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NM and JBM Interview (Part II): 7/14/04

pp 55 & 56
are deleted

JBM: ~~Question One~~ let's talk about protest as an end in
and of itself. Are there ^{other} benefits ^{than the} to ~~protesting~~ outside of
political ends?

Same point
same meaning

NM: There are ~~a~~ great many, benefits to protestors, to

~~protests, for the people involved. I can almost summarize~~

~~them. One of them is the~~ ^{them} ~~people who run it~~ have a chance

to exercise power where they ^{couldn't} ~~wouldn't~~ otherwise, since

(they generally) are against the system in one large way or

another ^{some} ~~may~~ have huge talents, or ^{at least} ~~excellent~~ talents, or

~~fairly good talents for organizing, and directing, and~~

~~leading, they get a lot out of it.~~ ^{And the} The people who join it

~~very~~ often get quite a bit of therapy literally, ~~in the sense~~

^{they are able to} ~~that they can~~ vent real rage.

former governor Thomas ^{Keane} ~~Keane~~, didn't come up with some
of the indictments that we made later. It seems to me that
~~There may well be room after the convention~~
~~there's room~~ for the protest movement to ~~really~~ look into
~~with some critical incisiveness~~
9/11 ~~between now and the next month, in the next few~~

~~weeks, and look at it with great, critical force, because~~
~~there are many things wrong. I am~~ ^{no longer} ~~not~~ a conspiratorialist
~~anymore, because I spent too many years~~ ^{of that} ~~being one in~~
relation to the Oswald business. But, there are elements ^{here} in it
are not easy to explain. ~~In other words, there may have~~

~~been~~ I don't believe for a moment there was direct
^{In America we don't go on as yet}
complicity. ~~I never do, because I think if you're going to~~
^{on a major political coup there's too}
~~have a major coup of that sort, you don't do it if you have~~
^{much to lose if you're the powers that}
~~high power, because you are going to lose so much if it~~
^{be, and we are still a democratic society}
~~comes out. And you can't pull off a conspiracy of that~~

~~dimension~~ ^{ever} without having so many people involved

^{sp. 4}
that they'll ~~lose~~ things all over the place. But, there may

have been a sentiment in the administration, and they ^{let them}
scream and squeal over this one, ^{that} that maybe the worst thing
in the world, might not be that we ^{an after} have a disaster. Because
~~there was a certain push toward a certain attitude that Pearl~~
~~Harbor~~ ^{after all} galvanized America, ^{it} without Pearl Harbor we
might never have been able to go to war, ^{in the company} we might never
~~have won the Second World War, along with the Russians,~~
~~and the English, and so on. That it might not have~~
~~happened. Roosevelt was trying to get us into war. And.~~
^{Indeed,} you remember, Roosevelt was accused of knowing about
Pearl Harbor in advance and welcoming it. Well, I
wouldn't go that far. I don't think they knew ^{for sure} that
the World Trade Center was going to be attacked. ^{So, it} But there
were some ~~very~~ odd things ~~that~~ happened that day.
Immensely odd. More than ^{unbelievable} intense inefficiency. First of all,
^{commercial} when planes go off-course immediately the word goes out,

to them. If they don't correct their course
 and airplanes scramble to find that plane that's off-course.
~~fighter~~ ^{meet them. It's impossible}
~~a high jacking has taken place~~
 and not reporting in properly. And that didn't happen with
 the first plane. ~~All right, but not today~~
 the first plane. All right, you could say that they're all hung.

~~over, or whatever. Or~~, there's a great tension if you're
 working that sort of stuff. Day after day you're on the alert
~~but~~
 and nothing happens that's really big. At a certain point
 you get ~~sort of~~ ^{can't} cynical. You know, "Another asshole is

wandered off-course." You don't pay ^{the response} that much attention. That
 is a stretch ~~already~~ ^{but what about}.
 But, after the first plane hit, ^{the fact that there wasn't a}
~~What about the second plane that was~~
 general alert all over America, and there weren't airplanes
 off-course? ~~Why were there no~~
 fighter planes up in the air looking for trouble? ^{is amazing.}

~~Because~~ ^{the second tower didn't} the second plane hit, what, (thirty minutes later)

JBM: Around that, yeah.

~~Right planes to divert it.~~
 NM: And there were no airplanes. So that, in itself, is
 that is / ^{then there are}
 immensely difficult to explain. And then there are all sorts
~~extraordinary questions to~~
 of questions we asked about the plane that hit the Pentagon.

on the one that crashed in Pennsylvania.

~~I don't want to get into it, because it's a technical subject.~~

~~But there are, for people who do want to get into it, there.~~

are some very serious arguments ^{can be} ~~that are being~~ raised about

whether 9/11 is as clean an American tragedy ~~for us~~ as we ^{have}

~~had~~ assumed. In other words, ^{the} general public notion of it

is ^{that there} ~~is~~ there ^{we were} a peace-loving nation, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{low} and

behold we're attacked by these hideous terrorists, ^{who} ~~who~~ ^{leg} every effort made to prevent these attacks, killed three thousand people. On the other hand, to get into ^{may} ~~may~~ ^{it} ~~it~~ ^{became a national question} the question of who 9/11 benefited. It benefited everyone. ^{Because} ~~Because~~ ^{after all, who} ~~after all, who~~ ^{did 9/11 benefit it}

^{who} ~~who~~ ^{wanted to go to war with Iraq, it benefited the Iraqis, well as} ~~it benefited the Iraqis, well as~~ ^{not everyone}

^{all the} putative empire-builders ~~who were~~ looking to find an event

~~something that could ignite the nation and carry it forward~~

Now the irony, the great irony of Iraq, is ~~that~~ the only good

that will come out of Iraq, in my opinion, is that ^{it may have} ~~it's~~ killed

~~the~~ empire-building notion for a good decade or two.

Because the ~~cost of Iraq, the~~ immense cost of Iraq, ~~to~~

~~after conquering~~
conquer a country that offered so little military resistance --
~~for a time~~
does end ~~the~~ notion that America ~~could ever~~ run the world
through force. My god, we'd need twenty million young
men in uniform, ~~for a start,~~ and there aren't that many young men that
~~you can put in uniform.~~

JBM: But, didn't Vietnam do that as well?

NM: Yeah, but Vietnam was a generation and a half ago.
And nothing did happen for a long time after Vietnam. In
fact, you can go so far as to say, when the Cold War ended
that was when the "exceptionalists" wanted us to take over
the world. The reason we didn't is because of Vietnam. The
whole feeling, these things don't work. You see a true
conservative is not interested in war.

JBM: But why is it in '92 we still remembered Vietnam
and now we don't? Is it just 9/11? Is that enough?

NM: At the end of the Gulf War, the general attitude was now we've vindicated ourselves from Vietnam.

JBM: Right. First Gulf War.

NM: Alright, now where are we now?

JBM: Aside from the emotional memory of 9/11, why would the Republicans pick New York?

NM: Well, the emotional memory of 9/11 is the most intense, single thing they've got. The war in Iraq, they didn't know it was going to go wrong at the time they picked New York. In fact, they picked New York at the time when 9/11 was still very vivid in people's imaginations and fears and terrors and loyalties. It was the focal point. So, 9/11 was the focal point for picking New

NM: *I'd say the underlying of*
York. I also say, the other motive brought in by the most

cynical people in the Republican Party is, "we can't go wrong in New York." Those fools in New York are going

~~to go crazy when we go in. "How dare we go into their~~
~~city," they're going to say. And they're going to make such~~
~~monkeys of themselves on TV that we can win the election~~
~~by~~
~~on~~ that alone.

JBM: Is New York part of America, or is it its own entity?

NM: It's ^{both}. New York ^{has} a double nature, which is why

^{fascinating}
it's so ~~exciting~~. It's like a steadfast husband who cheats ~~to~~

~~Besides~~ ^{Monaco}
~~use another analogy.~~ New York is a world city. You want

to talk about great American cities, you ^{speak} ~~talk about~~ Boston

~~you~~ talk about Chicago, ~~you~~ ^{an} ~~talk about~~ New Orleans. ~~you~~ ^{mention}

~~talk about~~ San Francisco. ~~You~~ ^{can} ~~can~~ talk about your other

favorites, if you have any. ~~But, in terms of a world city:~~ Los

^{possible}
Angeles, ~~is not quite a world city, not yet.~~ But, New York is ^{our}

^{only world-city}

So, in that sense, it has a double psychology, And, on top of

~~that, because it's a core of hard knowledge that's been~~

~~/~~ earned the hard way on those hard streets, together with

~~considerable~~ ^{considerable} sophistication, ~~not only does it~~ ^{So it does} not have a hell

of a lot in common with the rest of America, it doesn't even

have a hell of a lot in common with upper New York State

~~Upper New York State might as well be a separate state.~~

Which is why all those years ago I said, let's separate. I saw

~~it~~ ^{New York} is eventually becoming perhaps ^{analogous to} some kind of Hong

Kong with a separate status. But for me now at eighty-one,

this is really old hat. I know it as one way or the other. New

York is going to do what it wants to do and it doesn't need

a push in any direction from me. That would just be too

hard on my fingertips.

JBM: Well, just ^{one} final question, then. Starting with the

WTO protest in Seattle back in '99, there was a culture that

has formed around the anti-corporate, anti-globalization

anti-Bush movement. Where do you think it's going? And

where should it go?

NM: Alright, let's end with that, because I think it's a rich question.

~~JBM: That's what I meant by "one final question."~~

~~NM: Yes. Good. My great worry about the republican convention in New York at the end of August is that there are too many passions that are even more seriously possible in this election that are being piled into the demonstrations. And, one of them is that the basic dichotomy in America~~

~~NM: coming up, in which a good many people of the Right.~~

~~believe it or not, not "flag conservatives," but true~~

~~conservatives can also feel this, as well as people on the~~

~~Left, ^{in connection with men and} ^{women on the}~~

~~that the corporations are stifling our lives. They stifle,~~

~~Not only economically, where they've got a good argument~~

~~that they're bringing prosperity and you've got to argue~~

~~that 'til the cows come home, and, frankly, I'm not enough~~

~~of an economist to argue whether they're good for us.~~

economically or bad for us economically, where they're

~~I say the corporation is bad for us~~
bad for us is aesthetically speaking, culturally speaking;

spiritually speaking, because they tend to flatten everything.

~~They are the Big Empty people,~~
I've got a favorite expression for the corporation: I call

them "the ~~Big Empty~~." They're the big empty that's filled

with suits. One of the virtues of Michael Moore's movie, if

I can go back to it for a moment, is that you had no doubt ~~who~~

~~who was behind~~
which was the right side by the end of that movie, despite

~~the moral nature of the people~~
Michael Moore's interjections and cheap shots and taking

~~who started that war, what cheap~~
advantage of every opportunity and overdoing it. All he had

~~to do really was what he did do very, very well, was show~~

the faces, ~~And you end up seeing~~ all those faces of the ~~present~~

~~Administration~~, those empty faces, those handmaidens, and

bodyguards of the ~~Big Empty~~. And then you ~~contrast~~ ^{he} it with

all the faces of American soldiers over there: innocent,

strong, idealistic, or ugly, but real faces, real people ~~and~~ ^{plus}

~~all those suffering~~
 the faces of the Iraqis, who were suffering. Obviously

~~such torment~~
 people in suffering are always dramatic and eloquent ~~but~~ *on film*

~~SH4, most of these Iraqis~~
 they had different kinds of faces that shade of alienation

~~from existence itself~~ ^{their} had not yet gotten into ~~the~~ skin

Whereas the people ~~who are~~ running this country all have

when you start to look at them, with the notable exception

of one guy I'll get into in a moment, all have rather awful

faces, ~~because they're not~~ ^{they don't look} (as human as ^{the and me} the enemy). That's

a large remark, but I ~~absolutely do~~ ^{support} believe it. The one

exception, oddly enough, and ^{by I'll} (this ~~N~~) probably antagonize a

good many people, is Rumsfeld. Of that whole gang, he's

the only one who seems real to me. In other words, I ~~might not~~ ^{wouldn't}

agree with him for a moment on anything, but he

does believe in ~~it~~ ^{what he says}. It isn't as if this is the best particular ^{most useful response}

^{came up with} of ideas he can ~~use~~ at this moment in order to wield more

power. He's interested in his ideas first ~~and~~ ^{the} power ~~is~~ ^{is} subservient to the ideas.

JBM: What makes you say that?

NM: Because he's real. He reacts. He doesn't weigh his words. If someone ^{thing} makes him angry, he's angry. If

something pleases him, he smiles. If he has doubts about

what's going on, he expresses those doubts. In that sense

he's the only one of that batch I'd call an honorable man.

Now, I don't have to agree with him at all. I can disagree

totally with people I consider honorable. But, never have I

seen an administration, which has had ^{by that measure} so few honorable

^{our women} men, and ~~women~~ ^{for that matter}. I mean, you look at

^{SP?} ^{spelling} Condoleza Rice, ^{is} and she's a very complex piece of work

no question ^{suppose} of that. But that she's behind every remark she

makes with ~~the same~~ honesty and simplicity. no. No ~~Yes~~

They are all, with that one exception you're going to
~~know, they're a bunch of manipulators. In the past, people~~
Say it at its worst,
~~have spoken of a bunch of manipulators as a nest of snakes.~~

in Fahrenheit 9/11

JBM: Well, ~~(they all look oddly reptilian.~~

Yes, do
 NM: Yeah, we can agree on that. ~~What was the point? I've~~
~~lost it.~~

JBM: Well, we're just going, but

NM: No, we were talking about the protestors and the
~~Seattle business, and all that.~~

back to the protest movement, where is,
 JBM: Well, ~~where's it going and where should it go?~~

Because, the movement is ~~larger than just the Republican~~

~~National Convention. It's gonna' go on from there. They're~~

~~not going to stop,~~ *after the convention.*

NM: I know ~~(they're going to go on,~~ *it's but* ~~I wish they'd take a~~

~~pass on this one, is what I'm saying, because that's a~~

~~separate fight all together and to mix it in with this...~~

After all, how much ~~can~~ ^{may} we hope?
~~election... Well, what are we hoping for in this election? I~~

Kerry is elected, he can repair some of the ^{endless} great damage
that Bush ^{wreaked on} did to American foreign policy, to America's
^{But Kerry} relation in the world. I think he will still be essentially pro-
corporation. There's ^{no} ^{American} ^{can} major politician who could afford
not to be ~~pro-corporation~~, because they have so much
power. And, in fact, if you outlawed the corporations
tomorrow, America would have food famines, ~~and~~ a total
^{no one it. We can't look then for quick results} loss of jobs, etc, etc. The war against the corporation is
^(indeed, it should be a war) deeply profound, because what they're doing is ~~they're~~
deadening human existence. ~~And~~ ^{buried} that I think is the core of
the outrage ~~that~~ people feel toward the corporation. There is
a profound difference between ~~the~~ corporation and
capitalism itself, ^{at least so long as} when capitalism remains small business.
~~'Cause~~ the small businessman is always taking his chance.
You see, ~~he~~ leads an existential life. He's gambling that his
wit, his energy, and his ideas of what will work in the

~~market-places~~
market will be successful. ~~So, he~~ can be a sonofabitch. ~~He~~
~~a no-go~~
can be a no-go bastard, but at least he's out there, ~~he's out~~
~~there~~ in the middle of life, in the processes of life.

