

1.7.9

Judith - pages 1-7 follow;
Rough mss of NY Review of 3rd
piece due by Sept 23.

As I said on the phone, return
if possible on Monday - otherwise
Tuesday - triple-space.

FAXED FROM: 212/628-9167

FAX to 1/718/624-3782

898

3

898 (7)
~~was not~~ ~~unfamiliar~~, at a time
~~million of a foot~~, ~~Bill~~ ~~Barber~~
 the better actor. He's been influencing
 men more ~~and~~ many than himself
 for many years, & they will have
 to ^{have a} break-through, become more
 of a protagonist than the actor who
 comes to us as a protagonist, that
 is no acknowledgment but the
 thinking may depend on it. In
 One of the ~~most~~ ^{this hour} of all our points
 is a confession of ~~hand~~, ~~son~~, and
 belly-grinding ironies, ~~that~~ ^{the way}
 may ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~may~~ ^{it} all depend on a series
 of their debates whose track-history
 up to now has been a piece for
 the ~~winning~~ sound bites for the
 contestants and a piece (250 words)

[illegible]

Ind,

NYRB Draft

Forty-five days before the election, one has to be glum. The forces working for Bush seem so much more powerful than the paucity of shots available to the Democrats. When Kerry made his incomprehensibly maladroit comment that he still would have voted for the war if he had known then what he knows today (a position to the right of William F. Buckley), he cut off one good running leg of his chances.

Change the metaphor: He sucked the air out of the left, the center of passion behind the campaign to unhorse Bush. There was an electoral logic to moving toward the center, but Kerry tacked over too far. He didn't lose those who will vote for him no matter how—getting rid of Bush is a given for

them—but he lost the nearest equivalent to religious intensity for his side. A campaign that looks to break through the fortifications of a well-entrenched opponent needs white-hot intensity at its core. Kerry doused such fires and left his supporters to wonder if the worst Republican canard of them all might even be correct. What if he was the king of flip-flop? So much ground has to be regained.

A victory for Bush will go down in history as one of the greatest American ironies. No need to speak one more time of the mendacities, manipulations, outright brainwashing and spiritual mediocrity of these Bush years; it is time to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record and so complete a refusal to look at the record, promises nonetheless to prevail. Who are we? In just what kind of state are the American people?

A quick look at our movie stars over the last forty years tells something of the psychic migrations. The liberal left has hardly changed. We've been attached to actors like Warren Beatty, Jack Nicholson and Sean Penn over the years. They spoke to our cynicism and muffled idealism. For the right, and, more important, the American center, that part of the nation travelled in their loyalties from the down-deep decency of Gary Cooper to the grit and heavy sense of oneself possessed by John Wayne on to a true apotheosis—Arnold Schwarzenegger who captured convention honors at the Garden and told America via the physicality of his presence that if the nation should ever need a dictator, why, bless us all, this body-building colossus has the best chin to come along since Benito Mussolini.

Back on Ronald Reagan time, after 278 Marines [CK] were blown up in one blast in Beirut, the Commander in Chief landed 1800 Marines [CK] in

Grenada to conquer a Cuban force of 1000 construction workers, and that most successful campaign brought to an end in two days [CK] with no American casualties [CK] was declared by Reagan to have put an end to our shame in Viet Nam [CK original statement]. That was Reagan's psychology at its best. He understood what Americans needed. He saw that the public were as happy if you told them they were happy, than if they were really happy.

Bush-and-Rove have multiplied this principle by an order of magnitude. They know what they are doing. America is prodigiously insecure. Spiritually speaking, we are the nouveau-riches of all empires, and like all nouveau riche. The only way we can overcome the prodigious uneasiness that we do not belong where we are is to make more money, inflate more national ego, and never look back. The sorriest thing to be said

about our nation now as we hover over the edge of fascism (which could come if we plunge into a prodigious economic depression or a set of dirty-bomb catastrophes) is that we expect it because we have been so guilty, so straddled over the divide between Jesus Christ and all the license of megagreed. How we need someone to tell us that he will make us secure. The future be damned—which Bush-Rove have understood from the start—we need and want security right now, we want a strong man.

Kerry may make a comeback along the real road of our crummy war in Iraq, and the real loss of jobs, etc., etc., but first he must make a dent in all the huge, undeserved machismo Bush has been able to drape around himself. Kerry's only real opportunity, and it's a most controversial venue, will come in the debates. Somewhat more than half the electorate wants the best man to win—in the tribal sense of best man. Kerry will have to dominate Bush

without a backward look to his own dove councils—"Don't be seen as cruel, John!"—he will have to return the humiliations Bush laid on him, succeed by the end of the debates in turning Bush's triumphant mouth-set, his shit-eating grin, his fraternity president sneer, into the other side of George—that empty, over-extended protagonist he has always been. Coming forth with enough barrage, Kerry will succeed, Kerry will come forth as the more worthy, the more manly. Bush is the better actor. He's been impersonating men more manly than himself for many years. Kerry will have to have a breakthrough, become more of a protagonist than the actor-who-comes-to-us-as-a-protagonist. That is no small demand but the Presidency may depend on it. In all our cornucopia this hour of harsh, sour, and belly-grinding ironies, the best may be that it may all depend on a series of these debates whose track-history up to now has been sound-bites for the contestants and apnea for the

viewer. God bless America! We may not deserve it, but we sure could use the Lord's help. Bush's first confidence, after all, is that the devil will never desert him in his hour of need.

Monday 9 am

Norman,

well, actually did burn pre-dawn oil to be safe (going to quit at 3pm today so

I don't show up at the Y tonight looking like something the cat dragged in.)

After this draft, will fax you (in about an hour perhaps)

1) questions to discuss/settle re your schedule through this Thursday

2) ~~ee of tonight's~~ guest list just FYI

3. in the big book, ch 14 (final one--only 3 pages long, after all) and, IF YOU

WANT my copy editing queries/quibbles (or that can go to Ptown if you
bring prefer.)

4. There are also phone messages, etc we could do on the phone OR do in
Ptown—your call—I'm separating out things that can wait.

5. FYI (counting up the OT—) planning to take this Friday off, OK?

franc, drift, yale, big one?

JB - meet Father @ 2pm

detailed did to TD

NY Thru to what?

Brone Whitestone Bridge

top Wed
First Pres issues
page #5
Tale story
story
man
down
Bekatt

FROM : JMDJDPDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186343782

20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20

NYRB Sept 04-1 9/19/04

NYRB Draft

Forty-five days before the election, one has to be glum. The forces

~~working for Bush seem so much more powerful than the paucity of those~~

~~available to the Democrats.~~ When Kerry made his incomprehensibly

maladroit comment that he ~~still would have~~ voted for the war if he had known

then what he knows today (a position to the right of William F. Buckley) he

did no service to his chances
~~cut off a good running leg of his chances.~~

~~Change the metaphor. He sucked the air out of the left, the center or~~

~~passion behind the campaign to unhorse Bush.~~ There was an electoral logic *then*

to moving toward the center, but Kerry tacked ~~over~~ too far. He ~~didn't~~ *did not* lose

those who will vote for him no matter *or what* how ~~getting~~ *the* rid of Bush is ~~given~~ for

NYRB Sept 04-1 9/19/04

Intensity that my head in
~~may be the~~ but he lost the nearest equivalent to religious intensity for his side ~~se~~

our ~~Side~~ *breach*
(campaign that looks to break through the fortifications of a well-entrenched

for its love
opponent needs white-hot intensity ~~at its core~~ Kerry doused such fires ~~and~~

~~He~~
~~left his supporters to wonder if the worst Republican could of them all might~~
~~even be correct. What if he was the king of flip flop? So much ground has to~~
~~be regained~~

may yet be seen
A victory for Bush ~~will go down in history~~ as one of the ~~greatest~~ *major*

in our history
~~American~~ ~~ironies~~ No need to speak one more time of the mendacities,

manipulations, outright brainwashing and spiritual mediocrity of these Bush ~~the past~~

the post 9/11
years; it is time to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record and so

complete a refusal to look at the record, promises nonetheless to prevail

then
Who ~~are~~ we? In just what kind of state are the American people?"

NYRB Sept 04-1 9/19/04

A quick look at our movie stars over the last forty years ^{can gives us} ~~gives us~~ something
~~that~~ ^{the} ~~hint of our~~ ^{of the} psychic migrations. The liberal left has hardly changed. We've been
^{all the way}
~~been~~ attached to actors like Warren Beatty, Jack Nicholson and Sean Penn over the
^{years} ~~years~~. They spoke to our cynicism and ~~muffled~~ ^{baffled} idealism. ~~for the right and~~ ^{But the right}
~~and~~ ^{and} more important, the American center, that part of the nation travelled with them
~~shifted their~~ ^{self-approved}
loyalties from the down-deep decency of Gary Cooper to the grit and ~~heavy~~
~~sense of oneself possessed by John Wayne on to a true apotheosis Arnold~~
~~from that time the apotheosis of~~ ^{OR}
~~Arnold~~ ^{Arnold} Schwarzenegger who captured convention honors at the Garden and told
~~in the course of informing~~ ^{in the}
America via the physicality of his presence that if the nation should ever ~~need~~ ^{come to}
~~such a pass as to need a dictator,~~ ^{such a pass as to need a dictator,}
~~a dictator, why, bless us all, this body-building colossus has~~ ^{he had} the best chin to
come along since Benito Mussolini.

Back ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ Ronald Reagan time, after 278 Marines [CK] were blown up
^{terrorist}
in one blast in Beirut, the ~~Commander in Chief~~ ^{the} landed 1800 Marines [CK] in
^{after}

FROM : JMWOP/CRAFT

PRV NO. : 17186243782

Sent: 20/09/2004 13:41:05

NYRB Sept 04-1 9/19/04

three days later (CK)
Grenada to conquer a Cuban force of 1000 construction workers, ~~and~~ *that*

quick
most successful campaign brought to an end in two days [CK] with no

American casualties [CK] was declared by Reagan to have put an end to our

shame in Viet Nam [CK original statement]. That was Reagan's ~~psychology~~ *method*

Reagan
~~at its best~~ He understood what Americans needed. He saw that the public

Telling
~~pretend to be told they were happy~~
were as happy if you told them they were happy, than if they were really

then
~~happy~~
seemed to work as well as if
they were really happy.

Bush-and-Rove have multiplied this ~~principle~~ *message* by an order of

exactly that
magnitude. They know ~~what they are doing~~ America is prodigiously

They understand that
insecure. ~~Spiritually speaking~~ we are the nouveau-riches of all empires, and

like all nouveau riches *The* only way we can overcome the prodigious

implication
~~of the condition~~
uneasiness that we do not belong where we are is to make more money.

~~inflate more national ego~~ and never look back. The sorriest thing to be said

FROM : JMWDRDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186245782

Page 20 of 24 9.4 F PE

NYRB Sept 04-1 9/19/04

about ^{the C.S.} ~~our nation~~ ^{at} now as we hover over the edge of fascism (which would ~~lead~~ ^{lead} us all

May come if we plunge into a prodigious economic depression or a set of dire

bomb catastrophes) is that we expect disasters a greater number because we have been so guilty so so

~~Yea~~ Somewhere in the heart of the national
conscience is the knowledge that we are ~~straddled~~
straddled over the divide between Jesus Christ and the license of mega-
suspected

greed. How ~~we~~ ^{can we not} need someone to tell us that he will make us secure. ~~He~~ For

Bush-and-Rose

Bush-and-Rove) ~~(and)~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
 (9/11 was) future be damned - which Bush-Rove have understood from the start. ~~the~~
 the Jackpot! — the security needed and wanted
~~suborned~~ ~~needed~~ away. Give them a strong man
 need and want security right now. We want a strong man.

The Presidency is a role and George ~~was~~
as we know ~~him~~ could have been a Voss actor.

~~Kerry may make a comeback along the real road of the economy war.~~

~~He was undoubtedly a very close friend of the
for a long time. He had a great many friends
Iraq, and the loss of jobs, etc. etc. but first he must~~

Kerry's task by now is to take a big bite out of all chain-mechanism present to it.

the huge, ~~underused machine~~ Bush has been able to ~~wrap around himself~~ ^{present}

indeed, his, may be present during the debate

Kerry's only real opportunity, and it's a most controversial venue, will come up

The debates - a most constructive venue!

the debates. ~~Something more~~ ^{A good part of} ~~than half~~ ^{will} the electorate wants the best man in

~~win in the tribal sense of best man~~ Kerry will have to dominate Bush

without a backward look to his own dove councils—"Don't be seen as true 1041

as you will lose the women!" ~~The truth is that~~

John! "he will have to ~~accept~~ the humiliations Bush laid on him, succeed b

to the contrary - Kerry must win the
men, he must shame Bush in public.
Pg 4 the end of the debates in turning Bush's triumphant mouth-set, his shift-eating

the end of the debates in turning Bush's triumphant mouth-set, his shif-eating

giving his fraternity-president since ~~convicted~~ ^{one has to succeed in turning & XPOS} ~~convicted~~ ^{top} to ~~convicted~~ ^{convicted}

~~in his fraternal president snow into the arms of George that empty~~

over-extended & over-extended has always been. Coming forth with things

~~For~~ ~~he~~ ~~he was~~ ~~man,~~
~~hance,~~ Kerry will succeed, ~~Kerry will come forth as the more worthy, the~~
~~manly,~~ ~~the real soldier,~~ ~~the unflinchingly~~ ~~manly,~~
~~more manly.~~ ~~Bush is the better actor. He's been impersonating men more~~

manly than himself for many years. Kerry will have to ~~have~~^{find} a breakthrough.

demonstrate that he is ^{the} great pretender

~~become more of a protagonist than the actor who comes to us as a~~

and Bush is ~~the~~ putative main star
who looks to present himself as a ~~frontrunner~~
protagonist. That is no small demand but the Presidency may depend on it

In this hour

In all four comedies this howl of harsh, ~~some~~ and belly-grinding ironies, the most curious (and worst so far) is

best may be that it may all depend on a couple of series of these debates whose results are decisive

Collected at least scattered

history up to now has been sound-bites for the contestants and apnea for the

FROM : JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243782

Sep 20 2004 08:41 AM PT

NYRB Sept 04-1 9/19/04

7

viewer. God bless America! We may not deserve it, but we sure could use
the Lord's help. Bush's first confidence, after all, is that the devil will never
desert him in his hour of need.

Dwayne,

Faxing to Friedl worked like a charm—NM says it prints better than my fax or YOURS! Obviously, go as dark as you reasonably can on the Xeroxing. (going darker made it better but not really good on my machine.)

For his Yale excursion, he wants to select from Spooky Arts passages. So, on Wed, pls blow up and fax to Friedl (212-628-9176:

First person versus Third
84 through 88

Creative writing class disaster
11-12

Tolstoy
251-252

Beckett—being and nothingness
164-168

Stamina 101-107

Norman said in a pinch this could be done Thurs am but really, Wed would probably be easier all around.

He leaves for Yale before 2pm so it would be cutting things WAY close.

