

The Problem of An American Left Norman Birnbaum

Who now remembers that Karl Marx thought it possible that the US, unencumbered by Europe's historical and metaphysical torments, could lead the advance to socialism? . What, today, is the American left?

There are four separate currents of American opposition. One seeks an American social democracy. Another seeks a de=militarized and social American internationalism. A third strives for domestic civic rights, for blacks and ethnic minorities, for women, for homosexuals. A fourth entails alternative cultural argument living better is only possible by living differently. These positions lack a common denominator and their proponents are reduced to the defense of acquired gains against the counter-offense of the agents of empire and market.

The major vehicle of the American is the Democratic party—but the vehicle is in extreme disrepair. Under Clinton and the New Democrats, who repudiated much of the party's past, the Democrats lost majorities in both chambers of the Congress, major governorships and important state legislatures. A majority of Democrats preferred as Presidential candidate either Representative Gephardt (close to the unions) or Governor Dean (for his opposition to the war.) Instead they settled for Senator Kerry, who loudly announces "I am not a redistributionist" and whose position on Iraq is obscured by the fog of war. . The party is not a membership party, but an unstable assemblage of state political machines, of interest groups, and of donors. . It is ideologically divided, between the heirs of Franklin Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson, who defend our welfare state, and the New Democrats, who seek even larger compromises with organized capital.

The strength of the American left lies in the organizations which finance campaigns, and mobilize citizens, The unions in the trade union federation AFL CIO are the most important. However, the unions only have some thirteen percent of the labor force (it was once a third). Their weakness is the single largest source of the fragility of an American social democracy. They are losing older workers, as the economy de-industrializes, and have made no compensatory gains amongst service workers or the educated, teachers apart. . Some unionists project new strategies of political mobilization especially amongst the newer immigrants, but have had as yet only moderate success.

The unions' struggle for economic rights is joined by by public interest groups concerned to defend the consumer, protect the environment, regulate unchecked capitalism, and increase political participation by altering our defective electoral procedures. . Much of the struggle is in the Congress, some in the state legislatures, a good deal in constitutional and statutory argument before the courts. The arcane nature of the politicization of the judicial process, and the fragmentation of legislative politics, makes the development of a common strategy very difficult. The diffuse distrust of American capital in the society has not been successfully exploited by the left---the more so as capital's representatives are so well installed in the Democratic party itself.

"two Americas.") If the Kerry campaign has a new social vision, it is a very well kept secret. Should he win, the left will have to fight to obtain concessions from a new government led by representatives of the international sectors of American capitalism---and proponents of "strength" in foreign policy.

The standard of living for ordinary Americans has declined in the past quarter of a century. The ephemeral Clinton gains in national income did not go to social investment but mostly to the prosperous Americans who instruct the Europeans on the defects of their social model. The enduring accomplishment of the party of reform in the US since the Great Society remain legally enforced rights for ethnic and racial minorities and for women. That struggle, a large part of which has been concentrated in the courts, is now extending to the problem of rights for homosexuals. The white working class votes against its economic interests, owing to the threats to its privileges re blacks and Latinos, and women.. Now the Republicans are using revulsion for homosexuality as a political issue.

There is a general question about the American left. To what extent does it struggle (against the entrenched ideology of capital) for a reconstruction of American society. To what extent has it accepted permanent defeat ---and is organized to defend its geocultural enclaves and specific interests in a perpetual insurgency?

Certainly, it is audible and visible beyond the omnipresent Michael Moore. The Dean campaign used internet mobilization to bring together activists at local levels. Parts of the publishing industry are open, the weekly The Nation is influential, and research centers, like the Institute for Policy Studies and the Economic Policy Institute oppose the technocratic servitude of the universities. There is a large segment of "liberal" opinion which is potentially available for new coalitions like those of the New Deal and the Great Society..

How much moral and political substance remains of the currents of radicalism which have began with the American Revolution, and ended with the movement of the sixties? There is evidence of a newer critical sensibility amongst the young --but also evidence of the dominance of careerism in those elites which could join the under-privileged in a new bloc. Above all, unless and until the American nation rises against the imperial party, democracy and prosperity will remain at risk..

One of Europe's gifts to the US, Hannah Arendt, said that the the American Revolution constructed a new realm of freedom. With the fundament of the Republic in disrepair, the active participation of citizens in the public sphere so limited, the American left does indeed seem lost in the past. Given what now fills our time and space, that is a mark of honor---but also a challenge of very large dimensions.

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You may quote me as saying: 'This exposure of corruption, cowardice and incivility of American officers will outrage all friends of your country (such as myself) and greatly comfort your enemies.'

Yours truly,
Evelyn Waugh

¹ Nina Bourne of Simon and Schuster had sent Joseph Heller's first novel to Waugh for comment.

TO ANN FLEMING
23 September [1961]

Combe Florey House.

My Dear Ann

You say 'R.S.V.P.' but give no address. Perhaps someone will forward this.

It is very kind of you to ask me & red nose¹ to Golden Eye. Alas, I fear we shall be on our way home by the time you arrive there. Esmond's bounty [*Daily Mail*] is good for two months rum drinking – not more.

Mrs Kidd's ball was very lavish – nothing remarkable if it had been in Surrey but sensational in Somerset. Two bands, one of niggers & one of buggers, a cabaret, an oyster bar in the harness room, stables flood lit, much to discomfort of the horses. One bit an American pornographer² who tried to give it vodka.

Mrs Kidd (calling herself the Hon. Mrs Edward Kidd, which of course she isn't) announced in *The Times* the names of those who gave dinner parties. She included Lord Hinchinbrooke³ who came with one daughter & a young man, Lady Colyton⁴ who wasn't there, and a man named Duncan⁵ who was complaining bitterly that he had had no dinner at all having just arrived by train to stay with Mrs Kidd. A neighbouring prep school master had put up 12 total strangers but his name was not included. There was a great surplus of women. At one stage of the evening I found myself like the jeune premier of an old fashioned musical comedy with ten rather pretty girls surrounding me.

I had never before met Lady Jean Campbell⁶ and was fascinated. She came to us next day bringing the bitten pornographer. He might have stepped straight from your salon – a swarthy gangster just out of a mad house where he had been sent after the attempt to cut his wife's throat.⁷ It is his first visit to England. His tour is Janet Kidd, Randolph, Ian Argyll. He will be able to write a revealing pornogram of English life.

Your protégé Angus Wilson has written an admirable novel⁸ which the reviewers have all abused.

I was faced with having to abandon writing because the people who made Relief nibs have taken to making them in a new way. But I have found a cache of nearly 500 of the old stock which should last me ten years. After that time I shall be blind and palsied & reduced to dictation.

Mrs Whistler Morgan⁹ wrote me a jolly decent letter.

Harriet has returned from Beirut and is now on our hands. Rather pretty, full of energy, quite mindless. What can be done with her? I wish you could find a

solution. In happier days she could have been sent to Malta to marry a sailor. Diana has weakened in her readiness to accept a companion. She (Hatty) is a good girl with no aptitudes.

Meg is here completing the biography of her sainted ancestor Philip Howard.¹⁰ I am beginning to frighten her with tales of snakes, stingray, pirai, bêtes rouges and other denizens of the Guianas.

Your affec. cousin
Evelyn

¹ Margaret.

² Norman Mailer (1923–). American writer. Married to Lady Jeanne Campbell 1962–3. His books at this time included *The Naked and the Dead*, 1948, and *Advertisements for Myself*, 1959.

³ Viscount Hinchinbrooke (1906–). Succeeded as Earl of Sandwich in 1962, disclaimed the title in 1964.

⁴ Barbara Bart married first Charles Addams, the *New Yorker* cartoonist, and in 1956 Lord Colyton, who as Henry Hopkinson had been Conservative MP for Taunton, Waugh's constituency, 1950–6.

⁵ Ronald Duncan (1914–). Writer.

⁶ Lady Jeanne Campbell (1928–). Daughter of Mrs Kidd and her first husband, the Duke of Argyll.

⁷ Norman Mailer comments: 'The horse did bite me on the finger but I was not feeding him vodka, just patting his nose. . . . I did not cut my wife's throat. . . . Jean Campbell asked me what I thought of him [Waugh] and I said "Lots of fun. Much sweeter to me than I expected".'

⁸ *The Old Men at the Zoo*, 1961.

⁹ Fionn O'Neill married John Morgan, a diplomat, that year.

¹⁰ Philip Howard, died 1955 in the Tower of London. The pamphlet was published by the office of vice-postulation.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SPECTATOR
13 October [1961]

Combe Florey House.

OLD MEN AT THE ZOO

Sir, – Can you find space for a second opinion on Mr Angus Wilson's latest novel, *Old Men at the Zoo*? I read the book with keen delight and admiration and have since been dismayed by the reviews I have seen, of which Mr. John Mortimer's¹ in your columns is typical. I have only the most shadowy personal acquaintance with Mr. Wilson and none at all with his publishers. My only motive in writing to you is the fear that the public may be discouraged from reading what seems to me a very fine book.

Your readers have already been given some indication of the plot. Few critics, including your own, seem to have appreciated the technical achievement of its intricate structure. There are not so many master craftsmen among the post-war novelists that we can afford to neglect them. I have always admired Mr. Wilson's skill, but hitherto with certain reservations of sympathy and suspensions of credulity. As Mr. Mortimer remarks, he has described 'a small and creepy world.' It should be an occasion for rejoicing that he has now chosen a larger and (to me) more

DERRICK Z. JACKSON

Raging bulls on Wall Street

A bull market in a china closet. You could not tell that by reading only the first words of the stories about the Dow closing above 10,000 for the first time on Monday.

The Wall Street Journal said 10,000 symbolized "the astonishing success and giddy exuberance of the US economy this decade." The New York Times said, "The Dow achieved a perfect 10 yesterday. Thousand, that is," reflecting "the unparalleled strength of the economy and the dominance of the world economic stage by American corporations."

The Washington Post said the Dow underscored "the optimism of new investors dazzled by the high-tech boom and the nation's robust economy." The Boston Globe said it highlighted "a remarkable period of economic growth in the nation." The Los Angeles Times said it was a "major milestone in a 17-year bull market fueled by - and now perhaps fueling - the best US economy in a generation."

You have to go deeper into the stories to see that someone's fuel is someone else's fumes, or that some dishes are falling. The Post cited a "performance gap," in which the 30 blue-chip stocks of giant corporations in the Dow Jones industrial average had risen in the past year by 8.99 percent, while the Russell 2000 index of small stocks had fallen 5.26 percent.

"The underpinnings of the market are slowly getting whittled away," said Mark Arbeter, chief technical analyst at Standard & Poor's. Thomas O'Neill, chief investment officer of Fleet Financial Group, said that unless the market shows a more uniform growth, "it won't be a healthy long-term condition."

The same can be said about the human condition. This week, United for a Fair Economy, a Boston-based organization that tracks income and wealth trends in the United States, released a report showing that the boom has enriched only the top 5 percent of households in America. An astounding 95 percent of households have seen a decline in net worth.

The report, "Shifting Fortunes: The Perils of the Growing American Wealth Gap," found that between 1983 and 1995, the richest 1 percent of households saw a rise in net worth of 17.4 percent, adjusted for inflation. The top 2 to 5 percent of households saw a rise in net worth of half a percent.

The households that would rank in the top 91st to 95th percentiles of wealth saw a drop of 2.3 percent in net worth. The households that would rank in the top 81st to 90th percentiles saw a drop of 5.3 percent. The households that would place in the 61st to 80th percentiles fell by 6.5 percent.

Then the dishes really break into pieces. The households that would rank in the 41st through 60th percentiles fell 11.5 percent in net worth. The bottom 40 percent of American households saw a collapse of 79.6 percent in net worth.

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The richest 1 percent of US households now hoard 40.1 percent of America's wealth. That is double the 19.9 percent of wealth the top 1 percent held in 1976.

The reasons are many. Weekly wages for the average American are 12 percent below their inflation-adjusted levels of 1973. Middle-income families are putting in the equivalent of eight weeks more on the job than in 1979. But over the last decade the real pay for the extra hours comes to \$2.20 an hour.

Without a strong return on their labor, Americans are saving less to keep up with costs that have risen way beyond inflation for housing and college. Americans saved only 0.5 percent of their income last year, compared to 8.6 percent in 1984.

Americans are falling deeper into debt to purchase cars and other big-ticket items. Debt as a percentage of personal income has risen from 29.9 percent in 1949 to an estimated 84.8 percent in 1997. Credit card debt in the United States has more than doubled in the last decade, from \$243 billion to \$560 billion.

The poor bear the heaviest burden of credit cards. In 1995, 27 percent of families with incomes under \$10,000 had bills that rose above 40 percent of their incomes. Less than 5 percent of families making more than \$50,000 had such a burden.

The wealth gap is so huge that Lester Thurow, professor at the MIT Sloan School of Management, who wrote a foreword for the report, said: "The great American middle class has become a nonparticipant in the American dream." It is so huge that the report concludes that serious measures have to be taken to address it, such as wealth taxation, capping corporate tax deductions, and stronger taxes for estates and capital gains.

It is so huge that this bull needs a tranquilizer to save the china closet. Ralph Acampora, chief strategist at Prudential Securities, bragged that 10,000 is "no longer a ceiling. It's a floor. As time goes by, we'll be looking down at it."

And looking down at the debt-ridden masses who are searching on the floor to pick up the pieces of their broken plates. If investors could put aside their giddy exuberance for a moment, it might be worth considering that the last time the top 1 percent of Americans had this much wealth was in 1929, just before the crash of Wall Street and the Great Depression.

Derrick Z. Jackson is a Globe columnist.

ESALEN INSTITUTE
SOVIET-AMERICAN EXCHANGE PROGRAM

WRITERS EXCHANGE

Proposal

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Executive Summary

In July 1986, the USSR Union of Writers, a powerful union composed of over ten thousand authors, critics and publishers, signed an agreement with the Esalen Institute Soviet-American Exchange Program for reciprocal exchanges of writers and for joint publishing projects. This agreement, the only one of its kind signed with a private American organization, establishes a program of cultural exchange which could significantly increase mutual understanding and stimulate the publication and creation of major literary works.

General Secretary Gorbachev's policy of "glasnost" (openness) makes the timing of this agreement particularly promising. It is our intent to make the best of contemporary Soviet literature popular in the United States for the first time, as well as to open up dialogues in which participants can identify the role they, as writers, can play in improving Soviet-American relations.

This three-year proposal seeks funding for:

- * A visit to the United States by Vladimir Karpov, Chief Executive and Secretary of the USSR Union of Writers
- * Identification, translation and arrangement for effective commercial publication of major new Soviet literary works likely to have critical and popular success in the United States
- * Completion of several pilot projects:
 - 1) an anthology of Soviet and American short stories
 - 2) A book by Soviet and American social forecasters and political thinkers on Soviet and American cooperation on the Threshold of the 21st Century
 - 3) The creation of a Poets-in-Residence Workshop at Esalen Institute
 - 4) A joint book project by Soviet and American children
- * Creation and implementation of a public relations program
- * Planning trips to Moscow for Project Directors

Budget for year one: \$ 80,160.00

Budget for year two: \$141,375.00

Budget for year three: \$114,275.00

Total budget request: \$335,810.00

I. Background

In July 1986, at an invitational conference at Esalen Institute, Big Sur, an agreement was signed between the USSR Union of Writers and the Esalen Institute Soviet-American Exchange Program to sponsor an exchange of Soviet and American writers in order to promote greater understanding of each nation's literature, social life and artistic visions, as well as for joint publishing projects.

Because this is the only such agreement signed by the Union of Writers with a private American organization, it offers Esalen a unique opportunity to work collaboratively with our colleagues in the Soviet literary community. As part of the agreement, we plan to promote the publication of Soviet writing in the United States. The Soviets have promised to continue their efforts to enhance interest in new American authors in the Soviet Union. (See copy of agreement, Appendix A.)

II. Visit to the United States by Vladimir Karpov, Secretary of the USSR Union of Writers

As a first step toward fulfilling of the goals of our agreement, the Exchange Program will host Vladimir Karpov, newly appointed First Secretary of the USSR Union of Writers, on his first official visit to the United States in December 1987. The fact that Secretary Karpov has accepted our invitation indicates the optimism with which the Union of Writers views our reciprocal agreement and its willingness to work with us toward implementing its goals.

Our two primary objectives in this endeavor are: 1) to establish long-term relationships between Soviet and American authors, editors and publishers; and 2) to create a place in the American literary market where Soviet literature can obtain a long absent and much-deserved following. It is our belief that General Secretary Gorbachev's new policy of glasnost will make it possible to discover great Soviet writers, both past and present. We see this visit by Secretary Karpov to be a first and vital step toward accomplishing these goals.

We are planning introductory meetings for Secretary Karpov with well-known authors, editors and publishers in New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco to discuss ways in which Soviets and Americans in the literary world can work together to encourage understanding. Secretary Karpov will meet with authors who are potential contributors to our proposed anthology of Soviet and American short stories, as well as with publishers interested in making Soviet literature more available to the American public.

Some of the writers we hope to involve actively as advisers and patrons of the project include: James Baldwin, Saul Bellow, Betty Friedan, John Irving, Norman Mailer, Arthur Miller, John Updike, Peter Ustinov and Kurt Vonnegut. Some of these authors helped host the July 1986 delegation of Soviet writers. (See newspaper article, Appendix B.)

Planning Trip

In July 1987, Project Director Michael Murphy, Co-Director Stuart Miller, Exchange Program Co-Founder Dulce Murphy, and Exchange Program Executive Director Jim Garrison will travel to Moscow to meet with officials at the Union of Writers to make preliminary plans for Secretary Karpov's visit. During this visit they will engage Soviet literary officials and experts in the process of identifying some of the major literary works previously suppressed and now available as a result of glasnost. We will also be searching for important new works in progress.

The American delegation will bring with them short stories written by American authors proposed for the "Perspectives" anthology and while there, review potential Soviet contributions presented by the Union of Writers. The delegation will meet with a number of Soviet writers to discuss their hopes and expectations for the collection and the events to follow its publication. Two proposed follow-up events are a public speaking tour by American and Soviet writers, and a spacebridge (live satellite link-up) joining the USSR Union of Writers and a coalition of American writers organizations. Finally, the American delegation to Moscow will establish preliminary mechanisms for selecting Soviet and American participants to the Poets-in-Residence Workshop as well as making necessary arrangements for the children's book project.

A second planning trip will take place in year two where Project Directors will meet with officials of the USSR Union of Writers as well as officials from the USSR Ministry of Printing, Publishing and Book Trade (Goskomizdat) to begin discussions about publishing our joint works.

III. Identification, Translation and Publication of Soviet Literature

Writers of all countries have exceptional power to alter public opinion. Under the policy of glasnost, decades of Soviet literature, previously unpublished, is becoming available for the first time. In addition, the new atmosphere has moved a number of commentators, including poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, to predict a "literary renaissance" in Soviet writing. During past periods when the Soviet government relaxed controls on expression, as in the Kruchshev era, a number of major Soviet writers emerged, including Yevtushenko and Solzhenitsen. Esalen's agreement with the Union of Writers gives us an extraordinary chance to uncover potentially great literary works already completed, as well as those in progress, and introduce them to the American public.

To take advantage of this historic opportunity, we will enlist the help of our Soviet colleagues in identifying and translating these manuscripts. American publishers and experts on Soviet literature will also help us, including Nina Bouis, American translator of Yevtushenko. There will be eight phases toward implementing the ultimate goal of publishing these new Soviet literary works:

- 1) Search for the highest quality Soviet manuscripts with potential international literary interest
- 2) Preliminary translation into English of selected manuscripts

- 3) Review of texts and selection by United States experts on Soviet literature, American literary critics and publishers
- 4) Commissioning of final, literary translation of a second selection of texts from the original group of manuscripts
- 5) Arrangement with commercial publishers to produce a program of important new Soviet literature in English translation
- 6) Editing of translations
- 7) Publication of the translations
- 8) Creation and implementation of a public relations program to make sure that the new publications get full attention of the public, including the literary community.

The last phase will require enlisting the help of major American literary figures as well as setting up a spacebridge to focus full public attention on the importance of this literary event.

The first year of this Writers Exchange Project includes the first three phases of the proposal; phases four through six are included in year two and phases seven and eight in year three.

IV. Pilot Projects

A. Fiction: Perspectives on the 80s

At the invitational conference which led to the agreement between Esalen and the Union of Writers, a pilot project was initiated; namely a collection of short stories by contemporary Soviet and American authors. The anthology, provisionally entitled "Perspectives: Soviet and American Authors Look at Life in the 80s" will consist of stories by ten younger American and Soviet authors varying in style, social and economic background and geographic locale. These diverse portrayals of how we live can persuade us to re-examine our values and perspectives of each other and help create a more accurate and complementary vision of the world we share. A list of potential contributors is being composed by Soviet and American experts. Preliminary choices are listed in Appendix C.

A primary goal of these projects is to facilitate the beginning of a long-term relationship between the contributing writers with the ultimate aim of increasing the number of writers committed to furthering Soviet-American relations. Part of the book preparation will include a trip by the American contributors to the Soviet Union to meet and work with their Soviet counterparts.

We are encouraged to publish this collection after reading in Harpers magazine (March 1986) of the renewed popularity and commercial viability of short story collections and feel confident that we will now be able to reach a broader section of the public. After publication, a lecture tour by some of the contributors will take place in order to bring attention to the scope and purpose of the book.

Phase I of this proposal seeks funding for completion of the pilot project, to finish identifying Soviet and American authors whose work will

appear in the volume and to coordinate the completion of the manuscript. Publication will take place in the second stage of this proposal. Experience gained in doing this pilot project will be invaluable for the completion of the larger program of translating and publishing described in the previous section.

B. Non-Fiction: Soviet and American Cooperation on the Threshold of the 21st Century

In November 1986, hosted by the USSR Union of Writers, Jim Garrison and Dulce Murphy accompanied by John Naisbitt, author of Megatrends, Patricia Aburdene with whom Naisbitt wrote Re-inventing the Corporation, and Jay Ogilvy, Former Director of the Lifestyles and Values Program at SRI International and co-author of Seven Tomorrows went to Moscow for a series of meetings with their Soviet counterparts.

Among the Soviets they met with were: Academician Abel Aganbegyan, Gorbachev's chief economic adviser; Igor Bestuzhev-Lada, Director of the Institute for Social Forecasting, USSR Academy of Sciences; Fyodor Burlotsky, an aide and speechwriter to General Secretary Krushchev, who currently serves as a political observer to the Literaturnaya Gazette; Ivan Frolov, editor-in-chief of Kommunist, the leading theoretical journal of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU); Fyodor Shakhnazarov, Section Chief for the Socialist Countries of the Central Committee of the CPSU; and Vadim Zagladin, First Deputy of the International Affairs Section of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The dominant theme of the discussions was the "new thinking" initiated by General Secretary Gorbachev. At the domestic level this means reforming and decentralizing the economy and allowing for increased cultural and political freedom of expression while tightening controls on corruption and alcoholism. At the international level the "new thinking" involves a recognition that nuclear technology has made the community of nations fundamentally interdependent whatever their political differences.

It was clear from all discussions held that change, not stability, was the new order of the day at home and conciliation, not confrontation, the policy abroad. It was also made clear that the domestic and foreign policies were interconnected and that a new arms race with the United States would seriously jeopardize Gorbachev's plans for economic and political reform.

The message of the American authors was that in order for Gorbachev's reforms to succeed, the Soviets must learn the techniques involved in the management of change to the same degree that the techniques for the management of stability have been developed since 1917. Patricia Aburdene, Jay Ogilvy, and John Naisbitt expressed the willingness to begin a long term collaboration with the architects of Soviet reform concerning organizational development, social and economic forecasting and the laws and processes of societal transformation.

The American delegation agreed with the Soviet assertion that America's response to Gorbachev's reforms will be crucial to their success or failure. A new escalation of the arms race, for instance, could well condemn the Soviet initiatives to failure. A key part of the collaboration, therefore, is to host some of the key Soviet reformers in the United States so that the

American public and press are given the opportunity to gain a deeper knowledge and appreciation of the complex task faced by the Soviet leadership.

Even though all were individuals holding high government positions, the above mentioned Soviets expressed willingness to contribute to a book, Soviet-American Cooperation on the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century, and to travel to the United States in 1987 for discussions with American counterparts.

In March 1987, Jim Garrison traveled to the Soviet Union and was able to hold follow-up conversations with Ivan Frolov and Vadim Zagladin. Both expressed a keen interest in the collaboration, and Frolov accepted an invitation to travel to the United States in late October 1987 as a guest of Esalen Institute and the Telluride Institute (which is headed by Aburdene and Naishbitt). As the editor of Kommunist, Frolov is uniquely placed to articulate the ideological and philosophical bases of Gorbachev's reforms. He is particularly interested as a social scientist in what he calls the "new humanism" in the Soviet Union, the emphasis being placed on social and consumer needs and the value of art and culture in the development of Soviet society.

Hosting Frolov in the United States will allow for a broad range of Americans to meet with someone who is not only close to Gorbachev, but also empathetic to the human issues that are often overlooked in times of great social change. His itinerary will include meetings in Washington, DC and San Francisco with other contributors to the manuscript. There will also be meetings at the Institute for Policy Studies, the Institute for Contemporary Studies, University of California at Berkeley, Stanford University and the World Affairs Council, among others. Funding for his trip is being sought from other sources and is not included in this proposal.

C. Poetry: Poets-in-Residence

One component of the signed agreement provides for the creation of an ongoing residential poets workshop at Esalen Institute, Big Sur. Soviet and American poets would work closely with one another to improve their understanding of each other's work as well as the literature of each other's country. The workshops would begin with three Americans and three Soviets. It is our hope that these poets-in-residence programs will generate new relationships which may have the potential to influence our understanding of each other's culture and people. We plan to publish a collection of works created at these workshops.

Expenses while at Esalen Institute, Big Sur will be met by an in-kind contribution by the Institute.

At the end of the month-long workshop, a public speaking tour by the participants will take place in order to share the vision with other writers and students around the United States.

Advisers to the Writers-in-Residence Program as well as to the other aspects of our Writers Exchange include Olga Carlisle, prominent writer and author of Voices in the Snow; Vera Dunham, Ph.D., Professor of Slavic Languages at Queens College, City University of New York, and a senior Fellow at the W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, Columbia University; Maurice Friedberg, Director of the Department of Slavic

Languages and Literature at the University of Illinois, Urbana; Paul Pozner, Ph.D., Research Scientist at the Institute of Asian Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences; and Jonathan Sanders, Associate Director of the W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union.

D. Soviet-American Children's Book

One of the most innovative ideas to stem from the discussions at Esalen Institute is a book of Soviet and American children's stories. What makes this particularly exciting is that the book would be written and illustrated by children aged 8-12. We believe such a project could serve not only as an exceptional educational vehicle, but also as a statement about the importance of friendship between nations. In the same way that Samantha Smith brought Soviet children into the hearts and lives of both American children and adults, we believe this joint project would carry an important message to the citizens of each nation, regardless of age.

We are approaching Dr. Seuss, the legendary author of children's books, for his help and advice and are hoping he will write the foreword of the book. After publication, we envision bringing the children together via satellite as part of the writers spacebridge previously mentioned.

IV. Creation and Implementation of Public Relations Campaign

The purpose of these pilot projects is to begin long-term relationships between writers in the fields of fiction, non-fiction and poetry. Each project calls for 1) collaboration on a manuscript; 2) traveling to each other's countries as part of the preparation of the books; and 3) engaging in joint lecture tours at the publication of the books. We believe that this approach will not only allow for better quality books, but also for the development of personal relationships which can endure the vicissitudes of government relations.

A major purpose of the entire project is to make Soviet literature popular both with the public and the literary community. To this end, once publication of these pilot projects and major literary works has taken place, we will engage in an extensive public relations campaign using the services of a specialist to ensure that they are brought to the full attention of the public and the literary community. Radio, television, print media and spacebridge coverage will be arranged to acquaint the American people with and enhance their appreciation of Soviet literature.

POSSIBLE AMERICAN SHORT STORY WRITERS

Max Apple, 1941, Michigan

Professor and member of PEN, he "takes American obsessions and fads, myths and habits and explodes them into ingenious symbols of a life all their own" (Celia Betaky, Saturday Review). Author of two collections The Oranging of America and his recent Free Agents. His stories mimic peculiarly American aspirations in matters as grave as economics, politics and literature. "A friendly critic of American culture", "Fantasy and humor free of malice or aggression." Satirist.

Ann Beattie, 1947, Washington D.C.

Author of 3 short story collections including Distortions and The Burning Bed, and a number of novels including Chilly Scenes of Winter and Falling in Place. Called a chronicler of the 60s generation, she often writes about "Yuppies", people who came of age in the 60s and are disillusioned in the 70s and 80s; well-educated, middle class Wasps in New England. Faded idealism.

Raymond Carver, 1938, Oregon

Author of three short story collections: Cathedral, What We Talk About When We Talk About Love, and Will You Please Be Quiet, Please. His stories take place mostly in the Pacific Northwest. Characters are low/middle class, blue collar (waitresses, mechanics, postmen...) He writes about "the desperation of ordinary people", strong American literary traditions. He is often compared with Chekov and considered to be possibly the best American short story writer today.

Laurie Colwin, 1945, New York

Author of three novels including Happy All the Time, and Another Marvelous Thing, and two short story collections including The Lone Pilgrim. She writes about "New Yorkerish" people: talented, reasonable, attractive, stable, with money, having genteel professions; a world of manners and morals, love and marriage. "Focuses on the lives of smart, successful professionals in a city which makes privacy difficult and therefore precious". "Troublesome trials of the heart." Very entertaining writing with moral passion.

Andre Dubus, 1936, Louisiana

Author of a number of novels and collections including We Don't Live Here Anymore and Finding a Girl in America. Formerly a Marine Lieutenant, explores the "strange mingling of contemporary currents: what happens to human verities in a consumer economy and playboy culture". Describes loneliness and isolation between people in modern society. Also compared to Chekov.

Mark Helprin, 1947

Author of two short story collections, A Dove of the East and other Tales, Ellis Island and other Tales, and a novel Winters Tale. The son of emigres, he writes of common moral concerns. His stories are pervaded with love - of men and women, landscapes, physical beauty; "power of imagination, rich texture, delicate and economic style."

Bobbie Ann Mason, 1940, Kentucky

"A rising young voice in Southern literature, a full-fledged master of the short story" (Ann Tyler). A regional literature that describes people and places almost unimaginably different from ourselves and the big cities in which we live. Writes about the working class and farm people. Portrays the "disquieted lives of men and women not blessed with much money or education or

luck, but cursed with enough sensitivity and imagination to suffer regrets." Author of the acclaimed collection Shiloh and other stories and the novel In Country. Winner of the PEN/Faulkner Award for First Fiction.

Jay McInerney, 1955

One of the most popular new novelists, he writes about today's "disillusioned youth"; life in the fast lane and coming to terms with the breakdown of illusion. Author of the best-selling Bright Lights, Big City.

Jayne Ann Phillips, 1952 West Virginia

Author of the acclaimed collection Black Thickets and the novel Machine Dreams, she explores the darkside of life, the "banality of horror and the horror of the banal through her examination of sex, violence, innocence, loneliness, madness, love and lovelessness, failure at communicating and feeling.

Ann Tyler, 1941, Minnesota

Member of PEN and the Author's Guild is considered to be one of America's best writers. Often compared with Flannery O'Connor, Carson McCullers and Eudora Welty, she writes with a southern flare and insight into the lives of ordinary people; strong women grounded in traditional roles. Author of over nine books, she is best known for the award winning Dinner at the Homesick Restaurant and her most recent book The Accidental Tourist. She was also a Russian major at Columbia University.

John Edgar Wideman, 1941 Washington, DC

"The black Faulkner, the soft cover Shakespeare", he was winner of the 1984 PEN/Faulkner award (over William Kennedy and Bernard Malamud) for his Sent for you Yesterday. Rhodes Scholar studied at Oxford and writes about black urban experiences. "Uses a narrative laced with myth, superstition and dream sequences to create an elaborate poetic portrait of the lives of ordinary black people." "One of America's premier writers of fiction" (Edwin McDowell, New York Times)

Tobias Wolff, 1945, Alabama

Graduate of Oxford and Stanford and winner of an O. Henry Award, he is author of the collection In the Garden of the North American Martyrs. His stories often take place in the Pacific Northwest. He writes moral stories about what is central in the lives of men and women; people living with the questions of how to be loved, how to be true, how to be brave.

others

T. Coraghessan Boyle

Surrealist, whimsical themes

Stuart Dybek, 1942, Chicago

Writes about urban life in Chicago

Richard Ford 1944, Mississippi

Author of three novels including the widely acclaimed Sportswriter

Amy Hempel,

One of the "new" and acclaimed young writers; author of the collection Reason to Live

David Leavitt, 1961, Palo Alto, California

Author of Family Dancing, writers about modern family relationships and gay themes.

Andrea Lee, 1953

Staff writer for The New Yorker, published Russian Journal after spending a year in the Soviet Union.

Thomas McGuane, 1939, Michigan

Author of many novels, screenplays, essays and short stories.

James Alan McPhearson, 1943, Georgia

One of the most acclaimed black authors of the 60s and 70s. Author of the award winning Elbow Room.

Bob Shacochis

Writes about men's issues; shared the 1986 American Book Award

Alice Walker, 1944

Best-known black woman author; author of The Color Purple

Joy Williams, 1942, Maine

Author of two novels, State of Grace and The Changling, and a short story collection Taking Care



SURVIVING TOGETHER

An Update on Soviet-American Relations

Issued periodically by the Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL)
and the Institute for Soviet-American Relations (ISAR)

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A Message from Harriett Crosby

In his first six months as General Secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev has initiated some major changes, bringing in a younger generation of leadership and getting rid of some of the old guard. Not only is he cracking down on alcoholism, absenteeism, corruption and sloth, but he is challenging his own people with a deep restructuring of society. "We feel that everyone everywhere in the Soviet Union must change all of their work styles. That goes for all of us here and down at the regional levels and down at the worker collective level. Everyone has got to restructure things, restyle his whole way of working and thinking. This will require a great deal of work within the party and within the entire population" (Time Magazine, Sept. 9, 1985).

The Time magazine interview with Mikhail Gorbachev conveyed a positive image of this vigorous new leader. It is a monumental task he has undertaken to restructure and revitalize his society. He has begun a process of transformation that may bring new life to his country; a process that Americans can contribute to in small, yet constructive ways. His evocation of the spirit of initiative and enterprise and his reference to the philosophy of "live and let live" is impressive, and Americans are anxious to see how he applies these values. Will there be a change in the treatment of Soviet citizens who criticize their government or those who have asked to leave? Will Soviets who are married to Americans be permitted to leave and join their spouses? Many Americans are now watching very closely to see how he treats his own people, how compassionate he is toward those who think differently. A few acts of tolerance and compassion would help Russia's image considerably. Gorbachev's tolerance of diversity and creativity will be a real indication of his judgment of how quickly his country can mobilize and begin to move forward. The Party Congress in February will give a clear indication of what Gorbachev has been able to do. In this journal, you will find a whole section on changes that have recently taken place in the USSR.

