialogue in South Asia. Our nation has much to gain through closer relations with both of these nations, but until a workable framework for peaceful dispute resolution is established between them, any bilateral progress will be tentative at best.

Thank you for your consideration of this request. I hope that your schedule will allow a visit to both India and Pakistan this year.

With kindest regards,

1-25-00  
Send to Legislative  
Affairs Yes ☒

No ☐

cc: NSC

Yes ☒

No ☐

Respectrully yours,

Steve Horn

STEPHEN HORN  
U.S. Representative

00 JAN 25 PM4:33

Attention:  
Betty W. Currie  
Personal Secretary  
to the President  
WH/1/WW



Discovery Child Development Center  
1125 W. Jefferson Street  
Franklin, In 46131  
40 Johnson Memorial Hospital  
Attn: Tiger Class  
Teacher - Betty Bray

00 JAN 25 PM 4:37



our  
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Dear Mr. President,

You are like a judge.

We think you are good and nice.

Do you clean the big White House  
it gets dirty?

when

Is it hard to figure out things you don't know?

Some hard things are why are people mean  
sometimes? How to work better and where will  
some people who are sick and don't have homes  
live?

1-25-00

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes



No

give  
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Carl

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Jordan

MEAGG OF

Child Development Center  
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Is it hard to figure out things you don't know?

Some hard things are - why are people mean  
sometimes? How to work better and where will  
some people who are sick and don't have homes  
live?

If we could give you presents we would give you a box  
of jokes to make you laugh, The big hotel happy smiles to make  
you jolly and pictures where Mr. Clinton to look at  
lives.

Happy New Year.

The Tiger Class  
and Miss Betty

From Discerny

child

Development  
center

Mitch

Kristin

Jordan

MEGGIE



**4. Youth Empowerment Fellowships.** We would reward social entrepreneurship by providing fellowships to young people who have developed innovative community initiatives. The Fellowships could be modeled on programs like the Echoing Green Fellowships, which are targeted to young social entrepreneurs who can catalyze positive social change. Alternatively, grants could be modeled on youth-driven grant programs such as the Oakland Fund for Children and Youth, which dedicates 2.5% of the City of Oakland General Fund to youth development projects. The awards would be selective (e.g. 100 per year), prestigious, and would represent a diverse set of young people and set of ideas for youth empowerment. (Cost: \$20 million).

**5. Rewarding Youth Achievement.** We are considering reviving this proposal, which was floated in the FY2000 budget. The goal of RYA is to increase the rate at which academically achieving, economically disadvantaged students graduate from high school and continue on to higher levels of education or training. RYA would provide summer employment to youth who meet academic achievement and attendance standards. Participants would also be eligible for an end-of-summer bonus if they perform well in their summer job. In addition, RYA would provide career counseling, mentoring, and tutoring to place participants in career related employment.

**6. Children's Savings Accounts.** Set up an asset-building program that would fund accounts for children as they are born. Children could be provided with \$1,000 "start in life" deposits for the roughly four million babies born each year, followed by \$500 yearly deposits until age five. CSAs would be available for higher education, first-home purchase, and small-business capitalization. The accounts would be funded through a combination of direct government deposits and tax deductions, and contributions would be encouraged through tax incentives for relatives, employers, corporations, churches, and others. (Cost: \$40 billion over five years).

## IMMIGRATION AND CIVIL RIGHTS

**1. Making Naturalization Easier.** Earlier this year, an independent auditor issued a report recommending numerous changes to streamline and improve the current citizenship test and naturalization process. This proposal would provide the resources and the technical expertise to implement the recommendations. (Cost: \$1.5 million).

**2. ESL/Civics Initiative.** This year we won partial funding for our proposal to provide funding for English as a Second Language programs that are linked to civics and life skills instruction. (Your request was \$70 million and we received \$25.5 million in the final budget agreement). In FY2001, we should request at least \$75 million.

**3. AgNet Registry.** This proposal would create an online job registry for growers and farmworkers alike, and thus help growers find an adequate labor supply in a predictable and timely manner. (Cost: \$10 million).

**4. EEOC/Equal Pay Initiative.** In FY 2000, we requested \$10 million for a new Equal Pay Initiative to increase compliance with equal pay laws. It would provide training to EEOC employees to identify and respond to wage discrimination, increase technical assistance to



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-25-00

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# CELEBRATE 2000

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## Where silence is golden

Every issue you can think of comes up in our nation's capital, except one: What's to become of the company store?

By David Weir

Dec. 30, 1999 | WASHINGTON, D.C. -- In the past year, this city has emerged as the nation's "most wired," in that it has the highest per capita Internet usage in North America. More people now work for the high-tech industry around here than for Uncle Sam.

But for those of us who live in the Washington area, it's easy to see certain contradictions between the two cultures represented by .gov and .com. If the web is home to individualist geeks and would-be entrepreneurs, Washington plays host to the two-degrees-of-separation-from-real-power crowd.

Those are the folks who are just *that* close to this or that senator or inhabitant of the White House or well-known media personality. The shared assumption inside the Beltway is that the exercise of power through these established channels still matters -- a lot.

Maybe so. But this faith in traditional, derived power adds an almost quaint air to the nation's capital at the millennial moment. Such beliefs evaporate the further away from Washington one travels, of course, and are downright rare by the time you reach Silicon Valley, where increasing numbers of congressmen seem to be showing up these days, hands outstretched. The irony in this is that the belief that government's day is coming to a close, that a rapid transformation of society is occurring via digital networks, has been an article of faith among the digerati for years.

Even the justice department's aggressive counter-attack via the anti-trust suit against Microsoft has failed to change many minds in the wired world about government's waning power. The only difference is that now tech money flows into the lobbyist firms clustered along K Street like champagne at an election party. As a line item, you might call it "insurance."





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Two crazy boys pulled the triggers, but lax laws put the guns in their hands.

By Jake Tapper  
[12/30/99]

### Try him again

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### A tale of two villages

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By Julian Rubinstein  
[12/23/99]

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As a direct result, however, Congress has suddenly reversed its traditional antagonism to high-tech and Internet issues (remember the Communications Decency Act?) to grant tax breaks for ecommerce and for R&D, to limit liability for stock volatility and Y2K computer failures, and to grant more job visas for immigrant workers. The war on encryption is virtually over, with the defeated National Security Agency in disarray, as Seymour Hersh documented recently in the New Yorker.

The fact that the new tech-friendly policies are furthering the development of a networked economy that undermines the traditional centralized authority of the nation-state itself is rarely mentioned. But if this era does indeed herald "the end of big government," as Bill Clinton famously noted a few years back, where will that leave Washingtonians, the custodians of the old company store?

Perhaps the biggest public policy question facing our society as the millennium turns is barely being discussed inside the United States, though it hangs over everything here just like those winter storm clouds that hover but never seem to burst, and that is: "What's the new role for government?"

In order to find a substantive discussion of this issue in the past year, you would have had to travel quite a ways beyond the Beltway -- over to the great hall of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, Italy, where near the end of November there was what was called the Third Way Conference. President Clinton was there, along with other nascent globalists like Tony Blair (Britain), who's just learned how to send e-mail; Gerhard Schroeder (Germany); Lionel Jospin (France); and Fernando Henrique Cardoso (Brazil).

Clinton and Blair, buoyed at home by their robust economies, argued for a new role for government -- empowering citizens through universal education and access to technology so all can participate fully in the new economy. They consider their philosophy "progressive governance," i.e., not strictly a public sector nor a private sector option, which is to say, a Third Way.

France's Jospin worried out loud: "I see that we have a new economy but it's not going to sweep away history, it's not going to sweep away the various social groupings and it must not sweep away the nation-state. I'll accept a networked economy but I don't want a world dominated by networks, because that will be run by the private sector."

Clinton later agreed with Jospin's position: "We'll say yes to the market economy, but no to the market society." He went on to say that "what we're striving for is to replace a divided way of looking at politics and talking about our common lives with a unifying theory."

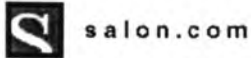
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Where silence is golden | page 1, 2

Here in the capital, it is rare to hear such debates. Behind most of the Neoclassical facades on archaic government buildings, entire floors of bureaucrats continue to occupy themselves with matters of amazingly minimal relevance to most people's lives.

The cumbersome insitutions of government have undergone remarkably little change this decade, even as the world around them has melted away to reveal a new one in formation -- an economy where people switch jobs constantly, building private portfolios and networks they carry with them, joining informal teams to invent new opportunities, generating wealth through equity culture -- all based on digitized information as the common currency of a post-industrial, post-ideological society in the making.

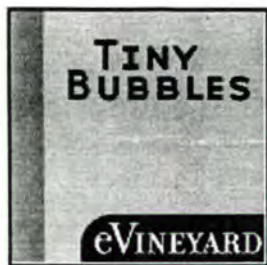
A world where, as Walter Wriston has noted, information can be literally more valuable than money; one where ideas based on scarcity are being replaced by new ideas based on abundance.

In its own odd way, Washington sits poised on the bleeding edge of all this change. No other town on the continent is so information-obsessed, which explains its "most wired" distinction. Washington is, and long has been, the candy store for information junkies, so much so that the emergence of searchable databases linked to each other represents a perfect virtual replica of the space that Washington, Inc., has long occupied in the physical world. (According to a year-end survey, the Washington area actually has more tech firms -- 12,183 -- than any other in the country, even Silicon Valley, which has 11,930.)

The biggest difference is that physical Washington with its hallowed corridors of power is built only for the insiders. The main business in this place is making sure that you've got equal access to Republicans and Democrats -- everyone wants to be bi- and to have it both ways.

Until recently, therefore, anybody who told you they could detect the fine cuts of positioning separating, an Al Gore, say, from a George W. Bush, had been paying way too much attention, or was making a buck on the detail work. (That





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attention, or was making a buck on the detail work. (That changed a bit when both candidates had to start articulating their positions due to unexpectedly strong challenges within their own parties.)

Still, there's no ideology left here, nothing that can stand alone without a modifier, like "compassionate" conservatives who say they support faith-based organizations, or "pragmatic" liberals who say *they* support faith-based organizations.

As they slice and dice their way to the bank, the old hands in Washington don't yet fully comprehend that their world is dying. Their old system, based on the hoarding of access to power and classified information, is crumbling; it's being replaced by the new chaos of a frenzied trade in information by everybody.

Even that most hallowed insider transaction -- campaign fundraising -- is being subverted by the Internet. Minnesota Governor Jesse Ventura used the Web to develop grassroots support for his unlikely campaign, helping him to raise hundreds of thousands in matching funds for much-needed television and radio ads. His eventual election was a shock to many journalists, though not necessarily on the Web.)

This year, Republican presidential hopeful Sen. John McCain has used the Internet to raise more than \$1 million from his supporters at his Web site -- which is one reason he has been able to challenge Bush for his party's nomination.

In a move that perhaps was more than just another photo op, McCain and former Democratic Sen. Bill Bradley joined hands across party lines earlier this month to pledge that if they win their parties' nominations, they will enforce a ban on accepting "soft money" donations. Like McCain, Bradley has been successful raising money online, more so than the frontrunner for the Democratic nomination, Vice-President Gore.

Of all these candidates, Gore may be the one most aware of the need for a Third Way, though he seems too cautious a politician to do much about it. During Clinton's final year in office, look for him to do a lot of talking of the sort he did in Florence; starting in 2001, as a civilian from his base in Little Rock, he certainly will be a leading international advocate for constructing a new civic culture.

Back here at the center of the empire, if you look closely, the marble atop the swamp in this fine old town shows evidence of hairline fractures, as it gradually is coming undone from the inside by the pink ethernet vines, T-1's, and DSL that are creeping in under the red, white and blue carpeting from all sides.

Most of the inmates of the marble asylum remain, for now, blissfully unaware of the threat.

That too, however, will be changing.

celebrations, but a clash between Orthodox and secular Jews has created a ban on Christmas in the city's kosher hotels.

By Flore de Preneuf  
[12/23/99]

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## About the writer

David Weir is Salon's Washington bureau chief.

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Jan. 24, 2000

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## DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL SECURITY

# THE REAL BIN LADEN

*By mythologizing him, the government has  
made him even more dangerous.*

BY MARY ANNE WEAVER

**I**N August of 1998, the mysterious Saudi multimillionaire Osama bin Laden was declared Washington's most-wanted fugitive. The previous February, he had called on his followers to kill Americans around the world, and now he was being accused of the bombings of two United States Embassies, in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. Not long after the embassy attacks, American cruise missiles struck targets in Afghanistan believed to be bin Laden training camps, killing a number of people but not bin Laden, who was then forty-three years old. Today, a year and a half later, after one of the costliest and most complicated international criminal investigations in United States history, the government seems divided on how to deal with him. Every strategy has backfired, from covert operations, to what is now euphemistically called "bringing bin Laden to justice," to our missile attacks, whose clear but unstated objective was to kill bin Laden and his key aides. Some American officials I spoke to conceded that they could only hope reports that bin Laden is seriously ill—reports he has denied—prove to be true.

Perhaps as bedeviling as anything else has been bin Laden's silence in the past eleven months. Last February, he "disappeared" somewhere in the mountains of Afghanistan. Then, during the summer, the C.I.A. issued a series of intelligence reports warning that bin Laden appeared to be about to strike again. These findings, based on telephone intercepts, were greeted skeptically by some within the United States intelligence community. Other American intelligence warnings came and went, and there were scores of arrests around the world—most recently last month, when an Iraqi, an Algerian, and eleven Jordanians were arrested in Amman after entering Jordan from Afghanistan. All the men had trained with explosives at one of bin Laden's military camps and, according to Jordanian officials, were in

the early stages of planning a series of terrorist attacks against Biblical and tourist sites. Some days afterward, an Algerian named Ahmed Ressaym was detained as he entered the United States with an arsenal of bomb-making components in the trunk of his car; arrests of other Algerians quickly followed, in and around Seattle, in Vermont, and in New York. According to knowledgeable officials in the American intelligence community, Ressaym, along with a number of the others now under arrest, has been linked to Algeria's extremist Armed Islamic Group—an organization that bin Laden has been funding for a number of years.

As a result of the intelligence warnings, the Secretary of Defense cancelled a scheduled trip abroad. On the anniversary of the embassy bombings and during the millennium celebrations, Americans around the world were told to be alert. At its Washington headquarters, the F.B.I. abruptly suspended public tours.

These developments, however, have obscured the larger questions facing the government: how to respond to an enemy who is a man and not a state; who has no structured organization, no headquarters, and no fixed address; and whose followers live in different countries and feel a loyalty not so much to that man as to the ideology of militant Islam. According to several intelligence officials, the Clinton Administration's answer, to a large extent, has been to do precisely what Osama bin Laden himself has been doing over the years: it has mythologized him.

In November of 1998, three months after the embassy bombings, the Justice Department handed down a two-hundred-and-thirty-eight-count indictment charging bin Laden with conspiracy to kill Americans and accusing him of involvement (without detailing his specific role) in much more than the embassy attacks. It charged that, as the leader of a terrorist conspiracy for nearly ten years, bin Laden had attempted to procure the components of nuclear and



chemical weapons. According to the indictment, bin Laden also had a logistical and training role in the 1993 killing in Somalia of eighteen American servicemen, one of whose bodies was seen on television being dragged through the streets by a mob. (In an interview broadcast on CNN in May of 1997, bin Laden himself boasted that his followers had played a role in those deaths.)

Yet the indictment did not provide persuasive evidence that bin Laden personally commanded the bombings of our embassies in East Africa, and the government has still not produced such evidence. Ambassador Robert Oakley, who led the State Department's Counter-Terrorism Office, called bin Laden's boast of involvement in the Somali deaths "preposterous." And when President Clinton said that bin Laden was responsible for a 1995 assassination attempt in Addis Ababa against Hosni Mubarak, the Egyptian President, one member of Egypt's largest militant Islamist group to whom I spoke was outraged: the group, Gama'a al-Islamiya, had labored for more than a year to plan and execute the attempt, he said. Given bin Laden's genius for self-promotion, a worried United States official told me, the Administration's unsophisticated attempts

at international spin control only help him. In fact, the real bin Laden is more interesting, and perhaps more dangerous, than the fantasies that have surrounded him.

**O**SAMA BIN MUHAMMAD BIN AWAD BIN LADEN was born in 1955, the youngest of some twenty surviving sons of one of Saudi Arabia's wealthiest and most prominent families. He is part puritanical Wahhabi, the dominant school

of Islam in Saudi Arabia, yet at one time he may have led a very liberated social life. He is part feudal Saudi, an aristocrat who, from time to time, would retreat with his father to the desert and live in a tent. And he is of a Saudi generation that came of age during the rise

ally or not, had launched Pan-Islam's first jihad, or holy war, in eight centuries.

Bin Laden's father was a Yemeni who had immigrated to the kingdom and had made a fortune by building a construction company into a financial empire. Osama's mother, a Syrian beauty, was

his father's fourth, and final, official wife (the other three were Saudis), and she was considered by the conservative bin Laden family to be far ahead of her time. (For instance, she refused to wear a burka over her Chanel suits when she travelled abroad.) Osama was her only son. Tutors and nannies, bearers and butlers formed a large part of his life. He and his half brothers—and, to a lesser extent, his thirty half sisters—were playmates of the children of the kingdom's most prominent families, including various royal princes and princesses. Nonetheless, his childhood has been described as an often lonely one. "It must have been very difficult for him," one family friend told me. "In a country that is obsessed with parentage, with who your great-grandfather was, Osama was almost a double outsider. His paternal roots are in Yemen, and, within the family, his mother was a double outsider as well—she was neither Saudi nor Yemeni but Syrian."



*An acquaintance of bin Laden's from the seventies remembers him as a free-spending, fun-loving young man in Beirut's night clubs and bars.*

of OPEC, with the extraordinary wealth that accompanied it: a generation whose religious fervor or political zeal, complemented by government airline tickets, led thousands to fight a war in a distant Muslim land. That Pan-Islamic effort, whose fighters were funded, armed, and trained by the C.I.A., eventually brought some twenty-five thousand Islamic militants, from more than fifty countries, to combat the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The United States, intention-

In 1968, Osama's father (along with his American pilot) died in a helicopter crash, and Osama, at the age of thirteen, inherited eighty million dollars. When he was fifteen, he had his own stable of horses, and at nineteen he entered King Abdul-Aziz University, in Jidda, where he received a civil-engineering degree in 1979. A barber who saw him often in the early nineteen-seventies has told the *Mideast Mirror* that in Beirut's flashy night clubs and



bars his client was known as a free-spending, fun-loving young man—"a heavy drinker who often ended up embroiled in shouting matches and fist-fights with other young men over an attractive night-club dancer or barmaid."

There is no evidence that bin Laden showed any interest in politics before 1979, when three events shook the Middle East: Egypt and Israel signed a peace treaty; the Soviets invaded Afghanistan; and the Iranian Revolution toppled the Shah. Years later, looking back on the invasion of Afghanistan, bin Laden told an interviewer from the Arabic-language *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, "I was enraged, and went there at once."

Friends of the bin Laden family told me that the truth wasn't quite so dramatic. Osama spent the first years of the war travelling throughout Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf and raising millions of dollars for the jihad. Some of the funding came directly from the Saudi government, some from official mosques, and some from the kingdom's financial and business elite—including his late father's construction empire, the Bin Laden Group, which by then had interests on three continents.

In 1984, bin Laden moved to Peshawar, a Pakistani border town near the Khyber Pass which served as the key staging area for the jihad in Afghanistan. That year, I and other journalists in the region began to hear of a man

known as the Good Samaritan or the Saudi Prince. He would arrive unannounced, it was said, at hospitals where wounded Afghan and Arab fighters had been brought. He was lean and elegant, and dressed in the traditional *shalwar kameez* of the Afghan tribes—a blousy knee-length tunic top—over tailored trousers of fine English cloth, and he always wore English custom-made Beal Brothers boots. According to the stories that we heard, he was soft-spoken, and went from bed to bed dispensing cashews and English chocolates to the wounded and carefully noting each man's name and address. Weeks later, the man's family would receive a generous check.

Soon we began to hear other tales. In the ungovernable tribal areas on the Pakistani-Afghan frontier, and in the military training camps outside Peshawar and in Afghanistan, jihad trainees and clerics began to speak of another enigmatic Saudi. He had arrived in an unmarked military transport plane, and brought in bulldozers and other pieces of heavy equipment, which he deployed to design and construct defensive tunnels and storage depots, and to cut roads through the deep valleys of Afghanistan. According to one frequently told story, the man often drove one of the bulldozers himself across the precipitous mountain peaks, exposing himself to strafing from Soviet helicopter gunships. This

man also turned out to be bin Laden, and the equipment that he brought in was furnished by the Bin Laden Group.

FOUR years had passed since the C.I.A. began providing weapons and funds—eventually totalling more than three billion dollars—to the various Afghan resistance groups, all of which were, to varying degrees, fundamentalist in religion, autocratic in politics, and venomously anti-American. During (and also after) the jihad in Afghanistan, bin Laden met frequently with Hassan al-Turabi, an erudite Islamist who now effectively controls the rigid Islamic government in Sudan. He dined regularly with President Zia ul-Haq, Pakistan's military ruler, who was a conduit for the C.I.A. arms. He cultivated generals from the Pakistani intelligence service. And he befriended not only some of the most anti-Western of the Afghan resistance leaders fighting the jihad but also the Egyptian cleric Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman, who is now serving a life sentence in a Minnesota prison for conspiracy to "wage a war of urban terrorism" against the United States.

The C.I.A. station chief in Pakistan from 1986 to 1989 was Milt Bearden, an avuncular, barrel-chested man with an easy smile. He arrived with the first shipments of Stinger missiles that Washington dispatched to the combatants, and he spent a good deal of time in the mountains with the resistance groups. Not long ago, I asked Bearden, who is now retired, if he had known bin Laden during the war years.