NYRB Sept 04-7 9/21/04

NYRB Draft

Forty-five days before the election, ~~one has to be blind~~ When Kerry made his ~~incomprehensibly maladroit~~ comment that he would ~~not~~ have voice for the war ^{even} if he had known then what he knows today (a position to the right of William F. Buckley), he did no service to his chances

There was an electoral logic then to moving toward the center ~~and lost headway~~
Kerry tacked too far. He did not lose those who will vote for him no matter ~~how or what~~

how or what—getting rid of Bush is the given for them ^{squandering} but he lost ~~the~~ ^{whole funds of campaign} ~~us~~ he lost the nearest equivalent to religious intensity that we had ~~on our~~

^{movement} side. A campaign that looks to breach the fortifications of a well-entrenched

opponent needs white-hot intensity. Kerry doused ~~such fires~~ ^{too many camp fires}

NYRB Sept 04-2 9/21/04

most notable
A victory for Bush may yet be seen as one of the ~~most~~ *most notable*

in recent
history. No need to speak ~~one more time~~ *again* of the mendacities, manipulations,

~~outright~~ brainwashing and spiritual mediocrity of the post-9/11 years, ~~has~~ *the time*

has come
~~time~~ to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record, and so complete a

refusal to look at the record, promises nonetheless to prevail. Who then are

we? In just what kind of state are the American people?

A quick look at our movie stars over the last forty years can give a hint

of our ~~psychic~~ *psychic* migrations. The liberal left has been attached all the way to

actors like Warren Beatty, Jack Nicholson and Sean Penn. They spoke to our

cynicism and baffled idealism. But the right, and the American center shifted

their loyalties from the down-deep decency of Gary Cooper to the grit and

self-approval of John Wayne. Now we have the apotheosis of Arnold

Schwartznegger. He captured convention honors at the Garden in the course

FROM : INJUDICRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186343782

09/21/2004 16:30

P3

NYRB Sept 04-2 9/21/04

of informing America, via the physicality of his presence, that if the nation

should ever come to such a pass as to need a dictator, why, bless us all, it

had the best chin to come along since Benito Mussolini.

1981 (CK year)
Back in Ronald Reagan time, after 278 Marines [CK] were blown up

by *Reagan*
in one terrorist blast in Beirut, the ~~Commander in Chief~~ landed 1800 Marine

[CK] in Grenada three days later to conquer a Cuban force of 1000

(con.)
construction workers. This quick campaign, brought to an end in two days,

[CK] with no American casualties [CK] was declared by Reagan to have put

an end to our shame in Viet Nam [CK original statement]. Reagan

The public didn't want
understood what Americans needed. ~~Telling the public they were happy~~
to be happy - it was enough, to tell them
they were happy
seemed to work as well as if they were really happy.

Bush-and-Rove have multiplied this insight by an order of magnitude.

They know that America is prodigiously insecure. Spiritually speaking, we

FROM : JMWDRRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243783

Tel : 212 691 1 251

P4

NYRB Sept 04-2 9/21/04

are the nouveau-riches of all empires, and like all nouveau riches, the only

way we can overcome the prodigious uneasiness implicit in the condition is to

mega-money
make ~~more~~ money, and never look back. The sorriest thing to be said about

as we saddle up to the approach
the U.S. ~~now as we hover~~ *stick* ~~at the edge of fascism (which will may come)~~

major
if we plunge into a ~~prodigious~~ economic depression or suffer a set of dirty

We expect them
bomb catastrophes) is that we expect disasters ~~because~~ we have been a guilty

nation. Somewhere in the ~~moil~~ of the national conscience is the knowledge

live in
that we ~~are suspended~~ *mega-money* over the divide between Jesus Christ and the machine

~~mega-greed~~: How can we not need someone to tell us that he will make us

secure? For Bush and Rove, 9/11 was the jackpot—the country *opted for* wanted

No questions asked
security right away. Give them a strong man. The Presidency is a role and

George, as we know, could have been a boss actor. Kerry's task by now is to

plethora of
take a big slice out of ~~all~~ the ~~huge~~ *plethora of* ~~ham-machismo~~ Bush has been able to

NYRB Sept 04-2 9/21/04

5

~~parvey~~
~~present~~ ^{present} indeed, his only real opportunity may be present during the debates.

The debates—a most constricting venue! Kerry will have to do no less than

dominate Bush without a backward look to his own dove councils "Don't be

seen as cruel, John, or you will lose the women!" To the contrary—Kerry

must win the men. He must shame Bush in public. By the end of the debate,

he must succeed in ^{laying waste to} ~~exposing~~ Bush's triumphant mouth-set, his shit-eating grin

his fraternity president sneer, ^{impersonation of a strong man} ~~as the facade of an over-extended impersonator~~

^{has to} of a strong man. ~~For~~ Kerry to succeed, he must come forth as the more

^{of the two} manly, the real soldier, the unfairly-tainted war hero. ^{That will not be easy} But Bush is the better

^{who has been slandered by a slacker} ~~that will not be easy~~ Bush is the better actor. He's been impersonating men more manly than himself for many years.

Kerry will have to ^{force a breakthrough} ~~force~~ demonstrate that he is the real

^{has the stubbornness of a weak man} ~~weak man~~ protagonist and Bush is a putative movie star. That is no small demand but

~~looks for a strong man~~ ^{looks for a strong man} the Presidency may depend on it. In this of harsh and belly-grinding ironies,

^{era} ~~era~~

^{demands our bravery} ~~demands our bravery~~
^{but the cowardly} ~~but the cowardly~~
^{comp} ~~comp~~

who depends on rigid in flexibility
as the best way to present
himself as strong, ~~to appear~~
to the public puts no small demand

NYRA Sept 04-2 9/21/04

unpalatable could be that
the most curious (and worst so far) is that it ~~may all~~ depend on a couple of

debates whose previous history *up to now* has offered a ~~best~~ scattered and c

previous
bites for the contestants and apnea for the viewer. God bless America. We

may not deserve it, but we *sure* could use the Lord's help. Bush's first

confidence, after all, is that the devil will never desert him in his hour of need.

877 words

NYRB Draft

Forty-five days before the election, one has to be glum. When Kerry made his incomprehensibly maladroit comment that he would still have voted for the war if he had known then what he knows today (a position to the right of William F. Buckley), he did no service to his chances.

There was an electoral logic then to moving toward the center, but Kerry tacked too far. He did not lose those who will vote for him no matter how or what—getting rid of Bush is the given for them—but he lost many of us—he lost the nearest equivalent to religious intensity that we had on our side. A campaign that looks to breach the fortifications of a well-entrenched opponent needs white-hot intensity. Kerry doused such fires.

A victory for Bush may yet be seen as one of the major ironies in our history. No need to speak one more time of the mendacities, manipulations, outright brainwashing and spiritual mediocrity of the post-9/11 years; it is time to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record and so complete a refusal to look at the record, promises nonetheless to prevail. Who, then, are we? In just what kind of state are the American people?

A quick look at our movie stars over the last forty years can give a hint of our psychic migrations. The liberal left has been attached all the way to actors like Warren Beatty, Jack Nicholson and Sean Penn. They spoke to our cynicism and baffled idealism. But the right, and the American center shifted their loyalties from the down-deep decency of Gary Cooper to the grit and self-approval of John Wayne. Now we have the apotheosis of Arnold Schwarzenegger. He captured convention honors at the Garden in the course

of informing America, via the physicality of his presence, that if the nation should ever come to such a pass as to need a dictator, why, bless us all, he had the best chin to come along since Benito Mussolini.

Back in Ronald Reagan time, after 278 Marines [CK] were blown up in one terrorist blast in Beirut, the Commander in Chief landed 1800 Marines [CK] in Grenada three days later to conquer a Cuban force of 1000 construction workers. This quick campaign, brought to an end in two days, [CK] with no American casualties [CK] was declared by Reagan to have put an end to our shame in Viet Nam [CK original statement]. Reagan understood what Americans needed. Telling the public they were happy seemed to work as well as if they were really happy.

Bush-and-Rove have multiplied this insight by an order of magnitude. They know that America is prodigiously insecure. Spiritually speaking, we

are the nouveau-riches of all empires, and like all nouveau riches, the only way we can overcome the prodigious uneasiness implicit in the condition is to make more money, and never look back. The sorriest thing to be said about the U.S. now as we hover over at the edge of fascism (which well may come if we plunge into a prodigious economic depression or suffer a set of dirty-bomb catastrophes) is that we expect disasters because we have been a guilty nation. Somewhere in the moil of the national conscience is the knowledge that we are suspended over the divide between Jesus Christ and the license of mega-greed. How can we not need someone to tell us that he will make us secure? For Bush-and-Rove, 9/11 was the jackpot—the country wanted security right away. Give them a strong man. The Presidency is a role, and George, as we know, could have been a boss actor. Kerry's task by now is to take a big slice out of all the huge ham-machismo Bush has been able to

present; indeed, his only real opportunity may be present during the debates.

The debates—a most constricting venue! Kerry will have to do no less than dominate Bush without a backward look to his own dove councils—"Don't be seen as cruel, John, or you will lose the women!" To the contrary—Kerry must win the men. He must shame Bush in public. By the end of the debates, he must succeed in exposing Bush's triumphant mouth-set, his shit-eating grin, his fraternity president sneer, as the facade of an over-extended impersonator of a strong man. For Kerry to succeed, he must come forth as the more manly, the real soldier, the unfairly-tainted war hero. But, Bush is the better actor. He's been impersonating men more manly than himself for many years. Kerry will have to force a breakthrough, demonstrate that he is the real protagonist and Bush is a putative movie star. That is no small demand but the Presidency may depend on it. In this of harsh and belly-grinding ironies,

the most curious (and worst so far) is that it may all depend on a couple of debates whose previous history up to now has offered at best scattered sound-bites for the contestants and apnea for the viewer. God bless America! We may not deserve it, but we sure could use the Lord's help. Bush's first confidence, after all, is that the devil will never desert him in his hour of need.

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There was an electoral logic then to moving toward the center, but Kerry tacked too far and lost headway. He did not lose those who will vote for him no matter how or what—getting rid of Bush is the given—but he squandered whole funds of campaign intensity. A movement that looks to breach the fortifications of a well-entrenched opponent needs white-hot intensity. Kerry doused too many campfires.

A victory for Bush may yet be seen as one of the most notable ironies in recent history. No need to speak again of the mendacities, manipulations, brainwashing and spiritual mediocrity of the post-9/11 years; the time has come to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record, and so complete a refusal to look at the record, promises nonetheless to prevail. Who, then, are we? In just what kind of state are the American people?

A quick look at our movie stars over the last forty years can give a hint. The liberal left has been attached all the way to actors like Warren Beatty, Jack Nicholson and Sean Penn. They spoke to our cynicism and baffled idealism. But the right, and the American center shifted their loyalties from the down-deep decency of Gary Cooper to the grit and self-approval of John Wayne. Now we have the apotheosis of Arnold Schwarzenegger. He captured convention honors at the Garden in the course of informing America,

via the physicality of his presence, that if the nation should ever come to such a pass as to need a dictator, why, bless us all, he had the best chin to come along since Benito Mussolini.

Back in 1981 [CK year], after 278 Marines [CK] were blown up by one terrorist blast in Beirut, Reagan landed 1800 Marines [CK] in Grenada three days later to conquer a Cuban force of 1000 construction workers. [CK] This quick campaign, brought to an end in two days, [CK] with no American casualties [CK] was declared by Reagan to have put an end to our shame in Viet Nam [CK original statement]. Reagan understood what Americans needed. The public didn't have to be happy—it was enough to tell them they were happy.

Bush-and-Rove have multiplied this insight by an order of magnitude. They know that America is prodigiously insecure. Spiritually speaking, we

are the nouveau-riches of all empires, and like all nouveau riches, the only way we can overcome the prodigious uneasiness implicit in the condition is to make mega-money, and never look back. The sorriest thing to be said about the U.S., as we sidle up to the approaches of fascism (which well may come if we plunge into a major economic depression, or suffer a set of dirty-bomb catastrophes) is that we expect disasters. We expect them because we have been a guilty nation. Somewhere in the moil of the national conscience is the knowledge that we live in the divide between Jesus Christ and mega-money. How can we not need someone to tell us that he will make us secure? For Bush-and-Rove, 9/11 was the jackpot—the country opted for security right away. No questions asked. Give them a strong man. The Presidency is a role, and George, as we know, could have been a boss actor. Kerry's task by now is to take a big slice out of the plethora of ham-machismo Bush has been

able to purvey; indeed, his only real opportunity may be present during the debates. The debates—a most constricting venue! Kerry will have to do no less than dominate Bush without a backward look to his own dove councils—

"Don't be seen as cruel, John, or you will lose the women!" To the contrary—Kerry must win the men. He must shame Bush in public. By the end of the debates, he must succeed in laying waste to Bush's triumphant mouth-set, his shit-eating grin, his fraternity president sneer. Kerry has to come forth as the more manly of the two, the real soldier, the unfairly-tainted war hero who has been slandered by a slacker. That will not be easy. Bush is the better actor. He's been impersonating men more manly than himself for many years. Kerry will have to demonstrate that he is the real protagonist and Bush has the stubbornness of a weak man who depends on rigid inflexibility as the best way to present himself as strong. This puts no small

demand on Kerry, but the Presidency could depend on it. In this era of harsh and belly-grinding ironies, the most unpalatable could be that we depend on a couple of debates whose previous history has up to now offered scattered sound-bites for the previous contestants and apnea for the viewer. God bless America! We may not deserve it, but we could sure use the Lord's help.

Bush's first confidence, after all, is that the devil will never desert him in his hour of need.

873 words

NYRB Sept 04-3 9/21/04 afternoon

DOUBLE S WAGE

NYRB Draft

~~THIS IS THE CHAIR~~

Six weeks (13) five days
~~Early five days~~ before the election, one ~~has to be~~ glum When he is
declaration
~~made his comment~~ that he would ~~still~~ have voted for the war even if he had
today now a position which is actual ly
known then what he knows today position to the right of William F.
Buckley he did no service to his chances.

There was an electoral logic for then to moving toward the center, but
over past the line for for it to be leg ain apt
Kerry tacked too far and lost headway. He did not lose those who will vote
for him no matter how or what to America getting rid of Bush is the given but he
squandered whole funds of campaign energy intensity. A movement that looks to
breach the fortifications of a well-entrenched opponent needs white-hot allegiance
competition to its general
intensity. Kerry doused too many campfires.

NYRB Sept 04-3 9/21/04 afternoon

our not only
A victory for Bush may yet be seen as one of the most notable ~~events~~ *known*

~~in recent history~~ *in American*. No need to speak again of the mendacities, manipulations

brainwashing and spiritual mediocrity of the post-9/11 years; the time has

come to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record, and so complete a

refusal to look at the record *looks* *(likely to)* ~~premises~~ ~~nonetheless~~ ~~to prevail~~ *likely to* ~~When~~ then are

we? In just what kind of state are the American people? *Have we gone all*

the way over to Gaultville?

A quick look at our movie stars ~~over the past forty years~~ *over the past forty years* ~~can tell a tale~~ *can tell a tale*

~~The liberal left has been attached all the way to actors like Warren Beatty~~ *and*

Jack Nicholson ~~and Sean Penn~~. They spoke to our cynicism and baffled

idealism. But ~~the right~~ *moral* ~~and the American center~~ *shifted* their loyalties from

the ~~decency~~ *decency* of Gary Cooper to the grit and self-approval of John

Wayne. Now we have the apotheosis of Arnold Schwarzenegger. He

captured convention honors at the Garden in the course of informing America,

NYRB Sept 04-3 9/21/04 afternoon

via the physicality of his presence, that if the nation ^{should} ever come to such

^(dine)
^(offer)
a pass as to need a dictator, why, bless us all, he ^{had} the best chin to come

along since Benito Mussolini.