It is a challenge for Americans to see ways that we can participate in the transformation of the USSR by working with our Soviet colleagues. We can help them in some of the problems they face and they can help us in ours. By showing where breakthroughs are taking place and where openings into Soviet society are welcomed, we hope to provide new ways of thinking about how Americans can contribute to the evolution that is taking place in the USSR. Citizen diplomats have tried new approaches and taken initiatives, some of which are of interest to our government officials. Like entrepreneurs in business, they have taken risks to create new ways of doing things with their Soviet counterparts.

Citizen diplomacy grows out of the strongest and deepest roots of the American tradition and is right in keeping with the spirit of the Founding Fathers. They all recognized the value of pluralism, freedom of expression and liberating the creative potential of each individual. They acted in the belief that well-informed people would make the right decisions and do the right thing. They had confidence that a free people would identify and solve its problems through individual initiative. They could see that a society thrives on the diversity and multiplicity of individual freedoms. The dynamic vitality of the American melting pot has always been open to fresh influences and has, in turn, influenced the rest of the world.

Now American citizens are taking this fresh, inquiring spirit and the entrepreneurial ingenuity that has made America great, over to the Soviet Union and have begun to engage Soviets from a broad spectrum of professions in working relationships and mutually beneficial programs. The diversity and range of these creative initiatives by private citizens to supplement and complement governmental relations are broadening and strengthening the base of Soviet-American relations. The purpose is to stabilize and to normalize relations between our nations and create a framework of cooperation rooted in the social fabric of each society. This can't happen overnight, but over years, and can be seen only in the quiet commitment of individuals devoting themselves to this work of building bridges. The phenomenon of citizen diplomacy seems to represent a new form of social expression, and these people are creating a social context for a different kind of relationship with the Soviet Union.

Most Americans are aware of the nuclear danger and threat of species extinction. Increasing numbers of Americans are working in gentle, persistent ways to bring our societies together. There are many constructive and responsible common endeavors going on quietly behind the scenes. They are not world-shaking and they do not make the headlines. They are simply the results of decent, thoughtful, hard-working American citizens who are responding to the challenge of the nuclear age and reaching out to make contact and build relationships with their Soviet counterparts. As these connections, exchanges and bridges multiply and come to be the norm in both societies, people are building a social foundation for improved relations with the Soviet Union.

These cooperative projects take many forms: In this issue are reports of two joint Soviet-American mountaineering expeditions which occurred this last summer, both of which reached their summits. William Garner and Randy Starrett became the first non-Soviet Snow Leopards as they reached the peak of Pik Pobedy, climbing with their Soviet counterparts, p. 21. On page 20, the US/USSR Youth Exchange Program announces that on August 3, 1985, a team of Soviet and American youth climbed together to the summit of Mount Elbrus, Europe's highest peak (18,841 feet) located in the Caucasus Mountains. Several Congressional delegations have been in the USSR and more are on the way. An official agreement on cooperation in agriculture has been signed and has gone into effect. Many American book publishers and distributors were represented at the Moscow International Book Fair, including the Association of American Publishers, Esalen Institute Health Promotion Project, and Soviet-American Book Exchange. American astronauts and Soviet cosmonauts met in France with space explorers from 12 other countries in October, p. 26. Soviets participated in the Live Aid concert for hunger in Africa with Vladimir Posner and Soviet rock band Autograph, p. 32.

Some people think of the Soviet Union as a rigid, unchanging, monolithic nation, and as a closed society. To some extent this is true, but there are pluralizing forces within the USSR that are promoting interaction, dialogue and trade with the Western world. There are also isolationists and those who want to control all contact with the outside world. While control is maintained, some think that the Soviet Union is not as closed as it used to be. Every exchange, every space bridge, every dialogue, official or unofficial, opens the fabric of Soviet society up a bit. This journal is a testament to the fact that there are pluralistic forces in the USSR that seek out interaction, contact and communication with the West.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES OF CITIZEN DIPLOMACY

James L. Hickman and Dr. James A. Garrison, Jr.

[excerpted from Private Diplomacy with the Soviet Union, published by the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University]

Numerous private citizens and organizations have begun to incorporate international diplomacy into their sense of personal responsibility. They have become diplomats but not in a way that undercuts government diplomacy. Citizen diplomacy is meant to be complementary to government diplomacy; its objective is to create a supportive structure for government action.

What is particularly innovative about these citizen diplomats is that their activities cover the whole spectrum of issues and concerns. Esalen Institute's Soviet-American Exchange Program, for instance, evolved out of the human potential movement. Contacts with like-minded colleagues in the Soviet Union generated numerous contacts, initially in the fields of psychical research and exceptional human performance but then increasingly in areas as diverse as astronaut-cosmonaut dialogues, health promotion, satellite communication, entertainment, and the political psychology of Soviet-American relations.

The initiatives of citizen diplomacy are directly linked into the psychology of the nuclear era that compels us to explore creative solutions in the midst of traditional antagonisms. It is the challenge of citizen diplomacy to change the symbiotic relationship between the leader and the led by seeing international relations as an area where personal initiative can bring positive results. By engaging Soviets and Americans in endeavors which not only bring them together as equals but in a way that benefits both sides, citizen diplomacy can create the type of psychological context in which governments can be empowered to define national security as not only a defense of national interests but also as an integration of national interests.

A major difference in our societies is described by anthropologist Edward Hall, who divides cultures into high context and low context types. Americans are a very low context society. To Americans, what is being said is more important than the larger context in which the message is being sent and received. Americans emphasize specificity of content, and because they are relatively unconcerned about context, they value the qualities of honesty, flexibility and initiative. When confronted by a complex problem, Americans tend to break it down into its component parts.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, is a very high context culture. For Soviets, the setting in which a message is sent and received is as important as the message. If Americans stress content, Soviets stress context. If Americans seek to break complex problems down, Soviets tend to emphasize the general setting out of which complex problems emerge... Soviets go for the big picture. They emphasize the general over the particular, the sweep of history over the immediate political concerns. The Soviets know how to wait.

To empathize with the Soviet perspective, however, requires high self-esteem, a highly developed sense of personal identity, and a high degree of individual security on the part of the citizen diplomat. With these

psychological traits one is able, even if briefly, to relinquish one's own point of view and see the world through Soviet eyes, secure in the knowledge that this perspective cannot deny nor destroy one's own values. There will always be points where they do not and cannot join. Successful citizen diplomats have been careful not to err, as many American liberals do, by overemphasizing cultural similarities and denying differences, or as many conservatives do, by overemphasizing the differences and denying the similarities. They have discovered that somewhere in the middle lies the ground where Soviets and Americans can come together to meet their mutual long-term objectives without destroying their independent integrities.

This attitude requires a balance between knowing when to yield and knowing when to be firm. The Soviets respect strength and are often disposed to pushing and taking when there is no resistance. Yet if there is a firmness about one's boundaries, about one's self-esteem and discipline, they can respond creatively in ways that are of mutual benefit.

It is important, therefore, for Americans to be Americans, to embody those ideals which for several centuries have characterized this country, namely freedom and equality--ideals which no other country has enjoyed in such bounty. With the Soviets in particular, Americans must not get caught in the spy game which is to deny who they are, but must maintain a posture of honesty, openness and personal security that creates opportunities for new types of interactions. Being an American is not about having enough weapons to destroy the world, but about a way of being in the world which embodies certain human ideals.

Nuclear age diplomacy requires the ability to carry two points of view simultaneously. It requires an ability to comprehend the other point of reference in such a way that enriches one's own ability to deal with that other point of view. This means developing a tolerance for ambiguity which understands both the significant differences that divide Soviets from Americans and the profound similarities that unite Soviets with Americans.

A fundamental component of citizen diplomacy, then, is the need to understand one's own psychology, not only in terms of how one is affected by the outside world, but also how one projects one's inner emotional state and political ideas onto others. It is this commitment on the part of citizen diplomats to both empathize with the Soviet perspective and to take into consideration the emotional and psychological components of human relationships, that has allowed them to approach the Soviets in new areas and in new ways. Citizen diplomats do not fit in the traditional mold; therefore, they cannot be handled in traditional ways by the various Soviet organizations with which they deal.

A key element of this work, then, is having Soviet friends and allies who are both well informed about their system and committed to the vision of joining both countries in some substantial way. With such contacts, preliminary discussions about project ideas can be organized to determine how to achieve agreed upon objectives within the constraints of both systems. It has been important to work in the Soviet Union without violating their laws, their cultural values, or the personal boundaries they observe. The task for citizen diplomats has been to refrain from putting an American cultural overlay on the Soviet bureaucratic system. Citizen diplomats have been willing to be

educated by Soviets about how to deal with the Soviet system in a more constructive way. The goal has been to actualize a vision of human beings working together to move both systems forward creatively.

This combination of empathizing with Soviets without denying one's American loyalties, acknowledging the psychological and emotional components of decision-making, working with Soviets within the constraints of their own system, and developing innovative projects with various ministries and organizations is fundamental. These observations summarize the guiding principles which are emerging from the experience of citizen diplomats and are just beginning to be examined in a systematic way.

Ted Turner's Dream of Global Cooperation

Ted Turner, President of Turner Broadcasting System, continues his efforts to improve global relations. In a recent speech at Duke University, he said:

"Recent trips to Cuba and the Soviet Union have had a tremendous influence on my thinking about global relations. These trips have convinced me that the only way that humanity is going to continue to exist on this planet with our exploding technology is for us to engage in something that only recently has appeared on the horizon as a dream, and that is global cooperation. In my opinion, there is absolutely no other course that we can take. Our very lives depend on it....

"We've made tremendous gains with technology but we haven't been able to generate the same progress in social gains. To a large degree we still do the same sort of political and social thinking that we did two hundred years ago. What we're doing is living with a 19th-century ethic and a 21st-century technology, and I find that very frightening....

"We are brothers, we are all brothers, descendants from the same common stock. Homo erectus appeared in Africa some ten million years ago and slowly spread out all over the planet. We have the same genes. Any male who is healthy can mate with any female on this planet--an Eskimo with the blackest African. Not only will they have a baby, but they will have a beautiful baby! We are, we're brothers, and if we start thinking that way, it's pretty hard to visualize dropping bombs on your brothers. So what do we need bombs for?

"What we have to do as a species is grow up. And now is the time to do it. We have tremendous communications capabilities with our satellites. I'm desperately trying to hook the world together as quickly as possible so that we can share all the information and wisdom of our brilliant scientists and businessmen. I want to help the people who are working hard to improve relations between the two largest and most powerful nations on earth so that when the two of them get together, the rest of the world can come together as well.... We want to...look at the future--not at the past....We need more cultural exchanges, scientific exchanges, satellite exchanges [and] athletic events."

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President Ronald Reagan said of his relationship with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at a Sept. 17 press conference: "It isn't necessary that we love or even like each other. It's only necessary that we are willing to recognize that for the good of the people we represent, on this side of the ocean and over there, that everyone will be better off if we can come to some decisions about the threat of war.

"We're the only two nations in the world, I believe, that can start a world war, and we're the only two that can prevent it. And I think that's a great responsibility to all of mankind, and we'd better take it seriously."

* * *

Senator Paul Simon: "The real problems in the arms control talks are not the technical problems with Pershing IIs and SS-20s and the weapons that we argue about, but the atmosphere, the mood of mistrust."

Multiplicity of Relationships with Chinese

Ending a four-year tour in Peking, Arthur W. Hummel, Jr., the China-born US ambassador to Peking, says he is leaving confident that "an amazing web of relationships" between the United States and China will grow stronger.

"This has profound implications for our defense posture," said Hummel. "As others have said, we no longer need to plan for the possibility of a war with China....The multiplicity of relationships which we have--perhaps the majority of them having nothing to do with the US government--is a genuine stabilizing force and a force which through the decades will produce much better understanding....The combination of the very strong desire of the Chinese for modernization and their almost equally strong desire to have the United States involved in that modernization because of our leading edge in technology and managerial skills has produced an amazing web of relationships." These relationships, he said, include about 14,000 Chinese students studying in the United States and about 2,000 Americans teaching and studying in China. Hummel will be replaced by Winston Lord, 47, who was president of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. [Washington Post, 9/21/85]

New Thinking and New Morality

Andrei Melville, scholar of the Soviet Institute of USA and Canada Studies, speaking on June 19 as part of a Soviet panel at a conference of the International Society of Political Psychology in Washington, D.C., said: "Nuclear weapons have changed the conditions of human existence to such an extent that a totally new code of behavior and new principles of political thinking as well as moral imperatives are needed. Traditional notions, such as peace and war, victory and defeat, superiority and vulnerability, threat and security, balance of power and stability, national and international, class and human, have become meaningless....

"All this is a beginning of a new understanding of common human fate, a sort of holism of the nuclear age, giving priority to the idea of internationalization of national interest and to global human interests and needs....

"It goes without saying that the new political thinking and new morality corresponding to the realities of nuclear age is the hardest political and psychological task."

* * *

In a letter to the editor, *New York Times*, 8/5/85, retired career Foreign Service Officers Maurice Bernbaum, Marshall Green and Armistead M. Lee write of another difficult problem of international communications and suggest the test of role reversal as a solution:

"Our experience as career Foreign Service officers, before our retirement, taught us to keep a low profile and avoid political identification. But we are prompted now to speak out because of our concern with a growing problem, infecting both major political parties and undermining the country's capacity to conduct a responsible and effective foreign policy.

"The fundamental malady lies deeper than its symptoms--such as micromanagement of foreign policy by Congressional subcommittee or the inordinate power of single-issue groups or the apparent dependence on public-opinion polls in the choice of policy options.

"More fundamental has been the growing tendency of government and the citizenry to choose symbolism rather than pragmatism. Measures are adopted solely to 'go on record,' to 'stand up and be counted' or (most commonly) to 'send a message,' and all too often the decision is made without evidence of prior consultation with friends and allies, who to an increasing extent admit their disagreement and leave us in embarrassed isolation. Failure of the policies is often predictable.

"Whether the intended recipients of these communications are in Moscow, Pretoria or capitals of the Middle East or Central America, the message they receive from our symbolic gestures seems invariably to be different from what our leaders thought they were transmitting.

"It is not just a problem of translation. Rather, a long habit of talking to ourselves--of preaching to our domestic galleries--seems to render our leadership incapable of applying the test of role reversal, of asking how we Americans would react if foreign governments treated us the same way.

"If we ever decide that it is better to select options that simply make us feel good, we might start by asking ourselves whether we would be prompted to move more rapidly to correct some social injustice--even one we ourselves recognized as an abuse of human rights--if some foreign government, ignoring its own imperfections, were to impose or threaten economic sanctions unless we met its standards by an announced deadline."

THE LANGUAGE FACTOR IN DEALING WITH THE SOVIETS

by William Shinn, former Consul General, Leningrad, currently Senior Scholar at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic & International Studies

One of the oldest cliches about the Russians is that they will never compromise because they don't have a word for it. This is nonsense. They have a perfectly good word--"kompromiss." True, it is not of Slavic origin. However, the Russians have their own Slavic word for the essential element of a compromise--a concession (ustupka). It is used frequently, not only in international negotiations, but around the house as well. They also have an

expression which means to render a service for a service (usluga za uslugu). The best refutation of this old saw, however, is the simple fact that the Soviets do compromise. While their basic style is to engage in trade-offs (bash-na-bash), they certainly do not shun compromise when they believe the ultimate result will be in their long-term interests.

Another example of a word we say has no Russian equivalent is "detente". Here, the problem is not that the Russians lack an equivalent. The exact meaning is rendered by another perfectly good Slavic word, razryadka. In this case, it's we who don't have a word for detente in the English language.

When it comes to "deterrence," it must be acknowledged that there is a genuine problem. It appears that the original translation of this all-important word into Russian was actually "to frighten" (ustrashat'). The idea was that frightening the other side would "deter" it from taking rash and ill-considered action. As the Soviets became more sophisticated, at least in part due to our tutelage, they began to use another word for deterrence--sderzhivaniye--which was very close to the word for restraint, "sderzhannost'"--a word-concept which acquired significance after the adoption of the Basic Principles of Relations Between States at the first (May 1972) Nixon-Brezhnev summit.

There are numerous examples of words that sound the same in English and Russian but have different meanings. Some of them are quite basic, such as "democracy." According to the Soviet political dictionary, it always bears a class nature and is nothing other than the political form of the "dictatorship of ruling classes." In the definitions the Soviets give to certain words, they are not necessarily trying to be deceitful. Rather, they are simply reflecting the meanings that these words have acquired in the historical process. It is especially misleading to draw grand conclusions from what are no more than linguistic idiosyncracies. No less a figure than Paul Nitze has recently sought to "prove" Soviet designs on the planet by noting the similarity of the Russian word for peace and world--"mir." This is false and misleading. Every language has words with multiple and unrelated meanings. In the case at hand the word in question actually has a third meaning--peasant commune--which, since it does not fit the basic thesis, is conveniently disregarded. For some reason, linguistic theories always seem to center around Russian. Comparatively little, for instance, was made over the second meaning of detente in French, which is the trigger of a gun.

The moral of all this is plain to see. In negotiating with the Russians, we need to have the officers at the negotiating table (not necessarily the heads of delegations) who know the language. There is no intrinsic reason why we should not parley with the Soviets, but it is imperative that we know exactly what they are saying. Our chances of success will rise proportionately as we bring our own human resources and expertise to bear on the whys and wherefores of Soviet behavior. Meanwhile, it would be a grave error to explain Soviet conduct on the basis of linguistic subtleties. Contrary to the popular impression, good negotiating and sound, balanced agreements result from clear and precise knowledge of both sides' arguments--not from verbal gymnastics and diplomatic trickery.

Toasting Vodka Diplomacy, Art Buchwald

The Washington Post, 8/8/85, reprinted a column by Art Buchwald, entitled "Toasting Vodka Diplomacy":

A diplomatic reception in Moscow has tremendous significance, not only because of the good food and free liquor, but because it is where most foreign observers learn what is going on in the Soviet Union.

I attended a large diplomatic cocktail at one of the foreign embassies recently, and I was amazed at what the professional Kremlin-watchers got out of it.

This is how the conversation went later on in the evening, when everyone was comparing notes:

"Did you notice Golvosky arrived after Kubinsky?"

"That's very interesting, because at the Fourth of July party at the American embassy Kubinsky arrived after Golvosky."

"And at the 14th of July party at the French embassy they came together."

"Very significant. By the way, did anyone see Petrov shake hands with Puchinsky?"

"I was going to call that to your attention. It's strange that Petrov should shake hands with Puchinsky when the last time they met, Petrov only nodded at Puchinsky."

"Perhaps Puchinsky's star is rising in the Presidium."

"Or maybe Petrov's star is falling."

"I think we have overlooked the real significance of the handshake. It is not that Petrov shook hands with Puchinsky, but Puchinsky's wife did not talk to Petrov's wife."

"Are you sure?"

"Of course I'm sure. Puchinsky's wife turned her back on Petrov's wife to say hello to Bolgonov's wife. It was a deliberate snub."

"That's very interesting. But to me the most important thing that happened at the reception was that Bolgonov was drunk and spilled vodka all over Marshal Igorvich's uniform."

"What is so important about that?"

"Igorvich was the one who apologized."

"Bolgonov's star must be rising faster than we thought."

"No doubt about it. Marshal Igorvich even went and got Bolgonov another vodka."

"Did Bolgonov spill anything else on Igorvich's uniform?"

"No, but he stepped on the marshal's foot and wouldn't get off it."

"I wonder if this means they're going to make Bolgonov minister of defense?"

"He's obviously in for something big. I've never seen Marshal Igorvich allow someone to stand on his foot for so long."

"Did anyone see Zubelkin at the party?"

"You mean the Tashkent poet who was ousted from the writer's union for writing a poem attacking the traffic policemen on Gorsky Street?"

"That's the one. He's been rehabilitated and is now permitted to write anything he wants, provided he doesn't ask anyone to publish it."

"The writer's union must be going through one of its liberal periods again."

"I don't know if this means anything, but Kavasky spoke to me."

"That is significant because Kavasky never speaks to foreigners. What did he say?"

"I asked him about the Polish problem and he replied, 'I'm sorry, I never speak to foreigners.'"

"Did anyone notice that Gogol spilled vodka on Mutiken?"

"It means nothing. Everyone in Moscow spills vodka on Mutiken. He's become a regular bar rat."

[Reprinted with the permission of the author.]

Negative Reciprocity

"An annual meeting of Soviet and US naval officers to discuss dangerous incidents at sea was called off by Moscow after the Defense Department canceled related social events in reprisal for the fatal shooting of a US Army major in March by a Soviet sentry in East Germany," according to the Washington Post, 6/20/85.

"Moscow's boycott is the first by either superpower in 14 years of the meetings, considered among the most effective forums for reducing US-Soviet military tensions.

"Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, who had earlier urged strong US reprisals for the March killing of Maj. Arthur D. Nicholson, Jr., decided to cut out the traditional protocol--or social--elements of the gathering without first notifying Secretary of State George P. Shultz or national security affairs adviser Robert C. McFarlane, according to Reagan administration officials.

"State Department and White House officials strenuously opposed the move after learning of it, but failed to reverse Weinberger's decision, officials said."

Positive Reciprocity

Writing in the June '85 Arms Control Today, newsletter of the Arms Control Association, Herbert Scoville, Jr., proposed "Reciprocal National Restraint: An Alternative Path":

"The idea of reciprocal national restraint is just the opposite of the bargaining chip theory because it takes the initiative to discontinue rather than proceed with a weapon program. As long as both sides are buying new weapons that threaten each other, the arms race will continue unabated, rendering arms control negotiations ineffective....

"Reciprocal national restraint can be an important step toward 'a substantially new manner of thinking' that Einstein warned was needed. The public must understand that national restraint is not a policy that sells our security down the river, but rather a policy that increases our security. It is a safer policy than procuring more weapons that make nuclear war more likely. Reciprocal national restraint is our best hope for progress in the years ahead."

In Memoriam: Scoville, Myshkov, Smith, Howard

Herbert (Pete) Scoville, Jr., died on July 30. Scoville was a founder of the Arms Control Association and, since 1979, its president. Scoville worked

with the government in a number of capacities before devoting himself totally to arms control. He was former Deputy Director for Research, CIA, and former Assistant Director for Science and Technology, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Scoville wrote and spoke extensively in his efforts to inform the public and encourage negotiations between the US and the USSR. He was also the first recipient of the American Committee on East-West Accord's "Kennan Award" for excellence in the field of US-Soviet relations. His presence will be sorely missed.

* * *

Memorial services were held July 23 in Moscow at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for Soviet diplomat Anatoly Myshkov, Consul General in San Francisco from June '83 until April '85.

Mr. Myshkov, who was decorated several times for distinguished government service, served as Deputy Consul in San Francisco from 1970 to 1973 and was Consul General in New York from 1974 to 1979. He spent 24 years in the United States, longevity second among Soviet diplomats only to Ambassador Dobrynin.

In a 1983 interview with the San Francisco Chronicle, Mr. Myshkov said: "It takes a long time to understand a big and important country like the United States." He added that, even after 20 years here, "I still do not understand it completely."

A group of Myshkov's American friends on both coasts, in a joint cable of condolence to Natalia Myshkov and Myshkov's twin daughters, Maria and Julia, said, "Your husband was a man whose friendship we cherished, whose integrity we admired and whose warmth and humanity we treasured. We shall miss him." In a cable of condolence, San Francisco mayor Diane Feinstein said, "Beyond our personal friendship, I believe he was a good friend of San Francisco." "He did his job well," the mayor added, "and improved relations between the United States and the Soviet Union."



Photo by Diana Post

Samantha Smith, the New England schoolgirl whose letter to Soviet leader Yuri Andropov (and his subsequent invitation to visit the USSR) attracted worldwide attention, died August 25 in a plane crash. After her return from

her July '83 visit, Samantha appeared on numerous TV talk shows to discuss her experience and was host of a show on the Disney Channel, a cable TV station. In that capacity, she interviewed a number of the candidates for President nominated in '84. The Washington Post, 9/9/85, reports that, "In an unusual tribute, the Soviet Union has named a rare Siberian diamond in its Kremlin collection in honor of Samantha Smith, the 13-year-old Maine schoolgirl who died in a plane crash last month. Smith became a worldwide celebrity in 1983 when she wrote to Soviet leader Yuri Andropov of her fear of nuclear war. On Andropov's invitation, Smith visited the Soviet Union and captured the attention of the world media. The Tass news agency said the diamond was named for Smith because she 'is well remembered in the USSR.'"

* * *

Laurence M. Howard, editor of the Providence Journal-Bulletin and one of the organizers of the US-USSR exchange program between the New England Society of Newspaper Editors and the Union of Soviet Journalists, died of a heart attack July 9 in Yerevan, Armenia. Mr. Howard participated in the fourth conference of the groups in Suzdal, just prior to the Yerevan visit. He had written extensively on Soviet-American relations and believed strongly in the NESNE program as a positive step in the development of better understanding between the US and the USSR.

Honors

Margaret Gage

Margaret Gage, director of the Peace Development Fund, received the first Robert W. Scrivner Award from the Council on Foundations, the principal national organization of grantmakers, at its annual conference during the last week of April. The award, named for the late director of the Rockefeller Family Fund, carries a prize of \$10,000 to be used for professional development. In selecting Gage for the award, the Council recognized her "vision and creativity" in founding and directing an organization that has raised more than a million dollars to help fund 300 peace and justice groups in 49 states. "Through citizen education, Meg Gage and the Peace Development Fund have helped communities across the country create a sustained network of organizations that work to foster change from the community level--a cherished American tradition."

Averell Harriman

Soviet Life, Sept. '85, reports that, "on May 8 in the Kremlin, a decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was signed awarding Averell Harriman, former US Ambassador to the USSR, the Order of the Patriotic War, First Class. The decree said, among other things: 'To award the order to W. Averell Harriman, a prominent American political and public figure, former ambassador of the United States to the Soviet Union (1943-1946), for his great personal contribution to the setting up and strengthening of Soviet-American cooperation during the Great Patriotic War....'"

Armand Hammer

The Architectural Digest, August '85, features an illustrated article about Dr. Armand Hammer's more than 60-year relationship with the Soviet Union. The young Dr. Hammer, after graduation from Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1921, traveled to the USSR to help combat a typhus epidemic. At that time, with Lenin's encouragement, Dr. Hammer became "Russia's link to US industry," a role he has actively played ever since. As chairman of Occidental Petroleum he has been "the confidante of every Russian leader since Lenin--except Stalin." The article contains photographs of the Moscow apartment given by Leonid Brezhnev to Dr. and Mrs. Hammer.

* * *

International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War

Dr. Bernard Lown and Dr. Evgeni Chazov were awarded the 1985 Nobel Prize for Peace.

* * *

HERBLOCK'S CARTOON

OCT 8 1985

"THE RUSSIANS WILL STOP AT NOTHING--NOW THEY'VE
STOLEN OUR MOST IMPORTANT TECHNOLOGY"



CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN THE USSR UNDER GORBACHEV

"Surely, God on high has not refused to give us enough wisdom to find ways to bring us an improvement...in relations between the two great nations on earth, nations on whom depends the very destiny of civilization. We, for our part, are ready to take that role." — Mikhail Gorbachev

"You know what's different about our Misha [Gorbachev]? He came with spring. He was the first we ever had who came with the spring. Lenin came in autumn, and so did Brezhnev, and Andropov and Chernenko came with the winter. But Mikhail Sergeyevich comes with spring." — Russian babushka quoted in the Manchester Guardian Daily



Gorbachev and his top Americanologist, Georgi Arbatov, face Time officials

Rudi Frey: Time Magazine

Politburo Offers Incentives for Creative Contributions

In an effort to stimulate technical production and scientific progress through incentives, Moscow's Politburo recently approved new salaries for personnel in applied research, design, and technology. Company managers have been authorized to pay bonuses for the "creative contributions" of workers in these categories. The measures were adopted for workers considered most essential to rapid modernization, but will be generalized within five years. [La Repubblica, 6/9-6/10, in World Press Review, August '85]

Interview with Gorbachev Appears on TV

An hour-long interview with Soviet leader Gorbachev was broadcast simultaneously in the USSR and in France, October 2. It was the first time the Soviet public could see the new leader, or any leader in recent history, up close for a sustained period of time. [Washington Post, 10/3/85]

Soviet Union Announces Moratorium on Testing Nuclear Weapons

On July 28 the Soviet Union announced the suspension of testing of nuclear weapons, beginning August 6, the 40th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. Soviet leader Gorbachev said the moratorium would last until the end of the year and could be extended if the US also halted testing. [New York Times, 7/30]

Rejuvenation of the Soviet Bureaucracy

Soviet leader Gorbachev, himself younger than any of the recent Soviet leaders, continues to bring a younger generation of officials into leadership positions. His replacements in key positions have been 20-30 years younger than the men they are replacing. The September 27 retirement of Premier Nikolai Tikhonov, 80, is the latest signal of the rejuvenation of the Soviet bureaucracy. [Washington Post, 9/28/85].

Soviet Defense Sector Has No Vote

Rose Gottemoeller, a researcher for the Rand Corporation, writing in the Christian Science Monitor, 9/17/75, commented that: "Mikhail Gorbachev has enjoyed enormous success since his ascent to power in the Kremlin in March 1985. He has promoted his own men and retired others, swiftly moving to transform the Soviet leadership from an aged, paralyzed group to a more dynamic and responsive one....Change is most obvious at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko has been removed to become Soviet president. But it is the Soviet defense sector that has accumulated the most significant changes. Until his death in December 1984, Defense Minister Dimitri F. Ustinov exercised control over defense policy similar to Gromyko's foreign policy. His power was less associated with his personal drive, however, than with the traditional monopoly of the defense establishment over information necessary for decisions on defense policy. As a result of that monopoly, the Soviet military has long tended to determine its own requirements.

"Gorbachev, it seems, is challenging this tradition with an attack on the defense institution. The Soviet defense sector has lost the votes it had on the ruling Politburo with Ustinov's death and the removal of Grigory Romanov, the military industry representative and a Gorbachev rival. Sergei Sokolov, Ustinov's successor as minister of defense, is a candidate member of the Politburo but has no vote. As a result, the Soviet military now has no official vote on top Kremlin decisions."

Kremlin Invites President of World Jewish Congress to Moscow

The Kremlin has invited Edgar M. Bronfman, chairman of the Seagram Company and president of the World Jewish Congress, to Moscow to discuss Jewish emigration, according to Business Week, 9/16/85.

Drive Against Alcoholism

The Soviet Union's drive against alcoholism appears to be effective, according to a number of reports. The campaign began June 1 with a major decrease in the numbers of stores permitted to sell hard liquor, a decrease in the number of hours those store are open (not at all on weekends), the closing or conversion of distilleries, increases in price of alcohol and severe penalties for drunkenness.

* * *

The Associated Press, 8/5/85, reported that four Soviet soldiers who got lost while on maneuvers in Czechoslovakia traded their tank to a tavern owner for two cases of vodka and were found two days later, sleeping off the liquor in a forest, according to a newspaper article. After they had been found snoozing in a forest, the soldiers told authorities that they did not know what happened to the tank. Communist authorities later learned that the saloon keeper dismantled the tank and sold the pieces to a local metal-recycling center.

* * *

The Revue Generale de Securite (General Security Review), a French business publication, published figures on per capita alcohol consumption in the world. The US is in eighth place (8.3 liters), the USSR in 26th place (6.2 liters).

USSR Opens Civilian Nuclear Plants to Inspection

Inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna will visit Soviet reactors in the near future, according to a report by the New York Times, 8/15/85. It will be the first time the USSR has opened its civilian nuclear power plants to inspection.

Moscow Clears Rescue of TWA Hostages

An article by Joseph Harsch in the Christian Science Monitor, 7/5/85, comments on the role of President Hafez Assad of Syria in helping with the release of the American hostages in Beirut in June. Assad "cleared the rescue of the American hostages with Moscow before taking on the task.

"The hijacking took place on June 14. Mr. Assad went to Moscow on June 19. He was back in Damascus on June 22. The release was buttoned up on June 28. It happened on June 30. Washington leaked the word two days later that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev would meet President Reagan in Geneva in November.

"And to round out the whole affair, July 2 was also the day when Moscow's Andrei Gromyko was eased out of the Foreign Ministry after a 28-year tenure and elevated to the dignity of the presidency of the Soviet Union. He was replaced by a foreign policy novice [Eduard A. Shevardnadze]."

Soviet Union Decides to End Commercial Whaling by 1987

The major announcement at the mid-July conference of the International Whaling Commission, Bournemouth, England, was that the Soviet Union would cease commercial whaling by 1987. According to the New York Times, 7/21/85, "conservationists said the chief reason that the Soviet Union had decided to end whaling was the imposition of sanctions by the United States earlier this year that cut in half the amount of fish the Russians may take from this country's territorial waters.

"Washington acted in April after the Soviet Union exceeded the permissible whale catch set by the Whaling Commission. It was the first time the Packwood-Magnuson amendments to the Fisheries Conservation Act, which require cutting fishing quotas of any nation that violates the rules of the Whaling Commission, had been invoked.

"Elizabeth Kemf of the World Wildlife Fund said the turnabout by the Soviet Union was 'incredible' and noted that 'the Soviets and the Chinese have been very conservationist at this meeting.' She said Soviet delegates were wearing World Wildlife Fund panda pins on their lapels.

"In fact, the Soviet Union has taken a number of actions recently indicating an interest in environmental concerns. Last week Moscow signed a convention with 20 other nations pledging to reduce sulfur emissions, a chief cause of acid rain, by 30 percent over the next eight years. The United States did not sign the convention."

Soviets Embark on Crash Program in Computer Training

The Soviet Union, anxious to make the leap into the age of high-technology, started the school year with a new program introducing the computer to students in the upper grades. The urgency of the school computer program stems from the Soviet Union's anxiety about being left behind by the West's technological competition. Soviet schools are several years behind US schools in introducing computer courses.

The secondary school computer program was one of the first initiatives announced after new Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev came to power last spring and is the keynote of his repeated emphasis on the need to speed up Soviet technological progress.

Computer training in the schools had been discussed before, but the announced directive from the ruling Politburo last March turned it into a crash program. Provisional textbooks are being printed, and a competition for a permanent textbook is set for 1986. About 70,000 secondary school teachers were given training courses this summer and the production of Soviet-made computers--the Agat and DVK--has been stepped up by "the thousands," according to one newspaper report.

