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his built-in modesty. Indeed, for all one knew, it was good that he must

have sensed that he was not quite bright enough for the

Bush had, doubtless, more than enough character to be

obliterative shadow cast by Nancy Reagan, she was seen

elegant enough. In turn, their oldest son, George, in contrast to his

was neither an athlete nor a fighter pilot. He was a cheer

itself, was enough to drain some good part of his self-respect.

to be surrounded by football players when you are ^{just} as tall and large as the

are, but not as athletic. The son, out of necessity perhaps, developed his

own kind of ego. ^{He became} ~~He turned out to be~~ as vain as sin, and

unsuccessful sin. For some, drink is the ^{best enhancer} ~~only~~ ^{best enhancer} ~~psychic~~ ^{best enhancer} ~~available~~

when you are not quite sure who you might be, especially ^{second} ~~if~~ ^{second} ~~you~~ ^{second} ~~are~~

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suited in the nicest strength of your upper class—which is

reliance on the enrichments of culture that a good education offers.

If this sense of Bush's character is well-based, then one must accept
the increment of strength that victory offers to such a man. He now feels as
entitled to national respect as the dry-drunk screen star after a big box office
success. It is no accident that half-men strive with manic intensity for
certification of their worth. One can see the magnitude of George W.
personal happiness now. The smirk is gilt-edged in these last days of
~~November and early December.~~

In contrast, the woe one encounters among Democrats is without
parallel in my recollection. Just as no President, not even Franklin D. Roosevelt,
was detested so strongly by so many of us, so was the belief in his defeat
the week before the election, that no matter how deadlocked the politics was

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inconceivable that Bush could triumph. That belief in

intense among the young. The prevailing mood among

Democrats now is not unlike the disbelief that attends the death of

a close friend. One keeps expecting the deceased to be brought back to

room table again. Or the door-bell will ring and ~~yes~~ the ~~deceased~~ will be there

no, he is not there. Bush is the victor, not Kerry. It is analogous to the way

people who have been ^{transported} ~~stunned~~ by the intensity of a dream have to keep

^{on awakening,} ~~in the dark,~~ "I am not in Katmandu. I am in my own

bedroom. There will be no deliverance from George W. Bush. I will have

to see his face for the next four years."

It is useless to suggest that if Kerry had won Ohio he would become

President with a deficit of several million electoral votes, or the need

necessity to take up camp in the quagmire of Iraq, the situation could have

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been worse for Democrats. Kerry, given his 50-50 stand, the Democrats

have had to pay for all of Bush's ~~errors~~ *mistakes and vanities*

Speaking of ~~sin~~ *vanities*, allow me one long parenthesis. It was Jesus

who said we must tax the rich. It was Jesus. Jehovah, to the contrary, was

much more ready to threaten the loss of a man's wealth *when* ~~he~~ *he*

obey religiously ~~all~~ *all* the powers that be, all said power *is* ~~is~~

Jehovah. It was Jesus who overturned his father's authority by extending to

us that it was no routine matter for a rich man to enter heaven

If by 2008, the Democrats hope to pick up a meaningful fraction of

the human-values votes, they will have to find candidates and field workers

who can spread the word down south--that is, find Democratic missionaries

to suggest that fundamentalists who are in awe of Jehovah, but not Jesus, *can*

more, might ~~even~~ come to recognize that all those much-debated liberals

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speak and live in the spirit of Jesus, the first great liberal last

they believe in scripture or not

liberals, not the Republicans, who worry about the fate of the poor

afflicted, the needy, and the disturbed. They are the ones who are

about sinners. *Jesus, on the contrary, was only ready to threaten*

The likelihood of this conversion taking place is not large

the speaker who is equipped to deal with the relevant nuances and

gritty. I will do better on this occasion to restrict myself to more familiar

terrain. It seems to me that if the Democrats are going to begin to work up a

new set of attitudes and values that will work better for the future

candidates, it might not be a bad idea to do a little more creative thinking

about one very large question which hitherto has had little thoughtful

explanations. It is the war in Iraq.

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The truth is that neither candidate was ready in the last election to begin to say why we are really there.

indeed, are we in Iraq? It is likely that a great majority of Americans are

unable to even offer ^{any} ~~one~~ answer ~~by now~~, no matter whom they voted for.

~~If I have~~ ^{probably} spent a fair part of the last two years ~~doing so~~ ^{knowing} ~~over this question~~ ^{and not}. Like most ~~people~~ ^{Americans}.

~~which give few acceptable answers~~ ^{surrender no quick} ~~many Americans have~~ ^{the question becomes}

~~obsessive about it~~ ^{those}. Even among ~~a good number of Americans~~ ^{those} who voted for

~~Bush, made their decision in the face of deep reservations about the~~ ^{many had}

and purpose of the war.

This afternoon, let me make still one more attempt:

however, that you allow me to do it by the way in which I think it should be

~~a bit longer~~ ^{a while}. I do not come to new conclusions through extending the

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quicker mental skills and intuitions of a politician, a columnist, a

an academician in foreign relations or political science, and poets

novelist. We novelists, if we are any good at it, have our

means of proceeding.

What may establish some mutuality with this audience, however,

also
that we do have a real basis in common. Good novelists

journalists are engaged, after all, in one parallel search. ~~that is to communicate~~

We are always trying to find
~~closer to that most agreeable if ineluctable feeling that we are communicating~~

~~closer, perhaps, to some insight that may offer a better approach to the~~ *which*

has become
~~whatever is~~ the established truth. For that truth is usually viewed by the

needs of powerful interests.

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Journalists engage in this worthy venture by digging into the
earth for those slimy ~~chameleon-like~~ creatures we call facts. But
rarely hard and almost never undeniably false or true.

Novelists work in a ~~radically~~ different manner. They begin with
fictions. That is to say, ^{they make} suppositions about the nature of things. ^{But}
another way, they live with short and long-term hypotheses ^{which}
when well-chosen, ^{can} to enrich their minds and it is always to hope
readers' minds. Hypotheses are, after all, one of the more creative ways
which we try to estimate what a reality might be. Each ray of evidence
that comes ⁱⁿ into the ground of the hypothesis proceeds to ^{be} taken ^{up} ^{by} the hypothesis
or to strengthen it. ^{with a good premise} ~~Given a well-chosen hypothesis~~ we can ever get
closer to reality, whereas a bad one ^{has} sooner or later, ~~has~~ to be discarded.

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Take, for example, the unhappy, but super-excited secret admirer woman can find themselves in when full of jealousy. Their senses quickened, their senses become more alert. If a wife believes her husband is having an affair, then every time he comes home, she is more aware of his presence than she has been in previous weeks, months, or years. Is he guilty? Is the way in which he folds his napkin a sign of guilt? Is he being too accommodating? Her senses quicken at the possibility that *nothing* ~~given~~ woman—let us call her Victoria—is the object of his attention. So, the wife is all but convinced that he is definitely having an affair with Victoria. But, on a given morning, she discovers that ~~Vannig~~ ^{the baby} has been in China. Worse. Victoria has actually been teaching ~~something~~ ^{nothing} for the last six months. Ergo, the hypothesis has been confuted. The wife is still

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convinced that the husband is unfaithful, a search for an answer begins

*We substituted
begin.*

an The value of hypotheses is that *it can* *our* *they* stimulate our minds to a certain
one's *our* concentration. The danger is that *it* *you* *can* *distort* *our* *frames* *of* *reference*

one's of revenge, *one's* for example, birth conflicts of hypotheses. The first question

Am I too cowardly to exercise this revenge? One can wear oneself down to

the bone with that little suspicion. Or, one's moral sense can be annihilated

Does one have the right to seek revenge? Hypotheses on love can prove

even more disruptive. The most basic is, of course: Am I really in love? I

this love? How much am I in love? What is love, after all? For a family

man, the question can become: How much do I love my children? Am I

ready to sacrifice myself for them? Real questions. Questions that require a

quick answer. Good hypotheses depend on real questions, not on

to say questions that generate hypotheses.

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Patriotism ~~awakens~~ ^{offers} its own set of doubts. For some, the nation is a

to wave a flag. Some are still ready to ask whether it is the patriot's duty

support our country under any and all conditions. Others, who may be

doubt, seem to feel that one's nation always demands an unquestioning

~~blood~~ faith, ready to declare that the people of my nation are necessarily

superior, ~~also facts~~—by their blood alone—to the people of other nations.

In that sense, is patriotism not analogous to family snobbery, indeed, ^{is patriotism}

a poor man's equivalent of an upper-class sense of superiority?

^{these} ~~Other~~ questions provoke anxiety. What, after all, is the nature of the

country now? Is America in its own moral peril, some of which we have

we have the right to be in Iraq? Why are we there?

Before we look at the familiar answers that have been given to us by

the administration, the media, and the opposition, allow me to go on here

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more excursion. I will say that what intrigues me most about hypotheses is that

that at their best, they ~~have~~ ^{have} a close relation to serious fiction. The good

novel looks for situations and characters who will come to the surface and

surprise the writer. If he or she starts with one supposition, the actions of

the characters often lead the story some distance away from what was

planned. In that sense, hypotheses are like fictions—they posit a situation,

~~where~~ ^{where} subsequent events can act like surprisingly lively characters who are

ready to prove or disprove how ^{one thought} the original situation would develop. The

value of a good hypothesis, like a good fiction, is that whether it turns

out more or less as expected, or is altogether contrary, the mind of the

reader as well as the author is nonetheless enriched.

A good novel, therefore, like a good hypothesis, becomes an attack on

the nature of reality. (If attack ^{seems too} ~~is a word too~~ violent for some people, the

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Call it
translate my meaning to signify intense inquiry.) The bas

that reality is ever-changing. The more intense the situatic

will be
unforseeable ~~is~~ the denouement. Reality, by this logic, is ~~ex~~ ~~stema~~

~~therefore~~, not yet classified. Implicit in a serious novel is the

that the explanations our culture has given us on profound

deep enough. ~~The nature of reality is itself in question.~~ As

novel, one feels oneself getting closer and closer to new questions, new

ones, questions that are harder to answer. It's as if in writing

don't assume there are absolutes or incontrovertible facts. Since you

expect to come to a firm or final answer. Rather the questions are pursued

in the hope they will open into richer *and* ~~insights~~ *insights*, more useful ~~ones~~ *insights*.

Let me then repeat this point. Novelists approach reality further, do

not capture it. No good novel ever arrives at total certainty. It unfolds

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are Charles Dickens and are writing A Christmas Carol.

hypotheses ever come to closure. Not every Victoria teaches in this

Another and most interesting bond between hypochondria and fiction

fiction is that both have a great deal to say about the living forms of sex.

For a long time, I've amused myself with the notion that the poem, the short

story, and the novel can be compared to phases of sex. The short poem,

certainly, is analogous to a one-night stand. It may come off as brilliant, but

it can be a bummer. A love affair of reasonable duration is all too often,

like a short story. What characterizes most short stories is that they look like

say one thing at the end. In their crudest form, when young men write their

early pieces, the last sentence almost always has its echo in "He felt old

and sad, and tired." ~~Yes, the~~ ^{like} short story usually ~~looks~~ ^{looks} to make its point.

By analogy, it may be fair to say that few affairs come to an end without

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being characterized—usually uncharitably—by the participants in the process. The process, however, like a novel, is closer to a metamorphosis of attitudes than a simple one. In one chapter may leave the husband and wife ready to break up; in the next they may be ready to bear each other. In the morning, which commences the new chapter, they discover to their mutual surprise that they are back in the same place. Reality varies from chapter to chapter.

I have gone to this length in order to suggest that many of us who do not hold fundamental beliefs approach our sense of reality in a tentative way of our working hypotheses. So, on the road to Iraq, we were engaged with a series of varying suppositions for why we were so obviously bent for war.

In the beginning, some said that George W. Bush was trying to validate his father by occupying Baghdad—others argued that he was trying to

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appear superior to George H.W. Two opposed hypotheses

neat article for one or another op-ed page. ~~Psychobabble~~ ~~Personality~~

~~form~~

Another hypothesis which soon arose was that such a war would be evil. Shed no blood for oil, became the cry. Quite likely it was correct in part, at least, but it was harsh in argument like the prose of any ideologue tract. Others offered a much more virtuous reason: Conquering Iraq would democratize the Middle East. Problems between Israel and Palestine would be happily settled. In the event, this proved to be nearer the fact than the a logical proposition. All the same, it was much favored by all the logical neo-cons, plus a surprising number of liberals like Bill Keller of the New York Times, David Remnick, and David Pollack. [CK]

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In its turn, the administration presented us with what we called
destruction. That lived in the American mind like an intimate demon.
Would we locate those nightmares before they blew us up? It was the
largest single argument for going to war. Colin Powell put his honor on the
chopping block for that assertion.

There were other hypotheses—would we or would we not start in
Osama bin Laden? That became a short story like "The Tiger and the
Lady"—no ending. Early on, there was a blood-cult novel in the style of
Shock and Awe—had we driven a quick stake through the heart of Saddam
Hussein? Good patriotic Americans could feel they were in the mood for
Dracula.