JBM: He's creating something as well.

NM: ~~He could~~ And he can be creating something ~~that's~~ awful. ~~He~~
can be creating ~~what's that word for crummy stuff,~~
crummy furniture, what do they call it? He can be creating,
I think it's called, borax, really bad furniture. I forget
Alright, I'll find something when I think of it. The point is
that it doesn't matter whether he's creating something good
or bad; it's that, ~~that's~~ at least, he's taking chances. Whereas, the

corporation ~~is the reverse of that. The corporation takes~~
~~turns~~ capitalism and turns it inside out. In effect what they say is;

~~"Let's have an army of capitalism that's more efficient than~~
military armies. Let's run the thing systematically, ~~and~~
coldly. And, let us stop worrying about the quality of our

product, ~~cause~~ ^{Because} we have the power to advertise. ~~And~~
~~because~~ ^{So long as} we employ that strength, we don't have to have a

good product. ~~What we have to have~~ ^{All we need} is something we can
~~sell by way of language and image.~~
~~market. And so~~ marketing takes over from the art of

production. ~~And, when things are well made, if you notice,~~ ^{Over the years this has}

~~have gone up astronomically in cost. For example, twenty~~

~~five, thirty years ago, I bought a Porsche for nine thousand~~

~~bucks. Now, what is it, ninety thousand dollars?~~

(END OF SIDE ONE.)

NM: ~~The point is that other costs haven't gone up ten times~~

~~in the last thirty years. There's been a general deterioration~~ ^{produced}

~~of the~~ ^{real} value of products for the same ~~amount of~~ real money.

~~In other words, what they're doing is~~ I'm in a tangle now.

JBM: Well, listen, I agree with you on what you're saying.

~~What is really interesting for me about this is you've kind~~

~~of gotten to the real core of what the real war going on is.~~

~~And what the ammunition is on both sides. If~~ we're
fighting a spiritual war, ~~essentially~~, against the corporation
Aud/ what we're missing right now is the ability to say, ~~And we~~
can provide for you, ~~and~~ *we can* make sure you have jobs, ~~and~~
~~make sure you have food, and all this, because~~ what they're
offering is stability, ~~and~~ what we're offering is a better
quality of life. *of inner life.*

NM: I know, I know, ~~I know~~, but ~~the point is~~, to win this
war ~~would~~ *will* take fifty years at least and a profound set of
revolutions in people's thinking. We'd have to get away
from hype, from manipulation, from advertising, from
brainwashing, ~~'cause~~ what we've got now is a species of
economic, ~~and~~ political and spiritual brainwashing, totally
different from what the communists ~~did~~ *tried to do,* American
brainwashers are so far superior to the old Soviets, who
~~were so crude and clumsy at their brainwashing. Now it's,~~ *endlessly in their attempts at*

~~We are much more subtle,~~
~~subtle, so subtle,~~ Remember years ago when you were
around fourteen, you were wearing a shirt that said Tommy
Hilfiger on it? And, I said, "What's the matter with you?"
Not only do you spend money to buy the shirt, but you also
~~(Are you out of your head?)~~
advertise the man who sold it to you. And, you said, "Dad
~~All right~~
you just don't get it." ~~Alright~~, you were right, I didn't get it.
But I've been thinking about it ever since. ~~I noticed,~~ Now, you don't
wear logos on your shirts.

JBM: I wouldn't be caught dead with it, no. Although, it's
~~very hard, it's~~ very hard to find a shirt that doesn't have a
logo. And, I say that to people all the time: "Hey, you pay
to work for the fucker? Is that what you're doing?" And it
hits; it hits home. So, you were right. I wasn't right about
that.

NM: Alright, look, but the whole point is I know how
tough it is. Because, when I came out of the army—I was

Now, I've been in protests, and I know a lot about them, and, in fact, one of the best books I ever wrote was about my own immersion in it, which was semi-comic and so forth, The Armies of the Night, if you're going to mention it.

JBM: We won't.

One very last point, I

NM: ~~The point is I~~ don't sneer at people who enter protest movements. It ^{can be} often very good for their own personal development. But I would like ^{these kids} them to disabuse themselves

of the idea that they are going to have ~~necessarily~~ any very ^{immediate} good, exciting political effect. If they have any effect, it ^{could be} bound to be negative. ^{And,} But this is my final word on it.

Beware, beware. Because, if Bush wins, ^{we've} in a very divided

^{Kerry can put it together better than Bush} nation, everybody knows what that means. He can't solve

^{Bush can't solve any of} our problems ^{That was the} and he never was able to, ^{which is one of the}

^{main} reasons he looked to ^{empire-building} world expansion. Don't forget, before

9/11 what was he facing? The FBI was riddled with

criticism, the Catholic Church was riddled with criticism,
 the stock market was way down, nothing was working.
~~joblessness was increasing and~~
~~labor was furious, he had nothing to offer them, and he was~~

~~the reason~~—he was cutting taxes for the ultra-wealthy. He
 had ^{zero} ~~nothing~~ to offer. He had ^{but} ~~nothing to offer except~~ world
 conquest. So, what's he going to do if things ^{never} ~~get~~ ^{even} ~~bad~~ in Iraq
^{but} ~~and~~ he's reelected? If just don't get better. It just goes on

and on, keeps bleeding America at huge expense. Things
 are going to get uglier. You'll look back on the Patriot Act
 as being liberal and gentle.

JBM: I will never look back on the Patriot Act as being
 liberal and gentle. While the protests will not have a direct
 political gain—

NM: You agree with ^{me?} ~~this?~~

JBM: Yes, I feel confident in saying I don't see anyway
 that these protests could have a direct, political gain. I do

feel that when you're out there, and you see them all—
 particularly now ⁱⁿ ~~with~~ the myriad number of different
 groups that are coming together for this—you get a sense
 that the spiritual revolution may be starting, ~~and may be~~
 awakening. And that's the only hope, I think, there is
 against ^{the corporatization} ~~corporization~~ of America.

NM: Alright, but I also think, if we lose the election. ^{it's really} ~~it's~~

to be a very expensive spiritual education. I would be much

happier if the protest movements could be spread out ^{their activities} ~~over~~

^{the next} ~~the next~~ four years, rather than brought to a focus ^{bring it} ~~where~~ very few of

~~the~~ people involved, from everything I've learned about it,

including this magazine's piece on it a couple of months

^{I don't have a great deal of} ~~ago~~, that gives me very, very little hope that most of the

people involved ~~in it~~ are really thinking of this election, ~~as much~~

They're thinking of all the other things, ^{as expressing} ~~the~~ need to vent. ^{to} ~~to~~

^{some} ~~the~~ (self-therapy, ^{and to express} ~~their~~ spiritual needs, their outrage at

what's been done to them, ^{plus} ~~politically~~, their need to gain

some power in the counterculture. ~~There's~~ there's all sorts of ~~motives~~ motives,

~~things: some reasons good, some reasons not so good~~ some

~~Some~~ noble, some meretricious. But, it's a ^{poor} ~~very expensive~~ time to

~~exercise all those privileges and all those desires and all~~ ^{our most dramatic democratic}

~~those needs.~~

JBM: Yes, it is.

NM: Okay, so we quit, right?

JBM: I think that's it.

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have any. Los Angeles, possibly. But New York is
our only world-city. So, in that sense, it ~~has~~^{offers} a double
psychology, a core of hard knowledge earned the hard
way on ~~these~~ hard streets, together with considerable
cosmopolitan sophistication. ~~So it~~^{So it} does not have a
hell of a lot in common with the rest of America, it
doesn't even have a ~~hell of a lot in common~~^{much to do} with upper
New York State. Which is why all those years ago I
said, let's separate. I saw New York as eventually
becoming ~~analogous~~^{comparable} to Hong Kong.

JBM: One final question, then. Starting with the WTO
protest in Seattle back in '99, a culture has formed
around the anti-corporate, anti-globalization, anti-
Bush movement. Where do you think it's going?
Where should it go?

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NM: ~~Alright, let's end with that, because I think it's a~~
~~rich question.~~

rich question.

A good many people of the Right, not flag

conservatives, but true conservatives, can feel in ~~accord~~

~~common with men and women on the left that the~~

~~matter. The~~

(corporations are stifling our lives. Not only

economically, where ~~the~~ corporations can claim that

they bring prosperity (and, frankly, I'm not enough of

~~near enough to economics,~~

~~an economist to argue that point pro or con.~~ ~~say the~~

corporation is bad for us aesthetically speaking.

culturally speaking, spiritually speaking. They tend to

flatten everything. They are the Big Empty people

with suits. One of the virtues of Michael Moore's

movie, if I can go back to it for a moment, is that you

~~had no doubt about who started that war. What Moore~~

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could see all
~~did do very, very well, was show~~ the faces ~~all those~~

~~faces~~ of the present administration, those empty faces

those handmaidens, and bodyguards of the Big Empty

Moore contrasted them to
And then ~~he contrasts it with~~ all the faces of American

soldiers over there: innocent, strong, idealistic, or

ugly, but real faces, real people. Plus all ~~the faces of~~

~~all~~ those suffering Iraqis. Obviously, people in such

torment are always dramatic and eloquent on film.

Still, most of those Iraqis had different kinds of faces.

That shade of alienation from existence itself had not

[They might be hard to live with but they
yet gotten into their skin. Whereas the people running *were*

are
this country ~~all have~~, when you start to look at them, *alive.*

~~a~~ with the notable exception of one guy I'll get into in a

kind of awful
moment, ~~all have~~ rather awful faces. They don't look

as human as thee and me. That's a large remark, but I

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support it. The one exception, oddly enough, and by this I'll probably antagonize a good many people, is Rumsfeld. Of that whole gang, he's the only one who seems real to me. In other words, I might not agree with him for a moment on anything, but he does believe in what he says. It isn't as if this is the most useful response he can come up with at ^{the} ~~this~~ moment ~~is~~ ^{or save ~~some~~ his} ~~order~~ to wield ~~more~~ power. He's interested in his ideas first. The power is subservient to the ideas.

JBM: What makes you say that?

NM: Because he's real. He reacts. He doesn't weigh his words. If something makes him angry, he's angry. If something pleases him, he smiles. If he has doubts about what's going on, he expresses those doubts. In that sense, he's the only one of that batch I'd call an

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honorable man. Now, I don't have to agree with him at

all. I can disagree totally with people I consider

honorable. But, never have I seen an administration

which has had, by that measure, so few honorable men

and one woman. For that matter, Condolezza Rice is

a very complex piece of work, no question. But that

she supports every remark she makes with honesty

and simplicity, no. No. They are all, with that one

exception, an egregious bunch of manipulators. Say it

at its worst, a nest of snakes.

JBM: Well, in *Fahrenheit 9/11*, they all do look oddly
reptilian.

NM: ~~Yes~~ We can agree on that.

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JBM: ~~Well,~~ ^{So, it won't} back to the protest movement. Where's it going and where should it go? Because the movement is not going to stop after the convention.

NM: I know it's going to go on, but I wish they'd take a pass on this one. (After all, how much may we hope

for in this election? If Kerry is elected, he can repair some of the ~~endless~~ ^{boundless} damage that Bush ~~wrecked~~ ^{wreaked} on

~~American~~ ^{opinion.} foreign policy. But Kerry will still be

essentially pro-corporation. No major American politician can afford not to be. In fact, if you

outlawed the corporations tomorrow, America would

have food famines, a ~~total~~ ^{Intensifying} loss of jobs, name it. ~~We~~ ^{They are} ~~installed,~~ ^{installed, and we} can't look then for quick results. The war against the

corporation is profound—indeed, it should be ~~easy~~

because ~~what~~ ^{what} they're ~~doing is~~ ^{doing is} deadening human

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existence. That, I think, is the buried core of the outrage people feel toward the corporation. There's a profound difference between corporations and capitalism itself, at least so long as capitalism remains small business. The small businessman is always taking his chances. He leads an existential life. He's gambling that his wit, his energy, and his ideas of what will work in the marketplace will be successful. He can be a sonofabitch, but at least he's out there in the middle of life.

JBM: He's creating something as well.

NM: He could be creating something that's awful. But at least, he's taking chances. Whereas, the corporation is the reverse of that. The corporation turns capitalism inside out. In effect what they say is: ~~Let's run the~~

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~~thing systematically, coldly.~~ And ["]let us stop worrying

about the quality of our product. ^{After all,} because we have the

power to advertise. ^{That's Paramount!} So long as we employ ~~that~~ ^{such}

strength, we don't ~~have to have~~ ^{need} a good product. All we

^{require} ~~need~~ is something we can ^{market} sell by way of language and

image. So marketing ^{has taken} takes over from the art of

production. Over the years this has produced a general
deterioration of the real value of products for the same
real money.

JBM: Well, I agree we're fighting a spiritual war

against the corporation. And what we're missing right

now is the ability to say, "We can provide for you, we

can make sure you have jobs, and food. What they're

offering is stability. What we're offering is a ^{deeper} ~~better~~

quality of life."

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NM: I know, I know, but to win this war will take

fifty years at least and a profound revolution in

people's thinking. We'd have to get away from ~~hype~~manipulation, ~~advertising, and from brainwashing~~ What

we've got now is a species of economic, political and

spiritual brainwashing, ~~totally different from what the~~,~~communists tried to do. American brainwashers are so~~

v29f14)

~~far~~ superior to the old Soviets, who were endlesslycrude in their attempts, ~~at brainwashing~~. We are much

more subtle. Remember years ago when you were

around fourteen, you were wearing a shirt that said

Tommy Hilfiger on it? And, I said, "What's the matter

with you? Not only do you spend money to buy the

shirt, but you also advertise the man who sold it to

you. Are you out of your head?" And, you said, "Dad

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-2

you just don't get it." All right, you were right. I didn't

get it. But ~~I've been thinking about it ever since. Now,~~

~~now~~ I notice, you don't wear logos on your shirts.

~~I try my best not to.~~
JBM: ~~I wouldn't be caught dead with it, no.~~ Although,

it's hard to find a shirt that doesn't have a logo.

~~more point.~~
NM: One ~~very last point.~~ I don't sneer at people who
~~enter protest movements. It can be very good for them.~~
~~or even necessary for their~~
~~own~~ personal development. But I would like these

kids to disabuse themselves of the idea that they are
going to have ~~any very good~~ ^{some} immediate exciting

political effect. If they have any ^{it} effect, it's could be
negative. And if Bush wins, we're a ~~very~~ ^{most} divided

nation. Kerry can put it together better than Bush.

Bush can't solve any of our problems. He never was
able to. That may be the main reason he looked to

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empire-building. Don't forget: Before 9/11 what was

he facing? The FBI was riddled with criticism, the

Catholic Church was riddled with criticism, the stock

market was way down, ^{and} nothing was working, well,

Joblessness was increasing, and he was cutting taxes

for the ultra-wealthy. He had zero to offer. Nothing to

^{that is,} offer ^{if he's reelected,} but world conquest. So, ^{what's he going to do}

~~now if things remain bad in Iraq?~~ ^{but he's reelected?}

You'll look back on the Patriot Act as being liberal

and gentle.