But as other articles in the press have candidly pointed out, not all schools or teachers are ready for the new program this year. In Minsk, for instance, one paper predicted not long ago that there would be only one computer for every five schools by 1990. The newspaper Trud admitted last week that there would be two different kinds of computer courses when the schools opened Monday--"one with machines and one without them."

While awaiting an adequate supply, schools must make do with films and books about computers and their uses, building a groundwork of "theoretical knowledge" while getting ready for the practical uses.

The Soviets intend not only to produce more computers and create a network to service and repair them but also to accustom workers in all spheres to using the machines. In a society where many cashiers persist in using the ancient abacus to tote up sales, the psychological adjustment to the computer age is expected to be difficult.

A slightly defensive tone has crept into the many articles about computers that have appeared here lately. Readers are told that Moscow's School No.444 was a pioneer in computer training during the 1950s and that western countries are not that much further along. [Celestine Bohlen, Washington Post, 9/4/85]

Soviet Union Tries to Close Technology Gap

Moscow wants to channel more than one million personal computers into education and to retrain "the vast army of teachers and organizers," Pravda said recently. One of the Politburo's first acts under Mr. Gorbachev was to order high schools to start training students in the use of computers beginning next fall.

"We must build a program somewhat like the one we developed to eliminate illiteracy after the October Revolution," A.P. Alexandrov, the president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said recently. It is "a program that is probably no less important in today's world."

The Soviets face practical barriers. The quality of their telephone lines is generally too poor for computer networking, and their centralized economy isn't organized to provide the spare parts or services that any new computer customer needs.

Moreover, the information that can be fed into computers is substandard. Health planners don't have sufficient information about infant mortality. Social planners don't know enough about average life expectancy. And economists complain that even the country's grain output is a state secret.

At the core of the problem is the system itself. The Soviets have indicated they will stop short of selling computers to the public, the only way Western experts believe they can create the intellectual ferment that would prevent the technological gap from increasing. Official publications have said that the Soviets' personal computer, the Agat, is intended for rental instead of sale, a practice that would ensure strict control over who has the machines.

"Every single word processor is a potential printing press," says Loren Graham of MIT. "The day they accept computers into society is the day they are going to give up censorship." [Wall Street Journal, 6/6/85]

Entry of Soviet Union into the Computer Age

The CID Report (publication of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy), June '85, features a history and analysis of the entry of the Soviet Union into the computer age. In January '85, "the Central Committee of the Communist Party decided to put microcomputers in all 60,000 Soviet high schools, a program that would reach more than 8 million students. Shortly thereafter, Mikhail Gorbachev came to power and the Politburo ordered schools to prepare teaching their computer courses by this September....

"State-sponsored computerization may have a dramatic impact on the Soviet Union's internal and external relations. This is the view of Joel

Schatz, who, as director of the US/Soviet Special Projects Division of the California-based Ark Communications Institute, has shuttled repeatedly to Moscow over the past two years to open new communication channels between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world....

"Schatz himself has played a prominent role in these developments. Last year, Schatz was one of a number of westerners who introduced high-level Soviet leaders to Radio Shack lap-held computers. More recently, he has worked closely with Professor Oleg Smirnov, Director of the Institute of Automated Systems, which was set up in 1982 as a part of both the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the State Committee for Science and Technology to interconnect Soviet computers and link these computers with the outside world....

"Just recently, Schatz and Smirnov have created an active network between American and Soviet computer users via the international data channel Telenet. Working with a half dozen of each nation's top computer scientists, they are building a network through the Electronic Information Exchange System (EIES) in New Jersey that will soon facilitate computer conferencing between scientists, educators, and businessmen in both countries. Discussions are also under way for establishing a 'computer teleport' in Moscow that would enable Soviets--or foreign visitors--to engage easily in all forms of communication with computers abroad."

Communist Parties of USSR and China Exchange Greetings

The Washington Post, 3/15/85, reports that, "The communist parties of China and the Soviet Union have exchanged greetings for the first time in more than two decades, it was disclosed [in Peking] today.

"With this simple exchange, and other gestures by the Chinese, China has moved to lower a barrier that has divided the two Communist giants since a bitter ideological dispute in the late 1950s, according to diplomats here....

"None of this means a return to the old alliance between the two Communist giants, diplomats say. Nor does it seem to mean elimination of the three 'obstacles' that the Chinese previously have said hindered the normalization of relations. These obstacles include the stationing of Soviet troops along the Chinese border and in Mongolia, the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and Soviet support for Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia.

"But diplomats here argue that despite the continuing existence of those obstacles, the Soviets and the Chinese are now clearly in the process of normalizing their relations....

"On at least four occasions in recent days, the Chinese have congratulated Gorbachev on his rise to the post of party general secretary. Peng Zhen at one point referred to him as 'Comrade' Gorbachev."

27th Communist Party Congress February '86

Slogans all over Moscow urge citizens to get ready for the 27th Communist Party Congress in February '86. Gorbachev has called for a 4% annual economic growth in orienting Soviet citizens toward a new future.

COOPERATIVE VENTURES

Soviet and American Youth Reach Summit of Mt. Elbrus

On August 3, 1985, a team of Soviet and American young people aged 17 to 21 reached the summit of Europe's highest peak, Mount Elbrus, 18,841 feet, in the Caucasus Mountains. The rugged ascent was the culmination of the US-USSR Youth Exchange's second annual trek through the Caucasus mountains of the Soviet Union, organized by Cynthia Lazaroff.

The US team was diverse and composed of ten outstanding young Americans. All participated in a rigorous application, screening and interview process. The US trekkers came from the states of California, Minnesota, Colorado, Maryland, Florida and New York. The USSR team also represented an impressive group of Soviet young people, who were selected by the International Mountaineering Division of the USSR Sportscommittee.

The Soviet and American trekkers made the final approach to the summit of Mt. Elbrus two by two, arm-in-arm, carrying their ice axes in their free hands. Troy Shortell, an American climber from Solvang, California, had tied the American flag to his ice axe, and Zhenya, his Moscow counterpart, had affixed the Soviet flag to his. Together, they planted their ice axes in the snow. The team then surrounded the flags flapping wildly in the fierce winds, and cheered in celebration of their shared victory.

This dramatic moment, and many others during the three-and-one-half week survival trek were captured for a videodocumentary by the Emmy award-winning production team of Lynne Joiner, of Pacific Gateway Productions, and Jim Arnold, of Arnold-Levin Productions, with the support of Sovinfilm.

Caucasus Trek '85 was featured in a special twelve-minute report which Joiner and Arnold prepared for the "MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour" on PBS on October 8. In addition, they will produce a documentary, "The Challenge of the Caucasus," which is set to air nationally on Turner Broadcasting on November 18--just in time to coincide with the summit meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan.



US Mountain Climbers Awarded Soviet Title of Snow Leopards

US mountain climbers, William Garner and Randy Starrett, climbing with Soviet teammates, earned the Soviet Union's Order of the Snow Leopard August 22, when they conquered Pik Pobedy (Russian for "victory"). The award is given to the climbers who climb all four of the USSR's peaks higher than 23,000 feet. Garner and Starrett are the first non-Soviets to receive the award from the Soviet Sports Committee. David Breashears, the American cinematographer who has twice climbed Everest, accompanied them to the summit as cameraman for a documentary film being produced for television broadcast next spring.

In 1945, this mountain, which had so far repulsed all attempts to climb it, was named Pik Pobedy to commemorate the "Victory" and survival of the Soviet nation in the war just ending. In 1955, on the 10th anniversary of that "Victory," the first major attempt to conquer Pik Pobedy was met by disaster, when eleven members of the expedition were killed in a blizzard on the mountain. Only in the following year, 1956, did a Soviet team led by Abalakov finally succeed in reaching the summit. But this mountain continued proving itself to be an apt symbol of the Soviet people's wartime sacrifices. Although over one hundred fifty Soviet climbers have since gained the high honor of conquering Pik Pobedy, another fifty have lost their lives attempting to do so. Thus Soviet alpinists have come to regard every effort to climb this mountain as an expression of homage to the frightful ordeal which their parents' generation experienced during World War II. The US team left this message on Pik Pobedy:

Мы, американская группа горной
совместной советско-американской экспедиции
на Пик Победы, совершили это восхождение
для того, чтобы продемонстрировать народам
двух наших стран, насколько больше ценит-
ся рисковать вместе, чем продолжать вести
мир по рискованному пути взаимной конфрон-
тации.

The Soviet and American climbers hope that this first successful joint Soviet-American expedition up Pik Pobedy will lead to the re-establishment of a regular Soviet-American mountaineering exchange and that sponsors can be found to finance a return visit to Alaska of a team of 8 to 10 Soviet climbers as early as June of '86, to be hosted by the American Alpine Club.

US/USSR Agreement on Sports Cooperation Signed

Soviet and US Olympic officials signed an agreement Sept. 15 to cooperate in athletic competitions and exchange ideas, according to a report in the International Herald Tribune, 9/17/85: "A 'memorandum of mutual understanding and sports cooperation' was signed by US Olympic Committee President Robert Helmick, USOC Secretary General George Miller, Soviet Olympic Committee President Marat Gramov and Vice President Vjacheslav Gavrilin....

"The agreement's major points include:

- o Both sides will 'encourage their member organizations to establish and expand sport exchanges,' including dual and multinational competitions, joint training camps and exchanges of coaches and officials for seminars and clinics.
- o Exchanges of information, sports equipment and facilities, sports medicine and science, drug control and research, and coaching and training techniques.

o Exchanges of technical and administrative observers to US and Soviet national sports festivals.

"Both parties also agreed to 'work out annual plans of common action which will be agreed upon during the last half of the year previous to their operation.'

"The first scheduled exchange will send a Soviet delegation of Olympic training center experts to the United States in September or October 1986. Another Soviet delegation is to participate in 'an exchange of information on work of sports medicine-science centers' in October or November, 1986.

"Two other Soviet visits are slated for next year; three US delegations (comprising USOC leaders, drug experts and track and field coaches) are to visit the Soviet Union in 1986. No dates have been set.

"Other exchanges are tentatively set for 1987."

American Exhibits at Moscow International Book Fair

Moscow's Biennial International Book Fair, Sept. 10-16, included more than 200,000 books from 102 countries. The Washington Post, 9/17/85, reports that, in contrast to 1979, few of the books brought by US publishers were barred this year by Soviet authorities. US exhibitions included the exhibit of the Association of American Publishers, "America Through Americans' Eyes," exhibits by the Association of Jewish Book Publishers, distributors Baker and Taylor, the Esalen Institute's health book exhibit, the Soviet-American Book Exchange, and a number of Christian publishers' displays.

Kurt Vonnegut describes the "America Through American Eyes" exhibit at the '85 Moscow Book Fair in the introduction to the Fair catalogue:

"This exhibit of roughly three hundred American books was put together by a temporary committee of writers and critics and editors and librarians selected by the Association of American Publishers, a non-governmental trade group to which most major American publishers belong. It is similar to an exhibit presented at the 1979 Moscow International Book Fair. The book selection committee was left entirely on its own after receiving these simple instructions: 'Please make a small but representative display of current and popular and readily available books which will give our friends in the Soviet Union some notion of America's amusements and arts and concerns right now.'

"A large number of the books we've selected are heavily illustrated so as to be more accessible to those unfamiliar with the English language. All are written by Americans about Americans, and were published within the past five years and can be bought in bookstores or borrowed from libraries throughout the country."

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The final phase of the Esalen Institute Soviet-American Exchange Program's Health Promotion Book Exchange occurred at the September Moscow International Book Fair, where the US books were again on display under an agreement with Goskomizdat (the Soviet Ministry of Printing, Publishing and Book Trade). Reciprocal book exhibitions were held in the USSR (Moscow and Novosibirsk) in January/February '85 and in the US (Los Angeles and San Francisco) April '85. Two thousand American books were displayed, 1,078 Soviet books. As at the

former exhibits, the tremendous interest of the Soviet people in preventive medicine (from stress reduction to jogging to diet), was evident in the long lines of people waiting to get into the exhibit and the many people who were patiently waiting for and copying particular books. One set of the Esalen collection was given to the National Library of Medical Sciences in Moscow, another to the National Library of Science and Technology in Novosibirsk. Dulce Murphy, originator and organizer of the exchange, was in Moscow for the final presentation.

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The Soviet-American Book Exchange (SABE) had an exhibit of 750 books at the Moscow International Book Fair. SABE negotiated with the State Committee of Publishing, Printing and Book Trade (Goskomizdat); with the Soviet Foreign Trade Association (Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga); and with the Soviet Copyright Agency (VAAP).

SABE has had professional contact with several Soviet publishing houses, including Detskaya Literatura, the largest publisher of children's books in the Soviet Union, and Mir Publishers, a publishing house specializing in scientific and technical literature. SABE also has contracts with several Soviet authors, journalists, scientists and media people.

John Denver Invited Back by Goskoncert for Public Concerts

Singer John Denver's two trips to the Soviet Union have resulted in an unprecedented official invitation by Goskoncert for John Denver to give public concerts in Leningrad, Tallinn and Moscow in the coming year.

Also achieved was a preliminary agreement reached with Melodiya Records to record and release a John Denver album in the Soviet Union. Negotiations were initiated for the publication of the first American artist songbook; a special edition highlighting Denver's travel in the USSR.

In the absence of an official cultural agreement between the US and the Soviet Union, the John Denver tour was made possible through a year of careful negotiations and a high degree of personal commitment by John Denver, Jim Hickman and the American team who pooled their skills and resources.

John Denver's good will initiative has received praise from high-ranking US and Soviet officials.

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The East Wind Trade Associates have signed a contract with Soviet Melodiya to release five Soviet jazz albums for production in the US. This successful effort to bring Soviet jazz to the US is a story of three young entrepreneurs who made contacts, acted in coincidence, and took advantage of opportunities. An unlikely combination of groups and people were involved, from the rock group the Grateful Dead, to the vice president of the US-USSR Trade and Economic Council, to a Soviet trade official in Moscow, to the Small Business Administration. Among the groups to be featured in East Wind's first release is a Soviet fusion ensemble, Arsenal, which first reached US audiences live via satellite in May '83, at the US Festival in San Bernardino.

Soviet and American Cast Performs Peace Child in Moscow

Peace Child--a musical story about Soviet and American children bringing peace to the world, which premiered at the Kennedy Center, Washington, D.C., in December '82--was presented on July 31 at the Moscow Youth Festival with a combined American and Soviet cast.

The presentation took place at the Children's Musical Theatre in the presence of the Soviet First Lady of Children's Theatre, Madame Natalia Sats. Also in the audience were the poet, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, and other distinguished writers and commentators.

The performance was recorded and broadcast in its entirety by Soviet State Television--the fifth appearance of the American troupe on Soviet TV during their ten-day stay in Moscow. The Soviet children in the cast were drawn from the Soviet State Radio Chorus, and the Soviet dancers from a Moscow dance academy. The music for the show was provided by the popular Soviet Stas Namin group, led by American musical director, Steve Riffkin. During their stay, the children recorded four tracks for an album being produced to commemorate the Festival, and made eight other concert appearances doing extracts from the Peace Child show.

Plans are now under way to produce a joint Soviet-American recording of all the music of Peace Child planned for release early in '86 as a prelude to the major program of the year, which is a Peace Child Tour through the Soviet Union and the United States during the summer. The Foundation hopes to bring the Soviet performers to the US next year. The Soviet and American children who performed in the show will be reunited on a Satellite TV program to be hosted by the Children's Theatre of Minneapolis and WCCO-TV. This is scheduled to take place shortly after the US-Soviet Summit meeting in Geneva in November.

The Peace Child Foundation's report, in journal form, of its July/August trip and performances in Moscow describes the performances by the Peace Child troupe and the adventures of the 17 members with their Soviet counterparts and others.

Bob Dylan Appears at Moscow International Poetry Reading

Bob Dylan, American folk singer, performed in Moscow in late July at the International Poetry Reading. Dylan had been invited by Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, who considers Dylan's songs poetry. Although the other poets read their poetry, Dylan sang "Blowin' in the Wind" and "Hard Rain's Gonna Fall." "Dylan's appearance...in the Soviet Union--his first ever--was low-key to say the least. Even the international poetry reading in which he took part was barely advertised, and as far as anyone knew, Dylan's name never appeared on any billboard or in any newspaper. One of the organizers said there was concern that people would knock down doors to get in, since by coincidence the poetry reading was scheduled on the eve of the 12th Youth Festival as 20,000 young people arrived in Moscow." [Washington Post, 7/25/85]

Sheep Farmers from the Soviet Union and America Blend Their Wool

Peace Fleece is a cooperative effort by Soviet and American sheep farmers to produce and market wool products made from a blend of Soviet and American wool. Director and originator Peter Hagerty, Maine sheep farmer, was in the Soviet Union in August and came back with 1,000 pounds of Soviet wool in various colors. American knitters, mixing Soviet and American wool, will create garments for a contest, the winner of which will go to the Soviet Union, with the 30 garments judged best, in this first step toward the creation of a small Soviet-American business.

T.E.A.M. Continues Work at Moscow Hippodrome

Linda Tellington-Jones' T.E.A.M. continues its high level of success and acclaim working with horses at Moscow's Hippodrome. On her May trip Jones and her team of horse trainers/healers also spent two weeks at the Bittsa Olympic Horse Complex working with veterinarians, trainers, riders and grooms of the Olympic champions. As a sidelight, Jones met with members of the Gorky Park Family Club to present her Animal Ambassadors concept that people should be ambassadors for the animal kingdom and speak for them. Jones also worked with the veterinarian at the Moscow Circus. All this in one year since T.E.A.M.'s first trip to Moscow! Jones returned to Moscow in July and October.



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Spaso House Brings International Community Together

The Washington Post Magazine Section, 5/26/85, featured a description with photographs of the US embassy residence, Spaso House, in Moscow. The article describes the informality of the events Ambassador Arthur Hartman and his wife, Donna, offer to the international community. Mrs. Hartman is quoted as saying, "We try never to have any event that our Soviet friends cannot join." Indeed, during times when US-USSR official relations are strained, these informal events--movies, concerts, lectures--provide unique opportunities for Soviet and American officials to get together in a relaxed setting.

Chautauqua Conference Brings Soviet and American Officials Together

The June 24-28 Chautauqua Conference on US-Soviet Relations provided participants with joint appearances by Soviet and US musicians, writers, and officials. Russian pianist Ekaterina Sarantseva joined American violinist Eugene Fodor in Mozart's Sonata No. 4 in E minor. The Christian Science Monitor, 7/5/85, reported that, "Fodor put down his honey-colored violin to tell the audience that he and she had met for the first time that day at rehearsal and that neither spoke the other's language. But musically, he said, 'It's as though we'd been living next door to each other all our lives.'"

Ambassador Paul Nitze discussed Star Wars with Dr. Pavel Podlesny, leader of the Soviet delegation to the conference. Russian poets Andrei Voznesensky and Yevgeny Yevtushenko performed with American musicians Tom Paxton and Paul Winter. Russian jazz composer Georgi Garanyan picked up an alto saxophone to join the Louisiana Repertory Jazz Ensemble in an evening of classic jazz. The week also included a seminar with Dr. Helmut Sonnenfeldt on "Improving Relations with the USSR," a talk by Soviet gynecologist Dr. Tatiana Cherakhova on infant care and medicine, and a lecture on the Strategic Defense Initiative by Lt. Gen. James Abramson.

Astronauts and Cosmonauts Meet in France: Association of Space Explorers

Thirty astronauts and cosmonauts from over a dozen countries came together, Oct. 1-6, for the First Planetary Congress of the Association of Space Explorers in Cernay, France. The ASE was formed on Sept. 8, '84, after two years of discussion and planning. The organization is made up of people who have flown in space and who share as common interests the exchange of information and experience about spaceflight, the desire for international cooperation in the peaceful development of space and the use of space for promoting resolution of scientific, technical and humanitarian issues.

The American delegation included former astronauts Rusty Schweickart, Edgar Mitchell, Alan Bean, Scott Carpenter, Donn Eisele, James Irwin, Stuart Roosa, and space shuttle payload specialists Taylor Wang, Loren Acton and Byron Lichtenberg. Marc Garneau of Canada, Sultan al Saud of Saudi Arabia and Wolfgang Merbold of West Germany, all of whom have flown in the United States space program, joined the US delegation. Coordinators for the US delegation were James Hickman and James Garrison of the Esalen Institute Soviet-American Exchange Program.

The Soviets brought an equally impressive delegation, led by Alexei Leonov, Soviet Commander of the Apollo-Soyuz mission in 1975. The Soviet delegation represented nine nations that have sent fliers up in the Soviet Union's space program. Coordinators for the Soviet delegation were Andrei Kokoshin and Andrei Melville of the Institute for the Study of the USA and Canada, USSR Academy of Sciences. Also present at the Congress were the two French astronauts, Chretien and Baudry, who have flown in both the Soviet and American space programs.

The Congress marks the first time in history when astronauts and cosmonauts come from around the world to share their positive vision of space. This vision was dramatically expressed in the artistic images of Astronaut Alan

Bean and Cosmonaut Alexei Leonov, the only two artists ever to paint scenes from space based upon their personal experience. Their joint art exhibition was held in the recently completed New Scientific Museum in Paris and marked the opening of the ASE Congress. It dramatized the commitment of the ASE to making outer space a peaceful frontier in the future.

The primary focus of this Founding Congress was the planetary environment. Jacques Yves Cousteau was presented with the Association's first annual Planetary Award. He was honored for his work in raising the public consciousness about the earth's ecosystem and delivered the Congress' keynote address outlining his vision for the future.

US-Soviet Cooperation in Space: Paper by O.T.A.

The Office of Technology Assessment, US Congress, has published (July '85) US-Soviet Cooperation in Space: An OTA Technical Memorandum. The study was requested by Senators Matsunaga, Mathias and Pell for the 10th anniversary of the major US-Soviet cooperative endeavor, the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project, and represents an effort to sort out the issues of influencing Public Law 98-562, signed by President Reagan on October 30, '84. It provides a history of cooperation in space.

The study endeavors to answer the questions: How can the US proceed in space in relation to the other principal spacefaring nation and superpower--the Soviet Union? What is to be gained or lost by working together in space? With regard to science in particular, can the two countries benefit from joint efforts? Can the two countries cooperate as well as compete?
(Document OTA-TM-STI-27, July '85, \$4.50)

Congressional Hearings on Civilian Space Cooperation

The Subcommittee on Space Science and Applications of the House Committee on Science and Technology held hearings July 30-31 to assess the potential gains and drawbacks of civilian space cooperation with the Soviet Union. Witnesses included Senator Spark M. Matsunaga; James M. Beggs, NASA Administrator; Nancy Lubin, project director, "US-Soviet Cooperation in Space Report"; Charles Horner, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Science and Technology; and astronauts Donald K. Slayton, Vance Brand and (in absentia) Thomas P. Stafford. Testimonies available from the Subcommittee on Space Science, US House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

Vision of US/USSR Manned Mission to Mars at Anniversary of Apollo-Soyuz

Scientists, space officials, astronauts and cosmonauts met July 16 at the US National Academy of Sciences to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Apollo-Soyuz linkup in orbit and to discuss the possibilities of future Soviet-American space cooperation. The New York Times, 7/17/85, reported the rehearsal of "a vision for the future when the two nations might again join forces for a manned mission to Mars.

"They agreed that such a mission could be launched by early in the 21st century and, by sharing the burden of costs and the glory of distant

achievement, that it would be an impressive expression of international cooperation and a means of easing tension between the two nations...

"The United States has no official plan for Mars exploration by astronauts, and apparently neither does the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union plans an unmanned flight to Mars and its tiny moon Phobos in 1988-89. An American unmanned orbiting vehicle is to be sent to map Martian geology and climate in 1990."

Findings of US/Soviet Study of Effect of Drugs on Juvenile Arthritis

Soviet and American physicians working on joint studies in 15 medical centers in the US and five in the USSR for the past ten years announced in May new findings about juvenile rheumatoid arthritis. The US-Soviet study has found aspirin as effective as two less common, more expensive drugs in treating rheumatoid arthritis in children. The findings surprised US and Soviet researchers trying to determine the effectiveness of two new drugs, d-penicillamine and hydroxychloroquine, in altering the disease process. As a result of the study's findings, Dr. Earl J. Brewer, a Baylor College of Medicine professor and US chairman of the National Institutes of Health Cooperative Studies, predicted Tuesday the two drugs would be prescribed less often than aspirin. The 10-year study included 66 US children and 96 Soviet youngsters aged 3 to 17 who suffer from potentially crippling juvenile rheumatoid arthritis. Brewer directed the study from Texas Children's Hospital, in cooperation with three Soviet researchers.

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The Soviet space launch on July 10 carried NASA sensors implanted in one of two rhesus monkeys on board. [Aviation Week, 7/22/85]

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Clyde Weaver, director of marketing for the Brethren Press, while in Moscow for the International Book Fair, became the second American to give blood at the Moscow Blood Bank. He joined Jay Higginbotham, US writer, in this symbolic donation.

Soviet and American Trade Union Journalists Get Together

A delegation of editors from US trade union newspapers and journals visited the Soviet Union in June at the invitation of the AUCCTU (All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions). The delegation consisted of Robert John Kolasky, president of the International Association of Trade Union Journalists from the AFL-CIO and the Canadian Labor Congress, director of the press section at the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, and chief editor of the journal Machinist (leader of the delegation); William Maudi, vice president of the association and editor of the newspaper Graphic Communicator, organ of the international Printing and Graphic Communications Union; Gene Hughes Wright, vice president of the association and editor of the newspaper Actor San Francisco (US movie actors' trade union), and James Arthur Perry, editor of the newspaper Los Angeles Fireman.

A roundtable meeting of Soviet and American trade union journalists on the subject of "The role of the Trade Union Press in the Struggle for Peace and Cooperation" was held at the AUCCTU June 3. Members of the US delegation, journalists from Trud and Soviet sectorial trade union publications, and representatives of Novosti and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting took part in it. [Trud, Moscow, 6/4/85]

Joint Crisis Control Centers Recommended by Bill Ury

An interview with Bill Ury, author of Beyond the Hotline, is featured in the July/August Common Cause Magazine. At the heart of Ury's recommendations are crisis control centers, one in the US, one in the USSR, each staffed by Americans and Soviets working full-time on crisis control.

The Hotline, the communications link established in the wake of the Cuban missile crisis, is not enough, Ury says. While the Hotline "is a decent first step," it is 'really a last resort' that is reserved for communication between the heads of state after an incident has led to an emergency situation. The Hotline, is really "a simple telex machine," and was not used during the Korean airliner tragedy. "What we need is working level, daily communication between American and Soviet diplomats to catch incidents before they happen."

American Bar Association Reaches Agreement with Association of Soviet Lawyers

The American Bar Association and the Association of Soviet Lawyers, acting on the agreement reached in May '85, are planning one joint seminar in '86 and one in '87, with the topics to be selected from a list of subjects, including delivery of legal services to the public; legal education; independence of the judiciary and the legal profession; procedural due process and the rights of defendants in criminal cases; legal aspects of environmental protection; international arbitration; legal aspects of trade, economic and scientific cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union; the role of law in the modern world; the role of the law in Soviet-American relations; principles of international negotiation; and the legal aspects of the non-military use of outer space.

Negotiations for this agreement, according to organizer Charles Norberg, began in 1973, when representatives of the ABA, headed by then Attorney General Griffin Bell, signed a "communiqué" with then Chief Justice of the USSR Supreme Court, L.M. Smirnov.

Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control Has Third Exchange Conference

Coming out of the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control's third exchange conference with the Association of Soviet Lawyers, Mar. 2-12, in Moscow, was a joint statement on compliance and ABM Treaty legal issues and three policy papers: Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons; Realistic Arms Control Goals for the Mid-Term; Elements of a Good Working Relationship.

PepsiCo Reaches Agreement with Sojuzplodoimport to Trade Vodka and Pepsi

The Journal of the US-USSR Trade & Economic Council reports on the PepsiCo Inc. and V/O Sojuzplodoimport trade agreement for over \$2 billion in retail sales of Pepsi-Cola and Stolichnaya Russian vodka:

"...The contract, which will be effective through 1990, will nearly double sales of Pepsi-Cola in the Soviet Union through expansion of the production and distribution system there.

"The agreement was signed in Moscow by Donald M. Kendall, Chairman and Chief Executive Director of Sojuzplodoimport. The signing was witnessed by US Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige, who was in Moscow for the eighth meeting of the Joint US-USSR Commercial Commission May 20-21....

"The new contract extends the agreement signed in 1972 under which PepsiCo provides soft drink concentrate and assistance with the Soviet quality control program and, in turn, purchases Stolichnaya vodka for sale in the United States.

"The Soviet Union is very important to us,' Mr. Kendall said. 'It is a large, growing and profitable market. Under this latest agreement, we expect our total business to nearly double.'

"Commercial relations between PepsiCo and the Soviet Union began in 1959, with a Pepsi-Cola exhibit at the American National Exhibition in Moscow. The first Pepsi-Cola plant in the USSR opened in Novorossiysk, on the Black Sea, in May 1974, making Pepsi-Cola the first foreign soft drink available in the Soviet Union. It is now bottled in 14 plants and sold in food stores, restaurants, kiosks and other retail outlets in cities throughout the USSR. Current retail sales of Pepsi-Cola in the Soviet Union total nearly \$200 million a year."

Soviet Scientist Assists in Creation of Florida Co. for Eye Surgery Products

"A top Soviet scientist plans to supervise creation of a new Florida company making eye surgery products under Soviet license. Vyatoslav Fyodorov, head of the Moscow Research Institute of Eye Micro-Surgery, will help set up a 250-worker eye-surgery goods plant in Pinellas County on Florida's west coast, officials said Monday....

"Fyodorov's institute in Moscow has 2,000 researchers, and is the largest such institution in the world. The Florida company will be entirely devoted to produce medical goods licensed by the Moscow institute. Among other products, the Florida plant will make silicon intra-ocular lenses, several crystals that can be implanted in the eye to replace diseased lenses, and micro-surgical knives.

"Florida Department of Commerce officials say they have actively courted the new company's British shareholders to set up the new plant in Florida.

"If we ever are to have world peace, it is going to have to come through interdependency and sharing of world trade and technology,' Florida Lieutenant Governor Wayne Mixson said." [Miami Herald, 4/9/85]

PBS Coordinating Visit of Public Television Executives to Soviet Union

The Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) is coordinating a visit of public television executives to the Soviet Union later this year. The PBS decision came three days after the board of directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting voted to withdraw CPB's International Activities Office as coordinator of the trip to Moscow, planned to occur September 26 through about October 6.

The trip is intended to provide opportunities for Soviet, Eastern European and US broadcasters to screen programs from participating countries, and to discuss possibilities and procedures for reciprocal program sales and co-financing of new productions. Included in the itinerary are meetings at the Intervention Program Market, which is attended by Eastern European and Asian broadcasters, and with Gosteleradio, the Soviet broadcasting organization.

Turner Broadcasting System Exchanges Programs with Gosteleradio

The Turner Broadcasting System will soon begin showing news, entertainment and sports programming provided by the Soviet Union, as part of a 2-year agreement between Turner Broadcasting and Gosteleradio. The agreement calls for exchanges of entertainment and sports programs between the Soviet Union and WTBS in Atlanta, which is transmitted by satellite to 34 million households with cable TV. The agreement also provides for exchanges of news programs between Intervision, the consortium of Eastern European television systems, and Cable News Network, the 24-hour news service available to 32.3 million cable subscribers. [New York Times, 6/5/85]

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GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE

"The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and interest." -- George Washington

Soviets Participate in Live Aid Concert to Relieve Hunger in Africa

The July 13 Live Aid global show was measured in superlatives and drew the entire world together on the hunger issue. It drew the largest TV audience, 1-1/2 to 2 billion; the biggest international satellite hookup, with 35 countries performing and 170 viewing; and raised about \$70 million for the hungry and homeless in Africa's famine regions. It was Bob Geldorf's dream to change the world with song. The major sites for the benefit were Wembley Stadium in London and John F. Kennedy Stadium in Philadelphia. The Moscow rock and roll entry was Autograph, introduced by Gosteleradio's Vladimir Posner. Richard Lukens, who conceived the first space bridge for the US Festival, coordinated international aspects of Live Aid.

USSR Signs Understanding with Intelsat

In a move that will expand its access to one of the world's largest international telecommunications carriers, the Soviet Union signed a "memorandum of understanding" with Intelsat to formalize its relationship to the 109-member nation global satellite consortium. The understanding, which comes after seven years of negotiation, does lay the groundwork for increased use of Intelsat's network for global transmission of Soviet voice, data and television transmission. [Washington Post, 8/28/85]

UNA-USA Recommendations for Multilateral Action

The United Nations Association of the USA has released three major documents on issues of critical importance to US foreign policy. These include two joint statements by UNA-USA and the Soviet UN Association, one on nuclear nonproliferation and the other on the UN's role in reducing the danger of international conflict, and a UNA-USA report on "Keeping the Peace in Troubled Times: Recommendations for Multilateral Action." This latter report contains policy options developed by a large group of concerned Americans active in UNA-USA's Multilateral Project.

The two joint statements, released on June 28, stem from the UNA Soviet-American Parallel Studies Program, which has provided a forum for serious Soviet-American discussion for the past sixteen years. The American side is chaired by Ambassador Walter Stoessel, Jr., formerly Deputy Secretary of State and Ambassador to the USSR, Poland, and the Federal Republic of Germany. The Soviet United Nations Association is headed by Dr. Aleksandr N. Yakovlev, Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations and a Deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The statement on nuclear nonproliferation outlines a wide range of steps to improve the prospects for the upcoming Nonproliferation Treaty Review Conference and to deal with long-term threats to the nonproliferation regime. The statement calls for new efforts to involve non-NPT signers in nuclear export discussions on a regional or global basis, for international cooperation for the storage and disposal of spent fuel and nuclear waste, for the development of a strong international response to possible terrorist acquisition of nuclear weapons, and for full adherence to the Treaty of Tlatelolco.

The joint statement on the role of the United Nations recommends the renewal of direct bilateral US-Soviet consultations prior to each General Assembly session and a strengthening of the Security Council. It also urges more frequent use of factfinders and mediators and support for the Secretary General's efforts to monitor crises and bring them before the Security Council at an early stage.

These two joint statements represent a serious effort by a high-level group of Soviet and American citizens to address critical issues of concern to the entire international community. Dealing effectively with either set of issues will be a long-term task requiring the active participation of all countries.

Keeping the Peace in Troubled Times: Recommendations for Multilateral Action, is the consensus product of a year-long nationwide study by groups in more than fifty communities throughout the US organized by UNA-USA's Multilateral Project. It was issued by the Multilateral Project's Executive Council, headed by Elliot L. Richardson, Chairman of the Association, and includes such other UNA-USA leaders as Cyrus Vance, Chairman of the National Council, Orville Freeman, Chairman of the Board of Governors, and Matthew Nimetz, Chairman of the Multilateral Project's Advisory Group.