Back in 1981 [CK year], after 278 Marines [CK] were blown up by

one terrorist blast in Beirut, Reagan landed 1800 Marines [CK] in Grenada,

^{his forces conquered}
three days later ^{conquer} a Cuban force of 1000 construction workers [CK]

This quick campaign, brought to an end ~~in two days~~ [CK] with no American

casualties [CK] was declared by Reagan to have put an end to our shame in

Viet Nam [CK original statement]. Reagan understood what Americans

~~wanted. It was more important for the President~~
~~needed. The public didn't have to be happy - it was enough to tell them they~~
~~to tell people that they were happy. They~~
~~were happy for them. That was as good as being happy.~~
~~enlarged. They would be the ones to~~
~~make as~~
~~3 can be~~

Bush-and-Rove have multiplied this insight by an order of magnitude.

They know that America is prodigiously insecure. Spiritually speaking, we

They would rather we tell
we're better than we
are.

NYRB Sept 04-3 9/21/04 afternoon

we (after all) world
are the nouveau-riches of all empires, and like all nouveau riches the only
way we can overcome the prodigious uneasiness implicit in the condition is to

make mega-money, and never look back. The sorriest thing to be said about

the U.S., as we slide up to the approach of fascism (which well may come

be our fate) and/or
(if we plunge into a major economic depression, or suffer a set of dirty-bomb

catastrophes) is that we expect disasters. We expect them because we have become

been a guilty nation. Somewhere in the moil of the national conscience is the

are straddled in our knowledge that we live in the divide between Jesus Christ and mega-money.

How can we not need someone to tell us that we are good and pure and

Bush-and-Rove, 9/11 was the jackpot—the country opted for security right

a security that no one could guarantee. In fact, we have given up our freedom for security. No questions asked. Give them a strong man. The Presidency is a

If the Presidency is a role) - ~~George Bush is a role~~
role, and George, as we know, could have been a boss actor. Kerry's task by
now is to take the place of the plethora of ham-machismo Bush has been

and George, as left on his own
Owen might have become a successful
actors Kerry's task by now is to succeed

FROM : JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17156243792

SEP 23 2004 11:11 PM

NYRB Sept 04-3 9/21/04 afternoon

↓ Bush' ham-machismo, ~~But the~~
 able to ~~parry~~, indeed, his only real opportunity may be ~~presenting~~ during the
 come ~~as~~ as he goes into
 debates ~~the debates~~ a most constricting venue, Kerry will have to ~~do~~

~~loss that~~ dominate Bush without a backward look to his own dove counsels -

"Don't be seen as cruel, John, or you will lose the women!" To the

contrary—Kerry must win the men. ~~He must shame Bush~~ in public. By the

end of the debates, he ~~must~~ succeed in laying waste to Bush's ~~triumph~~

~~mouth~~ and the shit-eating grin, his fraternity-president sneer. Kerry has to ~~be~~
 no less than ~~man on the podium~~ the true
 come forth as the ~~more~~ manly of the two, the ~~real~~ soldier, the ~~unflinching~~

(whose reputation) ~~that will not be~~
 the war hero who has been slandered by a slacker. ~~That will not be easy~~ Bush
~~George~~ ~~was~~ ~~He has~~
 is the better actor. ~~He's been impersonating men more manly than himself for~~

many years. Kerry will have to demonstrate that he is the ~~real~~ protagonist ~~whose~~ ~~is~~
~~has~~ ~~been~~ ~~seen~~ ~~as~~ ~~weak~~ ~~man~~ ~~who~~ ~~depends~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~approval~~ ~~of~~ ~~others~~

inflexibility as the best way to ~~place~~ himself as strong. "His puts no small

way to show America that
 he is strong. His appeal is to the
 stupid. They, too, are inflexible.
 they also know that stupidity ~~is~~

as its own kind of strength

opponent is a weak man who seizes opportunity

NYRB Draft

Six weeks before the election, one has to be glum. Kerry's declaration that he would have voted for the war even if he had known then what he knows now—a position which is actually to the right of William F. Buckley—did no service to his chances.

There was an electoral logic for moving to the center, but Kerry tacked over the line and lost headway. He did not forfeit the allegiance of those who will vote for him no matter what—to rid America of Bush is the given—but he squandered whole funds of campaign energy. A movement that looks to breach the fortifications of a well-entrenched opponent needs white-hot allegiance to its general. Kerry doused too many campfires.

A victory for Bush may yet be seen as one our nation's more notable ironies. No need to speak again of the mendacities, manipulations, brainwashing and spiritual mediocrity of the post-9/11 years; the time has come to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record, (and so complete a refusal to look at the record) looks nonetheless likely to prevail. Who, then,

are we? In just what kind of state are the American people? Have we gone all the way over to Loutsville?

A quick look at our movie stars gives a hint. The liberal left has been attached to actors like Warren Beatty and Jack Nicholson. They spoke to our cynicism and baffled idealism. But the American center moved their loyalties from the decency of Gary Cooper to the grit and self-approval of John Wayne. Now, we have the apotheosis of Arnold Schwarzenegger. He captured convention honors at the Garden in the course of informing America, via the physicality of his presence, that should the nation ever come to such a dire pass as to need a dictator, why, bless us all, he offers the best chin to come along since Benito Mussolini.

Back in 1983, after 240 Marines were blown up by one terrorist blast in Beirut, Reagan landed 1200 Marines in Grenada. A few days later, his forces conquered to conquer a Cuban force of about 1000 construction workers.[CK] This quick campaign, brought to an end with only 19 American casualties, was declared by Reagan to have put an end to our shame in Viet Nam [CK original statement]. Reagan understood what Americans wanted. They would rather be told they were healthy than to be healthy.

Bush-and-Rove enlarged this insight by an order of magnitude. They knew that America was prodigiously insecure. They would be the ones to make us secure. We are, after all, the nouveau-riches of world empire, and like all nouveau riches, the only way we could look to overcome the uneasiness implicit in the condition was to make mega-money. And never look back. The sorriest thing to be said about the U.S., as we sidle up to fascism (which can certainly be our fate if we plunge into a major depression, and/or or suffer a set of dirty-bomb catastrophes) is that we expect disasters. We await them. We have become a guilty nation. Somewhere in the moil of the national conscience is the knowledge that we are straddled over the oxyoron of Jesus and lusting for mega-money. How can we not be in need of someone to tell us that we are good and pure and he will make us secure? For Bush-and-Rove, 9/11 was the jackpot—the country would opt for the promise of a security that no one could guarantee. The Presidency is a role, and George, left on his own, might have become a successful actor. Kerry's task by now is to scourge Bush's ham-machismo, but the only real opportunity may come as he goes into a most constricting venue—the debates. Kerry will have to dominate Bush without a backward look at his own dove councils—"Don't be seen as cruel, John, or you will lose the women!" To the contrary—Kerry must win the men. He has to take Bush apart in public. By

the end of the debates, he has to succeed in laying waste to Bush's shit-eating grin and his fraternity president sneer. Kerry has to do no less than come forth as the man on the podium, the true war hero whose reputation was slandered by a slacker. That will not be routine. Bush is the better actor. He has been impersonating men more manly than himself for many years. Kerry will have to demonstrate that he is the genuine protagonist whereas his opponent is a weak man who seizes on hyperbolic inflexibility as the way to show America that he is strong. His appeal is to the stupid. They, too, are inflexible—they also know that stupidity is its own kind of strength. The burden obviously is on Kerry.

In this era of belly-grinding ironies, the most unpalatable could be that we have to hitch our hopes on that hitherto disappointing series of faceoffs whose previous history never offered more than scattered sound-bites for the contestants and apnea for the viewer. God bless America! We may not deserve it, but we could sure use the Lord's help. Bush's first confidence, after all, is that the devil will never desert him in his hour of need. Since he is an actor, his devil will always visit him in angel's robes.

NYRB Sept 04-4 9/22/04

are we? In just what kind of state are the American people?"

*Has democracy
Haven't gone*

gone all the way over to Louisville?

~~the~~

A quick look at our movie stars gives a hint. The liberal left has been attached to actors like Warren Beatty and Jack Nicholson. They spoke to our cynicism and baffled idealism. But the American center moved their loyalties from the decency of Gary Cooper to the grit and self-approval of John Wayne. Now, we have the apotheosis of Arnold Schwarzenegger. He captured convention honors at the Garden in the course of informing America via the physicality of his presence, that should the nation ever come to such a dire pass as to need a dictator, why, bless us all, he offers the best chance

come along since Benito Mussolini.

*China is never prepared
to replace Spain in the early years of spin*

Back in 1983, after 240 Marines were blown up by one terrorist blast

Two days later, on October 23,
in Beirut, Reagan landed 1200 Marines in Grenada. A few days later, he is 300 miles (CK) away from Beirut. forces conquered to conquer a Cuban force of about 1000 construction

~~workers [CK]. This quick campaign, brought to an end with only 19~~

~~to claim that America had won.~~
American casualties, was declared by Reagan to have put an end to our

shame in Viet Nam [CK original statement]. Reagan understood what

It was Spain
Americans wanted. They would rather be told they were healthy than

be healthy.

*which
for the time
that the
is a vast
force given
to 7000
Marines
the
campaign
was over
the US
lost
19 dead*

*and
49 soldiers in the Cuban
army perished as well as 20
Cuban construction workers.
Communism in the Caribbean
was now kaput except for
the little matter of Castro and*

*Cuba. Reagan
was a
this is a
victory over a
army Reagan was
stomached enough*

FROM : JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243782

NYRB Sept 04-4 9/22/04

NYRB Draft

*I changed my mind
Double-space text.
only 18 lines to a page
noted.*

Six weeks before the election, one ~~has to be~~ ^{is} glum. Kerry's declaration

that he would have voted for the war even if he had known then what he

knows now—a position which is actually to the right of William F.

Buckley's opinion on the matter—didn't
Buckley ~~did~~ no service to his chances.

There was an electoral logic for moving to the center, but Kerry ~~nickel~~ ^{too far} ~~over the line~~ and lost headway. He did not forfeit the ^{loyalty} ~~allegiance~~ of those who will vote for him no matter what—to rid America of Bush is ^{their} ~~the~~ given—but he squandered whole funds of campaign energy. A movement that looks to breach the fortifications of a well-entrenched opponent needs white-hot allegiance to its general. Kerry doused too many campfires.

A victory for Bush may yet be seen as one our nation's more notable ironies. No need to speak again of the mendacities, manipulations

~~brainwashing~~ and spiritual mediocrity of the post-9/11 years, the time has come to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record, (and so complete refusal to look at the record) looks nonetheless likely to prevail. Who then

NYRB Sept 04-4 9/22/04

Bush-and-Rove enlarged this insight by an order of magnitude. They ^{acted}
on the ~~asser to make the premise~~
know that America was prodigiously insecure. They would be the ones to
~~As an empire we are~~
make us secure. We are, after all, the nouveau-riche of world empire, and

like all nouveau riches, the only way we could look to overcome the

uneasiness implicit in the condition ^{this by making} ~~was to make~~ mega-money. And now

look back. The sorriest thing to be said about the U.S., as we sidle up to

fascism (which can ^{become} ~~certainly be~~ our fate if we plunge into a major depression or

~~and~~ suffer a set of dirty-bomb catastrophes) is that we expect disasters.

We await them. We have become a guilty nation. Somewhere in the moil of

the national conscience is the knowledge that we are ^{caught in the} ~~straddled over the~~
^{oxy moron of loving Jesus on Sunday and}
~~exortion of Jesus and~~ lust for mega-money. How can we not be in need of

someone to tell us that we are good and pure and ^{we seek to} ~~he will~~ make us secure!

For Bush-and-Rove, 9/11 was the jackpot—the country would opt for ^{this} ~~the~~

promise of a security ^{in all truth} ~~that one could not promise~~. The Presidency is a role,

and George, left on his own, might have become a successful ^{movie} ~~factor~~. Kerry's

task by now is to scourge Bush's ham-machismo, but the only real opportunity

^{we'll} ~~may~~ come as he goes ^{Kerry steps} into a most constricting venue—the debates. Kerry ^{has} ~~will~~

have to dominate Bush without a backward look at his own dove counsils—

"Don't be seen as cruel, John, or you will lose the women!" To the

contrary— Kerry must win the men. He has to take Bush apart in public. By

NYRB Sept 14-4 9/22/04

the end of the debates, he has to succeed in laying waste to Bush's sin-eating, ~~grin~~ ^{grin}
~~grin and his smiling, president once, Kerry has to be less than zero~~
~~and present himself as a legitimate contender~~ ^{and present himself as a legitimate contender}
~~forth as the man on the podium, the true war hero whose reputation was~~
~~slandered by a slacker.~~ ^{Yes, never in red.} That will not be routine. Bush is the better actor. (17)

has been impersonating men more manly than himself for many years. ~~Kerry~~
~~will have to demonstrate that he is the genuine protagonist, whereas his~~
~~opponent is a weak man who seizes on hypocritical inflexibility as the way to~~
~~show America that he is strong. His appeal is to the stupid. They, too are~~
~~inflexible—they also know that stupidity is their own kind of strength.~~
~~burden obviously is on Kerry.~~
^{that his} ^{was to convince some new part of the population}
^(close weakness) ^{Bush's appeal}
^{maintaining our stupidity can become a}
^{below}

In this era of belly-grinding ironies, the most unpalatable could be that
we have to hitch our hopes on ~~that hitherto disappointing series of face fits~~ ^{we have a television}
whose previous history ~~never offered more than scattered~~ ^{has a few} sound-bites for the
contestants and apnea for the viewer. God bless America! We may not

deserve it, but we could ~~sure~~ ^{use the} use the Lord's help. Bush's first confidence
after all, is that the ~~devil~~ ^{will never desert him in his hour of need.} Since he ~~is~~
~~an actor, the devil will always visit him in angel's robes.~~ ^{Since he is}
~~to appear~~ ^{that he may not}

891 words

His only error is that he
thinks it is ~~debatable~~ ^{debatable}
speaking to him.

NYRB Sept 04-5 9/23/04

NYRB Draft

Six weeks before the election, one is glum. Kerry's declaration that he would have voted for the war even if he had known then what he knows ^{now} ~~now~~ a position which is actually to the right of William F. Buckley's opinion ~~on the matter~~ did no service to his chances

There was an electoral logic for moving to the center, but Kerry backed too far and lost headway. He did not forfeit the loyalty of those who will vote for him no matter what—to rid America of Bush is their given—but he squandered whole funds of campaign energy. A movement that looks to breach the fortifications of a well-entrenched opponent needs white-hot allegiance to its general. Kerry doused too many campfires

A victory for Bush may yet be seen as ^{or} ~~one~~ our nation's ^{can't ignore it} ~~most notable~~ ironies. No need to speak again of the mendacities, manipulations, and spiritual mediocrity of the post-9/11 years; the time has come to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record, (and so complete a refusal to look at the

NYRB Sept 04-5 9/23/04

~~Country would opt for this promise of a security that, in all truth, and could~~
~~not promise.~~ *delivered spirit*

The Presidency is a role, and George, left on his own, might have become a successful movie actor. Kerry's task by now is to scourge Bush's ham-machismo, but the only real opportunity will come as Kerry steps into: most constricting venue—the debates. Kerry has to dominate Bush without a backward look at his own dove councils—"Don't be seen as cruel, John, or you will lose the women!" To the contrary—Kerry must win the men. He has to take Bush apart in public. By the end of the debates, he has to succeed in laying waste to Bush's *shit-eating* grin and present himself as ^{the} legitimate alternative—^a the hero whose reputation was slandered by a slacker ~~heroism~~. ~~heroism~~ *reduces* That will not be routine. Bush is the better actor. He has been impersonating men more manly than himself for many years. Kerry has to convince some new part of the audience that his opponent is a closet weakling who seizes on inflexibility as a way to show America that he is strong. Bush's appeal is, after all, to the stupid. They, too, are inflexible

they also know that maintaining one's stupidity can become a kind of strength,

~~if despite all the evidence, you never~~
~~change your mind~~ *provided you*
never change your mind

NYRB Sept 04-5 9/23/04

In this era of belly-grinding ironies, the most unpalatable ~~could~~ ^{could} be that we have to hitch our hopes ^{on the} ~~of~~ a series of televised faccot's whose previous history has never offered more than a few sound-bites for the contestants and apnea for the viewer. God bless America! We may not deserve it, but we could use the Lord's help. Bush's first confidence, after all is that the devil will never desert him in his hour of need. His only error is that he thinks it is Jehovah who is speaking to him.