"No," he replied. "Did I know that he was out there? Yes, I did, but did I say that this tall, slim, ascetic Saudi was instrumental? No, I did not. There were a lot of bin Ladens who came to do jihad, and they unburdened us a lot. These guys were bringing in up to twenty to twenty-five million dollars a month from other Saudis and Gulf Arabs to underwrite the war. And that is a lot of money. It's an extra two hundred to three hundred million dollars a year. And this is what bin Laden did. He spent most of the war as a fund-raiser, in Pe-



*"Are you there now, Linda? Are you in that happy, safe place that brings you peace and assurance and deep contentment?"*



shawar. He was not a valiant warrior on the battlefield."

According to Bearden, bin Laden and the Saudi contingent "fought in only one important battle that I know of: the battle of Ali Khel"—in Paktia province, not far from the area struck by United States cruise missiles in August of 1998. "The Soviets ran out of steam just before we ran out of supplies. There were perhaps twenty or twenty-five Saudi *shaheds*"—martyrs. Bin Laden, fighting under the nom de guerre Abu Abdullah, appeared to have modelled himself on the twelfth-century military hero Salah al-Din, who effectively checked the Crusaders and reconquered Jerusalem.

"As time went on," Bearden told me, "the story of the battle of Ali Khel grew, as did that of the Saudis' battlefield role. Part of the myth of bin Laden and of the Saudi fighters sprang from this. The U.S. government, along with others, sang the ballad of the Saudi *shaheds*, and, dollar for dollar, King Fahd matched our funds. We put five hundred million dollars into Afghanistan in 1987 alone, and the Saudis matched us bill for bill."

In 1989, when the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan in defeat, bin Laden returned to Jidda, and to his place in the family's business empire. But with the collapse of the oil boom Saudi Arabia faced growing economic and social problems. According to the State Department's annual human-rights reports, the kingdom's royal family was also becoming increasingly repressive and corrupt. Bin Laden began to criticize the feudal Saudi regime openly, and to support its opposition groups. His half brothers and some of his royal friends—including Prince Turki, the chief of Saudi intelligence, and Prince Salman, the governor of Riyadh, with whom bin Laden had worked during the jihad—attempted to restrain him, and for a time he devoted himself to personal matters: expanding his holdings (which are based, in large part, on more than sixty companies, many of them in the West) and producing heirs. He now has four wives, carefully chosen for their political connections or their pedigree, and some ten children.

Bin Laden's quietude, however, did not last long, as he increasingly came under the sway of two of Saudi Arabia's most militant clerics, Sheikhs Safar Hawali and Salman Awdah—whose views are considered revolutionary by the Saudi

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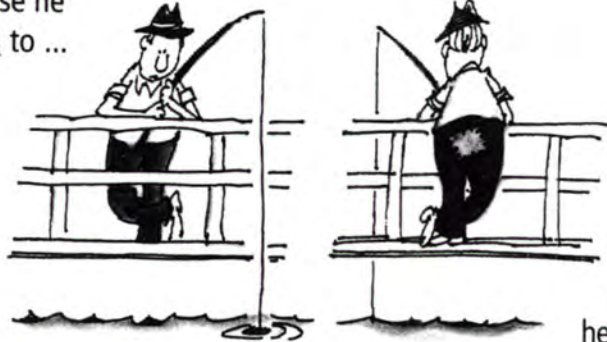
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regime, and whose fatwas, or religious opinions, bin Laden still propagates. In 1991, the royal family expelled him from the kingdom for his political activities, and his family publicly renounced him. He sought refuge in Sudan.

After that, bin Laden's political evolution accelerated. His departure from his homeland coincided with the arrival there of tens of thousands of United States troops for the Persian Gulf War. When the Saudi regime permitted them not only to occupy its soil but to remain after the victory, bin Laden's antipathy to both the regime and the United States was inflamed. In his mind, the United States had become to Saudi Arabia what the Soviet Union had been to Afghanistan: an infidel occupation force propping up a corrupt, repressive, and un-Islamic government.

**D**URING five years of exile in Sudan, from 1991 to 1996, bin Laden placed his wealth—a fortune now estimated at more than two hundred and fifty million dollars, largely in foreign bank accounts—at the disposal of militant Islamist groups around the world. Whether he retains access to his family's fortune, which is estimated to be worth some five billion dollars, is a matter of dispute.

While bin Laden was based in Sudan, the Saudi regime warned him more than once that it would countenance no actions directed against the Saudi throne. He ignored the warnings. In the early nineties—during the Bush Administration, and presumably with the knowledge of the United States—the Saudis secretly dispatched hit teams to Khartoum with a contract on bin Laden's life. And in 1994, as a result of urging by the United States, the normally cautious House of Saud took what one Saudi expert told me was an astonishing step: it antagonized its fundamentalist community by publicly stripping bin Laden of his citizenship, citing his "irresponsible behavior and his refusal to obey instructions issued to him." The kingdom also stripped him of much of his Saudi property and many of his assets.

Then, inexplicably, in November of 1996, the Saudi royal family invited bin Laden to return home. Or so he claimed, in an interview with *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, and he added that the regime had also offered to restore his assets and the prop-

erties it had seized. In exchange, bin Laden was expected to swear an oath of allegiance to King Fahd. He refused. Saudi officials will neither confirm nor deny that the offer was made; indeed, over the years they have consistently refused to comment on anything about bin Laden—a testament, perhaps, to their continuing bewilderment about how to cope with him.

According to a declassified State Department report, when bin Laden was in Sudan he established and financed three terrorist training camps in the north of the country; bought two farms in the east; and paid to transport some five hundred "Afghan Arabs," as the foreign jihad fighters are called, to Sudan from Pakistan after Pakistani officials threatened to expel them. He mixed war and profit, establishing new companies and entering joint ventures with the Sudanese government. More and more Afghan Arabs came to Sudan to support his operations there. Some were instructors in his military training camps; others, management experts and economists, ran his businesses. Still others served as liaisons among a dozen or so bin Laden-supported militant Islamist groups.

Yet David Long, a former official in the State Department who is considered an expert both on the Saudis and on terrorism, said, "Is Osama bin Laden the exclusive font of terrorist evil? No. This is an informal brotherhood we are seeing now, whose members can draw on each other; it's not a clear, sterling network. Bin Laden's organization—an umbrella group called *al-Qaeda*, or "the base"—is not a terrorist organization in the traditional sense. It's more a clearing house from which other groups elicit funds, training, and logistical support. It's a chameleon, an amoeba, which constantly changes shape according to the whims of its leadership, and that leadership is Osama bin Laden. It's highly personalized." Long went on, "Bin Laden is a

facilitator—a practitioner of the most ancient way of doing things in the Middle East. He does not have the brilliant, top-of-the-art international structure of Abu Nidal"—the Palestinian terrorist of the nineteen-seventies and mid-eighties. "If you were to kill Osama tomorrow, the Osama organization would disappear, but all the networks would still be there." Long believes that the more serious threat bin Laden poses to the interests of the United States lies in his ability to destabilize friendly Arab governments, such as Saudi Arabia's, whose support is geopolitically crucial to us. (In fact, bin Laden very likely sees his battle with the House of Saud as his most important struggle; from his perspective, the United States is of secondary concern.)

Other United States officials agree, and warn that bin Laden has given financial backing to anti-government groups in Egypt (where he has underwritten some of the activities of the Gama'a al-Islamiya and al-Jihad), Algeria, Yemen, Somalia, Saudi Arabia, and the Philippines. He has supported Islamic fighters not only in Afghanistan but also in Chechnya, Kosovo, Kashmir, Bosnia, and Tajikistan. But even though these groups may enjoy his patronage, he does not control them, and they are everything that his own organization is not: they are well structured, and most have long histories and specific (and often legitimate) complaints and concerns.

In May of 1996, under pressure from the United States and Saudi Arabia, the Sudanese government asked bin Laden to leave, and he returned to Afghanistan permanently, accompanied by two military-transport planes carrying some of his wealth, more than a hundred of his Afghan Arab fighters, and his four wives. Between two and three thousand of his other loyalists fanned out into Europe and across East Africa. "It was like sending Lenin back to Russia," an American diplomat said to me. "At least in the Sudan we could indirectly monitor some of his activities."

When bin Laden arrived in Afghanistan, the government that had eventually assumed power after the departure of the Soviets was being besieged by a fundamentalist student faction known as the Taliban. Its leader was Mullah Muhammad Omar, who, like bin Laden, had fought in the jihad. The two men had a similar ideology and complementary





needs: bin Laden needed refuge, and the fledgling Taliban needed cash. Bin Laden gave the mullah an initial payment of three million dollars for the cause, and the Taliban was able to capture the key center of Jalalabad in September of 1996. Ten days later, the capital, Kabul, fell. And, sometime after that, according to United States officials, bin Laden, through the marriage of one of his daughters, became Mullah Omar's father-in-law.

THE American war against bin Laden has affected United States policy throughout much of the Islamic world, particularly in South Asia and the Middle East. Memorably, on August 20, 1998, the Pakistani Army's chief of staff, General Jehangir Karamat, was playing host in Islamabad to his American counterpart, General Joseph Ralston, the vice-chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Around ten o'clock in the evening, as the two men were having dinner, Ralston looked up from his chicken tikka, checked his watch, and informed his host that in ten minutes some sixty Tomahawk cruise missiles would be entering Pakistan's airspace. Their destination, he said, was Afghanistan, where bin Laden was believed to be operating four training camps. General Karamat was stunned, and appalled.

"It was a 'This is happening as we speak' kind of conversation," an American intelligence official told me. "Ralston was there, on the ground, to make absolutely certain that when the missiles flew across Pakistan's radar screen they would not be misconstrued as coming from India and, as a consequence, be shot down." The intelligence official paused for a moment, and then said, "This is one hell of a way to treat our friends."

By the following day, General Karamat's anger—and that of the government he served—had turned to rage. A number of the Tomahawks either had been poorly targeted or had not fallen where they were aimed. Two of the four training camps that were hit and destroyed, in the Zhawar Kili area of Afghanistan's Paktia province, were facilities of Pakistan's own intelligence agency, the Inter-Services Intelligence, or I.S.I. According to a highly placed official, five I.S.I. officers and some twenty trainees were killed. The government of Pakistan was not only furious but embarrassed, be-



*"I'm getting esophagus notes with a bouquet of red and white blood cells and a bitter spinal-cord aftertaste."*

cause it had not been taken into Washington's confidence. Why had there been only ten minutes' notice? And why had General Karamat been notified, instead of the Prime Minister?

Pakistan wasn't our only affronted ally. Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, and the Palestinian Authority—indeed, much of the Islamic world—expressed dismay. The United States had reason to be embarrassed as well. For, despite President Clinton's claim, in a televised address a few hours after the missile strikes, that a "gathering of key terrorist leaders" had been expected to take place at one of the target sites, bin Laden and his top lieutenants were more than a hundred miles away when the missiles struck. The meeting that Clinton referred to had occurred a month earlier, in Jalalabad.

The United States had expended seventy-nine million dollars on satellite-guided cruise missiles to destroy just thousands of dollars' worth of obstacle courses, field barracks, and tents. Only one of the six facilities struck was a bin Laden training camp. "It was all rather Biblical," a former intelligence official told me at the time. "The President was very specific: he wanted two targets, for the two embassies that were bombed."

(The second target was the al-Shifa pharmaceutical plant, in Sudan, which the Administration claimed was used by bin Laden in either the manufacture or the distribution of chemical weapons. The Administration retreated from this theory last May, when, in refusing to answer a lawsuit, it released the frozen assets of the plant's owner.) Of the missile attacks, the former intelligence official asked, "Was it an intelligence failure or a policy failure? Or both?"

In the following year, there were approximately seventy temporary closings of American embassies and consulates after the C.I.A. warned that bin Laden appeared to be in the "advanced stages" of operational plans for another strike against an American facility abroad. But the agency conceded that it lacked precise information on where he might strike, or when. In a sense, bin Laden did not need to act; for, even without another bombing, he was holding the United States government hostage.

BEFORE Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was deposed, in a military coup last October, one of his key officials said to me, "I think what the Americans are really trying to say to us is



'Why don't you do our dirty work—get bin Laden and deliver him or, preferably, eliminate him?' We've told the Americans, 'Provide the Taliban with evidence, and let them try bin Laden there.'"

The Taliban has offered to do just that, once it receives evidence from the United States, but Washington does not take the offer seriously. ("Disingenuous, even laughable" is the way one United States official described it to me.) More recently, as the Taliban scrambled to avert sweeping financial and commercial sanctions imposed by the United Nations at the insistence of Washington, the Taliban's leaders floated a proposal that a panel of Islamic judges be convened in Afghanistan to determine bin Laden's fate—presumably to decide whether to extradite him to a third country for trial or to exonerate him. United States officials were divided on whether the Taliban was attempting to find a face-saving way to expel bin Laden or was merely playing for time; the Clinton Administration rejected the proposal peremptorily. The United States was equally perplexed by a letter allegedly written by bin Laden to Mullah Omar—and leaked by the Taliban's official press on October 29th—in which bin Laden offered to leave Afghanistan in exchange for a guarantee that his new location would be known to only two Taliban officials, including his son-in-law.

\* As I thought about what the other options might be, I remembered something else that the Pakistani official had said to me: "Quite honestly, what would Pakistan gain by going into Afghanistan and snatching bin Laden for you? We are the most heavily sanctioned United States ally. We helped you capture Ramzi Yousef"—the convicted mastermind of the World Trade Center bombing in New York. "We helped you capture Mir Amal Kansi"—he has been sentenced to death for the murder of two C.I.A. employees outside the agency's headquarters in 1993—"and all we got were thank-you notes. You lobbed missiles across our territory with no advance warning! You humiliated our government! You killed Pakistani intelligence officers! And then you come to us and say, 'It's your problem. You've got to get Osama bin Laden for us.'"

Saudi Arabia, for its part, continues to permit American troops to billet in the country, but it has prohibited them

from conducting air strikes against Iraq. And, despite the American presence—or, perhaps, because of it—the kingdom's princes and foundations and wealthy businessmen, who include a number of bin Laden's friends, remain the leading benefactors of many of the world's militant Islamist groups. Thus, in a barely disguised attempt not to further antagonize bin Laden and his followers, the royal family has not allowed the F.B.I. to interrogate any of the suspects allegedly involved in the 1995 and 1996 bombings of United States military installations in Riyadh and Dhahran, and in both cases it abruptly cut short any inquiry into the broader dimensions of the bombings. More recently, the House of Saud has refused to permit United States investigators to interrogate one of bin Laden's key financial aides—Sidi Tayyib, a man of some influence, whom Saudi intelligence officials either have arrested (at the strong urging of Washington) or have lured into changing sides. But the Saudis, following their own investigation, bluntly told their C.I.A. counterparts that there was no basis for treating Tayyib "like a criminal." Tayyib, who is married to one of bin Laden's nieces, probably knows as much as anyone else about bin Laden's intricate financial empire.

As bin Laden's international image and stature increase—along with his support, both ideological and financial, among some of the kingdom's elite and the elites of other states in the Persian Gulf—any Saudi hopes of quietly resolving its bin Laden problem by force become less tenable. And each time the Clinton Administration raises the stakes, and further enhances bin Laden's prominence, more and more disaffected Saudis flock to join the kingdom's militant Islamist underground, of which bin Laden remains a central part. That is one of the most worrisome consequences of America's obsession with one man.

For twenty years, Osama bin Laden has refashioned himself with extraordinary dexterity and skill. Now the House of Saud, ever fearful of the Islamist challenge to its throne, appears intent on a transformation of its own—to turn what has been an often complex battle of wills between the Saudi royal family and its errant son into a far simpler conflict, one that pits bin Laden and his followers against the United States. ♦

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Maybe that's because the media seem to find it boring too. Instead of looking for provocative angles on the issues that matter, too many reporters have been distracted by peripheral issues or allowed themselves to arrive at the premature conclusion that the candidates are all the same.

You could see this theme percolating on the fringes of respectable journalism as early as July when Arianna Huffington observed that, "In a sense we now have one corporate party. We have the pro-life corporate party and the pro-choice corporate party..."

The *National Journal* then picked up the ball in October with a cover that depicted Al Gore morphing into George Bush and back again and a story titled "Gush and Bore" which ruefully proclaimed: "The nation's two political parties have become so much alike that they don't really stand for much any more."

And just after Thanksgiving, *The New York Times'* Richard Berke weighed in that "the public's impression of candidates may be more important than ever in the campaign of 2000 because there is a dearth of raging issues dividing the parties."

Now whose fault is that?

There's at least the potential for interesting debate on the issues. Everybody knows that Al Gore has written a passionate book about the environment, that Bill Bradley has proposed to reinvent health care, that John McCain wants to grab every Senator and hang him upside down until the change falls out of his pockets—and that George W. Bush seems happy to scramble around on the floor to scarf it up.

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ke Walter Mitty. For example, in Novem-  
' *Review's* Richard Brookhiser channeled

the spirit of Sigmund Freud to arrive at the conclusion that Al Gore is "depressed because he feels dead" and that this explains his focus on the environment. And *U.S. News and World Report's* Roger Simon recently took a turn as *CNN* fashion reporter Elsa Klensch to slash away at Bill Bradley for affecting suits that "look like they cost the lives of several polyesters" and shirts "of a bluish hue not found in nature." The guy wears bad clothes and wants to be our president? Imagine.

Let's be clear: We don't expect the campaign press to spend the next eleven months performing regression analyses on the candidates' budget proposals. Of course the public is entitled to learn something about the personal qualities of the man who will occupy the most powerful office on the planet. But it's surely a stretch from this to the position that campaign strategy on matters like wardrobe is the same thing as campaign news. And there's a real problem with giving too much air-time to silly stuff: It crowds out attention to the more important issues and leaves the public unprepared to sort through them when the mud starts flying. Indeed, shallow coverage of the issues is almost an invitation for campaigns to take the low road. Read what a Gore staffer said to *U.S. News'* Simon:

"Bradley has authenticity? O.K., so he's real, he's a great guy, he's the thinking man's candidate. But most voters don't vote that way. Everybody says negative ads are terrible and trashing somebody is terrible—but it works!... The brie-and-cheese [sic] set, the thinking voters will always be there, and they'll be for Bradley. But heat wins elections, and Gore is going to put the



# Presidential Aptitude Test

What you really need to know to pick a president.

BY STEPHEN POMPER AND  
NICHOLAS THOMPSON

**C**AMPAIGN FATIGUE. THERE'S ALMOST A year left in Campaign 2000 and we've already got it bad. In a November poll by Harvard University, twice as many potential voters described the presidential campaign as "uninformative" as called it "informative." Nearly two-thirds of those polled also found the campaign "boring."

Maybe that's because the media seem to find it boring too. Instead of looking for provocative angles on the issues that matter, too many reporters have been distracted by peripheral issues or allowed themselves to arrive at the premature conclusion that the candidates are all the same.

You could see this theme percolating on the fringes of respectable journalism as early as July when Arianna Huffington observed that, "In a sense we now have one corporate party. We have the pro-life corporate party and the pro-choice corporate party..."

The *National Journal* then picked up the ball in October with a cover that depicted Al Gore morphing into George Bush and back again and a story titled "Gush and Bore" which ruefully proclaimed: "The nation's two political parties have become so much alike that they don't really stand for much any more."

And just after Thanksgiving, *The New York Times'* Richard Berke weighed in that "the public's impression of candidates may be more important than ever in the campaign of 2000 because there is a dearth of raging issues dividing the parties."

Now whose fault is that?

There's at least the potential for interesting debate on the issues. Everybody knows that Al Gore has written a passionate book about the environment, that Bill Bradley has proposed to reinvent health care, that John McCain wants to grab every Senator and hang him upside down until the change falls out of his pockets—and that George W. Bush seems happy to scramble around on the floor to scarf it up.

If that's all true, how can these guys really be the same?

The answer is that, of course, they're not. Sameness is a convenient fiction. It allows reporters to write fun softball pieces that distinguish the candidates on less than substantive grounds. They can even try on new professions like Walter Mitty. For example, in November, *National Review's* Richard Brookhiser channeled the spirit of Sigmund Freud to arrive at the conclusion that Al Gore is "depressed because he feels dead" and that this explains his focus on the environment. And *U.S. News and World Report's* Roger Simon recently took a turn as *CNN* fashion reporter Elsa Klensch to slash away at Bill Bradley for affecting suits that "look like they cost the lives of several polyesters" and shirts "of a bluish hue not found in nature." The guy wears bad clothes and wants to be our president? Imagine.

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"Bradley has authenticity? O.K., so he's real, he's a great guy, he's the thinking man's candidate. But most voters don't vote that way. Everybody says negative ads are terrible and trashing somebody is terrible—but it works!... The brie-and-cheese [sic] set, the thinking voters will always be there, and they'll be for Bradley. But heat wins elections, and Gore is going to put the



heat on Bradley?"

More than anything, that's an indictment of the press. After all, it's part of our job to help transform voters into "thinking voters." And the best way to do that is to hammer away at the issues.

Here's one attempt to do just that on a short list of issues that matter the most: How will the candidate pay for good government? Will he protect the uninsured? How will he save social security? Will he really be an education president? Will he be able to handle an international crisis? Will he fix our environmental laws? Is he in favor of auctions or elections? Can he run the government? In the spirit of competition, we've given the four leading candidates grades on each question. We gave points for the political courage, technical competence, and vision. Did we give extra credit for wearing natural fibers? Not a chance.



## How will he pay for good government?

Government costs money. You've got to pay for air-traffic controllers, national infrastructure projects, and funding the Center for Disease Control. We've got to have an army; we've got to pay government lawyers to fight monopolies. We need billions of dollars to fix our health-care system and billions more to hire and train the teachers we need to turn our educational system around.

To many politicians in 1999, the budget surplus is the solution to funding everything the government needs to, and should, pay for. New health-care system? We'll fund it out of the projected surplus. How about a middle-class tax cut? Just dip into that big tub of hypothetical cash.