Vivid hypotheses. None held up. We did not learn then and we still
do not begin to agree why we embarked on this most miserable and

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destructive of wars. Occam's Razor does suggest that the

explanation which is ready to answer a variety of separate

puzzling matter has a great likelihood of being the most c

One answer does emerge then from the good bishop's form

marched into a full-sized war because it was the simplest

President and his party could find for the immediate prob

This does not mean that there was only one reason that dro

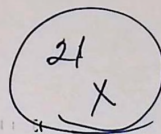
one cabal behind the war. Rather, the administration's inte

the need for a solution to our developing and major problems is a

superpower.

The first problem, which could become the most worrisome, was that
the nation's scientific future, and its technological skills, might well be in
distress. American students at STEM subjects—S.T.E.M. science

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technology, engineering and mathematics—no longer seen as the only path to success.

those Asian and European students who are also studying advanced sciences

at our universities. For pleasure-loving American students, the same subject

may seem too difficult, too unattractive. Moreover, the American

corporation was now ready to outsource its own future, even eager to do so.

Given drastically lower factory wages in Third World countries, there was

have appeared no alternative to maintain continued large profits. At the

same, if American jobs were now in danger of disappearing and our skills

at technology were suffering in comparison to Europe and Asia, then

relations between American labor and the corporation could go on to

that was not the early storm. Back in 2001, the divide between pop culture and the capital

Back in 2001, back before 9/11, the divide between pop culture and

fundamentalism was gaping. In the view of the religious right, America was

becoming heedless, loutish, irreligious, and blatantly immoral. More so

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every year. Half of all American marriages were ending 22
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Catholic Church was suffering a series of agonizing scandals. The Church

been profoundly shaken by the recognition that one of its most trusted

and trusted agents, a career man of the finest sort, a devoted anti-

Communist, had been a Russian agent for a decade and a half. In 1961,

Boston, FBI men had been working with ^{a Mafia} ~~an~~ informant who ~~was~~ had been

skilled professional
be a killer.

^{clouding}
In the face of such lowering of our ~~sentimental~~ horizons, posed with

the spectre of a superpower economically and spiritually out of control, the

best solution to hand for Compassionate Conservatism seemed well and truly

be War. War would offer the ^{best} avenue ^(live best) for recapturing America's lost

mind you, by unifying the country, not ~~that~~ at all. By now that was close to

impossible. Given, however, that the country was deeply divided, the next

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might be to separate it further. That would work if one ~~could~~ ²³³ ^X

way that one's own half could become much more powerful than the other

~~side~~. But to implement this venture, democracy must be ~~reformed~~ ^{reformed} ^{reformed}

had come to live with all the certainties of myth while by ~~passing~~ ^{passing} ^{passing}

edge of inquiries implicit in hypothesis.

The difference is crucial. An hypothesis opens the mind to thought, to comparison, to doubt, to the elusiveness of truth. If the country was founded in great part on the notion that enough people possessed enough good will, and enough desire for growth and discovery ^X to prosper, and if it most certainly included spiritual and intellectual discovery ^{renewal} ^{renewal} ^{renewal} the premise, democracy could thrive more than monarchy ^{or theocracy}

Of course, all these political forms depend on their myths. Myth is tonic to a nation's heart. If abused, however, they are poisonous. For my be-

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are frozen hypotheses. The question is answered by decision and will not

be re-opened. There can be no search to find a better present. The need

~~for pristine simplicity~~, for a morality tale at the level of a child's story, ~~was~~

~~Good can~~ ^{with} overcome a dark enemy. For the Bush administration, ~~the~~ our

as a deliverance. ~~We had, at last, an external enemy.~~ The new mission

bore some relation to reality. Islam was, indeed, our enemy. The enemy

question that Islamic terrorists were opposed to all we stood for, good or

bad. They did not call us the Great Satan for too little. Nonetheless, the

danger presented by this enemy had to be expanded ^{for American consumption,} The security of our

shopping mall in America had to be put into question. Now the overriding

myth was not merely the implacable danger of Islam, but its nearest neighbor.

To oppose the fears we generated in ourselves, we would feed on our fears

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dynamic American myths. We had had, after all, a lifetime of

action films.

The possibility of the
~~Nonetheless, the task~~ of weeding terrorists through international
never came into real question.
 police action ~~did not suffice~~. We needed much more than that. Wars

obviously, a mightier rallying ground than a series of local police actions.

Yet, half of America was opposed to our advance toward Vietnam.

Half of us were asking one way or another: "How much goodness has

America brought to the world? How much has it exploited the world?

The President, however, had its own imperatives. Every American

fixed on myth. He went all the way back to Cotton Mather. We must win

constantly against the invisible kingdom of Satan. Stand firm, armed for

and battle for the land. It was fortified by a belief which many Republicans

some of the most intelligent and some of the most stupid accepted as truth.

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~~There is~~ *IT*

That was the conviction that America was exceptional, and that it had a

special interest in America. God wanted us to be a land of hope and

nations, a realm to lift His vision into greater glory. So, the frontiers of

frontier, which demanded a readiness to fight without limit, became part of

our exceptionalism. "Do what it takes" ~~came to mean the~~ *to mean the*

deeply one was embedded in near to inextricable situations, one would

~~what it took.~~ Complete the job! "Bring 'em on!" Yes, the Bush administration

to the Bush administration. The last thing it needed was to contend with

anything like a *closer approach to* ~~close approximation of~~ reality.

This attempt to take over the popular American mind has certainly not

been unsuccessful, but it does generate a new and major弊病: since

would argue that the people of the U.S. were systematically never

programmatically, deluded from the top down. With a determination that

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only profound contempt for the popular mind can engender a war

the notion that this war would be honorable, necessary, self-defending

decent, fruitful for democracy, and dedicated to any and all forms of human

goodness. I would suggest that there was close to zero sincerity at the core

The leaders of this country who forced the war through, were neither

idealistic nor innocent. They had known what they were doing at the time

basic. Do what it takes. They had decided that if America was to survive to

solve its problems, then the country had to become an empire.

American capitalism to survive, exceptionalism rather than cooperation with

other advanced nations had become the necessity. From their point of view,

there had been ten lost years of initiatives, ten years in the cold. But America

now had an opportunity to cash in again on the great bonanza that had been

its way in 1991 when the Soviet Union went bankrupt in the arms race.

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that point, or so believed the exceptionalists, America could

have taken over the world and thereby safeguarded our economic

decades at least with a century of hegemony to follow. Instead these

exceptionalists had been all but consumed with frustration and

saw as the labile pussyfooting of the Clinton Administration

liberals been detested more. But now, at last, 9/11 had provided

opportunity for America to resolve some problems. Now America could

embark on the great adventure of empire.

These exceptionalists also happened to be hard-headed realists. They

were ready to face the fact that most Americans might not have any real

desire for global domination. America was pleasure-loving which

exceptionalist purposes, was almost as bad as peace-loving. So the

invasion had to be presented with an edifying narrative. The

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Opening possibility:

Since his reelection, he has been more—I hate to use the word in this context, but the truth of what one sees is still half, at least of good journalism—and so it has to be said: Bush has been more impressive in his personal appearances, more sure of himself, more—another unhappy word—more authentic. It is obvious he now feels certified. So he comes across as less of an impersonator of middling macho talents which has been indeed his role for the last four years, a part he could play before the great American republic.

Success has obviously been good for his desired idea of himself. At best, I would warrant that he has always been the opposite of what he appeared to be. He was neither strong, inflexible, nor anchored in manly firm

resolve. He was rather like more than a few screen stars before him, a dry drunk, which is to say that inflexibility was not at the seat of his character, but the lid upon all too man arrant impulses that nonetheless burned within and could be dominated only by the inbuilt imperative to be seen always as inflexible. Once perceived that way, one must hold to inflexibility with all the stubbornness of those who are so weak in one part of themselves that they cannot admit error.

We need only contrast him to his parents. His father always seemed to exhibit a built-in modesty. Indeed, for all one knew, it was genuine. He knew that he was not quite bright enough for the office. The mother knew she had the character to be First Lady, but in the shadow thrown by Nancy Reagan, she might not prove to be elegant enough. Their son George was, in contrast, not an athlete like his father but a cheerleader. That, in itself, was

Possible opening:

Good novelists and good journalists are in one lifelong search. It is to come a little closer to that most agreeable if ineluctable feeling that one is searching for the truth. Or to rephrase this a little closer to the real difficulty, that one is coming a little closer to some possible avenues that might lead one to the truth.

Journalists engage in this venture by tilling the hard earth for those slimy chameleon-like creatures we call facts. They are so unreliable. They are so rarely hard and almost never false or true, yes, facts so often are treacherous rungs on the ladder by which one hopes to reach the high point where objective truth may even be visible.

Novelists work in a radically different manner. They do not usually start with the look to verify yesterday's more or less accurate record of an

event that has almost always been larger than the newspaper space allotted to the problem. (This is invariably true for all but those meaningless triumphal celebrations that take up more space, and offer less new human knowledge than the glens and forests that were pulped to meet the occasion.)

No, to the contrary, novelists have to begin with fictions. They subscribe to Occam's Razor, which can be freely translated as saying that the best explanation which fits most of the facts is more likely to approach the correct explanation.

Novelists deal, therefore, with short and long-term hypotheses. They become our equivalent of bankers' bonds.

[some of the recorded material may fit here. The hypothesis, then the hypothesis in Iraq.]

Satirical section—a possible novel

Notes

Rove-Cheney

Since the novelist is not in a position to know them well and cannot begin to judge who has more influence, it may be wiser in terms of constructing one's novel to merge their characters.

Leon Trotsky once wrote that the best approach to the truth often came from a comparison of the lies. An example of this is found in trying to understand many a marriage. We may not feel that we comprehend the man and the woman nearly so well as we can delineate their relationship.

So for the purposes of sending out the fiction of why we are having this war in Iraq, let me meld the powerful and highly operative characters of Karl

Rove and Dick Cheney by speaking of them as an administrative force, always looking for the best continuation through our national difficulties, the first continuation, of course, as Rove-Cheney, our true protagonist (for that will be his fictional name) perceives it. We do not have to agree with a single decision made by Rove-Cheney, but, as novelists, it is up to us to enrich our understanding of them. The first element is that they see themselves as virtuous people.

Disquisition on American writing.

For the rest of the administration, the minor characters, satire may offer the best possible step. The President and First Lady may be seen by Rove-Cheney as Bog and Little Miss Muffet. (It is in the nature of highly talented gung-ho administrators to be secretly most contemptuous of their colleagues and their pro-tem masters. So, the Bush daughters who can cause as much angst as previously unidentified sub-atomic particles in a cyclotron, are given twin monikers, Kid Dynamite and Didi Dynamite. We know who they will refer to as Slithery Scales, the Cool Barbi Lady. Is she, well-trained as she appears to be, tamed, or is she at times lately apocalyptically dangerous? Powell, before he was gone, got short shrift. How was one to deal with Brer Rabbit when carrots are in short supply? Rumsfeld is no problem—Donny,

the Drummer Boy Wolfowitz is indeed Wolfowitz of Arabia—one cannot tarnish one's good name.

If satire is a stimulus to good writing and not its end, the reason is that the worst in each of us is only half true. The other half which has more in common with thee and me is that we are also, no matter how awful by half, quite decent on the other half, yes, good decent Americans.

[Or does the disquisition come here on American virtue]

What will make our novel interesting is to use the satire as a spring board to bring these curious representatives of us Americans a little closer to lives that we can comprehend.

disruptive. The most basic is, of course: am I really in love? Is this love?

How much am I in love? What is love, after all? To a family man, the

question can become: How much do I love my children? Am I ready to

sacrifice myself for them? Real questions. Good hypotheses depend on real questions.

Patriotism awakens its own set of doubts. For some it is not enough to wave a flag. Some are still ready to ask whether it is false patriotism to support my country under any and all conditions. Others, a majority, no doubt, seem to feel their nation, by definition, demands an unquestioning blood-faith, ready to declare that the people of my nation are necessarily superior, ipso facto, to the people of other nations. In that sense, is patriotism not analogous to family snobbery?

Other questions provoke anxiety. What, after all, is the nature of my country now? Is America in its own moral peril? Do we have the right to be in Iraq? Why are we there?

Before we look at some of the answers that have been given to us by the administration, the media, and the opposition, allow me to go on one more excursion. I will say that what intrigues me most about hypotheses is that at their best, they are not without a direct relation to serious fiction. The serious novel looks for situations and characters who will even come alive sufficiently to surprise the writer who creates them. If he or she starts with one supposition, the actions of the characters often draw the story away from what was planned. In that sense, hypotheses are like fictions—they posit a situation but subsequent events then act as as surprisingly lively characters who prove or disprove what the original situation was looking to delineate.

The value of a good hypothesis, like a good fiction, is that whether it all turns out more or less as expected, or is altogether contrary to what was anticipated, the mind of the reader as well as the author has been enriched.

A good novel, therefore, like a good hypothesis, is always an attack on the nature of reality. (If attack is a word too violent for some, translate my meaning to signify intense inquiry.) It assumes that reality is ever-changing. So, it is not yet classified. Implicit in attempting a serious novel is the assumption that the explanations our culture has given us on profound matters do not go deep enough. The nature of reality is itself in question. As one works on a novel, one feels oneself getting closer and closer to new questions. It's as if in writing novels, you don't assume there are absolutes or incontrovertible facts, nor does one expect to come to a firm or final answer.

Rather the questions are pursued in the hope they will open into richer insights, more useful ones.

Let me then repeat this point. Novelists approach reality, but they do not capture it. No good novel ever arrives at total certainty, not unless you are Charles Dickens and are writing A Christmas Carol. Just so, few hypotheses ever come to closure. Not every Victoria teaches in China.