935 words

1 of 4 pages

FAX to

1/718/624-3782

from Room 807

FAX no here is 202/661-2762

10/21

FAX
to 1/718/624-3782

from D. MILLER
Rm 807
Fax # 202/661-2762

First of 4 sheets

Triple space

These gloomy words were written before. (⊕)
 the first debate on September 30. (C. K. 11/1/04)
 They were followed by an even gloomier
 final flourish! In this era ... he
 thinks it is the Son who is speaking
 to him.

(2 of 4)

The debate, however, offered surprising
 ground for optimism; Kerry was,
 at his best, concise, forceful, almost
 joyful in his enjoyment of the
 Proclamation ^{before} of the debate. And
 Bush was at his worst. It was true,
 he was spoiled. He was tired from
 campaigning, he was out of his element.
 There are times when a speaker ^{may}
 used himself so much that he is
 now running on hollow, using
 the remains of oratorical techniques
 he has to give some semblance of
 presentation. Even Bush's face had
 become a liability. He looked sore,
 preched-up, and altogether out of
 his element which, for years, had

718 624 3782

~~seem to speak without~~ of fear & then
 seem to speak without debate, to be
 thus uttering his own homely sentiments
 of good without interruption, & so
 in the 90 minutes of formalized hour
 and forth he looked like in some
 certainty use a drink.

The result was startling. The King looked like the President, ~~and~~ ^{and} could speak like the corresponding Frenchman. The coming opposition from Prince Bismarck to the war was more than an opponent, a feeling.

All this was seen on a large stage
the art television set, and the models
seemed clear. Perry had won big
large margin. But only credit was
that he had gone the distance without
making any friends or enemies. Kings
all numbers were bound to increase.

Only one coverlet remained. The first twenty minutes of the late kind were on a small ~~the~~ model. I was set, the kind that three quarters of ~~the~~ the summer were coming ~~water~~ and on that set, it was a different plate. Rose and Winchill had scored

[illegible]

I October 2004

To: Robert Silvers

212-333-5374

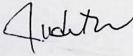
From: Judith/Norman Mailer's office
voice 718-858-0892

FOUR PAGES PLUS THIS COVER SHEET

Dear Bob,

Here are the typed pages that follow the marked galley pages Norman just faxed you and finish the article.

Best,



✓ cc by fax to N. Mailer

To follow marked gallies NM just /axed

①

These gloomy words were written before the first debate on September 30. They were followed by an even gloomier final flourish: "Through this era of belly-grinding ironies, the most unpalatable may be that we have to hitch our hopes to a series of televised face-offs whose previous history has seldom offered more than a few sound bites for the contestants and apnea for the viewer. God bless America! We may not deserve it, but we could use the Lord's help. Bush's first confidence, after all, is that the devil will never desert him in his hour of need. His only error is that he thinks it is the Son who is speaking to him."

The debate, however, offered surprising ground for optimism. Kerry was at his best, concise, forceful, almost joyous in the virtuosity of his ability. He was able to speak his piece despite the Procrustean bonds of the debate.

And Bush was at his worst. He was spoiled. He was out of his element. He was tired from campaigning. There are times when a man has campaigned so much that he is running on hollow. Even Bush's face had become a liability. He looked cranky and puckered-up. For years, he had been able to speak free of debate, always able to utter his homey patriotic gospel without interruption. Now in the 90 minutes of formalized back and forth, he looked unhappy enough to take a drink.

Most of this was seen on a big state-of-the-art television set, and the verdict seemed clear. Kerry had won by a large margin. Bush's only credit was that he had gone the distance without making any irremediable errors. Kerry's poll numbers were bound to increase.

Only one caveat remained. The first twenty minutes of the debate had been seen on the kind of modest-sized set that most of America would be



using. On that set, one saw a different debate. Karl Rove had scored again.

However it had been managed, the placement of the cameras favored Bush.

His head took up more square inches on the screen than Kerry's. In

television, that is half the battle. Kerry looked long and lean as he spoke out

of what seemed to be a medium shot, whereas Bush had many a close-up.

This advantage disappeared on the large set. There, each man's expression was clear, and their relative strengths and weaknesses were obvious. On a small set, however, all the cinematographic advantage went the other way.

We will have to wait for the polls. Will they be as skewed as the camera angles? We seem to be living these days in a kaleidoscope of ironies. Is the worst yet to come? If it is a close election, the electronic voting machines are ready to augment every foul memory of Florida in 2000.

Perhaps it is no longer Jesus or Allah who oversees our fate but the turn of the Greek gods to take another run around the track. When it comes to destiny, they were the first, after all, to conceive of the Ironies.

29 September 2004

To: Robert Silvers

212-333-5374

From: Judith/Norman Mailer's office
voice 718-858-0892

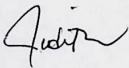
FOUR PAGES PLUS THIS COVER SHEET

Dear Bob,

Here is the corrected galley to date. Your choice whether you put in these first changes/corrections or wait for the final additions Friday.

If you have any trouble reading Norman's writing on the actual galley pages, it is best to call Norman (or Dwayne) at 508-487-3061 for clarification. Any problem with the typed insert pages AA3 and AA3-2, please call me at the Brooklyn number above.

Best,



202-661-2762 /04

toro: maller AA (election)

AA1

Norman Maller

Six weeks before the election, one is glum. Kerry's declaration that he would have voted for the war even if he had known then what he knows now, did no service to his chances.

There was an electoral logic for moving to the center, but Kerry lacked too far and lost headway. He did not forfeit the loyalty of those who will vote for him, no matter what—to rid America of Bush is their given—but he squandered whole funds of campaign energy. A movement that looks to breach the fortifications of a well-entrenched opponent needs white-hot allegiance to its general. Kerry doused too many campfires.

A victory for Bush may yet be seen as one of our nation's unforgettable ironies. No need to speak again of the mendacities, manipulations, and spiritual mediocrity of the post-9/11 years: the time has come to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record (and to complete a refusal to look at the record) looks nonetheless likely to prevail. Who, then, are we? In just what kind of condition are the American people?

A quick look at our movie stars gives a hint. The liberal left has been attached to actors like Warren Beatty and Jack Nicholson. They spoke to our cynicism and to our baffled idealism. But the American center moved their loyalties from the decency of Gary Cooper to the grit and self-approval of John Wayne. Now, we have the apotheosis of Arnold Schwarzenegger. He captured convention honors at the Garden in the course of informing America, via the physicality of his presence, that should the nation ever come to such a dire pass as to need a dictator, why, bless us all, to elect the best chin to come along since Benito Mussolini. Chin is now prepared to replace split.

In 1983, during the early years of spin, 240 Marines were blown up by a lone terrorist blast in Beirut. Two days later, on October 23, Reagan landed 22,000 Marines in Grenada, which is 3,000 miles away from Beirut. By the time that the invasion force grew to 70,000 Marines, the campaign was over. The US lost 19 dead, while 49 soldiers in the Grenadian army perished on the other side, as well as 29 Cuban construction workers. Communism in the Caribbean was now kaput except for the little matter of Castro and Cuba. After this instant victory over a ragtag army, Reagan was stimulated enough to claim that America had now put an end to our shame in Vietnam. Reagan understood what Americans wanted. It was more important to be told they were healthy than to be healthy.

Bush and Rove enlarged this insight by an order of magnitude. They acted on the premise that America was prodigiously insecure. As an empire, we are nouveau riche.

Dear Norma...
A golden
of you
excellent
piece with
the reason
to do
movement
in the
marched.

Let's do
a final
meaningful
about
the
current.

That can
be made
now.

Again
mann
Thanks

Anonymous
Self

hey, Arnold,
I can offer
the

Can be
substituted
for the quote
"to claim
the quote
I cannot
be found."

But this was certainly a popular
opinion of Reagan's right-wing fans,
but I can't find a quote by Reagan
yet. We'll keep looking.

to accept his
supporters' claim

you

FROM : JMWORCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243782

Doc # 11 4 2

20P1

* The bull of should never follow.

These gloomy words were written before the first debate on September

30. They were followed by an even gloomier final flourish. In this era Bush

thinks it is the Son who is appearing to him.

The debate, however, offered surprising ground for optimism. Key

at the virtuosity of
was at his best, concise, forceful, almost joyous in his enjoyment of hisability. He was able to speak his piece ~~despite~~the Procrustean bonds of the debate. And Bush was at his worst. ~~It was time~~

He was spoiled. He was out of his element. He was

~~He was spoiled. He was tired from campaigning. He was out of his element.~~~~He had been corrected. Consider the~~~~There are times when a man has come prepared~~~~style to offer only a small~~
running on hollow, using the remains of whatever technique he has to give~~semblance of presentation.~~ Even Bush's face had become a liability.cranky and) For years he had been
He looked ~~stare~~, pucker-up, and altogether out of his element which was

able to speak free of

years, had been to speak without debate, to be there uttering his own home

FROM : JMWORCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243782

D. P. 902. 41 24

patriotic gospel without interruption. Now in the 90 minutes of formalities

back and forth, he looked ^{unhappy enough to take} like he could certainly ^(3 of 4) use a drink

^{Most of a big state} All this was seen on ~~a~~ ^{large} state-of-the-art television set, and the

verdict seemed clear. Kerry had won by a large margin. Bush's only concern

was that he had gone the distance without making any irremediable error.

Kerry's poll numbers were bound to increase.

Only one caveat remained. The first twenty minutes of the debate had

been seen on ^{the kind of} a ~~small~~ ^{modest-sized} set, ^{the kind that} ~~three quarters of the~~ ^{most of America}

^{one saw} ~~viewers~~ would be using, and on that set, it was ^(Karl) a different debate, ^{Kove and}

^{again} ~~his skills~~ had scored. ^{square inches} However it had been managed, the placement of the

^(tense up more space on the screen) cameras favored Bush. His head ^{was} larger than Kerry's. In television, that

is half the battle. Kerry looked long and lean as he spoke out of what seemed

we look to overcome the uneasiness implicit in this condition by making mega-money. The sorriest thing to be said about the U.S. as we slide up to fascism (which can become our fate if we plunge into a major depression, or suffer a set of dirty-bomb catastrophes) is that we expect disasters. We await them. We have become a guilty nation. Somewhere in the maw of the national conscience is the knowledge that we are caught in the ery moron of loving Jesus on Sunday, while hustling after mega-money for the rest of the week. How can we not be in need of someone to tell us that we are good and pure and he will seek to make us secure? For Bush-and-Rove, 9/11 was the jackpot.

i.e. The Presidency is a role, and George, left on his own, might have become a successful movie actor. Kerry's task by now is to scourge Bush's ham-machismo, but the real opportunity will come as Kerry steps into a most constricting venue—the debates. Kerry has to dominate Bush without a backward look at his own dove councils—"Don't be seen as cruel, John, or you will lose the women!" To the contrary—Kerry must win the men. He has to take Bush apart in public. By the end of the debates, he has to succeed in laying waste to Bush's shit-eating grin and present himself as the legitimate alternative—a hero whose reputation was slandered by a slacker. That will not be routine. Bush is the better actor. He has been impersonating men more manly than himself for many years. Kerry has to convince some new part of the audience that his opponent is a closet weakling who seizes on inflexibility as a way to show America that he is strong. Bush's appeal is, after all, to the stupid. They, too, are inflexible—they also know that maintaining one's stupidity can become a kind of strength, provided you never change your mind.

In this era of belly-grinding ironies, the most unpalatable may be that we have to hitch our hopes on a series of televised face-offs whose previous history has never offered more than a few soundbites for the contestants and apnea for the viewer. God bless America! We may not deserve it, but we could use the Lord's help. Bush's first confidence, after all, is that the devil will never desert him in his hour of need. His only error is that he thinks it is John who is speaking to him.

The Sol

This paragraph should be revised for delivery on Friday, Friday of debate. It ought much of it not be kept, if revised.

through seldom

way
forward -- the
new, in this
time, the
path, the
now?

See mega-money.

see typed sheet AA3

Kerry has to do no less than make Bush look insecure, naughty but a weakling who seized on inflexibility as the only way to show America that he is strong. There is a subtext on which Kerry can play to make impressions.

=
#

①

These gloomy words were written before the first debate on September

30. They were followed by an even gloomier final flourish: In this era Bush ^{of belly-grinding ironies}
A

~~thinks it is the Son who is appearing to him~~

The debate, however, offered surprising ground for optimism. Kerry was at his best, concise, forceful, almost joyous in his enjoyment of the Procrustean bonds of the debate. And Bush was at his worst. It was time. He was spoiled. He was tired from campaigning. He was out of his element. There are times when a speaker has used himself so much that he is now running on hollow, using the remains of whatever technique he has to give some semblance of presentation. Even Bush's face had become a liability. He looked severe, puckered-up, and altogether out of his element which, for years, had been to speak without debate, to be there uttering his own homey

to be a medium shot. Bush was full-faced and all there in a fixed close-up.

To repeat: his head was bigger than Kerry's.

This advantage disappeared on the large set for there each man's expression was clear, and the relative strengths and weaknesses were obvious. But on a small set, all the cinematographic advantage went to Bush.

We will have to wait for the polls. Will they be as skewed as the camera angles? We seem to be living these days in a kaleidoscope of ironies. Is the worst yet to come? If it is a close election, will the electronic voting machines augment every foul memory of Florida in 2000? Perhaps it is no longer Jesus or Allah who oversees our fate but the Greek gods instead, back from Destiny to take another run around the track.

patriotic gospel without interruption. Now in the 90 minutes of formalized

back and forth, he looked like he could certainly use a drink.

All this was seen on a very large state-of-the-art television set, and the verdict seemed clear. Kerry had won by a large margin. Bush's only credit was that he had gone the distance without making any irremediable errors.

Kerry's poll numbers were bound to increase.

Only one caveat remained. The first twenty minutes of the debate had been seen on a small to modest-sized set, the kind that three-quarters of the viewers would be using, and on that set, it was a different debate. Rove and his shills had scored. However it had been managed, the placement of the cameras favored Bush. His head was larger than Kerry's. In television, that is half the battle. Kerry looked long and lean as he spoke out of what seemed

AA3 (to be inserted at * on AA2)

Kerry has to do no less than make Bush look insecure, a weakling who seized on inflexibility as the only way to show America that he is strong.

There is a subtext which Kerry can use. Bush, after all, is not accustomed to working alone in hostile environments. He has been cosseted for years. It is cruel but true that he has the vulnerability of an ex-alcoholic.

People in Alcoholics Anonymous speak of themselves as dry drunks. As they see it, they may no longer drink, but a sense of imbalance at having to do without liquor does not go away. Rather, the impulse is sequestered behind the faith that God is supporting one's efforts to remain sober.

Giving up booze may well have been the most heroic act of George W.'s life, but America could now be paying the price. George W.'s piety has

AA3-2

become a pomade to cover all the tamped-down dry-drunk craziness that still

stirs in his livid inner air.