The report urges that the United Nations and other international organizations be reinvigorated to provide a much needed buffer between local conflicts and superpower rivalries. It proposes:

--establishment of far greater communications and information-gathering capacity within the UN Secretariat, with the United States and Soviet Union providing information on a "need-to-know" basis;

--standing Security Council authorization to the Secretary General to send military observers as factfinders to any country that requests the UN's help; and

--earmarking by the five permanent members of the Security Council of materials and equipment or UN peacekeeping forces, with additional United States foreign assistance to train troops earmarked by developing countries for peacekeeping operations.

It further points out that, "The peace and security efforts of the United Nations cannot succeed without the support, or at least the acquiescence, of its two most powerful members. Within the United Nations, as elsewhere, the chasm between the US and the USSR is the basic reality of international life. Their persistent competition for influence in the third world has eroded the fragile framework of international law and institutions that underlies the stability of the international system."

Parliamentarians for World Order Organize Five Continent Peace Initiative

In 1984, Parliamentarians for World Order organized an effort to help break the nuclear stalemate, bringing together the national leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania to act as a third party between the superpowers. In January 1985, a summit meeting of the six heads of government was held in New Delhi, India, to draw up a program of action for the year. The program includes direct meetings with the leaders of all five nuclear powers. This effort, called the Five Continent Peace Initiative, has already received strong support from numerous governments, from the Pope and other religious leaders, from parliaments and members of Congress, and from many citizens' movements. The group was heavily involved in affecting the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in Geneva this fall. The Initiative offers a unique opportunity to build a new global coalition for survival.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty: Third Review Conference

The third review conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty met in Geneva, August 27, to review the prospects of the treaty's provisions. Forty nations ratified the treaty in 1970. One hundred twenty-seven nations participate today, including the US and the USSR, but not including France and China, nuclear weapon states, and several "threshold states" (a term used by the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, Sept. '85)--India, Pakistan, Israel, South Africa, Argentina and Brazil.

FCNL Provides Ground Rules for Third World Consideration

The July '85 issue of the Friends Committee on National Legislation newsletter concerns "The Search for Ground Rules: US-Soviet Conflicts in the Third World." The newsletter "suggest some ground rules for an improved US-Soviet relationship which will acknowledge and respect the aspirations and priorities of the people in the developing world. The reduction of tensions there is essential to reduce the danger of nuclear war, to pave the way for deep reductions in nuclear and conventional arms, and to promote justice in developing countries." FCNL also offers a background paper containing more information on these subjects, supporting references and a bibliography, G-517, \$2.

Cities Urged to Engage in Global Activities

Recognition of global interdependence appears to be fueling US citizens toward increasing concern for an involvement in foreign policy decisions normally considered the province of the executive branch. Two papers presented at the International Society of Political Psychology conference, June 18-21, pointed out the increasing role of state and city in international foreign policy.

Chadwick Alger's "Creating Local Institutions for Sustained Participation in Peacebuilding" describes three major areas of city/state involvement: relief and aid, exchange programs and international education. (Alger is a professor at Ohio State University, Columbus, OH.)

Michael Shuman's "Building Municipal Foreign Policies: An Action Handbook for Local Elected Officials" takes the issues a giant step further by advocating an increased role for local governments, a global union of municipalities and, ultimately, a global legislature. (Shuman directs the Center for Innovative Diplomacy, 644 Emerson Street, Palo Alto, CA 94301.)

Global Resources Information Database Set Up By UN Environmental Program

A highlight of the May 14-24 Nairobi meeting of the United Nations Environmental Program, was the creation of a completely new component of GEMS [Global Environment Monitoring System]--the Global Resources Information Database (GRID), which will become operational in July. This development aims to make natural resources information available in an accessible and practical form to environmental managers everywhere. The information will be gathered using a comprehensive range of sources, including remote sensing images from space satellites like NASA's Landsat and its Soviet equivalents.

Demonstrations mounted during the session illustrated the enormous potential of GRID as a reliable basis for environmental decision-making. The meeting was enlivened by the presence of two experienced astronauts from the USA and USSR space programs, George Nelson and Anatoly Berezovoy, who discussed peaceful uses of space technology.

Black Press Institute Meets in USSR with International Journalists

Sixteen African-American journalists from the US Black Press Institute participated in a September delegation to the USSR, sponsored by the International Federation of Journalists (Brussels), the International Organization of Journalists (Prague), and the Union of Soviet Journalists.

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On June 11, Ted Turner, Cable News Network, announced the formation of the Better World Society. It is a non-profit organization, using global television, and dedicated to the elimination of violence in the world, whether the ultimate violence of nuclear war, the violence to human dignity of overpopulation, or the violence committed against the planet. Attention is focused on peace and arms control, overpopulation and the environment.

Ted Turner and Soyuzsport Schedule International "Goodwill Games"

The International "Goodwill Games" have been organized by Ted Turner, Gosteleradio and Soyuzsport. The games will involve Soviet and American athletes, in track and field, gymnastics, swimming, boxing, cycling, basketball, wrestling and figure skating. They are scheduled to begin May 5-20, 1986, in Moscow and Tallinn. The announcement was made simultaneously at a news conference linking Moscow, New York, London and Phoenix, and was shown in the US on Turner's two cable networks, WTBS and Cable News network.

Peace Ribbon Displayed in Washington, D.C., and Hiroshima

On August 4, the Sunday preceding the 40th anniversary of the bombings at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, about 15,000 people, bearing 15 miles of ribbon, gathered in Washington, D.C., to ask for peace. There were 25,000 pieces of the ribbon, each 18 by 36 inches, depicting the personally precious things that would be lost in a nuclear holocaust. In addition to representation by all of the United States, ribbon segments were contributed by the USSR, Japan, Canada, Australia, Tanzania, Peru, Guatemala, France, Italy, Zambia, New Zealand, East Germany, West Germany, England and Holland. During the summer, ribbon pieces from the United States will be carried to the Soviet Union by a number of organizations. There was a similar ceremony in Hiroshima that day.

* * *

When a US-Western European spacecraft passed through the tail of the Giacobinni-Zinner comet on Sept. 11, a Soviet observer joined NASA mission controllers to observe the actions [Christian Science Monitor, 8/30/85]. "The craft's experience in traversing the dusty comet environment could help Soviet controllers better guide their own Vega probes when they inspect Halley's comet next March. The Soviet presence at the NASA Goddard Space Flight Center in Maryland would also symbolize the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union have continued to cooperate informally on some space projects even though the relevant treaty has lapsed. Now, there is new hope within the US space community and Congress that a renewal of full formal space cooperation can be worked out at the November summit meeting."

* * *

According to the Washington Post, 6/11/85, "A Soviet spacecraft hurtling toward a rendezvous with Halley's Comet today approached the planet Venus and the first of its appointed tasks. If all goes as planned, it will deploy a capsule tomorrow containing an atmospheric balloon probe and a landing craft. Soviet officials have called the atmospheric tests, which were developed together with French scientists, 'fundamentally new experiments.'"

"A second Vega, launched six days after the first last December, is expected to release similar instruments when it completes its passage to Venus. Both craft will then use the planet's gravity as a sling to propel them on a trajectory that in March '86 will intersect that of Halley's comet...."

"Although Americans are not listed among the many collaborators in the Soviet Vega mission, several American scientists have quietly arranged to participate, either as suppliers of equipment or as analysts."

* * *

The New York Times, 6/16/85, reports: "A Soviet space module carrying instruments from the United States landed today on the dark side of Venus and began drilling into soil in temperatures of more than 840 degrees Fahrenheit to determine the composition of the planet."

"The module's parent spacecraft, Vega-2, was the second vessel this week to launch a probe of the Earth's nearest neighbor with similar instruments: a balloon to test the atmosphere and a landing vehicle to test the surface. On Tuesday a sister spacecraft, Vega-1, released a similar balloon and landing vehicle to study the planet."

"Both spacecraft flew on past Venus on their way to a rendezvous with Halley's comet, which scientists say will reach its nearest point to the Earth next March.

"The international mission was conducted with participation from the French National Space Agency. Scientists at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, Calif., are tracking the spacecraft for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and are collecting data transmitted to antennas in California, Australia and Spain."

Efforts to Reintroduce Rare Horse into Mongolia

The International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) Bulletin, June '85, reports on efforts to reintroduce the once almost-extinct Przewalski's horse into its natural range, Central Asia. A workshop held in Moscow May 29-31 brought 25 specialists from Europe, North America, the People's Republic of Mongolia and the USSR together to discuss steps which could be taken to reintroduce the species to the wild in Mongolia. IUCN, UNEP (United Nations Environment Program), the USSR Center for International Projects and FAO are prime movers of the plan. "Steps agreed at the workshop seem sound and practicable but not simple, easy or quick," says IUCN's Robert Scott, Executive Officer of the Species Survival Commission, "so stay tuned!"

Hunger Project Participates in Moscow Marathon

Participating in the Moscow Marathon August 10 was American Gordon Starr, accompanied by a delegation of 100 US and European citizens committed to a "vision of the United States and the Soviet Union publicly committed as partners in ending starvation on the planet." Starr and his group were officially received by the Moscow Sports Committee. Starr hopes to raise \$100,000 for the Hunger Project. Starr, 2030 Steiner Street, San Francisco 94115

Moscow International Youth Festival

The July '85 International Youth Festival brought 30,000 youth and students to Moscow for eight days of concerts and political lectures. One hundred fifty-seven nations were represented. Most of the participants, according to the New York Times, 8/5/85, were "from Soviet bloc nations or from Communist or leftist groups." The Times describes the experience of one US representative, John Bal, a 39-year old youth worker from New York City. Bal gave away "500 American flags, 200 pins showing the Empire State Building, 40 five-inch bronze replicas of the Statue of Liberty and nearly 1,000 postcards with scenes of New York. The pins people gave him in return, representing Soviet holidays, towns and public figures, covered his jacket so that he jingled slightly as he walked.

"They may have had their own propaganda reasons for holding the festival," he said, "but I had my own reasons for coming, to make personal contacts with people from other countries, and from my point of view the festival has been a success'....

"I didn't run into much anti-Americanism, except from the anti-Americans in the American delegation," Mr. Bal said."

OFFICIAL MEETINGS

Summit Meeting Plans

President Reagan met with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze September 27 at the White House, following the Sept. 25 meeting of Shevardnadze with US Secretary of State George Shultz. The visit was in preparation for the November 19-20 meeting between President Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva.

Raisa Gorbachev, wife of Soviet leader Gorbachev, will meet with Nancy Reagan when their husbands hold the summit talks.

Status of Bilateral Exchange Agreements: Report from US State Department

The US State Department reports that since the June issue of Surviving Together, the following progress has been made on official exchange agreements:

"The President's June 27, 1984 commitment to reinvigorate bilateral exchange agreements continues to progress. September 12-21, HUD Secretary Samuel R. Pierce, Jr. headed the US Delegation to the fourth meeting of the Joint Committee Meeting on the US-Soviet Agreement on Housing and Other Construction. The Delegation included prominent representatives from the housing and construction industry.

"In November, EPA Administrator Lee Thomas will lead the US side to the first Joint Committee Meeting on the Environmental Agreement in six years.

"On July 30, the Soviets agreed to the US proposal to renew the Agreement on Cooperation in the Studies of the World Ocean. Specific projects and exchange activities will be agreed upon.

"Negotiations continue on the General Agreement on Contacts, Exchanges, and Cooperation [Cultural Agreement], which lapsed in 1979."

US-USSR Agree to Resume Agricultural Cooperation

The first high-level meeting on scientific and technical cooperation in agriculture since 1978 took place in Moscow June 17-18, 1985. The US-USSR Joint Committee on Cooperation in the Field of Agriculture was chaired on the US Side by the Department of Agriculture's Under Secretary for International Affairs and Commodity Programs, Daniel Amstutz, and on the Soviet side by Deputy Minister of Agriculture Vladimir Kozlov. Assistant Secretary for Science and Education, Orville Bentley, served as US Vice-Chairman.

In the course of the meeting it was agreed to establish cooperation between US and Soviet organizations on 20 topics during 1985-86. Each country will send approximately 11 teams of scientists and technicians to the other country. The topics are divided into two main areas: 1) agricultural economic research and information exchange, and 2) agricultural research and technology.

In the field of economic research and information, topics include the economic and technological aspects of producing grain crops, fodder and other commodities under varying climatic farming conditions (which includes US study teams on spring wheat and winter grains in the USSR); and the use of modern technology for management in agricultural production. It is planned to hold a seminar in the US on agricultural production modeling, and in the USSR, a seminar on problems in feed manufacturing and utilization.

In the field of agricultural research and technology, topics include the exchange of plant genetic material for developing and breeding new varieties of farm crops; solution of problems of soil protection and fertilizer application; improvement of land reclamation and irrigation methods; methods of plant protection and quarantine; and a number of subjects in forestry. Joint activities in the field of animal husbandry, veterinary service and quarantine are also projected.

The Joint Committee agreed to promote better understanding of quarantine methods during export-import of animal and plant products in the US and the USSR.

The Joint Committee discussed the possibility of exchanging young agricultural specialists and farmers and, in principle, the sides agreed that the exchanges should be carried out by the Ministry of Agriculture of the USSR and the National 4-H Council, and the Extension Service of the US Department of Agriculture.

It was agreed to hold the 8th session of the US-USSR Joint Committee on Cooperation in the Field of Agriculture in Washington in the second half of 1986.

The US-USSR Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Agriculture has been in existence since 1973 and was renewed for the third five-year term in 1983. The last US-USSR Joint Committee met in Washington, DC, in 1978. In June 1984, President Reagan announced his intention to move forward in several proposed areas of cooperation with the Soviet Union in order to establish a better relationship. Agriculture was among the selected areas. The December 1984 visit of Soviet Minister of Agriculture Valentin Mesyats to the United States provided an opportunity to begin the process of resuming cooperation under the agreement.

* * *

Agriculture Secretary John R. Block and Under Secretary Daniel Amstutz were in Moscow in late August with a team of American farm leaders, seeking to expand agricultural trade with the Soviet Union. The delegation met with Soviet Agriculture Minister, Valentin Mesyats, and toured farms and institutes in Moscow, Leningrad and the Ukraine. The New York Times, 8/26/85, reported that, "Mr. Block said Washington saw his visit as a demonstration of President Reagan's desire to promote dialogue in advance of the planned summit meeting with Mikhail S. Gorbachev."

US and USSR Begin Talks on Resumption of Direct Air Travel

The New York Times, 7/31/85, reported that the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan have reached preliminary agreement on 'cooperative measures' intended to increase the safety of civilian aircraft flying routes in the North Pacific region. This made it possible to begin October talks with the Soviet Union on resuming direct air travel, Aeroflot into New York and Pan Am into Moscow. The US State Department reports, 10/7/85, that talks between the United States and the Soviet Union about resuming direct air travel between the two countries are in progress.

Soviet-American Standing Consultative Commission

On July 5, administration officials provided details of an "understanding" signed in June by the United States and the Soviet Union in which the two superpowers agreed to consult by way of the Moscow-Washington hot line in case of a nuclear explosion or a threat by a third party.

The purpose of the new measure, the officials said, is to prevent a war from starting because of a misunderstanding. It elaborates on a 1971 Soviet-American agreement on measures for reducing the risk of nuclear war....

The negotiations for this new 'common understanding' took place at a meeting of the Soviet-American Standing Consultative Commission, a group set up as the result of the 1972 strategic arms agreements. The commission meets in secret to discuss ways of improving or correcting existing arms-control accords. [New York Times, 7/6/85]

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OFFICIAL TRIPS AND EDUCATION PROGRAMS

The House Committee on Agriculture's Chairman Kika de la Garza visited the USSR during the Congressional summer recess August 3-17. De la Garza was accompanied by five other members of the committee during the tour of Soviet agricultural areas and in meetings with ranking Soviet agriculture and trade officials.

The Texas Democrat said the trip provided a chance for a first-hand look at Soviet agricultural conditions and prospects, and a chance to talk to some of the people who help decide the outlook for Soviet-American trade.

De la Garza, who is a member of the Hispanic Congressional Caucus, added that "agricultural trade is a matter of vital concern for the American farmer, and the Soviet Union has been--and I hope will continue to be--a major customer for our producers. I understand this is the first time that any Congressional agriculture committee has been officially invited by the Soviet Union for a first-hand look at the situation and face-to-face talks."

* * *

Congressman Sander Levin, (D-Michigan) and Congressman Edward Feijhan, (D-Ohio), accompanied a delegation from the Union of Councils on Soviet Jewry to Moscow and Leningrad in August.

* * *

Minority Leader Senator Robert Byrd led a bipartisan congressional delegation to Moscow at the end of August. The delegation met with Soviet leader Gorbachev. Byrd delivered a letter to Gorbachev from President Reagan and reported to the President on his return. Other members of the delegation were Senators Sam Nunn, Strom Thurmond, Claiborne Pell, Dennis DeConcini, John Warner, Paul Sarbanes and George Mitchell.

Senator Claiborne Pell proposed to Soviet leader Gorbachev that the US and USSR explore the following promising areas for collaboration:

- 1) international environmental assessments, resulting in environmental impact statements;
- 2) US/Soviet collaboration to develop an immunization program against the six major diseases for all the world's children;
- 3) using the 1972 lend-lease agreement funds for exchanges;
- 4) cultural exchanges.

* * *

Sept. 11-21: The US-USSR Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Housing and Other Construction brought a 20-member delegation led by Samuel R. Pierce, Secretary for Housing and Urban Development, to the Soviet Union for the fourth meeting of the Joint Committee under this agreement. The delegation included US officials from HUD, the General Services Administration, the National Science Foundation, the US Army Corps of Engineers, and the US Forest Service,

and six businessmen. The visit included three days of working meetings in Moscow, and a study tour to review housing, construction and industrial sites in Leningrad, Odessa and Kiev. The trip was organized by Paul von Ward of Delphi Research Associates.

Secretary Pierce and his Soviet counterpart, Sergey V. Bashilov, the Chair of the Soviet Union's State Committee on Civil Construction (GOSSTROY), signed a Protocol which authorizes future projects including exchange visits of experts, technical seminars, exchanges of papers and other cooperative efforts.

Technical exchange topic areas under the Agreement include building design and construction management, utility systems, construction in seismic areas, building for extreme climates and unusual geological conditions, building materials and components, and urban development and management.

* * *

Sept. 12-13: High-level US and Soviet diplomats met in Moscow to discuss problems in East Asia. Korea and Kampuchea were the major focus of talks between US Assistant Secretary of State Paul Wolfowitz and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Kapitzia. China and Japan were also discussed.

This meeting, according to the Christian Science Monitor, 9/12/85, is the latest in a series of meetings resulting from an agreement between US Secretary of State George Shultz and former Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to explore "regional issues."

* * *

Sept. 21-25: Congressman Ed Markey (D-MA) headed a delegation to Moscow for discussions with Soviet officials. Delegation members included Congressman Bob Mrazek (D-NY); Ted Sorenson, adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson; Dr. Jerry Hough, Duke University and Brookings Institution; Mary McGrory, Washington Post columnist; various congressional staff members; and John Rhinelander, legal counsel to the US delegation that negotiated the ABM treaty.

* * *

The Federation of American Scientists provides the following list of Congressional travellers to the USSR, summer '85:

June: Reps. Bartlett (R-TX), Bilirakis (R-FL), Erdreich (D-AL), Mikulski (D-MD), Moody (D-WI), Stokes (D-OH), Solarz (D-NY); Sen. Bradley (D-NJ);

July: Sen. Simon (D-IL);

August: Reps. De La Garza (D-TX), Volkmer (D-MO), Whitley (D-NC), Hatcher (D-GA), Tallon (D-SC), Stangeland (R-MN), Savage (D-IL), Levin (D-MI), Feighan (D-OH); Senators Bingaman (D-MN), Byrd (D-WV), Thurmond (R-SC), Pell (D-RI), Nunn (D-GA), DeConcini (D-AZ), Sarbanes (D-MD), Mitchell (D-ME), Warner (R-VA);

September: Reps. Mrazek (D-NY), Markey (D-MA), Udall (D-AZ), Seiberling (D-OH), Weaver (D-OR), de Lugo (D-Virgin Islands), Del. Sunia (D-Am. Samoa), Del. Blaz (R-Guam).

Education Programs Organized for Members of Congress

Former Senator Dick Clark, Senior Fellow at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, proposes a means by which fifteen or twenty key congressional policymakers will gain an in-depth knowledge of the most significant aspects of Soviet affairs and will be continually updated on the major issues in US-Soviet relations as they develop. It is expected that, as these members work together on the issues, they will come to function as an informal cadre in the Congress and play increasingly influential roles in American policy toward the Soviet Union.

The overall objective of the project is to develop over the next three years a core group of bipartisan, high-ranking congressional policymakers that will become increasingly informed and authoritative in US-Soviet policy. Envisioned is a cadre built around a core of the brightest younger members, some of whom already hold important leadership positions.

This undertaking expands in an '84-'85 project which brought together top-level American policymakers to study key issues of US-Soviet policy and to work toward achieving a bipartisan consensus in this area. In that project's two conferences, many US-Soviet issues were thoroughly examined; a surprising degree of consensus emerged in some areas, and differences were clarified and sharpened in others. The success achieved in convening these policymakers for an intensive, bipartisan analysis of this kind indicates that such efforts are sustainable and productive.

* * *

The American Committee on East-West Accord will, at the request of Congress, provide a number of symposia for members of Congress in the coming months. At an October 10 luncheon symposium, the US political assessment of the Soviet Union was discussed. At a later breakfast presentation, the House Committee Leadership Group will consider Soviet domestic turbulence and its possible influence on USSR external policy. In the early fall the House Democratic Caucus will begin a series of 10-12 meetings with the Committee on Soviet-American activities and policies.

* * *

The American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) held a Congressional seminar September 10. The meeting was chaired by David Hamburg, president of the Carnegie Corporation and chairman of the AAAS board. Hamburg outlined measures toward rapprochement with the Soviets, including improved communications.

LEGISLATION ON SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Last March, Representative Lee Hamilton of Indiana, Chairman of the House Intelligence Committee and of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, wrote Secretary of State George Shultz asking for his comments on a proposed Congressional resolution endorsing US-Soviet exchanges and joint cooperative projects. The proposed resolution has received extensive discussion and generally positive reactions in the various executive agencies involved in exchanges. But an official reply has not yet been received by Representative Hamilton. Here are some of the items recommended in the draft resolution:

That various private and public programs involving communication, travel and exchanges between the United States and the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe should be initiated, supported, renewed or expanded, as appropriate, specifically,

- 1) citizen exchanges, tourism and travel should be encouraged in an attempt to establish better communication, and to provide opportunities for family reunions;
- 2) existing US government exchange programs with the Soviet Union and countries of Eastern Europe should receive full funding and should be expanded where possible;
- 3) the bilateral scientific and technical exchange programs begun under the Nixon-Brezhnev agreement of 1972 which are currently operative in the fields of medical science and public health, agriculture, environmental protection, housing and peaceful uses of atomic energy should be continued;
- 4) the bilateral scientific and technical exchanges which have expired in the fields of space cooperation, world ocean, energy, transportation and scientific and technical cooperation should be renewed or appropriate equivalent agreement reached as soon as practicable;
- 5) travel by members of Congress to the Soviet Union and travel by Soviet political leaders to the United States serves the interests of the two nations and should be encouraged;
- 6) the President of the United States and the Secretary General of the CPSU should meet at the earliest practicable time following thorough preparation to discuss major issues in US-Soviet relations and to work for the realization of mutual, equitable and verifiable reductions in nuclear arms;
- 7) a program of regular exchange visits between high-level US and Soviet military personnel should be established;

8) a substantial and ongoing student exchange program between the youth of the United States and the youth of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe should be created;

9) exchange programs for cultural, professional, occupational and other groups should be expanded.

CURRENT LEGISLATION ON SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS

The House and Senate have passed a resolution celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Apollo/Soyuz Rendezvous in Space. H.Con.Res. 172 was approved by the House July 17, and the Senate July 26. The resolution, which noted the value of US-Soviet cooperative missions, was endorsed by Representatives Nelson (FL), Walker (PA), Lujan (NM), Fuqua (FL) and Brown (CA).

S.J.Res. 108, authorizing the Secretary of Defense to provide for an improved US-Soviet direct communication link for crisis control, was approved by the Senate May 16, and the House July 29. Senator Warner (VA) has been instrumental in promoting this concept.

Senators Matsunaga (HI) and Garn (UT) and Representatives Nelson (FL) and Walker (PA) are the primary cosponsors of resolutions (S.J.Res. 177; H.J.Res. 360) endorsing the concept of an International Space Year in 1992, and urging cooperative international space ventures from 1992-95.

A resolution, H.J.Res. 3, urging the President to resume negotiations for a comprehensive nuclear warhead test ban and endorse the 1974 Threshold Test Ban and the 1976 Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaties was withdrawn from House floor consideration by Speaker Tip O'Neill at the request of Secretary of State George Shultz because of the approaching summit meeting.

A comprehensive bill for a bilateral freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons has been introduced. The bill, H.R. 3100, is sponsored by Markey and Mavroules (MA), Schneider (RI) and McKinney (CT) and 92 others in the House, and by Sen. Kerry (MA), S.1500, in the Senate. It calls for a bilateral moratorium on testing and deployment, and for research on economic conversion.

Senate Resolution 227, sponsored by Senators Pell and Lugar, passed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in early October. The resolution urges a joint US-USSR effort to achieve worldwide disease immunization by 1990. (This initiative was the brainchild of Search for Common Ground.)

Common Ground Engages in Non-Adversarial Lobbying

Search for Common Ground has started a new kind of political organization, the Common Ground Citizen Action Project (CAP). CAP is a grass-roots citizens lobby which has been designed to bring the "Common Ground Approach" to the legislative process. CAP working groups are being set up around the country. These groups engage in non-adversarial lobbying for specific legislation in the national security arena.

It should be noted that while CAP is actively involved in lobbying, the project's aim is not to pass specific pieces of legislation. Lobbying is a way of raising national consciousness while strengthening the democratic process. In effect, CAP is lobbying in favor of new possibilities and new ways of thinking in dealing with the Soviet Union.

Early CAP projects include Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers, and a proposal for a joint US/Soviet initiative to immunize all the world's children against childhood diseases. This proposal passed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in early October.

DETERRENCE: FROM FEAR TO INTERDEPENDENCE

In an article in the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Oct. '85, "Deterrence: from fear to interdependence," FCNL's Ed Snyder proposes a shift to a new goal of interdependence and common security:

"The United States' survival, and even the fate of the world, now depend on the flawless operation of deterrence by fear of retaliation--the cornerstone of US military and security policy. Much of the discussion about deterrence, however, concentrates too much on military hardware, or relies too heavily on legal formulas or on arms control and arms limitation measures. The psychological, political, and economic structures resulting from human frailties, and nearly 40 years of reliance on deterrence by fear, are so deeply entrenched that measures which do not alter basic assumptions will have little effect in reversing the arms race.

"The thesis that 'deterrence works' overlooks the possibility that restraint may have been exercised by one or both parties for more positive motives than fear of retaliation. Further, this view of deterrence spares the homelands of the superpowers; they carry on their conflicts in conventional proxy wars, while the people of Indochina, Afghanistan, Central America, and elsewhere do most of the fighting and dying.

"How did we get into such a fix? How can it be that with skilled negotiators on both sides, with the survival of their own nations and even of civilization at stake, humanity continues to slide toward catastrophe?...Fear is the root cause of the current arms race; and the doctrine of nuclear deterrence by fear of retaliation, which lies at the heart of our national security policy, is the engine driving us toward destruction. Fear is a corrosive emotion. It clouds good judgment and breeds suspicion, mistrust, and irrational behavior....The creation and maintenance of fear is what deterrence is all about....But for citizens to be willing to accept responsibility for the enormity of the use of nuclear weapons, which would result in casualties in the tens of millions, they must be conditioned to regard the 'enemy' as dehumanized. Hence reports of Soviet transgressions are almost always magnified, while reports of cooperative efforts are minimized. Having an enemy, an outsider, on whom to project our own frustrations and inadequacies is also a most useful rationalization to avoid accepting responsibility for our own internal failings and our own role in international conflicts....

"The theory has been that it is possible to have a two-track, arm-while-parleying approach. Thirty years ago, even 10 years ago, one could have argued that such a policy might be successful in reversing the arms race. But this

rationale is wearing thin. The record shows that the dynamics of deterrence give high priority to arming and a distant second place to parleying....

"What is the alternative? We in this nuclear-space age are much like the bird and the snake. Our fear paralyzes us, and our fascination with the danger of nuclear weapons makes it almost impossible to avert our gaze and find a path to safety.

"Certainly leaders on both sides must be deterred, or more accurately, dissuaded from launching an attack or using weapons of mass destruction for political intimidation.

"Perhaps a clue to how this may be done lies in the way the three Western nuclear powers--the United States, Britain, and France--avoid the deadly politics of fear. Each of these countries could use its nuclear weapons to obliterate completely or at least wreak terrible havoc on the others. But such acts are unthinkable. These nations have many conflicts, but the pressures they apply never include the nuclear dimension. The threat to use nuclear weapons on Paris, London, or Washington by any of these three is simply beyond any range of acceptable options. Each nation is effectively deterred, or dissuaded, by a relationship of interdependence and a sense of common security and common humanity.

"The United States is, of course, far from such a relationship with the Soviet Union, but this model offers a clearer sense of direction. Survival and economic self-interest provide two powerful motives for accommodation, but so far they have been overridden by the politics of fear.

"How do we create a relationship that moves toward common security? Specifically, a policy of deterrence--or dissuasion by interdependence--might incorporate the following points:

- o Maintain all existing arms control treaties and stop building or deploying new weapons which can be perceived as part of a first-strike policy.
- o Move current arms control negotiations to the back burner, reducing expectations for their success until the political atmosphere has improved....
- o Give certain so-called 'peripheral' or 'long-range' aspects of US-Soviet policy, which involve communication, cooperation, and attitudinal change, the high priority they deserve. These programs are sometimes belittled in comparison with arms control efforts. Yet, by any test, more progress has been made toward better relations via these programs in the past 30 years than through abortive efforts to reduce arms. These are important national security programs in their own right....
- o Remove restrictions on trade in peaceful goods with the Soviet Union....
- o Recognize that Soviet and US actions and reactions in Afghanistan, Indochina, the Mideast, Angola, Cuba, and Central America have played a dominant role in worsening US-Soviet relations. A major effort should be made to develop a feasible US-Soviet modus vivendi in the developing world...."

EXCHANGES

"I am done with great things and big plans, great institutions and big success. And I am for those tiny invisible loving human forces that work from individual to individual, creeping through the crannies of the world like so many rootlets, or like the capillary oozing of water, yet which, if given time, will rend the hardest monuments of human pride." -- William James

American Bar Association/Association of Soviet Lawyers

The American Bar Association journal, June '85, provides news about "a new chapter" in ABA relationships with the legal community in the Soviet Union and China. Agreements establishing regular exchanges between the ABA and bar leaders in both countries formalize a pattern of visits begun in 1983. In 1983 the ABA adopted a goal, "To advance the rule of law in the world," acting on its century-old commitment as an association to the international responsibilities of the bar. The article quotes from the draft agreement with the Soviets, "...such cooperation is not to be viewed as a goal in itself, but may contribute to the development of relations between the two nations."

Under these agreements, representatives of the Association of Soviet Lawyers and the China Law Society will visit this year, with return visits by the ABA to both countries scheduled for 1986. Continuing exchanges of delegations as well as publications and other information are also contemplated.

New England Society of Newspaper Editors/Union of Soviet Journalists

The New England Society of Newspaper Editors, continuing an exchange which began in 1982, this summer sent to the USSR a delegation of eight journalists, July 3-19. The NESNE delegation met with a delegation from the Union of Soviet Journalists in Moscow and Suzdal. The New England group also journeyed to Yerevan in Armenia, and to Leningrad. The '86 conference is tentatively scheduled for Middlebury, VT.

California Journalists/Soviet News Officials

A delegation of California publishers, editors and broadcasters, following up on a 1984 Soviet delegation to California, arrived in Moscow Sept. 18 for a two-week visit. US delegates included Jack Burby, Los Angeles Times; Thomas Hoeber, The California Journal; C.K. McClatchy, The Sacramento Bee; Robert Maynard, The Oakland Tribune; Mel Wax, Director of Public Affairs, Port of Oakland; Keith Berwick, filmmaker and TV show host; Frank Bourgholtzer, NBC network news; Lynne Joiner, KQED-FM, San Francisco; Barbara O'Connor, California State University; Rollin Post, KRON-TV, San Francisco; and Marilyn Solomon, KCOP, Los Angeles.

The Soviet host delegation consisted of Vladimir Popov, Gosteleradio; Gennady Gerasimov, Novosti; Maria Dudina, Radio Moscow; Zinaida Yevgrafova and L.Y. Lipovetsky, Soviet Television; I. Ibragimov, Gosteleradio for Uzbekistan; and Victor Litvinov, Moscow World Service.

International Research and Exchanges Board/Soviet Academy of Sciences

The American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS)/Soviet Academy of Sciences exchanges for the academic year '85-'86 are expected to commence in early September. Currently two American archaeologists are in the Soviet Union conducting research.

The International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) has recently completed two publications concerning scholastic work in the Soviet Union. The Scholars' Guide to Social Sciences and Humanities Research in the Soviet Union: The USSR Academy of Sciences and the Academies of Sciences of the Union Republics will be published by M.E. Sharpe, Inc. The Register of American Field Research on Eastern Europe and the USSR, Volume 1, Summer 1985, is now available from IREX for \$10 and will provide on an annual basis listings of scholars, as well as their work, who participate in the several IREX exchange programs with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The IREX series of briefings for Congressional legislative assistants and professional committee staff members will resume this fall. These seminars bring IREX scholars to Washington to share their insight and first-hand experience in the field with the policymaking community.

Under Title VIII funding, grants for short-term research in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and for language training in languages of Eastern Europe and the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union are now available.

Fulbright Scholar Program Encounters Problems

According to the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, which administers lectureship exchanges between the US and the USSR under the Fulbright Scholar Program, complications on the terms for the housing of Fulbright scholars' dependents have resulted in a reduction to two Americans and no Soviets in the fall '85 program. It is hoped that, when the problem is resolved, a substantial number of Americans and Soviets will participate in the spring semester. Last year eight Americans and six Soviets participated in the year's program.