One interesting bond between hypotheses and serious fiction is that both have a great deal to say about the forms of sex. For a long time, I confess, I've amused myself with the passing concept that the poem, the short story, and the novel all bear separate relations to phases of sex. The short poem, certainly, is analogous to a one-night stand. It may come off as brilliant, or it can be a bummer. A love affair of reasonable duration can be compared to a short story. What characterizes most short stories is that they

look finally to say one thing. In their crudest form, when young men write their early pieces, the last sentence almost always has its echo of: "He felt old, and sad, and tired." Yes, the short story usually looks to make its point. By analogy, it may be fair to say that few affairs come to an end without being characterized—usually uncharitably—by the participants. Marriage, however, like a novel, can consist of a kaleidoscope of attitudes. The end of one chapter may leave the husband and wife ready to break up; they cannot bear each other. In the morning, which commences the next chapter, they discover to their mutual surprise that they are back in the sack. The nature of reality varies from chapter to chapter.

I have gone to this length in order to suggest that many of us who do not hold fundamental beliefs approach our sense of reality by way of

hypotheses. So, on the road to Iraq, we were engaged with a series of varying suppositions for why we were going to war.

In the beginning, some said that George W. Bush, was trying to show that he was equal to his father, or wanted to prove superior, or, to the contrary, wished to validate his father by occupying Baghdad—three different hypotheses. Any one of them could have made a neat article for some op-ed page, a pure piece of psychobabble. That, too, is a species of literary form.

Another hypothesis which soon arose was that such a war would be evil. Shed no blood for oil, became the cry. Quite likely, it was correct in part, but it was as harsh an argument as the prose in a tract. Others offered a virtuous reason: Conquering Iraq would democratize the Middle East. Problems between Israel and Palestine might be happily settled. In the event,

this proved to be nearer to a fairy tale than a logical proposition even though it was much favored by all the most logical neo-cons, plus a surprising number of liberals.

In its turn, the administration presented us with the threat of weapons of mass destruction. That lived in the American mind like an intelligence thriller. Would we locate those weapons before they blew us up? It became the largest single argument for going to war. Colin Powell put his honor on the Company block for that assertion.

There were other hypotheses—would we or would we not soon find Osama bin Laden? That became a short story like "The Tiger and the Lady"—no ending. Early on, there was a blood-cult novel in the air. It was Shock and Awe—drive a quick stake through the heart of Saddam Hussein.

That provided no mean sense of inner virtue. Good Americans could feel they were on the hunt for Dracula.

Vivid hypotheses. None held up. We did not learn then and we still do not begin to agree why we embarked on this most miserable and destructive of wars. Occam's Razor does tell us that the simplest explanation which can answer a variety of separate questions offers a great likelihood of being the most correct explanation. One answer does emerge from that formula: it is that we marched into that war because it was the simplest solution the President and his party could find for the immediate problems of America. This does not mean that there was only one reason for going to war, one cabal behind it, one particular intensity that drove us forward. Rather, the initiative came from the need for a solution to our developing problems as a superpower.

The first, which could become the most worrisome of these problems, is that the nation's scientific future, and its technological skills, may well be in distress. The talents of American students at STEM subjects—science, technology, engineering and mathematics—are no longer equal to the Asian and European students who are studying at our universities. For pleasure-loving American students, those subjects may be too difficult, too unattractive. Moreover, the American corporation was ready to outsource its own future, even eager to do so. If jobs were in danger of disappearing, and our skills at technology were suffering in comparison to Europe and to Asia, then relations between American labor and the corporation could go on tilt.

Back in 2001, back before 9/11, the divide gaped between pop culture and fundamentalism. In the view of the religious right, America was becoming heedless, loutish, irreligious, and blatantly immoral. More so

every year. Half of all marriages were ending in divorce. The Catholic Church was suffering a series of agonizing scandals. The FBI had been profoundly shaken by the recognition that one of its most important and trusted agents, a career man of the finest sort, a devoted anti-Communist, had been a Russian agent for a decade and a half.

In the face of such lowering horizons, posed with the spectre of a superpower economically and spiritually out of kilter, the solution to hand became War. War would offer an avenue for recapturing America—not, mind you, by unifying the country, not that at all. For by now, that was close to impossible. Given, however, that the country was deeply divided, the need might be to separate it further. That would work if one could do it in such a way that one half could become much more powerful than the other. To implement that kind of venture, democracy must be altered. The time had

come to live with the certainties of myth while by-passing the inquiries implicit in hypotheses.

The difference is crucial. An hypothesis opens the mind to thought, to comparison, to doubt, to the elusiveness of truth. If this country was founded in great part on the notion that enough people possessed enough good will, and enough desire for growth and discovery, to prosper, and this most certainly included spiritual and intellectual discovery, then, or so went the premise, democracy could thrive more than monarchy or theocracy.

Of course, all these forms depend on their myths. Myths are tonic to a nation's heart. If abused, however, they are dangerous. For myths are frozen hypotheses. The question has been answered and will not be re-opened. There will be no search to find a better premise. The need is to maintain pristine simplicity, a morality tale that is the equal of a child's tale. So,

America needed a dark enemy. For the Bush administration, 9/11 came as a deliverance. We had, at last, an external enemy, and the best to be said was that the new myth even bore some relation to reality. Islam was, indeed, our enemy. There was no question that Islamic terrorists were opposed to all we stood for, good or bad. They did not call us the Great Satan for too little. Nonetheless, the danger presented by this enemy had to be expanded. The security of every shopping mall in America had to be put in question. Et cetera! The myth, the overriding myth, was not merely the implacable danger of Islam, but its nearness to us. To oppose the fears we generated in ourselves, we would call on our most dynamic American myths. We had enriched our morale with them over a lifetime of watching action films.

Nonetheless, we did not look to weed out terrorists immediately and directly. We needed much more than that. War is, obviously, a mightier

rallying ground than a police action. Yet, in the face of our advance toward war with Iraq, half of America was opposed. Half of us were asking one way or another: "How much goodness has America brought to the world? How much has it exploited the world?"

The President, however, had its own imperatives. Keep America fixed on myth. He hitched his star to a myth that went back to Cotton Mather. We must war constantly against the invisible kingdom of Satan. It was a belief that was amplified by Teddy Roosevelt: Stand at Armageddon and battle for the land. It was fortified by a belief which many Republicans, some of the most intelligent and some of the most stupid, accepted in full. It was the conviction that America was exceptional, the belief that God had a special interest in America. God wanted us to be a land superior to other nations, a realm to lift His vision into greater glory. So, the myth of the frontier, which

demanded a readiness to fight without limit, became part of our exceptionalism. "Do what it takes" came to mean that no matter how deeply one was embedded in near to inextricable situations, one would do what it took. Complete the job! "Bring 'em on!" Yes, the myth was crucial to the Bush administration. The last thing it needed was to contend with close approximations of reality.

This attempt to take over the popular American mind has certainly not been unsuccessful, but it does generate a new and major hypothesis which would argue that the people of the U.S. were systematically, even programmatically, deluded from the top down. With a determination that only profound cynicism can engender, we were sold the notion that this war would be honorable, necessary, self-protective, decent, fruitful for democracy, and dedicated to any and all forms of human goodness. I would

suggest that there was no sincerity at the top. The leaders of this country who forced the war through, were neither idealistic nor innocent. They had known what they were doing. It was basic. Do what it takes. They had decided that if America was to be able to solve its problems as they saw those problems, then the country had to become an empire. For American capitalism to survive, exceptionalism rather than cooperation with other advanced nations had become the necessity. From their point of view, there had been ten lost years of initiatives, ten years in the cold, but America now had an opportunity to cash in again on the great bonanza that had fallen its way in 1991 when the Soviet Union went bankrupt in the arms race. At that point, or so believed the exceptionalists, America could and should have taken over the world and thereby safeguarded our economic future for decades at least and probably a century of hegemony to follow. Instead,

these exceptionalists had been all but consumed with frustration over what they saw as the labile pussyfooting of the Clinton Administration. Now, at last, 9/11 had provided an opportunity for America to resolve some problems. Now, at least, America could embark on the great adventure of empire.

These exceptionalists also happened to be hard-headed realists. They were ready to face the fact that the country might not have any real desire for such global domination. America was pleasure-loving, which, for their purposes, was almost as bad as peace-loving. So if the invasion was going to be made feasible, an edifying narrative, it had to be utterly independent of the facts. The motives for going to war that would be offered to the American public would not need any embedment in real possibility—as, for example, democracy coming to the Middle East. The fictions, however, had to be stated with all the paraphernalia and appurtenances of profound belief. For

that, who but Colin Powell could serve as the clot-buster to UN doubt, to world doubt? Against his wavering judgment, he was sold a mess of missile tubes by the CIA. Of course, for this to work, the CIA had to be compromised. That was there to be done. People in the CIA are usually career-motivated. The fastest way to advance their careers often does not have much to do with getting the right stuff in intelligence. Successful people in the Agency, as in many another bureaucracy, get to where they are by knowing what is wanted from the top. While intelligence, in itself, is ideally an ascetic activity, it can, like most ascetic endeavors, be miserably corrupted. Doubtless, that is true of every intelligence agency in the world. They end up doing what they feel is needed for either their country, their own career, or their next immediate step. When these factors are at odds with each other, Intelligence pays the price. So the CIA was abominably

compromised by the move to go to war with Iraq. Most analysts who had information that Iraq had very little or nothing in the way of WMD gave it up.

The urge to satisfy the President cut them off at the knees. So we went forward in the belief that Iraq was an immanent threat, but that hordes of potentially wonderful people there would welcome us with flowers. It was our duty as good Americans to bring democracy to a country run by an evil man.

Democracy, however, is not a magical serum to be injected into a damaged national body. Democracy is a grace. At its best, it is a noble state of affairs. In practice, in countries who have lived through decades and centuries of strife and revolution and the slow elaboration of safeguards and traditions, democracy becomes a political condition which can often

withstand the corruptions and power-seeking of enough humans to remain viable as a good society.

It is never routine or automatic, however. Each generation must be alert to the dangers that threaten democracy as directly as each human who wishes to be good must learn how to survive in the labyrinths of moral judgment. Democracy, by the nature of its assumptions, has to grow in moral depth, or commence to deteriorate. Democracy is social levitation. The constant danger that besets it is the unadmitted attraction of fascism, for in all of us there is not only a love of freedom, but a wretchedness of spirit that can look for its opposite.

The real idiocy in assuming that democracy could be brought to Iraq was to assume that its much-divided people had not paid over and over with their compromises. The most evil aspect of fascism is that all but a few are

obliged to work within that system or their families, their own careers, will suffer directly. So the mass of good people in a fascist state are filled with shame, ugly memories of their own small and occasionally large treacheries, their impotence, and their frustrated hopes of revenge. Willy-nilly, their psyches are an explosive mess. They are decades away from democracy. There is no quick fix. Democracy has to be earned by a nation through its readiness for sacrifice. Ugly lessons in survival breed few democrats.

It is all but impossible to believe that men as hard-nosed, inventive, and transcendently cynical as Karl Rove or Dick Cheney, to offer the first two examples at hand, could have believed that democracy would be feasible for Iraq.

I hate to say this; it is such a crude assertion, but I expect Cheney for one was more interested in oil. Oil for dollars, yes, not oil for Euros, not if

America was to be in any manner able to solve its problems, a better wrestler's grip was needed on the oil of the Middle East. That is why I believe we will never leave Iraq with no more than the nominal victory of a new semi-oppressive state that will look to call itself a democracy. We will also need some of the wealth that control of Middle East oil can offer to solve our problems within—the enrichment of the rich and the out-sourcing of jobs. If for nothing else, new billions will be needed to pay for the social programs that will take care of the union labor ranks who will have to remain endemically jobless in such a program.

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was honorable, necessary, self-protective, decent, fruitful for democracy

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sincerity

was no such sentiment at the top. The leaders of this country who took

the war through, were neither idealistic nor innocent. They had known

what they were doing. It was basic. Do what it takes. They had decided

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29

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alleged reason for the war had to live in utter independence

The motives offered to the American public need not have

connection to likelihood of Fantasy
~~in reality~~ The fictions, as, for example, bringing democracy to the world:

East. Protecting ourselves against
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man

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Page 43
7
Luther
speak and live in the spirit of Jesus, the first great liberal
they believe in scripture or not
liberals, not the Republicans, who worry about the fate of the poor

afflicted, the needy, and the disturbed. They are the one
about sinners. *Jehovah, on the contrary, is not
only ready to threaten*

The likelihood of this conversion taking place is no
the speaker who is equipped to deal with the relevant numbers and
gritty. I will do better on this occasion to restrict myself to more familiar
terrain. It seems to me that if the Democrats are going to fight to work out a

new set of attitudes and values that will work better for the future

candidates, it might not be a bad idea to do a little more creative thinking

about one very large question which hitherto has had little or no

It is the fundamentalist who
explanations. *It is the war in Iraq*

11
PS

actually live in the spirit of
Jesus whether they believe every
word of Scripture or not. Most
fundamentalists, forced to choose
at the cost of their souls, would
cleave to the printed word of
~~scripture~~ scripture, but for those
for whom the spirit of Jesus is
truly paramount might actually
be ready to wonder whether it
might not be the liberal,
rather than the Republican, who
worry more about the fate of the
poor, the afflicted, the needy,
and the distressed. They are
even the ones who care about
sinners and criminals. They
are more ready to save the present,
refresh the air, and cleanse
the ruins. It would be agonizing
to vote for a candidate who did
not read the scriptures every day,
but still, I know not how
when to place my vote. I have
joined the ranks of the undecided.