1 Oct

To: 202 - 661 - 2762

From 718 - ~~624~~ - 3782

3 pages plus This cover

AA3 (to be inserted at * on AA2)

Kerry has to do no less than make Bush look insecure, a weakling who seized on inflexibility as the only way to show America that he is strong.

There is a subtext on which Kerry can make inroads. Bush, after all, is not used to working alone in hostile environments. He has been cosseted for years. It is cruel but true that he has the vulnerability of an ex-alcoholic.

People in Alcoholics Anonymous speak of themselves as dry drunks. As they see it, they no longer drink, but there is a continuous sense of imbalance at having to do without liquor. That does not go away—not for a good many. The impulse continues. It is sequestered now behind the faith that God is supporting one's efforts to remain sober.

Giving up booze may well have been the most heroic act of George W.'s life, but America could now be paying the price. Georgie's piety has

14A3, p. 2

become a pomade to cover all the tamped-down dry-drunk craziness that still

stirs in his livid inner air.

FROM : nM

FAX NO. : 5094872136

SEP 10 1 13 4 PM

FROM : JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243782

SEP 10 1 13 4 PM

J- 22 2 1 50 1
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10 0 0 70

AA3 (to be inserted at * on AA2)

Kerry has to do no less than make Bush look insecure, a weakling who

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People in Alcoholics Anonymous speak of themselves as dry drunks

As they see it, they ^{now} no longer drink, but there is a ^{ce} continuous sense of

imbalance at having to do without liquor. ~~That~~ ^{It} does not go away ~~not for~~

^{Rather the} ~~good many~~. The impulse ^{continues}. It is sequestered ~~now~~ behind the faith

that God is supporting one's efforts to remain sober.

Giving up booze may well have been the most heroic act of George

W.'s life, but America could now be paying the price. ^{George W.} ~~George's~~ piety has

FROM :nm

FAX NO. :5084872135

SEP 25 2001 3PM F1

FROM :JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. :17186243792

SEP 25 2001 1:07PM A1

AA3, p2

become a pomade to cover all the tamped-down dry-drunk craziness that still

stirs in his livid inner air.

on which Kerry can make inroads. ~~But~~ ^{But} after all, is not used to working alone in hostile environments. He has been cosseted ~~and catered~~ for years. It is ~~crucial~~ ^{crucial} that ~~we~~ ^{we} realize he has the vulnerability of a ~~new~~ ^{new} recruit. People in Alcoholics Anonymous speak of themselves as dry drunks

there is a confusion. As they see it, they no longer drink, but the ~~continuous~~ ^{continuous} sense of imbalance is

having to do without liquor ^{That} does not go away—not ^{a good} for many of them. The

impulse continues. It is sequestered now behind the faith that God is

supporting one's efforts to remain sober.

Giving up booze may well have been the most heroic act of George

W.'s life, but ~~it is~~ ^{could now be} America who is now paying the price for his ~~piety~~ ^{piety} which ~~is~~ ^{has}

~~George W.'s~~ ^{George W.'s} piety has ^{cover all} become a ~~poor~~ ^{poor} made to ~~eat~~ ^{eat} the tamped-down dry-drunk craziness that ~~is~~ ^{is} still

~~stirring~~ ^{stirring} in his livid inner air.

~~Debate: what then were [cannot get] Bush alone and not supported as~~

People in Alcoholics Anonymous speak of themselves as dry drunks.

As they see it, they no longer drink, but the continuous sense of imbalance at having to do without liquor does not go away—not for many of them. The impulse continues. It is sequestered now behind the faith that God is supporting one's efforts.

Giving up booze may well have been the most heroic act of George W.'s life, but it is America who is now paying the price for his purity which as become a pomade to coat the tamped-down dry-drunk craziness that is still stirring in his livid inner air.

Debate: what then were [cannot get] Bush alone and not supported its

toro: mailer AA (election)

AA1

Norman Mailer

Six weeks before the election, one is glum. Kerry's declaration that he would have voted for the war even if he had known then what he knows now, did no service to his chances.

There was an electoral logic for moving to the center, but Kerry lacked too far and lost headway. He did not forfeit the loyalty of those who will vote for him no matter what—to rid America of Bush is their given—but he squandered whole funds of campaign energy. A movement that looks to breach the fortifications of a well-entrenched opponent needs white-hot allegiance to its general. Kerry doused too many campfires.

A victory for Bush may yet be seen as one of our nation's unforgettable ironies. No need to speak again of the mendacities, manipulations, and spiritual mediocrity of the post-9/11 years; the time has come to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record (and so complete a refusal to look at the record) looks nonetheless likely to prevail. Who, then, are we? In just what kind of condition are the American people?

A quick look at our movie stars gives a hint. The liberal left has been attached to actors like Warren Beatty and Jack Nicholson. They spoke to our cynicism and to our baffled idealism. But the American center moved their loyalties from the decency of Gary Cooper to the grit and self-approval of John Wayne. Now, we have the apotheosis of Arnold Schwarzenegger. He captured convention honors at the Garden in the course of informing America, via the physicality of his presence, that should the nation ever come to such a dire pass as to need a dictator, why, bless us all, ~~he offers~~ the best chin to come along since Benito Mussolini. Chin is now prepared to replace spin.

In 1983, during the early years of spin, 240 Marines were blown up by a lone terrorist blast in Beirut. Two days later, on October 23, Reagan landed 1200 Marines in Grenada, which is 3000 miles away from Beirut. By the time that the invasion force grew to 7000 Marines, the campaign was over. The US lost 19 dead, while 49 soldiers in the Grenadian army perished on the other side, as well as 29 Cuban construction workers. Communism in the Caribbean was now kaput except for the little matter of Castro and Cuba. After this instant victory over a ragtag army, Reagan was stimulated enough to claim that America had now put an end to our shame in Vietnam. Reagan understood what Americans wanted, i.e. spin. It was more important to be told they were healthy than ~~it was~~ to be healthy.

Bush-and-Rove enlarged this insight by an order of magnitude. They acted on the premise that America was prodigiously insecure. At an empire, we are nouveau riches, ~~and all now~~

js 9/27

Fixed
9/29/04

Dear Norman,
A galley
of your
excellent
piece with
the section
to be
revised
on Friday
marked.

Let's do
a touch
meanwhile
about
any
corrections
that can
be made
now.
Again
many
thanks,

BBB

he, Arnold,
can offer
the

1/1c

1/1c

1/1c

Can be
substituted
for "to claim"
for the quote
if cannot
be found.

Ree

au: This was certainly a popular
opinion of Reagan's right-wing fans,
but I can't find a quote by Reagan
yet. We'll keep looking.

to accept his
superior's claim

you

3 (?)

Americans
Self

~~Peau-riche~~ we look to overcome the AA2
 uneasiness implicit in this condition by
~~making~~ mega-money. The sorriest
 thing to be said about the US, as we
 sidle up to fascism (which can become
 our fate if we plunge into a major de-
 pression, or suffer a set of dirty-bomb
 catastrophes) is that we expect disas-
 ters. We await them. We have become
 a guilty nation. Somewhere in the mael-
 of the national conscience is the knowl-
 edge that we are caught in the ~~oxy-~~
 miron of loving Jesus on Sunday,
 while lusting after mega-money for the
 rest of the week. How can we not be in
 need of someone to tell us that we are
 good and pure and he will seek to
 make us secure? For Bush-and-Rove,
 9/11 was the jackpot.

quassing

little
~~contradiction~~
 contradiction

Scary mega-money.

i.e.

The Presidency is a role, and
 George, left on his own, might have
 become a successful movie actor. Ker-
 ry's task by now is to scourge
 Bush's ham-machismo, but the only
 real opportunity will come as Kerry
 steps into a most constricting venue—
 the debates. Kerry has to dominate
 Bush without a backward look at his
 own dove councils—"Don't be seen as
 cruel, John, or you will lose the
 women!" To the contrary—Kerry must
 win the men. He has to take Kerry
 apart in public. By the end of the de-
 bates, he has to succeed in laying
 waste to Bush's shit-eating grin and
 present himself as the legitimate alter-
 native—a hero whose reputation was
 slandered by a slacker. That will not
 be routine. Bush is the better actor. He
 has been impersonating men more
 manly than himself for many years.
 Kerry has to convince some new part
 of the audience that his opponent is a
 closet weakling who seizes on inflexi-
 bility as a way to show America that
 he is strong. Bush's appeal is, after all,
 to the stupid. They, too, are inflexible
 —they also know that maintaining
 one's stupidity can become a kind of
 strength, provided you never change
 your mind.

how? In the week
 before the debate
 I wrote the
 foreclosing: Kerry's
 only real opportunity

This paragraph should be revised
 for delivery on Friday, in view of the
 debate. Of course much of it could
 be kept in revised form.

Ⓟ
 Kerry has to do
 no less than
 make Bush look
 insecure, ~~naughty~~
 but a ~~strong~~
 a weakling who
 seized on
 inflexibility
 as the only
 way to show
 America that
 he is strong.
 There is a subtext
 on which Kerry
~~can~~ ~~make~~ ~~invade~~
 Green ~~Plutocrats~~ ~~invade~~

In this era of belly-grinding ironies,
 the most unpalatable may be that we
 have ~~or~~ to hitch our hopes on a series
 of televised faceoffs whose previous
 history has never offered more than a
 few sound/bites for the contestants
 and apnea for the viewer. God bless
 America! We may not deserve it, but
 we could use the Lord's help. Bush's
 first confidence, after all, is that the
 devil will desert him in his hour
 of need. His only error is that he
 thinks it is Jehovah who is speaking to
 him.

This may
 follow the
 new writing
 on the debate
 Put aside for
 now

on which Kerry can make inroads. Bush, ~~after all~~, is not used to working alone in hostile environments. He has been cosseted ~~and coddled~~ for years. It is ~~sure~~ ^{not true} that he has the vulnerability of an ~~ex-alcoholic~~.
 If People in Alcoholics Anonymous speak of themselves as dry drunks.

As they see it, they no longer drink, but ^{there is a continuing} ~~the continuous~~ sense of imbalance at

having to do without liquor ^{That} does not go away—not for ^{a good} many of them. The

impulse continues. It is sequestered now behind the faith that God is

supporting one's efforts ^{to remain sober}.

Giving up booze may well have been the most heroic act of George

W.'s life, but ^{could now be} ~~it is~~ America who is now paying the price for ^{piety} ~~his piety~~ which as

^{George W.'s} ~~piety~~ ^{has} ~~become a pomade to coat~~ ^{cover all} the tamped-down dry-drunk craziness that ~~is~~ still ^{57.109}

~~stirring~~ in his livid inner air.

Debate ~~what then were~~ ^[cannot get] Bush alone and ~~not supported its~~

FROM : m

FAX NO. : 5084872136

12 P2

09/27/2004 17:37 FAX 212 333 5374

THE NY REVIEW OF BOOKS

1 3/0-3

we look to overcome the uneasiness implicit in this condition by making mega-money. The sorriest thing to be said about the US, as we slide up to fascism (which can become our fate if we plunge into a major depression, or suffer a set of dirty-bomb catastrophes) is that we expect disasters. We await them. We have become a guilty nation. Somewhere in the maw of the national conscience is the knowledge that we are caught in the ~~error~~ ^{error} of loving Jesus on Sunday, while hustling after mega-money for the rest of the week. How can we not be in need of someone to tell us that we are good and pure and he will seek to make us secure? For Bush-and-Rove, 9/11 was the jackpot.

i.e. The Presidency is a role, and

George, left on his own, might have become a successful movie actor. Kerry's task by now is to scourge Bush's ham-machine, but the real opportunity will come as he steps into a most constricting venue—the debates. Kerry has to dominate Bush without a backward look at his own doubtful counsels—"Don't be seen as cruel, John, or you will lose the women!" To the contrary—Kerry must win the men. He has to take Bush apart in public. By the end of the debates, he has to succeed in laying waste to Bush's shit-eating grin and present himself as the legitimate alternative—a hero whose reputation was slandered by a slacker. That will not be routine. Bush is the better actor. He has been impersonating men more manly than himself for many years. Kerry has to convince some new part of the audience that his opponent is a closet weaseling who seizes on inflexibility as a way to show America that he is strong. Bush's appeal is, after all, to the stupid. They, too, are inflexible—they also know that maintaining one's stupidity can become a kind of strength, provided you never change your mind.

In this era of belly-grinding ironies, the most unpalatable may be that we have now hitched our hopes on a series of televised faceoffs whose previous history has never offered more than a few soundbites for the contestants and apnea for the viewer. God bless America! We may not deserve it, but we could use the Lord's help. Bush's first confidence, after all, is that the devil will never desert him in his hour of need. His only error is that he thinks it is Jehovah who is speaking to him.

See mega-money.

See typed sheet AA3

Kerry has to do no less than make Bush look insecure, not a strong weaseling who seized on inflexibility as the only way to show America that he is strong. There is a subtlety on which Kerry can play. Bush is a weaseling.

This paragraph should be revised for delivery on Friday, 9/30/04, if debate. It should make it look like Kerry is revised.

way
The
Bush is a weaseling
Kerry is a weaseling
Bush is a weaseling
Kerry is a weaseling

FROM : nM

FA# NO. : 5084872135

08/20/2004 11:36 FAX 212 313 5374

THE NEW REVIEW OF BOOKS

1070: maller AA (election)

AA1

Norman Moller

Six weeks before the election, one is glib. Kerry's declaration that he would have voted for the war even if he had known then what he knows now, did no service to his opponent.

There was an electoral logic for moving to the center. But Kerry talked too far and lost halfway. He did not forfeit the loyalty of those who will vote for him, no matter what—to rid America of Bush is their given—but he squandered whole funds of campaign energy. A movement that looks to breach the fortifications of a well-entrenched opponent needs white-hot allegiance to its general. Kerry doubted too many camps.

A victory for Bush may yet be seen as one of our nation's unforgettable ironies. No need to speak again of the mendacity, manipulations, and spiritual mediocrity of the post-9/11 years; the time has come to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record (and to complete a refusal to look at the record) looks nonetheless likely to prevail. Who, then, are we? In just what kind of condition are the American people?

A quick look at our movie screens gives a hint. The liberal left has been attracted to actors like Warren Beatty and Jack Nicholson. They spoke to our cynicism and to our baffled idealism. But the American center moved their loyalties from the decency of *Gaily, Gaily* to the grit and self-approval of John Wayne. Now, we have the apotheosis of Arnold Schwarzenegger. He captured convention honors at the Garden in the course of informing America, via the physicality of his presence, that should the nation ever come to such a dire pass as to need a dictator, why, *blast us all*, the answer is to elect a Schwarzenegger. He is the man to lead us into the future. China is now prepared to replace gold.

In 1961, during the early years of Spain, 240 Marines were blown up by Cuban terrorist blasts in Beirut. Two days later, on October 29, Reagan landed 12,000 Marines in Grenada, which is 3,000 miles away from Beirut. By the time that the invasion force grew to 70,000 Marines, the campaign was over. The US lost 14 dead, while 49 soldiers in the Grenadian army perished on the other side, as well as 28 Cuban construction workers. Communism in the Caribbean was now kaput except for the little matter of Castro and Cuba. After this instant victory over a raging war, Reagan was humiliated enough to claim that America had now put an end to our shame in Vietnam. Reagan understood what Americans wanted. It was more important to be told they were healthy than to be healthy.