But all this talk of surplus financing is misleading. Roughly two-thirds of the projected surplus comes from excess Social Security revenues that will have to be locked away for the day when the trust fund starts to run in the red. (See "How will he save social security?") As for the remaining third, we're not holding our breaths. For it to materialize, Congress will have to honor uncomfortably tight spending caps that it can easily blow through using accounting tricks, the economy will have to continue to perk along, and Medicare costs will have to stay under control.

You can't count on the surplus any more than you can count on Congress to keep its budget promises or

the economy to stay strong. So, to run the government and to pay for the programs the candidates are proposing, the next administration will probably have to close tax loopholes, raise taxes, or both. Given their likelihood, we should be thinking about these options now.

Start with the loopholes: The tax code is riddled with subsidies that cost billions of dollars a year. Businessmen enjoy tax-deductible meals and entertainment to the annual tune of six billion tax-payer dollars; an 1872 law allows mining companies to purchase federal land for \$5 an acre without having to pay any royalties back to the government; investors can rack up tax-free capital gains by purchasing their stocks through special accounts called Roth IRAs. These subsidies do little to redistribute wealth to the people who really need it. So get rid of them.

As for raising taxes, there's one group that's been doing quite well lately: the very rich. Ninety percent of increased wealth since 1977 has gone to the richest one percent of Americans and the top marginal tax rate on these families is only about half of what it was for most of the post-war era. During the same period, the poor have gotten 12 percent poorer. In our era of Seattle robber barons and NASDAQ billionaires, there's room to give more to the people who are really in need.

## Gore:

The Gore campaign didn't want to talk about raising taxes in an election year so it molded its spending program to fit within the projected surplus. This let Gore serve up a trillion dollar spending program without appearing to cost American taxpayers one additional dime, but it also backed him into a corner. Health care, childcare, and education need to be fixed, regardless of whether the repair costs can be cooked into conformity with the surplus. If the surplus doesn't materialize, he would probably have to raise taxes—a position his campaign recently started to accept.

That said, Gore has a strong record on taxes and trimming fat. He voted for the 1986 Tax Reform Act that lowered taxes for the general public while eliminating real estate and corporate tax shelters. The '86 legislation was largely Bradley's work, but Gore did his rival one better: He supported an amendment that would have increased the top marginal tax rate from 28 to 35 percent—an amendment that Bradley opposed. Gore also voted for a 1991 increase in the top marginal rate. And he gets some credit for the administration's 1993 tax reform that raised the top



marginal rate to its current level and was instrumental in reducing and eliminating the deficit.

Grade:



## Bradley:

Bradley's position on taxes is a bit slippery. Unlike Gore, he has never ruled out raising taxes to fund his ambitious spending program, but he won't say more than that. When we asked a Bradley spokesperson, Kristin Ludecke, whether the candidate was actually contemplating a tax raise, she said absolutely not—he's "completely confident" that his health-care plan wouldn't require it.

We then asked whether the tax increase was something he was holding in reserve in case the economy goes south. The answer was "no" again; under those circumstances, Bradley would favor actually cutting taxes as a way to stimulate the economy. So when would we be looking at a possible tax hike? "That's a couple of hypotheticals away from reality," she said.

Bradley's record is a similarly mixed bag. Bradley was the key man on passing the 1986 Tax Reform Act, but there's more to the story. The deal behind the Act was that Congress would close corporate loopholes worth tens of billions of dollars but give something back to the monied classes by lowering the top marginal tax rate to 28 percent, its lowest post-war level. The Act called for the rate to drop in stages, with the final dip to 28 percent in 1988. In 1987, however, the Senate Finance Committee realized that this last step would cause the deficit to balloon up. There was a politically expedient solution: arrest the rate at its 1987 level of 38 percent—a move that could save the Treasury billions of dollars without being portrayed as a tax hike. The majority on the Committee supported this approach but Bradley made an impassioned and successful appeal to stick to the original deal. The deficit surged up and it took the Clinton administration's tax reform bill of 1993 to bring it back down.

Grade:



## Bush:

George Bush wants to cut taxes, mostly for the rich. According to Citizens for Tax Justice, two-thirds of the tax breaks in Bush's recent tax proposal (starting with a decrease in the top marginal rate) are targeted to the richest 10 percent of Americans.

The bottom 10 percent would get a reduction of about \$43 a year; the wealthiest one percent would get a reduction of \$50,000 a year. That's not as bad as the tax cut proposed last year by Trent Lott, Dick Armey, and the Republican Congress, but it's pretty baldly regressive and we shouldn't be surprised. Texas has one of the most regressive state tax systems in America.

In Bush's defense, the governor did slightly increase social spending in his state, but during the flushes of economic times when few sacrifices were necessary and when he could cut taxes, his clear priority during the campaign—at the same time.

Grade:



## McCain:

On the one hand, John McCain's tax rhetoric is strong. He criticized Governor Bush's proposed tax cut on the grounds that it would bleed the government dry and he has discussed a proposal of his own that would reduce lower-middle class taxes, but not top marginal tax rates. And he was critical of the proposed Republican tax cut of 1999. But underneath it all, McCain is a party man. He voted with the Republican majority for the 1999 tax cut. And his minimalist approach to taxation has won him the National Taxpayer's Union "Taxpayer's Friend Award" on four separate occasions.

McCain's slash and burn approach to pork barrel spending would no doubt save the government some money that could be spent on worthier projects. But we doubt that McCain's inner Republican would let him raise top marginal tax rates under any circumstances and Republicans have already gotten him to go along again with regressive tax cuts once; they might well be able to do it again.

Grade:



## How will he protect the uninsured?

American health care needs a doctor. Forty-four million Americans, including 11 million children, don't have health insurance. In the richest country on earth, one in six people can't get a physical exam and can't make a doctor's appointment. Efforts to insure these people by incrementally expanding the health-care plans currently offered by the government sim-



ply can't work, as David Nather explains elsewhere in this issue. (See "Beyond Band-Aids.")

We need universal health coverage; and the best way to accomplish it would be to scrap the current jumble of Medicaid, the State Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP), and Medicare and transition to a single payer national health service like Canada's. If we did that, we'd cut costs through economies of scale, reduce administrative costs by eliminating insurance paperwork, and create a portable benefits system that would follow people when they move between jobs and around the country.

If the leap to single payer is too big, an alternative would be to let the public in on the deal that Congressman and federal bureaucrats already enjoy by making all Americans eligible for the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program (FEHBP)—a giant health-care program that pools hundreds of private plans and uses economies of scale to get better bargains and increased health options for members. Of course, some people wouldn't be able to afford the cost of FEHBP even if they were allowed

to buy in. Subsidize them.

## Gore:

Al Gore joined the administration's push for universal health care when he came into office but he doesn't want it now. He currently supports the expansion of CHIP, the provision of tax subsidies for small-business employees and other uncovered employees, and the addition of a prescription drug benefit to Medicare—proposals limited by his requirement that they, and the other initiatives he has put on the table, fit within the projected surplus. His proposals would insure 11 million children through incremental reform, but wouldn't get us close to universal coverage.

Gore's proposal isn't meritless: It's just cautious and uninspired. What *is* meritless, however, is Gore's strategy of relentlessly criticizing Bradley for proposing to replace Medicaid. Gore wants us to believe that Bradley will eliminate Medicaid and leave nothing in its place. That's not true. "I don't understand it," says Bob McIntyre at Citizens for Tax Justice. "If

## Can he run the government?

A president doesn't just need good ideas. He needs to know how to make the government hum. He must know how to keep his ears open to developments in agencies like the IRS and the EPA. He needs to know how to keep the bureaucracy from preventing him from finding out about serious problems before they turn into crises, and from filtering out good ideas before they can become solutions.

It helps if the candidate has spent time in the executive branch and learned to understand the culture of the vast bureaucracy. The 32nd president of this century, Franklin Roosevelt, had served for five years as assistant secretary of the Navy under Woodrow Wilson. The assistant secretary is a key position in government where policy makers interact with the career employees who carry out the policy. In the Navy department, FDR learned to deal with both military and civilian officials. He rose through the ranks of the army to a top command over the combat forces in Europe. FDR's experience with the civilian side, he was perhaps our most sophisticated president when it came to the military. He could sense when his former colleagues were telling him the truth, even when they were kidding him.

According to presidential historian Arthur Schlesinger, a successful president must be able to both build an effective team and develop a staff structure that cannot hide the information that he needs. He's got to inspire people who are loyal to him, but he's got to figure out a way that he can get them to tell him the truth, something that he knows himself that had never admitted itself as it travels up the command chain.

A large part of FDR's success came from his being a master at finding out what was really going on in government. For example, he didn't wait for his top aide, and his dear friend, Lorena Hickok, to nose around government programs like the New Deal, but he found out where workers were swinging their hammers and where they were sitting by the side of the road. When he wanted to know what Churchill was thinking, he didn't rely solely on the American Ambassador, Joseph Kennedy, he sent Harry Hopkins and Averell Harriman to talk to the prime minister and assess the morale of Britain during the Blitz.







needs to be addressed." But he didn't do much for health care in Texas. And he seems unlikely to do much for the rest of the country.

Texas has the second highest rate of uninsured children in the country and Bush has not been enthusiastic about turning this around. When the state legislature proposed that Texas' CHIP money be available for children of families earning no more than 200 percent of the poverty line, Bush fought hard to draw the line at 150 percent. Thankfully, he failed.

Bush has not come out with a national reform proposal, but his choice of advisers suggests a preference for market-based reform, not universal coverage. Bush's top adviser on health care, Deborah Steelman, doubles as a lobbyist for HMOs like Aetna and United Health Care. Another adviser, John Goodman, is known for pushing a proposal that would provide citizens with vouchers to pay for HMOs.

One positive consideration: While most Americans can't sue their HMOs, they can in Texas, thanks to an initiative pushed by Governor Bush that he'd like to make into a national program. That's something, but it won't help the uninsured.

Grade:  D+

## McCain:

McCain supported Senator John Chafee's reform proposal in 1991 but disappeared during the great national debates and has only recently started to talk about health care again. He has offered a campaign proposal that would give limited grants to low-income elderly people to help them pay for prescription drug and he has even talked about expanding CHIP. But even today, he has not made the issue a strong priority and he has trouble staying on topic.

Here is McCain's response to health-care questions raised a few minutes after Orrin Hatch had been discussing the Internet (a subject McCain really likes) during the first Republican presidential debate in New Hampshire:

Moderator: "Senator McCain, several major HMOs are failing financially. The system isn't working. What do you propose to fix it?"

Senator McCain: "We need a Patient's Bill of Rights, and the reason why we haven't gotten it through the Congress is because on the Democrat side the trial lawyers have them in their control and they'll want to sue anybody for anything under any circumstance. On the Republican side, we're in the

grip of the huge money from the insurance companies and the HMOs—the typical gridlock which has caused Americans to have such a low opinion of what goes on in Washington."

Not bad. But then he veers off-topic.

"The Internet should not be taxed. The Internet should not be taxed. The Internet is the greatest thing that's happened to the world—somewhere between the invention of the printing press and the industrial revolution..."

After another 100 words endorsing the Internet, the bell sounded and the moderator tried again:

Moderator: "Let me return to the issue of health care and HMOs. Given how expensive health care is, HMOs are now waking up to the fact that they can't deliver the promises they made to consumers and still be profitable. If, ultimately, HMOs disappear, what then fills the void?"

McCain: "Obviously, the HMOs need to be made whole. We need to spend more money to make sure that they do. We have added more money for Medicare and Medicaid payments in the last emergency supplements that we passed. All of those things have to be done, but I believe we have to take care of patients first. And if the patients are not well treated in HMOs, then obviously then the HMOs are not going to be sought out by them. Again, on the Internet, we need to install—we are installing in every school..."

The Internet is important. But so is health care.

Grade:  D+

## How will he save social security?

Senior citizens have one huge electoral advantage over other groups: They vote. This goes a long way toward explaining why the federal government puts roughly four times more money into social security than it gives to children under eighteen. Right now, social security is swimming in cash. That's because the system is funded out of payroll taxes and the number of workers paying those taxes vastly exceeds the number of pensioners collecting benefits. In fact, social security is projected to run a \$1.8 trillion surplus over the next ten years. But as the baby-boom generation retires, the surplus is going to be swallowed fast—so fast that the Congressional Budget Office projects a social security deficit of



\$19.8 trillion between 2013 and 2075.

This means that our children are going to be stuck with a 19.8 trillion bill that they will presumably have to pay by raising payroll taxes or cutting benefits. That's unfair to the next generation. And because the social security payroll tax is regressive (you're only taxed on the first \$72,000 you earn regardless of whether you dig ditches or run Microsoft) it's also unfair to the working poor.

So how do you fix social security? Start with two principles: Any solution should be progressive and generationally fair. This would require means testing—which in its most dramatic form would say that if you need benefits, you get them and if you don't, you won't; less dramatically, means testing could also include taxing wages over \$72,000, or recapturing benefits to high earners through higher income taxes. Then raise the retirement age so that people don't start collecting benefits until they are 70: When social security was conceived the average life expectancy was 62—now it's 76. People live longer, they should be able to work longer. Any remaining shortfalls could be made up through "nipping and tucking"—cutting benefits by lowering cost of living increases and adjusting the payout formula. It might also be a good idea to invest some portion of payroll tax revenues in the stock market—but not all of them; social security should be a government insurance program, not a national mutual fund.

### Gore:

The vice president proposes to buy back government debt with accumulated social security reserves. This shows fiscal prudence (it will lower the government's short-term interest expenses and will make it easier to finance payments when social security goes into the red) but it's misleading to pose it as a solution to the overall problem. Gore's approach may save \$1.8 trillion for a rainy day, but it won't help cover the future \$19.8 trillion deficit—which is the amount that social security will be in the red *after* the \$1.8 trillion is applied. When we asked a top Gore adviser what the candidate intended to do about the \$19.8 trillion, we were told that the question isn't really fair, and that

"It's absurd to solve the problems of an entirely different generation."

We disagree.

Grade:



### Bradley:

Bradley's position on social security is perfectly reasonable as far as it goes. But it doesn't go far enough.

To Bradley's credit, he accepts the premise that

## Candidates get points for political courage, technical competence, and vision.



future deficits are a problem. He is also willing to talk about the tough choices that need to be made to address those deficits now—reducing benefits, raising taxes, raising the retirement age, and privatization.

But that's as far as it goes. Bradley does not have a specific plan for fixing social security and will not even let on which of the repair options he supports. Instead, according to a Bradley spokeswoman, Kristen Ludecke, Bradley's position is that this will have to be worked out by "reasonable people sitting around a table."

That's a little weak. The issue has been debated exhaustively on Capitol Hill for the last two years, and there has been no meaningful progress. There may not be such a thing as "reasonable people sitting around a table" when it comes to social security. That's why the system has to be fixed through political leadership—and why Bradley will have to stop explaining what the issues are and start telling us what he thinks.

Grade:



### Bush:

Bush, like most Republicans, believes that social security could be saved if we would just start investing it in the market. But also like most Republicans, Bush hasn't thought through one huge problem:



What happens if the market crashes? Asked by Tim Russert what he would do in this situation, Bush responded vaguely: "There will be guarantees and I'm confident a plan will have a guaranteed benefit level for all people."

Bush has also shown some courage on the issue, proposing to examine the possibility of raising the age of entitlement to 70. Bush, however, doesn't believe in means testing: "If you're paying into the system, you ought to be able to get something out of the system. And millionaires and billionaires pay into the system."

Grade: 

**McCain:**

McCain's views are standard Republican fare—privatize social security and everything will be fine. But McCain's got one additional twist: He comes from a state with a lot of old people, and he likes to stick by them. In 1998 he proposed "The Senior Citizens' Freedom to Work Act" that would eliminate much of the limited means testing that there is in our current social security system: for every \$3 that a senior citizen earns over \$20,000, she loses \$1 in social security benefits.

To his credit, McCain would be adamant about preventing government from stealing from the sur-

plus to pay for current programs. But, like Gore, McCain's not addressing the looming deficit problem.

Grade: 

## Will he really be an education president?

There's nothing pretty about American education. American students are lagging behind the rest of the world, teachers often lack the capacity to teach them, and federal reforms aren't turning the problem around fast enough. So what do we do?

First, start at the beginning. Studies released over the past six years demonstrate that the most important educational opportunities occur before formal schooling begins. The programs we have now—whether you call them daycare or Head Start or something else—are grossly inadequate. Millions of the children who come from the most educationally and economically disadvantaged families have no enriching daycare or Head Start program. Millions more are in inadequate programs often with radically underpaid teachers. If the system wants to be fair to these children and give them an equal shot at the

## FOURTH GRADE AWARDS

NOVEMBER 1999

**FRANK J. MURRAY**

"Flying Trouble for F-16s"

*Washington Times: 11/28*

More than \$50 billion buying front-line fighters in the past 25 years, but the equipment is still crashing. Half of all military crashes are pilot induced; Murray argues for more than half of F-16 crashes are mechanical flaws, ranging from engine malfunctions to turbine blades. Murray also shows how a culture of secrecy has helped to prevent the crashes and how, as a result, many pilots of F-16s are in their planes.

**CAROLYN KLEINER  
MARY LORD**

"The Cheating Game"

*U.S. News & World Report*

Academic dishonesty is rampant in American schools with piling homework and competition to get into college. Students believe they need to cheat to stay on top. Kleiner and Lord's detailed article, current research, and commentary aids cheating. Now, students can cheat online, lift papers off the Web, and transmit papers and cell phones. Kleiner and Lord show how to stop it.



educational opportunities that the middle and upper classes take for granted, then billions of dollars of funding will need to be channeled into childcare and Head Start programs.

The next priority is getting better teachers into the classroom. The federal government should use its education budget to create incentives for states to boost entry-level salaries so that they will attract better and brighter applicants to teaching. States should also provide meaningful teacher training programs along the lines recently proposed by Wisconsin's superintendent of schools (see "Tilting at Windmills"). This means screening applicants for subject area knowledge and public speaking ability—skills that are indispensable to good teaching—and then making sure that young teachers get the mentoring, evaluation, and feedback they need to hone their skills. States should also be encouraged to replace lockstep salary systems with performance-based compensation so that motivated people get rewarded and the deadwood don't. Finally, states have to be encouraged to find creative ways to get rid of underperformers. They should be urged to dispense with the tenure systems that allow the deadwood to build up.

Finally, tighten up the reforms passed during the Clinton administration. These include laws that give states money if they adopt curriculum standards and if they authorize the creation of charter schools—independent public schools where dynamic teachers get a chance to exercise creative control. The Clinton reforms make it too easy for states to get standards funding with meaningless standards and charter schools funding without serious commitment to charter schools.

An education president will have to have enormous commitment because both political parties have anchors around their necks when it comes to reform. Democrats are beholden to the teachers' unions, who made up more than a tenth of the delegates to the 1996 Democratic Convention and tend to look unkindly on reforms that threaten the status quo. Republican support for states' rights makes them reluctant to push any national reforms.

### Gore\*:

Gore has a big proposal on early childcare—universal pre-school for the older kids and tax credits to help out with the younger ones. While the package looks encouraging, the details have yet to emerge.

On other issues, Gore is like Clinton. That translates into a commitment to moving with conventional reforms as far as the unions permit—as with the charter schools

legislation—and coming up with money for new teachers. You can see this in his proposal to attract up to 75,000 new teachers annually by offering college students and mid-career professionals \$10,000 bonuses for committing to careers in teaching.

The question is whether Gore is serious about making certain that those teachers are any good. His campaign literature recognizes the need for improving teacher quality, but the specific proposals could be stronger. On the plus side, he recommends increasing "mentors and professional support" for young teachers, and giving bonuses to high-performing ones. On the minus side, he fails to come out against tenure and suggests that the education system should "help" bad teachers before removing them.

Furthermore, Gore has pandered to the unions by aggressively opposing vouchers. Vouchers raise difficult issues—particularly since they tend to take money away from schools that are doing the worst—but they shouldn't be excluded as a tool for helping poor children receive the education states are failing to provide. If Gore continues to cater to the unions on this and other issues then he is unlikely to accomplish more than watered-down educational reforms.

Grade:



### Bradley:

Like Gore, Bradley has big plans for early childcare: He would make \$2 billion of block grants available each year to states and localities in a matching funds program. The money would be available for local childcare needs—building centers, improving training, hiring workers. It sounds promising, but the details have yet to emerge.

Also like Gore, Bradley has tiptoed around the teachers unions, softening the support for voucher programs he expressed in the Senate.

And in yet another parallel with Gore, Bradley wants to get more teachers into the classroom, but hasn't placed a lot of emphasis on how to make sure that they're effective. His objective is to hire 60,000 new teachers a year for the inner-city schools by offering scholarships to high school students who agree to take those positions after college. Those scholarships are particularly targeted at kids who will commit to teach math, science, and foreign languages. But the proposal would not require those scholarship students to actually major in the disci-

*\*As we were going to press, the Gore campaign announced a detailed proposal for education reform, which includes an impressive commitment to early childhood education. The announcement unfortunately came too late for us to take it fully into account for purposes of this section or the vice president's education grade.*



plines that they are going to teach. And it doesn't suggest that he's given any thought to improving teacher quality.

Grade:  B

### Bush:

Texans give George Bush credit for two main things: being affable and reforming the education system. As governor, he helped push through a vouchers program, greatly increased Texas' state funding of public education, and expanded a testing and standards program that mandated that everyone from the third grade on up pass an aptitude test. He hasn't mandated that schools run their curricula a certain way; he has just demanded the test scores go up. He also backed and, by working across partisan lines, dramatically increased funding in his state for kindergarten, pre-kindergarten, and Head Start.

Bush's national goals would follow similar lines: increased federal funds for states that implement state-wide testing standards and vouchers for students whose schools fail. Good stuff, but Bush has not indicated that he wants to substantially increase federal funding overall (though he did increase state funding for education in Texas); he has only indicated that he wants to simplify funding to improve efficiency.