More power to him, more power
to all of us who would be ready
to live with democracy. It
is democracy after all which
first ~~has~~ brought the power
and the virtue of the good
question to the attention of
mankind.

May my good friends
prevail. Thank you.

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12

12-32 (scribble)

activated. Does one have the right to seek revenge? How does one prove

can be even more disruptive. The most basic is, of course, Am I ready to

love? Is this love? How much am I in love? What is love after all?

family man, the question can become: How much do I love my country?

Am I ready to sacrifice myself for them? Real questions are good questions

depend on real questions.

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 Patriotism awakens a most contradictory set of questions. Some it is not enough to welcome a change.
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 sense of superiority?

Indulge - test perception of the severity of 12

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3

Other questions provoke anxiety. What, after all, is the nature of the
~~now~~ *(some of us will ask?)*
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Before we look at ~~some of~~ *(similar)* the answers that have been given it is by
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14

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The basic assumption of

The more intense the situation, the more the more unforgivable is the demand. Reality, so, it is not yet classified. Implicit in attempting a serious novel is the

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Let me then repeat this point. Novelists approach reality but they do not capture it. No good novel ever arrives at total certainty, not unless you are Charles Dickens and are writing A Christmas Carol. Just so few

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17

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(so obviously he didn't want to)
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this proved to be nearer to a fairy tale than a logical proposition. ~~over the top~~ *with the top* X

same,
it was much favored by all the ~~most~~ *good* logical neo-cons, plus a ~~surprise~~ *surprise*

number of liberals, like Bill Keller of the ~~New~~ *New* York Times, David Remnick, and David Perle. (OK this name)

In its turn, the administration presented us with the ~~threat~~ *threat* weapons

of mass destruction. That lived in the American mind like an intelligence

thriller. Would we locate those ~~weapons~~ *nightmares* before they blew us up? It became

the largest single argument for going to war. Colin Powell put his honor on

chopping
the ~~company~~ *company* block for that assertion.

There were other hypotheses—would we or would we not soon find

Osama bin Laden? That became a short story like "The Tiger and the

Lady"—no ending. Early on, there was a blood-cult novel in the air ~~about~~ *about*

had we driven
Shock and Awe—~~drive~~ *drive* a quick stake through the heart of Saddam Hussein?

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19

~~That provided no mean sense of inner virtue.~~ Good American could feel

they were on the hunt for Dracula.

Vivid hypotheses. None held up. We did not learn then and we still

do not begin to agree why we embarked on this most miserable and

destructive of wars. Occam's Razor ^{suggest} does ~~tell us~~ that the simplest explanation

^{is ready to} which can answer a variety of separate questions ^{on a puzzling matter has} offers a great likelihood of

being the most correct explanation. One answer does emerge ^{than from the 1700s Bishops} from the

^{as a full-sized} formula: it is that we marched into ~~that~~ war because it was the simplest

solution the President and his party could find for the immediate problems of

America. This does not mean that there was only one reason ^{that drove us} for going

^{forward} war, one cabal behind ^{the war} it, ~~one particular intensity that drove us forward~~

^{administrations intensity} Rather, the initiative came from the need for a solution to our developing ~~and~~

^{major} problems as a superpower.

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The first ^{problem} which could become the most worrisome of these problems,

is that the nation's scientific future, and its technological ^{insect} ~~may well~~ lie in

distress. ~~The talents of American students at STEM subjects~~ ^{Science}

technology, engineering and mathematics ^{seem to be} ~~are~~ no longer equal to ^{those} ~~the~~ Asian

and European students who are ^{also} ~~studying~~ ^{advanced countries} at our universities for pleasure-

loving American students, ^{STEM} ~~these~~ subjects may be too difficult, too

unattractive. Moreover, the American corporation was ^{now} ~~ready~~ to outsource its

own future, even eager to do so. If ^{Given drastically lower wages in factory settings} ~~jobs were~~ in danger of disappearing, and

our skills at technology were suffering in comparison to Europe and to Asia

then relations between American labor and the corporation could go on tilt.

Back in 2001, back before 9/11, the divide ~~gaped~~ between pop culture

^{was gaping} and fundamentalism. In the view of the religious right, America was

becoming heedless, loutish, irreligious, and blatantly immoral. More so

there's
more
new
appeal
the
after the
to
major
country
large
proving
All the
staying
it's
the
American
scots
we're
now

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every year. Half of all ^{American} marriages were ending in divorce. The Catholic

Church was suffering a series of agonizing scandals. The FBI had been

profoundly shaken by the recognition that one of its most important and

trusted agents, a career man of the finest sort, a devoted anti-communist, had

been a Russian agent for a decade and a half.

^{here} Up in Boston, FBI men had been working with ^{an} informant who also happened to be a killer.

In the face of such lowering horizons, posed with the spectre of a

of our sentimental

superpower economically and spiritually out of kilter, the ^{best} solution to hand

for Compassionate Conservatism seemed ^{very} unlikely.

^{to be} the last became War. War would offer an avenue for recapturing America--not

mind you, by unifying the country, not that at all. For ^{by} now that was close

to impossible. Given, however, that the country was deeply divided, the need

might be to separate it further. That would work if one could do it in such a

one's own way that ^{each} half could become much more powerful than the other. ^{side} ~~the~~ ^{Black}

^{to} implement ^{this} ~~that kind of~~ venture, democracy must be altered. The time had

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come to live with ^{all} the certainties of myth while by-passing ^{sharp edges} the inquiries

implicit in hypotheses.

The difference is crucial. An hypothesis opens the mind to thought, to comparison, to doubt, to the elusiveness of truth. If this country was founded in great part on the notion that enough people possessed enough good will, and enough desire for growth and discovery, to prosper, and this most certainly included spiritual and intellectual discovery, then, as so went the promise, democracy could thrive more than monarchy or theocracy

Of course, all these ^{political} forms depend on their myths. Myths are toxic to a nation's heart. If abused, however, they are ^{poisonous} dangerous. ^{is} For myths are frozen hypotheses. The question ^{is by declaration} has been answered and will not be re-opened.

There ^{can} will be no search to find a better premise. The need ^{for} is to maintain

pristine simplicity, ^{from} a morality tale ^{at the level} that is the equal of a child's tale. ^{where}

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good can overcome

America needed a dark enemy. For the Bush administration, 9-11 came as a

deliverance. We had, at last, an external enemy, ~~and the test to be said was~~

~~that the new myth even bore some relation to reality.~~ Islam was, indeed, our

enemy. There was no question that Islamic terrorists were opposed to all we

stood for, good or bad. They did not call us the Great Satan for too little

Nonetheless, the danger presented by this enemy had to be expanded. The

security of every shopping mall in America had to be put ^{into} question ~~to~~

Now
~~category~~ The myth, the overriding myth, ^{was} not merely the implacable

danger of Islam, but its nearness to us. To oppose the fears we generated in

ourselves, we would call on our most dynamic American myths. We had *very*

after all
~~enriched our morale with them over~~ a lifetime of watching action films

the task of weeding out terrorists
Nonetheless, we did not look to ~~weed out~~ terrorists immediately and, ^{through international police action and} ~~not suffice,~~ directly. We needed ~~much~~ more than that. War is, obviously, a mightier

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series of local
rallying ground than a police action. Yet, *in the face of our advance* toward

war with Iraq, *half of America was opposed*. Half of us were asking one

way or another: "How much goodness has America brought to the world?"

How much has it exploited the world?

The President, however, had its own imperatives. *Since America fixed*
on myth. He *went all the way back* hitched his star ~~to a myth that went back~~ to Cotton Mather,

We must war constantly against the invisible kingdom of Satan. ~~It was this~~

~~belief that was amplified by Teddy Roosevelt:~~ Stand at Armageddon and

battle for the land. It was fortified by a belief which many Republicans, some

of the most intelligent and some of the most stupid, accepted in full. *That* ~~It~~ was

a ~~the~~ conviction that America was exceptional, *and* the belief that God had a special

interest in America. God wanted us to be a land superior to other nations, a

realm to lift His vision into greater glory. So, the myth of the frontier which

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demanding a readiness to fight without limit, became part of the

exceptionalism. "Do what it takes" came to mean that no matter how deeply

one was embedded in near to inextricable situations, one would do what i

took. Complete the job! "Bring 'em on!" Yes, the myth was crucial to the

Bush administration. The last thing it needed was to contend with anything like a close

approximations of reality.

This attempt to take over the popular American mind has certainly not

been unsuccessful, but it does generate a new and major hypothesis which

would argue that the people of the U.S. were systematically even

programmatically, deluded from the top down. With a determination that

contempt for the popular mind
only profound cynicism can engender, we were sold the notion that this war

would be honorable, necessary, self-protective, decent, fruitful for

democracy, and dedicated to any and all forms of human goodness. I would

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close to zero
suggest that there was ~~not~~ sincerity at the top. The leaders of this country who

forced the war through, were neither idealistic nor innocent. They had

known what they were doing. It was basic. Do what it takes. They had

decided that if America was to be able to solve its problems ~~as they saw these~~

~~problems~~, then the country had to become an empire. For American

capitalism to survive, exceptionalism rather than cooperation with other

advanced nations had become the necessity. From their point of view, there

had been ten lost years of initiatives, ten years in the cold, but America now

had an opportunity to cash in again on the great bonanza that had fallen its

way in 1991 when the Soviet Union went bankrupt in the arms race. At that

point, or so believed the exceptionalists, America could and should have

taken over the world and thereby safeguarded our economic future for

with a
decades at least ~~and probably~~ a century of hegemony to follow. Instead

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these exceptionalists had been all but consumed with frustration over what

they saw as the labile pussyfooting of the Clinton Administration. *Never has*
liberals been detested more, but even so
last, 9/11 had provided an opportunity for America to resolve some problems.

Now, at least America could embark on the great adventure of empire

These exceptionalists also happened to be hard-headed realists. They

most Americans
were ready to face the fact that the country might not have any real desire for

exceptionalism
such global domination. America was pleasure-loving, which, for them

purposes, was almost as bad as peace-loving. *So, there had to*
be some invasion was going to

he presented with (that meant that the
be made feasible, an edifying narrative, it had to be utterly independent of the
all kinds of
reality
seen
the
was
was up
had
to
live
in
little
independence
of the

facts. The motives ~~for going to war~~ that would be offered to the American

have *realities*
public would not need any embedment in real possibility - as, for example,

democracy coming to the Middle East. The fictions, however, had to be

as, for example, bringing democracy to the
Middle East had to be *supposedly as to highest facts*
stated with all the paraphernalia and appearances of profound belief. For

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For
(that, who but Colin Powell could serve as the clot-buster *against* IN doubt *X*

So,
world doubt? ~~Against his wavering judgment~~, he was sold a mess of muscle

tubes by the CIA. Of course, for this to work, the CIA had to be

Most people
compromised. That was there to be done. People in the CIA are ~~usually~~

one's
career-motivated. The fastest way to advance ~~their career~~ *often does not*

have much to do with getting the right stuff in intelligence. Successful people

in the Agency, as in many another bureaucracy, get to where they are by

knowing what is wanted from the top. While intelligence, in itself, is ideal

an ascetic activity, it can, like most ascetic endeavors, be miserably

corrupted. Doubtless, that is true of every intelligence agency in the world.

co for
They end up doing what they feel is needed for ~~either~~ their country ~~(their own~~

just for
~~own~~ career, or ~~their~~ next immediate step. When these factors are at odds with

each other, Intelligence pays the price. So the CIA was abominably

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compromised by the move to go to war with Iraq. Most are men who had

information that Iraq had very little or nothing in the way of A.M.D. and that

The need at the top of the Agency

The urge to satisfy the President cut them off at the knees. So we went

forward in the belief that Iraq was an imminent threat, ^{and were told} but that horses

^{Iraqis} potentially wonderful people ^{Indians} there would welcome us with flowers. ^{11/28/04}

our duty as good Americans to bring democracy to a country run by an evil

man.

Democracy, however, is not a magical serum to be injected into a

^{sovereign} damaged national body. Democracy is a grace. At its best, it is a noble state

of affairs. In practice, in countries who have lived through decades and

centuries of strife and revolution and the slow elaboration of safeguards and

traditions, democracy becomes a political condition which can often

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withstand the corruptions and power-seeking of enough humans to remain

viable as a good society.

It is never routine or automatic, however. Each generation must be alert to the dangers that threaten democracy as directly as each human who wishes to be good must learn how to survive in the labyrinth of moral judgment. Democracy, by the nature of its assumptions, has to grow in moral depth, or commence to deteriorate. Democracy is social levitation. The constant danger that besets it is the unadmitted *pull* *of* ~~attraction~~ *of* fascism ~~for itself~~ *as a*

In all
of us there is not only a love of freedom, but a wretchedness of spirit that can *and confusion*

look for its opposite.