JBM: I will never look back on the Patriot Act as

being liberal and gentle. While the protests will not

have a direct, political gain—

NM: You agree with me ^{on that?}

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JBM: Yes, I feel confident in saying I don't see

anyway that these protests could have a direct,

political gain. I do feel that when you're out there and

you see them all—particularly now ^(with) in the myriad

number of ~~different~~ groups that are coming together

~~—you do~~ for this, ~~you get~~ a sense that the spiritual revolution

may be awakening. And that's the only hope, I ^{believe} think.

~~there is~~ ~~more and more~~ against corporatization of America.

~~(the 400,000) total~~

NM: All right, but if we lose the election, it's going to

be a very expensive spiritual education. I would be

much happier if the protest movements could spread

their activities over the next four years, rather than

bringing it to focus prematurely. I don't have a great

deal of hope that most of the people involved are

really thinking of this election so much as expressing

Of Course The last
Page Jammed.

But here it is

→.

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the need to vent, to gain some self-therapy, and to
express their outrage at what's been done to them, plus
their need to gain ~~some~~ power in the counterculture.
There's all sorts of motives, some noble, some
meretricious. But, it's a poor time to exercise our most
dramatic democratic privileges.

~~WORD COUNT: 5836~~

116
5716

15

9236
5716
3510 Deleted

IBM Revised
7/22 2:35pm

~~12~~

DATE: 7/19/04

NV and IBM Interview (Part II): 7/14/04

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IBM: Let's talk about protest as an end in and of itself.

Are there other benefits than the political?

NV: Yes, ^{I think so.} People who run ^{protests} ~~them~~ have a chance to

exercise power where they couldn't otherwise, since

generally they are against the system in one large way

or another. Yet, some of them have serious talents or

~~at least, good talents~~ for organizing, directing, and

leading. And people who join very often get a good

bit of therapy. Literally. They are ^{not only} able to vent real

rage, ^{but can test their courage,}

IBM: Well, they are also doing something about the

way they feel, ^{politically.}

NV: That's the third benefit—a dubious one. You can

feel, yes, ~~that~~ you're working to change the system,

but are you changing it, or confirming it? Never

assume that a protest is going to accomplish what you

want it to. ~~So many other filters are involved to alter~~

~~kill the impulse, warp it or even choke it off,~~
~~or choke off the impulse.~~ If you could talk to the

people you really want to reach out there, ~~somewhere,~~

people

far from New York, talk to them face to face, eye to

eye. they might ~~well~~ listen *to you* because you do

have things to say. Of course, you have to stay cool.

Americans get nervous when listening to anyone

who's keyed up. Major politicians are always cool.

The one moment, for example, when Howard Dean

lost it, remember? The media never forgave him for

And the mass of TV viewers followed him

~~it~~ The problem with mass protests is that you have to

pass through ~~the~~ *that* immense filter of the *news* media. ~~And~~

~~they distort everything~~ *do* So you get on TV for your

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** Dean had committed
committed a no-no
- he had gotten
excited.**

*cheap.**

fifteen seconds of Warholian fame. All your friends

say, "Hey, man, you were on ^{TV}!" As if you've

accomplished something. You might have been

screaming. You might have had your face painted

with ketchup to look like blood. Even ^{if you manage} when you're

^{the air} to be semi-reasonable on ^{TV} (the odds ^{are} against ^{speaking} being able to

speaking incisively and calmly, ~~are huge even for~~

~~practiced speakers~~. Because, you've got ^{just} the one

moment, ~~someone is shoving a microphone in your~~

~~face, there's brouhaha all around, and you are trying to~~

~~speaking calmly~~. So, all too often, protests accomplish

the opposite of what they desire. Over the long-term,

protests can do a lot more, ~~but on not often~~

~~but not at once~~

~~immediately~~. For example, when we had the March on

the Pentagon in the Fall of 1967, the immediate

Positive

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reaction was bad. The media trashed us. But we did
have a ~~cumulative~~ effect over a period of time. In
contrast, the demonstrations in Chicago in the
summer of '68 probably lost Humphrey the election.

JBM: Why?

NM: Well, ^{liberals} some voters did react against the open, and
and an ~~unforgettable~~ *swirling into the front ranks*
ugly spectacle of the police beating up the marchers, *of the*
voters
but even more Americans felt that anarchy was loose
in the street so they blamed the marchers, *for aggravating*
~~not the~~

the cops. A great majority of Americans are peace-loving,
based to public
and very much in need of order. We're a country

where everyone who came here tore up old roots by *anxiety*
That creates a long-term anxiety.
leaving their home country. (So, in America, the
sitting there
reluctance to cause disturbance is always in opposition
to the other big American desire—which is to express

oneself, to be free and free-spoken. I can ~~vouch~~ ^{speech} for

~~you~~ this from my own ~~disappointing~~ experiences as a

candidate. ~~I thought I'd really get somewhere running~~

for Mayor in ^(he) New York primaries of 1969, ~~only to~~ ^{I thought people}

~~learn that people in large numbers did not want what I~~ ^{would}

~~offered~~ ^{But} I was opting for too much change. ^{In politics, what} What

people want ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ politics is continuance. Americans ~~in~~

~~the mass~~ don't want their lives disturbed by

~~politicians~~. That's the basic problem with protest. It's

good for the protestors, but not always so good for the

candidate you want to get in.

JBW: There's a protest group called Billionaires for

Busa, which is very interesting. They go out dressed

as J.P. Morgan-style billionaires—I mean, top hats,

and tails, ~~and~~ the whole nine. They sit there with

signs that are very pro-Bush, and they heckle the
 protestors, saying things like "What are you talking
 about, man? Are you crazy? Do you know how much
 money Bush is saving me each year? Of course I want
 him reelected! What are you out of your mind? You
 damn hippies! Back off!" And the police don't know
 what to do with them. They don't know whose side
 they're on. However, in the 2000 campaign, the

organization was called Billionaires for Bush and
 Gore and they were absolutely opposed to both
 parties. A few months ago, I spoke with one of the
 heads of Billionaires for Bush, and asked him why
 they were letting the Democrats slide this election.
 He said it's not that they think Kerry is "the solution,"

~~but the lesser of two evils.~~

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 both documents*

27
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was

Step

~~It's just that this is a case where the lesser of two evils is, not only the best option, but essential.~~

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NM: ~~I couldn't agree more.~~ You know, I happened to run into Ralph Nader recently in Chicago and I, like a great many others, was ^{looking} ~~gently trying~~ to dissuade him from his present course. He's a very nice man, maybe the nicest man I've ~~ever~~ met in politics—there's something very decent about Nader, truly convincing in terms of his own probity. So I didn't feel, "Oh, he's doing it for ugly motives." Didn't have that feeling at all in the course of our conversation. Still, I was trying, as I say, to ~~gently~~ dissuade him, knowing the odds were ^{poor} ~~low~~ that I'd be successful. At one point, he said, "You know, they're both for the corporation, Kerry and Bush." There were other things going on,

~~And we couldn't continue the conversation. I did, however, agree with Nader that ultimately the corporation is the evil.~~

and we couldn't continue the conversation. But, it's

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true; both candidates are for the corporation, and I do

agree with Nader that ultimately the corporation is the

great evil. But in my mind, Bush is the immediate

~~He is a collection of disasters~~
obstacle. ~~He is a disaster for America. For~~

~~example, he works entirely with sloganeering.~~

~~for America~~ ~~he~~
~~considering what this~~ ~~he~~ ~~does to the English language is~~
~~a species of catastrophe~~
~~a disaster all by itself.~~ Bush learned a long time ago

that certain key words, "evil, patriotism, stand-firm,

~~over-fight-against-terrorism~~
flag, ~~etc.~~ will get half the people in America ~~at~~

stirred up. That's all he works with. ~~Deep down, his~~

~~cynicism is topped only by his vanity.~~ Kerry will be

better in many ways, no question. All the same, he, ~~too,~~

~~toady~~
will ~~have to toady~~ ~~willy-nilly~~ to the corporations who,

in my not always modest opinion, are running

1. At present, I don't see how any mainstream politician can do otherwise.

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IBM: Let's go back to the '68 protest. What were its successes?

NM: I'd be hard put to name them. Politically, it was a species of shipwreck for the Democratic party.

IBM: Is there any success you can point to that came directly from the protest?

NM: I think it was not too bad for a lot of people who were in it, individual kids, who discovered that they did have the balls to protest. Because, when you do, you ~~can go through a lot of fear~~ ^{have to pass your}. After all, you can get beaten up. Not everyone can face that possibility. So it could have been good for some of those who forced

themselves into the protest, good for their self-respect
down the road.

JBM: Don't you think that ^{in large part} (due to the protests, in large
~~part~~ the Vietnam War ended?

NM: That was one large reason. But I've always felt
that what made the suits who run so much of America
truly nervous, was the notion that they could no longer
~~control their children. Used to be that their children~~
~~entered the corporation, they continued it. Instead, the~~
~~suits now felt, "We can no longer trust any of the kids~~
^{came to work for them}
who come from the best universities. They're likely to
~~foul up our files, or discover too many of the little~~ ^{dirty?}
~~things we've been doing. We've got to stop this war~~
~~before the kids get too crazy."~~ In that sense, protests

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against the war were serious, were effective. But that's not the situation today.

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IBM When you have an issue, such as, "End the war in Vietnam," it's a set goal. You know what you're going for. One of the problems with this movement that I find, is not only is there no leader, but there's no specific goal to be achieved, aside from, "Get Bush out." A lot of the protestors I ask, "What exactly are you protesting at the Republican National

Convention?" ~~And there's not an answer. I have my~~ *That's not really true* *No two answers are the same.* *Perhaps it is because there are too many abominations being committed to pick one.* *answer. You want to know?*

NM Yes. ^{is} By the way, what's your answer?

IBM ~~Excellent~~. I'm protesting the fact that there's not a real Republican candidate this year. That they limit

us to two choices, and instead I only have one,

because there is no true, Republican candidate who—

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NM: You speak as if you'd like to vote for a
Republican.

JBM: I might vote for John McCain, if he was
running.

NM: You might, but you might not.

JBM: I might, I might not. It would depend on how
he handled himself.

NM: I see. You want two people to choose between.

JBM: Hey. I want twelve choices, but since I'm
limited to two, don't take one away from me. Because,
like Kerry, but I wish he wasn't my only option. And
~~so, that's specifically what I'm protesting when I go~~
~~here.~~

NM: When and how are you going to protest? Which

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group would you join?

(On August 30 I plan to march with KWRU. Org, The Poor People's Campaign. JB M: The High Times affinity group. That's Cheri Honkala's Organization. After that, I'm not sure.

NM: OK. Of course!

JB M: Of course. But I guess my question is: What

(Could) ²⁽⁵⁾ the protest do that would ^{further the cause} be a success today?

NM: What they could do is not what they're going to

be allowed to do. It won't be all their fault. For

instance, they wanted to have a huge march—250,000

people—the city won't let them. You can be damn

sure Pataki and Bloomberg do not want to embarrass

George Bush. It would be most expensive for them. If

these demonstrations ever hurt Bush, and he still gets

reelected, New York will be penalized in terms of

receiving money from Washington. That's one reason

Bloomberg and Co. ~~are keeping them~~ ^(are keeping them) from having

massive peaceful protest marches. If ~~had~~ a million

people were to walk ~~(in protest)~~ down 5th Avenue,

which is where it should be—that could have a

significant effect. Especially if it was a peaceful ~~march.~~

~~march. Of course, if riots start, it's a grim fiasco. And,~~

~~as I will keep saying, one has to watch out for agents,~~

~~provocateurs. It's very much to the advantage of the~~

~~Republicans to have any large demonstration end up~~

~~in a melee with lots of TV coverage and blood.~~

JBM: Do you know that to date, there's only been one

permit given out? And the only other organization

that looks like it's going to get a permit is Russell

Simmons' organization, ~~HSAN.~~

NM: Which one is that?

near
The Garden

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and furious that they weren't allowed to legally,

peacefully march. And it plays into making it a freak

show ^{that} to scare middle-America.

NM: ~~see~~ So much plays in. They won't allow them into the Sheep Meadow in Central Park. Why?

Because you might ^{also} have half a million people there

~~before you were done. And they~~ (But the Republicans) (don't want a peaceful

demonstration with that number of bodies. One of the

things about the Pentagon march back in '67 is how

peaceful it proved to be. Despite all the negative

media hype that came out afterward, the second word

that came, if slowly, was "peaceful—these people

were peaceful." ~~It was not a bad march. There've been~~

~~other demonstrations in Washington that were not~~

~~horrible even with hundreds of thousands of people.~~ ^{present}

won't get into them, it's old history now. But the ideal
 is, exactly, But it's
 to have a huge, passive demonstration. It's very hard
 bring off Especially this one.
 to do before an election. The people you want to hurt
 with your protest are in position to turn it to their
 advantage. If the election could take place without

any calamitous incidents, odds are Kerry will
 probably win. But a combination of riots with
 a fiasco in New York which ends in

riots and media coverage of the worst sort will give

Bush a huge spike. Because out there in the middle of
 America, they are terrified that maniacs, young
 maniacs of the Left are going to take over America.

That's a joke to us, but not to them. Middle America
 tends to be compulsively peaceful, law-abiding, and,
 dare I say it, not always all that imaginative. When
 they are imaginative, they are usually paranoid. Bush-

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So you don't go off in wild, brand-new directions.

None of this characterizes Bush. As a flag-~~con~~

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~~is looking to get those swing voters who say, "I like~~

~~Kerry, kind of, but I can't vote for him. The people~~

~~around Kerry are too awful, too dangerous, too natty."~~

914 JBM: ~~But~~ Do you think Kerry or mainstream

Democrats are going to associate with the protestors at all?

NM: ~~No~~, I think they'll have people out there, trying to put a little oil on these very troubled waters.

JBM: How so?

NM: Well, they have contacts. Power is power. We were talking earlier about what people get out of a protest movement. The leaders often get something.

A leader who's pretty good at exercising a little local power doesn't mind getting a little more. So there will

probably be hints from ^{his} the Kerry people: "We'll treat

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(38)

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A leader who's pretty good at exercising a little local

~~power doesn't mind getting a little more.~~ Isn't it? Well, Kerry started as an activist, So there will

probably be hints from ^{his} the Kerry people: "We'll treat

you right when we get elected." I can't believe Kerry's

people will sit by passively and say, "Oh, dear, isn't

this awful," like I'm saying right now.

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JBM: Are you going to come protest with me?

NM: No. Even if I believed in the efficacy of the

protest, I wouldn't go. I can't walk any more without

two canes. Standing in place ^{is worse it} drives me nuts. Two

arthritis knees. ^{So,} No, I'm out of it. ^{I won't} I won't

^{go in a wheelchair.}

JBM: What if there were no protests?