Grade:  B+

### McCain:

John McCain has co-sponsored a bipartisan "Troops to Teachers" initiative that subsidizes teacher certification for qualifying veterans and has come up with good rhetoric on the issue of teacher training and merit pay—"We should help bad teachers find another line of work." He is also in favor of testing at the state level and opposes any sort of national test. But he doesn't have a history of moving legislation or a detailed plan that shows that the issue is a top priority. In fact, his one major reform effort was a hopeless Senate bill proposing to cut ethanol and sugar subsidies and to use the money to pay for vouchers for low income students. A great idea, but one with so little chance of passing that it's hard to see it as anything more than a stunt.

Grade:  C+

## Will he be able to handle an international crisis?

When it comes to international affairs, more than any other area, a president has to think on his feet and be able to react instinctively and decisively. What if Ukraine breaks up in civil war the same day India launches a bomb at Pakistan? What if a missile of ours mistakenly blows up a Chinese embassy? These issues can't be parsed with simple models. What matters is the president, his personality, and his political judgment.

Nobody can predict what will happen internationally over the next four years, but we do know what kind of man is least likely to drive our tanks over an international cliff. We need someone with a commitment to multilateral action, a sense of international purpose, and good instincts for resolving conflicting interests and principles. And although it may sound old-fashioned, it can't hurt for the commander-in-chief to have served. Service gives a perspective on conflict and the realities of war that just cannot be learned off the battlefield.

### Gore:

Al Gore has a consistent record as a Democratic hawk. He famously voted with only nine other Democratic senators in favor of sending U.S. troops to the Persian Gulf in 1991. At the time, there was great concern that the casualty rate would be too high and that the U.S. would stumble into another Vietnam. But the Arabian desert proved more hospitable to the U.S. war machine than the Vietnamese jungle and the doves (the *Monthly* among them) were proven wrong. Gore was proven right.

But while Gore was a hawk in the Gulf (and also with regard to U.S. intervention in the Balkans and Haiti) he also shows appreciation for strategic patience and multilateral action. He has been a stalwart defender of the administration's Russia policy—keeping lines of cash and communication open in order to stabilize an insecure nuclear power—and has pushed for increased engagement with China. He was instrumental in negotiating the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and he urges the payment in full of our U.N. dues.

The Clinton/Gore team has made mistakes—an information breakdown and, consequently, the decision to bomb a pharmaceutical plant in Sudan for example—but Gore's consistently strong judgment, plus two years of honorable service in Vietnam,



make us believe he'd be pretty steady behind the wheel.

Grade:



## Bradley:

The focus of Bradley's major campaign speech on foreign policy was more academic than practical—the U.S. should act through the U.N., emphasize multilateral action (like economic sanctions), and not presume to police the world—and he skipped the big questions. What would he do when multilateralism fails? What are the situations where he would use force? He didn't let us know. "I think the United States can get spread thin over a wide territory in this world." OK. But then which territories do deserve our attention?

Bradley's record in the Senate demonstrates that he did a lot of hard work in this area but leaves open questions about judgment. To his great credit, he worked assiduously to master details and push forward plans for international debt relief and free trade. But he invested huge amounts of energy in less worthy causes as well. In the 1980s he developed an interest in Nicaragua—working with the Reagan White House to develop a program for democratizing the Contras while providing them aid, and often being the only senator who showed up at Senate intelligence hearings on that subject. But for all that effort, Bradley ultimately found himself on the wrong side of the issue. He was wrong on the Gulf War as well.

Here is another quote from his most recent speech: "For fifty years, after the end of World War II and until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, we were sure about one thing: we knew where we stood on foreign policy... But today when it comes to foreign policy, things are not so clear."

Exactly. We need someone with good judgment and a clear vision to make foreign policy decisions; and Bradley hasn't convinced us that he has either.

Grade:



## Bush:

You don't have to be a genius to succeed at foreign policy—look at Ronald Reagan—but you do have to care. And Bush doesn't seem like he's into it. When asked by Tim Russert about the START III agreement, he said: "That depends upon my advisers

and the people who know a heck of a lot more about the subject than I do." That sounds pretty close to "whatever." One hopes that top advisers like Condoleezza Rice aren't out with the flu when Indonesian civil war breaks out.

But we don't even agree with the script that Bush's advisers give him. The governor's take on Russia is not constructive: "Our goal is to promote not only the appearance of democracy in Russia but the structures, spirits and reality of democracy. This is clearly not done by focusing our aid and attention on a corrupt and favored elite." We wouldn't want him to deliver those lines from the White House. Amnesty International can afford to alienate a huge, insecure nuclear power with this rhetoric. But coming from the president of the United States, these lines could make the world a more dangerous place. On China, Bush risks tying himself in contradictions: Treat them as a "strategic competitor" and demand human rights accountability but also increase trade; defend Taiwan at all costs but continue the one China policy. These issues can be resolved—but not by someone who doesn't care.

Grade:



## McCain:

John McCain has been shot down, had his legs broken, and his life threatened. He still can't lift his arms above his head because of five years of torture in a Vietnamese POW camp. No one is going to call him a wimp if he decides to stay out of a foreign battle and people aren't ever going to question his devotion to this country.

McCain also has a strong command of the central issues of foreign policy and he has served respectably on the Senate Armed Services Committee. During the Kosovo crisis he laid out a hard, consistent, and well-thought-out policy of strong intervention, even if at times he showed excessively hawkish reflexes. But he isn't a knee-jerk hawk: He has worked to normalize relations with Vietnam and he took a lonely stand against Ronald Reagan's decision to deploy troops in Lebanon and was proved right when a terrorist attack later killed 241 marines in their Beirut barracks.

McCain is stubborn, often disagreeable, and the people we've talked to in Arizona say that reports of a volcanic temper are accurate. Still, having a temper didn't stop Washington from being a great president and it didn't lead Eisenhower into rash inter-



national decisions. Plus, if any candidate knows the costs of war, it's McCain.

Grade:



## Will he fix our environmental laws?

Environmental regulations in this country have been set up like a shower that gives frigid or scalding water, but nothing in between. Some of our laws are irrationally strong; many more are weak or sparsely enforced. This has left environmentalists in the awkward and ultimately alienating position of trying to use tangential laws to defend critical goals. The classic example of this was the crisis in Oregon where environmentalists used an owl that almost no one had ever seen, and the extremely restrictive Endangered Species Act, to prevent cutting in otherwise unprotected ancient forests. Few people thought the owl mattered, but there was no other way to protect the forests that did.

An environmental president needs to find a middle path. To do this, he first needs take the hard edges off the toughest environmental laws, by turning sticks into carrots and using market incentives to give corporations flexibility wherever possible. But this doesn't mean that he should give polluters a free ride. He also needs to strengthen the weakest laws and the enforcement of laws that we do have. The number of grand pronouncements by the EPA has increased in the past decade, but the amount of actual enforcement has gone down. This needs to change. There are serious environmental issues that need to be resolved in this country through controls—from keeping water supplies clean to protecting wilderness—and there are bad actors who will only make these problems worse if our weak laws are not strengthened and more vigorously enforced.

### Gore:

Since his election Al Gore has still been able to push forward a very sensible environmental agenda that balances practicality with the clear passion he showed in his effusive book, *Earth in the Balance*. He has gotten the U.S. to sign the Kyoto protocol on global warming and has advocated sensible market-based solutions that should make the treaty palatable to businesses. Similarly, Gore has worked with Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt to develop innovative land-conservation swaps with industry. The Clinton

administration is also the first in history to push forward an environmental justice agenda, which means a focus on fighting for environmental issues when they can be combined with social issues like community water pollution and hazardous waste dumping. Obscure animals like the snail darter matter; polluted communities matter more.

Gore has been criticized by relatively radical environmental groups for abandoning the ideals of *Earth in the Balance*. There's some truth to that: EPA enforcement has gone down, and the vice president hasn't made the environment his number one priority. But most of the criticism simply comes because Gore's environmental ideals have matured to include compromise and business: two necessary parts of a successful environmental strategy.

Grade:



### Bradley:

During his years in Congress, Bradley voted the correct way, according to the League of Conservation Voters' scorecard, 84 percent of the time, significantly more often than Gore. Bradley also has developed a reputation among environmentalists as someone who understands the complexities of the law and stands by his principles. One strong example was when, after Republicans grabbed control of Congress in 1994, Orrin Hatch of Utah attached an anti-environmental provision to a bill Bradley had written to protect the Sterling Forest in New York and New Jersey. Bradley had to choose between compromising the environment or compromising his own bill. He chose the latter. Several months later he wrote and got a different bill to protect the forest through the Senate.

Bradley does have one advantage over Gore: He is more willing to challenge subsidies to environmentally destructive entities like the sugar industry. But he hasn't shown the same ability as the vice president to develop compromise solutions to environmental problems.

Grade:



### Bush:

Air quality is improving rapidly in this country—but not in Texas. Water quality is improving rapidly too—but not in Texas. The Environmental Protection Agency is presently threatening to block highway funds



worth hundreds of millions of dollars to Dallas and Fort Worth because of the two cities' persistent failure to meet clean-air standards. Houston has the worst smog levels in the country.

Governor Bush has not only taken a hands-off approach to environmental issues; he has allowed corporations with vested interests to put their hands on. In one notorious example, he allowed corporations that had been exempted from emissions standards to write their own "voluntary" regulations. At the meetings where they were writing their own legislation, one incredulous aide—according to an e-mail obtained by the *Monthly*—wrote that the oil companies had met with the governor and agreed that "the industry group and the Governor's Office would develop the program, then take it to some broad-based group, including public representatives, who would then tweak it a little bit and approve it." Grandfathered companies, their lobbyists and executives gave over one million dollars to Bush's campaigns for governor and president. It's not surprising that they got to write the legislation and the public only got to tweak it.

As a presidential candidate, Bush has been moving toward the center on this issue. When questioned about the governor's record, spokeswoman Mindy Tucker responded that his environmental record has actually "been something to be proud of" and faxed back an unconvincing list of accomplishments including one that read, "In 1995, Governor Bush proposed and signed *one of the first private property rights laws in the nation*. The law requires local and state governments to consider the impact of their rules and regulations on private property before enacting those rules." This bill, the "takings bill," has been criticized by environmentalists across the country for gutting every possible state environmental regulation. It's surprising, to say the least, that Bush would include it on a list of accomplishments.

Grade:



## McCain:

John McCain often talks a good line on environmental issues. In 1996, in the throes of Republican belligerency against environmental regulations he wrote an op-ed for *The New York Times* arguing that the party shouldn't abandon the middle ground. One year ago, he gave a speech at the League of Conservation Voters claiming the mantle of conservation-

ism, urging Republicans and Democrats to work together. He also has worked hard to protect wilderness lands in Arizona, continuing the work of one of his mentors, the legendary environmentalist Democratic Senator Morris Udall.

But words don't equal actions and, as senator, McCain has averaged a mere 20 percent rating with the League of Conservation Voters. By contrast, another Republican, Senator John Chafee, averaged a score of 70 percent over his career. McCain fought endangered species protection, tried to block wilderness expansion, and even supported Republican attempts to limit the EPA. McCain's campaign is also chaired by Chuck Hagel, the man leading the charge against ratifying the sensible and necessary Kyoto global warming treaty.

McCain does score some points because his commitment to eliminating government pork is likely to work in favor of environmental protections. He also has worked on the right side of environmental legislation in his state. And he does have an open door. As Deborah Callahan, President of the League of Conservation Voters says, "At least McCain is someone that we can have a conversation with."

Grade:



## Is he in favor of elections not auctions?

In September and October of 1998, Brian Baird, a candidate for Congress in Washington, allowed a reporter to track him throughout every day. What did the reporter find? Baird was spending four hours a day making cold fundraising calls and just one hour a day talking to voters.

This isn't surprising. The rise of soft money and expensive television advertising has pushed the need for campaign funding to extraordinary proportions. Scholars estimate that total spending by candidates in the 1997-98 election cycle reached four billion dollars. What has all this spending done? For one, it has increased public cynicism and pushed voter turnout to a new nadir. And it also has made elections non-competitive. Two years ago, 98 percent of incumbent congressmen were able to use their fundraising machines to power themselves to reelection, outspending their opponents on average by five to one. Every incumbent won his party's nomination except Jay Kim of California, under house arrest for



taking illegal campaign contributions. By the time we started to research this article, a former governor, a former vice president, and the popular former head of the American Red Cross had all dropped out of the Republican presidential campaign before a single vote had been cast, for one simple reason: They couldn't raise enough money.

This problem can be solved. Negative television advertising needs to be knocked out of the political system and free television time for candidates needs to be knocked in. One way to do the first would be to require candidates to appear in their television commercials. You want to criticize your opponent? You've got to do it face-to-face with your television audience. You can say anything you want, but not hidden behind millions of dollars of manufactured effects. To do the second, television stations should take the advice of last year's Gore Commission and provide five minutes of free air-time to candidates each day in the 30 days leading up to the election. If they don't want to do that, government should take away their broadcast licenses.

Next, soft money (indirect and thus hard-to-regulate donations to campaigns) should be capped at the same level as direct contributions. Right now, rich donors can give unlimited sums to parties and watch it trickle back to the candidates they support—virtually nullifying the positive effects of the donation caps that were implemented after Watergate. Lastly, make every candidate fully and completely disclose his donor lists over the Internet.

But to take the influence of money out of politics we also have to take the influence of politics out of money. If individuals and companies know that they aren't going to get paid back in kind for their donations, they aren't going to donate as much. There isn't much difference between outright bribery and a tax cut wedged into a budget bill in the dead of night that benefits one company at the expense of everyone else.

### Gore:

Gore sponsored major campaign finance legislation in 1986 and stands firmly behind the McCain-Feingold campaign-finance legislation that would ban soft-money donations. He also chaired the Gore commission that recommended free television time to candidates. So why do public interest groups rate him so far behind Bradley and McCain on this issue?

For one, Gore has surrounded himself with a crowd of politically incorrect K Street power jock-

eys led by Campaign Chairman Tony Coelho—a former congressman who was forced to resign in 1989 after questions were raised about the propriety of a junk bond investment involving Michael Milken. Then there's Gore's media consultant, Carter Eskew, a tobacco lobbyist who helped Philip Morris defeat federal anti-tobacco legislation. And don't forget Gore's lobbyist buddies Tom Downey, Peter Knight, and Roy Neel—all of whom have played important roles in the campaign while, according to *The New York Times*, continuing "to lobby members of the Administration and, in some cases, Mr. Gore himself, on behalf of their corporate clients."

Friends are just friends and you don't need to always agree with them. But the vice president could have defeated the suspicions that inevitably follow from such associations by making campaign-finance reform one of the key issues in his election effort. He hasn't. And if a Gore administration includes people like Coelho, there isn't much reason to think they would do it differently.

Grade:



### Bradley:

Advocates of campaign-finance reform love Bill Bradley for the company he keeps and for hiring reform advocate Don Berman as his campaign manager. They love him for making the issue—with child poverty and health care—one of the three issues on which he has staked his candidacy. And they love him for the substance of proposals to ban soft money, offer free television time for candidates, and publicly finance campaigns at the federal level.

Like Gore, Bradley does have friends with big money connections. He earned \$2.7 million in speaking fees—much of it from special interest groups—in the two years after he retired from the Senate and he's the number-one fund-raiser on Wall Street. But, unlike Gore, Bradley has made campaign-finance reform a centerpiece of his strategy. As Steve Weissman of Public Citizen says, "if this issue isn't a priority, it's going nowhere." True. And Bradley, unlike Gore, has made it a priority.

Grade:



### Bush:

Governor Bush has been the most successful fund-raiser in presidential history. He was able to knock out most of his opponents from the get-go despite having worked in government for only four years. He has



presently raised over \$60 million for his presidential election and as H.L. Mencken famously wrote: "It is hard to get a man to believe something when his livelihood depends on him believing something else."

There is also no doubt that Bush is firmly in the hock of special interests. One of his top donors, Lonnie Bo Pilgrim, owner of a massive Texas chicken-processing plant once handed out \$10,000 checks on the floor of the state legislature when a workers' compensation bill was being discussed. Later he gave \$125,000 to Governor Bush's campaign and, this year, with personal donation limits of \$1000, family members are suddenly appearing to donate the maximum amount to the governor's campaign. Not surprisingly, Mr. Pilgrim has, according to Texas activist groups, been able to avoid stringent regulation of his processing plants. When asked about the election, Pilgrim's spokesman said: "Mr. Pilgrim is of course a strong supporter of Governor Bush."

Bush is however responsible for one slightly good reform: He has been putting all of his fundraising data publicly on his Web site. This is a little bit like pouring cans of Coke on a burning house, but it's better than dumping gasoline—as the governor has been so prone to do.

Grade:



## McCain:

Since his involvement in the Keating Five scandal (now referred to as the "Keating Four" scandal by public interest groups who have attached themselves to the senator), Sen. McCain has found religion and led the fight against special interests, pork and government corruption. Everybody knows this; everybody on the right side of the issue loves him for it.

He has introduced three successively weaker (but more politically palatable) versions of his signature Senate legislation co-sponsored with Russ Feingold. In his first bill, he proposed to ban soft money, offer free television time to congressional candidates, and restrict issue ads by non-governmental organizations. In the second bill, he dropped the public financing provision, and in the third he dropped the restrictions on non-governmental organizations. Even though each of those bills was torpedoed by the Republican leadership, they brought the issue to national attention.

McCain may also be the one man who could reduce one of the main recipients of government pork: the military. To stop the endless spending on unnecessary bases, we are going to need a president who has the respect of our armed forces. As McCain says: "We've been buying C-130s for 10 years. We're going to have a C-130 in every school yard in America. There's no need for much of the equipment we are purchasing."

Grade:



| Candidate      | Fund Good Gov't | Health Care | Social Security | Educ-ation | Inter-national Affairs | Envir-onment | Camp-aign Finance | Running Govern-ment | GPA |
|----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|------------|------------------------|--------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----|
| Al Gore        | B               | B-          | C               | B          | A-                     | A-           | C+                | B+                  | 3.0 |
| Bill Bradley   | B               | B+          | C+              | B          | C+                     | A-           | A-                | D                   | 2.8 |
| George W. Bush | D               | D+          | C-              | B+         | D-                     | D            | D-                | C+                  | 1.5 |
| John McCain    | C+              | D+          | C-              | C+         | A-                     | B-           | A                 | C                   | 2.5 |

*Research assistance provided by Nicole Morgan and Lucinda Vette*





# NEWS

*Podesta*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-25-00

*Think the Tech Reform Union  
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Federal Communications Commission  
445 12th Street, S.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20554

News media information 202 / 418-0500  
Fax-On-Demand 202 / 418-2830  
Internet: <http://www.fcc.gov>  
TTY: 202/418-2555

This is an unofficial announcement of Commission action. Release of the full text of a Commission order constitutes official action. See MCI v. FCC, 515 F 2d 385 (D.C. Circ 1974).

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

January 12, 2000

News Media Contact: Bryan Tramont,

Legal Advisor to the Commissioner,  
at (202) 418-2000

## COMMISSIONER HAROLD FURCHTGOTT-ROTH REACTS TO NEXTWAVE DECISION

Today's action by the Wireless Telecommunications Bureau to designate Nextwave's licenses for reauction marks yet another sad chapter in the C Block PCS auction experience. That experience is a case study in good intentions gone awry.

The government -- having actively encouraged certain companies to bid on this spectrum and then creating an auction process that skewed the economic incentives of those participants to make realistic bids -- practically doomed these licensees to failure. From the establishment of installment payments to the delays in issuance of the licenses to other unpredictable twists and turns, the net result has been that few consumers or licensees have benefited from our C-Block policies. Today's Public Notice by the Bureau only illustrates the legacy of lost opportunity that has dogged this spectrum block. Hopefully, future Commission policy will be informed by the lessons that C Block history teaches.

--FCC--

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## TECHNOLOGY JOURNAL

# MCI WorldCom Seeks to Demonstrate Sprint Deal Will Boost Competition

By REBECCA BLUMENSTEIN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Bernard J. Ebbers, MCI WorldCom Inc.'s chief executive, unveiled initiatives to convince regulators and investors its proposed \$115 billion acquisition of Sprint Corp. will stimulate competition and help consumers.

Addressing concerns the deal creates a company that could exercise too much power over the telecommunications landscape, Mr. Ebbers said MCI WorldCom would offer a calling plan for infrequent callers that eliminates monthly minimum fees, which cost \$2 to \$3. But the plan would charge more per minute than the plans that include monthly minimums.

Mr. Ebbers, 58 years old, said the rollback program would be available nationwide, though the move mimics a similar pledge being made by Bell Atlantic Corp. as it enters the long-distance market in New York. In the past year, a number of companies, including MCI WorldCom and AT&T Corp., began adding the fees.



Bernard Ebbers

At 4 p.m., MCI WorldCom's stock was up \$1.625 at \$44.875 on the Nasdaq Stock Market as analysts said the company remains well positioned in the wake of the proposed merger between America Online Inc. and Time Warner Inc. Mr. Ebbers said the deal should be good for his company because the combined AOL-Time Warner likely will buy more Internet backbone services from MCI WorldCom.

MCI WorldCom, Clinton, Miss., also announced it soon will offer a bundle of services in New York that will include a large amount of local and long-distance minutes for a set monthly fee. Mr. Ebbers also committed to granting open access to Internet-service providers on the "fixed wireless" systems it is developing nationwide with Sprint. He pledged to target rural markets as part of that rollout.

A rapidly changing telecommunications landscape makes the proposed Sprint deal essential, he added. "We needed to combine forces to become a complete competitor in the new game," he said.

He also made clear he has big ambitions for Sprint's nationwide wireless network. To counter the rush of companies buying cable lines to offer high-speed Internet access, he said, MCI WorldCom will provide such access through an ambitious rollout of digital subscriber lines and fixed wireless systems.

## FCC Plans to Reclaim and Re-Auction Some Radio Spectrum in Next Wave Case

By KATHY CHEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The Federal Communications Commission said it will reclaim and re-auction some radio spectrum that problem-plagued NextWave Personal Communications Inc. bought but didn't fully pay for.