The real idiocy in assuming that democracy could be brought to Iraq was to assume that its much-divided people had not paid over and over with their compromises. The most evil aspect of fascism is that all but a few are

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obliged to work within that system, ^{else} or their families, ^{and} their own ^{prospects} ~~careers~~ will

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readiness for sacrifice. Ugly lessons in survival breed few democrats

It is all but impossible to believe that men as hard-nosed, inventive and
transcendently cynical as Karl Rove or Dick Cheney, to offer the ^{best} ~~few~~ two
examples at hand, could have believed that democracy would be feasible for
Iraq.

one was more interested in oil. Oil for dollars, yes, ^{but} not oil for barrels, no

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America was to be in any manner able to solve its problems, it better

wrestler's grip was needed on the oil of the Middle East. That is what

believe we will never leave Iraq with no more than the nominal victory of a

new semi-oppressive state that will look to call itself a democracy. We will

also need some of the wealth that control of Middle East oil can offer. (so we

given the present
our problems within ~~the~~ enrichment of the rich and the out-sourcing of jobs

If for nothing else, new billions will be needed to pay for the social programs

to all those men and women
that will take care of the union labor ranks who will have to remain

through globalism
endemically jobless in such a program.

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NIEMAN DRAFTS

Opening possibility:

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Since his reelection, George W. Bush has been more confident in his personal appearances, more sure of himself, more—it is a change in this context but obligatory—he seems more authentic.

I would warrant that before this last election he has always been the opposite of what he appeared to be, which is to say that all his strength was not strong, and not firmly anchored in manly resolve. Rather, he was in passing himself off as a facsimile of macho virtue, not unlike a screen star who has been alcoholic but is now, thanks to AA, a dry drinker. Inflexibility is not at the root of the President's character, no more than the macho screen star's heart, no inflexibility is the cover that clamps down on too many arrant impulses which still burned within and can be demonstrated

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2

only by the inbuilt imperative to keep the lid on these stampeded and
tamped-down. It is a poor attribute for a Commander-in-Chief to hold
hold to inflexibility with all the stubbornness of those who are so
one part of themselves that they cannot admit error or else all the buried
detritus of the ^{psyche} ~~cannot get~~ will spring loose. There were August general
like that in the First World War, the famous, even notorious Sir Douglas
Haig, for one. He kept sending out regiments of Tommies to be killed on No
Man's Land in order to gain the next trench one hundred yards away and
then the Germans would re-take the newly-gained trench in counter-attack.
That was Haig's species of inflexibility. He could never admit any
mistake.

If we contrast George W. to his parents, it is probably fair to say that
his father was manly enough to be President, but seemed unable to cope

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his built-in modesty. Indeed, for all one knew, it was gentle.

have sensed that he was not quite bright enough for the office.

Bush had, doubtless, the character to be First Lady, yet in the

shadow cast by Nancy Reagan, she was seen for too long as not elegant

enough. Their son, George, was, in contrast to his father, not another

a fighter pilot but a cheerleader. That, in itself, ^{was} is enough to draw some

good part of ^{his} ~~one's~~ ^{manly} ~~personal~~ ^{strength} sense of ~~manly~~ ^{virtue}. (It is not easy to be

surrounded by football players when you are as ^{tall and} large as they are, but

are not as athletic. In any event, the son, out of necessity perhaps, turned

out to be as vain as sin, and as hollow as unsuccessful sin. ^{For some think is}

^{the only} muscle available when you are not quite sure who you are, especially when

are short-suited in the nicest strength of your upper class—when is it

some comfort and feel some reliance on the enrichments of culture

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4 X

If this sense of Bush's character is well-based, then one must look at the increment of force that victory offers to such a man. He now is entitled to self-respect (and national respect) as the dry-dune success after a big box-office success. And to a good degree, he has already received it in the media, an equivalent our first value in America as success. It is an accident that half-men strive with manic intensity for such certification of their worth. One can see the magnitude of George W's personal happiness now. The smile is gilt-edged in these late days of November and early December.

In contrast, the woe one encounters among Democrats is without parallel in my recollection. Just as no President, not even Richard Nixon, was detested so strongly by so many of us, so was the belief implicit just forty days ago, that no matter how deadlocked the polls, it was

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inconceivable that Bush could triumph in the election. And the feeling

victory was most intense among the young. The prevailing mood among

many young Democrats now is analogous to the disbelief that arises with

death of a mate or a close friend. One keeps expecting to be delivered,

It did not happen,
snak

~~from the fact itself.~~ The deceased will be sitting at the dining room table

again, *doorbell* just as he or she was in these last months. Or the bell will ring and,

yes, there he will be ~~at the door~~. But, no, he is not there. Bush is there, but

not Kerry. It is analogous to the way people who have been stupefied by the

intensity of a dream have to keep telling themselves on awakening "I am

not in Katmandu. I am in my own bedroom. There will be no deliverance

from George W. Bush. I will have to see his face and his smirk for the next

four years."

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6

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It is useless to suggest that if Kerry had won Ohio and become President with a deficit of several million electoral votes, the necessity to take up camp in the quagmire of Iraq, the situation might have been worse for Democrats. Kerry, given his 50-50 stand on the war, would have had to pay for all of Bush's sins.

Speaking of sin, one must add that it was not Jehovah who said one must tax the rich. It was Jesus. Jehovah was much more ready to accept the loss of a man's wealth if he did not obey ^{all} the powers that be. ^{all} said power as being Jehovah. ^{turned} It was Jesus who ^{turned} tipped his father's authority upside-down by ^{explaining to us} warning that it was no routine matter for a rich man to enter heaven.

In the next presidential election, to put things
If the Democrats hope to receive a fifth or even a tenth of the human a meaningful & free election

values votes, they will have to find candidates and field workers who can

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Democratic missionaries 7 X
 spread the word down south - people to suggest that Republicans are
 who are in awe of Jehovah's great power. ~~Let's see~~
 Jesus, ~~who~~ might even come to recognize that
 Jehovah whereas all those much-derided liberals ~~spend~~ *spend* and live it up: it
speaks

of Jesus, the first great liberal in history. *It is the liberalism,*
not the Republicans who worry about the
state of the poor, the afflicted and the needy.

The likelihood of this taking place is not large, nor am I the speaker

the subject.
 who is equipped to deal with it. I will do better on this occasion than I

? *more*
 myself to a narrow theme. It seems to me that if the Democrats are going to

begin to work up a new set of attitudes and values that will be set

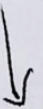
sustaining in four years for whoever are the candidates, it will be their

ability to do a little creative thinking about one very large question which

hitherto has had little but puny explanations. It is the war in Iraq

The truth is that neither candidate was ready in the rhetorical combat

the last election to begin to say why we are really there. Yes, why ~~why~~ *why*



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8x

are we in Iraq? It is likely that a great majority of Americans will be
unable to answer no matter whom they voted for.

If I have spent a fair part of the last two years doing my best to understand
over this question, I am hardly unique. Like most large questions of the world,
give few acceptable answers, many Americans feel obsessive about it.
Here, even among a good part of the Americans who voted for Bush, the
decision was taken in the face of their deep reservations about the strategic and
purpose of the war.

So let me make still one more attempt. I would ask, however, that
you allow me to do it by the way in which I think. I do not come to my
conclusions through experiencing the mental skills and intuitions of the
politician, a columnist, a journalist, an academician in foreign relations or

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9 x

political science, but as a novelist. We novelists, if we are honest, do not
have our own cognitive means of proceeding.

What may establish some ~~commonality~~ ^{mutuality} with this audience is that we

do have a real basis for proceeding ^{in common}. Good novelists and good journalists

are, after all, in one ~~common~~ ^{similar} lifetime search. It is to come a little closer to

that most agreeable if ineluctable feeling that we are searching for the truth,

Or to rephrase this, are coming a little closer, perhaps, to some final goal.

~~may offer a new approach to~~
might lead to a new insight of what might be the truth.

Journalists engage in this ~~venture~~ ^{worthy} by digging into the hard earth to

those slimy chameleon-like creatures we call facts. But facts are not

hard and almost never undeniably false or true.

Novelists work in a radically different manner. They begin with

fictions. That is to say, suppositions about the nature of reality. They build it

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another way, they live with short and long-term hypotheses. ~~handwritten~~ X

when well-chosen, to enrich their minds and, they hope, to test them.

minds. Hypotheses are, after all, one of the more forceful ways of making

we try to estimate what a reality might be. Each new bit of evidence that

crosses the ground of the hypothesis proceeds to weaken the thesis or ~~to~~ to

strengthen it. With a good hypothesis, we come closer to reality. A bad

one, sooner or later, has to be discarded.

Take, for example, the unhappy, but super-excited state that a man or

woman can find themselves in when full of jealousy. Their minds are

quicken, their senses become more alert. If a wife believes her husband is

having an affair, then every time he comes home, she is more aware of his

presence than she has been in previous weeks, months, or years. Is he

guilty? Is the way in which he folds his napkin a sign of some unspoken

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he being too accommodating? Her senses quicken at the prospect of a
 given woman—let us call her Victoria—is the object of his affection. She, the
 wife is all but convinced that he is definitely having an affair with
 Victoria. But, on a given morning, she discovers that Victoria has been
 in China. Worse. Victoria has been teaching in Beijing for the last six
 months. Ergo, the hypothesis has been confuted. Should the wife still be
 convinced the husband is unfaithful, then a search for another woman must
 begin.

The value of hypotheses is that they stimulate our minds and heighten
 our concentration; the danger is that they can distort our brains. In a fight
 of revenge, for example, birth a variety of hypotheses. The first may be:
 Am I brave enough ^{too cowardly} to exercise this revenge? One can wear oneself down to
 the bone with that ^{little suspicion} estimate of such fear. Or, one's moral sense can be

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activated. Does one have the right to seek revenge? Hypothese X

^{prove}
can be even more disruptive. The most basic is, of course, X

love? Is this love? How much am I in love? What is love after all?

family man, the question can become: How much do I love my country?

Am I ready to sacrifice myself for them? Real questions. Good questions.

depend on real questions.

its own set of questions. First
Patriotism awakens a most contradictory set of questions. *What is*
some it is not enough to salute a flag.
Some ~~others~~ are still ready to ask whether it is
true patriotism? Is it false patriotism to support my country under any or 1

(others, a majority no doubt ^{can} learn to feel that
all conditions? Or, is a nation, by definition, always in need of an

demand can

(unquestioning blood-faith, ready to declare that the people of my nation are

necessarily superior, ipso facto, to the people of other nations)

(patriotism not
Pat
sense, is my country analogous to family snobbery?

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13 X

Other questions provoke anxiety, what, after all,
~~Today, many are asking: What is the nature of my country?~~
Is America in its own moral peril,
~~growing worse?~~ Do we have the right ~~even~~ to be in Iraq? What are we

there?

Before we look at some of the answers that have been given ~~by~~ *by the administration, the media, and the opposition,*
 allow me to go on one more excursion. I will say that what intrigues me

most about hypotheses is that at their best, they are not ~~thin~~ *thin* but

relation to serious fiction. *The* A serious novel looks for situations and

characters who will even come alive sufficiently to surprise the writer who

creates them. If he or she starts with one supposition, the actions of

characters often draw the story away from what was planned. In this sense

hypotheses are like fictions—they posit a situation but subsequent events

then act as as surprisingly lively characters who prove or disprove what the

original situation was looking to delineate. The value of a good hypothesis

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like a good fiction, is that whether it all turns out more or less as anticipated,
or is altogether contrary to what was anticipated, the mind of the reader as
well as the author has been enriched.

A good novel, therefore, like a good hypothesis, is always an attack
on the nature of reality. (If attack is a word too violent for some, then let
my meaning to signify intense inquiry.) It assumes that reality is ever
changing. So, it is not yet classified. Implicit in attempting a serious attack
is the assumption that the explanations ^{our culture has} ~~given us heretofore~~ are not
on profound matters
satisfactory, do not go deep enough. The nature of reality is itself

question. As one works on a novel, one feels oneself getting closer and
new questions
closer to the nature of the question. It's as if in writing novels, one does

assume there are absolutes or incontrovertible facts, new does
It's as if one

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~~novel, one does not expect to come to a firm or final answer.~~ *one* *X*

the are pursued
~~pursues questions in the hope they will open into richer~~ *insights*
useful ones

Let me then repeat this point. Novelists approach ~~reality~~ *reality*

not capture it. No good novel ever arrives at total certainty, not ones such

as Charles Dickens and are writing A Christmas Carol. First of all,

hypotheses ever come to closure. Not every Victoria ~~W~~ *can be taught* *teacher* in China

One interesting
~~There is, in addition, another~~ bond between hypotheses and *reality*

is that both
~~Both~~ have a great deal to say about the forms of sex. For a long

time, I confess, I've amused myself with the passing concept that the poem

the short story, and the novel all bear separate relations to phases of *reality*

The short poem, certainly, is analogous to a one-night stand. It may be as

off as brilliant, or it can be a bummer. A love affair of reasonable duration

can be compared to a short story. What characterizes most short stories is

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that they look finally to say one thing. In their crudest form, when they

men write their early pieces, the last sentence almost always has a section

"He felt old, and sad, and tired." Yes, the short story ^{usually} looks to end

point. By analogy, it may be fair to say that few affairs come to an end

without being characterized—usually uncharitably—by the participants

Marriage, however, ^{like a novel} can consist of a kaleidoscope of ~~shifting~~ attitudes. The

end of one chapter ~~in a novel~~ ^{leave} may have the husband and wife ready to break

up; they cannot bear each other. In the morning, which commences the next

chapter, they discover to their mutual surprise that they are back in the same

~~This kind of marriage is much like a novel.~~ The nature of reality makes

from chapter to chapter.