American Council of Young Political Leaders/Goskomsomol

The American Council of Young Political Leaders (ACYPL) is continuing an ongoing reciprocal exchange program with the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations this fall. From October 7-17, ACYPL hosts a group of 11 young political leaders from the Soviet Union. They will participate in a three-day seminar in Vermont and continue onto several cities where they will meet members of Congress, corporate and labor leaders, state and local politicians and party representatives. In November, ACYPL will send 15 young American political leaders to the Soviet Union for 11-15 days, where they will have an opportunity to meet with leaders from the Committee of Youth Organizations and officials from the Communist Party.

American Center for International Leadership/Goskomsomol

The American Center for International Leadership, founded in April '85 and located in Columbus, Indiana, sponsored the visit of eleven "emerging leaders" from the Soviet Union August 14-25. The Soviets visited El Paso and Denver, where they participated in a discussion about arms control and other common problems. The delegation's final three days were spent in Columbus, where they visited the Cummins Engine Co., were introduced to the criminal justice system and stayed with Indiana families. Stephen Hayes founded the organization to foster leadership that is "discerning and sensitive, yet firm," and to promote "face-to-face dialogues with emerging leadership throughout the world." An American delegation is expected to visit the Soviet Union later this year.

Following on this visit by young Soviet leaders, 15 young American leaders sponsored by ACIL will meet in early November in Moscow and Leningrad in a continuing dialogue with their counterpart members of Goskomsol (Committee of Youth Organizations). The delegation consists of leaders in the public and private sector--young business leaders, journalists, academics and leaders of non-profit organizations.

Student Pugwash/Student Council of the USSR

This year, for the first time, a Soviet delegation participated in the fourth biennial Student Pugwash International Conference, June 23-29, Princeton University. The three Soviet students, representing the Student Council of the USSR, joined 87 students and scientists from 25 countries to discuss current scientific and technological dilemmas with each other and experts. Pugwash seeks to heighten students' awareness of the ethical problems facing today's scientists and engineers.

Forum for US-Soviet Dialogue/Goskomsomol

The Forum for US-Soviet Dialogue announces a new date for the 14th Conference to be held in the States this Spring and plans for the 15th Conference to be held in the Soviet Union in late fall of '86. The co-sponsoring organization for both of these events is the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR.

The 14th Conference is scheduled for May 28th to June 6th at the University of Colorado in Boulder and Denver. The conference week will include daily commission discussions, round tables open to the public, the annual basketball game and cultural events. Discussion topics will include US-Soviet relations, arms control and disarmament, space, agriculture, education, the media, and trade and economics. The Forum will select the American delegation through applications received from young (21-40) community leaders, researchers, academicians, students, businessmen and interested citizens.

Andover Faculty Engage Soviet Educators

Eighty-six Andover faculty members and spouses left the US on July 6 and 7, having completed an intensive three-week workshop held on the Andover campus, in which they studied Russian language and Russian and Soviet history and

culture. They were joined in New York by four representatives of Citizen Exchange Council.

Of all the meetings, the most significant was probably that with their official Soviet host, Dr. Dzherman Gvishiani, Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Committee on Science and Technology, and three of his associates. Dr. Gvishiani seemed receptive to a continued relationship with Phillips Academy and to consideration of some form of student exchange in the future.

* * *

In April the Holyearth Foundation took 39 children and adults on a visit to three cities in the Soviet Union. For two weeks the children (10-17 years old) met with Soviet children in schools, private homes, Pioneer clubs, teen discos, and parks. Now, working with the Ukrainian Friendship Society, the Foundation is planning for a group of Soviet children to return the visit in '86. Plans involving Soviet children have failed to succeed in the past. Holyearth is prepared to wait but is hopeful that the time is ripe.

* * *

Project Learn, joining three Philadelphia schools, has developed a social studies project designed to respond to the questions students raise about the Soviet Union. The children first developed questions of what they wanted to know about Soviet children. Based on those questions, each child made a booklet about himself, answering the same list of questions. The booklets have been delivered to three Moscow schools whose "fellow teachers" were asked by Philadelphia teachers to engage their students in making similar booklets about themselves as part of the exchange.

Soviet Teams in US for IPPNW

Leading Soviet members of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War conducted a nationwide tour, Sept. 20-30, of the US. One Soviet team visited Delaware, New York City, Detroit and Madison, the other San Francisco, Palo Alto, Seattle, Denver and Washington, D.C.

* * *

A US Environmental Delegation to the USSR, a project of the Earth Island Institute, took place September 28-October 13. David Brower, former executive director of the Sierra Club, headed the group of 18 environmentalists. Arrangements were made to meet with Soviet scientists, journalists, political and social figures, and heads of environmental politics and administration. The plan is to arrange periodic meetings in the US and USSR to discuss mutual environmental problems and to exchange books and magazines.

AHP Takes Third Annual Seminar to USSR

The Association for Humanistic Psychology is continuing its Soviet Exchange Program by sending a delegation of thirty-one members on its third annual visit to the Soviet Union on Oct. 3-19. Participants in the traveling seminar will visit Soviet psychologists, therapists, and educators in Moscow, Leningrad and

Tbilisi. A fourth annual visit is planned for Oct. '86. Anyone interested in participating or receiving further information should contact AHP. Delphi Research Associates is organizing the trip.

At its annual meeting in Chicago in July '85, AHP hosted Peter Gladkov from the Institute for the Study of the USA and Canada, who gave three presentations and had many individual discussions with AHP members. AHP organized discussion groups in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco for Dr. Yuri Zamoshkin, Director of the Section on Ideology and Values at the Institute for the Study of the USA and Canada. Soviet psychologists will be invited to present at the 1986 Annual Meeting of AHP, August 14-17, '86 in San Diego.

Peace Links Begins Exchange with Soviet Women's Committee

On October 11, fifteen Soviet women from many walks of life and many different parts of the USSR will visit Peace Links women all over the US. During their two-week visit, they will stay in private homes, visit schools, shop with their hosts in local supermarkets, meet Peace Links friends and neighbors at potluck suppers and other events. A broad range of women's groups will co-sponsor local meetings in cities as diverse as Pittsburgh, Phoenix and Paullina, Iowa, by the League of Women Voters, Church Women United, American Association of University Women and the Junior League. Peace Links women plan a return visit within the year, according to founder and President, Betty Bumpers.

World Federalists Association/Soviet Peace Committee

In October '84 three members of the World Federalists Association were in the USSR. A return visit by three members of the Soviet Peace Committee, headed by Yuri Zhukov, will be in Washington, D.C., Oct. 17-23 and will participate in ceremonies in New York City for the United Nations Disarmament Week, Oct. 24-30.

Northwestern University/Gorky Institute

Dr. Irwin Weil, reporting on a Soviet-American Literary Symposia at Northwestern University's Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, says that: 1) five scholars from Gorky Institute of World Literature met with five Northwestern University scholars for the third in the symposia series, "Gorky and Chekhov," April 25-26; 2) the Soviet Academy of Sciences Press, "Nauka," published, in Russian, the previous Symposium (June '84 in Moscow) on Pushkin; 3) Dr. Weil was in Moscow, June '85, to discuss future symposia, the next to be in Moscow, on Gogol, late '86; 4) this fall two Soviet scholars from the Soviet Institute for USA & Canada Studies will visit the university's Chicago campus to discuss Soviet culture and their analysis of US political groups.

Mark Twain Performs in Moscow and Invites Scholars to US

Bill McLinn ("Mark Twain, Himself") was in Moscow for the International Book Fair. He performed at the Book Fair, Moscow State University and the Writers Union. Mark Twain is a favorite in the USSR, and McLinn's portrayal of

him was well received. McLinn arranged for Soviet literary scholars to attend Mark Twain commemorative ceremonies in November in the US. The tour is scheduled to take the Soviet scholars on a coast to coast lecture tour, explaining Mark Twain's popularity in the USSR.

City-to-City Programs Continue Activities

Tashkent Mayor Shukurulla Mirsayidov headed a 25-member delegation from Tashkent to visit Sister City Seattle, Sept. 24-28. The official delegation included four public officials, a writer, a physician, a teacher, an economist, a film operator, a producer, a sculptor, a painter, a Moslem spiritual leader, a vocalist, a dancer and a drummer.

Highlights of the visit included "Sister City Celebration" at the historic Fifth Avenue Theatre featuring Uzbek artists performing the music and dance of Tashkent; the world premiere of "People-to-People," the documentary film about citizen diplomacy between Seattle and Tashkent, filmed by Marlow Boyer; a public tree planting ceremony in Seattle's Tashkent Park, and an official dinner hosted by Seattle Mayor Charles Royer, the Seattle City Council and the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Committee. Mayor Royer and Mayor Mirsayidov will meet New York City Mayor Ed Koch face-to-face, although 3,000 miles apart, by slow-scan video, a means of sending pictures as well as voice by standard telephone to anywhere in the world, handled by Space Bridge, Inc.

* * *

Tallahassee, Florida, had a successful meeting with sister city Krasnodar in August. Twelve Tallahassee citizens were in the USSR, Leningrad, Kiev, Krasnodar, Sochi, Moscow, Aug. 9-25. In Krasnodar, the Concert hall was filled to hear Tallahassee pianist, Velma Feye. Two exhibits, photography and children's art were displayed at the Krasnodar City Hall, and plans were made for a summer '86 trip.

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The mayor of Washington, D.C., is being encouraged by a local task force to establish and develop a capital cities relationship between Washington and Moscow. Supporters propose the development of programs of exchange and collaboration to promote greater understanding between the cities' peoples.

Gainesville Goes to Novorossiisk with Cloggers

On August 9, a delegation of 43 Gainesville residents embarked on a 17-day journey to Novorossiisk, USSR, Gainesville's Sister City on the Black Sea. Accompanying the group were the Cross Creek Cloggers and the Bucksnot Barndance Band, Gainesville's official cultural emissaries, who gave performances and informal workshops in five Soviet cities--Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Krasnodar and Novorossiisk. WUFT-TV (Channel 5) sent a three-person crew to produce a one-hour documentary which will be aired nationally this fall by PBS, the Public Broadcasting System.

Peace Corps Returned Volunteers Dedicate Peace Park

A New York City "peace park" was dedicated August 14 at a site across from the United Nations building in a move jointly inspired by Ploughshares, a Seattle-based group of former Peace Corps volunteers and Architects, Designers and Planners for Social Responsibility, a national organization based in New York City. Ploughshares has asked Moscow mayor Vladimir Promyslov to provide a USSR city site for a bi-national Peace Park to be built by Peace Corps volunteers with their Soviet counterparts, according to a design derived from a national competition in the US, juried by a joint Soviet-American jury.

Friendship Force Exchanges

The Friendship Force enters phase two of its Soviet-American exchange on October 14. The first phase of the program took place May 8-13 with a delegation of citizens from the Soviet Republic of Georgia home-hosted by families in US Georgia. As a result of that shared experience, The Friendship Force was invited to send a return delegation to the Soviet Union. The reciprocal two-week exchange includes Leningrad, Moscow and Soviet Georgia's capital city, Tbilisi. Led by Wayne Smith, president of The Friendship Force, this visit will be the first time Friendship Force ambassadors are hosted by Soviet families in their homes.

US-USSR Bridges for Peace Exchanges

US-USSR Bridges for Peace plans for '85-'86 include:

- o Massachusetts State Exchange. A group of 15 persons from Massachusetts visited the USSR September 18 to October 2, '85 as guests of the Soviet Peace Committee. In spring '86 the Soviet exchange delegation will visit Massachusetts (tentatively May 19-June 2).
- o New Jersey Exchange. A group of 15 persons from New Jersey go to the USSR as guests of the Soviet Peace Committee fall '86 (tentatively set for September 17-October 1, '86). The spring '87 exchange visit by a Soviet delegation to New Jersey is tentatively set for May 21-June 4, '87.
- o Christian Leaders Exchange. A second exchange with the Russian Orthodox Church is planned for spring '86 when a 15-person delegation of clergy from the USSR will visit New England and Mid-Atlantic states. This is tentatively scheduled for April 3-17, '86. Besides Russian Orthodox it is expected that Baptist and other churches will be represented. The exchange visit by a 15-person US delegation of persons active in Christian church life would go to the USSR September 17-October 1, '86.
- o Women's Exchange. Plans are now being made for a second exchange with the Soviet Women's Committee. The delegation of Soviet women would visit the US in fall '86 (tentatively November 3-17, '86). The US exchange delegation would visit the USSR spring '87 (tentatively May 13-27). Northeast states would provide the participating constituencies.

Volga Peace Cruise/Mississippi Peace Cruise

The seventh Volga Peace Cruise was held in the Soviet Union during the period of July 13-August 4, consisting of 109 people from 20 states and the District of Columbia. Speakers and resource people from the United States and the Soviet Union explored ways in which people in the two countries could work more effectively for disarmament and for improved relations between the two countries.

Instead of a Volga Peace Cruise being held during the summer of '86 there will be a Mississippi Peace Cruise on the Delta Queen Steamboat during the period of July 26-August 2. Soviet guests will join people from the US on the seven day cruise from St. Paul, Minnesota, to St. Louis, Missouri, with several stops en route. Discussions on peace issues will be held similar to those on past Volga Peace Cruises. Thirteen peace organizations are sponsoring the cruise. Contact Promoting Enduring Peace.

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"Soviet-American relations reached an all-time low today for the fourteenth consecutive day, establishing a new record for consecutive all-time lows."

Drawing by Fradon; © 1984
The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

TRIPS

Independent Travel in the Soviet Union, Cities That Are Open

Tour Designs, Inc. has just published its new brochure, "Independent Travel in the Soviet Union," outlining all of the information you need for independent travel in the Soviet Union. With the increased interest in travel to the USSR, many people are unsure how to book individual travel; questions about visas, hotel reservations and vouchers are often confusing. Tour Designs also lists the following cities which have Intourist facilities and may be included in an itinerary (excursions are available to other cities):

Alma Ata	Kazbegi	Novgorod	Sochi
Ashkhabad	Khabarovsk	Novosibirsk	Sukhumi
Baku	Kharkov	Odessa	Suzdal
Batumi	Kherson	Ordzhonikidze	Tallinn
Beltsi	Kiev	Orel	Tashkent
Brest	Kishinev	Pasanuri	Tbilisi
Bukhara	Kislovodsk	Poltava	Telavi
Chemovtsy	Krasnodar	Pskov	Temopol
Donetsk	Kursk	Pyatigorsk	Tiraspol
Dushanbe	Leningrad	Petrozavodsk	Uzhgorod
Fergana	Listvyanka	Riga	Urgench
Frunze	Lvov	Rostov-On-Don	Vilnius
Gori	Moscow	Rovno	Vinnitsa
Irkutsk	Minsk	Samarkand	Volgograd
Ivanovo	Murmansk	Simferopol	Yalta
Kalinin	Nalchik	Smolensk	Yerevan
			Zaporozhye

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In response to the usual advice regarding anti-jet lag precautions--drink lots of plain fluids, start out well-rested, avoid smoking, coffee, large meals--Dr. Charles Ehret of the Argonne National Laboratory has developed a method involving mental imagery, light exposure and diet. Available on a wallet-sized card.

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The Citizen Exchange Council is a nonprofit, nonpartisan educational organization which designs cultural, professional and avocational travel programs to the Soviet Union. CEC's goal is to increase mutual understanding and cooperation between American and Soviet citizens.

- Musical Life: Dec. 26, '85 - Jan. 13, '86/ Moscow, Tbilisi, Leningrad, and Tallinn.
- Children's Literature: Dec. 27, '85 - Jan. 6, '86/ Leningrad and Moscow.
- Peace Organization: De. 28, '85 - Jan. 13, '86/ Moscow, Riga and Leningrad.
- Dance Professionals: Feb. 19 - Mar. 3, '86/ Moscow and Leningrad.
- Cross-country Skiing: Feb. 14 - Mar. 1, '86/ Moscow, Suzdal, Leningrad and Olgin.

Educational Research: Mar. 7-23 '86/ Leningrad, Simferopol, Kishinev, and Moscow.

Spring in the Caucasus: Apr. 11-27, '86/ Moscow, Tbilisi, Yerevan and Leningrad. The perfect introductory program.

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Anniversary Tours offers a variety of tours of varying duration throughout the year. Included are: "Capital Cities," Moscow, Kiev, Leningrad; "Russia and the Ukraine," Moscow, Volgograd, Odessa, Kiev, Leningrad; "Trans-Caucasian Adventure," Leningrad, Tbilisi, Yerevan, Kiev, Moscow, Paris; "Splendors of Central Asia," Moscow, Samarkand, Bukhara, Khiva, Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Leningrad; "Across the Soviet Union to Siberia and into Mongolia," Leningrad, Tashkent, Khabarovsk, Trans-Siberian Railroad, Irkutsk, Ulan Bator, Gobi Desert, Moscow, Paris; "From Yalta to Leningrad," Leningrad, Minsk, Yalta, Kiev, Moscow, Paris; "Moscow Stars Festival," Moscow, Volgograd, Odessa, Kiev, Leningrad; "White Nights Festival," Moscow, Volgograd, Odessa, Kiev, Leningrad; "Trans-Caucasian Kiev Festival," Leningrad, Tbilisi, Yerevan, Kiev, Moscow, Paris; "Trans-Caucasian White Nights Festival," Leningrad, Tbilisi, Yerevan, Kiev, Moscow, Paris; "Leningrad White Nights Festival," Leningrad, Minsk, Yalta, Kiev, Moscow, Paris.

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Academic Travel Abroad, Inc. offers a variety of tours:

Russia Winter IX--Mongolia: Dec. 26-Jan. 11/ Moscow, Leningrad, Lake Baikal, Ulan Bator/ \$2,275.

Russia Winter IX--Ski: Dec. 27-Jan. 11/ Moscow, Yerevan, Tshaxidzor, Rovaniemi, Helsinki/ \$2,085.

Russian Winter IX--Yalta: Dec. 27-Jan. 11/ Moscow, Leningrad, Yalta/ \$1,635.

American University trip: Dec. 28-Jan. 13/ Moscow, Leningrad, Riga, Tallinn, Helsinki/ \$1,599.

Gala Winter in the USSR: Dec. 28-Jan. 12/ Moscow, Odessa, Leningrad/ \$1,585.

Russia and the Caucasus: Dec. 28-Jan. 12/ Moscow, Leningrad, Tbilisi, Helsinki/ \$1,665.

Friends of the National Zoo: Feb. 26-Mar. 7/ Finnish Lapland--Helsinki, Rovaniemi/ \$1,930.

University of Utah: Mar. 20-Apr. 2/ Moscow, Leningrad (price information available from Eugene Fitzgerald, Dept. of Languages, OSH Building 152, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT 84112.

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Schedule of Upcoming Trips to the USSR

Nov. 4-22: "A Journey of the Heart," Kiev, Moscow, Cherkassy, Odessa, \$1590, including orientation materials, Earthstewards Network.

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Nov. 11-24: East Wind Records, in association with the Citizen Exchange Council will take a jazz tour to the Soviet Union. The purpose of the journey is to become acquainted with the social forces behind jazz in two of the USSR's most critical cultural crossroads, Moscow and Leningrad, where Soviet jazz life in several of its most interesting aspects will be explored. In Moscow the group will attend one or two concerts, meet with musicians, talk with critics, visit the Union of Composers, go to a music school, tour a recording studio and a record factory, and stop in at a record store. In Leningrad, the group will attend what has become the national all-star jazz event of the year in the USSR, the annual Autumn Rhythms Jazz Festival. Running from Wednesday, November 13 through Sunday, November 17 at the Kapranov Palace of Culture, the festival features headline shows all five nights and in the afternoon on Saturday and Sunday.

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Dec. 20-Jan. 3: Youth Dialogue Tour for educators, parents, interested adults and senior high school students. Moscow, Smolensk and Prague, \$1,350, Anniversary Tours.

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Dec. 26-Jan. 12: The Smithsonian Institution Associates Program offers Tallinn, Moscow, Vladimir, Suzdal.

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Jan. 10-25: The Kennedy Center, Washington, D.C., has organized a two-week tour of Russian theater, Moscow and Leningrad, including eight performances of opera, ballet, symphony and folk dance, \$2,740, Academic Travel.

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Jan. 19-Feb. 2: Barbara Marx Hubbard leads a Center for Soviet-American Dialogue trip, "In Search for a Positive Future," Moscow, Leningrad and Tbilisi, \$2,295, Soviet-American Travel.

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Feb. 16: Skiing trips designed by Mountain Travel and the USSR Sports Committee are scheduled for early '86. "USSR: The Caucasus" invites you to ski Mt. Elbrus, 18 days. The trip will be repeated on two later dates, yet unscheduled. Unscheduled, also, are mountaineering and skiing trips to Dombai, the Pamirs, Alma-Ata and Altai for '86.

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US-USSR Bridges for Peace, in cooperation with Anniversary Tours, Feb. 23-Mar. 10 -- Tbilisi, Yerevan, Baku, \$1,580; June 15-30 -- Moscow, Leningrad, Riga, \$1,895; Oct. 12-27 -- Moscow, Kiev, Minsk, \$1,625.

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The Center for US-USSR Initiatives has taken a group of US citizens to the USSR each month of '85. Among the '86 trips planned by the Center are:

Recovering Alcoholics will travel to the Soviet Union, April '86, for the purpose of sharing their method of sobriety with Soviets working in the campaign against alcoholism. Official and unofficial meetings are planned to discuss the common problem.

Women in Leadership, May '86, in response to the Soviet Women's Committee's request, "bring us your women in power--in leadership. It is time the women of our two countries come together." Women in politics, journalism, business, arts and education are being brought together for this convening.

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April 5-20: The American Soviet Cultural Exchange and the League of Women Voters, Massachusetts, are co-sponsoring Soviet Women in Politics, a tour to Moscow, Leningrad, and Tbilisi.

ASCE has just opened an office in Washington, D.C., at 1302 R Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009. Phone: (202) 332-1145. C. Grant Pendill, Jr. is the Executive Director, and Galina Sultan Pendill is the Coordinator of Interpreting Services.

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June '86: The US-USSR Church Relations Committee of the National Council of Churches is planning a large group trip to the USSR. Conner Center.

Jazz Musician, Fred Starr, Takes Jazz to the Soviet Union

Fred Starr, president of Oberlin College, jazz musician, and author of Red and Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union, described his recent trip for the ISAR journal:

"In early July, 1985, the Louisiana Repertory Jazz Ensemble toured Eastern Europe and the USSR. In Poland the group were the guests of The Polish Jazz Society, while in both the USSR and Czechoslovakia the Ensemble were guests of the American ambassadors.

"While the absence of a cultural agreement prevented the LRJE from appearing in major public halls, the presence of the band in Leningrad provided the occasion for a large number of local officials, cultural figures, and an impressive array of jazz musicians to attend a performance at the Consulate. Following the performance Leningrad jazz musicians joined the band for an informal jazz session that lasted several hours.

"In Moscow the LRJE appeared at Ambassador and Mrs. Arthur Hartman's traditional Fourth of July celebration at Spaso House. In spite of the general chill in relations, the Soviet turnout for the celebration was impressively large and stunningly exuberant. Members of the LRJE performed for over four hours for what began as a diplomatic reception and ended as a lively dance."

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Public Agenda Foundation/Center for Foreign Policy Development

Since 1983, the Public Agenda Foundation of New York and the Center for Foreign Policy Development at Brown University have been engaged in a joint, long-term program that will use public attitudes on nuclear weapons and US-Soviet relations as a tool for developing choices that can lead to consensus.

The first phase of this program was completed in the autumn of 1984 with the publication of a study, "Voter Options on Nuclear Arms Policy." The study analyzed American perceptions and opinions regarding the Soviet Union and the threat of nuclear war, and offered four distinct options for dealing with nuclear weapons--options designed to be responsive to public concerns and assumptions, at the level of generality where the public seems comfortable.

Public Agenda and the Brown Center are currently undertaking the second phase of their program--a three-year project intended to develop meaningful policy options not only on nuclear arms but also on dealing with the central issues of US-Soviet relations. These will be "public choices," meaning that they will flow from underlying public assumptions, will pass muster with experts, and will take account of political realities.

The project comprises several closely related tasks: 1) research and formulation of "public choices"; 2) refining them through discussions among community leaders and groups drawn from the public as well as consultations with our allies and with Soviet groups; 3) conducting "public choice" campaigns in selected communities using visual and printed materials; and 4) communicating the results to American leaders and the public.

Yettering Foundation: National Issues Forum

The Yettering Foundation's National Issues Forum for Fall '85 will include, along with welfare and taxes, the conflict between the US and the Soviet Union. The US-Soviet Forum will reexamine assumptions about the Soviets and rethink rules for coexisting with the Soviet Union. The different perspectives will be explored through an examination of three questions crucial to US-Soviet relations: How should we respond to the Soviet Union as an imperialist power whose goal is to export its ideology? How should we relate to the Soviets as a partner in international trade and cultural exchange? How much of a military threat should we pose to the Soviets? Must we rely on a position of superior strength? The '84 Forum participants, 55 citizens from 25 states, were in Washington May 13-15 to convey the results of their studies to members of the Congress and the White House staff.

Committee for National Security City Discussions

The Committee for National Security is embarking on a new program designed to reach three key types of opinion leaders--women leaders and leaders of mainstream women's organizations, other leaders and organizations such as civic and professional groups, and the national press. Three major issues have been

selected: US-Soviet relations, nuclear strategy and arms control, and realistic threat assessments. CNS will focus its efforts on four to six cities each year. For this year, Atlanta, Pittsburgh, Phoenix, and Milwaukee have been selected. Others under consideration include Columbus, Ohio; Memphis; Dallas; Bozeman, Montana; and Portland, Oregon.

The report of the CNS Fourth Women's Leadership Conference, June 13-15, "National Security: Enduring Problems, New Issues," is now available.

Soviet Embassy Information Department Provides Speakers and Materials

The Information Department of the Soviet Embassy regularly organizes lectures or round-table discussions with groups of students both in Washington, D.C. (in the office of the Information Department) and in many other cities--at colleges, universities, community centers, etc. Groups desiring to participate in an exchange of opinions with Soviet diplomats, journalists or political analysts or to see Soviet documentary films and sound filmstrips should contact Eugene A. Zykov, Information Officer.

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The Council on Economic Priorities has organized a 1985-86 dinner series of lectures on a range of topics affecting global relations. The series begins October 10 in New York City. Speakers include Paul Warnke, Marshall Goldman, Robert Reich, Michael Pertschuk, Jonathan Schell and Daniel Yankelovich.

Educators for Social Responsibility: "Days of Dialogue"

"Days of Dialogue, 1985: Finding Common Ground" is an Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR) program, planned for Nov. 11-15, immediately preceding the Geneva Summit meeting. ESR provides a Days of Dialogue curriculum packet to participants to use in identifying those overlapping interests that Americans share with each other and the problems shared by the US and the USSR. \$4.

Harvard's Russian Research Center Seminars

Harvard University's Russian Research Center continues to provide seminars on history and current issues involving the USSR and the US. Included are:

October 21, Soviet Agriculture

October 30, Michael Voslensky, author of Nomenklatura

November 18, Murray Feshbach, The Issue of Nationalities in the USSR

December 2, Ambassador Warren Zimmerman, "The Arms Control Process"

Harriman Institute Seminars

The Harriman Institute provides a special Tuesday/Thursday luncheon lecture series, directed by Jonathan Sanders, the Institute's Assistant Director. Over the year a wide array of specialists--from such eminent academics as Richard Lowenthal and Alexander Rabinowitch to practicing journalists like Samuel

Rachlin and Harrison Salisbury, from such novelists as Vassilii Aksyenov to members of the young American debate team that toured the Soviet Union in 1984. The Institute intends to add to this vital program a special lecture series on Soviet nationality problems, as well as a new interdisciplinary seminar on communism.

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The Riverside Church Disarmament Program is focusing this fall on US-USSR relations through a study course and film series. The course lasts six weeks, October 7-November 11, 7-9 p.m., at Riverside Church. Top speakers will lecture on US-USSR relations, US public opinion, Soviet policy in the Third World, and alternative policies (\$35, including textbook).

In addition, a free film festival on the Soviet Union is offered on Thursdays, Sept. 5-Nov. 21, 7 p.m. Feature films and documentaries are being shown.

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In its ongoing series, the Soviet Studies Program of The Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) offers a lecture, Oct. 21, "Politics and Sociology in the USSR," by Dr. Richard B. Dodson, USIA.

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The Institute for Policy Studies offers a number of courses for better understanding current Soviet-American relations. Among them are "Soviet Involvement in the Third World" and "The Political Culture of the Cold War." IPS courses are generally evening, once a week courses, lasting for four to eight weeks. Fees vary from \$50 to \$80, accordingly.

Kennan Institute Scholars

The Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies announces that it will host several distinguished Fellows in '85-'86:

Dusko Doder, Moscow Bureau Chief, Washington Post, Jan.-Aug. '86

"Power in the Kremlin, 1980-85: Years of Exhausted Communism"

Arkady Lvov, freelance writer, New York, Dec. '85-Apr. '86

Third and fourth volumes of the novel Dvor

Daniel Kaiser, Joseph F. Rosenfield Professor of Social Studies, Grinnell College, Jan.-May '86

"Marriage and Family in Early Modern Russia"

Alma Law, Co-Director, Institute for East European Drama and Theatre, City University of New York Graduate Center, Aug.-Dec. '85

"The Soviet Theater: 1952-85--the Politics of Culture Since Stalin"

Anna Maltese Lawton, Associate Professor of Russian, Purdue University, July-Oct. '85

"Cinema and the Russian Avant-garde"

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The New York Times, 8/22/85, reminds us that Alaska was a Russian colony until purchased by the US for \$7.2 million in 1867. The Library of Congress is conducting a study of the records of the Russian Orthodox Church in Alaska. Such records can be used by people today to show that they are native-born Alaskans, which could mean large payments to them from the state of Alaska in revenues from the oil that Seward inadvertently gained title to.

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An exhibit of Armenian rugs, "Weavers, Merchants and Kings -- The Inscribed Rugs of Armenia," is on its way to Washington, D.C. (Oct. 27-Jan. 25) and Fresno, California (Feb. 15-Apr. 18).

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Between May 12 and July 21 a collection of works by Russian artist Marc Chagall (1887-1985) was exhibited at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Over 200 art objects were on display, including paintings, lithographs, stained glass windows, and theater backdrops. Approximately 237,000 people viewed the exhibit while on display in Philadelphia. Another 180,000 viewed the exhibit at the World Academy of London before its coming to Philadelphia. The exhibit, originally scheduled to close on July 14, was extended another two weeks, due to popular demand.

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The International Center of Photography, New York, ran an exhibit, "Soviet Photography of World War II: 1941-1945," August 2-September 8. The Center provides a brochure listing the works and including one reproduction. At a reception, September 6, honoring Soviet Ambassador Oleg Troyanovsky, Permanent Representative to the UN, Soviets and Americans met to view the collection.

Vladimir Vysotsky Honored on Anniversary of His Death

On the fifth anniversary of the death of Soviet actor and bard, Vladimir Vysotsky, thousands of Soviet admirers gathered to honor him at the cemetery. According to the New York Times, 8/4/85, Vysotsky was "a man whose songs were barely tolerated by authorities during his lifetime and who has become, since his death at the age of 42, probably the most idolized figure in the Soviet Union today..."

"He sang of the ironies and hardships of life in the USSR. "Mr. Vysotsky's underground life quickly overtook his official career, though he remained an extremely popular actor. He sang for small groups, and his songs spread through the country on homemade recordings.

"The extent of his popularity became clear only on his death in 1980 of a heart attack. Without any official announcement or organization, 100,000 people gathered outside the Taganka Theater in a mass demonstration without parallel in the memory of people here.

"As his popularity has continued, limited and carefully selected editions of his lyrics have been published officially, and the recording monopoly Melodiya has issued a record of some of his milder songs."

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Lovers and learners of the Russian language can subscribe to Washington, D.C.'s local monthly newsletter, MARS (Metro Area Russian Speakers). Along with news items of local activities are a crossword puzzle and poetry for the experts. \$20/year

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The May McCall's magazine contains an article on the Peace Quilt. The quilt began in 1981 with a few women in Idaho and Betty Bumpers' first efforts to form Peace Links. The patchwork was embroidered and assembled by the Boise, Idaho, peace quilters, who have asked every US Senator to spend one night sleeping under it and then to describe his experience and feelings in the Peace Log that accompanies the quilt to the senators' homes. Other quilts made by the Boise group have been sent to the USSR and Japan.

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One of many US schools participating in the Earthstewards Network peace quilt project, the Milton (Mass.) Elementary School children created a quilt which is to be delivered to a Soviet orphanage. Each student designed and painted a version of a favorite animal.

AVAILABLE ISAR AND FCNL MATERIALS

ISAR

'83 Handbook of Organizations Involved in Soviet-American Relations	\$20
Handbook for American Hosts: Inviting and Sponsoring Soviet Guests	\$ 6
Surviving Together: An Update on Soviet-American Relations (1 year---3 issues)	\$24
A Brief Study of Russian Language Education in the US	\$ 1
History of Soviet-American Satellite Telecommunications	\$ 8

FCNL

FCNL Newsletter (11 issues)	\$15
US/Soviet Study Packet	\$ 2
Summary of 81-page State Dept. Evaluation of US-USSR exchange programs, '81 and '82 (G332a)	Free
46-page background paper on US/Soviet Conflicts in the Developing World: The Search for Ground Rules (G517)	\$ 2

CONFERENCE AND MEETING CALENDAR

Oct. 14-28: In connection with the visit to Peace Links of 15 Soviet women, two conferences are scheduled. Discussions at the beginning of the visit, Oct. 16, and at the conclusion, Oct. 26, after the women have visited Peace Links cities all over the US, concentrate on the changing roles of women at different stages of life, focusing on what women can do to promote better understanding between the Soviet and American people.

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October 30-November 4. The Third World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, hosted by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, and co-sponsored by the AASS and ICSEES, will be held at the Sheraton Washington Hotel, Washington, DC.

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Nov. 7-10: The Friends Committee on National Legislation's annual meeting, Washington, D.C., will open with an address by William Barton, former General Secretary of Friends World Committee for Consultation. He will speak on "Friends Stance in World Affairs: East-West, North-South." This meeting follows a three-day leadership seminar at William Penn House on "Working for Global Survival by Building Better US-Soviet Relations."

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Nov. 7-10: The annual conference of the university Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED) will be held at Berkeley, California, jointly hosted by the University of California and the Graduate Theological Union. The theme of the conference is "New Resources for Global Security: Nonviolent Alternatives."

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Nov. 11-15. "Days of Dialogue: Finding Common Ground," an Educators for Social Responsibility program for identifying common interests and problems.