NM: I'm not sure that would be a loss. There's so

much anger at Bush. It isn't as if more anger has to

~~percolate~~ ^{percolate} aroused. ~~So many people who've never thought about~~

~~politics before are in a rage at him. There has been so~~

~~much brutal mismanagement and chicanery and~~ ^{There has been} ~~so much mendacity on the road to Iraq.~~

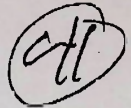
~~mendacity.~~ Even a minority of conservatives are

^{ready to go for Kerry.}

~~ready to go for Kerry~~. I've been saying for a couple of
 years that Bush is not a conservative. He's what I call
 a flag conservative, ~~He's not as~~ interested in
 conservative values as in empire building. The classic
 conservative, someone like Pat Buchanan, or, to a
 more ~~complex~~ ^{complicated} degree, Bill Buckley, do believe that
 certain values in society must be maintained. The
 classic conservative believes in stability. You make
 changes grudgingly and with a great deal of prudence.
 Don't move too quickly is the rule of thumb, because
 society, as they see it, is essentially a set of
 compromises and imbalances that can be kept going
 only by wisdom and, to use the word again, prudence.
 So you don't go off in wild, brand-new directions.
 None of this characterizes Bush. As a flag-~~con~~

(40)

conservative, he is surrounded by the tycoons of the oil industry, plus neoconservatives, plus gung-ho militarists, who believe that since we've created the greatest fighting machine in the history of the world, it is a real shame not to use it. These three different groups came together on a notion that I would call "exceptionalism." The more ideological among them believe that when the Cold War ended, it was America's duty to take over the world. *As I said earlier, they* ~~They~~ see America as an exception, they believe God wanted America to run the world. All too many Americans do believe that. Just look at the patriotic fever every time there's an occasion for people to show their flags. Very few fascist nations ever failed to put a huge emphasis on getting people to wave flags. This is not



the same as calling ~~them~~ ^{Americans} fascistic—we are not ~~that~~ ^{next}

~~close~~ ^{door} to fascism yet—but even as certain people fall

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into a pre-cancerous condition, I would say America

could be approaching a pre-fascistic condition. And,

the basic notion behind such an impetus, what the

~~Flag Conservatives~~ ^{Flag-Cong} fear is that America is going to

lose its pre-eminence in the world unless drastic steps

are initiated. As, for example, taking over the oil of

the Middle East, as well as enlarging our reputation as

a superpower to such a degree that China, India,

Japan, ^{and} ~~on~~ Europe, will not be ready to stand up against

us in any important way. These Flag Conservatives

would argue. I expect, in their private colloquies, that

if they don't embark on such steps, America's control

of world economics ~~will be lost~~ ^{could slip away} ~~is going to go away~~ ^{lost forever}

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~~from them~~ There are many indications that the
 Chinese and the Japanese are much more suited to live
 in a technological world than we are. Our long
 prosperity has one irony built into it. We have
 become a pleasure-loving nation. Fifty years ago,
 Americans were more hard-working. They still
 believed it was good in and of itself to work for most
 of your life. That's no longer ^{so} true, ~~in the same way~~. In
 science, our college youth are ~~very~~ weak when it
 comes to studying the so-called STEM subjects—
 science, technology, engineering, and mathematics.
~~Staying~~ ^{always so} living with technology is, after all, not so very
 agreeable. If one's going to sum it up in four words:
 more power, less pleasure. And Americans are
 pleasure-loving. The Chinese, for example, are not.

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They've had too miserable a history for too many centuries. So they can put up with monotony, boredom, and cruel repetitive working environments far better than we can. No one's ever been able to convince me that sitting in front of a computer all day is a good way to live, especially if you're not using the computer creatively to search for new information you really want, but, on the contrary, are carrying out tasks that you have nothing much to do with, other than serving the business needs of others. ~~process.~~ The Exceptionalists would not phrase it this way, but I think they feel the need for America to become a Roman power in contrast to other nations who will serve as our Greeks. Let China be our Greeks, and Japan, England, even—while we're about it! After all, the Romans used the intelligence

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of the Greeks to carry out necessary tasks that Romans

no longer had the desire to fulfill.

IBM: ~~But~~ I don't think it's possible any[#]more to take
 over the world that way.
with military force

NM: Can it be that Iraq is telling us as much?

Let's go back to why the Republicans selected
 IBM: Why did they pick New York for the

convention? *Do you think they still have hopes of*
~~I keep going back to that. Cashing in on the~~

~~that the Republicans hoped~~ *Memory of 9/11?*

NM: A couple of years ago, New York seemed like

may have

the perfect place to go. Republicans could attach the

bravery of the New York police and firemen to their

convention. Indeed, Bush may still get a good deal of

mileage out of that. But a couple of years have gone

by and we've also learned there are a few things

wrong about the picture we've had of 9/11. A new set

of conspiracy theories are building. There are just too

any facts that are not readily explicable. There may
 well be room after the convention for the protest
 movement to look into 9/11 with some critical

incisiveness. I am no longer a conspiratorialist—I

spent too many years *wandering around in that nebulous*
~~at that in relation~~ to the Oswald

Waver Report

business. But, there are elements here which are not

easy to explain. I don't believe for a moment there

was direct complicity. In America, we don't go in as

yet for major political coups—there's too much to lose

for
 if you're the powers that be, and we are still a

democratic society. You can't pull off a conspiracy of

that dimension without having so many people

involved that they'll spill *stuff*
~~things~~ all over the place.

But, there may have been a sentiment in the

administration—let them scream and squeal over this *one* —

That's standard operating procedure, I believe. meet them. (It's assumed a hijacking has taken place.

That didn't happen with the first plane. It flew from Boston right into the World Trade Center. All right, you could say there's a great tension that builds up in flight controllers. Day after day you're on the alert. But rarely does anything happen ~~that's really big~~. Past a certain point you can get cynical. You know, "Another asshole's wandered off-course." You don't necessarily keep paying the required attention. That is hard to believe in the first place, but what about the second plane that was off-course? Why were there no fighter planes up in the air looking to divert it? The second plane didn't hit the other tower until ~~thirty~~ ^{seventeen} minutes later. That is more than difficult to explain. *Especially when no one was fired* ~~at~~ ^{at} ~~it~~ ^{it} then there are ~~farther~~ ^{struck} extraordinary questions to ask about the plane that ~~hit~~ ^{struck} the Pentagon, or the one that

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crashed in Pennsylvania. Some serious arguments can
 certainly be ~~aroused~~ ^{aroused} ~~about whether 9/11 is as clean and~~ ^{simple}
~~stark an American tragedy as we have assumed. The~~
~~general public notion is that here we are, a peace-~~
~~loving nation. Lo and behold, we're attacked by~~
~~hideous terrorists. Was every effort made to prevent~~
~~these attacks?~~ ^{It} ~~That~~ may yet become an overwhelming
 national question. Because, after all, who did 9/11
 benefit if not everyone who wanted to go to war with
 Iraq, as well as all the putative empire-builders who
 were ready for an event that could ignite the nation.
 Now, the great irony of Iraq, ~~as I said before~~ ^{as I said before} the only good that ~~will~~ ^{might}
~~come out of Iraq, in my opinion,~~ ^{all that waste,} is that it may have
 deadened these empire-building notions for a good
 decade or two. Because after conquering a country

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7

that offered so little military resistance, the ensuing cost has been prodigious and abysmal. Temporarily, we have said goodbye to the notion that America can run the world through force. My God, we'd need twenty million young men in uniform for a start.

(50)

BM: Would you say New York is part of America, or is it its own entity?

NM: It is both. New York has a double nature, which is why it's so fascinating. It's like a steadfast husband who cheats. Moreover, New York is a world city. You want to talk about great American cities, speak of Boston, talk about Chicago, or New Orleans, mention San Francisco. Put ^{up} on your own favorites, if you have any. Los Angeles, possibly. But New York is our only world-city. So, in that sense, it offers a double

P.C. 4

the harpoon that hooks McCain. "I owe it to the country to make George W. Bush a better president." ~~That could be an element.~~ McCain could decide, "Yes, yes, really I have to bite the bullet and work for a man I truly despise. ~~But~~ it's necessary. America needs it." The moment a politician says to himself, "America needs it," he can shift the direction of the wind within the halls of his own brain.

(51)

~~ALL~~
JBM: Recently, Gore called for the resignation of all administration staff underneath Bush and Cheney. But George Tenet is the one who retires, and suddenly. Why?

MM: The CIA was miserably compromised. Everybody went to great lengths to say that the administration did not lean on the CIA to produce the results they wanted, but I can promise

you, the CIA ~~does~~ ^{did} not ignore what the administration ~~is~~ ^{was} calling for. Bush ~~doesn't~~ ^{never had to} say to Tenet, "You ~~do~~ ^{"You be the do"} (it my way.)"

~~nor did~~ And then Tenet says to the next person, "You ~~do~~ ^{down, "My way or} it my way." ^{the highest level} ^{leading to the rescue} ^{it was all count signals and} all the way down to the poor guy at the bottom who said A is

21. but now says, "Oh, yessir, yessir, A is Z." It ^{has never} ~~doesn't work~~

~~worked~~

that openly People in the CIA are often career-motivated.

They know the right thing to do for their career. It doesn't

always have anything to do with the right stuff so far as

intelligence is concerned. ^{And that you} You learn quickly. Many of the ^{top}

people in the CIA, ^{got there among other reasons} the power shakers, the power makers, the

^{by knowing what was wanted from the top.} power brokers, learn what's needed. Intelligence in itself is

^{endeavors it can be} ideally an ascetic activity. Like most ascetic activities, it's

diserably corrupted. That's true of every intelligence agency

in the world. They all end up doing what they feel is needed

for their country, for their own career, ^{say} ^(immediate) their next step. So, the

CIA was abominably ^{compromised} corrupted by the move to go to war

against Iraq. ^{most} Many analysts who had information that Iraq

^{had very little or} had nothing in the way of WMD soon gave it up. The urge to

satisfy the president became so intense that Tenet, who was

probably a good director of the CIA, got carried away. And

he said - what was that marvelous remark? He shot both

arms into the air to say, "It's a slam dunk." Apparently, he

didn't know that the most electrifying slam dunks are done

with one ^{arm} hand, not two. I expect George Bush doesn't know

the difference either. ~~However, I wasn't stem them on this.~~ That didn't keep them from speaking in

~~metaphor~~. In any event, Tenet had to get out. It would have been intolerable for the administration and himself to face the record of the oncoming music.

JBM: He said the biggest reason he was retiring was for the well-being of his family.

NM: Samuel Johnson once said, "Patriotism is the last refuge

of a scoundrel." ~~Well~~ ^{I would add that} the family is the last refuge of a politician who's retiring in disgrace.

JBM: What happens if there's a terrorist attack between now and the election?

NM: I don't know whether it'll benefit Kerry, or Bush. That's

a hard ~~one~~ to decide ~~in advance~~. Bush has been saying to

America: "I've made America more secure. I've made

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They were, after all, trying — for once, to converge in metaphor.

America safer." He could be hurt badly by a large attack. On

the other hand, ^{there is} a knee-jerk reflex in Americans ^{when} ~~there's~~

there's foreign trouble, you rally behind the president. ^{to} ~~So, our~~
^{when there's}
 a catastrophe. So, ~~balance, that to me is like a 55% / 45% question, slightly in~~

favor of Bush. But I really don't know the answer. I can't

~~pretend to.~~ ^{know the answer.} The character of the attack would have a great

deal to do with it. Don't forget: 9/11 was the essence of
 political and spiritual shock. We'll never be the same.

Whereas if a dirty bomb were set off, that would be hideous,
 and would inspire tremendous terror, but who can begin to
 speak about the aftermath? We don't know what we're
 talking about.

JBM Right. What would you speculate would be the
 response of Americans if Al Qaeda issued a statement
 claiming that if Kerry were to be elected, they would not
 attack for four years? How do you think Americans would
 respond?

NM: I think it's about the surest way to get Kerry defeated.

And, if it happened I'd say, how did the Republicans ever get to Al Qaeda?

55

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JBM: Can we talk a little bit more about the role of Hitler in this election?

NM: ^{Have the} A little bit, yes. The Republicans have been accusing the Democrats of being Hitlerian? ^{On, vice versa?}

JBM: Just to clarify, MoveOn.org created a campaign called "Bush in Thirty Seconds," in which they put out the word to everyone: make a thirty-second commercial at home and send it in to us. We'll pick the top—however many—one hundred, two hundred submissions and put them up on the website, put them on television, perhaps. They got thousands of responses. A lot of them were damn good, so they ^{posted} put a bunch up, ^{and created a new kind of political sensation.} but there was one that likened Bush to Hitler. After a day or two they took it off and MoveOn ^{announced that the ad} said it had been in bad taste. But MoveOn is not part of the Kerry campaign.

RMS

(56)

psychology, a core of hard knowledge earned the hard way on hard streets, together with considerable cosmopolitan sophistication. It does not have a hell of a lot in common with the rest of America, it doesn't even have much to do with upper New York State. Which is why all those years ago I said, let's separate.

saw New York as eventually becoming comparable

o Hong Kong,

~~magnum-independent city-state~~
~~It may be better on~~
~~cause, it may yet happen~~

JBM: One final question, then. Starting with the WTO

protest in Seattle back in '99, a culture has formed

around the anti-corporate, anti-globalization, anti-

Bush movement. Where do you think it's going?

Where should it go?

NM: All right, ~~let's end there~~. It's a rich question.

A good many people of the Right, not Flag

(57)

Conservatives, but true conservatives, can feel in

accord with men and women on the Left ^{concerning} ~~over~~ one

deep feeling. It is that the

~~matter.~~ The corporations are stifling our lives. Not

only economically, where corporations can claim,

arguably, that they bring prosperity (and, frankly, I'm

certainly not ^{school} ~~near~~ enough ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ economics to argue that

point pro or con), but I can say the corporation is bad

for us aesthetically speaking, culturally speaking,

spiritually speaking. They tend to flatten everything.

They are the Big Empty, ~~peopled with suits~~. One of the

virtues of Michael Moore's movie, if I can go back to

it for a moment, is that you could see all the faces of

the present administration, those empty faces, those

handmaidens and bodyguards of the Big Empty. And

the only one who seems real to me. In other words, I

might not agree with him ~~for~~ *for*

20

then Moore contrasted them to all the faces of

American soldiers over there: innocent, strong,

55

idealistic, or ugly, but real faces, real people. Plus all

these suffering Iraqis. Obviously, people in such

torment are always dramatic and eloquent on film.

Still, most of those Iraqis had different kinds of faces.

That shade of alienation from ^{natural} existence ~~itself~~ had not
yet gotten into their skin. They might be hard to live

with but they were alive. Whereas the people running

this country are all—with the notable exception of one

guy I'll get into in a moment—kind of awful. They

don't look as human as thee and me. That's a large

remark, but I support it. The one exception, oddly
enough, and by this I'll probably antagonize a good

} 20

^{Donald} many people, is Rumsfeld. Of that whole gang, he's

the only one who seems real to me. In other words, I

might not agree with him ~~for a moment~~ on anything.

but he does believe in what he says. It isn't as if ~~this is~~

the most useful response he can come up with at the

moment to wield or save his power. He's interested in

his ideas first. The power is subservient to the ideas.

IBM: What makes you say that?

NM: Because he's real. He reacts. He doesn't weigh

his words. If something makes him angry, he's angry.

If something pleases him, he smiles. If he has doubts

about ~~what's going on~~ ^{how the situation is} he expresses those doubts. In

that sense, he's the only one of that ~~batch~~ ^{COVEN} I'd call an

honorable man. ~~Now, I don't have to agree with him at~~ ^{let me emphasize;}

~~all~~ I can disagree totally with people I consider

honorable But, never have I seen an administration,

set

he searches for
59

which has had, by that measure, so few honorable
men.