I have gone to this length in order to suggest that many of us who do

not hold fundamental beliefs approach our sense of reality by way

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hypotheses. So, on the road to Iraq, we were engaged with these

suppositions
varying ~~hypotheses~~ for why we were going to war.

In the beginning, some said that George W. Bush wanted to wished to
that he was equal to his father, or prove superior, or, to the contrary, would to

his father by occupying Baghdad—three different hypotheses. Any one of

them could have made a neat article for some op-ed page: a pure piece of

psychobabble. ~~For~~ That, too, is a species of literary form

Another hypothesis which ~~that~~ soon arose was that such a war would be a l.

Shed no blood for oil, became the cry. People's prose Agitator's prose Quite
likely, it was correct in part, but it was as
harsh an argument as the prose in a treatise. Others
we were offered a virtuous reason: Conquering Iraq would democratize it
the same language

Middle East. Problems between Israel and Palestine might be happily

settled. In the event, this proved to be nearer to a fairy tale than a prophecy

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proposition even though it was much favored by all the

cons, plus a surprising number of

In its turn, the administration presented us with the great problems

of mass destruction. That lived in the American mind like an intelligence:

thriller. Would we locate ~~these~~^{those} weapons before they blew up. It became the largest single argument for going to war. Colin Powell put his honor on the line saying that. There were other hypotheses—would we ~~soon~~^{soon} find same bin Laden? ~~or would it not~~ ^{that} ^{is possible}

Vivid hypotheses, ~~all~~ None held up. We did not learn them and w

still do not begin to agree why we embarked on this monstrous

destructive of wars. Occam's Razor does tell us that the simplest

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which can
 explanation that answers a variety of separate questions. X

likelihood of being the most correct explanation. One answer to the question

from that formula: it is that we ~~got~~ ^{marched} into that war because it was the only best

solution the President and his party could find for the ~~future~~ ^{immediate} problems of

America. This does not mean that there was only one reason for going to

war, one cabal ^{behind it,} ~~one group,~~ one particular intensity that created this ^{force and} ~~intensity~~

but rather that the initiative came from the need for a solution to ~~the situation~~ ^{the situation}

our ~~serious~~ ^{developing} problems as a superpower.

The first, which could become the most worrisome of these problems,

is that the nation's scientific future, and its technological skills may well be

^{distress,}
 in ~~trouble~~. The talents of American students at STEM subjects—~~science,~~

science, technology, engineering and mathematics—are no longer equal to

the Asian and European students who are studying at our universities.

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American students
pleasure-loving ~~young men~~ (those subjects may be too d... and...

unattractive. ~~This opens no small danger sign for the future.~~ More...

American corporation was ~~not only~~ ready to outsource its... ~~and~~...

~~was~~ even eager to do so. If jobs were in danger of disappearing, and our

skills at technology were suffering in comparison to Europe and to Asia,

then relations between American labor and the corporation could grow t...

Back in 2001, back before 9/11, the divide *gaped* (between pop culture an

fundamentalism ~~had grown severe~~. In the view of the religious right

America was becoming heedless, loutish, irreligious, and blatantly immoral

More ~~and more~~ so every year. Half of all marriages were ending in divorce

The Catholic Church was suffering a series of agonizing scandals. The FBI

had been profoundly shaken by the recognition that one of its most

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X

that if America was to be able to solve its problems as the rest of the world solved its problems, then the country had to become an empire. For them, capitalism to survive, exceptionalism rather than cooperation with other advanced nations had become the necessity. From their point of view, they had been ten lost years of initiatives, ten years in the cold war. America now had an opportunity to cash in again on the great bonanza that had faded in 1991 when the Soviet Union went bankrupt in the arms race. At that point, or so believed the exceptionalists, America could and should have taken over the world and thereby safeguarded our economic future for decades at least and probably a century of hegemony to follow. Instead, these exceptionalists had ~~been all but consumed with~~ ~~been all but drowned in~~ frustration over what they saw as the ~~liberal~~ ^{liberal} pussyfooting of the Clinton Administration. Now, at its 91

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had provided an opportunity for America to resolve its problems:

least, America could embark on the great adventure of e

These exceptionalists ~~were~~ also hard-headed realists.

ready to face the fact that the country might not have any real desire for

global domination,
such advancement America was pleasure-loving, which furthered the goal.

was almost as bad as peace-loving. So if the invasion was going to be a

feasible, an edifying narrative, ^{it had to be} utterly independent of the facts, ~~however~~ ^{however} . . .

fabricated. While the motives for going to war that would be offered to the

American public would not need any real embedment in the pos-

as, for example, democracy coming to the Middle East. The fiction is that

be stated with all the paraphernalia and appurtenances of profound belief, from which we write

who but Colin Powell could serve
saying, we would bring democracy to the Middle East. USN Clinton too was 60
Apr 1st

saying, we would bring democracy to the Middle East.
as the clot-buster to ~~clear~~ Against
his waning judgement he was sold:
a mess of missile-takes by the Cpt.
Of course, see this to ~~very~~ make the
Cpt had to be compromised? That *

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~~For this to work, the CIA had to be very successful~~
~~People in the CIA who are~~
 in the CIA are often career motivated. They know the right
 way to advance. ^{often does not} ~~often does not~~ ^{have anything to}
 thing to do for their career. It doesn't always have anything to
 do with getting ~~the right stuff~~ ^{the right stuff} or intelligence;
 to do with the right stuff so far as intelligence is concerned.

^{A person}
 And that you learn quickly. The top people in the CIA got
 as in many another ^{get to where they} ~~have careers~~ ^{are}
 there, among other reasons, by knowing what was wanted

^{white}
 from the top. Intelligence in itself is ideally an ascetic
^{it can like}
 activity. Like most ascetic endeavors, it can be miserably
^{ambitious, that is}
 corrupted. That's true of every intelligence agency in the

world. They ~~end~~ ^{end} up doing what they feel is needed for either

^{or}
 their country, for their own career, for their next immediate step.
^{When these factors are at odds with}
^{each other, intelligence pays the price}
 step. So, the CIA was abominably compromised by the move

~~as soon as soon as possible and then~~
 to go to war against Iraq. Most analysts who had

information that Iraq had very little or nothing in the way of

WMD ~~soon~~ gave it up. The urge to satisfy the president
~~gave them~~ ^{cut them off at the knees}
 became so intense that Tenet, who was probably a good

director, got carried away. And he said what was that
 marvelous remark? He shot both arms into the air to say.

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Democracy, however, is not a magical serum to be injected into a

damaged national
~~people~~ mess of a body dreaming of a fix. Democracy is a good society, it

is a noble state of affairs. In practice, in countries who have lived through

decades and centuries of strife and revolution and the slow elaboration of

safeguards and traditions, democracy becomes a political condition which

often
can ~~sufficiently~~ withstand the corruptions and power-seeking of enough

humans to remain viable as a good society.

It is never routine or automatic, however, ~~each~~ *each* generation must be
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alert to the dangers that threaten democracy as directly as each human who

wishes to be good must learn how to survive in the labyrinths of moral

judgment. Democracy, by the nature of its assumptions, *has to* ~~must grow~~ *must grow* in moral

depth, or commence to deteriorate. Democracy is social evolution. The

constant danger that besets it is the unadmitted attraction of fascist politics

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offer
Patriotism ~~awakens~~ its own set of doubts. For some it is not enough

to wave a flag. Some are still ready to ask whether it is false patriotism to

support our country under any and all conditions. Others, a majority, no

doubt, seem to feel that one's nation always demands an unquestioning

blood-faith, ready to declare that the people of my nation are necessarily

superior, ~~also facts~~—by their blood alone—to the people of other nations.

In that sense, is patriotism not analogous to family snobbery, indeed, is *patriotism*

a poor man's equivalent of an upper-class sense of superiority?

these

~~Other~~ questions provoke anxiety. What, after all, is the nature of my

country now? Is America in its own moral peril, some of us will ask? Do

we have the right to be in Iraq? Why are we there?

Before we look at the familiar answers that have been given to us by

the administration, the media, and the opposition, allow me to go on one

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more excursion. I will say that what intrigues me most about hypotheses is that at their best, they ^{have} ~~have~~ a close relation to serious fiction. The serious novel looks for situations and characters who will come alive sufficiently to surprise the writer. If he or she starts with one supposition, the actions of the characters often lead the story some distance away from what was planned. In that sense, hypotheses are like fictions—they posit a situation ^{where} ~~where~~ subsequent events can act like surprisingly lively characters who are ready to prove or disprove how ^{one thought} ~~the~~ original situation would develop. The value of a good hypothesis, like a good fiction, is that whether it all turns out more or less as expected, or is altogether contrary, the mind of the reader as well as the author is nonetheless enriched.

A good novel, therefore, like a good hypothesis, becomes an attack on the nature of reality. (If attack ^{seems too} ~~is a word too~~ violent for some of you, then

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Call it
translate my meaning to signify intense inquiry.) The basic assumption is

that reality is ever-changing. The more intense the situation, then the more

with the
unforeseeable ~~is~~ (the denouement. Reality, by this logic, is ~~existential, and~~

~~therefore,~~ not yet classified. Implicit in a serious novel is the assumption

that the explanations our culture has given us on profound matters do not go

deep enough. ~~The nature of reality is itself in question.~~ As one works on a

novel, one feels oneself getting closer and closer to new questions, better

ones, questions that are harder to answer. It's as if in writing novels, you

don't assume there are absolutes or incontrovertible facts. Nor do you

expect to come to a firm or final answer. Rather the questions are pursued

in the hope they will open into richer ~~insights~~ *and insights*, more useful ~~ones~~

Let me then repeat this point. Novelists approach reality, but they do
not capture it. No good novel ever arrives at total certainty, not unless you

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are Charles Dickens and are writing A Christmas Carol. Just so, few

hypotheses ever come to closure. Not every Victoria teaches in China.

Another and most interesting bond between hypotheses and serious fiction is that both have a great deal to say about the living forms of sex.

For a long time, I've amused myself with the notion that the poem, the short

story, and the novel can be compared to phases of sex. The short poem,

certainly, is analogous to a one-night stand. It may come off as brilliant, or

it can be a bummer. A love affair of reasonable duration is, all too often,

like a short story. What characterizes most short stories is that they look to

say one thing at the end. In their crudest form, when young men write their

early pieces, the last sentence almost always has its echo of: "He felt old,

and sad, and tired." ~~Yes,~~ The short story usually ^{likes} ~~looks~~ to make its point.

By analogy, it may be fair to say that few affairs come to an end without

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being characterized—usually uncharitably—by the participants. Marriage, however, like a novel, is closer to a metamorphosis of attitudes. The end of one chapter may leave the husband and wife ready to break up; they cannot bear each other. In the morning, which commences the next chapter, they discover to their mutual surprise that they are back in the sack. Reality varies from chapter to chapter.

I have gone to this length in order to suggest that many of us who do not hold fundamental beliefs approach our sense of reality, therefore, by way of our working hypotheses. So, on the road to Iraq, we were engaged with a series of varying suppositions for why we were so obviously hell-bent for war.

In the beginning, some said that George W. Bush, was trying to validate his father by occupying Baghdad—others argued that he wished to

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appear superior to George H.W. Two opposed hypotheses. Each made a neat article for one or another op-ed page. ~~Psychobabble is also a literary~~

~~forum~~

Another hypothesis which soon arose was that such a war would be evil. Shed no blood for oil, became the cry. Quite likely, it was correct in part, at least, but it was harsh in argument like the prose of any ill-written tract. Others offered a much more virtuous reason: Conquering Iraq would democratize the Middle East. Problems between Israel and Palestine could be happily settled. In the event, this proved to be nearer to a fairy tale than a logical proposition. All the same, it was much favored by all the logical neo-cons, plus a surprising number of liberals like Bill Keller of the New York Times, David Remnick, and David Pollack. [CK]

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In its turn, the administration presented us with weapons of mass destruction. That lived in the American mind like an intelligence thriller. Would we locate those nightmares before they blew us up? It became the largest single argument for going to war. Colin Powell put his ^{political} honor on the chopping block for that assertion.

There were other hypotheses—would we or would we not soon find Osama bin Laden? That became a short story like "The Tiger and the Lady"—no ending. Early on, there was a blood-cult novel in the air. It was Shock and Awe—had we driven a quick stake through the heart of Saddam Hussein? Good patriotic Americans could feel they were on the hunt for Dracula.

Vivid hypotheses. None held up. We did not learn then and we still do not begin to agree why we embarked on this most miserable ~~and~~

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~~destructive~~ of wars. Occam's Razor does suggest that the simplest explanation which is ready to answer a variety of separate questions on a puzzling matter has a great likelihood of being the most correct explanation. One answer does emerge then from the good bishop's formula: it is that we marched into a full-sized war because it was the simplest solution the President and his party could find for the immediate problems of America. This does not mean that there was only one reason that drove us forward, one cabal behind the war. Rather, the administration's intensity came from the need for a solution to our developing and major problems as a superpower.