Yesterday's announcement marks the latest twist in a fight between the FCC and NextWave over the spectrum. NextWave had successfully bid \$4.7 billion for the spectrum in 1998, but, as did a number of other winning bidders, later filed for Chapter 11 protection, tying up the spectrum in bankruptcy court.

"This spectrum has lain fallow far too long," FCC Chairman William Kennard said. "Now it is time to act swiftly to auction this spectrum and put it to productive use for U.S. consumers."

The FCC said the spectrum, which many firms want to use for wireless-phone service, will be included in a July 28 auction of wireless radio licenses on which various companies had defaulted. Currently, only small companies would be eligible to participate in the auction. But the FCC is expected to consider modifying the rules to allow big companies to bid

trium among a number of the large carriers, including Nextel Communications Inc. and SBC Communications Inc.

NextWave didn't have any immediate comment on the FCC's move.

In June, the U.S. Bankruptcy Court for the Southern District of New York ruled that NextWave, a wireless-communications firm, could keep the spectrum if it paid the balance of the spectrum's value, which the court set at just \$1.02 billion, triggering strong protest from the FCC. But in November, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals in New York overturned that decision, ruling the FCC had "exclusive jurisdiction."

Yesterday, the FCC also filed an objection with the bankruptcy court over NextWave's new reorganization plan, on the grounds that the plan presumed the company would retain the spectrum licenses. The FCC said NextWave's licenses were automatically canceled after it failed to pay for them.

On Tuesday, NextWave's parent company—NextWave Telecom Inc., based in Hawthorne, N.Y.—proposed paying the FCC a lump sum of \$4.3 billion, on top of the \$605 million the unit has already paid, for all of

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL THURSDAY, JANUARY 13, 2000 59



## ***A Blatant Overreach by a Federal Agency***

This is the story of a small business that for the last four years has fought an epic battle against the telecommunications establishment. Last week, almost overnight, not by the sum and substance of a decision of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, but simply by the Federal Communications Commission's (the "FCC's") interpretation of the dicta, the FCC unlawfully revoked the licenses of this small business keeping them out of the business of deploying one of the most advanced and innovative third-generation wireless networks in the world. In the process many lives, hopes and dreams were shattered and simply left in the ruins of a regulatory order. This flies directly in the face of the fact that, in 1993, the US Congress authorized the FCC to conduct spectrum auctions in order to foster the provision of an opportunity for small businesses to enter the wireless industry.

NextWave Telecom Inc. ("NextWave") was formed, in July of 1995, specifically to take part in the FCC's auctions for Designated Entities who were qualified by the FCC at the time of the auction as small businesses. NextWave founders are a group of experienced executives of major carriers and manufacturers, including its Chairman and CEO, Allen Salmasi, who is the former President of QUALCOMM Incorporated and directly responsible for leading the development of the next generation of wireless technology based on CDMA. NextWave participated in the FCC's spectrum auctions and was granted ninety-five PCS licenses, representing one of the largest PCS license footprints in the country with coverage of 166 million of the US population, after having paid with \$505 million of cash upfront and promissory notes for \$4.3 billion of additional principal payments to be paid to the FCC between 2003 and 2007.

Soon after the C block auction concluded, and without having granted any C block licenses to any of the high bidders at the auction the FCC commenced auctioning of three times as many PCS licenses as in C block auction at bids far below those bid for C block licenses, which served to effectively flood the market with spectrum, thereby depressing the value of all PCS spectrum. By the time NextWave and others were finally awarded their C block licenses in February 1997, the market condition for the wireless sector was nothing short of the driest spell experienced in years. Such access was absolutely essential for NextWave and the other C block licensees, since based on the FCC's qualification requirements these Designated Entities were suppose to hold little assets and generate minimal revenues to qualify for the auctions. At the same time the financial markets were getting signaled by the FCC that it would take steps to change the regulatory scheme and the payment terms for the C block to help bridge the gap in the value of the licenses. All of this, practically, froze the capital markets.

From February 1997 until June 1998, NextWave participated in the regulatory proceedings the end result of which was that the three (3) largest C block bidders -- NextWave, General Wireless Inc. ("GWI") and Pocket Communications -- and many of the other smaller C block bidders, at various times, all filed for bankruptcy. In its bankruptcy proceeding, the Bankruptcy Court for the Southern District of New York set aside a portion of NextWave's license purchase obligation. GWI secured a similar judgment from a Texas bankruptcy court in June of 1998. Afterwards, the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York affirmed the Bankruptcy Court's ruling on all grounds.

On December 22, 1999, the Second Circuit Court issued its opinion stating that the



Bankruptcy Court did not have the authority to reduce NextWave's purchase price obligation and that the District Court's decision affirming the Bankruptcy Court's judgment was reversed and the matter was remanded back to the Bankruptcy Court. The Court also held that NextWave must pay the full amount of its bid obligation to the FCC as a condition to holding its licenses. However, on December 16, 1999, prior to the Second Circuit Court's issuance of its opinion, as a result of a favorable turn in the capital market conditions, with the overwhelming support of its creditors and equity investors, NextWave filed a modified plan of reorganization with the Bankruptcy Court which provided full payment of its bid price to the FCC under the terms of the FCC's installment payment notes. On January 11, 2000, in an effort to avert any legitimate rationale for further litigation, NextWave proposed to satisfy its entire financial obligation to the FCC by making a lump sum payment of over \$4.3 billion to the U.S. Treasury upon confirmation of its modified plan, currently scheduled for January 21, 2000. That payment, together with the \$505 million of license payments already made by the Company, would total in excess of \$4.8 billion and would be the largest payment ever made to the United States government for any spectrum auction held to date. In addition to the full payment, NextWave offered to provide \$1 billion in free Internet access to underserved people and areas of the country. Unaccountably, the FCC rejected that proposal, even though it would have served the public interest by ensuring prompt utilization of the PCS spectrum.

The actions taken by the FCC, purporting to revoke licenses granted to NextWave and seeking to put these licenses up for re-auction in July 2000, are null and void under the bankruptcy laws. This action was simply designed to further delay the entry of NextWave into the wireless market and will inevitably lead to lengthy delays resulting from further litigation. The ultimate cost to the taxpayers, the average consumer who is awaiting the arrival of more competitive third generation wireless networks, the US economy, thousands of contractors and vendors, and to over 3000 creditors and shareholders of NextWave, the majority of whom are small businesses and individuals, including numerous private and state pension funds, are beyond any monetary amounts involved. One would question if such a transparent overreach by a federal agency should be tolerated or sanctioned, while people's lives and property hang in the balance.





## **NextWave Telecom Inc.**

3 Skyline Drive, 2nd Floor  
Hawthorne, NY 10532  
Press (202) 347-2771  
January 13, 2000

**For Immediate Release**

### **FCC REJECTS \$4.3 BILLION PAYMENT FROM NEXTWAVE**

***FCC Abandons Largest Payment Ever Tendered for Licenses; Action will Indefinitely Delay Public Use of Spectrum; NextWave to Take All Legal Steps to Protect its Rights***

HAWTHORNE, N.Y. – January 13, 2000 – The actions taken by the FCC yesterday, purporting to revoke licenses granted to NextWave and seeking to put these licenses up for re-auction in July 2000, are null and void under the bankruptcy laws. In purporting to take this action, the FCC inexplicably rejected NextWave's written offer to make an immediate payment to the FCC of \$4.3 billion. This represents full payment of NextWave's bid in the FCC's auctions, a bid that the FCC had earlier accepted. The FCC thus abandons the largest payment ever tendered for any spectrum licenses and an opportunity to provide the benefit of these licenses to the American public immediately. Unfortunately, the action taken by the FCC will inevitably lead to lengthy delays in the utilization of this PCS spectrum and will entail further rounds of time-consuming litigation.

NextWave Telecom has done everything in its power to avert further litigation with the FCC and place its licenses into productive use immediately. The FCC has repeatedly acknowledged that NextWave's payment obligations are suspended by operation of the Bankruptcy Code. The FCC's action is a radical departure from established law and agency conduct, and an unwarranted blow to the reasonable reliance that the Company and its creditors placed on the agency's own statements in various courts.

#### **Company to Assert All Legal Rights**

The FCC has violated the legal rights of NextWave and its creditors and investors. The Commission's action forces the Company to take all legal steps necessary to protect its rights and those of the many people and companies who have invested in its licenses. The Company has over 3000 creditors



**NextWave Telecom**  
**January 13, 2000**

and shareholders, the majority of whom are small businesses and individuals, and it intends to defend their assets against arbitrary and illegal actions by others, including the FCC.

In addition to NextWave, there are approximately twenty other small business auction participants (along with all of their creditors and shareholders) that are in various bankruptcy courts across the nation fighting a similar battle. They will also be severely impacted and irreparably harmed by this Commission action. The ultimate price paid by these small businesses, which were invited by the United States Congress and the FCC to participate in the federal auctions, is incalculable.

**NextWave Offers to Make Full Payment in Single Lump Sum**

On December 16, 1999, with the overwhelming support of its creditors and equity investors, NextWave filed a modified plan of reorganization with the Bankruptcy Court which provided full payment of its bid price to the FCC, together with all accrued interest to date, under the terms of the FCC's installment payment notes.

Earlier this week, in an effort to avert any legitimate rationale for further litigation, the Company proposed to satisfy its entire financial obligation to the FCC by making a lump sum payment of over \$4.3 billion to the U.S. Treasury upon confirmation of its modified plan, currently scheduled for January 21, 2000. That payment, together with the \$505 million of license payments already made by the Company, would total in excess of \$4.8 billion and would be the largest payment ever made by a company to the United States government for any spectrum auction held to date. In addition to the full payment, NextWave has offered to provide \$1 billion in free Internet access to underserved populations across the United States.

Unaccountably, the FCC rejected that proposal, even though it would have served the public interest by ensuring prompt utilization of the PCS spectrum covered by NextWave's licenses while providing for an immediate and complete payment in full of any amounts due. Under the FCC rules, NextWave had no obligation to pay any of the principal amounts of the C-block notes until the first quarter of 2003.

Throughout NextWave's reorganization proceeding and other C-block litigation, the FCC's position has always been the same – the FCC must be paid in full or else its "auction integrity" will suffer.



NextWave's offer to immediately pay the FCC the full amount of its bid price under the modified plan both protects the integrity of the auction process, and puts the C, D, E and F block licenses held by NextWave to immediate commercial use. Against this backdrop, the FCC's rejection of NextWave's offer to immediately pay the FCC the full amount of its bid price is inexplicable and arbitrary.

### **FCC Actions Contrary to Laws and Regulations**

In June of 1998, NextWave sought protection under the bankruptcy code to reorganize its business. Consistent with the purposes of the bankruptcy laws, which are designed to facilitate and support the rehabilitation of businesses, NextWave was able to prepare and finance a plan of reorganization that paid the FCC and its creditors in full and would put its spectrum into immediate use for the public benefit. The Commission's rejection of NextWave's tender of \$4.3 billion is contrary to law, and amounts to an impermissible attempt to punish the Company for asserting the statutory rights made available to it by Congress.

The FCC acknowledged early on that NextWave has enjoyed "bankruptcy protection from collection of C-block license payments pending reorganization of its business affairs." This position was reiterated numerous times in pleadings throughout NextWave's Chapter 11 proceedings. Now, eighteen months after giving NextWave, its creditors and investors such assurances, the FCC seeks to ignore its previously acknowledged application of the bankruptcy laws in order to revoke and reaucton the Company's licenses, alleging that Next Wave missed interest payments while in bankruptcy. The FCC's action yesterday is untenable under the bankruptcy laws and unsupported by any rulings in the current proceedings between the Company and the Commission. As the FCC well knows, numerous provisions of the federal Bankruptcy Code, the Communications Act, and the Administrative Procedure Act prevent the Commission from rescinding or reclaiming NextWave's licenses in the manner it proposes.

The FCC had also acknowledged throughout all the court proceedings that NextWave never defaulted on any of its payments to the FCC. NextWave paid \$505 million in full compliance with its initial payment obligations, and under the Bankruptcy Code NextWave's Chapter 11 filing had the effect of automatically staying any further payment obligations during the pendency of the reorganization proceeding. The FCC now asserts that the automatic stay of the Bankruptcy Court no longer applies to it, but federal law does not authorize such a dramatic departure from fundamental bankruptcy principles.



**NextWave Telecom**  
**January 13, 2000**

Moreover, the FCC has taken this position without any guidance on the application of the automatic stay from the courts. The FCC's attempted action seeks to bring into question the applicability of the Bankruptcy Code to federal agencies in general.

Companies in other regulated industries, such as the airlines industry, have sought protection under the bankruptcy laws while they reorganize, later emerging as stronger competitors. These companies were not deterred or intimidated by federal regulators from exercising their statutorily provided rights, and consumers have benefited.

NextWave's plan of reorganization is supported by \$5 billion of new capital, \$4.3 billion of which would be paid to the government, and vendor financing commitments that support the immediate build-out of the network. Confirmation of this plan was set for the end of January, enabling the immediate deployment of a new wireless network. Contrary to the implications of the FCC, NextWave's reorganization and business plan complies fully with the Commission's rules and timetable for build out of the spectrum. Over \$100 million has been invested to date toward the build out of NextWave's network and activities have continued at a pace well within the requirements of the FCC's rules.

The FCC's efforts to block the commercialization of NextWave's licenses and its election to pursue unlawful actions to punish NextWave for exercising statutorily granted rights are at odds with federal laws and with the Commission's own statements regarding the need for prompt utilization of NextWave's spectrum. In addition to thwarting the policy objectives mandated by Congress, the FCC's action callously harms other creditors and the investors, including numerous private and state pension funds, in a manner that the bankruptcy laws were specifically designed to prevent. We are confident that the courts will respond appropriately to the FCC's unlawful action and that NextWave's rights will be vindicated.

# # #

For More Information:

NextWave Telecom Inc: Michael Wack 202-661-2083 ([mwack@nextwavetel.com](mailto:mwack@nextwavetel.com)); Michael Regan 202-661-2084 ([mregan@nextwavetel.com](mailto:mregan@nextwavetel.com)).



# Medicine Wheel

Copied  
Cutler  
Podesta

*A federal program that actually works*

BY ESTHER PAN

**F**IFTEEN YEARS AGO ON THE PINE Ridge Indian reservation, a call to the police about domestic violence wouldn't have come to much. The tribal police would have been surly and reluctant, if dispatched at all. Police had to personally witness an act of violence in order to do anything. As one officer says, reflecting back, "If I knocked on the door and some guy came to the door and said everything's okay, I would've left."

Confronted by the same situation a few months ago, the same officer refused to leave. Explaining, "I need to talk to everyone else in the house," he pushed in over the man's protest and saw children crouched on the living room floor. "I wouldn't have seen them before," he says. "I had to be taught to look." Entering the bedroom, he saw a huddled figure so bloody and bruised it barely looked human. Then she lifted her head. It was a woman whose husband had been beating her for two days. "Thank God," she choked out. "You're the angel I've been praying for."

Thanks to a strikingly original social program, more and more women on the Pine Ridge reservation have had their prayers for deliverance from abuse answered. Cangleska, Inc., a 13-year-old violence prevention and treatment program founded by and for Oglala Sioux Indians in southwestern South Dakota, has achieved dramatic results in reducing domestic violence. The program has incorporated traditional culture and the strengths of the Native American community to not only stop abusers, but to rehabilitate them so they can rejoin their families and community. In so doing, Cangleska has earned recognition as one of the most innovative government programs in the country, winning, most recently, an Innovations in Government award from the Ford Foundation and Harvard University.

## The History

In the traditional culture of the Oglala Sioux (also

called Lakota), women were highly honored. Domestic violence was considered a crime against the tribe. Men who beat their wives and children were held to be unfit to lead their families. But when soldiers and settlers arrived west in the 1800s, the tragic saga of the Native American began. Despite valiant struggles, the descendants of Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull, and Black Elk now live on bleak stretches of dusty land in the center of the United States, intimately familiar with alcoholism and violence.

Domestic violence had become just another fixture in Pine Ridge's landscape of despair. The average annual income is \$3,400. The unemployment rate is 84 percent. Over 70 percent of Lakota adults are alcoholics. A Department of Justice report released in February found that Native Americans are twice as likely to be victims of violent crime than any other group. They have the highest suicide rates in the nation. They are twice as likely as any other ethnic group to be arrested for an alcohol-related offense, and four times more likely to spend time in jail. Most troubling of all, Native American women are at the bottom of the lowest trough: The Justice Department report found that the level of violent crime experienced by American Indian women is nearly 50 percent higher than that reported by black males.

On Pine Ridge, domestic violence, complicated and augmented by all the other problems, finally grew too widespread to ignore. In 1987 tribal elders convened a meeting to address the issue. One after another, women stood up to describe the terror of being battered: of never knowing when the explosion would come, of nights spent sleeping with their children in abandoned cars, or begging policemen to put them in jail so their husbands couldn't beat them that night.

As a result of that meeting, the tribe adopted a Spousal Abuse Code, one of the strictest in the nation, which made it illegal to assault an intimate partner and mandated arrest with no bond and automatic sentencing for offenders. The tide began to turn.

ESTHER PAN is a staff writer for Newsweek.



PLEDGE OF SUPPORT  
RUDY C. ELANI

I am hoping to hear from you no later than November 29th.

White House Office Wh034  
Exec Office of Pres  
Who 196 Oeob-Speechwrite  
Washington, DC 20502-0001

Thank you so much for your support! Rudy

Exec Office of the President  
Who 196 Ocob-Speechw  
Washington, DC 20502-0001

Dear Rudy,

Your battle with Hillary Rodham Clinton to be the  
from New York is not just another race between  
between two very different visions

of FRIENDS OF

Dear Rudy,  
I agree. Your battle with Hill is not just  
next U.S. Senator from New York is not just  
two people. It's a battle between two very different  
for America.  
I count me as the newest Founding Member of FRIENDS OF  
you raise the \$15,000,000 to \$20,000,000 you  
Clinton's enormous campaign warchest. I  
Other \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Please count me as the \$1000 contributor for America. To help you raise the enormous sum I will need to match Mrs. Clinton's enormous contribution I am enclosing:

☐ \$1000    ☐ \$500    ☐ \$100    ☐ \$50    ☐ \$25    ☐ \$15    ☐ Other \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Write your check to: FRIENDS OF GIULIANI    Date: \_\_\_\_\_

With Rudy when

Please write your check to: RUC  
Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
Signed: \_\_\_\_\_  
like to be invited to meet with RUC  
area?

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Question: Would you like to be invited to the Washington, DC area?

☐ Yes ☒ No

\_\_\_\_\_ committees to use their best efforts to report the name, mailing address, and telephone number of each individual whose contributions aggregate in excess of \$200 in \_\_\_\_\_

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Question: Would you like to be interviewed in the Washington, DC area? ☐ Yes ☒ No

Federal Law requires political committees to use their best efforts to report the name, mailing address, occupation and name of employer for each individual whose contributions aggregate in excess of \$200 in a calendar year.

**Name :**

Address:

Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
City, State, Zip: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_  
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phone Number:

Phone Number: \_\_\_\_\_  
Your E-Mail Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
Contributions are not tax-deductible unless you are a member of the National Endowment for the Arts.

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Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone Number: \_\_\_\_\_  
Your E-Mail Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Corporate contributions are not allowed to be accepted by this committee. If this contribution is used by a declared candidate for federal office, the maximum contribution is \$1,000 per individual for the primary election and \$1,000 per individual for the general. Partnership contributions are also limited to \$1,000 per election and a letter allocating the contribution among partners must accompany each contribution.

Political contributions are not deductible for federal income tax purposes.

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P-005

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## The Program

Cangleska (chan-GLAY-shka) was founded shortly after that 1987 meeting by Marlin Mousseau, a respected member of the tribe and a former batterer, and Karen Artichoker, the current director. George Twist, a former tribal police officer, rounds out the organization's leadership. Besides providing shelter, intervention, and legal aid for battered women, Cangleska also focuses on retraining batterers to act out anger in other ways. The aim is to rehabilitate abusers, not just stop them for the moment.

Cangleska means "medicine wheel" in the Lakota language: a sacred object that reflects the looker's true self back at him. By introducing Native American ideas of spirituality and tribal togetherness, Mousseau, who heads the men's program, says he tries to get abusive men to see themselves as they are: scared, insecure, jealous, and controlling. Only then can there be progress. "You have to look in the mirror to change," he says. When the program started out, many opposed it. Tribal members objected to the idea that the police and courts were going to get involved in private family matters. But the program pushed the traditional collective responsibility of the Lakota. "Actually," says Artichoker, "it's a western concept that the family is private and what happens behind closed doors is off limits."

Today, the program has a staff of 15—many of them former abusers or victims—and consults to over 550 Native American tribes on combating domestic violence. A Cangleska shelter, opened in 1997, has helped over 700 women and children. In the dust of the reservation, Cangleska is breaking ground for a new residence to house women who have left abusive homes. It offers hope and affirmation for people who have traditionally had very little of either.

## The Rez

It's hard for most Americans to conceive of what life is like on an Indian reservation in the poorest county in America. Sarah Buel, director of University of Texas School of Law's Domestic Violence Clinic, was the site visitor to Pine Ridge for the Ford/Harvard Innovations in Government Committee. "It was just mind-boggling the extent of the poverty there," she says. "It's isolated—over two hours from Rapid City—and once you hit the reservation it's obvious immediately that you're someplace neglected. The paved road stops, and turns into bumpy, hilly dirt roads, most of them impassable in winter. There are junked-up cars all over the place. It's just such horrendous, abject poverty and unemployment." As Artichoker says, "Even though we call ourselves a sover-

eign nation, we're economically dependent."