Rush-and-Rove enlarged this insight by an order of magnitude. They acted on the promise that America was prodigiously insecure. As an empire, we are nouveau riches. ~~That is~~

Faxed back
w/ charges
9/29/02

J-
NM will
Call you in
a few minutes

he, Arnold,
can offer
the

can be
substituted
for "to claim"
if the quote
cannot
be saved.

ou: This was certainly a popular opinion of Reagan's right-wing fans, but I can't find a quote by Reagan yet. We'll keep looking.

to accept his
superintendent's claim

 $1/f_c$

5/15

↑

11

3/2

5

4.1

Amor 11

AA3 (to be inserted at * on AA2)

J- N.M. will call
in a bit to
discuss.
J,

Kerry has to do no less than make Bush look insecure, a weakling who
seized on inflexibility as the only way to show America that he is strong.

There is a subtext ^{use} on which Kerry can ~~make inroads~~. Bush, after all, is not
~~accustomed~~
~~used~~ to working alone in hostile environments. He has been cosseted for
years. It is cruel but true that he has the vulnerability of an ex-alcoholic.

People in Alcoholics Anonymous speak of themselves as dry drunks.

As they see it, they ^{now} no longer drink, but there is a ^a continuous sense of
imbalance at having to do without liquor. ~~That~~ does not go away, ~~not for a~~
~~Rather the~~
~~good many~~. The impulse ~~continues~~. It is sequestered ~~now~~ behind the faith
that God is supporting one's efforts to remain sober.

Giving up booze may well have been the most heroic act of George
W.'s life, but America could now be paying the price. ^{George W.'s} ~~George's~~ piety has

1A.3, p.2

become a pomade to cover all the tamped-down dry-drunk craziness that still

stirs in his livid inner air.

NYRB Sept 04-3 9/21/04 afternoon

DOUBLE SPACE

NYRB Draft

~~THIS IS THE CRUX~~

Six weeks (is) Kerry's
~~Forty-five days~~ before the election, one ~~has to be~~ ^{is} glum. When Kerry
declaration,
~~made his comment~~ that he would ~~still~~ have voted for the war even if he had
^{today} ~~known~~ ^{now} ~~then~~ what he knows ~~to be~~ ^{a position which is actually} ~~known~~ to the right of William F.
 Buckley. ~~He~~ did no service to his chances.

There was an electoral logic ~~there~~ ^{for} to moving toward ^{to} the center, but
^{over} ~~past~~ ^{the line} ~~the line~~ ^(forfeit the allegiance of)
 Kerry tacked ~~too far~~ and lost headway. He did not ~~lose~~ ^{lose} those who will vote
 for him no matter ~~how~~ ^{to America} ~~or what~~—getting rid of Bush is the given—but he
 squandered whole funds of campaign ^{energy,} ~~intensity~~. A movement that looks to

breach the fortifications of a well-entrenched opponent needs white-hot allegiance
commitment to its general,
~~intensity~~ Kerry doused too many campfires.

NYRB Sept 04-1 9/19/04

1

NYRB Draft

Forty-five days before the election, one has to be glum. The forces

~~working for Bush seem so much more powerful than the paucity of shots~~

~~available to the Democrats~~ When Kerry made his incomprehensibly

maladroit comment that he still would have voted for the war if he had known

then what he knows today (a position to the right of William F. Buckley), he

~~did no service to his chances~~
~~cut off one good running leg of his chances.~~

~~Change the metaphor. He sucked the air out of the left, the center of~~

~~passion behind the campaign to unhorse Bush.~~ There was an electoral logic then

to moving toward the center, but Kerry tacked over too far. He ~~didn't~~ ^{did not} lose

those who will vote for him no matter how ~~or what~~ ^{the} getting rid of Bush is given for

NYRB Sept 04-1 9/19/04

many of us --
~~them~~ but he lost the nearest equivalent to religious intensity for his side. *Intensity, that we² had for*
~~us~~ *that we had for our*

our side. *A)* *breach*
 campaign that looks to break through the fortifications of a well-entrenched

in its drive,
 opponent needs white-hot intensity *at its core.* Kerry doused such fires and

~~left his supporters to wonder if the worst Republican canard of them all might~~
~~even be correct. What if he was the king of flip-flop? So much ground has to~~
~~be regained.~~ *All that*

may yet be seen
 A victory for Bush ~~will go down in history~~ as one of the *major* greatest

in our history.
 American ironies. No need to speak one more time of the mendacities,

manipulations, outright brainwashing and spiritual mediocrity of these Bush *the past 9/11*

the post 9/11
 years; it is time to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record and so

complete a refusal to look at the record, promises nonetheless to prevail.

then
 Who are we? In just what kind of state are the American people?

NYRB Sept 04-1 9/19/04

4

three days later (CK)
Grenada to conquer a Cuban force of 1000 construction workers, ~~and that~~

quick
most successful campaign brought to an end in two days [CK] with no

American casualties [CK] was declared by Reagan to have put an end to our

shame in Viet Nam [CK original statement]. That was Reagan's ~~method~~ *methodology*

Reagan
~~at its best. He~~ understood what Americans needed. *Telling* He saw that the public

~~were as happy if you told them they were happy, than if they were really~~
happy.
~~happy.~~ *seemed to work as well as if*
they were really happy.

Bush-and-Rove have multiplied this ~~principle~~ *insight* by an order of

exactly that
magnitude. They know ~~what they are doing.~~ America is prodigiously

They understand that
insecure. ~~Spiritually speaking,~~ we are the nouveau-riches of all empires, and

like all nouveau riches, ~~the~~ only way we can overcome the prodigious

implicitly
OR Blue Condition
uneasiness that we do not belong where we are is to make more money,

~~inflate more national ego,~~ and never look back. The sorriest thing to be said

NYRB Sept 04-1 9/19/04

7

viewer. God bless America! We may not deserve it, but we sure could use the Lord's help. Bush's first confidence, after all, is that the devil will never desert him in his hour of need.

NYRB Sept 04-2 9/21/04

NYRB Draft

FAXED
SEP 21 2004

Forty-five days before the election, ~~one has to be plumb~~ When Kerry made his ~~incomprehensibly maladro~~ comment that he would still have voted ~~even~~ for the war if he had known then what he knows today (a position to the right of William F. Buckley), he did no service to his chances.

There was an electoral logic then to moving toward the center, but ~~and lost headway.~~ Kerry tacked too far. ~~He did not lose those who will vote for him no matter how or what—getting rid of Bush is the given for them—~~ but he ~~lost many of~~ ~~us—~~ ~~he lost the nearest equivalent to religious intensity that we had on our~~ ~~side.~~ ~~A campaign~~ ~~that looks to breach the fortifications of a well-entrenched~~ ~~opponent needs white-hot intensity. Kerry doused such fires.~~

and lost headway.
He did not lose those who will vote for him no matter how or what—getting rid of Bush is the given for them—
but he lost many of
whole seeds of campaign
movement
too many camp fires

NYRB Sept 04-2 9/21/04

(most notable²)
A victory for Bush may yet be seen as one of the ~~major~~ ironies ~~in our~~
in recent *again*
history. No need to speak ~~one~~ more time of the mendacities, manipulations,

~~outright~~ brainwashing and spiritual mediocrity of the post-9/11 years; ~~in~~ *the time*
has come
~~time~~ to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record, and so complete a

refusal to look at the record, promises nonetheless to prevail. Who, then, are
we? In just what kind of state are the American people?

A quick look at our movie stars over the last forty years can give a hint
of our psychic migrations. The liberal left has been attached all the way to
actors like Warren Beatty, Jack Nicholson and Sean Penn. They spoke to our
cynicism and baffled idealism. But the right, and the American center shifted
their loyalties from the down-deep decency of Gary Cooper to the grit and
self-approval of John Wayne. Now we have the apotheosis of Arnold
Schwarzenegger. He captured convention honors at the Garden in the course

NYRB Sept 04-2 9/21/04

3

of informing America, via the physicality of his presence, that if the nation should ever come to such a pass as to need a dictator, why, bless us all, he had the best chin to come along since Benito Mussolini.

1981 (CK year)
Back in Ronald Reagan time, after 278 Marines [CK] were blown up

by ~~Reagan~~ ^{Reagan}
in one terrorist blast in Beirut, the ~~Commander in Chief~~ landed 1800 Marines

[CK] in Grenada three days later to conquer a Cuban force of 1000

(CK)
construction workers. This quick campaign, brought to an end in two days,

[CK] with no American casualties [CK] was declared by Reagan to have put

an end to our shame in Viet Nam [CK original statement]. Reagan

understood what Americans needed. Telling the public they were happy
The public didn't have
to be happy it was enough to tell them
they were happy
seemed to work as well as if they were really happy.

Bush-and-Rove have multiplied this insight by an order of magnitude.

They know that America is prodigiously insecure. Spiritually speaking, we

NYRB Sept 04-2 9/21/04

4

are the nouveau-riches of all empires, and like all nouveau riches, the only

way we can overcome the prodigious uneasiness implicit in the condition is to

mega-money,
make ~~more~~ money, and never look back. The sorriest thing to be said about

(as we slide up to the approaches
the U.S.) ~~now as we hover over~~ at the edge of fascism (which ~~well may come~~ *stef*

major
if we plunge into a prodigious economic depression or suffer a set of dirty-

We expect them
bomb catastrophes) is that we expect disasters because we have been a guilty

nation. Somewhere in the moil of the national conscience is the knowledge

live in
that we are ~~suspended over~~ the divide between Jesus Christ and ~~the license of~~ *mega-money,*

~~mega-greed.~~ How can we not need someone to tell us that he will make us

secure? For Bush and Rove, 9/11 was the jackpot—the country ~~wanted~~ *opted for*

No questions asked,
security right away. Give them a strong man. The Presidency is a role, and

George, as we know, could have been a boss actor. Kerry's task by now is to

plethora of
take a big slice out of ~~all the huge~~ *ham-machismo* Bush has been able to

NYRB Sept 04-2 9/21/04

5

~~parvey~~
~~present~~

Indeed, his only real opportunity may be present during the debates.

The debates—a most constricting venue! Kerry will have to do no less than dominate Bush without a backward look to his own dove councils "Don't be seen as cruel, John, or you will lose the women!" To the contrary—Kerry

must win the men. He must shame Bush in public. By the end of the debates,

he must succeed in ~~exposing~~ ^{laying waste to} Bush's triumphant mouth-set, his shit-eating grin,

his fraternity president sneer, ~~as the facade of an over-extended impersonator~~ ^{impersonation of a strong man}

^{has to} of a strong man. For Kerry to succeed, he must come forth as the more

manly, the real soldier, the unfairly-tainted war hero ^{That will not be easy} But Bush is the better ^{who has been slandered by a gladder} actor. He's been impersonating men more manly than himself for many years.

Kerry will have to ^{force a breakthrough} demonstrate that he is the real

protagonist and Bush is a putative movie star. That is no small demand but ^{looks like a strength that puts no small demand} the Presidency may depend on it. In this of harsh and belly-grinding ironies,

^{demand on Kerry}
that the Presidency
could

who depends on rigid inflexibility
as the best way to present
himself as strong. ~~to appear~~
~~to the 9-11 puts no small demand~~

NYRB Sept 04-2 9/21/04

6

unpalatable could be that we
the most curious ~~(and worst so far)~~ is that it may all depend on a couple of

debates whose previous history ~~up to now~~ has offered ~~at best~~ scattered sound-

bites for the ^{*previous*} contestants and apnea for the viewer. God bless America! We

may not deserve it, but we ~~sure~~ could use the Lord's help. Bush's first

confidence, after all, is that the devil will never desert him in his hour of need.

877 words

NYRB Sept 04-4 9/22/04

1

NYRB Draft

15

Six weeks before the election, one ~~has to be~~ glum. Kerry's declaration that he would have voted for the war even if he had known then what he knows now—a position which ^{on this matter} is actually to the right of William F. Buckley—~~on this matter~~ did no service to his chances.

There was an electoral logic for moving to the center, but Kerry tacked ^{too far} over the line and lost headway. He did not forfeit the allegiance of those who will vote for him no matter what—to rid America of Bush is ^{their} ~~the~~ given—but he squandered whole funds of campaign energy. A movement that looks to breach the fortifications of a well-entrenched opponent ^{is in need of} ~~needs~~ white-hot allegiance to its general. Kerry doused too many campfires.

A victory for Bush may yet be seen as one ^{of} our nation's more notable ironies. No need to speak again of the mendacities, manipulations, ~~brainwashing~~ and spiritual mediocrity of the post-9/11 years; the time has come to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record, (and so complete a refusal to look at the record) looks nonetheless likely to prevail. Who, then,

NYRB Sept 04-3 9/21/04 afternoon

2

~~Dear~~ *(our nat con's)*
A victory for Bush may yet be seen as one of the ~~most~~ *more* notable ironies ~~in~~

~~of American~~
in recent history. No need to speak again of the mendacities, manipulations,

brainwashing and spiritual mediocrity of the post-9/11 years; the time has

come to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record and so complete a

refusal to look at the record *looks* *(likely to)* ~~promises~~ nonetheless to prevail. Who, then, are

we? In just what kind of state are the American people?

Have we gone all the way over to Gaultville?

A quick look at our movie stars ~~over the last few years can give a hint.~~ *long gives*

The liberal left has been attached ~~all the way~~ *dependable* to actors like Warren Beatty *and*

Jack Nicholson ~~and Sean Penn~~. They spoke to our cynicism and baffled

idealism. But ~~the right~~ *moved* and the American center shifted their loyalties from

the ~~down deep~~ decency of Gary Cooper to the grit and self-approval of John

Wayne. Now we have the apotheosis of Arnold Schwarzenegger. He

captured convention honors at the Garden in the course of informing America,

NYRB Sept 04-3 9/21/04 afternoon

3

via the physicality of his presence, that if the nation ^{should} ~~should~~ ever come to such

a pass as to need a dictator, why, bless us all, he ^(dine) ~~had~~ the best chin to come

along since Benito Mussolini.

Change of venue; On October 21, 1983, 240 killed (21)

Back in 1983 [CK year], after 228 Marines [CK] were blown up by

by ~~one~~ ^{1200 (two days later)} terrorist blast in Beirut, Reagan landed 1200 Marines [CK] in Grenada.

By the time that the invasion force was to
~~three days later to conquer a Cuban force of 1000 construction workers [CK]~~

This quick campaign, brought to an end in two days, [CK] with no American

casualties [CK] was declared by Reagan to have put an end to our shame in

and 49 soldiers in the Grenada Army were killed as well as 29 Cuban construction workers
 Viet Nam [CK original statement]. Reagan understood what Americans *wanted* (*)

~~needed. It was more important for the President to tell people that they were happy, the were happy for their country.~~

Bush-and-Rove have multiplied this insight by an order of magnitude.

They know that America is prodigiously insecure. Spiritually speaking, we

and had a quick victory over a ragtag Grenadian army and some Cuban construction workers. This political gain of similar stimulus. The shame of Vietnam has been overcome. Raised hopes & desire.

They would rather be told they were better than they are.

(*)

NYRB Sept 04-3 9/21/04 afternoon

4

we ^(after all) ^{world} are the nouveau-riches of all empires, and like all nouveau riches, the only way we can ^{only look to} overcome the ^{was} prodigious uneasiness implicit in the condition is to

make mega-money, and never look back. The sorriest thing to be said about

the U.S., as we sidle up to ^{can} ^{certainly} the approaches of fascism (which ^{can} ^{well may come}

be our fate) ^{and/or} (if we plunge into a major economic depression, or suffer a set of dirty-bomb

catastrophes) is that we expect disasters. We expect them because we have ^(awake) ^{become}

been a guilty nation. Somewhere in the moil of the national conscience is the

^{are straddled} ^{in the} ^{oxymoron of} ^{living for} ^{for} knowledge that we live in the ^{dividing} ^{line} between Jesus Christ and mega-money.