The first problem, which could become the most worrisome, was that the nation's scientific future, and its technological skills, might well be in distress. American students at STEM subjects—S.T.E.M., science,

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technology, engineering and mathematics—no longer seem to be equal to those Asian and European students who are also studying advanced courses at our universities. For pleasure-loving American students, STEM subjects may seem too difficult, too unattractive. Moreover, the American corporation was now ready to outsource its own future, even eager to do so. Given drastically lower factory wages in Third World countries, there may have appeared no alternative to maintain continued large profits. All the same, if American jobs were now in danger of disappearing, and our skills at technology were suffering in comparison to Europe and to Asia, then relations between American labor and the corporation could go on tilt.

That was not the only storm cloud over the land.

Back in 2001, back before 9/11, the divide between pop culture and

fundamentalism was gaping. In the view of the religious right, America was becoming heedless, loutish, irreligious, and blatantly immoral. More so

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every year. Half of all American marriages were ending in divorce. The Catholic Church was suffering a series of agonizing scandals. The FBI had been profoundly shaken by the recognition that one of its most important and trusted agents, a career man of the finest sort, a devoted anti-Communist, had been a Russian agent for a decade and a half. Up here in

Boston, FBI men had been working with ^{a Mafia} ~~an~~ informant who ~~also~~ happened to

~~be a~~ ^{skilled professional} ~~killer.~~

~~and they knew it~~

^{clouding}
In the face of such ~~lowering~~ of our ~~sentimental~~ horizons, posed with

the spectre of a superpower economically and spiritually out of kilter, the

best solution to hand for Compassionate Conservatism seemed willy-nilly to

be War. War would offer the ^{best (live best)} ~~best~~ avenue for recapturing America—not,

mind you, by unifying the country, not ~~that~~ at all. By now, that was close to

impossible. Given, however, that the country was deeply divided, the need

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might be to separate it further. That would work if one could do it in such a way that one's own half could become much more powerful than the other ~~side~~. But to implement this venture, democracy must be altered. The time had come to live with all the certainties of myth while by-passing the sharp edge of inquiries implicit in hypothesis.

The difference is crucial. An hypothesis opens the mind to thought, to comparison, to doubt, to the elusiveness of truth. If this country was founded in great part on the notion that enough people possessed enough good will, and enough desire for growth and discovery ~~to~~ prosper, and this most certainly included spiritual and intellectual discovery, then, or so went the premise, democracy could thrive more than monarchy or theocracy.

Of course, all these political forms depend on their myths. Myths are tonic to a nation's heart. If abused, however, they are poisonous. For myths

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are frozen hypotheses. The question is answered by declaration and will not

be re-opened. There can be no search to find a better premise. The need is

~~for pristine simplicity,~~ for a morality tale at the level of a child's tale, where

~~Good can~~ ^{will} overcome a dark enemy. For the Bush administration, 9/11 came

as a deliverance. ~~We had, at last, an external enemy.~~ The new myth even

bore some relation to reality. Islam was, indeed, our enemy. There was no

question that Islamic terrorists were opposed to all we stood for, good or

bad. They did not call us the Great Satan for too little. Nonetheless, the

danger presented by this enemy had to be expanded ^{for American consumption,} The security of every

shopping mall in America had to be put into question. Now, the overriding

myth was not merely the implacable danger of Islam, but its nearness to us.

To oppose the fears we generated in ourselves, we would call on our most

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dynamic American myths. We had had, after all, a lifetime of watching action films.

The possibility (the out)
~~Nonetheless, the task of weeding terrorists through international~~
never came into real prosecution
police action ~~did not suffice~~. We needed much more than that. War is,

obviously, a mightier rallying ground than a series of local police actions.

Yet, half of America was opposed to our advance toward war with Iraq.

Half of us were asking one way or another: "How much goodness has

America brought to the world? How much has it exploited the world?

The President, however, had its own imperatives. Keep America fixed on myth. He went all the way back to Cotton Mather. We must war constantly against the invisible kingdom of Satan. Stand at Armageddon and battle for the land. It was fortified by a belief which many Republicans, some of the most intelligent and some of the most stupid, accepted in full.

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~~That~~ *It*

That was the conviction that America was exceptional, and God had a special interest in America. God wanted us to be a land superior to other nations, a realm to lift His vision into greater glory. So, the myth of the frontier, which demanded a readiness to fight without limit, became part of our exceptionalism. "Do what it takes" ~~came to mean that no matter how~~ deeply one was embedded in near to inextricable situations, one would do ~~what it took.~~ Complete the job! "Bring 'em on!" Yes, the myth was crucial to the Bush administration. The last thing it needed was to contend with anything like a *close approach to* ~~close approximation of~~ reality.

This attempt to take over the popular American mind has certainly not been unsuccessful, but it does generate a new and major hypothesis which would argue that the people of the U.S. were systematically, even programmatically, deluded from the top down. With a determination that

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only profound contempt for the popular mind can engender, we were sold the notion that this war would be honorable, necessary, self-protective, decent, fruitful for democracy, and dedicated to any and all forms of human goodness. I would suggest that there was close to zero sincerity at the top.

The leaders of this country who forced the war through, were neither idealistic nor innocent. They had known what they were doing. It was basic. Do what it takes. They had decided that if America was to be able to solve its problems, then the country had to become an empire. For American capitalism to survive, exceptionalism rather than cooperation with other advanced nations had become the necessity. From their point of view, there had been ten lost years of initiatives, ten years in the cold, but America now had an opportunity to cash in again on the great bonanza that had fallen its way in 1991 when the Soviet Union went bankrupt in the arms race. At

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that point, or so believed the exceptionalists, America could and should have taken over the world and thereby safeguarded our economic future for decades at least with a century of hegemony to follow. Instead, these exceptionalists had been all but consumed with frustration over what they saw as the labile pussyfooting of the Clinton Administration. Never have liberals been detested more. But now, at last, 9/11 had provided an opportunity for America to resolve some problems. Now, America could embark on the great adventure of empire.

These exceptionalists also happened to be hard-headed realists. They were ready to face the fact that most Americans might not have any real desire for global domination. America was pleasure-loving, which, for exceptionalist purposes, was almost as bad as peace-loving. So, the invasion had to be presented with an edifying narrative. That meant the

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Successful people in the Agency, as in many another bureau

where they are by knowing what is wanted ^{at} by the top. What intelligence

in itself, is ideally an ascetic activity, it can, like most ascetic endeavors, be

miserably corrupted. Doubtless, that is true of every intelligence agency in

the world. They end up producing what they feel is needed by their

country, ~~for~~ for their own career, or just for their next ~~promotion~~ step. When

^{such} ~~these~~ factors are at odds with each other, Intelligence pays a price. The

CIA was abominably compromised by the move to go to war with Iraq.

Most analysts who had information that Iraq had very little to do with the

way of WMD gave it up. The need at the top of the Agency ~~was~~ [unclear]

President cut them off ^{at the knees}. So we went forward in the belief that

Iraq was an ^{immediate} ~~imminent~~ threat, and were told that hordes of ~~troops~~ ^{troops} were

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welcome us with flowers. Indeed, it was our duty as g... to

bring democracy to a country run by an evil man.

Democracy, however, is not a magical serum to be injected into a

In its ideal state,
~~damaged~~ foreign body. Democracy is a grace. *At its base it is not a*

practice, in countries who have lived through decades and centuries of strife

and revolution and the slow elaboration of safeguards and traditions

democracy becomes a political condition which can often withstand the

corruptions and excessive power-seeking of enough humans to remain

viable as a good society.

however, never
It is never routine or automatic, however. Each generation must be

democracy is always growing into more or less?
Each generation must be
alert to the dangers that threaten democracy as directly as each human individual

every generation
wishes to be good must learn how to survive in the labyrinths of

unequal

judgment. Democracy, by the nature of its assumptions, is

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moral depth, or commence to deteriorate. Democracy is a social ethic

The constant danger that besets it is the unadmitted pull of fascism. If

us there is not only a love of freedom, but a wretchedness and contempt of

spirit that can look for its opposite *an identification with the
notion of total order and total control
from above*

The real idiocy in assuming that democracy could be brought to birth

was to assume that its much-divided people had not *been paying*
~~paid~~ *partner and accomplice*

spiritually for

their compromises. The most evil aspect of fascism is that all but a few

obliged to work within that system or else their families and their own

prospects ~~will~~ suffer directly. So the mass of good people in a fascist state

are filled with shame, ugly memories of their own small and occasional

large treacheries, their impotence, and their frustrated hopes of revenge.

Willy-nilly, their psyches are an explosive mess. They are decades away

from democracy. There is no quick fix. Democracy has been beaten out

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nation through its readiness for sacrifice. Ugly lessons that any reasonable

few democrats.

It is all but impossible to believe that men as hard-headed as Cheney,

and transcendently cynical as Karl Rove or Dick Cheney, looking at the

two candidates at hand, could have believed that ^{much} democracy ^{was going to} ~~was going to~~

feasible for Iraq.

We are back to oil. It is a crude assertion, but I expect Cheney, for

one, is in Iraq for just that reason. Without a full wrestler's grip on control

of the oil of the Middle East, America's economic problems will ^{continue} ~~persist~~

^{to expand.}

That is why we will remain in Iraq for years to come. ^{nothing will be} ~~It is not negotiable.~~

^{gained if we}

^{can't be together} ~~for us to~~ depart after the new semi-oppressive state that is ~~being~~ ^{being} set up

to call itself a democracy. That will ^{only be} a nominal victory, and we will

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have to return and face all the problems which led us to this place.

place.

Let me use a novelist's privilege again and make the statement:

I think, as he sees it, it's a hard one /
Cheney's mind. ~~It~~ will not be easy, ~~as he sees it~~, but it will be critical. No

sources of income are going to be needed, new trillions, not nothing else:

future that will have
than to pay for the (social programs) to take care of the huge ongoing wage

labor force that will ~~otherwise have to~~ remain endemically jobless because:

of globalism. *That may yet prove to be the*
final, weary, & compassionate conservative
It will expand the role of government in our economy,
~~But how to contend with the Iraqis when much of their oil will be~~
In the interim, the question for Cheney is

longer be theirs, ~~not altogether, no~~, Cheney will have to bet his best bet

Of course,
bring off some sizable capture, ~~but~~ he is no weak man, he's used to doing

no matter how it smells, he is full of the hammer,
what it takes, ~~he~~ has the wisdom received from wealthy Republican bankers

whose gene stream has been fortified for the last hundred and over years

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years by foreclosing on widows who cannot keep up with the mortgage.

He has learned you
the farm. Cheney may be ready to get that Iraqi oil.

never who is not embarrassed by himself—he will be full of his face.

(— for the well-being of all —)

~~It~~ We will clean & appropriate
well being of all. It will be declared that the Europeans ~~will not have~~
~~are not to expect a sizable share~~ 90% ~~share~~ after a 5
~~large share since~~ they ~~they~~ do not deserve given their corrupt deals with

Hussein under so-called UN supervision. Yes, Cheney will know exactly

sell the package ^{the} for why we are still in Iraq putting down a million a day.

Rove will be on his flank, helping Bush to lay it out equ

American people.

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NIEMAN END PP PRE-A THROUGH C

It seems to me that if the Democrats are going to ^{be able} ~~be able~~

new set of attitudes and values that will ^{serve} ~~work~~ better for their future

candidates, it might not be a bad idea ^{for them} to do a little more creative thinking

about ^{the} ~~one~~ very large question which ^{for which they have worked up} ~~hitherto has had little or no~~

^{for now, naught but many} explanations. It is the ^{of the fundamentalists} ~~fundamentalist~~ vote.

If by 2008, the Democrats hope to pick up a meaningful fraction of

^{such voters,} ~~the human-values voters,~~ they will have to find candidates and field workers

who can spread the word down south—that is, find Democratic missionaries

^{to work on a true segment of} ~~to suggest that~~ fundamentalists, ^{the expenditure of} ~~who are in awe of Jehovah's wrath, and~~

^{that presently, who may be} ~~who are in awe of Jehovah's wrath, and~~ ^{worked upon with enough zeal, some of} Jesus, love Jesus so much more, might come to recognize that these much

derided liberals actually live in the spirit of Jesus whether they believe or not

the latter

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word of Scripture or not. Most fundamentalists, forced to choose between the

of their souls, with, of course, ~~would~~ cleave to the printed word of Scripture, but I think

whom the spirit of Jesus is truly paramount might actually choose

wonder whether it might not be the liberals rather than the Republicans who

worry more about the fate of the poor, the afflicted, the needy, and the

disturbed. They ~~are even~~ ^{even} the ones who care about sinners and criminals,

in our prisons, quite a lot of the cities.
They are more ready to save the forests, refresh the air, and clear the

rivers. It would be agonizing to vote for a candidate who did not read the

some of them read it every day; I read
Scriptures every day, but still, I ~~know~~ ^{know} not know where to place my vote.

I have joined the ranks of the undecided.

such a man
More power to ~~him~~ / More power to all who would be ready to live
with the ~~democratic~~ indecision implicit in
with democracy. It is democracy, after all, which first brought the power

and virtue of good questions to the attention of humankind.