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Nov. 14: The film of the Seattle visit to Sister City Tashkent, People-to-People, by Marlow Boyer, will be shown at Lisner Auditorium in Washington, D.C. Two shorter films, one of the Samantha Smith trip to the USSR, the other of 10-year-old Hiroshima victim Sadaka's peace crane project will also be shown. Speakers will include Tony Wagner of Educators for Social Responsibility.

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Nov. 19-20: Reagan and Gorbachev Meet in Geneva

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November 28-30, 1985. The annual meeting of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, on the theme "Citizens of the World through Language Study," will take place at the Marriott Marquis Hotel, New York City. Pre-conference workshops are scheduled November 25-27.

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Dec. 7-9: US-USSR Trade and Economic Council's annual meeting in Moscow.

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December 27-29, 1985. The American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages (AATSEEL) will hold its annual meeting at the Palmer House Hotel, Chicago.

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Dec. 30-Jan. 5: The first International Conference on Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies at the University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji. Contact Jeannette P. Maas, The University of the South Pacific, Box 1168, Suva, FIJI.

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The Dartmouth Conference, Kettering Foundation, continues its dialogues with two meetings in Moscow, late January and February, on arms control and political relations.

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Late February: 27th Communist Party Congress

Conferences That Have Already Taken Place

The fourth annual international conference of Students for the Exploration and Development of Space (SEDS) was held in Washington July 19-21. Topics discussed included Space Development, Space Exploration and an international panel discussion on Our World in Space.

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Nine hundred fifty scholars from 42 countries, including the Soviet Union, met for the International Congress of the History of Science at the University of California, Berkeley, July 31-August 8.

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A seminar sponsored by the American Center for International Leadership was held in Denver August 16-22. This seminar was attended by 12 Soviet leaders and 12 Americans. Its purpose was to promote a dialogue among the counterparts from the two countries.

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The Institute for Policy Studies held its fourth annual conference with delegates of the Soviet Institute for the Study of USA and Canada, Sept. 5-8, San Francisco. Topics discussed included: 1) common security, general disarmament and arms control as alternatives to "star wars" and the arms race; 2) the UN and the solution to political and other problems through international cooperation; 3) the Pacific Basin--an area of conflict or cooperation? 4) problems of Third World development including questions of intervention; and 5) the role of ideology in the modern world.

The US delegation, led by Marcus Raskin, numbered fifteen people. The Soviet delegation numbered ten people, and was led by Georgi Arbatov, Central Committee member and Director of the Institute for the Study of USA and Canada.

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The Foreign Policy Research Council and the Institute of USA and Canada Studies met in Philadelphia, September 13-15, for the fifth of a series of joint conferences. Sessions included discussions of current Soviet-American relations, problems in arms limitation and reduction and regional conflicts and international security. The conference is administered under the American Council of Learned Societies/Soviet Academy of Sciences Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences. A report of the July 3-5, '84 meeting in Moscow as well as reports of other conferences are available.

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Harvard's Russian Research Center provided a "Preparation for Geneva: Orientation for Journalists Who Want More Information on the Soviet Union," Sept. 23. Included were seminars on political developments, social and economic developments, as well as reports by correspondents Dusko Doder, Washington Post; Bernard Gwertzman, New York Times; and Stuart Loory, Cable News Network, on covering the news in Moscow.

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From October 6-12, the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) held a workshop on "Innovation Management: Innovation and Modernization," at Ohio State University. Collaborating at the workshop were representatives of Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Japan, the US and the USSR.

BOOKS

America Through America's Eyes, Association of American Publishers, '85, NY. This extraordinary book, put together for the Moscow International Book Fair, provides brief reviews, in English and Russian, of the carefully selected 300 American books in this exhibit. Fifty thousand copies were distributed at the Fair. Available. Association of American Publishers, 220 W. 23rd Street, New York, NY 10011.

Shared Destiny: 50 Years of Soviet-American Relations, ed. Mark Garrison and Abbot Gleason, Boston, Beacon Press, '85, \$16.95. This is a thoughtful analysis of this troubled relationship, provided by George Kennan, Adam B. Ulam, Alexander Dallin, John Lewis Gaddis, Robert Dallek and Hans Rogger. These distinguished contributors examine traits and traditions in both countries that have impeded communication, the history of the resulting antagonisms and possible paths toward improved understanding and reduced tensions.

The New Direction in American Politics, ed. John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson, Brookings Institution, '85, Wash., D.C. This volume explores the new direction in which the Reagan presidency has taken American politics. A chapter by John Steinbruner explores change in US-USSR relations. Steinbruner holds that: "The clearest and most assertive position is held by a minority who believe that Soviet actions are driven by the intention to establish worldwide political domination by means of military power. They conclude that acceptable peace cannot be achieved until this fundamental intention is reversed...."

"These demands are rejected by a majority who hold more diverse, more uncertain, less intense, and less coherently articulated opinions....The majority share a distrust of the Soviet government and concern for the consequences of its military power but do not accept the compelling characterization of aggressive Soviet intentions. The majority will support resistance to immediate military challenge but not assertive measures to impose reform.

"Proponents of each body of opinion have blocked the full program of the other, leaving an indeterminate posture for American security policy that echoes the famous Bolshevik phrase--not war but not peace either."

Sectors of Mutual Benefit in US-Soviet Relations, ed. Nish Jamgotch, Jr., Duke University Press, '85, \$35, with a foreword by Fred Warner Neal. A distinguished panel of analysts examines areas of US-Soviet cooperation: crisis communications, trade, science, agriculture, environmental protection, space and medicine. Without minimizing the enormous damages of ongoing strategic military competition, the contributors attempt to determine which sectors of US-Soviet relations have yielded the most significant mutual benefits.

Russia: The Roots of Confrontation, Robert V. Daniels, '85, Harvard University Press, \$25. This volume details the long history of Russia as it affects current policy and action.

The Making of America's Soviet Policy, Joseph S. Nye, Jr., ed., Yale University Press, '84, \$12.95. The authors of this book, including editor Nye, Marshall Goldman, Strobe Talbott, William Schneider, Samuel Huntington, examine

the processes and politics by which the US formulates policy toward the Soviet Union. A Council on Foreign Relations book.

Other available and pertinent publications of the Council on Foreign Relations are:

Nuclear Weapons in Europe, William G. Hyland, Lawrence D. Freedman, Paul C. Warnke, Karsten D. Voigt, Andrew J. Pierre.

Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa, I. William Zartman.

Arms and the African: The Military Influences on Africa's International Relations, William J. Foltz and Henry S. Bienen, eds.

The Nuclear Controversy: A Foreign Affairs Reader, William P. Bundy, ed.

Strategic Stalemate: Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control in American Politics, Michael Krepon.

Soviet Policy in Eastern Europe, Sarah Meiklejohn Terry, ed.

The Dilemma of Reform in the Soviet Union, Timothy J. Colton.

The Russians and Reagan, Strobe Talbott.

The Non-Aligned, the UN and the Superpowers, Richard L. Jackson.

Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York, NY 10021

Detente and Confrontation, Raymond Garthoff, Brookings Institution, '85, \$16.95. What is detente? What did it achieve during the 1970s, and why did it fail? Should the United States try to rebuild it today? How ought any new version differ from its predecessor? These questions are dealt with by Mr. Garthoff.

Private Diplomacy with the Soviet Union, The Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, '85. This work contains pieces by Philip Stewart, Landrum Bolling and Harold Saunders (Kettering Foundation), Armand Hammer (Occidental Petroleum), James Billington (Woodrow Wilson Center), Ambassador Walter Stoessel, Robert Schmidt (Control Data), Jeanne Mattison (American Committee on East-West Accord), Toby Gati (UNA of the USA), Jim Hickman and Jim Garrison (Esalen Soviet-American Exchange Program), with a foreword by Ambassador David Newsome, director of the Institute. Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown Univ., Washington, DC 20006.

Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam, Gar Alperovitz, Penguin, '85, \$7.95. This book, first published in '65, considers whether the detonation of atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the culmination of World War II or the beginning and principal cause of the cold war.

Who Will Stop the Bomb? A Primer on Nuclear Proliferation, Roger Molander and Robbie Nichols, Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies. This book wrestles with the questions of nuclear proliferation, as they affect Soviet-American relations and the globe.

Psychology and the Prevention of Nuclear War, Ralph K. White, ed., '85, NYU Press, \$16.40. This book, sponsored by the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, is a unique collection of readings from experts in the social

sciences on the psychological issues in understanding and preventing nuclear war. New York Univ. Press, 70 Washington Square So., New York, NY 10012

The New KGB: Engine of Soviet Power, William Corson and Robert Crowley, NY, Morrow, '85, \$19.95. This book details the evolution of the KGB from founder Dzerzhinsky to the present.

Epic of the Century, Vito Sansone, Imported Publications, Chicago, '81. Italian author Sansone gives a first-hand account of how the Soviet peoples' combined efforts have transformed Siberia--once a desolate region and cruel prison--into industrialized, thriving communities.

The Soviet Union, Time-Life Books, '85, Chicago. This is the first in a Time-Life series, The Library of Nations. It contains 150 color photographs and 40,000 words of text. Time-Life Books, Chicago, IL 60611

The Ribbon, A Celebration of Life, Lark Books, '85, tells the story of the banner and those around the world who made it. \$14.95. Lark, 50 College St., Asheville, NC 28801

Ardabiola, A Fantasy, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, St. Martin's Press, '85, \$11.95. This book is described in a New York Times review, 6/22, as a "short, entertaining novel. It is set in the Soviet Union, has excellent local color and may well appeal to American readers wishing to sample modern Moscow from a distance."

The Master and Margarita, Mikhail Bulgakov, New American Library, \$4.95. This satirical novel, written 20 years ago, has only recently been published in the USSR and is a bestseller.

The Red Fox, Anthony Hyde, NY, Knopf, \$17.95. A well-written thriller.

A Vanished Present: The Memoirs of Alexander Pasternak, ed. Ann Pasternak Slater, NYC, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, '85, \$17.95. Alexander Pasternak was a prominent Russian architect and the younger brother of Boris Pasternak, author of Dr. Zhivago. This memoir records the streets, squares, people of old Russia and the intimate life of a cultured family of the czarist empire.

Letters Summer 1926: Pasternak, Tsvetayeva, Rilke, ed. Pasternak and Azadovsky, NY, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, '85, \$24.95. These letters, exchanged over one summer, 1926, are rich in detail and insight into the personalities and writings of these literary giants, two Russian, one German.

Klass: How Russians Really Live, David K. Willis, St. Martin's, '85, \$16.95. Life behind the scenes, as seen by the Christian Science Monitor's former correspondent.

Look Comrade, The People Are Laughing. Underground humor from the USSR. John Kolasky, '72, Peter Martin Assoc., 35 Britain Street, Toronto, Ontario, M5A 1R7.

Solzhenitsyn, Michael Seammell, \$30. In the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Sept. '85, Kevin Klose says of this book, "A social and political history, literary criticism and dramatic personal tale all rolled into one, and executed on a grand scale."

Soviet Dissent, Ludmilla Alexeyeva, '85, Wesleyan U. Press, \$35. Extensive documentation of dissent within the Soviet Union.

A Defector Reports: The Institute of the USA and Canada, Delphic Associates, Barbara L. Dash, '82. This report is a compendium of material supplied by Soviet defector, Galina Orionova, for ten years a junior employee at the Institute. \$42. Delphic Associates, 2818 Cathedral Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20008

Human Rights Internet is publishing a "Human Rights Directory: Eastern Europe and the USSR." The directory describes human rights movements and organizations in those areas, as well as organizations based elsewhere working on behalf of human rights in those regions. \$25. HRI, 1338 G St., SE, Washington, DC 20003.

The John T. Conner Center offers a number of books on the USSR at a discount, 10% for non-members, 15% for members. Membership by contribution. Available books include: Chingez Aitmatov's The Day Lasts More than a Hundred Years; Robert Kaiser's Russia, The People and the Power; George Kennan's Russia and the West; William Mandel's Soviet but not Russian; Farley Mowat's The Siberians; The Jews in Soviet Russia Since 1917, edited by Lionel Kochan; and Orthodox Spirituality, An Outline of the Orthodox Ascetical and Mystical Tradition, A Monk of the Eastern Church, 2nd edition. The Center's "Second Reader on Reconciliation between the US and USSR" will be available October 15. Conner Center, 320 North St., West Lafayette, IN 47906.

Correction: William Mandel's Soviet But Not Russian, reviewed in the June issue, is available in soft as well as hard cover. Hardcover, \$20, soft, \$10.

JOURNALS, REPORTS, ARTICLES

Associated Publishers offers subscriptions to Pravda translated into English. Pravda is the official newspaper of the Communist Party. \$630 per year, 365 issues.

Associated Publishers, 1811 Hillcrest Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55116

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The Moscow News, published weekly in Russian, Arabic, English, French and Spanish, is available by subscription, \$17, at a number of agencies, including Total Circulation Services, Inc., 8th Avenue, NYC 10011; Victor Kamkin, Inc., 12224 Parklawn Drive, Rockville, MD 20852.

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Soviet Life, published by the Soviet Embassy for US consumption, is a monthly magazine, available by subscription, \$9.35 per year. Portions of each issue are devoted to Soviet-American relations.

The July issue features a number of articles dealing with Soviet-American cooperative ventures: "Handshake in Orbit" celebrates the 10th anniversary of the successful Soviet-American space mission, the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project; "Soviet-American Trade Through the Eyes of an Expert"; and "Important Dates in Soviet-American Relations". The August issue features articles on the 40th anniversary of the US-Soviet meeting on the Elbe, the 1941-45 "Lessons of Wartime Cooperation," the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students, July 27-August 3 in Moscow, and the American lecture program at Moscow State University. The September issue features an article on Thoreau in Russia.

Soviet Life, 1706 18th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009

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The Bureau of Public Affairs, US Department of State, publishes a monthly briefing on a current issue, "Gist." Occasionally these issues involve Soviet-American relations: "US-USSR Exchanges," August '84; "US-Soviet Relations," '85. Arms Control issues are more frequently covered: "Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty," June '85; "The President's Strategic Defense Initiative," March '85; "Geneva Arms Control Meeting," February '85; "Arms Control: Confidence-Building Measures," January '85; "US and NATO Nuclear Weapons Stockpile Reductions," November '84; "Conference on Disarmament in Europe," November '84; "Arms Control: MBFR Talks," April '84; "Treaty of Tlatelolco," February '82.

Most recently "Gist" (#733) contained the address given by Robert C. McFarlane, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs at a Women's Forum luncheon in Santa Barbara, August 19, "US-Soviet Relations in the Late 20th Century."

Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, DC 20520

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The July/August issue of "Problems of Democracy," US Information Agency, contains articles on "Soviet Force Posture: Dilemmas and Directions" and "Soviet-CEMA Energy Ties."

USIA, 301 4th Street, SW, Washington, DC 20547

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The National Academy of Science puts out a periodic newsletter of its Soviet-East European Exchange Program. Among other news items, the newsletter lists recently completed visits of Soviet and East European scientists to the US and US scientists to the USSR, as well as their areas of study.

Int'l Affairs Office, NAS, 2101 Constitution Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20418

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The June '85 issue of Political Psychology, journal of the International Society of Political Psychology, is a special issue on the psychology of the US-Soviet relationship. The papers collected in this issue demonstrate that

psychological factors are an indispensable--but neglected--consideration in decreasing the dissonance between the US and the USSR. The issue includes an introduction by issue editor, Joseph Montville, as well as articles by Erik Erikson, Vamik Volkan, Howard Stein, Seweryn Bialer, Andrew Schmookler, John Mack and Dorothy Austin. \$10.

Plenum, 233 Spring Street, New York, NY 10013

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"World Perspectives: A Report from Washington" provides a monthly review of current issues about the Soviet Union, its politics, economics, agriculture and commercial relations.

World Perspectives, 1701 K Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006

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The August 1 issue of The Washington Spectator is devoted to "The Soviet Union: Stirrings of Change." It is a digest of current experts' views of Gorbachev's attitudes and actions on the economic and political fronts.

Washington Spectator, Box 442, Merrifield, VA 22116

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The August '85 issue of the Institute for Space and Security Studies' newsletter is devoted to the Geneva arms negotiations and, in particular, the role of anti-satellite weapons in Soviet-American relations.

ISSS, 7720 Mary Cassatt Drive, Potomac, MD 20854

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The Planetary Society, whose president, Carl Sagan, is one of the strong advocates of a US/USSR jointly manned exploration of Mars, publishes a periodical, The Planetary Report. The March/April issue is devoted to an examination of possible future missions of men and women to the moon, the asteroids and Mars. In an editorial statement, Sagan says, "Speaking for myself, the most credible goal in exploring up there is to make things significantly better down here. And the most interesting exemplar of such missions is a joint US/USSR expedition to Mars--on behalf of the entire human species....It would be remarkable if the exploration of other worlds--an activity long (and dubiously) imagined to be of little practical benefit--played a role in resolving the most pressing and practical problem on Earth."

Planetary Society, 110 S. Euclid Avenue, Pasadena, CA 91101

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The Citizen Diplomat, newsletter of the Gainesville/Novorossiisk City-to-City Program, features articles about citizen experiences in and with the

Soviet Union, articles corroborating the need for tenacity, patience and vision in dealing with the Soviet Union.

Citizen Diplomat, 408 W. University Avenue, Gainesville, FL 32601

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The Stanley Foundation has published a pamphlet, May '85, "A Critique of the United Nations: The First Forty Years," following a May conference on the UN's impact on international relations. A complete conference report is also available.

Stanley Foundation, 420 E. Third Street, Muscatine, IA 52761

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The Planetary Society has published a report by Carl Sagan and Louis D. Friedman on US/USSR Cooperation in Exploring the Solar System, '85. It provides a detailed history of past cooperation in planetary exploration (mainly, but not exclusively, between the US and the USSR) and a summary of the Planetary Society's meetings with Soviet scientists to discuss possible bilateral cooperation for future planetary missions.

Planetary Society, 110 South Euclid, Pasadena, CA 91101

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The Episcopal Diocese of Washington's Commission on Peace has published a 120-page report, "The Nuclear Dilemma: A Search for Christian Understanding," August '85. The report is an effort to sort out the moral/ethical and political/security dimensions of the nuclear predicament. It examines the underlying premises, assumptions and beliefs--the mindsets--that underpin Soviet-American relations. The report includes an 11-page bibliography. \$3.

Peace Commission, Mt. St. Alban, Washington, DC 20016

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The International Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Fellowship of Reconciliation have joined forces in the July/August issue of Fellowship to present the global views of current problems. Thirty-seven countries are represented in this effort to cross national and international boundaries. \$1.25.

FOR, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960

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The July/August Wilson Center Reports features a report of an April Kennan Institute seminar with Vladimir Shlapentokh, professor of community health science at Michigan State University--"Soviet Values and Economic Life." The report describes the current economic and social life of Soviet citizens and the differences Shlapentokh finds between the private and public lives of citizens.

Wilson Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC 20560

The American Committee on East-West Accord's summer issue of "East-West Outlook" features a report of the spring consultation at The Carter Center, Emory University, on "International Security and Arms Control." Former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, co-chairmen, assembled US leaders from former administrations, academe, the press, the Reagan administration, as well as senior-level Soviets, including Ambassador Anatoliy Dobrynin, Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov, Lieutenant General Konstantin Mikhailov from the Ministry of Defense, and Sergei Tarasenko from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The committee report is complete with unanimous recommendations made by the group. Send \$.39 and a self-addressed envelope.

ACEWA, 109 11th Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003

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A group of Silicon Valley businessmen have reported their conclusions, drawn from a November '84 trip to the USSR in search of ways to build a world beyond war. All have adopted the precepts of Beyond War, a movement based on the belief that war in all its forms is obsolete and that individuals must take responsibility for finding creative solutions to ending war. Their report is a five-page digest of the group's experience. \$1

Beyond War, Int'l Division, 222 High Street, Palo Alto, CA 94301

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The New England Society of Newspaper Editors put together a set of translations of Soviet articles written about last year's meetings with Soviet editors.

NESNE, Box 3030, Worcester, MA 01602

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Jay Higginbotham, citizen diplomat who has traveled in the USSR, written and given speeches in the USSR and in the US over the period 1979-1985, has published a brief history of those activities, "The Vital Alliance, Speeches and Statements on Soviet-American Relations, 1979-1985."

Higginbotham, 60 North Monterey, Mobile, AL 36604

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In a series of three articles in the Washington Post, 7/28/85-7/30/85, correspondent Dusko Doder reviews the leadership goals and roles of Soviet leaders Andropov, Chernenko and Gorbachev.

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The New York Times's Seth Mydans, in the USSR during August and September, provided a series of articles on current conditions in that vast nation. The series included Soviet schools, Siberia, Soviet TV, and the role of bread in Soviet life.

Gary Thatcher, staff writer for the Christian Science Monitor, provided a series in September based on his recent observations.

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Robert B. Cullen, recently returned veteran of 2-1/2 years as Moscow Bureau Chief for Newsweek, summed up his observations in that magazine, 5/20/85.

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The June '85 issue of Soviet Woman ran an article by Diana Glasgow, Earthstewards Network, about her month-long intensive Russian language course in Moscow--her reasons for wanting to learn, and her experiences in classes.

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Newsweek, 8/19/85, features an article, "Emigres: Born in the USSR," by Robert B. Cullen and others. The article describes the trials and views of the 130,000 Soviets who have emigrated since 1970, including the success of comedian Yakov Smirnoff, as well as the disillusionment of some others.

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Former President Richard Nixon in a New York Times op-ed piece, 9/1/85, "Meeting the Russians at the Summit," provides an historical summit background and advice for the upcoming summit meeting between President Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev.

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The summer '85 issue of Foreign Policy features an article, "The Gorbachev Generation," by Konstantin Simis, a regular contributor to Radio Liberty. Rather than attempting to analyze the characteristics, tastes, personal biases and inclinations of individual Soviet leaders, Simis focuses on determining the social psychology of those Soviets, age 60 and under, who now occupy senior party and government positions. Foreign Policy, 11 Dupont Circle, Washington, DC 20036

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The current issue of WorldPaper offers analyses by Hodding Carter and Silviu Brucan of Gorbachev's and Reagan's respective domestic preoccupations and the likelihood of a new direction in East-West relations after their November summit meeting. WorldPaper, 44 Kilby Street, Boston, MA 02109

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The summer '85 issue of the World Policy Journal contains an article, "Fact and Fiction in US Foreign Policy: Reagan's Myths About Detente." The article discusses the facts of detente and the current myths as they affect Soviet-American relations and relations with other nations.

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The June '85 issue of the American Committee on East-West Accord's East-West Outlook features an article on "Confidence Building," based on Senator J. William Fulbright's remarks at a May Committee dinner: "To change superpower attitudes and promote fruitful negotiations, he said, 'we shall need to initiate a program of confidence-building measures designed to reduce the mutual mistrust that inhibits...progress. The most effective measures,' Fulbright stated, 'are joint ventures that involve the cooperation of the parties in the accomplishment of objectives beneficial to both.'" ACEWA, 109 11th Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003

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Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye in a Foreign Affairs Fall '85 article, "Two Cheers for Multilateralism," write on the important role of international institutions in achieving cooperation among nations and, in crises, in putting forward proposals that have been devised in quieter times.

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Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) has conducted an investigation of national press coverage of US-Soviet issues. Until this study little has been done to assess the effectiveness of the peace/arms control/Soviet-American relations groups in communicating their messages to the American public through the media. A preliminary report will be available this fall.

WAND, 691 Massachusetts Avenue, Arlington, MA 02174

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The Soviet Embassy ran a 3/4-page ad in the New York Times, 8/13/85. The ad was a reprint of a lengthy editorial published July 31 in Pravda, "What Holds Back Progress in Geneva Talks?", a criticism of the US for, in the Soviet view, hindering the Geneva arms talks. The New York Times, 8/15/85, followed up by reporting that a US State Department official, when asked if there were a US response, replied that, "to the best of my knowledge, we've not had similar success placing ads in Pravda."

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MATERIALS: TAPES, SLIDES, FILMS, CASSETTES

Two packets of the adult education Soviet Study Series, prepared by the Committee for National Security and the Harriman Institute for the Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, are now available.

The "Women in the Soviet Union" packet consists of readings drawn from Soviet and Western writings on and by Soviet women, as well as interviews and impressions from visits to the Soviet Union as part of The Women's Dialogue--US/USSR, an ongoing exchange project. The materials were assembled by Colette Shulman in consultation with members of the Harriman Institute. The packet is divided into five sections: Everyday Life, Historical Perspective, Women in Leadership, Ethnic and Cultural Diversity, and Women to Women: Across

International Barriers. Included are suggested questions for discussion, some intended to stimulate comparisons of the lives and roles of American and Soviet women. There is also a bibliography for further reading and information about relevant films.

The second packet is an annotated guide to selected films and videotapes on the Soviet Union. CNS and the Harriman Institute plan ongoing reviews which will be made available in periodic updates to the initial guide. Although visual materials are widely believed to be among the most effective educational tools, no other critical guide to such materials available on the Soviet Union currently exists. The Institute and CNS hope the guide will be a valuable aid to those seeking to educate themselves and others on the nature of Soviet society.

CNS, 2000 P Street, NW, #515, Washington, DC 20036

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The Domestic Policy Association (Kettering Foundation) has published "The Soviets: What is the Conflict All About?" This effort toward adult education and action includes chapters on US-Soviet Relations at the Crossroads; Regional Conflicts, Global Ambitions; Trading with the Soviets; Aggressive Intentions, Defensive Reactions; and New Rules for Superpower Relations?

DPA, 5335 Far Hills Avenue, Dayton, OH 45429

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"A Reader in Soviet-American Relations," based on the Riverside Church Disarmament Program's October 7-November 11 course, "How East-West Conflict Creates North-South Tension," will be published. The Reader will include an outline of the course, a model syllabus, course lectures transcribed, plus a large collection of articles related to the themes of the course.

The Reader will be modeled after the Disarmament Program's highly successful "The Riverside Church Disarmament Reader" (see enclosed copy), now going into its fourth printing. The "Disarmament Reader" contains reprints of over sixty articles on the arms race, "housed" in a three-ring binder to give flexibility to teachers and students who are able to photocopy the articles included, as well as add new articles when appropriate. The "Disarmament Reader" has been widely used in high school, college and seminary classes, as well as for interfaith and local congregational study groups.

RCDP, 490 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027

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Let's Make a Deal: The New Arms Control Negotiation Game, from the Ground Zero Resource Center, features opportunities for participants to play US and Soviet leaders and their advisers in a simulated arms control negotiation of from one to four sessions. The game is designed to be played by eight players with a role, e.g., US Secretary of State, assigned to each. Multiple games are recommended for classroom use. Prepared under the direction of an advisory

committee headed by Dr. Roger Molander, founder of Ground Zero and former participant in the SALT II arms negotiations, release of the game will coincide with the renewal of arms control negotiations between the US and the Soviet Union. Other new materials include audio tapes of Growing Up in the Soviet Union, Soviet Children's Stories, and Soviet Popular Music.

Ground Zero Resource Center, Box 19329, Portland, OR 97219

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The Holyearth Foundation's summer '85 journal is devoted to "Just People: A Handbook for and about Citizen Diplomats." It provides tips for citizen diplomats, a quiz on knowledge of the Soviet Union, as well as news of recent exchanges and activities. \$3.

Holyearth, 6330 Eagle Harbor Drive, Winslow, WA 98110

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Alexander Sakharov is a political analyst who worked for the Institute of the USA and Canada and later for the Secretariat of the United Nations in New York City before he renounced his Soviet citizenship in 1981. Currently Sakharov lives in San Rafael, California. He is a member of Peace and Common Security (PACS), an organization that sponsors the work of independent thinkers. Sakharov's views challenge conventional wisdom on both sides of the American debate regarding the superpowers' rivalry. Soviet specialist Gloria Duffy describes his voice as one "of reason, balanced and objective about both the Soviet Union and the West, and realistic about the potential for improved US-Soviet relations."

In 1984, Sakharov gave a series of four lectures about relations between the citizens and the governments of the superpowers. Edited versions of these talks are available in a 40-page booklet and a 20-minute videotape. The two are complementary. The videotape is designed for screening before small groups as a way of generating thoughtful conversations about US-Soviet relations. The booklet provides a more extensive presentation of Sakharov's views. Booklet, \$2.95, 3/4" tape, VHS or Beta, \$45.

Fine Line Productions, 3181A Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94110

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Roberta Snow, founder and president of Educators for Social Responsibility, delivered the June 7, '85 commencement address at Bank Street College in New York City. The college is one of the oldest, most esteemed teacher colleges in the US. Snow advocates "balanced teaching," a process that encourages a critical questioning spirit, openly questioning the attitudes and choices that have created our history and future. "We must be willing to help children and adolescents hold up a mirror to themselves to become more thoughtful in their decisions and ways of looking at the world." Snow also discusses the role of balanced teaching in understanding and decision-making about the USSR and the US. Available, ISAR--\$1.50.

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The National Council on Foreign Language and International Studies has a handbook and resource guide on "Internationalizing Your School." The handbook is dedicated to those persons who share a deep concern that American young people are, for the most part, woefully uninformed about the larger world they live in and unable to communicate effectively with it. The Council's view is that the failure to prepare a new generation to take part in the dialogue among nations will cost the US sorely in terms of international trade and national security. The handbook contains information on foreign language and international studies resources, as well as overseas study programs for students and teachers. \$7.50.

NCFLIS, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

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The Institute of International Education has a 3-volume series, The Learning Traveler, on study programs abroad: 1) US College-Sponsored Programs Abroad: Academic Year, \$9.95; 2) Vacation Study Abroad, \$9.95; 3) Teaching Abroad, \$11.95. The series encourages students and teachers to increase their knowledge of the world, its languages and cultures by overseas study.

IIE, 809 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017

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Focus on Soviet Reality announces the first installments in a continuing series of educational materials on Soviet society. These materials have been tested successfully in 11th and 12th grade history, social studies, and literature classes in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Illinois.

~ "In Search" by Boris Evgenyev (excerpts). The patriarch of a Moscow intellectual family cannot accept the values his daughter and her friends embrace. Fiction, 10 pages. Russian publication Nov. '83. \$3.

~ "The Riddle" by Veniamin Kaverin. A geography teacher in a rural Russian school watches powerlessly as her students play out a cruel drama with tragic consequences. Fiction, 30 pages. Russian publication Jan. '84. \$4.

Each story booklet includes a List of Characters, Notes, and Topics for Discussion.

~ "I Don't Want to be Grown Up" (scene from popular feature film). In Moscow, a child is almost hit by a truck when he runs after a ball. What happens next? Students are invited to guess, then watch the rest of the scene and compare their ideas with the filmmaker's. In Russian with subtitles. All video formats. Accompanied by a Teacher's Guide. \$25.

A guide to resources for teaching about the USSR is included with every order.

Coming soon from Focus on Soviet Reality: A Soviet comedy about young workers in a struggle over principles, for students to act out and improvise on.

Focus on Soviet Reality, Box 46, New York, NY 10113

"Children, Adolescents and the Threat of Nuclear War: An International Perspective," Monika M. Eisenbud, M.D., Judith L. Van Hoor, Ph.D., Benina Berger Gould, M.S.W., '85. This paper reviews the current research about the impact of the threat of nuclear war, studies conducted chiefly during the past eight years in the US, Canada, the USSR, Sweden and Finland.

Eisenbud, 440 Lexington Street, Newton, MA 02166

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Learning About the Soviet Union, a 20-page lesson plan for grades 4-8, and Do Russian People Stand for War?, a 45-minute lesson plan for secondary schools have been prepared by Claudia Zaslavsky for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. \$3.50 each.

Zaslavsky, 45 Fairview Avenue, #13-I, New York, NY 10040

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The Fund for Peace has published an annotated list of introductory resources for people working for peace at the grass roots level, "First Steps to Peace." Included are visual aids, books, films, pamphlets and other resources.

Fund for Peace, 345 East 46th St., New York, NY 10017

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Reviewed in previous issues of Surviving Together are the outstanding curricula materials available from Educators for Social Responsibility, 22 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA 02138, and the US/USSR Youth Exchange Program, 3105 Washington Street, San Francisco, CA 94115.

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The Educational Film and Video Project has a catalogue of materials available through the Project. Included are Vivienne Verdon-Roe's "Women for America, for the World," "The Edge of History," "What Soviet Children are Saying About Nuclear War," "A Soviet School Day: Styles in Soviet Education," "What About the Russians?", Marlow Boyer's People to People. The Project distributes audio-visual materials at a low cost to help raise public awareness on issues of national importance.

EFVP, 1529 Josephine Street, Berkeley, CA 94703

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Corinth Films offers a catalogue of available Soviet films, 1929-1977, Russian with English subtitles. Rental of films, \$14.95.

Corinth, 410 East 62nd Street, New York, NY 10021

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The Biograph Theatre provides rental of Russian films.

Biograph, 2819 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20007

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Candle in the Wind is a film, narrated by John Carradine, documenting religion in the USSR. 16 mm film, \$895; 1/2" VHS cassette, \$495; 2-day rental, \$89.50. Pacem International, 110 South D Street, San Bernardino, CA 92401

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Toward a Human World Order, from Global Education Associates. A series of four filmstrips, 10-12 minutes in length: 1) The Whole Earth Community: A Crisis of Growth; 2) The National Security Straight Jacket; 3) World Order Alternatives; 4) Strategies for World Order. Set of four films, guides, illustrated reading scripts, 400-page book, plus a 16-page book, State of the World: Global Agenda, are available, \$100.

Franciscan Communications, 12295 South Santee Street, Los Angeles, CA 90015

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The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has produced a slide show, "Messages of Peace: US/USSR Correspondence." The 30-minute slide show is a selection of messages sent by Soviet students and responses of children from seven school districts in Washington state. A cassette tape, a script for student reading, and directions for US student messages to the Soviet Union are included. The 24-hour rental fee is \$10, purchase price is \$70.

Margaret Fisher, WILPF Committee on Education, 2015 NE 52nd St., Seattle, WA 98105

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The University of Illinois Russian Folk Orchestra offers its first recording, a 60-minute cassette of Russian songs, "Withered Chrysanthemums and Other Favorites." \$6.95.

UIRFO, Box 429, Philo, IL 61864

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MEDIA

Space Bridges

A Space Bridge with Phil Donahue and Vladimir Posner is scheduled for December. The new Posner/Donahue production will provide an opportunity for Soviet and American citizens to have an open-ended discussion while home viewers watch and listen. Using large screen television monitors, the two audiences will be able to see and speak to each other. Soviet and American audiences will watch exactly the same show on their TV screens. It will be broadcast nationally (on PBS in the US) in both countries simultaneously. It was organized by The Documentary Guild, which did an earlier documentary, "Dialogue," with Gosteleradio.