How can we not ^{be in} ^{left} need someone to tell us that ^{we are good and pure and} he will make us secure? ^{for} To

Bush-and-Rove, 9/11 was the jackpot—the country opted for security right ^{would opt for the promise of}

a security that no one could guarantee, ^{but} ^{in that} ^{with} ^{as} ^{give us a strong man,} away. No questions asked. Give them a strong man. The Presidency is a

of The Presidency is a role) ^{would opt for the promise of} ^{might} ^{left on his} ^{away} role, and George, as we know, could have been a boss actor. Kerry's task by ^{savage} ^{Bush's} ^{ham-machismo} ^{stage} ^{struck} ^{then} now is to ^{take} ^{the} ^{plethora of} ^{ham-machismo} ^{Bush has been}

and George, ^{as} ^{left on his} ^{stage} ^{own} ^{might} ^{have} ^{become} ^a ^{successful} ^{actors} ^{travels} ^{task} ^{by} ^{now} ^{is} ^{to} ^{savage} ^{actors} → p5

NYRB Sept 04-3 9/21/04 afternoon

6

The ~~burden~~ ^{obviously is} ~~may~~ ^{growing in the debates} ~~demand~~ on Kerry, but the Presidency ~~could depend on it~~. In this era of ~~perish~~ ^{have to, in tech our hopes} and belly-grinding ironies, the most unpalatable could be that we ~~depend on a limited~~ ^{on that series of hitherto disappointing sac-ods,} ~~a series~~ ^{never offered more than} couple of debates whose previous history ~~has up to now offered scattered~~

sound-bites for the ~~previous~~ contestants and apnea for the viewer. God bless

America! We may not deserve it, but we could sure use the Lord's help.

Bush's first confidence, after all, is that the devil will never desert him ^{if he has} ~~in his~~ ^{his} hour of need. Since he is an actor, ~~the~~ ^{his} devil ~~upon whom he relies always comes~~ ^{873 words} ~~Sooth~~ ^{appears in angel's robes,}

we'll always visit him
in angel's robes.

NYRB Sept 04-5 9/23/04

1

NYRB Draft

Six weeks before the election, one is glum. Kerry's declaration that he would have voted for the war even if he had known then what he knows *now* ~~now~~ ~~a position which is actually to the right of William F. Buckley's opinion on the matter~~ did no service to his chances.

There was an electoral logic for moving to the center, but Kerry tacked too far and lost headway. He did not forfeit the loyalty of those who will vote for him no matter what—to rid America of Bush is their given—but he squandered whole funds of campaign energy. A movement that looks to breach the fortifications of a well-entrenched opponent needs white-hot allegiance to its general. Kerry doused too many campfires.

A victory for Bush may yet be seen as *of* *unforgettable* ~~one~~ ~~our nation's~~ ~~more notable~~ ironies. No need to speak again of the mendacities, manipulations, and spiritual mediocrity of the post-9/11 years; the time has come to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record, (and so complete a refusal to look at the

NYRB Sept 04-5 9/23/04

2

record) looks nonetheless likely to prevail. Who, then, are we? In just what kind of state are the American people? ~~Has democracy gone all the way over~~
to Louisville?

A quick look at our movie stars gives a hint. The liberal left has been attached to actors like Warren Beatty and Jack Nicholson. They spoke to our cynicism and to our baffled idealism. But the American center moved their loyalties from the decency of Gary Cooper to the grit and self-approval of John Wayne. Now, we have the apotheosis of Arnold Schwarzenegger. He captured convention honors at the Garden in the course of informing America, via the physicality of his presence, that should the nation ever come to such a dire pass as to need a dictator, why, bless us all, he offers the best chin to come along since Benito Mussolini. Chin is now prepared to replace spin.

Back ^{during} in 1983, in the early years of spin, 240 Marines were blown up by one terrorist blast in Beirut. Two days later, on October 23, Reagan landed 1200 Marines in Grenada, which is 3000 miles away from Beirut. ^(OK) By the time that the invasion force grew to 7000 Marines, the campaign was over. The U.S. lost 19 dead, ^{while} and 49 soldiers in the Grenadian army perished, ^{on the other side)} as well as 29 Cuban construction workers. Communism in the Caribbean

NYRB Sept 04-5 9/23/04

3

was now kaput except for the little matter of Castro and Cuba. After this instant victory over a ragtag army, Reagan was stimulated enough to claim that America had now put an end to our shame in Viet Nam [CK original statement]. Reagan understood what Americans wanted. *Spin. It was more important to, it was spin. They would rather be told they were healthy than to be healthy.*

Bush-and-Rove enlarged this insight by an order of magnitude. They acted on the ~~(ascertainable)~~ premise that America was prodigiously insecure. As an empire, we are ~~the~~ nouveau-riches. Like all nouveau riches, we look to overcome the uneasiness implicit in this condition by making mega-money. The sorriest thing to be said about the U.S., as we sidle up to fascism (which can become our fate if we plunge into a major depression, or suffer a set of dirty-bomb catastrophes) is that we expect disasters. We await them. We have become a guilty nation. Somewhere in the moil of the national conscience is the knowledge that we are caught in the ~~oxymoron~~ ^{oxymoron} loving Jesus on Sunday, ~~and~~ ^{while after} lusting for mega-money ^{for} the rest of the week. How can we not be in need of someone to tell us that we are good and pure and he will seek to make us secure? For Bush-and-Rove, 9/11 was the jackpot ~~the~~ 7

NYRB Spt 04-5 9/23/04

4

~~Country would opt for this promise of a security that, in all truth, one could~~
~~not promise.~~ *delivered spirit*

The Presidency is a role, and George, left on his own, might have become a successful movie actor. Kerry's task by now is to scourge Bush's ham-machismo, but the only real opportunity will come as Kerry steps into a most constricting venue—the debates. Kerry has to dominate Bush without a backward look at his own dove councils—"Don't be seen as cruel, John, or you will lose the women!" To the contrary—Kerry must win the men. He has to take Bush apart in public. By the end of the debates, he has to succeed in laying waste to Bush's ~~shit-eating~~ grin and present himself as ^{the} a legitimate alternative—~~the~~ ^a hero whose reputation was slandered by a slacker. ~~Yes,~~ *Yes,* ~~heroism-red~~ That will not be routine. Bush is the better actor. He has been impersonating men more manly than himself for many years. Kerry has to convince some new part of the audience that his opponent is a closet weakling who seizes on inflexibility as a way to show America that he is strong. Bush's appeal is, after all, to the stupid. They, too, are inflexible—

they also know that maintaining one's stupidity can become a kind of strength.

~~FF despite all the evidence, you have~~
~~change your mind~~ provide you
 never change your mind

NYRB Sept 04-5 9/23/04

5

In this era of belly-grinding ironies, the most unpalatable ^{may} ~~could~~ be that we have to hitch our hopes ^{on to} ~~on~~ a series of televised faccoffs whose previous history has never offered more than a few sound-bites for the contestants and apnea for the viewer. God bless America! We may not deserve it, but we could use the Lord's help. Bush's first confidence, after all, is that the devil will never desert him in his hour of need. His only error is that he thinks it is Jehovah who is speaking to him.

935 words

the nearest equivalent to religious
intensity ~~on~~ his side. A campaign
~~without a white-hot intensity of~~
~~passion at its core is at an~~
~~inconceivable~~ that looks to break
through the fortifications of a
well-entrenched opponent, ~~and~~
~~the white-hot intensity of~~ ^{passion}
at its core. Kerry dared such
fieri, and ~~let~~ ^{left} his subtext to ~~testify~~
wonder if the Republicans were right
worst Republican counsel of them all
might even be correct. What if
he was the king of flip-flop, so
much ground had to be regained.

~~[Of Bush's victory]~~ A victory for
Bush will go down in history as
one of ~~the~~ ^{our} greatest American victories.
~~There~~ ^{one} need to ~~take~~ ^{mendacity} ~~of~~ ^{manipulation} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{spiritual}
outright ~~manipulation~~ ^{mediocrity} of the Bush years, it is
~~about a pity that the~~ ^{abysmal} ~~stagnation~~
~~decided~~ ^{time} to recover from the
shock that ~~realized~~ ^{abysmal} ~~a record~~
and so complete a refusal to look
at the record, ~~proceeds~~ ^{prevail} ~~unhindered~~
to ~~prevail~~ ^{prevail} ~~wherever~~ ^{wherever} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~just~~ ^{just}
what kind of state are the American
people?

[illegible]

-in-Chief ^{landed} ~~bombled~~ 1400 (CR) ⁵⁴⁸ ~~name~~ ^{to}
in Grenada to organize a Cuban force
of 4,000 ~~men~~ ^{construction workers} ~~teaching~~
and that most successful conference
brought to an end in two days (CR)
with no American casualties (CR)
was declared by Reagan to have put
an end to our shame in Vietnam
(CR original statement.) That was
Reagan's psychology at its
best. He understood what Americans
needed. He saw that ~~the~~ ^{for people like} ~~fact~~
was ^{just as happy} ~~happy~~ if you told them they
were ~~lucky~~ ^{were} ~~lucky~~ than if they really
~~were~~ ^{were} ~~lucky~~.

Barry Burdick-Rox had made this
multiplication that primarily by an
order of magnitude they knew what
they are doing. America is ~~for~~
prodigiously insecure. Spiritually
speaking, we are the nouveau riche
of all empires, and still all nervous
with the only way we can overcome
~~the~~ ^{the} prodigious encroachment that we
~~are not where we should be~~
~~and~~ do not belong when we are
it to make more money, reflect
more national ego, and more look

708 6

* We have
a living
kitchen

↳ forth
as the
worthy

10/8

Judith - pages 1-7 follow.
Rough mss of NY Review of Books
piece due by Sept 23.

As I raid on the phone, return
if possible on Monday - otherwise
Tuesday - triple-space.

FAXED FROM: 212/628-9167

FAX to 1/718/624-3782

Forty-five days
before writing at this hour, ~~the~~ ⁴⁵ days before
(the election, one has to begone. If I
were a handicapper, I'd put such as
off a 2 1/2 to 1 favorite. At least

The free speech for Bush can seem so much more powerful than the necessity of ^{shortly} ~~seamless~~ availability to the Democrats - When Kerry made his ^{uncomprehensibly} ~~embellished~~ misadvent comment that he would ~~the~~ still have voted for them if he had known ^{they} what he knows today, ^(a system to the right of William F. Buckley) ~~he cut off one~~
one good running gag of his chances,
~~a half leg of unreluctant support.~~

Charge the mutation, He sucked
the air out of the left, which is,
~~willy-nilly~~, whether Steward and
Company like it or not, the center
of passion behind the campaign
to unhorse Bush. There was ^(elected)
obligation ^(election) to move toward
the center, ^(date) Kerry took over
fast. He didn't look close color will
want vote for him at no matter
how getting rid of Bush is a
solid ground grow for them, but he can

Run

Flip flop

no nation builder
but rich world
no war ~~no war~~

No homeland security
before 9/11

No 9/11 commission

No Condoleezza Rice
to testify

wouldn't testify
himself

no intelligence cyber

4 yrs of public life

Built demo in Afghanistan
rich world of Saddam

{ Seeking arms for Iraq
for foreign nations
help of U.N.

Tour of leaders

all but now

covered up

Did.

all for it now

as - Kevin 20 years

Samuel + Blumenthal

windmills - quite
recent time

Jaggar - goal on a line

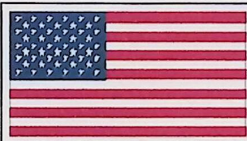
Gary Cooper - ^{guit + song} John Lennon - Schumann
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The History Guy®: The Invasion of Grenada (1983)



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The invasion of Grenada in late 1983 can be seen as a small part of the rivalry between the U.S. and Cuba during the Reagan years. A bloody coup in Grenada, along with a perceived threat to American students on the island provided the U.S. with an excellent excuse to eliminate a Marxist regime allied to Fidel Castro's Cuba.

Page Menu :Click on the menu bar below to navigate this page.

[Name of Conflict](#) | [Belligerents](#) | [Conflict Dates](#) | [Conflict Type](#) | [Related Conflicts](#) | [Causes](#) |
[Description](#) | [Consequences](#) | [Casualties](#) | [Unique Facts or Trends](#) | [Sources](#) | [Links](#)



Links on Grenada

NAME OF CONFLICT: The U.S. Invasion of Grenada

ALTERNATE NAMES: Operation Urgent Fury (US)

BELLIGERENTS:

United States and the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States

vs.

Grenada and Cuba

Return  To Page Menu

DATES OF CONFLICT:

BEGAN: October 25, 1983

ENDED: December, 1983

TYPE(S) OF CONFLICT: **Inter-State** (between nations)

RELATED CONFLICTS:

PREDECESSOR:

CONCURRENT: The Cold War, U.S. Intervention in Lebanon (1982-1984), Nicaraguan "Contra" War (1982-1990)

SUCCESSOR:

Return  To Page Menu

CAUSES OF CONFLICT:

The U.S. invasion of Grenada and the toppling of its Marxist government can be seen as part of a greater regional conflict. This conflict involved the U.S. and its Central American and Caribbean allies on one side and Fidel Castro's Cuba, the Sandinista government of Nicaragua and various Marxist guerrilla armies on the other. President Reagan and his administration were concerned that the Marxist government of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was allowing Cuba to gain undue influence in Grenada, specifically by constructing a military-grade airport with Cuban military engineers.

On October 13, 1983, the Grenadian Army, controlled by former Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard, seized power in a bloody coup. The severity of the violence, coupled with Coard's hard-line Marxism, caused deep concern among neighboring Caribbean nations, as well as in Washington, D.C. Also, the presence of nearly 1,000 American medical students in Grenada caused added concern.

However, along with concern, came opportunity. With President Reagan's worldwide efforts to confront what he viewed as the threat by the Soviet Union and other Communist countries (such as Cuba), the turmoil in the Caribbean provided a timely excuse to eliminate a Marxist government and give Fidel Castro a black eye.

It should also be noted that on October 23, 1983, American foreign policy and pride suffered a terrible shock when a Muslim suicide bomber destroyed the Marine barracks in Beirut, killing 240 U.S. Marines. A successful campaign in Grenada would prove helpful in alleviating the pain of that setback.

Return  To Page Menu

DESCRIPTION OF CONFLICT:

In the early morning of October 25, 1983, the United States invaded the island of Grenada. The initial assault consisted of some 1,200 troops, and they were met by stiff resistance from the Grenadian army and Cuban military units on the island. Heavy fighting continued for several days, but as the invasion force grew to more than 7,000, the defenders either surrendered or fled into the mountains. Scattered fighting continued as U.S. troops hunted down stragglers, but for the most part, the island quickly fell under American control. By mid-December, U.S. combat forces went home and a pro-American government took power.

CONSEQUENCES OF CONFLICT:

1. The Marxist, pro-Cuban governments of Bishop and Coard were eliminated and a regime friendly to American interests took over.
2. The Reagan Administration proved willing to use force to combat what it considered hostile governments in the area.
3. America's European allies expressed disapproval of the unilateral invasion of Grenada.
4. The invasion sent a message to Cuba and Nicaragua that they could only go so far in exporting revolution in Central America and the Caribbean without provoking an American military response.

CASUALTY FIGURES:

U.S.— 19 dead (officially).

Grenada— 49 dead and several hundred wounded.

Cuba— 29 dead and over a hundred wounded.

Return  To Page Menu

UNIQUE FACTS OR TRENDS: This section is formed from the opinion of the History Guy regarding this conflict.