Long may good questions prevail.
Thank you.

exceptionalist purposes, was almost as bad as peace-loving. So, the invasion had to be presented with an edifying narrative. That meant the alleged reason for the war had to live in utter independence of the facts. The motives offered to the American public need not have any close connection to likelihoods. Fantasy could serve better. As, for example, bringing democracy to the Middle East. Protecting ourselves against weapons of mass destruction. These themes had to be driven home to the public with all the paraphernalia of facts, supposed confirmative facts. For that, who but Colin Powell could serve as the clot-buster? So, Powell was sold a mess of missile tubes by the CIA. Of course, for this to work, the CIA also had to be compromised. That was there to be done. Most people in the CIA are career-motivated. Advancing one's career does not often have much to do

with getting the right stuff in intelligence. Successful people in the Agency, as in many another bureaucracy, get to where they are by knowing what is wanted at the top. While intelligence, in itself, is ideally an ascetic activity, it can, like most ascetic endeavors, be miserably corrupted. Doubtless, that is true of every intelligence agency in the world. They end up producing what they feel is needed for their country, for their own career, or just for their next step. When such factors are at odds with each other, Intelligence pays the price. So the CIA was abominably compromised by the move to go to war with Iraq. Most analysts who had information that Iraq had very little or nothing in the way of WMD gave it up. The need at the top of the Agency to satisfy the President cut them off. So we went forward in the belief that Iraq was an immediate threat, and were told that hordes of Iraqis would welcome

us with flowers. Indeed, it was our duty as good Americans to bring democracy to a country run by an evil man.

Democracy, however, is not a magical serum to be injected into a foreign body. Democracy is a grace. In its ideal state, it is noble. In practice, in countries who have lived through decades and centuries of strife and revolution and the slow elaboration of safeguards and traditions, democracy becomes a political condition which can often withstand the corruptions and excessive power-seeking of enough humans to remain viable as a good society.

It is never routine, however, never automatic. Like each human being, democracy is always growing into more or less. Each generation must be alert to the dangers that threaten democracy as directly as each human who wishes to be good must learn how to survive in the labyrinths of envy, greed,

and moral judgment. Democracy, by the nature of its assumptions, has to grow in moral depth, or commence to deteriorate. Democracy is social levitation. The constant danger that besets it is the unadmitted pull of fascism. In all of us there is not only a love of freedom, but a wretchedness and confusion of spirit that can look for its opposite—as identification with the notion of total order and total control from above.

The real idiocy in assuming that democracy could be brought to Iraq was to assume that its much-divided people had not been paying spiritually for their compromises. The most evil aspect of fascism is that all but a few are obliged to work within that system or else their families and their own prospects suffer directly. So the mass of good people in a fascist state are filled with shame, ugly memories of their own small and occasionally large treacheries, their impotence, and their frustrated hopes of revenge. Willy-

nilly, their psyches are an explosive mess. They are decades away from democracy. There is no quick fix. Democracy has to be earned by a nation through its readiness for sacrifice. Ugly lessons in survival breed few democrats.

It is all but impossible to believe that men as hard-nosed, inventive, and transcendently cynical as Karl Rove or Dick Cheney, to offer the best two candidates at hand, could have believed that quick democracy was going to be feasible for Iraq.

We are back to oil. It is a crude assertion, but I expect Cheney, for one, is in Iraq for just that reason. Without a full wrestler's grip on control of the oil of the Middle East, America's economic problems will continue to expand. That is why we will remain in Iraq for years to come. Nothing will be gained if we depart after the new semi-oppressive state that is cobbled

together will be ready to call itself a democracy. That will be only a nominal victory, and we will have to return and face all the problems which led us to Iraq in the first place.

Let me use a novelist's privilege again and make the attempt to enter Cheney's mind. I think, as he sees it, it will not be easy to hang in, but it will be crucial. New sources of income are going to be needed, new trillions, if for nothing else than to pay for the future social programs that will have to take care of the humongously large labor force that will remain endemically jobless because of globalism. That may yet prove to be the final irony of Compassionate Conservatism. It will expand the role of government in our economy.

In the interim, the question for Cheney is how to contend with the Iraqis when much of their oil will no longer be theirs. Cheney will have to

be at his best to bring off some sizable capture. Of course, he is no weak man, he is used to doing what it takes, no matter how it smells, he is full of the hard wisdom received from wealthy Republican bankers whose gene stream has been fortified for the last hundred and twenty-five years by foreclosing on widows who cannot keep up with the mortgage on the farm. He has learned. You cannot stop a man who is never embarrassed by himself—he will be full of bare-faced virtue over why—for the well-being of all—we have to help the Middle East to sell its oil properly. We will deem it appropriate that the Europeans are not to expect a sizable share since, after all, they do not deserve it, not given their corrupt deals with Hussein under so-called UN supervision. Yes, Cheney will know how to sell the package for why we are still in Iraq, and Rove will be on his flank, guiding Bush, assisting loyally, showing how to lay it out equitably for the American people.

It seems to me that if the Democrats are going to be able to work up a new set of attitudes and values that will better serve for their future candidates, it might not be a bad idea for them to do a little more creative thinking about the question for which they have had, up to now, naught but puny explanations. It is the vote of the fundamentalists.

If by 2008, the Democrats hope to pick up a meaningful fraction of such voters, they will have to find candidates and field workers who can spread the word down south—that is, find the equivalent of Democratic missionaries to work on a true segment of fundamentalists, those precisely who may be in awe of Jehovah's wrath, but love Jesus, love Jesus so much more. Worked upon with enough zeal, some of the latter might come to recognize that these much-derided liberals actually live in the spirit of Jesus whether they believe every word of Scripture or not. Most fundamentalists,

forced to choose at the cost of their souls, will, of course, cleave to the printed word of Scripture, but those for whom the spirit of Jesus is truly paramount might actually be ready to wonder whether it might not be the liberals rather than the Republicans who worry more about the fate of the poor, the afflicted, the needy, and the disturbed. They even care about sinners and the well-being of criminals in our prisons. They are more ready to save the forests, refresh the air of the cities, and clean up the rivers. It would be agonizing to vote for a candidate who did not read the Scriptures every day, but some of them might say: I no longer know where to place my vote. I have joined the ranks of the undecided.

More power to such a man. More power to all who would be ready to live with the indecision implicit in democracy. It is democracy, after all,

which first brought the power and virtue of good questions to the attention of humankind.

Long may good questions prevail. Thank you.

Niemman handwritten drafts 11/23/04

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 was enough to drain some good part of a sense of man's value ^{personal} ~~not~~
 easy to be ~~surrounded~~ ^{by} ~~football~~ ^{playing}
 when you are ^{as} ~~large~~ ^{as} ~~they are~~ ^{as} ~~the~~ ^{as} ~~the~~
 event, the son, out of necessity perhaps, turned out to be ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~the~~ ^{as} ~~the~~
 In the event, ~~the~~ young George ~~let~~ ^{let} ~~himself~~ ^{be} ~~be~~ ^{be}
 necessity perhaps, turned out to be ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~the~~ ^{as} ~~the~~
 as hollow in the early years as unsuccessful sin. Drink is the ~~best~~ ^{best} ~~best~~ ^{best}

an unsuccessful ego especially if you are not quite sure who you are and
 are artificially short-sighted in the
 strength of your class selection; is
 some comfortable ~~seemingly~~ ^{seemingly} ~~at least~~
 with ~~cutting~~ the enrichment of
 culture.

Niemán handwritten drafts 11/23/04

NIEMAN DRAFTS

Call this version

Opening possibility:

*PP 1-2*Since his reelection, *George W. Bush* he has been more—I hate to use *reeling* in hiscontext, *yes* but the truth of what one sees is still half, at least of goodjournalism—and so it has to be said: Bush has been *of late* more impress

personal appearances, more sure of himself, more—another what

word—more authentic. It is obvious he now feels certified *not* by the*was essentially uncertified, that had been*
across as less of an impersonator of middling macho talents *which has been*
—indeed his role for the last four years, a part *to play* he could play before he lost

American republic.

Success has obviously been good for his *desired* idea of himself.*before his big election*
~~best~~ I would warrant that he has always been the opposite of what he*not* appeared to be. *not* He was neither strong, inflexible, *and not* anchored in many

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possessed that could outstrip reason, and they needed, on
their need was ~~greater than~~ ~~reason~~
~~reason~~ greater than that. Do not
try to contend with reason
it.

^{page}
all triple space

~~Opening~~ (possibly)

Since his reelection, has been
 - I have to use the word in this
 context - but the truth is that
 one sees is still half, at least
 of good journalism - and so it
 has to be said - Bush has been
 more impressive in his personal
 appearances, more sure of himself?
 more - another unlikely word -
 more authentic. It is obvious he now
 feels certified. So he comes ~~across~~
 across as less of an ^{unpersonally} ~~other~~
^{mighting} ~~macho~~ macho talent which ~~was~~
~~was~~ has been ~~indeed~~ not ~~substantive~~
 his role that his persona for the last
 four years, a part he could play
 before the great American ~~republic~~
~~like many a~~ ~~a~~ ~~ten~~ ~~after~~ ~~before~~

To the well-trained as she appears to
~~conclude~~ touch, or is she ~~not~~ ^{at all} dangerous?
apocalyptically dangerous?
Powell long before he was gone, got
short shift. How ~~can~~ ^{can we} come up (3)
to deal with Prior Rabbit? which
carrots are in short supply? himself
is no problem — Donney, the drummer boy,
Wolfowitz is indeed ~~the~~ ^a fellow
of quality. One cannot improve one's
good name.

good name.
H. satore is a stimulant to
good writing and not to ~~any~~
the reason is that the worst in each
of us is only half-truth. The other
half which has more in common
with the and me is that ~~we~~ are all
also, no matter how confused the
half, quite decent on the other half,
yes, good decent Americans.

Or does the designator come
here on American side

What will make our course
interesting is to use the satellite
a springboard to being things
curious representations of what
Americans a little closer to things
that we can comprehend

End of present sentence.

Satirical section of the novel (P. 1)

Notes
Rove-Cheney

Since this novel is not a
position to know their well, and
cannot begin to judge who has
more influence, it may be wise
in terms of consistency once ~~more~~
novel to merge their characters.

Leon Trotsky once wrote that
the best ~~best~~ approach to the
truth often came from a comparison
of the lies. An example of this
is to be found in trying to understand
marriage & marriage. We may not feel
that we comprehend the man and
the woman nearly so well as we
can delineate their relationship.

So, for the purposes of the blending
out the fiction of rule and law
this war in Iraq, let us merge the
painful and highly operational character
of Karl Marx and Dick
Cheney by speaking of them as an
administrative force always looking
for the best ~~the~~ outcome in the eyes

usually start with the task to
verify a body's memory of an
accurate record of an event that has
almost always ^{been} larger than the news for
space allotted to the problem. (The
is invariably true for all news - we
~~no more~~ meaningless triumphs
celebrations that take up more space
and offer less new human knowledge
than the glens and forests that were
pulped to meet the occasion.

No, to the contrary, now we begin to begin with fiction, they subscribe to Ockham's Razor, which can be freely translated as saying that the best explanation which fits most of the facts is most likely to approach the correct explanation.

Novelists deal, therefore, with the short and long-term by, for instance, they become our equivalents of historians. (The recorded material would, ... may be, however.)

(the hypothesis is in the hypothesis on No.)

Start on a preference
~~laborer~~

Possible feeling

~~Good~~ ^{good} ~~journalist~~ and ~~journalist~~ ^{journalist} in a one life-long search. It is to come a little closer to that most agreeable if uneludable feeling that one is searching for the truth. In the phrase this a little closer to the real difficultly that one is ~~coming~~ coming a little closer to some possible answer that might lead one to the truth.

Journalists engage in this venture by telling the hard ~~search~~ ^{search} for those shiny chameleon-like creatures we call facts. These are so unreliable. They are so rarely hard and almost ~~never~~ ^{never} or true, yet, facts so often are treacherous things on the ladder by which one hopes to reach the high point where objective truth may even be visible.

Writers work in a radically different manner, they do not

themselves that they cannot admit error.

We need only contrast him to his parents. His father always seemed to exhibit a guilt-ridden quality, indeed, for all one knew it was genuine. He knew that he was not quite bright enough for the job of president, but he was at least man enough for the office. His mother knew the real character to be a first lady, but in the shadow thrown by Nancy Reagan, she might not prove to be elegant enough. Their son George was in contrast, not an athlete like his father but a cheerleader. That in itself, ~~was~~ was enough to draw some good part of a sense of manly virtue. In any event, this son, out of necessity perhaps, turned out to be a vain person in many ways in the early years as unsuccessful as there is too big muscle for an unsuccessful ego especially if you are not quite good.

you are
see

~~him, it was the working~~
~~of a dig which - about which I~~
~~have most to say in fact.~~

Success has obviously been ^{desired} for his idea of himself. At ~~times~~
 I would ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~was~~ ^{warrant} that
 he has always been the opposite
 of what he appeared to be. He
 was neither strong, inflexible ^{nor}
 anchored in manly firm resolve
~~but~~ ^{to} ~~repeat~~ ^{he} ~~was~~ ^{rather} ~~in~~
~~series~~ ^{star} ~~of~~ ^{middle} ~~man~~
~~like~~ ^{like} more than a few screen
 stars before him, a dig which
 which is to say that inflexibility
 was not ~~at~~ ^{at} the heart of his
 character, but the kid upon all
 too many variant impulses that
~~would~~ ^{nonetheless} ~~burned~~ ^{within},
 and could be dominated only by
 the implicit imperative to be seen always
 as inflexible. Once ~~proven~~ ^{that}
 way, one must hold to inflexibility
 with all the stubbornness of those
 whose so weak in one part of