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The December '84 Beyond War space bridge honoring the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War was shown on national public television stations, September 8 at 10 p.m. The '84 event linked Americans in a San Francisco auditorium with Soviets in a Moscow television studio. The program honors the great efforts of humankind as it moves to build a world beyond war. The Beyond War Award was presented to the two co-founders of IPPNW, Dr. Yevgeni Chazov of the Soviet Union and Dr. Bernard Lown of the United States. Both men are world-renowned cardiologists.

Executive producers of "The Beyond War Spacebridge," Mel Swope and John D. Kidd. Produced by Internews: Evelyn Messinger and Kim Spencer and by Gosteleradio, Soviet State Television: Lev Korolev. Presented by KQED San Francisco in association with Mel Swope Productions, Inc.

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Joseph Goldin, Soviet freelance writer and initiator of the first Space Bridges between the US and the USSR, predicts a worldwide network of satellite-linked communication centers acting "as a cosmic mirror with which we, as citizens of the world, could look back at ourselves and grasp our essential unity as never before." Goldin also foresees "gigantic videoscreens used for bilateral communication between thousands of people will soon become a traditional element of the environment, just like the public squares in the Greek City-States, or the Forums of the Roman Empire....The new feelings of 'distant proximity' experienced by millions of people all over the world will create a new self-awareness and lead to a radical transformation in the way we deal with global problems."

Slow-Scan Video

Slow-scan video, the technique whereby pictures, as well as voice, are simultaneously transmitted by telephone, has been used by a number of groups this year to bring Soviets and Americans together.

The Ark Foundation took Slow-scan equipment to Moscow in April, '85 to link California with Moscow at the Sovincenter, April 19; the Institute for Automated Systems, July 19; the Moscow International Book Fair, Sept. 16; Moscow News, Sept. 19.

Spacebridge, Inc. linked Tashkent and Seattle mayors during the September Tashkent visit to Seattle, with New York's Mayor Koch.

Television

The ABC News documentary "45/85," is a three hour history of the 40 years following World War II. The theme was US/USSR relations and the role of US foreign policy in what the New York Times, 9/18/85, describes as "our preoccupation with the Soviet Union, a nation we understood imperfectly." The program included an interview with President Reagan and was followed by a special, 90-minute edition of ABC News "Nightline," a discussion, arbitrated by Ted Koppel, between Soviet academician Georgi Arbatov, Jeane Kirkpatrick and Alistair Cooke.

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The Soviet Union has entered the TV news-magazine business, competing with NBC's "American Almanac" and CBS's "West 57th." The Soviet entry, on SPN (Satellite Program Network), featuring Vladimir Posner, appeared August 25, 10:30-11:30 p.m., repeated August 28, 3:30-4:30 p.m. The program featured shots of Soviet leader Gorbachev meeting with the people, visits to the Kremlin, Gorky Park, shots of the Moiseyev dancers and Autograph, the Russian rock group that performed in "Live Aid," and footage from recent US-USSR spacebridges.

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A 7-hour War Telecourse, produced by the National Film Board of Canada, premiered on PBS station KCTS, Seattle, on October 1. The film examines war and warfare and includes the political, economic and philosophical dimensions of international conflict. Telecourse materials are also available.

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Leading Double Lives, a half-hour Public Interest Video Network production, programmed by Hodding Carter, Dr. Robert Lifton and host Colleen Dewhurst, is being shown nationwide on public television. It treats how the threat of nuclear war affects citizens psychologically and the responsibility of citizens in a democracy to help the government find a way out of the horror of a nuclear attack anywhere in the world.

* * *

The successful Caucasus Trek '85, carried out by the US-USSR Youth Exchange Program, will be the subject of a television documentary produced by Lynne Joiner of Pacific Gateway Productions. She also produced a special report on the Caucasus for the "MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour," which was aired Oct. 8. A video program on the trek will be made available to schools and youth organizations.

* * *

In "War: A Commentary by Gwynne Dyer," an eight-part series presented on public television by KCTS/Seattle, viewers embark on a trek through two centuries of world military history, uncovering the major factors that have brought us to this capacity for total destruction. From the Napoleonic Wars to the Falkland Islands War, Canadian journalist Gwynne Dyer charts the political ideals, military strategies, methods of conquest and price mankind willingly has paid for the spoils of war.

The one-hour programs were shot on location in ten different countries, with armed forces in six nations--including the US and USSR. Interviews with both the obscure and famous--from young soldiers who have been taught it is all right to kill to eminent military generals, historians and philosophers--illustrate the mentality and rationale for war. In addition, Dyer draws from the Film Board's unparalleled library of archival footage to complete his powerful, visual perspective. "War" was a major television success when it aired nationally in Canada in the fall of 1983.

KCTS/Seattle acquired the series for presentation on PBS and produced an eighth episode to provide a timely epilogue to Dyer's commentary.

* * *

The Documentary Guild's documentary of the '82 Forum for US-Soviet Dialogue conference in Irkutsk will be shown in early December on PBS and on Soviet TV. The show was a collaboration between the Forum and Gosteleradio, co-producers Pam Roberts and Pavel Korchagin.



Roberts and Korchagin at work.

* * *

Nova, July 16, reran a film, "In the Land of the Polar Bear," originally broadcast on February 5, '85. The film records the visits to Wrangel Island, beginning in 1980, by a Russian cinematographer, Yuri Ledin and his family, to record the annual spring return to the island of hundreds of thousands of birds and animals, participating in one of the greatest migrations on earth, through the Bering Strait to Wrangel Island. The island is one of the most populated polar bear denning areas in the world. The award-winning films made by the Ledin family are popular on Soviet television and bring to the Russian people, and now to the American people, a rare look at the wildlife in the vast expanse that is the Soviet Arctic.

* * *

Reilly: Ace of Spies is on its second time around on WNET public television. The teleplay, based on a book by one of Reilly's friends, covers Reilly's efforts as a British spy to overthrow the Lenin government.

* * *

In a special on PBS, the Christian Science Monitor, 8/23/85, provides a list of "PBS series on the drawing board for 1987 and beyond." Included in the 18 programs listed, all pending adequate funding, are "Who Are the Russians?" a 10-part series on the USSR, produced by WGBH in Boston with the Averell Harriman Institute, and "The Nuclear Age," a 13-part series produced by WGBH.

"Who Are 'The Russians'?" will be the first comprehensive examination of the Soviet Union ever presented to American television audiences. The series will analyze past and present American perceptions of the Soviet Union and attempt to provide a context for informed public discussion and debate. The purpose is to provide a broad picture of Russian and Soviet history and to take a first step toward broadening public understanding of the Soviet system and the Soviet people.

Richard Ellison, the producer of the acclaimed series "Vietnam: A Television History," will be the Senior Executive producer. Bert Patenaude, a Harriman Institute Fellow who conceived the project, will serve as Senior Editor and Coordinating Producer. S. Frederick Starr, President of Oberlin College and Professor of History, will write a companion volume.

* * *

"We're Not in Kansas Anymore" is a 60-minute documentary that follows 15 American teenagers sent as "roving ambassadors" to discover the human dimension of daily life in the Soviet Union. In April 1985, a professional crew including Sarah deKay, a Soviet expert, documented the American teenagers for 2 weeks, as they met and interacted with their Soviet counterparts. The documentary was produced by Melissa Burch and directed by Susan Stoltz of Big Red Productions, a nonprofit organization. The story focuses on 7 of 15 students from various socioeconomic backgrounds as their experiences develop on their journey from Moscow to Tbilisi to Leningrad. Big Red Productions is currently working with PBS and expects to broadcast this documentary in 1986.

* * *

The Stanford University Ham Radio Club has rigged a computer-driven satellite dish near its trailer on campus and is now tracking a series of Soviet communications satellites to monitor Soviet television. The satellites beam the national television network to Siberia. They also carry the national radio network, which sounds like "Muzak with news." Tapes made from the down-link are already being used in class in the Slavic Languages and Literatures and Communications departments. With a \$20,000 grant from the School of Humanities and Sciences, the students are rigging a new, more sophisticated system that could eventually provide a Russian channel for SUNet, the Stanford cable system.

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The Chicago Sentinel, 8/8/85, reports that "In an unprecedented acknowledgment of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union, Soviet Central Television recently broadcast a two-part film, "Tevye the Milkman," based on the stories of Sholom Aleichem.

"The new film, aired at peak viewing time, stars Mikhail Ulynov, who holds the title 'People's Artist of the USSR,' the highest honor the Soviet Union bestows on those in the arts....'Tevye the Milkman' was the basis for 'Fiddler on the Roof.'"

Radio

The Woodrow Wilson Center broadcasts Radio Dialogue weekly. The program features Wilson Center lectures on a variety of subjects, including the USSR, e.g., "Soviet Religious Policy," and "The Soviet Union and Its Leadership." A catalogue of cassettes is available.

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William M. Mandel is in his 28th year of weekly radio programs about the Soviet Union for Pacifica, San Francisco, California. The programs feature taped interviews with American academics, Soviet visitors, Soviets in the USSR, and US visitors to the USSR. Mandel, author of Soviet But Not Russian, plans a national speaking tour, '85-'86.

* * *

Cambridge Forum's production, Preventing Nuclear War, began a nationwide broadcast series August 6. There are 14 half-hour programs, including "What About the Russians?" and two Academy Award winners, "Gods of Metal" and "In the Nuclear Shadow."

Films, Plays, Performances

Women--For America, For the World, a 28-minute color documentary by the Educational Film and Video Project, celebrates women who have the vision, the courage and the determination to redefine the security of the nation and the world. Among the women featured are Mary Dent Crisp, Geraldine Ferraro, Shirley Chisholm, Vera Kistiakowsky, Dorothy Ridings, Patricia Schroeder, Joanne Woodward, and Addie Wyatt.

* * *

Peace Productions, a film for children about a "journey from the majesty of The Creation to the mystery of The Uncreation," sent film tapes to the USSR in July for the children of the Soviet Union. The film was also entered in the Moscow International Film Festival. The film is narrated by James Earl Jones and features mime by Steve Smith of NBC's "Kidding Around," and music by Pete Seeger, Cat Stevens and Susan Stark.

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The Jean Cocteau Repertory opened its Fifteenth Anniversary Season with the American premiere of Edvard Radzinsky's Lunin: Theatre of Death on Sept. 6. It played through Sept. 29. Following those performances it will play in repertory for an open run.

Lunin: Theatre of Death is directed by Eve Adamson. Ms. Adamson, Artistic Director of Cocteau Repertory, visited Moscow this spring to consult with Radzinsky on the production. Through the sponsorship of VAAP, the Soviet Union copyright agency, and the International Theatre Institute of New York, Mr. Radzinsky was in New York for the final rehearsal period through Sept. 12.

* * *

Stuart Sherman, set designer, "performance artist," producer, has a theater piece, "Chekhov," now playing at the Performing Garage in New York. The Christian Science Monitor, 7/30/85, says it "isn't a biography or study of the famous Russian playwright--it's an attempt to define his essence through images and movements....It's an unusual essay and a thought-provoking one."

* * *

Liz Lerman, dancer, choreographer and prime mover of The Dance Exchange, premiered her full-length production, "Russia: The Transparent Apple and The Silver Saucer," June 13-14 in Washington, D.C. It is an improvisational history of Russia.

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The New York Times, 8/18/85, reported that "Two of the Soviet Union's most celebrated poets, Andrei Voznesensky and Yevgeny Yevtushenko, recited some of their most famous poems in a program [at Carnegie Hall on June 17] that included the composer-director Paul Winter and his instrumental ensemble. The result, 'A Concert for the Earth,' was a hybrid poetic-musical evening that Mr. Winter called an 'adventure.'"

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TRADE

Baldrige Reports on Current Status of Trade

Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige delivered a message to the American business community in June, following the meeting of the Joint US-USSR Commercial Commission in Moscow, May 20-21:

"The President is seeking to build a more constructive working relationship with the Soviet Union, and he favors an expansion of peaceful trade with the USSR as part of this effort. After a seven-year hiatus, the United States agreed to a Joint Commercial Commission meeting this year.

"I recently returned from Moscow, where along with Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Patolichev, I co-chaired the Eighth Session of the Joint US-USSR Commercial Commission. The Commission, which was established in 1972 to help expand two-way trade and economic relations, has not met since 1978.

"At the Commission meeting, the Soviet government agreed to take steps which will improve the access for US firms to the USSR market. Trade Minister Patolichev will write to all Soviet Foreign Trade Organizations to inform them of the Soviet government's desire to:

- o see commercial cooperation with the United States increase by providing bid inquiries to interested US firms;
- o consider US company proposals fully on their economic merits;
- o provide US firms with access to Soviet trade and purchasing officials;
- o give them the Agreed Report of the Commission, which goes into more detail.

"I announced at the Commission meeting that upon my return to Washington I would provide the US business community with a copy of the Agreed Report and would encourage US business to explore trading opportunities in the USSR.

"The Soviet market is never an easy one, but I believe that US firms trying to sell in the USSR will find the business climate there improved. Let me remind all US companies that any products or know-how to be exported to the USSR must be consistent with our export control regulations. The Department of Commerce is ready to assist firms in complying with these regulations as well as aiding with their marketing efforts."

* * *

Business Marketing, July '85, has an article, "US-Soviet Trade Relations Show Signs of Calmer Waters." The article analyzes current positive actions on the part of Congress [the Export Administration Act], the Department of Commerce [resumption of meetings of the US-USSR Joint Commercial Commission], and Soviet leader Gorbachev as they affect trade. On the negative side, the article cites export controls, bans on Soviet technical experts coming to the US, lagging Soviet oil production leading to hard currency shortfalls, and US government objections to the sale of technology seen as potentially useful to Soviet military efforts.

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World Perspectives: A Report from Washington, August '85, includes articles on current political and commercial issues in the Soviet Union, US trade policy and agricultural issues. World Perspectives, 1701 K Street, NW, Wash., DC 20006.

Status of Trade and Grain Purchases

The US Department of Agriculture published an April '85 report, "USSR: Outlook and Situation" (RS-85-4): "The value of US agricultural exports to the USSR almost doubled from calendar 1983 to 1984 as wheat and corn exports reached a record \$2.6 billion and cotton a record \$167 million....However, there was a sharp drop in US soybean exports to the USSR.

"Large Soviet grain imports approached 1981's 46 million tons and pushed USSR agricultural imports to an estimated \$18.8 billion, despite probable declines in sugar, soybeans, soybean meal, and animal produce imports...

"Gross agricultural output in 1984, as reported by the Soviets, fell slightly below 1983. An estimated 11-percent drop in grain output, a 7-percent decline in cotton production, and an 11-percent decline in sunflowerseed output cancelled out gains reported for livestock, potatoes and vegetables, and sugarbeets."

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The New York Times, 8/19/85, reports that, in spite of good weather, the Soviet grain crop is below target for the 7th year. The USSR will have to import about 40 million tons of grain.

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The Wall Street Journal, 8/28/85, reports no commitment from the Soviets that they would purchase the final 1.1 million metric tons of wheat from American farmers who have already delivered 19 million metric tons to the USSR.

Armand Hammer Barters with Gorbachev

Occidental Petroleum chairman Armand Hammer met with Soviet leader Gorbachev in Moscow in mid-June to discuss the possible sale to the USSR of \$500 million of offshore oil rigs for the Barents Sea project. Also discussed was the construction of a Soviet coal slurry pipeline and a possible increase in the size of Occidental's barter deal with the USSR of superphosphoric acid in exchange for Soviet ammonia, urea and potash. [Tass, 6/17/85]

US Businessmen Explore Trade Potential

Businessmen who took part in the US Housing and Urban Development delegation to the USSR, September 11-21, for the fourth meeting of the Joint Committee under the US/USSR Agreement on Cooperation in Housing and Other Construction, included: Austin Guirlinger, President, Cardinal Industries, Inc., leading US manufacturer of modular housing and the fourth largest developer of multifamily housing; Kenneth E. Horn, President, Horn and Bottoms, Inc., business consultant on cement manufacturing plants; George H. Matters, Chairman and C.E.O., US Home Corporation, the largest builder of single family housing in the US (approximately 12,000 houses last year) and one of the largest producers of manufactured housing; Henry Nagy, Chairman of the Board, Spancrete Industries, which manufactures machinery to make precast, prestressed

hollow-core concrete planks for floors, roofs and walls; A. Alfred Taubman, Chairman and C.E.O., The Taubman Company, head of one of the major real estate development firms in the United States. Since 1950, his company has developed and/or constructed more than 70 million square feet of retail and commercial space; it currently manages 20 regional shopping malls across the country; Gregory Weidler, Manager, Business Development, ARCO Chemical, whose products include building materials and components such as plastics, insulation and special aluminum products.

Their interest was in exploring the commercial potential of the various project areas. This added emphasis, recommended by more than 60 private sector US participants who supported renewal of the agreement, reflects a new area of possible benefit to the US.

US Ambassador Hartman Addresses Soviets

US Ambassador to the USSR Arthur A. Hartman addressed Soviet television viewers on the Fourth of July, speaking of hopes for a technological dialogue between the two superpowers. According to the *New York Times*, 7/5/85, the ambassador said, advanced technology in the United States had given both "business and private citizens instant access to vast quantities of the information on which the process of innovation thrives....American scientists and entrepreneurs are in the vanguard of technological advance, which will shape the way we live in the 21st century."

Debate on Soviet Access to US Technology Continues

The Christian Science Monitor, 7/25/85, reports on yet another debate regarding USSR access to US technology:

"The Reagan administration is pondering whether Soviet-bloc scientists should have access to new academic-research supercomputers located in four centers across the United States.

"The debate has focused on whether controlling access to such powerful computers is just as important as controlling exports of critical technologies.

"We would like to keep the restrictions to a minimum," says John Chester, assistant to the general counsel of the National Science Foundation, which is financing the supercomputer centers. "But there is always tension between national security and academic freedom, and that's what we're running into now.

"The Defense Department argues that the US should not help Soviet scientists, even on research with no obvious military applications. Universities say the US should not restrict the free flow of information essential to scientific progress.

"The computers--capable of performing as many as 100 million calculations a second--are being installed at the University of Illinois, University of California in San Diego, Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., and the John Von Neumann Center near Princeton, N.J."

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John Kiser, writing in *Foreign Policy*, Fall '85, "How the Arms Race Really Helps Moscow," argues that "the US SDI challenge may be providing Soviet leaders with an energizing force from without that the system cannot generate

from within." "In the long run, the threat posed by the SDI may actually strengthen the Soviets, pushing them more quickly into a broad-based computer culture."

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The June 10 Izvestia reports on an interview with Anatoly Aleksandrov, Soviet National Academy of Science, calling on Soviet scientists to reduce their reliance on Western technology and accelerate research in response to the United States' "Star Wars" program. Aleksandrov cites "US-led trade sanctions and limits on contacts between American and Soviet scientists. Science and industry should put great creative effort into correcting what has become in some cases an excessive orientation toward Western technologies and supplies."

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The debate among US scientists over the propriety of US-Soviet scientific exchanges in the context of anti-missile research programs continues and is examined in a New York Times article, 7/1/85.

* * *

The cover story in US News and World Report, 8/12/85, is "How Soviets Steal America's High Tech Secrets: And How the US Fights Back."

* * *

The USSR would like to export to the US machine tools, metalworking equipment, autos, tractors, bearings, electrical engineering equipment, instruments and laboratory equipment, if it receives MFN status, according to the Soviet Institute of World Economy and International Relations. [American Metal Market, 7/15/85]

* * *

The '85 report of the President's Commission on Industrial Competitiveness, "Global Competition: The New Reality," provides study findings and recommendations in a number of areas including international trade. It recommends reforming the US anti-trust policy, renewal of the export administration act, minimizing controls on competitiveness, export expansion, trade information dissemination and export financing, foreign sales corporations and strengthening the multilateral trading system.

* * *

Ohio State University has published, Sept. '85, Dr. Sven B. Lundstedt's paper, "Another Way of Thinking About Technological Innovation and East/West Trade." His argument, in summary, is that "Economic survival requires constant awareness of the ways in which all nations are accountable for the health and success of the world economic environment. Finally, we are also all accountable for the health of the total environment today in ways we never have been in the past." Lundstedt, Ohio State University, 1775 College Rd., Columbus, OH 43210

* * *

The American Committee on East-West Accord plans a bimonthly "Forum on US-USSR Trade Relations," beginning in January '86 with a one-day conference featuring high-level speakers from the administration and the business community. The objective is to broaden the knowledge and understanding of US-Soviet trade and to foster interchange on the subject among business, academic, and policy sectors of the trade community with the goal of identifying and promoting trade policies that are in the national interest. C-Span has expressed interest in televising these meetings.

* * *

The Council on Economic Priorities will soon release Good Business: Shopping for a Better World, a consumer guide to corporate responsibility.

* * *

Duke University's Professor of Economics, Thomas H. Naylor, has written two informative pieces on Soviet economics and trade. "Changing the Economic Mechanism in the Soviet Union" examines the "increasing evidence that under Mikhail Gorbachev the economic experiments initiated by Andropov not only are working but are likely to lead to even more positive results in the not-too-distant future." The second piece, "The Future of US-Soviet Trade Relations," provides a review of the recent history of trade relations and examines some of the economic forces that appear to be drawing the two countries closer together economically. Available. Naylor, Fuqua School of Business, Duke University, Durham, NC 27706

* * *

The American Society of Mechanical Engineers (ASME) has established an advisory board to evaluate recent Soviet engineering books. ASME estimates that 1,000-2,000 books on mechanical engineering are published annually in the USSR. [Automotive News, 6/17/85]

* * *

The Port of New Orleans reports (vol. 10, #2, Journal of the US-USSR Trade and Economic Council) on its arrangements with the Soviet Ministry of the Merchant Marine, which account for approximately 9 percent of the cargo tonnage handled by the Port of New Orleans. The Port handles 33 % of all two-way Soviet cargo, 43% of all imports from the USSR--about 3,200,000 tons of cargo to and from the US and the USSR each year. Describing the economic impact on New Orleans, Edward Reed, Port Director, says, "The dollar just doesn't stop at the waterfront. There are seamen's wages, bunkers, lawyers fees--the whole gamut of things. It works out to a rule of thumb of about \$15 a ton for bulk cargo and \$44 a ton for general cargo. The economic impact is about \$60 million a year, which is very substantial. A less hard figure to pin down, but one that's based on nationwide studies made by the federal government, is the job impact. It probably accounts for from three to five thousand jobs."

* * *

The Russian freighter, Ivan Shishkin, out of Murmansk, unloaded a cargo of shrimp for Scanocean, Inc. in Gloucester, Mass., early in August, according to a report by the Boston Globe, 8/25/85. This was the second Russian freighter to dock this summer in Gloucester.

Soviet Business & Trade, 6/9/85, reports that the USSR has restored direct dialing services for foreign businessmen in Moscow. These services, which were introduced during the Olympic Games in 1980, were terminated in the summer of '82 for 'technical reasons.'

Moscow Exhibits and Seminars

The Journal of the US-USSR Trade and Economic Council reports on two summer '85 international trade exhibitions in the USSR:

Health Care: The International exhibition Zdravookhraneniye-85 (Health Service-85) was held recently in Moscow, with firms and agencies from some 23 countries participating. The third exhibition of its kind to be held in Moscow, it attracted participants from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, the FRG, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK and the US. Their displays included a wide range of medical equipment, appliances, instruments and drugs. A number of US firms participated in Zdravookhraneniye-85, including E.I. DuPont de Nemours and Co., Abbott Laboratories and Milipore Inc.;

Metallurgy: The fourth international Powder-Metallurgy-85 exhibition was held recently in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia. Some 70 major firms from 13 countries, including Austria, Belgium, France, Italy, Japan, Sweden, the UK and the US, were among the exhibitors. The US was represented at the exhibition by Allied Analytical Systems of Waltham, Mass.

Other exhibits include: Production of Juices and Non-Alcoholic Beverages, Sept. 17-25, Tbilisi; Electrotechnology-85, Oct. 26-Nov. 4, Moscow.

* * *

Recent seminars for Soviets in Moscow included the Scott-European Co., demonstrating Clark Bobcat equipment; Ingersoll-Rand on Centac compressors; Corning Glass on refractories and electrodes; Philip Morris on tobacco cultivation.

* * * .

The Eastern Europe-USSR Branch of the Economic Research Service/US Department of Agriculture annually publishes Situation and Outlook Reports on agricultural policies, performance and trade in its two regions. The 1985 reports on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are now available. USDA, ERS/IED, EE-USSR Branch, Washington, DC 20005

* * *

Interflo: An East-West Trade Monitor, monthly cites articles of interest in international trade, \$95.

* * *

Organizations Listed

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Academic Travel, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036	57,58
American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1515 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20005	43
American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) 128 Encina Commons, Stanford Univ., Stanford, CA 94305	65
American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages (AATSEEL) c/o Joe Malik, Jr., Dept. of Russian & Slavic Studies, Univ. of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721	66
American Bar Association (ABA), 1800 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036	29,48
American Center for International Leadership (ACIL), 522 Franklin St., Columbus, IN 47201	50,66
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American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, 579 Broadway, Hastings-on-Hudson, NY 10706	66
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Cambridge Forum, 3 Church St., Cambridge, MA 02138	87
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Northwestern University, Dept. of Slavic Languages & Literature, Evanston, IL 60201	52
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Soviet-American Travel, Box 5273, Bellingham, WA 98227	58
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Soviet Ministry of Information, 1706 18th St., NW, Wash., DC 20009	61
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I. INTRODUCTION

For the past 25 years, Esalen Institute has given leading figures in fields as diverse as psychology and religion, philosophy and politics, physics and evolutionary theory, the opportunity to delve more deeply into their own and related fields in a way that encourages an exploration of personal and social transformation.

Since 1979, Esalen Institute Soviet-American Exchange Program has developed innovative approaches to Soviet-American cooperation, emphasizing citizen exchange as a supportive vehicle of government diplomacy. The Exchange Program has worked to reduce enmity and misunderstanding between the American and Soviet peoples and to create new bases for Soviet-American relations. Increasingly, the Exchange Program is acting in a consultative capacity to Americans negotiating with the Soviets, offering conceptual and strategic advice as well as creating access for American organizations in the Soviet Union.

Beginning in 1986, the Program developed contacts with several European nations and with the People's Republic of China. The Dialogues on Social and Economic Transformation began a parallel project with China. The Health Promotion Project began work with the World Health Organization in Europe, and our TEAM Project established contacts in various European and Pacific nations. From these initiatives, the International Exchange Program was started.

Participants in the Esalen Programs understand that while governments traditionally have been committed to the defense of national security, individuals and groups from the private sector can help create a fabric of social relations between nations that can complement government diplomacy. The Program believes it is appropriate for people from the private sector to acknowledge international relations as an area of personal responsibility and initiative. Indeed, by their initiatives in engaging Americans with their foreign counterparts in endeavors that bring them together as equals, the private sector can give their governments permission to define national security not only as defense, but also as an integration of interests.

In accordance with these principles, the International and Soviet-American Exchange Programs have initiated a variety of projects in the fields of communication, human development and political psychology.

II. COMMUNICATION

Spacebridges

The Program has pioneered activity in the field of satellite communications. On Labor Day weekend 1982, James Hickman, co-founder of the Exchange Program and its director until January 1986, worked with UNUSON Corporation and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio (Gosteleradio) to arrange two live satellite link-ups between Moscow and the "US '82" Festival in Southern California, the first communication of this kind ever done. Soviet and American musical groups played live via satellite to young audiences on both sides of the world, who were able to see and hear each other as well as the musicians.

The Program also facilitated the second live link-up between Gosteleradio and the second "US" Festival in May, 1983. This involved panel discussions among academicians, astronauts, politicians, as well as live band interactions.

As a result of this breakthrough, the field of live satellite link-ups or "spacebridges" between Soviets and Americans was created. Since then, there have been over a dozen live satellite link-ups. The Exchange Program has been involved in many of these and has, as a result, been instrumental in helping to shape official Soviet policy in this area.

On September 11, 1986, the Exchange Program organized its third spacebridge, entitled "Chernobyl and Three Mile Island: Implications for Cooperation in an Interdependent World." This was done in collaboration with the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Internews, Gosteleradio, as well as numerous volunteers and supporters. As the first public discussion between Soviet and American scientists since the accident at Chernobyl, the spacebridge offered an historic opportunity for Soviets and Americans to come together with a sense of shared responsibility for nuclear technology and our energy future.

This spacebridge was the most ambitious yet undertaken. In terms of content, it was the first one to focus on a politically controversial subject, certainly a risky topic for the Soviets to discuss publicly. The spacebridge also broke new ground in technical areas. The satellite signal connected five American and five Soviet cities interactively, and the signal was downlinked to another 20 cities in 18 states across the United States. Altogether, the spacebridge was watched by people across 17 time zones - from Fairbanks, Alaska, to Gainesville, Florida, and from Leningrad on the Baltic Sea to Vladivostok on the Pacific Coast.

In October 1986, Gosteleradio aired a one and one-half hour edited version of the spacebridge on Soviet national television. A similar documentary has been prepared in the United States by Internews and Search for Common Ground for airing on public television.

Soviet and American Energy Strategies and the Implications for National Security

One of the more striking aspects of the September spacebridge was the positive way in which the Soviets spoke about energy conservation and alternate energy technologies. It is clear that in the aftermath of Chernobyl, the Soviets are re-evaluating assumptions never before questioned and are looking with fresh eyes at the entire spectrum of energy possibilities.

Given this opportune time, Esalen has decided that the most important contribution it can make in response to the Chernobyl accident and as a follow-up to the spacebridge is to

sponsor a delegation of American energy experts to travel to the Soviet Union to meet with their Soviet colleagues.

In May, Executive Director Jim Garrison will accompany three American scientists on a 10-day trip to Moscow and Novosibirsk as guests of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Mir Publishers. The delegation will include Amory Lovins, physicist, consultant and author, who serves as Vice President and Director of Research at Rocky Mountain Institute (RMI); Hunter Lovins, lawyer and political scientist who serves as President of RMI; and Hal Harvey, Director of the Security Program, RMI, who has a background in arms control and energy development.

The delegation seeks to begin a long-term relationship with the Soviets and to discuss with them the research being conducted by RMI on advanced techniques for saving large amounts of electricity at a low cost. They will discuss ways in which these technologies could benefit both the American and Soviet economies and societies.

Mir Publishers and Esalen have agreed to co-produce a book about the trip, provisionally entitled *Soviet and American Energy Development and the Implications for National Security*.

Astronaut/Cosmonaut Dialogues

As citizens of adversarial nations who nevertheless have shared an experience unique in human history, astronauts and cosmonauts have seen Earth from a vantage point that transcends political differences. The Exchange Program initiated Astronaut/Cosmonaut Dialogues in order to provide a forum for this unique perspective.

In July 1982, former astronaut Russell Schweickart accompanied an Esalen hosted group to Moscow where he met with cosmonaut Alexei Leonov and representatives from the USSR Academy of Sciences to arrange a planning meeting for an international conference between astronauts and cosmonauts. In April 1983, Schweickart returned to Moscow with former astronauts Michael Collins (Gemini 10, Apollo 11), Edgar Mitchell (Apollo 14) and James Hickman of the Exchange Program for further discussions with cosmonauts Alexei Yeliseyev (Soyuz 4, Soyuz 5, Soyuz 8, Soyuz 10), Vitaly Sevastianov (Soyuz 9, Soyuz 18/Salyut 4), Alexei Leonov (Voskhod 2, ASTP), Valeri Kubasov (Soyuz 6, ASTP, Soyuz 36/Soyuz 35/Salyut 5) and Andrei Melville of the Institute for USA and Canada Studies. A major topic of discussion was the formation of an international organization of space explorers.

As a result of these and other meetings, the Association of Space Explorers (ASE), an international independent organization, was formed by 25 astronauts and cosmonauts from 13 countries who met in Cernay, France, in October 1985.

All the space fliers who attended acknowledged that they had been substantially affected during their flights by a heightened awareness of both the fragility and potential of our earth. During the Congress, this sentiment was reflected by cosmonaut Leonov: "Astronauts and cosmonauts are the handful of people who have had the good fortune to see our Earth from afar and to realize how tiny and fragile it is. We hope that all the peoples of the Earth can understand this, and treat this Earth as the home in which they were born, the home in which they live, and the home where their children and grandchildren will live after them."

The goals of the ASE are:

- * to establish regular contact among those who are united by their experience in spaceflight;
- * to employ the unique experience of the members to support the use of space and space technology for human benefit;
- * to unite the efforts of the members in promoting international cooperation in the exploration and use of space.

The Exchange Program is now working with the ASE to develop a variety of educational projects, specifically with the Young Astronauts Council and Young Cosmonaut Corps. Their Second Congress, held in Budapest, Hungary, in October 1986 explored the theme of "space habitation."

The Exchange Program is also developing a project to encourage Soviet-American commercial cooperation in space. The Soviets have recently set up a special agency called Glavcosmos to encourage Western companies to use Soviet launch facilities to place commercial satellites into space. There is a great demand for presently available boosters: the French Ariane program is booked through the year 2000; the Japanese space program is capable of only two launches a year; and the Chinese Long March rockets have not yet been launched. The Soviet offer seems attractive, providing that a way can be found that does not conflict with the Munitions Control Act which prohibits the sale of high technologies to the Soviet Union.

With the Houston-based Space Commerce Corporation, Jim Garrison has been in discussion with Glavcosmos, relevant federal agencies and interested corporations regarding permission for American companies to use the Soviet Proton or Soyuz rockets to boost satellites into space, as well as to begin collaborative experiments in space in areas such as pharmaceutical research.

The Program staff believes that because space is a vast new frontier, it is imperative for the United States and the Soviet Union to enter it constructively, rather than combatively.

Dialogues on Social and Economic Transformation

Dialogues with the Soviet Union

This project intends to develop cooperative theoretical studies and practical projects which would dramatize the mutual Soviet-American interest in human potential in relation to social transformation. The Dialogues would include sociologists, futurists, science fiction writers, economists and commentators from the two countries who would meet periodically to set up a permanent cultural-scientific exchange to examine the enormous changes occurring in both our cultures and current opportunities to promote high-level human development.

The Dialogues began in November 1986 when Program staff Jim Garrison and Dulce Murphy along with Program board member Harriett Crosby accompanied John Naisbitt, author of *Megatrends*, Patricia Aburdene, with whom Naisbitt wrote *Re-inventing the Corporation*, and Jay Ogilvy, co-author of *Seven Tomorrows* and Director of the Lifestyles and Values Program at SRL, to Moscow for a series of meetings with Soviet counterparts.