(60)

IBM: Well, in *Fahrenheit 9/11*, they all do look oddly
epitaphian.

NM: We can agree on that.

IBM: Back to ^{Seattle,} ~~the protest movement~~. Where is ^{the protest} ~~it~~
^{movement} going? ~~and where should it go?~~ Because ^{it} ~~the movement~~
is not going to stop after the convention.

NM: No. ^{certainly} ~~It won't~~. After all, how much ^{can} ~~may~~ we hope
^{from} ~~for~~ in this election? If Kerry ^{gets in,} ~~is elected~~, he can repair
some of the boundless damage ~~that~~ Bush wreaked on
foreign opinion. But Kerry will still be essentially
pro-corporation. No major American politician can
afford not to be. In fact, if you outlawed the
corporations tomorrow, America would have food

famines, a frightening loss of jobs, name it. ~~They are~~

~~They are~~ *for decades to come* (61)
(installed) and we can't look ~~then~~ for quick results. The

war against the corporation is profound ~~indeed, it~~ *as it should be*

~~they are~~
~~should be~~ because they're deadening human

existence. That, I think, is the buried core of the

most generally. There is, after all,
outrage people feel toward the corporation. There's a

a profound difference between corporations and

capitalism itself, at least so long as capitalism remains

small business. The small businessman is always

taking his chances. He leads an existential life. He's

gambling that his wit, his energy, and his ideas of

what will work in the marketplace will be successful.

He can be a sonofabitch, but at least he's out there in

the middle of life.

IBM: He's creating something as well.

NM: He could be creating something that's awful. But

at least, he's taking chances. Whereas, the corporation

is the reverse of that. The corporation turns capitalism

inside out. In effect what they say is: "Let us stop

So many of them no longer
~~concern themselves first~~ *since they have*
~~worrying about the quality of our product. After all,~~
~~the funds to advertise on a large scale~~
~~they have the power to advertise. That's p-amount. So~~

It diminishes their
~~long as we employ such strength, we don't need a~~

Marketing can take over
~~good product. All we require is something we can~~

~~market by way of language and image. So marketing,~~

~~has taken over from the art of production. Over the~~

~~years this has produced a general deterioration of the~~

~~real value of products for the same real money.~~

~~And it's the identity of language it's all.~~

IBM: Well, I agree we're fighting a spiritual war

against the corporation. And what we're missing right

now is the ability to say, "We can provide for you, we

can make sure you have jobs, and food." What they're offering is stability. What we're offering is a deeper quality of life. ²

(63)

Now I know, I know, but to win this war will take, at least, fifty years ~~at least~~ and a profound revolution in American people's thinking. We'd have to get away from

manipulation. What we've got now is a species of economic, political, and spiritual brainwashing, vastly superior to the old Soviets, who were endlessly crude

Our governmental and corporate leaders

in their attempts. ~~We~~ are much more subtle.

Remember years ago when you were around ^{fifteen} fourteen,

you were wearing a shirt that said ^{Stussy} Tommy Hilfiger on

??

it? And I said, "What's the matter with you?" Not only

do you spend money to buy the shirt, but you also

advertise the ^{Company that} ~~man who~~ sold it to you. ⁴ ~~Are you out of~~

our head?" And, you said, "Dad, you just don't get

it." All right, you were right, I didn't get it. But now, I

notice, you don't wear logos on your shirts.

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. BM: I try my best not to. ~~Although~~ ^{these days} It's hard to find a

shirt that doesn't have a logo

^{these days}

~~But I like you~~

~~were the one who was right.~~

^{to her's}

^{I'd like to make}

~~I wised up to the~~

by

NM: One more point. I don't sneer at people who

~~insanity of~~

enter protest movements. At the least, it can be good

~~spending~~

or even necessary for their personal development. But

~~thirty~~

~~dollars~~

~~on a~~

~~shirt~~

~~and~~

~~then~~

~~walking~~

~~for the~~

~~designer~~

~~as a~~

~~walking~~

~~billboard.~~

~~↓~~

~~3~~

~~haven't~~

~~lost~~

~~their~~

~~already~~

would like these kids to disabuse themselves of the

idea that they are going to have some immediate

exciting political effect. If they have any, it could be

negative. And if Bush wins, we're a most divided

nation. Kerry can put it together better than Bush.

Bush can't solve any of our problems. He never was

able to. That may be the main reason he looked to

empire-building. Don't forget: Before 9/11 what was

he facing? The FBI was riddled with criticism, the

Catholic Church ~~was riddled with criticism~~ ^{scandalously}, the stock

market was ~~way down, and nothing was working well.~~ ^{on its heels,}

Joblessness was increasing, and ~~he~~ ^{Bush} was cutting taxes
for the ultra-wealthy. He had ~~zero to offer~~, Nothing to

offer ~~that is~~, but world conquest. So, if he's reelected,

what's ~~he going to~~ ^{will he} do if things remain bad in Iraq?

You'll look back on the Patriot Act as being liberal
and gentle.

JBM: I will never look back on the Patriot Act as
being liberal and gentle. While the protests will not
have a direct, political gain—

NM: You agree with me on that?

(65)

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JBW: Yes, I feel confident in saying I don't see

that given the parameters of how we will be allowed to protest,

anyway ~~that these protests~~ ^{it} could have a direct,

However,

political gain. I do feel that when you're out there, and

66

~~you see them all~~ ^{*all the different types of people who have come together*} particularly now with the myriad

~~number~~ ^{*mixture*} of groups that ~~are coming together for this~~ ^{*will be there*} —

you do get a sense that the spiritual revolution may be awakening. And that's the only hope, I believe, against the total corporatization of America.

NM: All right, but if we lose the election, it's going to be a very expensive spiritual education. I would be much happier if the protest movements could spread their activities over the next four years, rather than bringing it to focus prematurely. I don't have a great deal of hope that most of the people involved are really thinking of this election so much as expressing

the need to vent, to gain some self-therapy, and to

express their outrage at what's been done to them, plus

their need to gain power in the counterculture. There's

all sorts of motives, some noble, some meretricious.

But, it's a poor time to exercise our most dramatic

democratic privileges. ^{what we do have} ~~all the years to come~~ ^{the confidence to fight} ~~is that we can breathe~~ ^{spiritual} ~~WORD COUNT 5721~~ a cleaner ^{air} than

the greed-bags who run our country and ~~it is not impossible that over~~ ^{decades} ~~will come, and much that~~

~~This ending is a disaster. we believe in~~ ^{world government}

~~Are you sure you want~~ ~~to end it on such a low~~ ~~note?~~

(another word)

(I think it's just about there, Pop.)

will yet come to be. But I do not wish to end on so sweet and positive a note. It is better to remind ourselves that wisdom is ready to reach us ~~from the great~~ ~~is a perfect of greatness~~

WU (cont) & I ran the most under paid quarters.
It's I guess from a man who became "wise"
a little too late in life.)

5 "Naturally, the common people don't want war, but after all, it is the leaders of a country who determine the policy, and it is always a simple matter to drag people along whether it is a democracy, or a fascist dictatorship, or a parliament, or a communist dictatorship. Voice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. This is easy. All you have to do is to tell them they are being attacked, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same in every country."

~~Hermann Goering, Hitler's Reich Marshall
at the Nuremberg Trials after WWII~~

That was Hermann Goering ~~speak~~ speaking
at the Nuremberg Trials after World War II,
It is one thing to be forewarned, will we
ever be forewarned?

end

Side Bar

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that offered so little military resistance, the ensuing cost has been prodigious and abysmal. Temporarily, we have said goodbye to the notion that America can run the world through force. My God, we'd need twenty million young men in uniform for a start.

JBM: Would you say New York is part of America, or is it its own entity?

NM: ~~It is both.~~ New York has a double nature, which is why it's so fascinating. It's like a steadfast husband who cheats. Moreover, New York is a world city. You want to talk about great American cities, speak of Boston, ~~talk about~~ Chicago, ~~or~~ New Orleans, ~~mention~~ San Francisco. Put ^{up} ~~on~~ your own favorites, if you have any. ^{Conceivable} ~~possibly~~ But New York is our only world-city. So, in that sense, it offers a double



Indicate that you
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Which is why all those years ago I said, let's separate.

I saw New York as eventually becoming comparable

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It may be better on worse, it may yet happen.

FBM: One final question, ~~then~~ Starting with the WTO

protest in Seattle back in '99, a culture has formed

around the anti-corporate, anti-globalization, anti-

Bush movement. Where do you think it's going?

Where should it go?

NM: All right, let's end there. It's a rich question.

Don't Is this the note you want to end on?

NM. No. I want to quote something from the ~~book~~ coda.

JBM: Well, ~~also they~~ feel like they're contributing something. They're doing something about the way they feel.

NM: That's a third benefit—but ~~this is~~ a dubious ^{one} benefit.

~~Because very often when you're protesting~~ You can feel, ~~yes,~~ that you're doing something to change the system, but ~~then~~ ^{it} the big argument comes in—are you changing the system?

confirming it? You can ~~never take~~ ^{assume that} a protest for granted—that ^{is} it's going to accomplish what you want it to,

~~accomplish~~ ^{so} there are ~~too~~ ^{are} many other filters involved. If you ^{could} ~~can get down there and~~ talk to the people you really

want to reach ~~who are~~ out there, somewhere, far from New York, ~~in this particular example, and you talk to them face~~

to face, eye to eye, they might well listen to you, because

~~you do have things to say in a protest. The cooler you are in~~ ^{Of course, you have} a protest, the more effective you can be, since ~~we all know~~ ^{to stay calm}

~~that~~ Americans ^{get} are very nervous about ^{when} listening to anyone
who's keyed up. The perfect demonstration of that is the
way ~~the~~ major politicians are always very cool. And ~~the~~ one
~~moment~~ ^{Howard} ~~time~~, for example, when John Dean lost his ~~cool~~ ^{it remained} for one
~~moment~~, they ^{the media} never forgave him for it. ^{the problem}

JBM: Howard Dean.

NM: Howard Dean, yeah. What an error, I might as well
have said James Dean! (LAUGH) But I don't want to lose
the point (DISCUSSION ABOUT WHAT WAS THE
LAST POINT TOUCHED UPON)... I was saying that you
can't always know whether it's effective or not. The shift
that one has to make of one's understanding of protests if
^{with mass protests is that you have to}
~~you're in them~~ is that it's all got to reach people with your

~~own voice humanly, one on one. Instead, you go through~~
^{pass through} the immense filter of the media. And ^{they} the media distorts
^{so you} everything! You get on TV that night, you have your

See your fifteen seconds of Warholian fame. *All your friends* Everybody says, "Hey, man, you were on TV!" As if you've accomplished something. You might have been screaming. You might have had your face *printed* ~~dotted~~ with ketchup to look like blood. Even if you're semi-reasonable on TV, the odds against *when* being able to speak incisively and calmly are *even* ~~huge~~ for ~~anyone, even~~ practiced speakers. Because, you've *just the one* just got this moment, someone is shoving a microphone in your face, there's brouhaha all around you and *in that time* you are trying to speak calmly. *So, all too* That's the exception, not the rule. So, *desire* very often protests accomplish the opposite of what they want. Over the long-term, *they can do a lot* ~~protests can~~ *money, but not* accomplish a lot, very often not immediately. For example, *the failure in 1967* when we had the March on the Pentagon, ~~the immediate~~ reaction ~~to it~~ was very bad, ~~in the media~~. The media trashed us and trashed us and trashed us. But, *we did have a* ~~as I said earlier~~ the

deeper effect we had was we got under ^{Lyndon} ~~Linden~~ Johnson's skin. Because he knew that he couldn't bring fifty thousand people to Washington to support his ^{war} policies. And, as I said before, all these middle-class people who didn't want to get hit over the head with a club were on the bus coming So

that had ^a ~~had~~ accumulative effect over a period of time. But ~~then~~

assure you, if ^{Lyndon} ~~Linden~~ Johnson had been running for reelection, and the March on the Pentagon had taken place a week before the election, or a week before the convention at which he was going to be nominated, I think it would not have had a good effect, but a bad one. And, indeed, the

^{the summer of} the demonstrations in Chicago in '68, which were huge, ended ^{probably lost} ~~up, probably, losing~~ Humphrey the election.

JBM: Why?

NM: Well, because ^{middle} ~~America~~ reacted. The point is that a lot ^{many did react} ~~of people reacted~~ open and ugly ^{speaking} ~~against the horror that was done to the~~

~~of the police beating up the marchers, and~~
~~marchers, by them being beaten up. But even more people~~
~~even more Americans felt~~
~~reacted against the terror that anarchy was loose in the street~~
~~and blamed the marchers, not the cops~~
~~streets. Americans are very peace-loving, very much in~~

need of order ~~all the time~~. We're a country where everyone

~~who came here at one time or another tore up their own~~

~~by leaving~~ ~~So, in~~ ~~reluctance~~
~~roots, left their own home country. In America, the sense of~~
~~to cause~~
~~not causing disturbance is very strong indeed, along with~~

~~big American~~ ~~to~~
~~the idea to express oneself and be free and free-spoken. But~~

~~when you're running in an election, what people want in~~

~~politicians and I can tell you this from my own~~

~~disappointing experiences as a candidate~~ ~~I thought I'd~~
~~primaries of 1969 was that~~
~~really get somewhere as a candidate, and what I discovered~~

~~in large numbers~~
~~was that people didn't want what I was offering. There was~~
~~opting for~~
~~too much change being suggested. Leave out of it that I~~

~~maybe wasn't that good of a candidate there's no~~

~~measuring that, that's a personal factor, indeed. But they~~

didn't really want—I thought, boy, the moment we got out there in '69 and started talking about what was what with New York—what was right, what was wrong, and we started bringing our wit, and our this and our that to it, our fire, that we'd raise a storm. Well we didn't. And one of the

reasons we didn't is that ^{and} what people want in politics, in ^{= Americans, in the mean,} politicians, is continuance. They don't want their lives

disturbed by politics. ^{basic} And that's one of the profound

problems with protest. Protest is good for the protestors.

^{isn't always so} but it may not be at all good for the candidate ~~that~~ you want

to get in. Now, let me just add one more element to that...

don't know how many people who are going to be protesting are going to want Kerry to be elected and how many really don't care. You see, it could be a Nader redux. I know in 2000 I voted for Nader in Massachusetts, which is a safe vote, but my whole feeling was it didn't matter

~~who was elected, Gore and Bush were very much alike.~~

~~And was I ever more wrong. And that was true for many people.~~

JBM: Right, I felt the same way. There's a protest group called Billionaires for Bush, which is a very interesting protest group. They've probably gotten the most press out of any of the organizations. ~~And what they do is~~ They go out to protest dressed as ^{J.P. Morgan} ~~almost Monopoly style~~ ⁷ billionaires—I mean, top hats, and tails, and the whole nines. ~~And~~ They sit there with signs that are very pro-Bush, ~~and pro-capitalism~~, and they heckle the protestors, saying things like "What are you talking about, man? Are you crazy? Do you know how much money Bush is saving me each year? Of course I want him reelected! What are you out of your mind? You damn hippies! Back off!" And the police don't know what the hell to do with them. They

don't know whose side they're on. However, in the 2000 campaign, the organization was called Billionaires for Bush and Gore, and they were absolutely opposed to both parties

A few weeks ago
And I spoke with Andrew Boyd, one of the heads of Billionaires for Bush about it ~~a little bit~~, and he said, it's

not that ~~they~~ ^{we} think, Kerry is "the solution," Kerry ~~is~~ ^{isn't} perfect

by any means. It's just that ~~we really are at the edge, and i~~

~~we don't take a step back it could all be lost. And this is a~~

case where the lesser of two evils is, not only the best

option, it's essential.