1. This was the first "war" between the U.S. and Cuba. Though some would say that the Bay of Pigs Invasion of 1961 could fall into that category, I do not count it in the category of an "official" shooting war or conflict.
2. Grenada was America's first military victory since well before the Vietnam War.
3. This was the first time since before World War 2 that an avowed Communist/Marxist government had been replaced with a pro-Western one. It should be noted though, that some governments which the United States and her allies claimed were communist (like the Arbenz government of Guatemala and the Mossadegh regime in Iran) did fall due to covert American (CIA) action. Again, I do not count them since they did not officially proclaim allegiance to the communist ideology or become overt allies of other communist nations.

SOURCES:

1. Kohn, George C. Dictionary of Wars. New York: Facts On File Publications. 1986.

Return  To Page Menu

LINKS



Click here for the latest news on Grenada.

The Military History of the Ranger: Grenada Invasion An account of the U.S. Army Rangers in action in Grenada.

Operation Urgent Fury A good source for links on the Grenada conflict.

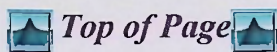
U.S. Casualties from Operation Urgent Fury --From the U.S. Army web site.

Lebanon And Grenada Transcript of President Reagan's address to the nation regarding the bombing of the Marine barracks in Lebanon and the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Part of a larger Ronald Reagan website.

Great Events IV: The Invasion of Grenada Primarily a political analysis of the reasons behind the Grenada invasion. Serves as a good summary. These articles are excerpted from Great Events VI, based on reporting by The New York Times.

The Grenada 17 Homepage--Supports the release of fourteen former members of the Grenada government of 1979 to 1983 and the three soldiers imprisoned with them.

Fort George Grenada, West Indies--Very interesting history of a military fort in Grenada, from colonial times to the U.S. invasion. This fort was previously known as Fort Rupert.



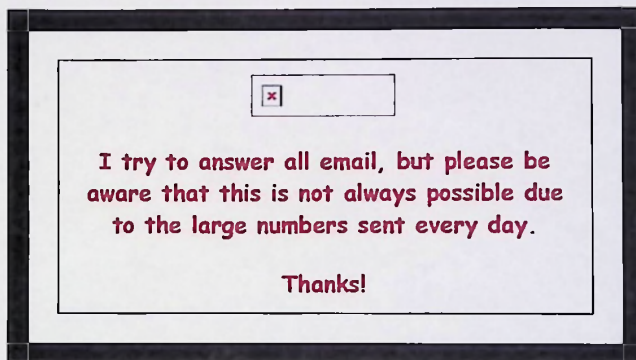
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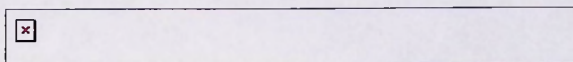
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Ronald Reagan



Former US President Ronald Reagan who died Saturday June 5 2004. PA Picture.



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THE SCOTSMAN
Mon 7 Jun 2004

see pp 3-4

Ronald Reagan: man who won the Cold War and revived the American spirit

DINESH D'SOUZA

RONALD Reagan seemed like a very ordinary fellow. To many Europeans, as well as many Americans, he lacked all the basic credentials that are needed in a president. He was a below-average student at Eureka College.

He spent most of his career as a film actor. He was not a scholar, nor an intellectual. He had no foreign-policy experience when he was first elected president. He put in a short day at the office and allegedly took naps. He seemed an unserious, whimsical man who spent much of his time cracking jokes. His critics, and even some of his supporters, thought it unlikely that he would prove an

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Ronald Reagan: Page 1

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- ▣ Thousands pay silent tribute (11-Jun-04)
- ▣ Thatcher pays her respects to Reagan (10-Jun-04)
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- ▣ Thousands queue to pay last respects to Reagan (09-Jun-04)
- ▣ 'They broke the mould with Ronnie' (08-Jun-04)
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Yet even the critics know with hindsight that very important things happened in the 1980s. The Soviet Union began to collapse, and socialism was discredited. Today, there are probably more Marxists on the faculties of Harvard and Oxford than there are in all of Russia and eastern Europe. The American economy, after being in the doldrums throughout the 1970s, went into high gear, pulling up the world economy in the process. The technological revolution really took off: suddenly computers and mobile phones were everywhere.

A generation ago, John F Kennedy told Americans who were young and idealistic to join the Peace Corps. Public service was seen as the embodiment of American idealism. But by the end of the 1980s most young people would rather have started a new company than picked coffee in Nicaragua. The entrepreneur - not the bureaucrat - became the vehicle for youthful aspirations. This cultural shift had policy implications. The welfare state, which had expanded in the US since the 1930s, stopped growing. The era of Big Government that began with Franklin D Roosevelt in the 1930s seemed to come to an end in 1989, when the Berlin Wall fell.

Was this not the "Reagan revolution" that the old boy promised?

I am part of a generation of young people who became interested in politics because of the Reagan revolution. We saw Reagan as a cheerful, forward-looking guy. We loved his self-deprecating humour. Yet we also saw that, beneath that jocular exterior, Reagan was a determined man who was making some big and important claims. In fact, he was taking on the big idea of the 20th century: collectivism. Reagan wanted to halt the growth of the welfare state at home, and he wanted to dismantle the Soviet empire abroad. These were massively ambitious goals. Many people, including most conservatives, considered Soviet communism to be basically irreversible. So, too, previous Republicans like Eisenhower, Nixon and Ford had made their peace with the welfare state. Reagan was the first person to say: "Government is not the solution. Government is the problem."

Many of us young conservatives came to Washington DC excited by Reagan and eager to be part of his revolution. In short order, many of us found ourselves working for the Reagan administration. We were able to get these jobs because Reagan didn't want to hire the old guys who worked in the Nixon and Ford administrations. Reagan had run against Ford for the Republican nomination in 1976, and many of these guys had viciously attacked Reagan. "Who needs them?" Reagan figured. "Yes, they have experience, but it is experience in screwing up."

At the age of 26, I was appointed senior domestic policy analyst in the White House. It was an endlessly fascinating place. Walk down one hall and you'd see a group of Catholic nuns. Soviet émigrés with long beards sometimes showed up for a meeting with the president. On occasion I saw Afghan children whose limbs had been blown off by Soviet mines. Every administration, I suppose, develops its own character based on the types of people it attracts.

In America, Reagan is today bathed in a kind of warm glow of affection. Republicans revere him, and even Democrats claim to have developed a kinder, gentler feeling for the man. This is in stark contrast to the 1980s, when Democrats (like many Europeans) treated Reagan with loathing and contempt. For instance, Eric Alterman of The Nation described Reagan as a "pathological liar" and an "unbelievable moron" with a "heart of darkness" that showed a "fondness for genocidal murders".

Normal people would be unsettled by such allegations. Reagan, by contrast, never exerted himself to rebut his critics. He even agreed with them. Once, asked about his light work schedule, Reagan quipped: "They tell me hard work never killed anyone, but why take the chance?"

In a Eureka College speech during the mid-1980s, Reagan confronted the allegation that he had graduated from a third-rate school with a C average. Reagan mused: "Even now I wonder what I might have accomplished had I studied harder."

Over the years, I have pondered the question of what made Reagan so successful. I have three answers to this question. First, he had a Euclidean certainty about what he believed and where he wanted to take the country. Not only was he a man of conviction, he was a man whose convictions were not open to change.

- ❑ Ronald Reagan, actor and politician (07-Jun-04)
- ❑ Enigma of the Reagan years may be taken with ex-president to the grave (07-Jun-04)
- ❑ World leaders, friends and some former adversaries voice their tributes to 'a great American' (07-Jun-04)
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Page 1 of 3

FESTIVAL TURKEYS



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This is a key point, so let me elaborate a bit. When I was a student at Dartmouth College, I was informed again and again that a liberally educated man has an open mind. Having an open mind means only making provisional judgments, and always being open to new evidence that might change your mind. I realised that Reagan did not share this view. He knew in advance what he wanted to do, say, lower taxes. If his aides informed him that the facts went in the other direction, Reagan's basic attitude was: "OK, get me new facts."

In this, Reagan was right. It is important for a president to be closed-minded in a certain sense. The reason is that when you are elected president, and come to Washington with an agenda, you are immediately surrounded by highly competent and experienced people who tell you, "Sorry, Mr President, but you simply cannot do that. The Congress will never go for it. There is opposition within your own party. The European governments are sceptical. The Supreme Court is sure to strike it down." And so on.

The open-minded person quickly gets drowned in a sea of facts. Only the man with a firm rudder, only the man who already has decided where he is going, is confident enough to keep going when the political waters get rough.

Second, Reagan instinctively understood that the president, powerful as he is, cannot change the world in 65 ways. He can only change the world in two or three ways.

And so Reagan set his priorities. He wanted to defeat inflation, revive the economy, arrest the advance of the Soviet empire, and that's about it. The other stuff Reagan didn't care about.

In the White House, we were sometimes frustrated that Reagan avoided issues like affirmative action, and that he conceded to the liberals on issues like farm subsidies. But Reagan understood, better than we did, that a president has to pick his fights.

Early in Reagan's first term, he was criticised for failing to recognise one of his own cabinet secretaries. This was Sam Pierce, the secretary of housing and urban development. Reagan saw the guy at a meeting of big-city mayors and greeted him by saying, "And how are things in your city, Mr Mayor?" A bit of a gaffe. Yet the reason for the gaffe was that Reagan didn't really care about the department of housing and urban development. He saw it as a rat-hole of public policy. He knew that if he went in, he might never come out.

And this was probably a correct perception.

Third, and perhaps most important, Reagan was successful because he didn't care about what the elite culture said about him.

The former House Speaker Newt Gingrich and the former Vice Presidential nominee Jack Kemp are similar to Reagan in some ways, but they differ from him in that both men are very anxious to win the approval of elite culture. As Speaker of the House, Gingrich was always troubled when he was excoriated by Dan Rather on the CBS Evening News. Kemp yearned for the plaudits of the editors of Time magazine and the Washington Post.

Reagan genuinely didn't care. He had this same attitude when he was governor of California. During the late 1960s, Reagan was repeatedly attacked in the San Francisco Chronicle by the influential columnist Herb Caen. On one occasion Reagan's aide, Michael Deaver, said to him: "Governor, have you seen these vicious attacks by Herb Caen?" And Reagan's response was, "Yeah. What's that guy's problem?" Reagan's assumption was that something was wrong with Herb Caen.

This liberation from the tyranny of elite opinion gave Reagan the freedom to operate outside the bounds of what is normally permissible.

None of this is to say that Reagan refused to acknowledge any moral or intellectual authority. But his authorities were drawn from, let us say, outside the bounds of the policy-making world.

The economist Arthur Laffer recalls that shortly after the US invasion of **Grenada**

in 1983, he met Reagan at a conference. He told Reagan that the newspapers had reported that the administration had gone back and forth on whether to go with the invasion.

Laffer asked: "What made you finally decide to do it?" Reagan said, "Well, Art, finally I asked myself, what would John Wayne have done?"

Somewhere deep down, Reagan knew that John Wayne was a better guide on this occasion than the collective wisdom of the Washington establishment.

Reagan's firm convictions and his indifference to elite opinion were responsible for the biggest and boldest decision of his presidency - the decision to cut taxes and raise defence spending even in the face of a ballooning federal deficit. The deficits not only raised the ire of Democrats, but also fears in Reagan's own camp.

His budget director, David Stockman, and the chairman of his Council of Economic Advisers, Martin Feldstein, called on Reagan to scale back the tax cut and to moderate the defence increase. Reagan's reply was almost farcical. "Gentlemen," he said, "I believe the deficit is big enough to take care of itself."

The media response was one of apoplexy, but Reagan was making a considered gamble. He strongly believed that the tax cuts would energise the economy, and this would ultimately increase the tax base and swell the revenues of the treasury. He was determined to have his defence increase to curb - and, he could only hope, topple - the "evil empire". If this happened, Reagan knew that America would be able to spend less on defence in the future. So there was a kind of logic, albeit a risky logic, behind his assertion that "if we cannot balance the budget now, we'll have to do it later".

But the Reagan gamble paid off. Although the pundits waited for more than a decade about the Reagan deficits, the country moved into the 1990s to discover that the annual deficit had vanished. Suddenly America was running big budget surpluses.

Of course, the shameless Clinton repeatedly bowed and claimed credit for the surpluses, but what did he do to produce them? Absolutely nothing. It was the juggernaut of economic growth that began around 1983 and continued virtually uninterrupted through the 1990s that proved to be a tax bonanza for the treasury.

Moreover, huge defence savings from the end of the Cold War contributed to making the dreaded deficits disappear.

On the Left, revisionist historians try to deny Reagan credit for his role in ending the Cold War. "The Soviet Union collapsed by itself," they say. Or, "Gorbachev did it". Neither explanation is believable.

First, while the Soviet Union undoubtedly had economic problems in the 1980s, it also had such problems in the 1970s, and the 1960s, and the 1950s. Come to think of it, the Soviets had economic problems ever since the Bolsheviks took power. Admittedly, these sufferings imposed continual hardships on the Soviet people, but there were no signs during the 1980s that the people were up in arms. Moreover, the ruling class was living comfortably, as it had since Lenin's day.

So why would this group relinquish power? No empire in history has called it quits, freed its colonies and dissolved itself just because its economy was ailing.

Nor does it make sense to say that Gorbachev brought about the change. First, Gorbachev did not want to end communism, but to save it. Gorbachev went to the Soviet military and said, in effect: "Give me my economic reforms and I will have more resources for you to spend on weapons." Today, Gorbachev claims he was always a democrat and a liberal, but go back and read his speeches and his book *Perestroika*, published during the 1980s. Gorbachev sought to "reform" communism and the system imploded because it was too rigid to adapt to the reforms.

So Gorbachev was a decent bungler who ended up producing a result he did not intend. Curiously, it was an outcome Reagan sought and predicted when he said, in 1982, that Soviet communism would end up on "the ash heap of history".

Another point to remember is that Reagan was largely responsible for the Soviet

Politburo elevating a man like Gorbachev to power. Gorbachev was completely different from the Brezhnev-Andropov-Chernenko type. So why did the Politburo choose him? The reason is that the Soviet strategy that had worked so well during the 1970s had stopped working during the 1980s. Between 1974 and 1980, ten countries fell into the Soviet orbit, starting with the fall of Vietnam and ending with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Since 1981, when Reagan came to power, no more real estate fell into Soviet hands, and in 1983, thanks to an American invasion, **Grenada** became the first country in history to be liberated from the clutches of Soviet communism.

Moreover, Reagan deployed Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe to meet the Soviet threat there. He announced the strategic missile defence programme. When Chernenko died, the Politburo concluded they needed a new type of leader to cope with this fellow Reagan. And so they put Gorbachev into the ring, where he was outmanoeuvred by Reagan and ended up taking himself, and Soviet communism, over the precipice of history.

The diplomat Clare Booth Luce once said that history, which has no room for clutter, remembers every president by only one line. "Washington was the father of the country." "Lincoln freed the slaves." And so on. It is interesting to speculate on how recent presidents will be remembered.

So what about Reagan? Margaret Thatcher said several years ago: "Reagan won the Cold War without firing a shot." This is a pretty good epitaph, but I think Reagan did more than that.

So my line for him is the following: "Reagan won the Cold War and revived the American economy and the American spirit." For this, it seems that Americans and indeed all lovers of freedom owe Reagan a profound debt of gratitude.

- Dinesh D'Souza is the author of Ronald Reagan: How an Ordinary Man Became an Extraordinary Leader. A former domestic policy analyst in the Reagan White House, he is currently the Rishwain Research Scholar at the Hoover Institution.

Ronald Reagan, actor and politician. Died: 5 June, 2004, in Los Angeles, aged 93

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