Buel says most people can't even afford the basics. "There's an extraordinary housing shortage," she says. "And nobody has the money to get even a down payment for a trailer. Say it's \$400—that's prohibitive. So there are rundown, beat-up houses everywhere. The HUD housing is of substandard quality and clustered close together even though there's plenty of land. All the people have been pushing for them to be built farther apart because so many studies show that conflict worsens in tight quarters. But the Federal agencies—HUD, FEMA, Bureau of Indian Affairs—decided it would be cheaper this way. All the sewage systems would be close."

"That's just another example," Buel adds, "of the many conflicts that arise between Lakota tradition and what the people want and the Feds. That's why it's so important with Cangleska that it was started and is run by people there."

## The Extent of the Problem

Domestic violence, once punishable by death and banishment among the Oglala Sioux, is currently an endemic problem at Pine Ridge. Norma Rendon, a Cangleska staff member, says, "If I had 10 girlfriends in a room together, probably all 10 are or have been abused by their husbands." She reconsiders, then adds, "Actually, I have one friend whose husband doesn't beat her. But her first husband did."

Both of Norma's husbands beat her; the second threw her down the stairs when she was pregnant with her fifth child. "He just had so much anger," she says. "There wasn't really a pattern. No matter what I did, he would get mad. The best thing I could do was be quiet. At least if I was quiet I could try to find a way to get away."

She stayed with him longer than she should have, Norma says, because she wanted her kids to be raised by both parents. "And I loved him," she says quietly. "I still love him." She explains the paradoxical appeal: "If you've been abandoned as a child, and then here's this man who, because he's such a big bully, will protect you from anything, you'll go back." But in the end she left, because "I wanted a better life for my children than what I had for myself."

A recent Cangleska client wanted the same thing—yet leaving abusive spouses is not only difficult but sometimes life-threatening. Rendon says this woman was "so afraid that she went to three different states. I couldn't get her to come into the shelter. She was probably running for about a week." The woman was abjectly terrified of her husband. "He'll find me," she sobbed. "He'll come and kill all of us. He'll kill you, and every-



body there."

When she finally came in, her bruises were so bad they hadn't faded after seven days. "There were huge knots on the childrens' heads," Rendon says. "Bruises all over their bodies, but no broken bones. He was pretty intelligent—most of their contusions were places people couldn't see them."

Marlin Mousseau knows what it's like to make a woman that scared. And he knows exactly how to talk to abusive husbands because he used to be one. Born and raised on the reservation, he met his wife, an Oneida from Wisconsin, in college. They married when he was 22. Problems started quickly. "I was real jealous," he says. "That was my biggest problem, jealousy of other men. I got so I'd be jealous of Tom Selleck when she watched 'Magnum P.I.'"

Mousseau says the punches were nothing compared to the emotional, spiritual, even cultural punishment he gave his wife. "I'd tell her her tribe was no good," he says. "Or I'd threaten to take the kids away, saying 'You're on my reservation and I know the judges.' Or I'd say 'If you leave me bad things will happen to you because I'm a [sacred] pipe carrier.'" After he knocked her tooth out while she was pregnant, she moved out and got a restraining order to keep him away. Suddenly alone, Mousseau says he "turned to our spiritual leaders and teachings that I wasn't ready to listen to before." He spent two days praying and experienced an epiphany: "I was put in her place, and experienced the fear and feelings of being a victim." He determined to turn his life around. Four months later, he and his wife were reconciled. This August they celebrated their 22nd wedding anniversary.

# Who's Who

BY SUSAN THREADGILL

**Ari Fleischer**, who was **Elizabeth Dole's** spokesperson until her campaign folded, has joined **George W. Bush's** team. He follows **David Beckwith**, who briefly served as Bush's spokesperson but was shown the exit after tangling with Communications Director **Karen Hughes** who, along with **Karl Rove** and **Joe Allbaugh**, makes up the Big Three of W.'s staff.

If **Hillary Clinton** decides to bail out of the New York Senate race, there could be a **Kennedy** family fight over who replaces her as the Democratic candidate. **Robert F. Kennedy, Jr.** and his sister Kerry's husband, **Andrew Cuomo**, are among the possible successors.

Former Congressman **Tim Penny**, much admired by Capitol Hill moderates during his tenure in the House, is said to be leaning toward running against Sen. **Rod Grams** in Minnesota.

A friend of ours has a brother who was in Skull and Bones at Yale. This is the secret society **George W. Bush** belonged to. The brother recently got this note from the Skull and Bones command center: "In view of the political happenings in the barbarian world, I feel compelled to remind all of the tradition of privacy and confidentiality essential to the well being of our Order and strongly urge stout resistance to the seductions and blandishments of the Fourth Estate." Translated we think this adds up to: "Don't tattle on W."

The word on **Lincoln Chafee**, who has succeeded his father, **John Chafee** as senator from Rhode Island, is that "he's a chip off the old block." This comes from **Darrell West**, a professor of political science at Brown, who tells *The Hill's* **Robert Schlesinger**: "He votes like his dad, socially moderate, fiscally conservative, and a strong environ-

mentalist." Sen. **Slade Gorton**, chairman of the Republican Committee on Committees, has already indicated that Chafee will get a subcommittee chairmanship on the Environmental and Public Works Committee.

For environmentalists, that's the good news from the Senate. The bad news is that the Environment and Public Works Committee will be chaired by either Sen. **Robert C. Smith**, the New Hampshire Republican who recently left the party because it wasn't conservative enough, and then returned when thoughts of committee chairmanships began to dance in his head, or by Sen. **James M. Inhofe** who is considered even less friendly by environmentalists. According to **Adam Clymer** of *The New York Times*, The League of Conservation Voters, which rated John Chafee as correct in 70 percent of his votes, gave Smith a score of 36 percent. Inhofe got only seven percent.

How bureaucratic is the CIA? Director **George W. Tenet** recently gave a hint when in a speech to his fellow spooks he com-



## The Money

Cangleska is a culturally-based social service program funded by the federal government. Lest we lose sight of the fact that sometimes government programs do actually work, and our tax dollars can be used to make life safer, cleaner, better, or more efficient, there's the Innovations in Government Program. Founded in 1986 and run by the Ford Foundation, Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, and the Council for Excellence in Government, the Innovations program receives some 1,600 applications a year: visiting nurse programs, urban renewal programs, welfare reform programs, programs that give disabled people low-interest loans to buy cars. The variety and scope of the programs, from all corners of the country, is tremendous and heartening. "We want to recognize when government is effi-

cient, smart, or amazing," says Elaine Kamarck, the program's director.

The Innovations staff of four spends almost a full year narrowing the field to 100 candidates, which are farmed out to committees of policy experts who will whittle the list down to 25 semifinalists evaluated by a 15-member panel loaded with politicians and policy experts. Finally, representatives of the 25 semifinalists are flown to Washington, where they present their own merits rally-clock style before the assembled committee.

There's a lot at stake. The \$100,000 prize for each of the 10 winners could make a small program. (The Council of Excellence in Government, the third partner in the program, administers the grant money and tracks its use; it's intended for programs to expand existing operations and encourage others to reproduce their success.)

plained: "It's unacceptable that it takes an average of eight months to bring on a new hire. And it's outrageous that when you're laid low with the flu, you've got to get a written letter from your doctor if you're gone three days or more."

We're happy to report that Tenet has been able to get some changes made. The doctor's letter requirement "went out the window almost immediately," CIA spokesman **Mark Mansfield** tells *The Washington Post's* **Vernon Loeb**. And the hiring time has gone down from eight months to six. That still seems a trifle long, doesn't it? Wouldn't the best applicants be snapped up by other employers in that time?

Speaking of the New Frontier, guess which president **John McCain** was most effusive about in an Exeter, New Hampshire town meeting reported by *The Washington Post's* **Howard Kurtz**. It was

**John Kennedy**. McCain also spoke warmly about **Harry Truman** and **Franklin D. Roosevelt** before getting around to a few kind words about fellow Republicans **Ronald Reagan** and **Theodore Roosevelt**.

**Hillary Clinton** has been accused of currying favor with Jewish voters by supporting an undivided Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. But in a recent speech to the Republican Jewish Coalition, Sen.

**Orrin Hatch** did her one better, when he said that if elected president he will support a "united and indivisible Jerusalem as the capital of Utah." After the laughter died down, Hatch explained the slip showed that "We in Utah feel very deeply about Israel!"

Our pal, **Al Kamen**, got his hands on the itinerary for a congressional trip to South Africa. If you've wondered why these trips are often referred to as junkets, consider this schedule for one led by Congressman **Richard C. Pombo** and including six other Republican stalwarts such as **Helen Chenoweth-Hage** of Idaho

and **James V. Hansen** of Utah. (We're surprised he didn't go to Israel instead.) The first stop is in Kamen's words, "the magnificent Kruger National Park," arriving at the lodge in time for a night "game drive." At 11 a.m. there's time for "shopping." Noon to 4 p.m.: "Lunch and Rest." 4 p.m.: Game drive. 6:30 p.m.: Reception and dinner. Then comes Victoria Falls with a 3:45 p.m. arrival just in time for "walking tour/boat ride." Another "game drive" comes the next day followed by a "working dinner." Then it's off to the "lovely Mowana Lodge in Kasane," and then the trip back home in time for everyone to recover from the exertion of that "working dinner."

How good are those TV pundits at predicting the political future? *Brill's Content* recently tracked their predictions over a six-month period and found that the winner was *The Wall Street Journal's* **Al Hunt**. Tied for second were **Eleanor Clift** and **Tony Blankley**, followed by **Mark Shields**, **Robert Novak**, and **Margaret Carlson**. Guess who was the worst? **John McLaughlin**.





And then there's the recognition: After Cangleska was honored, Mousseau says many people on the reservation told him how proud they were. "We represented the whole Lakota nation by accepting that award," he says gravely.

### Why It Works

There are many reasons for Cangleska's success:

- Respected men on the reservation are active participants. "If you're in George [Twist's] program and you beat up your wife again, he'll send you up the mountain for a three-day fast and the men in the town make sure you stay up there," says Buel. "Cangleska is a phenomenal example of having men in the community saying 'we are not going to allow this.'" The police officer quoted in the opening paragraph agrees: "I probably couldn't have heard it from a woman," he says about the violence training. "I needed someone like George to say, 'If we're men on this reservation we have to stop this.'"
- The tribal council and courts—the authorities on the reservation—support the program. "It's very powerful when you have a court saying, 'You will not harm this woman,'" says Artichoker. Cangleska has also convinced the community that domestic violence is not part of the Lakota tradition, and therefore unacceptable. But getting that respect took 13 years. "We've been accused of moving all the women off the reservation," Artichoker says. (Cangleska routinely helps women go to other states to find jobs.) "I told them they should do a better job of making it safe for women to stay."
- The tribal police have been retrained. Cangleska has taught over 100 police officers how to approach a domestic conflict situation and take charge. "We're finding that police officers are taking their own journey," says Artichoker. "It's gratifying for law enforcement to see the results of counseling, instead of making the same arrests over and over." Now, says Buel, the reservation's nine police substations really "enforce the law. If they think a crime has been committed, they'll arrest now, which is what every victim is entitled to."
- Cangleska has redefined existing domestic violence laws and pushed for tough new ones. The tribe's Spousal Abuse Code came on the heels of the federal Violence Against Women Act. The tribe's probation office now enforces both, to make sure that batterers either get counseling or go to jail. The tribe's law is actually tougher than the federal one: Under the Spouse Abuse Act, it is illegal not only to cause physical harm, but to threaten it as well.

• Cangleska has surmounted all the immediate barriers that stop women on the reservation from getting help, including transportation, day care, legal help and job training. "The reservation is so big and so isolated that women with no car and no money often give up," says Buel. "They feel like they can't escape." Cangleska organizes carpools to other cities for court appearances, school or job training. They watch the kids while women work or look for jobs. The full-time staff attorney gets restraining orders, files for divorce, and helps victims keep custody of their children, the biggest worry for most divorcing mothers. And a full range of programs including literacy, tribal college and even acupuncture classes help women learn salable skills and recover from the stress of abuse.

### Why They Won

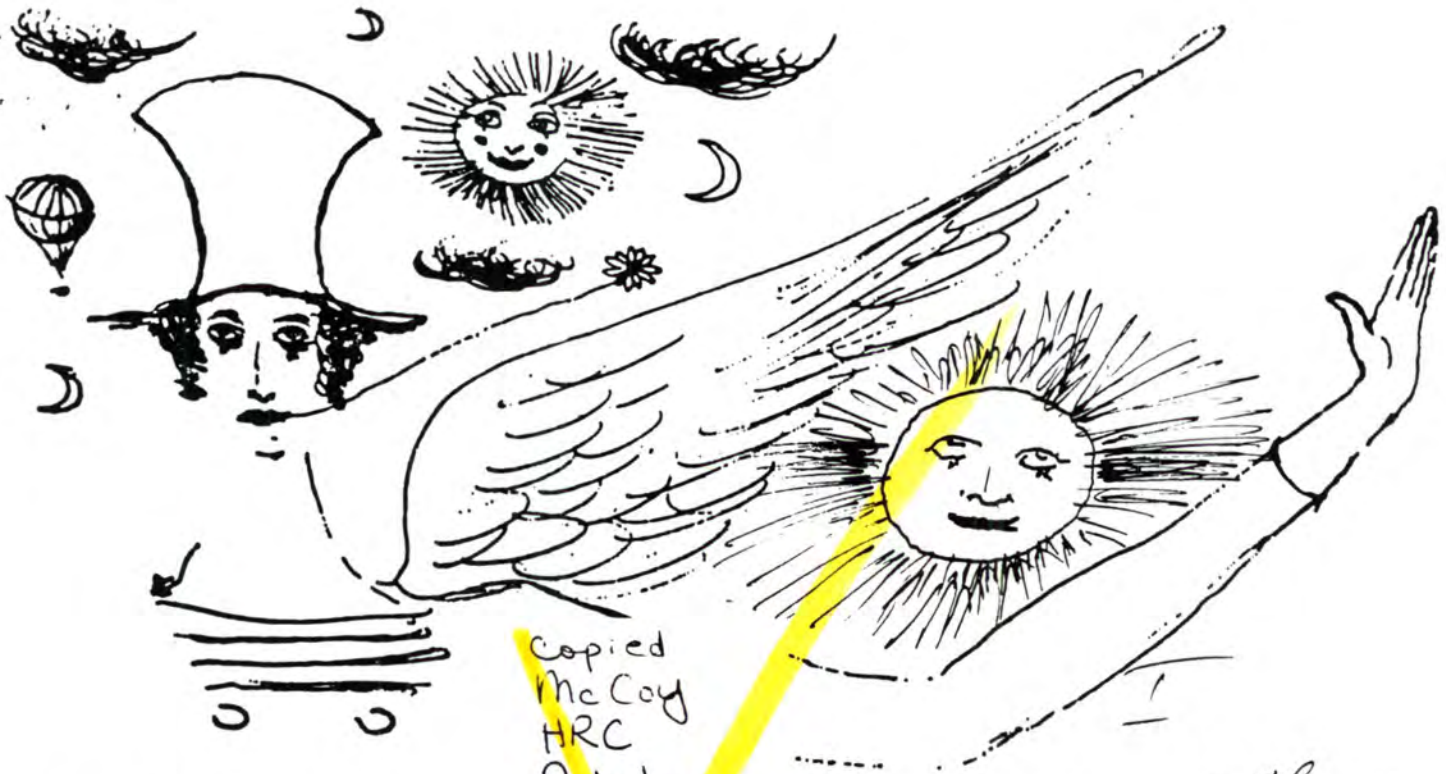
Cangleska's resolve and originality impressed everyone on the Innovations selection committee. Buel raves about Artichoker, Mousseau, and Twist: "They're such amazing, devoted, committed people. You spend any time in their presence and you are just blown away," she says. "These guys have tackled every obstacle. They just didn't give up. They created something that met all of their needs."

David Gergen, chair of the selection committee, praises the program for using federal money combined with local initiative to better the lot of the Oglala Sioux. "We were all impressed with the fact that this was a huge departure for an Indian tribe," he says. "This is a self-help program. The whole notion that you could change something so fundamental as internal family dynamics in an entrenched culture, how men regarded women, was very inspirational."

But for all their progress, Mousseau knows there is a very long way to go. "A lot of us realize that [we won't see] healthy and normal ways among our people... in our lifetime," he says. He pauses, then adds, "But we have to think about the seventh generation." Still, the program now consults to 500 other Indian reservations and the ideas are spreading. In the tortured history between the federal government and the Native American tribes, this might be the first program started for and by Indians which uses federal and private funds to help them succeed.

Still, Artichoker agrees that it's not easy. "It'll take all of our values as Native people to keep us strong, keep moving forward," she says. "But if I didn't think it would work, I wouldn't be here, raising my children. We have to teach people that this is not who we are as Lakota people. This is not how the Creator intended us to be with each other." ●





COMPAGNIE DE MIME  
MARCEL  
MARCEAU

Copied  
McCoy  
HRC  
Podesta  
Bunkhardt  
(for reply)

Paris the 18<sup>th</sup> of  
January 2000

To the President  
of  
The United States  
of  
America  
The White House  
Washington - D.C.

~~Mr. President,~~  
~~But~~  
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
1-25-00  
for a tour do  
you want to  
meet him if it  
can be scheduled  
Yls - ~~ceste~~  
- ~~maningy~~ Anne  
me

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
1-25-00

Dear Mr. President  
Dear Bill Clinton  
For 2000 I wish a strong  
Health and a long long life





COMPAGNIE DE MIME  
MARCEL  
MARCEAU

Paris the 18<sup>th</sup> of  
January 2000  
To the President  
of  
The United States  
of  
America  
The White House  
Washington - D.C.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
1-25-00

Dear Mr. President  
Dear Bill Clinton  
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Health and a long long life

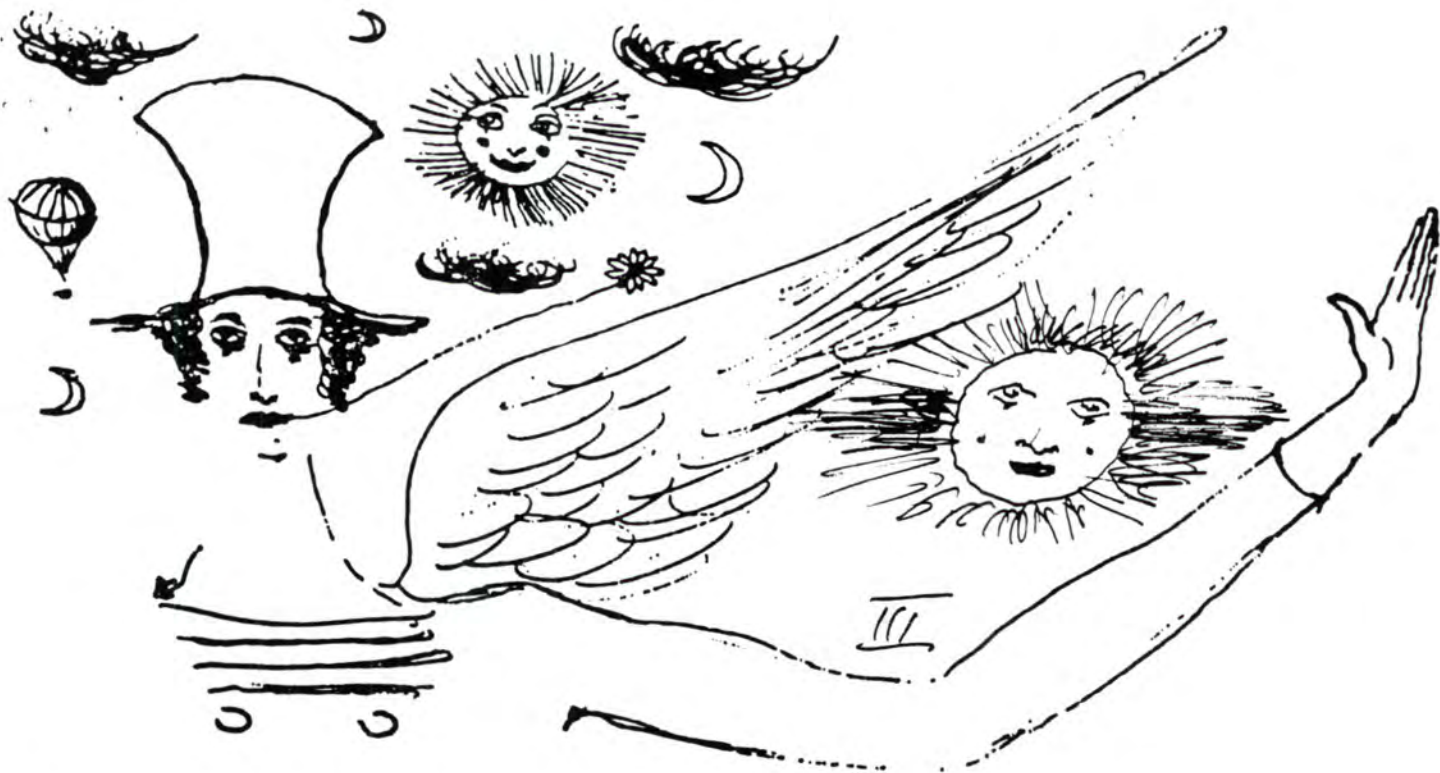




COMPAGNIE DE MIME  
MARCEL  
MARCEAU

for you Mr. President for  
Mrs Clinton and for your  
daughter.  
We all admire your Integrity  
courage, devotion for your  
great country. We follow your  
strong achievements for the United  
States of America and for the Political  
world.  
Dear Mr. President this letter  
reaches you at the moment we  
are going to play with our company  
for 3 weeks at the Ford's  
Theatre from the 25<sup>th</sup> of JANUARY to the





COMPAGNIE DE MIME

MARCEL

MARCEAU

13<sup>th</sup> of February 2000.. It will  
 be a great Joy for me and for  
 US to Invite you MR President,  
 MRS Clinton and your Daughter  
 to our Pantomime Show, at  
 your convenience. The Theatre  
 Directory, our Press agent will  
 secure all the arrangements,  
 with the Hope that you  
 can Honor us with your  
 Presence. We remain





COMPAGNIE DE MIME

MARCEL

MARCEAU

with our soul and  
Heart your devoted  
Dey  and your  
devoted company  
MARCEL MARCEAU



# Ford's Theatre

511 Tenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004 202/638-2941

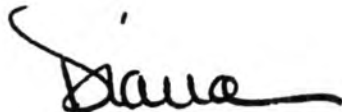
January 21, 2000

Dear Ann:

Thank you so much for seeing that the enclosed letter from Mr. Marceau reaches the President. Mr. Marceau is so excited about the possibility of the President, Mrs. Clinton and Chelsea attending a performance that he personally brought his letter to the theatre today for us to deliver to you. (Mr. Marceau just arrived last night from Paris.)