NM: I couldn't agree more. You know, I happened to run

recently Chicago
into Ralph Nader ~~in my store~~ and I, like a great many

others, was gently trying to dissuade him from his course.

~~And at a certain point he said, parenthetically he's a very~~
like a very
(nice man, maybe the nicest man I've ever met in politics -

~~JRM: How much is that saying?~~

~~NM: It's not the highest accolade of all time, but it's pretty~~
~~good, pretty good, a lot of nice people in politics. But~~
~~there's something very decent about Nader, truly~~
~~convincing in terms of his own probity. So I didn't feel.~~
~~"Oh, he's doing it for ugly motives."~~ ~~I~~ ^{didn't} have that
feeling at all in the course of ^{our} ~~the~~ conversation. ~~But the point~~
~~I want to make is, as I was trying~~ ^{still,} ^{as I say,} ~~to~~ gently dissuade him,
knowing the odds were low that I'd be successful, but that ~~that~~
~~should try, he said~~ ^{he said,} at one point ("You know, they're both
for the corporation, Kerry and Bush." ~~And, we let it go~~
~~there, because~~ ^{There} were other things going on, and we
couldn't continue the conversation. But, it's true; they're
both for the corporation. ^{and,} ~~It's just that, once Kerry's elected~~
~~because I do agree with Nader that ultimately the~~
corporation is the great evil. ~~Bush is the immediate~~ ^{But in my mind, Bush}
~~mind, he's the immediate obstacle;~~ ^{is} ~~because I think he's~~ ^{I feel he is just}

a disaster
~~such an ignorant, vain man, as I've said already. He's a~~
~~very bad man for president. Even if your country's going in~~
~~the wrong direction you hope that the person who's leading~~
~~it is at least reasonably capable of doing what they do, so~~
~~you can measure what they did, and, possibly, people~~
~~sensibly can come to see that it's wrong. Not with Bush.~~

Considering it's that day to the English language, it's a disaster all by itself. Bush learned a long time ago that there are certain key words that get half the
 people in America going, and that's ^{all} what he works with.

~~He's immensely cynical. Deep down,~~ His cynicism is topped
 only by his vanity. ~~Alright, so to me there is a difference~~
 just in what you described. Let Kerry get in and see what

many
 he does; he'll be better in ~~certain~~ ways, for sure, no question
All the games he will have to toady
 better in many ways. Whether he's at a higher level, he's
too toady willy-nilly to the
 still some of the same old central toadying going on for the

At present, no
 corporations, who are running America, in my mind, that's

~~not~~ *main-stream politician can do*
another matter. Then protest movements in between
otherwise,
elections can have huge power. But to try to effect elections
with protest movements makes me nervous beyond
measure. I think it boomerangs.

JBM: Let's go back to the '68 protest. What were ^{its} the
successes *in the '68 protest?*

NM: '68? What were the successes? I'd be hard put to
them, Politically, it)
name the successes, because *it* was a disaster, *for*
the Democratic party.

JBM: Is there any success you can point to that came
directly from the protest?

NM: I ~~don't know. Can you? Thinking back on it? I mean~~
~~I did write a book about it, Miami and the Siege of Chicago,~~
not too bad)
I think it was healthy for a lot of people who were in it.

individual kids, who discovered that they ^{did have} ~~didn't know it~~
~~they had~~ ^{clo,} the balls to protest. Because, when you ^{clo,} protest you
can feel a lot of fear. ~~It's very easy to feel a hell of a lot of~~

After all, get back up. Not everyone
~~fear. And you can be beaten to death one chance in a~~
can face that possibility.
~~thousand, but, you know, it's not routine. The moment you~~

~~are facing true danger, even if the odds are very much in~~
~~your favor, not everybody can do it. Some people can't~~

some of
~~begin to go near danger. So for those who probably forced~~

it could have
~~themselves to get into that the protest would be very good,~~

had a good effect down the road
~~for them, I think. been good for their self-respect~~

JBM: Right, I would say that the war in Vietnam and the

Civil Rights Movement—the war in Vietnam ended, and

the Civil Rights Movement came to be, because of the

realization of how many people were behind it—

NM: The Civil Rights Movement was going on long before

that

JBM: Okay, let's just still to the Vietnam War. I would say

Don't you think that due to
~~that it was the protests, in a large part, in part thanks to John~~

?
~~Kerry as well, that the Vietnam War ended.~~

*down
the
road?*

NM: That was one ^{large} ~~big~~ reason. But I've always felt that ^{is that} ~~the~~
~~striking point, the point that made the people who ran so much~~
~~of~~ America truly nervous, was the notion that they could no
longer control their children. Used to be, ^{that their} ~~in the whole~~
~~corporate sense, that your children entered the corporation~~
~~after you got to the top of it. Your children entered the~~
corporation and ^{continued} ~~developed~~ it. Instead, ^{the suits} ~~they~~ now felt "We ^{can}
^{no longer} ~~can't~~ trust the kids who come from the best universities.
They're likely to ^{pull up our files} ~~fool around with our records~~. They're
likely to discover all ^{the slightly off-color} ~~sorts of~~ things we've been doing.
They're likely to unhorse us. We've got to stop this war, ^{before}
^{the} ~~the~~ kids ^{get too} ~~are going~~ crazy." And it was that notion that got ^{effective} ~~effective~~
~~against the war were fairly serious and~~
to it. But that's not the situation today. The situation today
is that a lot of ^{the show now} ~~the~~ protestors who are running ~~are~~ ^{are} real pros,
~~by now. At the least, some of the pros have been through~~

~~there's been~~
~~two or three years of serious protest~~

~~JBM: Starting with Seattle, yeah.~~

~~NM: Yeah. Others have been around for a long time. And the professionalism of it means that it becomes a thing in itself. And that also—well, we're getting off on a side-track. Let's get to another question.~~

~~JBM: My point is just that~~^{when} you have an issue, such as,

"end the war in Vietnam," it's a ~~very clear, defined point.~~

~~It's got a set goal. You know what you're going for. The~~

~~problem,~~ One of the problems, with this movement, that I

find, is not only is there no leader, but there's no specific

goal to be achieved, aside from, "get Bush out."

~~NM: You can imagine some of them are saying, "The hell with it."~~

~~JBM: Exactly. Even that's diluted. Now,~~^a lot of the

protestors I ask, "What exactly are you protesting at the

Republican National Convention?" And there's not an answer. I have my answer, ~~as to what~~

NM: ~~By the way, I might be interested by that.~~ What is *that?*
~~your answer?~~

JBM: You want to know?

NM: Yes.

JBM: Excellent. I'm protesting the fact that there's not a real republican candidate this year. That they limit us to two choices, and instead I only have one, because there is no true, republican candidate who—

NM: You speak as if you'd like to vote for ^a republican

JBM: I might vote for John McCain, if he was running, ~~over a democrat~~

NM: You might, but you might not.

JBM: ~~I might, but I might not.~~ It would depend on how he handled himself.

NM: I see. So, in other words, ~~you're wanting~~ two people
~~to choose between,~~
~~that you can follow?~~

JBM: Hey, I want twelve choices, but since I'm limited to
two, don't take one away from me. Because, I like Kerry,
but I wish he wasn't my only choice. And so, that's
specifically what I'm protesting when I go there. But...

NM: When and how are you going to protest? ~~You're~~
~~going to protest when you're there?~~

JBM: Yes.

~~NM:~~ Which group would you join?

JBM: The *High Times* affinity group.

NM: Okay, ~~alright~~. Of course!

JBM: Of course. But, I guess my question ~~then~~ is: ~~how can~~
~~we succeed today with the protest?~~ What could the protest ^{say}
do that would be a success today?

NM: Alright. I think what they could do is not what they're
~~going to do~~ ^{to be allowed}. It won't be ~~even~~ all their ~~own~~ fault. For

instance, they wanted to have a huge march—250,000

people—the city won't let them. You can be damn sure the

~~city, and the state, Pataki and Bloomberg,~~ ^{step} ~~having a~~
~~considerable amount of control,~~ do not want to embarrass

George Bush. It ~~not only involves their own pride as~~

~~professional politicians,~~ ^{most} ~~it would also be very expensive for~~

them. Because ~~if ever~~ ^{ever hurt} these demonstrations were ~~bad~~ for

Bush, New York would ^{will be penalized} ~~get hurt~~ in terms of receiving

money from Washington, ^{should} ~~if Bush got reelected~~. So, that's

one ^{reason Bloomberg and Co is} ~~element~~. So, they're keeping them from having huge

massive peaceful protest marches. ^{Such} ~~Now~~ an immense protest

march—if half a million people were to ^{walk} ~~march~~ in protest.

~~you know, that could march~~ down 5th Avenue, which is

where it should be—that could have an effect. Especially if

it ^{was} ~~were~~ a peaceful march. If riots start, it's a disaster. And,
as I've said now and again and will keep saying, one has to
watch out for agents provocateurs. It's very much to the
advantage of the ~~Republicans~~ ^A to have any movement, any
~~demonstration~~ ^{demonstration} march, any particular thing that's large end up in a bloody
riot.

JBM: Do you know that to date, there's not one permit

*Woman's
March?*
that's been given out?

NM: Be careful on your facts. ^{Are you?} ~~I'm not sure.~~

JBM: The one organization that looks like it's going to get
a permit is Russell Simmons' organization, ^{HSA} ~~Hassam~~ ^{Chad}

NM: Which one is that?

JBM: Essentially, their main focus is the Rockefeller Drug

Laws. It's much more to do with the black community

NM: ~~Ask yourself why will they get the permit? If you're~~
~~right I'm not sure you're right, but I don't think it will~~
~~come down to that.~~ I think others will get permits.

JBM: I don't know. To have not given one permit at this point is almost insane.

NM: Yeah, I know, but they're doing that to weaken the opposition. It's an old tactic. If you ^{as a protester} ~~don't~~ know whether you are going to ~~have to~~ ^{enter} march legally or illegally, it does a lot of harm to your movement. ~~It does a lot of harm to the morale of the people who are going to march. That's the tactic.~~ That's an ugly, political tactic ~~that~~ they're perfectly capable of using. But why are they going to give it to the Drug Laws? For an obvious reason, so all of America on TV says, "Who're the people that support the democrats?" It's the ^{druggies} ~~people~~ who want to have more druggies around.

JBM: No, no, I don't think so.

NM: You don't ^{think so?} ~~think so?~~

JBM: Russell Simmons, a.k.a. the CEO of hip-hop, is very user friendly.

NM: I'm not talking about what Russell Simmons wants.

~~I'm not talking about his program.~~ ^{commenting on} I'm talking about the

perception of it. Just think of what Fox News is going to do

^{How they want it} with that one, ~~go beaming it out to America.~~

JBM: It's going to be a celebrity fest. ^{Simmons is} ~~He's~~ going to have ninety A-list celebrities up there. It's going to be an extravaganza; it's going to bring ratings.

NM: That could make it worse.

JBM: Exactly. And, organizations like Poor People's

^{have} Rights Campaign who've been planning a march for four years ^{San} ~~on~~ the same day. ^{But} ~~that~~ he decided a couple of months

^{CK} ago to have his are getting squeezed out. ~~Now, what's~~

interesting about this ~~this is almost a tangent but, he~~

Cheri ~~she's talking~~
He refuses to speak with ~~Sherrie~~ Honkola, of the Poor People's Rights Campaign. Her organization is directly impacted by the Rockefeller Drug Laws. It's a no-brainer that she should be attached to his march at the very least, and get some stage time. However, it's happened before. And, she suspects that the word was given to Russell that if he attaches her, he won't get the permit.

fair
NM: It's a ~~lie of~~ suspicion at the very least.

JBM: But what this is going to do, I think, reinforces what you were saying a moment ago. She's going to march with or without a permit, and a number of the organizations are *along with that.* going ~~it. Some won't, but a number will.~~ And I think that they'll be crazed and furious that they weren't allowed to legally, peacefully march. And it plays into *making* what we've ~~been talking about~~ *to* of it makes it a freak show ~~that~~ scares middle-America.

NM: See, everything plays in. You asked me, "What's the
ideal?" They won't allow them into the Sheep Meadow in
Central Park. Why? Because you might have half a million
people there before you were done. And, ~~that~~ they don't
want ~~that they don't want~~ a peaceful demonstration with

half a million people. One of the things about the Pentagon *march*

back in '67 ~~is how peaceful that march proved to be finally.~~ *it* *Despite*

~~under~~ *media* all the negative hype that came out afterward, ~~they~~

if slowly the second word that came ~~was~~ "peaceful—these people

were peaceful." It was not a bad march. There've been

other demonstrations in Washington that were not riotous

every ~~with~~ hundreds of thousands of people. I won't get into them;

it's ~~just~~ old history now. But, ~~that's~~ the ideal is to have a

huge, passive demonstration. It's very hard to do ~~under the~~

~~circumstances. As I said, even if the organizations~~

~~themselves recognize the importance of this. The worst~~

~~time to have a huge protest of any sort, especially a political~~
~~ideological protest, people from all avenues coming~~
~~together, is before an election. Because~~ *The* ~~people you~~
~~want to damage with your protest are~~ *hunt* ~~precisely the ones~~ *in position*
to turn it to their advantage. The party
~~who'll use it given their connections to the media. And so,~~
ago it could be
~~in that sense, this is a recipe for disaster, what's going on.~~
could without new incidents
~~If the election took place about the way it is now. Odds are~~
~~Kerry would probably slightly win on the merit. That seems,~~
~~to be the general picture of it. He'll get a boost up, maybe,~~
~~from Boston, maybe not. He should get a spike. In turn,~~
But a movement
~~Bush has to get that spike fast in New York. And a~~
~~New York of the protest movement, which ends in riots,~~
~~razing, and media coverage of the worst sort, will give~~
Bush *middle*
~~him a huge spike. Because out there in the parts of America,~~ *they*
~~that are not "big city," there's very little understanding of~~
~~this. They just are terrified that maniacs, young maniacs of~~

That's a joke to us,
 the left are going to take over America, which is a joke. It is
 to Middle America tends to be compulsively
 not for them. They're very peaceful, law-abiding, and, dare

all that
 I say it, not always highly imaginative. But here they are

imaginative, ~~mean~~ usually, they are paranoid. And that what Bush is

looking to is ~~get these swing voters who say~~ his swing vote: those people who don't like

him, but are ready to like Kerry, ~~maybe~~ "I kind of, but" "But I can't vote

for him." ~~for Kerry,~~ they'll say. "The people around ~~him~~ ^{Kerry} are too

awful, too dangerous, too nutty."

JBM: But, do you think Kerry or the mainstream

democrats are going to associate with the protestors at all?

NM: ~~I don't think so, no, no.~~

~~JBM: I mean, how do they view the protestors, as allies, or~~
~~as trouble?~~

~~NM: You want my guess? I think they see them as real~~
~~trouble. That's my guess. Now, they'll have people out~~
~~there, trying to put a little oil on these very troubled waters~~

JBM: How so?

NM: Well, they have contacts. ~~Listen~~, Power is power. We were talking earlier about what people get out of a protest movement, ~~and I said~~, The leaders often get something. A leader who's pretty good at exercising a little local power doesn't mind getting a little more ~~power~~. So ~~if~~ there ~~are~~ ^{will} ~~probably hints~~ hints, let's say from the Kerry people, "Listen, treat us right ~~and we'll treat you right when we get elected.~~" ~~This goes on all the time, happens to have an old cliché word, to grokking. A lot's going to be going on. I can't believe the~~ ^{Kerry's} ~~people~~ ^{people} Democrats will sit by passively and say, "Oh, dear, isn't this awful," like I'm saying right now.

JBM: Are you going to come protest with me?

NM: No, ~~for a very simple reason~~. Even if I believed in the ~~efficacy of the~~ (protest, I wouldn't go, ~~because~~ I can't walk anymore without ~~pain~~. ^{canes.} I can't stand for anything. Standing ^{in place} drives

Two arthritic knees.
me nuts, ~~with my arthritis.~~ No, I'm out of it. ~~This one I've~~

got to pass. But, listen, ideologically I might not go ~~on~~
on the basis of what I've been saying. I would feel that
maybe if the protests were quieter the chances of getting
Kerry elected would be greater.

JBM: What if there were no protests?

be a loss,
NM: I'm not sure that would ~~hurt~~. There's so much anger
at Bush, ~~it~~ isn't as if more anger has to be ~~incited~~. *aroused.* So many
people who've never thought about politics before are in a

has been
rage at Bush. There ~~was~~ so much brutal mismanagement
and chicanery and mendacity, *Even a minority of*
~~surrounding his regime.~~

which I want to get into. I want to get into why they've
been so bad.

JBM: Why have they been so bad?

NM: Are you ready? Are we through with the other
questions?

~~JBM: Yeah, let's get into it. (ARGUMENT ABOUT
WHETHER ALL OF THE QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN~~

~~ANSWERED). What are the republicans up to?~~

Conservatives are ready to go for the my
~~NM: Well, you have to divide the republicans to begin with,~~

been saying for
~~I've said for a long time now, a couple of years already,~~

that Bush is not a conservative. He's what I call a "flag

conservative". And, by "flag conservative," I mean that

as
~~He's not so much~~ interested in conservative values as ~~he is~~

in empire building. The average conservative, ~~The classic~~

conservative, someone like Pat Buchanan, *as* ~~and~~ to a lesser

degree, someone like Bill *Buckley,* ~~Buckwheat,~~ a much lesser degree,

~~but~~ still, believe finally that ~~there're~~ certain values in

must be maintained,
~~society that they want to maintain—that they love, they~~

~~cherish, and they work for. And they can work for their~~

~~cleanly or not so cleanly. But~~ The classic conservative

also
~~finally~~ believes in stability, ~~that~~ you make changes

grudgingly and with a great deal of prudence. ~~That you~~

~~Don't~~ move too quickly, because society is essentially a sea

of compromises and imbalances that can be kept going only

by wisdom and, to use the word again, prudence. ~~That you~~ ^{So you}

don't go off in wild, ~~for insane, or intense, or~~ brand-new

directions. ~~Now,~~ ^{this} none of ~~that~~ characterizes Bush. ~~He is not~~ ^{As a}

a conservative. He's what I call a "flag conservative." ~~And~~

~~he has a great deal of people around him that you can break~~ ^{he is surrounded by figures in}

~~down into several groups:~~ ^{And} the oil industry, the

neoconservatives, ~~with Wolfowitz and company~~ and

~~finally some of the~~ militarists, who really believe ~~it~~ ^{that since}

^{received} created the greatest fighting machine in the history of the

world we ought to be able to use it. ~~So, you've got these~~

three different groups that ^{came} came together on ^{the} the notion

~~that I would call "exceptionalism."~~ ^{that I would call "exceptionalism."}
~~that I go back to again and again—and to a degree they~~

~~are what I call "exceptionalists." In other words, the more~~

religious, and the more ideological among them believe
that when the Cold War ended, it was America's duty to
take over the world. They see America as an exception. ^{they} ~~that~~
^{believe} God wanted America to run the world. And, ^{All too many} there are a
~~good many Americans~~ ^{who} ~~that~~ do believe that. The patriotic ~~fever~~ ^{to much}
~~every time there's occasion for people to show their~~ ^{Just look at the patriotic}
~~flags, reminds me of the fact that~~ ^{an} very few fascist nations
ever failed to put a huge emphasis on waving flags. And so
in that sense, and this is not the same as calling them
fascists, they're not fascists yet—I don't want to be named
~~as saying they're now fascists~~ ^{even as} but certain people ^{fall} get into
a pre-cancerous condition, I would say America ^{is} now in a
pre-fascistic condition. And, the ^{basic} notion behind it all—~~and~~
~~this is a notion that comes I'd say out of my understanding~~
~~of it, I don't think they'd agree with it for a moment, these~~
~~"flag conservatives"~~ but what they absolutely believe, not

~~what they believe~~, what they fear terribly, is that America is going to lose its pre-eminence in the world if ~~some~~ drastic steps are not taken. As, for example, taking over the oil of the Middle East. As, for example, developing such a reputation as a world power ~~that they don't have to conquer every country on earth hardly at all, but they can get~~

~~America into a position of such power and such pre-~~

~~eminence that other countries, ^{major} major countries, China, India~~

Japan, ~~most of~~ Europe, will not care to stand up against us

in any important way. ~~Because~~ ^{that} their feeling is (if they don't

~~embark on such steps, the control of world~~
~~do that the power of war economies is going to go away~~
~~economies will be lost~~

~~from them. The Chinese and the Japanese, for instance,~~

~~There are many indications that they~~ ^{the Chinese and the Japanese} are much more suited ^(examples)

~~to live in~~ ^{we are} for a technological world than Americans. ~~Are very~~

prosperity has an irony built into it, ~~which is~~ we've become

a pleasure-loving nation ~~in a way we never were fifty years~~

*Fifty years ago, one hundred years ago, was when we built it. The wealth we built, the power, our economic dominance, Americans were we built came out of the fact that Americans are hard-
more hand-working than, more dedicated than, still working and dedicated and really believed in working for*

society. That's no longer true in the same way at all. They

every bear
~~know it. There're certain statistics that bear that out. In~~
our college youth are,
~~terms of studies of science, we are very weak compared to~~
when it comes to studying
Asiatic nations, ~~and some European nations in the study of~~

engineering, physics, economics, science, and so forth.

JBM: Right, we have a country that works with our hands.

NM: What?

JBM: We have a country that is mostly filled with people who work with their hands.

NM: America?

JBM: Steelworkers, construction workers—

NM: No, no, no, I don't want to get into that. That's not true. What it is is the technological arts of the twenty-first

~~Century~~ may be more adaptable to, for instance, quickly,

~~speaking~~ Living with technology ^{after all} is not ~~very~~ agreeable. If

~~you're going to~~ sum it up in four words: more power, less

pleasure. And Americans are pleasure-loving. The Chinese,

^{in contrast} ~~for example~~, are not pleasure-loving. They've had too

miserable ~~a~~ history for too many centuries. They can put

up with monotony, boredom, and cruel working ^{environments} ~~regimes~~ far

better than we can. ~~And when it comes to technology~~

sitting in front of a computer all day, ~~no~~ one's ever been

able to convince me that ^{it's} ~~that's~~ a good way to live,

especially if you're not using the computer creatively to

search for the knowledge you want, but, on the contrary,

are carrying out ~~various~~ programs that you never had

anything to do with, other than ^{serving the process} ~~carrying them out~~. ~~So, it~~

~~that I think the Exceptionalists think~~
~~that sense, the basic feeling is that America has to become~~

~~not phrase it this way, but I think they~~
~~Roman power. I'm talking about the "exceptionalism"~~

~~feel the need for America to become~~ →

~~a Roman power while~~
~~now~~ and that the ~~other~~ nations will serve as our Greeks.

Let China be our Greeks. Let Japan be our Greeks, ^{in the} ~~even, while we've about it!~~ ^{England} After all,
~~way that~~ the Romans used the intelligence of the Greeks to

carry out ~~the~~ ^{necessary} tasks that were necessary that the Romans no

longer had the desire to fulfill. On the other hand, America

up to a point, is a very military nation. The South, for

example, is absolutely devoted to military service in a way

that a good many parts of the world no longer are. I'm

sorry I interrupted you before, but don't interrupt me when

I'm at full speed, even if you've got something good

JBM: Okay.

NM: Make a note of what you want to say, because I lose
my continuation.

JBM: I gotcha. Rumsfeld is always talking about how the

US military needs to be updated, and needs to be more

modern, and that it's archaic in its way. I think one of the

IBM: I don't think it's possible any more
big mistakes that they're making and certainly they are,

seen it going into Iraq and how hard it's been to even take

over that country is that it's not possible anymore with

big military force
military force to take over the world. The days of the

NM: Can it be that Iraq is selling
Roman Empire are done, because of the technology. The
us as much?

blackout in New York, a great number of people who know

what they're talking about in terms of the computer world

are dead certain that that was not an accident. That wasn't a

tree-limb falling down and knocking out a pipe. That was a

computer terrorist attack.

NM: This takes us into another interview altogether. I don't

want to get into that. I really don't. It's hard enough to keep

ourselves restricted to what we're doing. Okay, let me give

you an answer. I've got to stop for a moment for other

reasons.

(TAPE STOPS)

JBM: ~~And we're back!~~ Why did they pick New York for the convention ^{in relation to 9/11?}

NM: Well, my hope is that we'll get boomerang. That ~~this~~ is an example where the protest movement—(ISSUES WITH A DOG OR SMALL CHILD INTERRUPTING)

~~Bush built so much of his appeal that he was responding to the terror attack of 9/11, that it was an outrage to the~~

~~American system—all that, all that stuff we know—and~~
~~that, therefore, New York was a wonderful~~ ^{NM} ~~(place to go,~~ ^{the perfect}

^{Let's} ~~because it would bring back the memory of 9/11 to~~

everyone. ~~And this~~ ^{goes} ~~he may still get a great deal of mileage~~

^{it} ~~out of. But as the months and years have gone by, what~~ ^{a couple of} ^{and}

^{a number of} ^{about the} ~~we've learned is there were so many things wrong with~~

^{picture we've had of} ~~9/11 that there's a new~~ ^{set of conspiracies theories} ~~nexus of conspiratorialism building,~~

~~because there are just too many facts that are not~~ ^{not} ~~easy~~ ^{practically}

~~that~~ ^{explicable,}

~~explainable.~~ Even the commission that looked into it under

(27)

are some among them who are impassioned and truly

believe ~~it~~, someone like Rumsfeld, for example, I believe in

a sincere man. The only one in that whole gang mind you.

Not that I agree with him on anything, but what comes off

him, that does not come off the others is a kind of integrity

of the gut. He speaks from the gut when he speaks. And

he's not afraid to say things that are not immediately

advantageous. The others ~~oh~~ ^{wholly} manipulative, manipulative.

manipulative. They wouldn't know what the truth is. You

see, they can't know what the truth is, because they have,

it's like someone ^{body} who's never had sexual intercourse

cannot begin to know what's involved in the word "fuck."

You see? So these guys cannot begin to know what's

involved in the word "truth" — T-R-U-T-H. There's nothing

to do with the truth. What ^{solely} they're interested in is the

effectiveness of the message. Still, what I want to save the

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~~next~~
second half of the interview for, is precisely what's at stake
for the republicans?

JBM: Right. Before we get into that, tell me if I'm just
being an asshole with this, but I look at everyone in that
cabinet and there is a true thought that, these guys never got
laid enough. There's no sense of fun—

NM: Let's not get into that in the interview. I'll tell you
what: first of all, we don't know—politicians are very
tricky people. *

(END OF FIRST SIDE OF TAPE)

JBM: Can we talk about the moderate republicans' role in
this election a little bit? Like McCain, for instance? When
he came out strong for Bush? Why?

NM: We can talk about it. I don't know if it's relative to
our bigger discussion. ^{More} It's (like a side note, a sidebar. In fact,
it might even be printed as a sidebar. I think McCain

He certainly has every right to want to be president, and I think

he wants to be president. *All the same, have to make* Politicians make very hard

choices. Very few people can be politicians, because you

they have to make choices that are *sometimes* really god awful, *In addition,* which is,

standing you have to smile next to people you despise. And, next to

people you despise, *a relatively* Even if you're an honest man, you have

It's imperative to become pretty damn phony. And you have to know

which way the wind is blowing, and always pay attention to

the wind. You can never ignore the wind, or you're dead as

a politician. You can have the honesty and incorruptibility

of Ralph Nader, but, as we see, that does not get you

elected president. So, even people who have as much

must have said to himself integrity as McCain, finally if you're ambitious at a

5 certain moment he had to say to himself, "I could be

president. I could be a much better Republican president

than George Bush ever dreamed of being. Whereas, if I go

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with Kerry (~~who, I would guess personally that he says to~~

himself, I prefer John Kerry to George Bush—but that's not

my real choice. 'Cause as a republican vice-president I go

nowhere ~~right~~ afterward). If Kerry loses, if Kerry and

McCain lose, I'm doomed—(black sheep in my own family:

~~And if Kerry wins, in my own party family, and there's no future for me with~~

~~the Democrats. I'm certainly not going to become a~~

~~democrat. So, there's just no future there. And if Kerry~~

~~wins, and I'm there for eight years, they're not going to do~~

anything with me. I'll be a lame duck vice president ~~all the way~~

Whereas, if I go with Bush ~~and~~ if he wins, in four years I'm the

logical choice to be the republican candidate. ~~it'll be~~

~~or lose for Bush, I'm the front-runner~~
Schwarzenegger or myself."

~~Republican candidate for 2008.~~

~~IBM: Right, but Schwarzenegger couldn't run for president~~

NM: There could be a constitutional amendment, but that's
too complicated. I don't want to get into that right now.

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Let's ~~say~~ it's McCain, leave Schwarzenegger out of it

"I'm the logical candidate, if Bush wins. If Bush loses, I'm still the logical candidate for the republicans because I was loyal to the party." I don't necessarily win ^{in a walk} the nomination

in 2008, but I'm in there. And the republicans will know

I'll be the only possibility to beat either Kerry or, ^{if he loses} ~~in the~~

~~ease of their losing, to beat~~ Hillary Clinton." These are

McCain's ^{parameters,} ~~perimeters.~~

JBM: However, if McCain comes out strong for Bush -

say, he were even to run as his vice-president. Bush wins,

has another four years unchecked by reelection. The

amount of damage he will do, the amount of critique that

McCain has had of Bush in the past four years, I can't

imagine he ^{would} be able in all good conscience to put up with

what Bush would do with another four years. How does

that put him in a strong position to run for president. If he
kowtows to Bush?