I also thought it might be helpful if you had the running schedule of his show. If there is a day they would like to attend just give me a call and we'll take excellent care of them.

See you Wednesday night!

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Dana", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.



# Ford's Theatre

511 Tenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004 202/638-2941

“Marcel Marceau” performance schedule:  
(the show is two hours long including one fifteen minute intermission)

|                                     |                              |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Tuesday, January 25 <sup>th</sup>   | at 7:30 p.m. (preview)       |
| Wednesday, January 26 <sup>th</sup> | at 7:30 p.m. (opening night) |
| Thursday, January 27 <sup>th</sup>  | at 7:30 p.m.                 |
| Friday, January 28 <sup>th</sup>    | at 7:30 p.m.                 |
| Saturday, January 29 <sup>th</sup>  | at 2:30 p.m. and 7:30 p.m.   |
| Sunday, January 30 <sup>th</sup>    | at 2:30 p.m.                 |

|                                     |              |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| Tuesday, February 1 <sup>st</sup>   | at 7:30 p.m. |
| Wednesday, February 2 <sup>nd</sup> | at 7:30 p.m. |
| Thursday, February 3 <sup>rd</sup>  | at 7:30 p.m. |
| Friday, February 4 <sup>th</sup>    | at 7:30 p.m. |
| Saturday, February 5 <sup>th</sup>  | at 7:30 p.m. |
| Sunday, February 6 <sup>th</sup>    | at 2:30 p.m. |

|                                     |                            |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Tuesday, February 8 <sup>th</sup>   | at 7:30 p.m.               |
| Wednesday, February 9 <sup>th</sup> | at 7:30 p.m.               |
| Thursday, February 10 <sup>th</sup> | at 7:30 p.m.               |
| Friday, February 11 <sup>th</sup>   | at 7:30 p.m.               |
| Saturday, February 12 <sup>th</sup> | at 2:30 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. |
| Sunday, February 13 <sup>th</sup>   | at 2:30 p.m.               |



...with ...  
I wrote ... out ... to ...  
copy

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-25-00

December 1, 1999

Dear President Clinton,

When we heard that our classmate, Courtney Blackburn, would be visiting you at the airport we discussed the job of president and decided that as president you might like to know what we have been studying in 3rd grade so far this school year. We would really like you to know that we REALLY like school and enjoy learning because it is usually fun. We have learned:

- the multiplication table through 9
- different ways of solving division problems
- cursive writing
- oceanography (we went on a boat trip in the harbor to see various)
- artists such as Van Gogh and Picasso
- to read and write poetry
- Archimedes' Principle of Buoyancy

1-25-00

Copy of ...  
response to ...  
Mrs. ...  
1 TO Eugene

After you have seen,  
we will send to  
Eugene for reply.



Carl

you know what a sumptuous repast is?)  
I argument using pros and cons

questions we would like to ask you if we could meet  
er remembers all the questions she has when she

ng in front of so many people?  
aw you wanted to be president?

3  
some books

NOT very  
often - just  
lived to before  
I had a little  
problem as I've not

Flags  
old machine button

5. What did you collect as a child? Do you collect anything now? -
6. What was your favorite book in third grade? The Hairy Bop, My Little, Black Beauty, The Bitten Chalice
7. Could you please come visit our school? It is cool, and we are proud of it.

↳ I'd like to but I can't ...  
Perhaps I can when I'm in LA this year.

Ivanhoe Elementary School is part of the Los Angeles Unified School District. We have close to 400 students at our school. In our third grade class we have 5 languages represented, but we all speak English. Reading is our favorite subject, science is second. Thank you for taking the time to read and respond to our letter. We look forward to hearing from you and Courtney.

Sincerely,  
Mrs. Safford's Third Grade  
Ivanhoe Elementary

Lisa  
Paolo

Allyson  
Cameron

Meghan  
Michelle  
Mrs. Safford

Stacy

Miss Machado

Danielle

Yube Kim

Lewis Raphael Dazie

Courtney

Sam

James Terrance

Andrew alex D



Sam Blackburn's daughter, has my  
love and wishes out to the  
crazy

THE PRES. HAS SEEN  
1-25-00

December 1, 1999

Dear President Clinton,

When we heard that our classmate, Courtney Blackburn, would be visiting you at the airport we discussed the job of president and decided that as president you might like to know what we have been studying in 3rd grade so far this school year. We would really like you to know that we REALLY like school and enjoy learning because it is usually fun. We have learned:

- the multiplication table through 9
- different ways of solving division problems
- cursive writing
- oceanography (we went on a boat trip in the harbor to see various forms of sea life)
- artists such as Van Gogh and Picasso
- to read and write poetry
- Archimedes' Principle of Buoyancy
- how to write letters and stories
- maps and geography
- spelling and vocabulary (do you know what a sumptuous repast is?)
- how to argue both sides of an argument using pros and cons

We also discussed the many questions we would like to ask you if we could meet as Courtney has. She says she never remembers all the questions she has when she sees you. Here are some of ours:

1. Do you ever get nervous speaking in front of so many people? *Not very often - but I used to before I had a public speaking class in 1st and now*
2. How old were you when you knew you wanted to be president? *16*
3. What is your favorite animal? *Dogs*
4. What is your favorite sport? *Golf, Tennis, Tennis*
5. What did you collect as a child? Do you collect anything now? - *Frogs, Old Mexican buttons*
6. What was your favorite book in third grade? *The Hardy Boys Mystery, Black Beauty, The BFG, Charlotte*
7. Could you please come visit our school? It is cool, and we are proud of it. *I'd like to but I can't because I'm older than you are. I'm 16 years old.*

Ivanhoe Elementary School is part of the Los Angeles Unified School District. We have close to 400 students at our school. In our third grade class we have 5 languages represented, but we all speak English. Reading is our favorite subject, science is second. Thank you for taking the time to read and respond to our letter. We look forward to hearing from you and Courtney.

*Andrew alex D*  
*Danielle Luke Kim*  
*Lewis Raphael Dazie*  
*Courtney James Terrance*  
*Sam*  
*Stacy Cameron*  
*Hammer Allysia*  
*megan*  
*Michelle Mrs. Safford*  
*Lisa Paolo*  
*Miss Machado*

Sincerely,  
Mrs. Safford's Third Grade  
Ivanhoe Elementary



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
1-25-00

S. DANIEL ABRAHAM

1/23 L. M. B.  
1/25/00

January 21, 2000  
VIA FACSIMILE

Honorable William J. Clinton  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

After you have seen, we  
will send to ~~Bookman~~ WSC Yes ☒  
~~copy to~~ No ☐

Dear Mr. President:

I hope this letter finds you i  
interesting trip to Morocco, Is

Carol

On Wednesday evening, January 12<sup>th</sup>, Congressmen Robert Wexler, David Price, Wayne Owens and I visited with King Mohammed V in Rabat, Morocco. The King was very positive about the peace talks and expressed his interest in being as helpful as possible in facilitating peace between Israel and the Arab world.

On Saturday night, January 15<sup>th</sup>, Ewa and I had a very full and thoughtful evening with Prime Minister Ehud and Nava Barak. The Prime Minister is totally dedicated to bringing Israel to a just and comprehensive peace as quickly as possible. Peace is his sole energizing and compelling priority. He is totally committed to this mission.

On Monday, January 17<sup>th</sup>, I met with King Abdullah II in his palace in Amman. Wayne Owens joined me. The King has expressed his full support for peace and would like to make a determined effort to work energetically for complete and total peace in the Middle East. The King made a strong appeal for economic cooperation and investment in Jordan.

The consensus of everyone I spoke to throughout my trip was that the breakdown of the American-Syrian-Israel talks was a temporary glitch that will be overcome.

Congressmen Wexler and Price continued on their trip to Oman, UAE and Kuwait where they met with very strong optimism and cooperation of the leadership to build positive relationships with Israel. The Leaders were very appreciative of the Congressmen's visit.

Bottom line: everyone is determined to help you, Mr. President, bring this peace process to a positive conclusion. I am sure that you will. You may count on my full support and resources to be of service to you in this cause.

With warmest and deepest regards,

*Dan*  
Dan

777 SOUTH FLAGLER DRIVE • WEST TOWER, 15TH FLOOR  
WEST PALM BEACH, FLORIDA 33401

TEL: 561 • 822 • 2849

FAX: 561 • 820 • 1677



## THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-25-00

S. DANIEL ABRAHAM

✓ 1/23  
1.00 Seelye  
2. Peters

January 21, 2000  
VIA FACSIMILE

Honorable William J. Clinton  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I hope this letter finds you in good health and great spirits. I have just returned from a very interesting trip to Morocco, Israel and Jordan.

On Wednesday evening, January 12<sup>th</sup>, Congressmen Robert Wexler, David Price, Wayne Owens and I visited with King Mohammed V in Rabat, Morocco. The King was very positive about the peace talks and expressed his interest in being as helpful as possible in facilitating peace between Israel and the Arab world.

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With warmest and deepest regards,

  
Dan

777 SOUTH FLAGLER DRIVE • WEST TOWER, 15TH FLOOR  
WEST PALM BEACH, FLORIDA 33401



# TRAVEL WITH BAP

1-25-00

V Carol

At 83,  
etraces  
epal.

There's the tiger skin in Carl's jumbled home office, where the nine-foot beast's well-preserved head snarls from a side table. Desperate Indian villagers flagged the Taylors down as they traveled to a mountain hospital for the birth of their daughter in 1948; a tiger was preying on their cattle and buffalo. Carl shot the tiger after three nights of living in wait — and they still reached the

### Daring duo: Dr. C



## COVER STORY

# TRAVEL WITH BAP

*Handwritten notes:*  
 Hazy past - faced of travel  
 Do need little to like BAP (need)  
 it, as needed this  
 degree you to  
 going back to  
 with people  
 who need to  
 The public health system, & to adventure, & to

For more than 50 years, Carl Taylor has taken his work in public health to the extreme. His latest adventure: At 83, with a new knee, he retraces his 1949 trek across Nepal.

By SCOTT SHANE: SUN STAFF

**I**n their house in the woods near Lake Roland, guarded by a topiary creature that used to be a crane but now resembles a scrawny dinosaur, Carl and Mary Taylor sit and gently correct one another's yarns.

Which year was it, exactly, that they rode on horseback into roadless Bhutan, where Mary had lunch with the queen and their young son played on the floor with the 6-year-old future king? Was it Carl's father or his neighbor who killed the crocodile in the Ganges River and found five pounds of silver jewelry in its belly, the only remains of the women it had eaten? How old were the children when they lived in Nigeria, getting the educational bonus of life as a tiny racial minority?

There is a lot to keep straight. Dr. Carl E. Taylor, 83, an emeritus professor at the Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health and a revered figure in the field, has worked in 70 countries. Mary Taylor, 82, an education professor

and children in Nepal; one of her own children held the light meter while another held the tape recorder.

In a house alive with artifacts, each comes with a tale attached.

There are the carved wooden ducks from Indonesia — illustrations for the 23rd Psalm translated into culturally appropriate language: "The Lord is my duck-herder. He leads me beside rice paddies ..."

There is the Tibetan sling, woven of yak hair. Carl Taylor demonstrates with gusto how the yak herders fling stones to hunt birds, scare off predators and steer their herds.

There's the tiger skin in Carl's jumbled home office, where the nine-foot beast's well-preserved head snarls from a side table. Desperate Indian villagers flagged the Taylors down as they traveled to a mountain hospital for the birth of their daughter in 1948; a tiger was preying on their cattle and buffalo. Carl shot the tiger after three nights of lying in wait — and they still reached the

Daring duo: Dr. C.



'00 JAN 25 PM 1:06

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 24, 2000

Dear Mr. President,

With this note are two messages I think you should communicate to Congress and the American people.

The subject of one is concern about the trend for fewer companies to be concentrated in the sale of items to farmers and the concentration taking place in food processing and distribution.

copied  
Edmonds

The other is about the advisability of your making suggestions about the basic concepts for a new farm bill, thereby helping to set the agenda for that debate.

You could do one or both in the State of the Union speech, or in some other message to the Congress. Sincerely,  
Carl H. Willock



## CONCENTRATION

*The trend toward fewer companies in the food processing and distribution sectors of the economy.*

In recent years, fewer businesses have been left to compete in the food processing and distribution sectors of the economy as mergers have occurred. Concern has developed that such a small number of companies controlling a large share of the market will result in unfair low prices paid to farmers for their products and unfair high prices charged to consumers for groceries. The reverse is sometimes true for what the farmers buy.

One example is the beef processors – four of whom now have 80% or more of the market for slaughtering beef.

Ten companies slaughter more than 50% of the hogs, and some of these ten have increased their market share significantly in recent years.

Fewer and fewer companies have an increasing share of the seed market.

Further along the food chain, in many metropolitan areas, only two supermarket companies control 50% or more of the market. In the Washington, DC area, two companies have close to 75% of the market.

These and other developments have caused serious concerns among many people about the potentially detrimental results that could occur. I suggest you mention your concern in the "State of the Union" speech and ask the Congress to work with your administration in evaluating these developments and suggesting any actions that should be taken.

*Carl W. Hilleck*



## THE FARM PROGRAM - 2003 AND LATER

The present farm program expires in 2002. It is not likely that Congress this year will enact a replacement for it. Therefore you probably will have completed your term when a new law is approved.

However, you can have significant influence in setting the major concepts for a new farm bill by statements in your "State of the Union" speech or some other message you send to Congress in the nearby months.

It is my belief that you should make the following suggestions:

1. The assistance made available to farmers/ ranchers should be on a counter-cyclical basis.
2. The assistance should go to those who are actually engaged in farming/ranching --- those who are the operators, the producers.
3. The assistance should go only to those who are in financial stress.
4. The assistance should be consistent with our obligations to the World Trade Organization.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Carl Whitlock". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned at the bottom right of the page.



## THE CRITICS



BOOKS

## ROLL OVER, MADISON

*How we learned to hate Washington.*

Podesta/Pink/Winn BY TAYLOR BRANCH

Gunn/Brend/Lockhart

Pinn/Casimir/Begala/Sosnik

Wrote Madison  
Bz

IF James Madison, the chief architect of the American system, were to return to life for a millennial inspection of his handiwork, perhaps nothing would dismay him more than the sight of his own silhouette emblazoned on the headquarters of the Federalist Society, in Washington—a states'-rights organization that promotes our era's signature distrust of national government. Even in an age of self-sufficient farmers, Madison looked beyond the states to frame constitutional hopes for liberty in the nation, and he would scarcely have welcomed the pervasive disregard for "big government" of recent decades, with Congress and conservative federal courts shipping authority back to the states, Presidential candidates running against Washington, major media brimming with condescension for any national agenda, and liberal apologists defending halfhearted variations of "Think Globally, Act Locally." Garry Wills, in "A Necessary Evil" (Simon & Schuster; \$25), his third book on the foundations of American democracy, writes that Madison "did not go to the Constitutional Convention to defend the states—more nearly to destroy them."

Wills warns that contemporary disdain for government is based upon a misreading of the Madisonian design which endangers its lasting promise. He finds democratic faith shrivelled to the point that many of the students at Northwestern University, where he teaches—and, no doubt, many more readers—are

"especially surprised to hear that most thinkers in our Western tradition thought of government as a necessary good, not a necessary evil." What remains evil in our politics "cannot be identified and eliminated from the good," he writes, "if the very existence of the good is being denied at every level." To arouse public discourse from unwarranted pessimism, Wills excavates American history in the style of the Federalist Papers themselves, with closely shaved meaning, grounded realism, and masterly allusion to ancient and American texts. Not since Hannah Arendt wrote on revolution and on totalitarian psychology has a scholar of such broad classical training addressed a popular readership on issues of such moment, and with such animating reverence for what Arendt called the public space among citizens.

Wills reminds us that the first government that the American revolutionaries created, under the 1778 Articles of Confederation, was a decentralized structure that would have gladdened the hearts of devolutionists in the Newt Gingrich electoral surge of 1994. The states coined separate monies and pursued their own foreign policies. Wills notes, "Under the Articles, every continental officeholder had a one-year term, and every one was subject to term limits." It was precisely such weakness that Madison and his colleagues set about to remedy in Philadelphia, at the Constitutional Convention of 1787—to form

a "more perfect" union, not a more feckless one. The new Constitution removed all term limits and created many national powers, including the controversial standing army that has stood ever since. Madison saw the states as too partial for justice ("parties in their own cause"), and, indeed, tried to build into the new Constitution a veto power for the federal government over every state law. He helped design the three-branch separation of powers for greater efficiency—"to unite a proper energy in the executive with a proper stability in the legislative departments," he wrote—and yet the phrase "checks and balances," which does not appear in the Constitution, has become a watchword of an alleged desire on his part to stymie government by internal constraint. Wills debunks this exaggeration along with a dozen related myths. "Americans believe that they have a government which is itself against government, that our Constitution is so distrustful of itself as to hamper itself," he argues. "We are pious toward our history in order to be cynical toward our government. We keep summoning the founders to testify against what they founded."

IT seems that no bad idea can ever die," Wills laments in "A Necessary Evil." Whereas only the far fringes once feared federal assumption of certain powers through our political stops to the Ivy League defend a putative laws by disregarding jury nullification to bear arms, at Penn "argue for insurrection within the Second Amendment quotes a professor their own revolution the last thing done is to deny armed insurgents lumps together of antifederal conservatives Scalia, ignoring them to rebuke for a commission that seeks freedom of federal purpose and authority. He is frequently prickly toward those in the acad-



## THE CRITICS



BOOKS

## ROLL OVER, MADISON

*How we learned to hate Washington.*

*Posenta / Pica / Wills* BY TAYLOR BRANCH

*Guin / Bored / Wills*  
*Pica / Caimen / Bored / Schuster*

*Wrote Madison*  
*etc*

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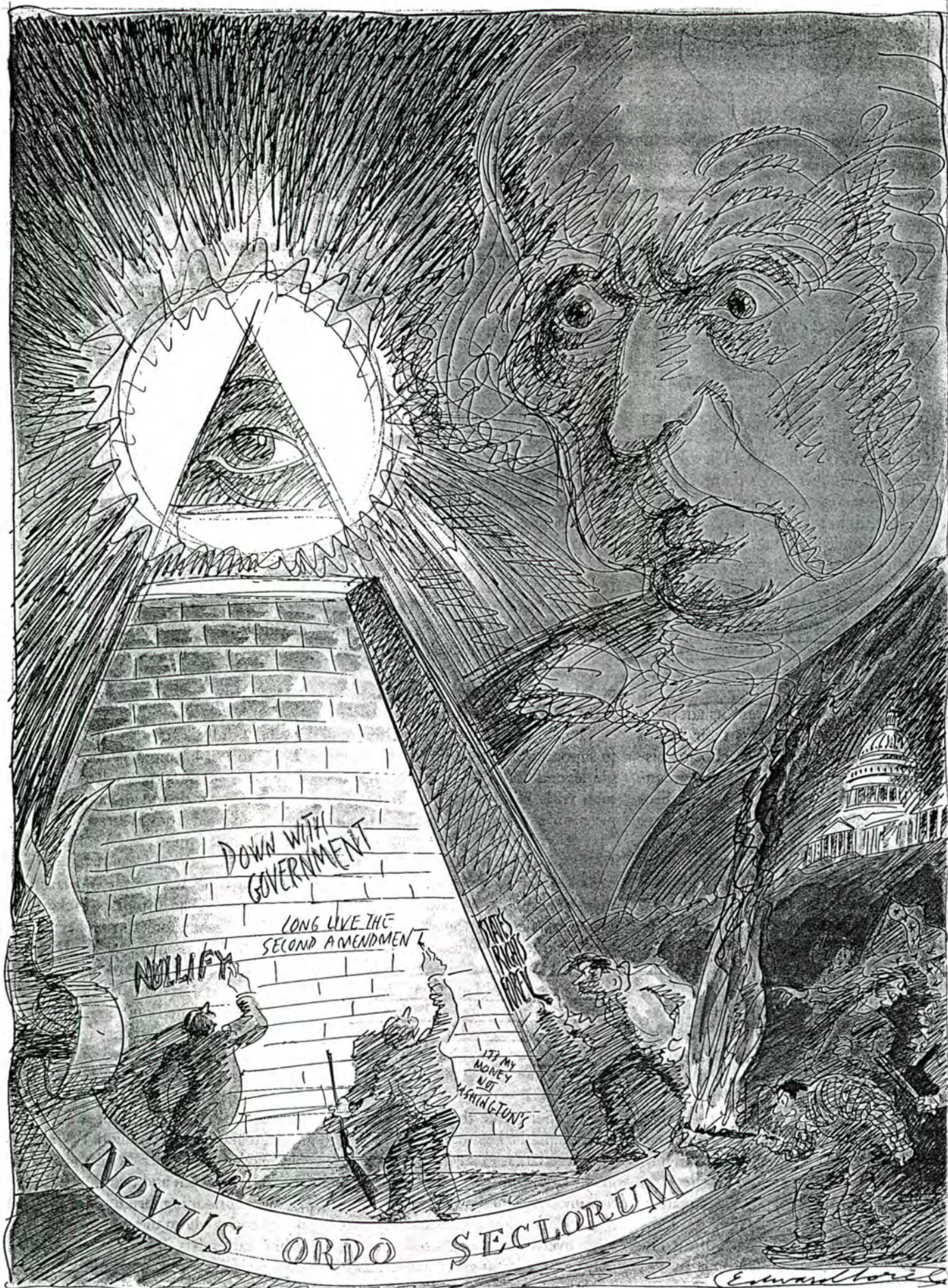
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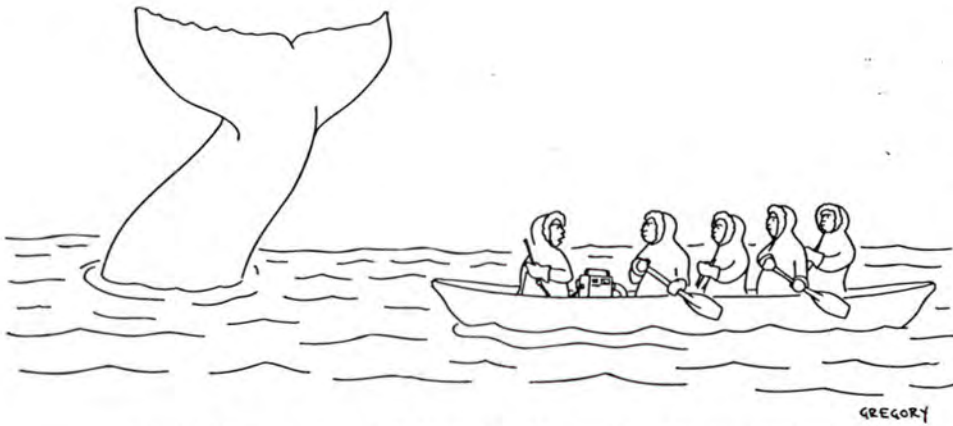
"IT seems that no bad idea can ever die," Wills laments in "A Necessary Evil." Whereas only the far fringes once feared fluoridated water, a presumption of central poison has seeped through our political culture from truck stops to the Ivy League. Scholars defend a putative right to subvert federal laws by disregarding jury instructions—jury nullification. They defend a right to bear arms, and, as Wills writes, they "argue for insurrection as a right guaranteed within the United States Constitution—guaranteed specifically, in the Second Amendment." On this point, he quotes a professor at Yale: "Fresh from their own revolutionary experience, the last thing the Framers would have done is to deny the People the means of armed insurrection." Wills deliberately lumps together the rear-guard liberals of antifederal distrust with spearhead conservatives such as Justice Antonin Scalia, ignoring the disagreements among them to rebuke the whole train of scholars for a commonly backward orientation that seeks freedom by resistance to federal purpose and authority. He is frequently prickly toward those in the acad-





In our anti-government cynicism, Garry Wills writes, "we keep summoning the founders to testify against what they founded."