NM: Well, for one thing, Bush ^{would} ~~may~~ never take McCain.

because McCain wouldn't kowtow that much. Second of a l.

politicians do have their vanity, I would remind you. And

McCain might think, "George is an empty vessel. Gee, if I were vice-president, I could

~~If I were vice-president, I could influence him.~~ ^{him,}

~~use George as an empty vessel, I could influence him.~~ ^{might become} could influence him a lot. He could be a much better

president, if I were vice-president." ~~Then there's the barb~~ ^{that could be}

on the harpoon that hooks ~~you, which is:~~ ^{McCain.} "I owe it to the

~~country, I owe it to the~~ country to make George W. Bush a

better president." That ~~would be one of the elements in~~ ^{could}

~~McCain deciding,~~ ^{can decide} "Yes, yes, really I have to bite the bullet

and work for a man I truly despise, but it's necessary.

America needs it." The moment a politician says to himself,

"America needs it," ~~they can do a lot. At that moment, they~~

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he can shift the direction of the wind within the halls of their own brain.

JBM: Recently, Gore called for the resignation of all administration staff underneath Bush and Cheney, ~~because~~ ^{But} of the war in Iraq, etc, etc. ^{only} George Tenet is the one who retires, ^{and why?} suddenly. ~~What do you think went into that choice?~~
~~What do you think went into that decision? Why would he suddenly retire?~~

NM: ~~Look,~~ ^{The} CIA was miserably compromised, in my ~~opinion~~. Everybody went to great lengths to say that the administration did not lean on the CIA for their results, ~~but~~
~~After the years I've spent~~ ~~I think it was seven years I~~
~~spent writing Harlot's Ghost~~ ~~I~~ can promise you that my ~~understanding~~ of the CIA ^{does not} ~~is that you don't~~ ignore what the administration wants. Let's stop the crap. It's just ~~ridiculous~~. ^{doesn't} ~~What happens is that it isn't that~~ Bush/say to

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Tenet, "You do it my way." And then Tenet says to the
next person, "Now, ^{all the way} you do it my way." The next person
^{down to} says, "You do it my way." And then the poor guy at the
^{but} bottom who said that A is A and now says, "Oh, yes, sir,
yes, sir, A is Z." It doesn't work that way. ^{openly} Now people
~~often understand~~ ^{often} who're in the CIA are vicious, particularly if they're career-
motivated. They know the right thing to do ^{for} in terms of the r
career. It ^{doesn't always have} very rarely has anything to do with the right thing
to do ^{so} as far as intelligence is concerned. You quickly learn
^{Many of} in the CIA, half the people in the CIA, the power shakers,
the power makers, the power brokers learn what's needed.
Intelligence in itself is ^{ideally} a sublime ascetic activity, ~~but~~ ^{but} like
most ascetic activities, it's miserably corrupted. ^{That's} It's true of
every intelligence agency in the world. They all end up
doing what they feel is needed for ^{their} the country, for their
own career, ^{the} for the next step. So, the CIA was abominably,

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in my opinion, ~~was abominably~~ corrupted by the move to
~~go to war against Iraq.~~ *Many Analysts* Cause anyone who had information
 that Iraq had nothing *on the way of WMD soon* ~~was in real trouble, and pretty quickly~~
 gave it up. And, in turn, finally ~~the~~ *became so intense,* urge became so
 powerful to satisfy the president ~~that~~ Tenet, who was
 probably a ~~very~~ good director of the CIA, got carried away.

And he said—what was that marvelous remark ~~he made?~~ =

He shot both arms into the air to say,
 That shot, ~~when he went up with two hands~~ —“It’s a slam

Apparently, he didn't know the
 dunk.” Well, if he knew anything about basketball, he
clat of the slam dunk is that it is
 would know ~~the slam dunk is~~ *done with one hand, not two.*

I expect
 But, you know, George Bush didn't know the difference
~~that didn't keep them from speaking~~
 either, I expect. In other words, they began to speak in

in metaphor. *In any event,*

~~JBM:~~ Which is dangerous for Bush.

nearby
~~NM:~~ For politicians? It's a disaster! Especially when they
 don't have a command of metaphor. No, Tenet had to get

out. It would have been intolerable. ~~He knew when to get~~
~~been intolerable for the Administration~~
 out. He didn't get to be head of the CIA without knowing
 and himself to face the disband
 as well when to get out.

JBM: ~~He had one line that stuck out to me, when he said,~~

the biggest reason he was retiring was for the well-being of
 his family.

NM: Honey, forgive me for calling you my dear, but—

JBM: Jesus, man—

NM: When you say something as simple as that I have to
 say "honey." And the women be damned. Seriously, that

~~NM:~~ is—you know the remark that Samuel Johnson made, ~~once said~~

"Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel?" Well,

~~JBM: Right.~~

~~NM: Well,~~ the family is the last refuge of politician who's
 retiring in disgrace.

~~end of page~~
~~Send page on a new page~~

out. It would have been intolerable. *It would have been intolerable for the Administration*
~~He knew when to get~~
 out. ~~He didn't get to be head of the CIA without knowing~~
and himself to face the discord
~~as well when to get out.~~
of the oncoming music.

JBM: ~~He had one line that stuck out to me, when he said,~~

the biggest reason he was retiring was for the well-being of his family.

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~~NM:~~
~~is you know the remark that Samuel Johnson made once said,~~

"Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel" *well,*

~~JBM: Right.~~

~~NM: Well,~~ the family is the last refuge of politician who's retiring in disgrace.

end of page
~~Send p 109 on a new page.~~

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JBM: I agree. I'm asking you theoretically, because there are no facts, and there won't be any for years to come.

NM: I don't get into theoretical things, because politics almost never approaches a theory.

JBM: Okay, then I'll get back to something more concrete.

What happens if there's a terrorist attack between now and the election?

NM: Well, that's sheer speculation. You have to say what kind of terrorist attack? One thing I can answer you is, suppose there's a large terrorist attack between now and November 2nd. I don't know who it'll benefit. I don't know whether it'll benefit Kerry, or whether it'll benefit Bush.

It's a hard one to ^{decide} name in advance. Bush has been saying to

America: "Look at the security I've given you! Look at the security I've given you!" I've made America more secure.

I've made America safer." He could be hurt very badly by a

^{large}
~~certain kind of~~ attack. On the other hand, there is ^{to} ~~this~~ knee-
jerk reflex in Americans ^{that} ~~that~~ when's there's ^{9/11} ~~trouble~~ to

~~America~~ you rally behind the president. So, on balance that

to me is like a 55% ~~vs.~~ 45% question, slightly in favor of

Bush. But I really don't know the answer, ^{I can't} ~~and wouldn't~~

pretend to. ~~And also~~ ^{will} the character of the attack ~~would~~ have

^{Don't forget} a great deal to do with it. 9/11 was the essence of

^{political and spiritual} ~~fundamental~~ ~~political~~ shock, ~~historic~~ shock. We'll never be

the same. Whereas if a dirty bomb were set off, that would

be hideous, ^{and} it would inspire tremendous terror, but ^{I also} ~~there~~

^{can begin to speak about the aftermath?} ~~would be a different sort of aftermath. I can't begin to say.~~

We ~~don't~~ know what we're talking about.

JBM: Right. What would you speculate would be the response of Americans if Al Qaeda issued a statement claiming that if Kerry were to be elected, they would not

attack for four years? How do you think Americans would respond?

NM: I think it's about the surest way to get Kerry defeated. And, if it happened I'd say, how did the republicans ever get to Al Qaeda?

JBM: Can we talk a little bit more about the role of Hitler in this election?

NM: A little bit, yes. The republicans have been accusing the democrats of being Hitlerian.

JBM: Just to clarify, "MoveOn.org" created a campaign called "Bush in Thirty Seconds," in which they put out the word to everyone: make a thirty-second commercial at home and send it in to us, ~~and~~ we'll pick the top—however many—one hundred, two hundred ^{submissions} and put them up on the website, put them on television, perhaps. They got thousands of responses, ~~and~~ a lot of them were damn good.

so they put a bunch up, but there was one that likened Bush to Hitler. After a day or two they immediately took it off and "MoveOn" said it was in bad taste. But "MoveOn" is not part of the Kerry campaign. "MoveOn" is an independent organization—so, theoretically, it's entertainment; they can do whatever they want to do. ~~The Bush campaign.~~ On the Bush campaign reelection website, they put up an ad.

which, as you said before, likened Gore and Dean and

~~Michael Moore and Kerry to Hitler.~~ ^{and "MoveOn"} as

well—they tied "moveon" into it as well. ^{Only they did not} And they do not

^{that what they were doing was} say it's in bad taste. They've flipped it completely. When

both sides are accusing the other of tendencies towards

Hitler, has the impact of Hitler been lost? Because, when I

was in grade school, Hitler and World War II was still fresh

enough that that was the embodiment of evil. Now the

^{"new"} word has been so bastardized and so cheapened to the point

where I can't even say it anymore with a straight face. I

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that I wonder if for the generations below mine, ~~if~~ Hitler has the same impact? And if not, what does that mean? ~~What is that going to do?~~

NM: Oh, I think for ^{their} your generation, ~~probably~~ Hitler has somewhat more impact than Attila the Hun, but it's not that immediate. ^{For} ~~It's~~ people who lived through the Second

World War ^{and} ~~and~~ their children ^{there is still an impact,} who feel the impact. ~~That's~~

~~Of course, there is the end of it. Let's go into the thing, because there's something interesting about it. ^{this episode} With my suspicious mind... ~~there were~~ hundreds of ads came in, right? Why assume that the person who wrote that ad was sincere in wishing to defeat George Bush? Where did it come from, the ad? Why were the people at "MoveOn.org" so insensitive to the repercussions of that? Because, one has to keep a sense of proportion in all this. Bush may be, in my humble opinion.~~

Bush is the most ignorant president we've ever had

Parenthetically, at the time of the ^{Reagan} ~~Regan~~ festival a couple of weeks ago, about a month ago now, everybody was

talking—I was infuriated by it, because I never, obviously,

had a very high opinion of him. I said, "^{Reagan} ~~Regan~~ is the most

overrated president"—in my opinion—"^{Reagan} ~~Regan~~ is the most

overrated president in America's history and the second

most ignorant." Then, I said, "Guess who's the most

ignorant?" Well, we don't have to wonder now who I had

~~It could be that the most tremendous~~
in mind for the second. The thing is, we can accuse George

~~personal crime we can accuse George~~
Bush of one tremendous crime, which is, he probably never

~~Bush of is that he probably never~~
said to himself, "I don't deserve to be president." ~~The I don't~~

~~You can't trust a man who's never been~~
embarrassed by himself. The
vanity of the man stands out with every smirk. He literally

cannot control his vanity. It seeps out of him. ^{with every} ~~It's as if~~

~~movement of his lips, every tight-lipped~~
there's too much oil in a pig's bladder and it keeps leaking

~~grinace. Every grin is a study in smugness~~
out of the place where you tie the bladder to keep the

~~smugman ship~~

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~~contents from spilling out. Every time the bladder's~~
~~touched the oil seeps out of the mouth of the bladder. In the~~
~~same way~~ that smirk is the gateway to Bush's vanity. ~~He~~
~~cannot control it. He does not deserve to be president. He's~~
~~done more harm to this country than~~ ~~any~~ ~~and other~~ ~~many~~ a president. If I
 knew more American history, I might be authoritative
 enough to say he's done more harm to this country than any
 president in history, ~~but I don't know enough to say that~~
~~In any event, he's~~ ~~But he is~~
~~much. He's hurt us grievously. He's not Hitler; and I don't~~
~~think there's a Hitler in him. I really don't.~~ Even at his
 worst, ~~I~~ ^{one?} can't conceive it. Bush is essentially a superficial
 man. Having the evil imagination to ~~stand on top of~~
~~destroying whatever it was,~~ ^{with us} six million Jews? And ~~that's~~
~~of Poles, Czechs, Russians and Gypsies, the~~ ^{the} ~~just part of it~~ maybe ten million people all together in the
 concentration camps? Or, Stalin, with the twenty million
~~who died from famines and the gulags~~
~~that were killed?~~ Those people are a different order of

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horror all together. And I hate any allusions, comparing
 anything to Hitlerian. ~~Even comparing this war at present to~~
~~to Vietnam is a stretch. Bad as the casualties have been, let's~~
 face the fact, fifty ~~million~~ ^{thousand} Americans were killed in the ten
 years of Vietnam. ~~Now that could yet happen in ten years~~
~~in Iraq. If we had comparable numbers, then I would say,~~
 Yes, it ~~was~~ ^{is} as bad as Vietnam. But let's keep proportions.

~~One of the things that's~~
~~What's got me so worried one reason I'm doing this~~
~~interview is the loss of proportion.~~

JBM: There are a lot of similarities between the war in Iraq
 and the war in Vietnam. Just because the numbers aren't
 the same yet—we haven't been there for ten years.

NM: There are a lot of similarities, there are a lot of
 dissimilarities, ~~and one of the weaknesses of the liberal~~
 mind and the right wing mind is the moment they find

some kind of connection, ^{it} that can even be tenuous, they don't give a damn, they're off racing with it. (45)

JBM: Right, but here we have a country that we invaded where the people don't necessarily want us to be there: some of them do, some of them don't.

NM: I'm not going to waste our time in a long discussion of the similarities and differences. Everybody can figure it out for themselves that's read this far in the interview

JBM: I agree with you on Bush not ^{possessing} processing the wherewithal to be comparable to anyone remotely like Hitler. What about Cheney?

NM: I feel it's fair game to insult politicians on their ^{lacks} ~~lacks~~ ^{VICES on their} ~~lacks~~ strengths, if they're ugly strengths. And there's plenty to attack Cheney about. But there's no evidence whatsoever that he has any interest in liquidating huge numbers of people in institutional ways. He may not give a

~~millions of people worldwide~~
 damn about ~~people dying of poverty. Just because you~~
 don't give a damn about ~~how many hundreds of thousands~~
~~of millions people die~~ because they don't get proper

~~medical care, you can't say that's Hitlerian. Let's keep the~~
~~categories! Because without the categories~~ ^{they} it's just a sludge
 out there. And politics in bad enough without ~~slogging it to~~ ^{going to}
~~further.~~ ^{messing it up further}

^{But}
 JBM: Yes, I agree. ~~However,~~ my estimate of Cheney from
 every speech I've seen him give, ~~from~~ every word I've read
 that he's spoken is that ~~if it comes down to cost-~~

~~effectiveness or humanity, it's never a question. He's~~ ^{always} ~~going~~
^{he's always going} to do what's cost-efficient for his constituents, regardless of
 how many people have to die in the process.

NM: Well, he doesn't see it as people dying in the process.

He sees it as the weak being put on a railroad siding ^{for the} ~~to be~~
^{time being} ~~spent~~. He sees history as being made by the top 1% of the

people alive, and it's to the benefit of the other 99%

because the 1% at the top knows what they're doing far better than the bottom 99%.

~~JBM: I don't know about that.~~

~~NM: The point is, if we're going to get into this, we've got to discuss the way those guys see themselves and what they see is the need, which I think is the second half of the interview. And, I would truly like to sleep on it and come in fresh tomorrow. (TALK ABOUT STOPPING~~

~~INTERVIEWING FOR TODAY, NM congratulations~~

~~JBM on doing a good job interviewing). Is there more you want to say right now?~~

~~JBM: There's one question...~~

~~NM: Yeah, absolutely.~~

~~JBM: You had mentioned faces before, faces in the administration. Do you want to save that for tomorrow?~~