*"Instead of killing the whale for its blubber, we're going to do a little lipo."*

emy whom he considers to be slackers, but the nullification theorists drive him into a transcendent zone. "These scholars exemplify this book's point so well," Wills observes, "that I suppose I should be grateful to them for that."

Wills indicts several prominent "academic insurrectionists" for bad history, bad logic, and bad faith. First, he states that in their myopic search for precedent they draw supporting quotations almost exclusively from the minority Antifederalists, who "were not framers of the Constitution but opponents of it, those who tried to prevent its adoption because it did not express their fear of government." Second, the scholars mistakenly believe that the Founders anchored anti-government hopes in Second Amendment militias, whereas, once the Antifederalists had lost the constitutional battle, they also lost interest in the militias. Their whole point, Wills writes, "was that resistance to the government, whether by insurrection or other means, would be doomed if the government were given the crushing power of a standing army. . . . They wanted militias as an *alternative* to a standing army." Third, the scholars and kindred pundits distort the role of James Madison, overlooking the fact that he sponsored the four separate clauses that established the national military. Fourth, they mangle the Second Amendment itself, laboring vainly to give a handgun-friendly civilian meaning to the term "bear arms." ("If they are inadequate as historians," Wills says, "they are ludicrous as philologists.") Madison designed the Second Amendment in part as a consolation prize to win back the

support of disaffected Antifederalists, and his provision for guaranteed federal supply of the militias addressed the prosaic reality of early America. "There was a drastic shortage of guns," Wills writes, noting that militia volunteers commonly showed up with rusty flintlocks and farm implements when they mustered at all. "There was one gun for every ten people in the colonies. Now there is more than one for every man, woman, and child in America, with three for every adult male of the population. Yet this latter situation is justified by appeal to the former."

Here Wills charges a fifth error: that to support gun rights the scholars mingle legends of revolutionary Minutemen with Hollywood visions of pioneers unfettered on the range, securing "their own liberties with their own arms." In fact, George Washington's Continental Army won the revolution, and there were no quick-draw duels ("never, ever happened") in the streets of frontier cattle towns. Wills recognizes the real Wild West as "the birthplace of strict gun-control laws," with handgun restrictions that allowed fabled Dodge City to average two killings per year in the Wyatt Earp era. Our wayward frontier mythology now sustains an avalanche of private firepower that safeguards public liberty like the Marlboro Man fostered public health.

These fantasies suggest a sixth error in the unblushing claim of a constitutionally sanctioned right to fight Washington. "It makes no sense to say that I must overthrow this abomination, but only because it has given me permission to do so," the much vexed Wills de-

clares, adding that none of the scholars—"not even the most ardent idolater of the Second Amendment"—seeks to impugn or dissolve the U.S. military as a severe inconvenience to insurrectionist prospects outside the classroom and the radio booth. Lastly, Wills accuses the scholars of a backward slant on the very nature of the militias. Contrary to their image as homespun liberators, the militias served primarily as mobile instruments for political control—of Indians, of renegade gangs, and, in the South, of slave revolts and runaways. Modern echoes from these sensitive issues reverberate around

what Wills calls "the great myth of the slaveholding South"—that rebellion nobly resists oppression from Washington instead of fostering it at home. "Patrick Henry's fear that a national government would interfere with racial relations within a state has certainly come true," Wills writes. "But has this destroyed human freedom or increased it?" The states codified slavery and segregation; the federal government abolished them to raise the flag higher. That has been the pattern of performance on all the great issues.

HOW did we stray so far from historical balance? Wills concedes that the Founders themselves faltered in early tests of their democratic model, which, adapted from failures discarded since ancient Greece, rated somewhere between laughingstock and long shot in a world of sovereign monarchs. In 1804, Senator Timothy Pickering (George Washington's former Secretary of State), of Massachusetts, tried to organize a secession of states because he believed that Jefferson had exceeded his authority in the Louisiana Purchase, and disunionist movements intensified in Pickering's New England before they spread south over slavery. Earlier, in the wake of the French Revolution, Jefferson and Madison themselves conspired to the edge of rebellion. When the high Federalists under Adams rammed through the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, imprisoning briefly about two dozen critics whom they considered "Jacobin" extremists, Jefferson and Madison fatefully panicked. They decided that Adams had voided the new consti-



tutional bond by usurpation, and Jefferson, the sitting Vice-President, secretly worked with allies in the Kentucky legislature to draft resolutions claiming for each state a right of "nullification" against obnoxious federal laws. His collaborator Madison, also anonymously, coined a milder claim to a state's right of "interposition" in a draft he submitted in his native Virginia.

Madison's lapse of trust in his own national design would remain safely hidden for nearly thirty years after the crisis of 1798 receded. Virginia and Kentucky omitted the inflammatory words from their resolutions, and no other states approved circulating petitions to join the challenge. The offending sedition laws expired or were repealed, and, most significant, President Adams and his ensconced Federalists reluctantly but peacefully surrendered national offices to their hated Jeffersonian rivals after the 1800 elections. But after Jefferson and Adams—long since reconciled—both died, on the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration, July 4, 1826, archivists unearthed and published news that Jefferson not only had instigated the Kentucky Resolutions but had submitted secret drafts full of what Wills accurately calls "almost hysterical reaction" to the Alien and Sedition Acts, with anti-Union language that "talked recklessly of secession or insurrection." From the grave, the great name of Jefferson inflamed national controversy around Senator John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, who advanced theories of nullification to protect slavery. Calhoun's heirs have since claimed Jefferson for states' rights, while their ideological opponents have claimed him for the grass roots. Jefferson's Kentucky Resolutions might be called the basic document of anti-governmentalism in America, much cited and even revered." Wills writes.

When Madison was discovered to have been Jefferson's secret partner, the belated uproar over what Wills calls his "momentary surrender to 'the spirit of '98'" mortified him in his old age, and has haunted American politics ever since. Laboring to protect his distinctive voice for constitutional union, Madison repudiated nullification as a "colossal heresy." He explicated features of the Constitution that were plainly inconsistent with notions of state primacy, and powerful figures, including slaveholders, sup-

ported his view. "Secession, like any other revolutionary act, may be morally justified by the extremity of oppression; but to call it a constitutional right is confounding the meaning of terms," President Andrew Jackson proclaimed in 1832, vowing to arrest Calhoun if he continued into treason as properly defined—acts of war against the nation, not a state. Still, despite these and many other Madisonian arguments—down to Lincoln's last plea to avert civil war by cogent proof that no political body had ever been "a state out of the union"—Wills reports that many of his students arrive on campus today believing that only Lincoln's brute force subdued the just and superior right of preëxisting states to free choice, and American opinion flocks uncritically to support nearly any local secession around the world.

MADISON'S lapse of 1798 can be explained, if not justified, by the frailty of infant democracy in an age accustomed to hierarchy, liege lords, and bloody resistance. Wills ascribes the puzzling resurgence in recent times to a "deep emotional engagement in the anti-government values." To investigate its sources, he moves away from detailed history to sketch contributing attitudes from four disparate writers of the past two centuries: Henry David Thoreau, Henry Adams, Albert Jay Nock, and H. L. Mencken. From Thoreau, Wills extracts a revulsion for all civic affairs, especially voting, which he disparaged as "sort of gaming, like chequers or backgammon, with a slight moral tinge to it, a playing with right and wrong." Thoreau achieved his sublime isolation at Walden Pond by purifying himself out of human company, Wills says. He could not bear the smell of distant perfumes or the faintest whiff of friends who tried to bail him out of jail, saying that their inclination to smelly conversation condemned them as "a distinct race from me . . . as the Chinamen and Malays are." (Wills chides that Thoreau, in his antiseptic vainglory, "manages the clever feat of being racist toward his own race.")

In Henry Adams, Wills identifies a detachment that regards politics as a spectacle of fools. "The Senate took the place of Shakespeare, and offered real Brutuses and Bolingbrokes . . . like schoolboys in their simplicity," Adams wrote during the Theodore Roosevelt era, having earlier refined his disdain for the nineteenth-century populists who clattered into the gentleman's Enlightenment. Wills quotes a letter from Adams to the president of Harvard, his alma mater, archly rejecting an entreaty to tolerate President Andrew Jackson as a guest honoree at commencement: "I would not be present to witness her disgrace in conferring her highest literary honors upon a barbarian who could not write a sentence of grammar and hardly could spell his own name."

With esoteric awareness, Wills, who wrote for *National Review* early in his career, presents Albert Jay Nock as the "spiritual progenitor" of that magazine and therefore of the modern conservative movement. He isolates in Nock an explicit core of anti-democratic ideology that is normally submerged in American discourse. Nock wrote in order to prepare "the saving Remnant" of civilization for the inevitable doom of the American experiment. He considered the popular will a pusillanimous doctrine based on what he called the subhuman "mass-man," and did not shrink from prescribing its failure in all forms, inside and outside the United States: "Indeed, if it be true that the mass-man is not a human being, never has been, and never will be, no such society can possibly be developed, and all our schemes for it are visionary."

Next to the rock-ribbed Nock, H. L. Mencken is light fare on the "booboisie" of America. Wills summarizes the "profoundly anti-democratic" themes of Mencken's five major books, and recalls the penchant of chuckling readers to forgive his blustery, satirical prejudices. "But even as clown he helped feed the fashionable anti-governmentalism, as I know to my regret," he confesses. "At a time in the late 1960s, when I admired his journalism, and partly because of its influence, I stopped voting."

This personal statement comes as a startling departure from Wills's reserved manner and civic devotion. He reveals his own "momentary surrender" in a sparing account that is admirably restrained







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but unequal to his larger argument. Relatively few Americans were exposed to government-bashing directly by Mencken, let alone Nock, and Wills, ironically, seeks to defend democracy by indulging a taste for scholastic shorthand. His thinkers faintly suggest but scarcely influenced the jarring events that swept the entire political spectrum into its prolonged Madisonian lapse. Shortly before the Voting Rights Act of 1965 enfranchised five million subjugated black Southerners at the zenith of postwar confidence in national politics, it became uncouth to advocate racial segregation in public but respectable—first in the South—to denounce Washington for oppressive meddling. Converts sprang up to hijack the party of Lincoln where it had been extinct, ending the hegemony of the "Solid South" Democrats, and they, with their allies, came to dominate national elections, for three decades running, on the simple message that our national government is bad. The Vietnam War spread that hardheaded Nockian theme with corrosive duplicity and meaningless slaughter, which is what drove Wills briefly to his Walden retreat from voting.

After the subsequent decade of Watergate scandals, undertow revelations about assassination conspiracies, and humiliation by the Ayatollah, Washington sank to a Menckenesque farce of fiscal incontinence by running up trillions of dollars of new debt that mocked the basic pretense of self-government. Into this battered national condition burst stupefying news of the Cold War's triumphant end, but the inherent strength of free government had become so discredited that the nonviolent quakes from Moscow and Berlin to Prague were somehow understood as military victories, the result of our mountainous preparations for Armageddon. We remain largely numb to the spiritual and intellectual force of our own example. The Soviet demise also deflated the nuclear-tipped ideological duel that had riveted the world for forty years. The crusade that had centered the news and made statesmen of reporters was suddenly gone, and a mood of disoriented, post-battle ennui spilled over alongside the accumulated distrust of govern-

ment. Together they reduced Washington from bad to useless, fit for mockery in the style of Henry Adams.

WILLS now faces students who have lived entirely in a span of Madisonian lapse. Their patriotic scope has been atrophied by its drip of cynicism, and they bring with them some of its "crudely hydraulic" notions of strict trade-off between power and freedom—that any flow of power exacts an equal penalty from the citizen, and that "one must be constantly vigilant, therefore, to see that the state takes away as little of one's freedom as possible." Replying first with "something rather trivial," Wills points to laws that regulate road travel with stoplights, right-of-way rules, and speed limits, among a host of regimentations that are "immensely liberating" in reality, both for physical movement and for peace of mind. "An increase of power does not necessarily entail a corresponding loss of rights," he observes. "Sometimes greater power is precisely what leads to greater rights. . . . In certain kinds of war, the most basic right of all—the right to live—can be protected only by the state's assumption of vast war-making powers."

Logic alone, however, is no match for the tenor of an era. To refute canards on government as the enemy of free markets, Wills quotes David Hume teaching what drug dealers and Russian capitalists know from hard experience—that without political authority to guarantee contracts, markets are a shooting gallery. He brings in Socrates on the origins of the public space and St. Augustine on love as the bond of the state. He argues that most of the democratic wounds

from the recent era are healing, that the chorus of bad government has begun to weary its audience, and that classified national secrecy is the only legacy left dangerously intact. Unarmed truth has moved governments toward reform more effectively than subversion or contempt, he says, which suggests that those who rely on shotguns in the closet would do better to emulate Rosa Parks.

For patriotic witness, Wills appeals to Madison and Martin Luther King, Jr. He confronts the popular notion that the American system is designed as a





collision of selfish interests, as George Will contends: "Madison's attention is exclusively on controlling passions with countervailing passions; he is not concerned with the amelioration or reform of passions." Nonsense, Wills says. This again is blinding myth from the Antifederalists and their "low view of human nature . . . that any grant of power was bound to be abused." Madison told the Virginia ratifying convention in 1788 that "to suppose that any form of government will secure liberty or happiness without any virtue in the people is a chimerical idea." He separated the functions of government to guard against tyranny but never limited the potential of the citizens, writing in Federalist No. 39 that republican determination "animates every votary of freedom to rest all our political experiments on the capacity of mankind for self-government." This is the unbounded hope expressed by King, whose career was an anguished appeal for the whole people to vindicate, through their national government, the Founders' intuition of equal citizenship.

"All this may seem a little high-minded and vaporous to people who are complaining about their taxes, the bureaucracy, or business regulations," Wills concludes. "The arbitrary and petty acts of government are enough to make anyone grumble. But all human relationships grate or gall at times—which does not make us call the parent-child relationship, or the husband-wife bond, or friendship, mere necessary evils. They are necessary goods that do not uniformly please. Love itself is a bondage. But the inability to love would stifle and imprison far more cruelly."

If Madison had returned to life a century ago, he would have found the earth still thick with emperors, kings, and dictators, and menaced by totalitarian inventions soon to be born. Now, under Madison's influence, even the fledgling systems, while awkward and often suffering, are nearly everywhere free. Suffragettes became rabbis and sports stars in the blink of a century. Nelson Mandela stepped far from his prison cell. Garry Wills cannot dispel the sour breath of recent decades with a single book, but he restores perspective and integrity to the enduring story of an America that can welcome Madison honorably at this millennium, beckoning the rest of us forward. ♦

## BRIEFLY NOTED

SO I AM GLAD, by A. L. Kennedy (Knopf; \$23). Jennifer Wilson is a self-described "empty" person, an emotional nihilist who is unable—or unwilling—to give herself over to another. It makes a certain kind of sense, then, that she works as a radio announcer, veiled by anonymity; it even, bizarrely, makes sense that when she falls for someone it is her odd new flatmate—Cyrano de Bergerac. Kennedy is hearteningly serious about this proposition: Cyrano, it seems, has been restored to life and "dropped" into a house in contemporary Glasgow, where he becomes addicted to tranquilizers and struggles to overcome the fear of his own past. Although Jennifer's mordant narration is at first suffocating, Kennedy explores the improbability of her love with the gravity of a philosopher and the license of a daydreamer.

GIRL WITH A PEARL EARRING, by Tracy Chevalier (Dutton; \$21.95). This ultimately absorbing novel about Vermeer and his household at first seems overplotted. Griet, the new servant girl, arranges chopped vegetables by color, so the reader can't miss the fact that she and the painter are soulmates. (Eventually, Griet will pose for the famous portrait of the title.) But Chevalier's writing skill and her knowledge of seventeenth-century Delft are such that she creates a world reminiscent of a Vermeer interior: suspended in a particular moment, it transcends its time and place.

THE UNBURIED, by Charles Palliser (Farrar, Straus & Giroux; \$24). Like Palliser's earlier "The Quincunx," this novel is a pastiche of nineteenth-century melodramas, a mystery set in an English cathedral close whose inhabitants bear little resemblance to Trollope's competitive but essentially gentlemanly clergy. The somewhat claustrophobic arena, we learn, has been the background for murders in the past, and another occurs in the novel's present. All the murders are puzzles, and Palliser constructs his plot like a maze and lures his readers into it. The book's ruthless consistency of style and the somewhat bleak view of humankind set it apart from the usual thriller.

WHO KILLED HOLLYWOOD?, by Peter Bart (Renaissance; \$24.95). Few people understand the complex interplay of idiosyncratic personality, fiscal imperative, and aesthetic consideration behind contemporary moviemaking as well as Bart, who was for many years a studio executive before becoming the editor-in-chief of *Variety*. This collection presents the work of a virtuosic kibbitzer as he analyzes the moves of major dealmakers, directors, writers, and producers over the past decade—a time when "corporate gigantism" has increasingly demanded blockbuster megapics that emphasize sensation and multimedia promotional tie-ins at the expense of story and character. With vinegar wit, Bart deflates the self-important, offers un-

solicited advice to studio heads and stars, and vainly seeks to instill historical memory and a sense of conscience in an industry ruled by perpetual attention-deficit disorder.

JUST SIX NUMBERS, by Martin Rees (Basic; \$22). There is nothing stranger than the universe we inhabit. Rees, Britain's Astronomer Royal, has written a brief, readable, and profoundly instructive account of where cosmological knowledge stands at this moment: how the universe took the shape it did, what structures now prevail in it, and what it will be like many billions of years from now. His book explains how finely tuned the forces that govern the universe are, and reminds us of the dimensions of what we still don't know. Rees writes, "The atoms that comprise our bodies and that make all visible stars and galaxies are mere trace-constituents of a universe whose large-scale structure is controlled by some quite different (and invisible) substance. We see, as it were, just the white foam on the wave-crests, not the massive waves themselves." This is the kind of book that transforms not only how you look at a clear winter sky but also how you think about life itself.

FEEDING THE EYE, by Anne Hollander (Farrar, Straus & Giroux; \$27). In a preface to this collection, Hollander declares herself "permanently devoted to art, sex, religion, dance, clothes, and movies," and her essays reflect that devotion. Most of them are book reviews, but, however ephemeral or misguided the books, Hollander's comments are worth reading because she always supplies something extra—an insight or comparison that stimulates reflection or helps solve an artistic riddle—and her humor is understated almost to slyness.

WHAT WAS TRUE: THE PHOTOGRAPHS AND NOTEBOOKS OF WILLIAM GEDNEY, edited by Margaret Sartor; co-edited by Geoff Dyer (Lyndhurst/Norton; \$35). The late William Gedney was a photographer of unusual grace and tenderness, but, after a solo exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art in 1968, he did little to promote his work. His best pictures—whether depicting street scenes in India, the life of a Kentucky coal-mining family, or the peregrinations of young hippies through the Haight—achieve an offhand intimacy whose resonance derives from his deep understanding of the nature of solitude. A voracious reader, Gedney meticulously copied out passages from the writings of other artists into notebooks he had made himself. A quotation from John Cage, originally chosen as the epigraph for an unrealized book, describes Gedney as well as his subjects: "They seem to be doing happy things sadly, or maybe they're doing sad things happily." Gedney died of AIDS, at the age of fifty-six, in 1989. This beautiful collection accords him the recognition he shied from in his lifetime.