Among the Soviets with whom they met were Academician Abel Aganbegyan, Gorbachev's chief economic adviser; Ivan Frolov Editor-in-Chief of *Kommunist*, the leading theoretical journal of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU); Vadim Zagladin, First Deputy of

the International Affairs Section of the Central Committee of the CPSU; Fyodor Shakhnazarov, Section Chief for the Socialist Countries of the Central Committee of the CPSU; Igor Bestuzhev-Lada, Director of the Institute for Social Forecasting, USSR Academy of Sciences; and Fyodor Burlotsky, aide and speechwriter to General Secretary Krushchev and aide to Yuri Andropov during his tenure in the Central Committee, who currently serves as a political observer to the *Literaturnaya Gazeta*.

These individuals were invited to contribute to a book, *Soviet-American Cooperation on the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century*, and to come to the United States in 1987 for discussions with American counterparts.

Dialogues with the People's Republic of China

The social transformation now occurring in China is far-reaching and of great historical importance. It marks the first time that an explicitly Marxist state has begun voluntarily to revise both its fundamental principles and mechanisms of control while implementing capitalistic economic principles and methods. Eastern Europeans as well as Soviets are following closely this transformation of values.

As a first step in exploring possible Chinese collaboration Garrison (who was born in China, raised in Taiwan, and speaks Mandarin Chinese) travelled to China in October 1986 with Marshall Fitzgerald, founder and Chairman of the Board of Stanford Telecommunications. In Beijing, Garrison and Fitzgerald met with various economists and social planners at the Institute for American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Science, and proposed that a delegation of Chinese social planners attend a special invitational conference at Esalen Institute in November 1987 to discuss "Science, Technology and Social Change" with their American counterparts, including John Naisbitt, Patricia Aburdene and Jay Ogilvy. The themes of the conference will be:

1) **The Problems of Industrialization and Modernization:** This would entail an exploration of the problems experienced by the U.S.; the details of China's current reform policies; the status and future of Hong Kong; and ways China can avoid making the same mistakes as the West.

2) **High Technology and Computers:** High technology and computers are what the West is most eager to sell but the most difficult for developing countries to assimilate; What makes a Silicon Valley; How can similar high technology or innovative centers be developed in China in a manner appropriate to the current level of Chinese development?

3) **The Social Impact of Technology Development:** It is clear that there are social and political implications from the extensive use of computers and high technology. The problems arising from industrialization include: unemployment, urban alienation, caring for the elderly. What has been the U.S. experience and what are the implications for China? How can we ensure that technology serves the people rather than people serving technology?

4) **Implications of Interdependence for International Relations:** China and the U.S. have gone from enmity to friendship. Now there is an increasing interdependence. What are the challenges and potential problems for this relationship in the future.

Advisers to the Dialogues include Jeffrey Chu, an engineer and senior researcher at SRI; Marshall Fitzgerald; Al Huang, founder of the Lan Ting Institute in Fujien, China; Erik Hoffmann, Professor of Political Science at the State University of New York in Albany and author of *Technocratic Socialism*; Christine Casati, Managing Director, China Human Resources Group; and Jonathan Sanders of the Center for Advanced Study, Columbia University. As the project develops, new advisers and participants will be invited to participate.

Writers Exchange

Writers and poets in the Soviet Union are revered as prophets and social commentators in ways unparalleled in the West. Because of this, our Writers Exchange has initiated a relationship with the USSR Union of Writers. Our intent is not only to introduce the American public to contemporary Soviet literature, which warrants increased exposure in the United States, but also to begin a dialogue between American and Soviet writers regarding those deep structural changes in modern society which are changing the very fabric and identities of our two cultures.

In July 1986, after 18 months of preparations and negotiations, the first delegation of eminent Soviet writers came to the United States at the invitation of the Exchange Program. The delegation included Sergei Baruzdin, Chief Editor of the Journal *Friendship Between Peoples* and a Secretary of the USSR Union of Writers; Victor Chalmayev, a well-known critic and literary historian, expert on the works of Platonov, Remizov and Bulgakov; Genrich Edoyan, one of the Soviet Union's leading Armenian poets; and Alexander Kosorukov, a prose writer who was then Head of the Foreign Relations Section of the USSR Union of Writers.

The delegation was met in New York by Project Director Michael Murphy, Jim Garrison and Dulce Murphy. During the following week, the Soviet writers made contact with PEN (Poets, Playwrights, Essayists, Editors and Novelists) through its Executive Director Karin Kennerly; met with Authors Guild President Madeleine L'Engle and Executive Director Helen A. Stephenson; discussed with Harrison Salisbury and publishers at Harper & Row the prospect of publishing contemporary Soviet authors in the US and participated in a symposium at Columbia University sponsored by Poets House. At a dinner hosted by John Irving in East Hampton, they met fellow authors Kurt Vonnegut, Jill Krementz, Betty Friedan and Linda Bird Franke. On free evenings, the delegation enjoyed a jazz concert at the Village Vanguard in Greenwich Village and saw *Sweet Charity* on Broadway.

The invitational conference at Esalen Institute during their second week culminated in the signing of an agreement with the USSR Union of Writers for long-term reciprocal exchanges of writers. According to Kosorukov, this agreement marked the first time the USSR Union of Writers had signed an agreement with a private American organization. Two primary objectives of this agreement are: 1) to establish long-term relationships between Soviet and American authors, editors and publishers; and 2) to create a place in the American literary market where Soviet literature can obtain a long absent and much-deserved following. Activities Esalen and the Union of Writers have agreed to co-sponsor include:

- * the formation of a core group of writers from both countries to preserve the continuity of the exchange from year to year. The visits would alternate between the US and the USSR on an annual basis.
- * the promotion and publication of major new Soviet literary works.
- * the publication of joint Soviet-American projects, including an anthology of promising young poets, fiction writers and essayists intended to give Americans a look at fresh talent, styles and ideas in Soviet literature. The Program also wants to promote Soviet visionary writing and children's stories. In return, the Soviets will continue their efforts to promote interest in new American writers in the Soviet Union.
- * the creation of a workshop at Esalen Institute during which Soviet and American poets and novelists would work closely with one another to deepen their own work and

improve their understanding of each other's work as well as the literature of the other country.

- * individual exchanges to the Soviet Union by one or two eminent American writers who might affect American understanding of Soviet culture, literature and people.

As a first step toward fulfilling the goals of our agreement, the Exchange Program will host Vladimir Karpov, newly appointed Secretary and Chief of the USSR Union of Writers, on his first official visit to the United States in December 1987. While here, Secretary Karpov will meet with well-known authors, editors and publishers in New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco to discuss ways in which Soviets and Americans in the literary world can work together to encourage understanding.

Advisers to the Writers Exchange include Olga Carlisle, prominent writer and author of *Voices in the Snow*; Vera Sandomirsky Dunham, Ph.D., a Professor of Slavic Languages at Queens College, City University of New York, and a Senior Fellow at the W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, Columbia University; Maurice Friedberg, Director of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literature at the University of Illinois, Urbana; Paul Pozner, Ph.D., a Research Scientist with the Institute of Asian Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences; and Jonathan Sanders, Associate Director of the W. Averell Harriman Institute for the Advanced Study of the Soviet Union.

III. HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Individual Exchanges

Seminal to the development of new projects is the exchange of individual Soviet and American leaders in the scientific, artistic and political communities, who have a significant personal or professional commitment to exploring the relationship between human development, changing human values, and promoting international accord. When Soviets and Americans visit each other's country as guests of the Exchange Program, time is arranged for private, informal discussions with professional colleagues as well as for formal meetings at academic centers.

Among the Soviet visitors to the US have been: Dr. Aron Belkin, Director of the National Center for Psychoneuroendocrinology Research; Valentin Berezhkov, former First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington; Iraida Bogatyreova, Consultant to the Soviet Committee for Printing, Publishing and Book Trade (Goskmmomizdat); Nikolai Furmanov, Deputy to the Head of International Relations; Professor Vladimir Kartzev, Director, Mir Publishers; Dr. Vlail Kaznacheyev, Director of the Institute for Clinical and Experimental Medicine; Andrei Kokoshin, Deputy Director of the Institute for USA and Canada Studies; Dr. Yuri Lisitsin, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences; Paul Pozner, Ph.D., expert in ancient Vietnamese history; Georgi Skorov, Deputy Director of the Institute for USA and Canada Studies; Vasili Slasteonenko, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Ministry of Publishing; Dr. Alexander Vishnevsky, Director of the National Research Center of Lung Surgery; and Yuri Zamoshkin, a political philosopher from the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Americans who have been involved include: Dr. Myrin Borysenko, Research Immunologist at Tufts University School of Medicine; Arthur Macy Cox, a specialist on arms control, employed for many years by the Central Intelligence Agency and the US State Department; Drs. Elmer and Alyce Green, Menninger Foundation; Michael Harner, Professor of Anthropology at the New School for Social Research; Sam Keen, Ph.D., a psychologist and philosopher currently exploring the psychology of international conflict; Dr. John Mack, Pulitzer Prize-winning author and Professor of Psychiatry at the Harvard University School of Medicine; Sally Mack, Psychiatric Social Worker; John Marks, Executive Director, Search for Common Ground; Joseph Montville; Research Director, Center for Study of Foreign Affairs at the US State Department's Foreign Service Institute; Dr. Kenneth Pelletier, Associate Clinical Professor of Medicine and Psychiatry, University of California School of Medicine, San Francisco; Russell Schweickart, Apollo 9 Astronaut and former Chairman of the California Energy Commission; Linda Tellington-Jones, equine training and healing specialist; and Joan Ulliot, author and physical fitness expert.

Out of the personal relationships that develop from these exchanges, larger projects have often emerged to influence wider audiences. The live satellite link-ups, the Astronaut/Cosmonaut Dialogues, and the TEAM Project are examples of this.

Over the next several years, the Exchange Program will sponsor a variety of Soviet and American professionals to visit each other's country in conjunction with our various projects. The individual exchanges will focus on professionals who will catalyze new ideas and directions.

Health Promotion Project

Some of the most crucial challenges confronting both the Soviet Union and the United States lie in the field of health. Because of this, in 1982, the Exchange Program designed its Health Promotion Project. Over the past several years, Project Director Dulce Murphy has facilitated exchanges which encourage US-USSR cooperation in the areas of preventive medicine and health promotion.

In 1984, the Exchange Program signed a protocol agreement with the Soviet Ministry of Printing, Publishing and Book Trade (Goskomizdat) for reciprocal book exhibitions in health promotion. In January 1985, 1,300 American books on such topics as stress, sports and physical fitness, child care, alternative therapies, psychology, and other areas were exhibited at the Central Medical Library in Moscow and the National Library of Science and Technology in Novosibirsk. Upon completion of the exhibition, the Exchange Program donated the books to these libraries.

The book exchange was accompanied by a delegation of four American health professionals and a consultant from the European headquarters of the World Health Organization (WHO). The delegation was led by Dr. John Mack, psychiatrist at the Harvard Medical School. Both exhibitions were well attended by the Soviet public and received widespread coverage by Soviet media. Members of the delegation gave lectures and took part in seminars in their fields of expertise.

In April 1985, the Soviets reciprocated by sending a seven-member delegation to Los Angeles together with a donation of 1,100 Soviet books in the fields of medical sciences and health. The books were exhibited at the UCLA School of Nursing, and at Fort Mason Center in San Francisco. The delegates, led by Dr. Aron Belkin, Director of the Soviet National Research Center on Psychoneuroendocrinology, had a full schedule of meetings, lectures, press interviews and public receptions.

These exchanges were so successful that the participating American publishers and Goskomizdat requested that the books be exhibited again at the Moscow International Book Fair in September 1985. Dulce Murphy attended the Book Fair as an official guest of Goskomizdat. The Soviet public again showed intense interest in the health books. The Fair was visited by over 7,000 people a day, many of whom spent long hours poring over the books and making notes. After the International Book Fair was completed, the books were donated to the permanent collections of the Central Medical Library in Moscow and the National Library of Science and Technology in Novosibirsk.

The overwhelming interest in this work underscores the gravity of the major health problems faced by both our societies: cancer, heart disease, and stress. The book exchanges helped to demonstrate the different ways in which each society is coping with these problems and how much can be gained from sharing our knowledge.

Discussions with Soviet colleagues have revealed the importance of psychoneuroendocrinology and psychoneuroimmunology to the fields of health promotion and behavioral medicine. During the last decade, key discoveries were made about the specific nature of the interaction between mind and body in health and disease. Both Soviet and American researchers have traced the vital, inextricable links between the central nervous system and the immune system. Using their research findings, clinicians have developed programs in behavioral medicine which complement standard approaches to medical care with applications in cardio/pulmonary medicine and a wide range of other chronic diseases. The book exchanges led

to in-depth discussions with Soviet and American specialists about new advances in medical sciences.

These discoveries have given new impetus to a rapidly evolving public policy on health care which recognizes that "about two-thirds of all deaths in this country (USA) are premature given our present medical knowledge and about two-thirds of lives lost before age 65 are theoretically preventable given our current capabilities" *Journal of the American Medical Association*, October 25, 1985, p. 2330. The results of these studies have been applied effectively in health promotion programs for more than 500 major international corporations including AT&T, Johnson & Johnson, and Xerox.

Recognizing that a major change is taking place in the paradigm of basic research, clinical application and public policy for health care, the Esalen Soviet-American Exchange Program will be bringing together major authorities from the US and the Soviet Union for intensive dialogues. To our knowledge, this marks the first effort to join Soviet and American health professionals from these diverse fields.

This collaboration began in February 1986 when the Program signed a memorandum of agreement with the USSR Ministry of Health. The memorandum calls for long-term collaboration in psychoneuroendocrinology, health promotion, addiction research and behavioral medicine, emerging fields in both countries. The first step in implementing the agreement took place in December 1986, when Dr. Belkin again visited the United States to meet with colleagues including Dr. Herbert Benson, Associate Professor of Medicine and Director of the Behavioral Medicine and Hypertension Section, Beth Israel Hospital, Harvard Medical School; and Dr. John Mack, Harvard Medical School. A member and special adviser to the project is Dr. Kenneth Pelletier, Associate Clinical Professor of Medicine and Psychiatry, University of California School of Medicine, San Francisco.

During Dr. Belkin's visit, plans were made for the upcoming invitational conference to be held at Esalen in September 1987, entitled *New Frontiers in Human Health: Exploration and Application of Current Research Findings in Behavioral-Medical Research*. This conference will bring together Soviet and American experts from each of the fields covered in the memorandum of agreement (psychoneuroendocrinology, psychoneuroimmunology, health promotion, addiction and behavioral medicine) for five days of intensive discussions. The conference will focus on the contributions of the aforementioned areas to health promotion. It will also provide a forum for leading Soviet and American researchers to present their most recent findings and to discuss future directions for research in health promotion. A reciprocal conference is scheduled in Suzdal, Russia, USSR in 1988 to bring together a select group of health professionals from both countries to continue long-term collaboration.

The problem of drug and alcohol addiction is of major concern to both the Soviet Union and the United States. Many attempts are being made to deal with the problem but to date there is no joint program that brings together Soviet and American expertise. Given Esalen's history as a center for the development of innovative techniques and our close working relationship with the USSR Ministry of Health, the Program is undertaking a project to design a two year therapeutic program in both the Soviet Union and the United States using innovative techniques from behavioral medicine currently available for the treatment of addictive disorders. Our aim is to determine whether these new techniques can increase the number of recovering addicts, as well as to look at how the application processes affect the results in the American and Soviet programs.

Besides work with the USSR Ministry of Health, Esalen has also been working with the World Health Organization (WHO). In October 1986, the Health Promotion Project hosted an invitational conference at Esalen Institute for the WHO on health promotion and alternative

birthing. Dulce Murphy attended a similar WHO meeting in Berlin in August 1985. A joint committee from these meetings will help establish policy for the WHO on the integration of health promotion and birthing practices. The European headquarters of WHO and the Exchange Program will sign an agreement to develop and ensure Soviet participation in projects related to psychology, behavioral medicine and health promotion.

Tellington-Jones Equine Awareness Method (TEAM) Project

One of the International Exchange Program's most innovative projects is the sponsorship of Linda Tellington-Jones, who has developed a revolutionary technique for training and healing horses. The Tellington-Jones Equine Awareness Method (TEAM) is an alternative method of training and healing horses, using human touch to influence the horse's nervous system in order to modify behavior and overcome pain or tension in the animal's body, as well as enhancing the relationship between human and animal. Her technique is being used successfully with smaller animals, and with a wide variety of animals in zoos, as well. The success of her work in the cases of a snow leopard in the Zurich Zoo and a young orangutan in the San Diego Zoo has become well-known among zoo keepers.

Tellington-Jones has conducted workshops in 15 countries and has TEAM centers in Australia, Austria, Canada, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the US. Her technique is currently being used in 18 countries. Although the technique was created for use by non-professionals, it has been integrated into the practice of veterinarians and taught in veterinary schools in a dozen countries. Four training tapes, commissioned by the San Diego Zoo Keepers' Association, are currently being prepared on the "Tellington Touch" (TT) for exotic animals.

Linda Tellington-Jones first travelled to the Soviet Union in July 1984 where she gave a demonstration of the TEAM work to the head veterinarian of the USSR Department of Agriculture and to the Director of the internationally recognized Tersk Arabian Stud Farm in Pyatigorsk. On her second trip in December 1984, she gave two-hour open demonstrations every evening for two weeks at the Moscow Hippodrome to riders, trainers, veterinarians and cavalry officers. One evening, 40 veterinary students attended from the Moscow Veterinary School. The demonstration was so well-received that she was invited back twice more in 1985: in March, to work with veterinarians at the Bitsa Olympic Center on a research project on adrenal gland function in sport horses; and in July, to instruct members of the National Jumping and Dressage teams and trainers and riders from the 15 republics who were gathered in Moscow for training.

As a result of her eight subsequent trips, the TEAM work has spread as far as Riga in Latvia and Alma Ata in the Central Asia Republic of Kazakhstan. The method has not only been integrated into the daily training programs of national equestrians but has been the subject of interviews and discussions on television and radio on five separate occasions.

In December 1986, agreements were negotiated with the Latvian Sports Committee and the Bitsa Olympic Center to establish long-term TEAM training with athletes, trainers and veterinarians.

Through this work, a new level of trust may be generated between people as they share their experiences about animals; this animal connection can dissolve barriers so common between people. Thus, one very important aspect of the TEAM work is that people develop new ways of viewing their interactions and relations with other humans.

It was from this recognition that the concept of Animal Ambassadors was launched in Moscow in July 1984. Tellington-Jones was asked to address the Healthy Family Club in Gorky Park, Moscow - a family group of all ages who support one another in their personal growth. Having

described her work with domestic and zoo animals, she taught the group of 150 adults and children to do the Tellington Touch and led them in a visualization exercise to find an animal which they would protect. This is the reverse of the American Indian custom of choosing a totem animal which protected the human.

This concept has inspired Alexander Zgurdy, Secretary of the Board of the USSR Association of Film Makers and an internationally acclaimed film producer, to form a council called Nature Ambassadors, whose purpose is to educate children and adults about the connection of the environment to the quality of life. As founder of Animal Ambassadors International, Tellington-Jones is now serving on this council which includes: Gennady Alfarenko, editor of Komsomolsky Pravda; Mark Garber, M.D., Department Head of the USSR Ministry of Health Section on Non-Pharmacological Methods of Healing; Rustem Khairov, of the International Research Institute for Management Sciences; and Professor Elena Petuskova, Vice President, Soviet Olympic Committee and President of Athletes for Peace.

Soviet-American International Assistance Corps

There is no area of Soviet-American relations that is characterized more exclusively by conflict than in the third world. Both nations link their national interests in the developing world to their present global rivalry. The paradox is that in less developed countries, poverty, hunger, disease and population pressures are far more immediate issues than the superpower struggle. Moreover, third world nations have demonstrated the facility to take what they need from Marxism and capitalism in order to forge their own way. A positive superpower policy should take this into consideration. Through our International Exchange Program we hope to bring together appropriate Soviet-American counterparts to forge the beginnings of another kind of relationship in the third world.

It is naive to think that in today's world the Soviet and American governments will renounce use of their swords in the third world and devote comparable energy to building ploughshares. However, what can be done is to forge the beginnings of another kind of relationship in the third world. Problem areas of mutual concern could be identified and cooperation initiated.

In December 1986, Jim Garrison accompanied John Marks, Executive Director of Search for Common Ground, to Moscow to discuss with Soviet experts the possibility of Soviets and Americans working together in the third world in the fields of environmental issues, technology and health promotion. In meetings at the Institute of African Studies, the Institute of World Economics, the Novosti Press, and Institute for USA and Canada Studies, among others, the idea met with qualified support.

On returning from the Soviet Union, Garrison and Marks initiated discussions with Americans experienced in the field of humanitarian aid and energy development. The idea seemed to many to be consistent with the spirit of President Reagan's US-Soviet Exchange Initiative, which grew out of the Summit meeting in November 1985.

Thus far, we have found a consensus in both countries to avoid obvious trouble spots and set up, at least in the beginning discrete, manageable projects in nations such as India and Tanzania where both superpowers enjoy relatively good relations. Such efforts should not duplicate existing international efforts; they should leave a legacy of personal and professional relationships for future cooperation; they should involve Soviets and Americans in fields where both can make a significant contribution; and the host countries should be brought in as equal partners.

One example is to collaborate with Tree People, a project based in Los Angeles, which has planted thousands of surplus citrus saplings donated by American nurseries in Cameroon, Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania. American forestry experts have worked with villagers in relatively stable areas planting the trees just below the desertification line. Reports from Africa since completion are of a very high survival rate. The Tree People project is now conducting a feasibility study for an on-site nursery to propagate these hardy trees by grafting. The Soviet-American International Assistance Corps would work with Tree People to include Soviet participation. Another example is to work with the Flying Doctors, a group which flies doctors into areas of critical need worldwide for short periods of clinical care.

Acting together, the participants in this project could take positive steps to improve Soviet-American relations, combat and replace prevailing stereotypes of Soviet-American antagonism, and in the process, begin to develop a new constructive model for interaction in the third world.

The purpose of this symposium is to increase the understanding of the US-Soviet relationship by examining the psychological components. It is clear that the perceptions each nation has of the other are heavily colored by intense emotions which make the development of rational cooperation, agreements, and programs difficult. The US-Soviet relationship has brought Americans and Soviets to develop a reliable and positive assessment of each other and motives of the other side so that a rational relationship can be formed and mutual understanding is achieved.

The psychological aspects of these proposals were discussed by Professor Robert R. Rorty, Lecturer at Harvard University, in 1968, entitled "The psychology of US-Soviet relations." A segment of his lecture was contained in a special issue of the journal, Political Psychology, called A Symposium on the Psychology of the US-Soviet Relationship, published in June 1969. This collection of essays, edited by Francis J. Schaeffer, grew out of the early Soviet meetings.

The Moscow Symposium has also helped stimulate a study group which joins the American Nuclear War Project of Harvard University's USA School of Government with the Nuclear Psychology Project of the Harvard Medical School. At the 1968 symposium, a decision was made to begin discussions with Soviet psychologists concerning the establishment of a study group on human development. As a first step efforts will be made to arrange publication of Schaeffer's works in the Soviet Union.

The 1968 Symposium was incorporated with the Institute for Soviet-American Relations (IASAR) and should operate the 1969 Symposium to be held June 22-July 3.

Conclusions on Citizen Diplomacy

Since its inception in 1949, the Program has held an annual conference of Soviet leaders in Big Red to inform citizen diplomats, Sovietologists, officials from government and academia on the history to discuss the past experience and future possibilities for citizen diplomats in the Eastward political climate that characterizes US-Soviet relations. It was at one of the early conferences in 1950 that Joseph Marshall coined the term "track two diplomacy".

In more recent years, these conferences have been a forum for particularly heated discussion between government officials and those working in the private sector, as well as leading Sovietologists. Vladimir Alexandrov, called from the Soviet Union in 1976, gave the keynote address at the 1976 conference. Subsequently, Sovietologists have been appointed to the USSR the 1978 conference. Subsequently, Sovietologists participated in the 1980 conference at which Professor J. Schaeffer, University of California, presented the paper entitled "The role of the citizen diplomats and scholar." Subsequently, the role of the citizen diplomats and scholar.

IV. POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY

Erik Erikson Symposia

In October 1982, Esalen hosted a conference on the political psychology of US-Soviet relations. The meeting was inspired and convened by Joseph Montville, Research Director, Center for Study of Foreign Affairs, at the US State Department's Foreign Service Institute, and a founding member of the International Society of Political Psychology. Montville invited Erik Erikson, the eminent social psychoanalytic theorist, and his wife and collaborator Joan, to bring their understanding of group and national motives and behavior into the context of US-Soviet relations. During this first meeting, the annual Erik Erikson Symposium on Political Psychology was established.

The purpose of this symposium is to increase our understanding of the US-Soviet interrelationship by examining its psychological components. It is clear that the perceptions each nation has of the other are heavily colored by intense emotions which make the development of rational approaches, assessments, and government policies extremely difficult. Yet the threat of nuclear war compels Americans and Soviets to develop a reliable and objective assessment of the needs and motives of the other side so that a rational relationship can be formed and mutual understanding increased.

The first tangible result of these symposia was Dr. Seweryn Bialer's Gabriel Silver Lecture at Columbia University in 1983, entitled "The Psychology of US-Soviet Relations." A segment of this speech was contained in a special issue of the quarterly, *Political Psychology*, called *A Notebook on the Psychology of the US-Soviet Relationship*, published in June 1985. This collection of essays, edited by Joseph Montville, grew out of the yearly Esalen meetings.

The Erikson Symposia have also helped stimulate a study group which joins the Avoiding Nuclear War Project of Harvard University's JFK School of Government with the Nuclear Psychology Project of the Harvard Medical School. At the 1986 symposium, a decision was made to begin discussions with Soviet psychologists concerning the establishment of a study group on human development. As a first step, efforts will be made to arrange publication of Erikson's works in the Soviet Union.

The 1986 Symposium was co-sponsored with the Institute for Soviet-American Relations (ISAR). ISAR will also co-sponsor the 1987 Symposium, to be held June 28-July 3.

Conference on Citizen Diplomacy

Since its inception in 1979, the Program has held an annual conference at Esalen Institute in Big Sur to which citizen diplomats, Sovietologists, officials from government and academics are invited to discuss the past experience and future possibilities for citizen diplomats in the fluctuating political climate that characterizes US-Soviet relations. It was at one of the early conferences in 1982 that Joseph Montville coined the term "track two diplomacy".

In more recent years, these conferences have been a forum for particularly fruitful discussions between government officials and those working in the private sector, as well as leading Soviet emigres. Vladimir Bukovsky, exiled from the Soviet Union in 1976, gave the keynote address at the 1986 conference. Ambassador Steven Rhinesmith, then newly appointed to the USIA, participated in the 1986 conference to gather information and advice. Rhinesmith keynoted the 1987 conference, the first two days of which

comprised a review and mutual critique of the government and private sector initiatives, evidence of the productive relations that have been established after years of working together.

One of the most important outcomes of these conferences has been a distillation of the unique characteristics of citizen diplomacy. It was out of discussions with those active in the field that it was decided that the results of these conferences be put in writing for dissemination to a wider audience. To this end, James Hickman and Jim Garrison of the Exchange Program wrote an essay, entitled *Psychological Principles of Citizen Diplomacy*, which will be appearing in a forthcoming book to be published by Georgetown University School of Diplomacy called *Private Initiatives with the Soviet Union*.

Bathurst Seminars

Public seminars are held at Esalen, Big Sur, and other locations, in order to acquaint a wider audience with issues related to Soviet-American relations.

One of our most important seminars to date has been developed by Robert Bathurst, Adjunct Professor of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California, and a Visitor at Harvard University's Russian Research Center. He has a background in naval intelligence, served as Naval Attache at the US Embassy in Moscow, and helped President Kennedy develop the "hot line." Over the last two decades, Bathurst has been close enough to the negotiations taking place between our two nations to observe how forcefully our different cultural backgrounds shape our respective negotiating stances.

Bathurst has organized "Simulations and Games" workshops which lead Soviet emigres and Americans in an exploration of similarities and differences between Soviet and American attitudes toward various life situations and geostrategic problems. Bathurst's seminars explore the manner in which each culture responds differently to the same stimuli, reflecting its own cultural patterns and laws. These workshops and seminars are valuable in understanding the way each culture feels and responds to space, time, danger and national security.

Robert Bathurst's techniques have proven so successful that he has been invited to offer these seminars pioneered at Esalen at other institutions, including universities in the United States and Europe. In November 1986, he gave the seminar at the New York Open Center in New York City, coordinated by Program board member, Polly Howells. Plans are underway to offer the workshops in several more cities in 1987.

Anya Kucharev acts as adviser to the Exchange Program on the Bathurst Seminars. She earned a M.A. in Slavic languages and literature at Indiana University, taught Russian at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California, and has translated numerous Russian publications.

Emigre Conference

The Bathurst workshops have offered a unique way for members of the Exchange Program and the wider group of citizen diplomats to learn from the emigre community. The Program believes that for its work with the Soviets to be constructive, it must be as well informed as possible about all aspects of Soviet history and behavior.

It is out of sustained contact with the emigre community that the Exchange Program is now working to initiate dialogue between leading emigres and Soviet officials, principally in the USSR Union of Writers. The purpose of this endeavor is both to clarify the current Soviet

government position concerning inviting certain emigres and exiles to return, as well as to discern whether there might be areas in which the emigres and Soviet counterparts can work together.

There is obviously a great deal of suspicion and hostility between the Soviet emigres and the Soviet government. But there is evidence that a new situation is emerging in which communication, if not rapprochement, is possible. Gorbachev has released Andre Sakharov, the physicist sent to internal exile in Gorky, and hundreds of other political prisoners held for "anti-Soviet" activity. Many seasoned political observers believe that his political and economic reforms have initiated systemic changes which must be taken seriously. Over 1,000 Soviet emigres currently living in the United States have filed for permission to return.

No one can know how long Gorbachev's policy of openness will last nor how broadly it will extend. Nevertheless, a window of opportunity exists for communication, and the Exchange Program is using its good offices both with the emigres and the Soviet government to facilitate that communication.

V. PROJECTS IN DEVELOPMENT

The Program includes an active Research and Development component in all its current projects in order to respond creatively as new opportunities arise. Projects currently under development include:

- * work with the National Education Utilities to design a computer training program for Soviet and American teachers and students.
- * the creation of an office in Moscow for citizen diplomats. At the February citizen diplomacy conference, participants discussed the feasibility of setting up a permanent office to expedite communication with our Soviet colleagues.
- * a project with the Soviet Sports Committee to develop training techniques to improve high performance and team building, incorporating the principles of Aikido, biofeedback and nutrition.

Supporters of the Program are invited to participate in both the development of a vision of new possibilities in Soviet-American relations and in the exploration of the new attitudes and activities in which the Exchange Program is involved. Discussion about both the content and the process of these efforts is encouraged.

VI. APPENDICES

Soviet-American Exchange Program

Staff

- James Garrison, Executive Director
- Jane Peterson Taylor, Administrative Director
- Dulce W. Murphy, Project Director
- Michael Murphy, Project Director
- Linda Tellington-Jones, Project Director
- Sandra Wieder, Assistant to the Directors
- Claire Ryle, European Liaison
- Diana Gould, Research Assistant
- Roger Macdonald, Special Assistant
- Virginia Barnes, Bookkeeper

Planning Advisory Board

- Anne Bartley
- Harriett Crosby
- Victoria Elliot
- Polly Howells

Staff

James Garrison is the Executive Director of the Soviet-American Exchange Program, and of the International Exchange Program which he initiated in 1986. He is responsible for developing the management and design of the Program as well as coordinating the various projects. He also acts as consultant to a variety of other organizations and individuals in their work with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Garrison earned his M.A. at Harvard University in World Religions and his Ph.D. at Cambridge University in Philosophical Theology. He has written five books, three of which explore the political psychology of Soviet-American relations.

Jane Peterson Taylor, as Administrative Director, oversees the office management, and works with the Director in fundraising and project development. She received a B.A. degree in English from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Before joining the Program, she worked as Assistant to the President at the California School of Professional Psychology.

Dulce W. Murphy is a co-founder of the Soviet-American Exchange Program and Director of the Health Promotion Project. She travels regularly to the Soviet Union and hosts Soviet colleagues who visit San Francisco. Formerly, she was Director of Esalen Institute's San Francisco Center and a member of Esalen's Board of Trustees. She is a founding member and Vice-Chairman of the California Governor's Council on Wellness and Physical Fitness, appointed by former Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr., and has worked with outstanding leaders in the field of health promotion for the last 15 years.

Michael Murphy is co-founder and Chairman at Esalen Institute, and a co-founder of the Soviet-American Exchange Program. He also serves as Director of the Writers Exchange. He is exploring extraordinary human capacities, experimental therapies, programs for expanded consciousness, and other disciplines which seek to develop human potentials that are otherwise neglected. In 1952, he received his B.A. degree in psychology from Stanford University and has done graduate work in philosophy at Stanford and at the American Academy of Asian Studies in San Francisco. Murphy has written a sports anthology and three novels, and is currently writing a book exploring exceptional human functioning and the psycho-physical disciplines that facilitate it.

Linda Tellington-Jones is a horse trainer and healer who teaches and lectures about her TEAM work and Animal Ambassadors International around the world. This work grew out of her experience as co-founder of the Pacific Coast Equestrian Research Farm, which developed innovative riding and training techniques relating to horses.

Sandra Wieder, as Assistant to the Directors, is responsible for the financial tracking of the Programs and handles the computer communications. She has a degree in Teaching English as a Second Language from St. Giles College and a B.A. in Performing Arts from the New College of California in San Francisco.

Claire Ryle acts as European Liaison to the Programs. She graduated in 1975 from the University of Leeds with a B.A. in Philosophy and Comparative Religion, and received a Certificate of Education from Goldsmith's College, London in 1976. She has worked as national organizer for the Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons, and as Coordinator of the Soviet and Eastern European Resource Group. She is currently an honorary Research Fellow at the University of Bradford School of Peace Studies.

Diana Gould serves as Research Assistant to the Programs. She is currently working on her M.A. in Social Organizational Psychology at San Francisco State University. Diana's special interests are women's studies and the applications of alternative conflict resolution strategies to areas of perceived injustice and discriminatory treatment.

Roger Macdonald is a specialist in international science, technology and defense issues. He works as Project Liaison to the ASE, the Bathurst Seminars and the Erik Erikson Symposia. He is also developing the Program's computer teleconferencing ability.

Virginia Barnes is the Bookkeeper for the Programs. She has a B.A. in Art from the University of California, Santa Barbara. She balances her financial work with Ikebana flower arranging.

Planning Advisory Board

The Board members assist in developing strategies to attain long-term Program goals, oversee financial management, and participate in fundraising activities. Representing the Esalen Exchange Program staff, Michael Murphy is also a member of the Planning Advisory Board.

Anne Bartley has long been involved in many facets of governmental and philanthropic work, and is currently on the boards of the Rockefeller Family Fund, the Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation, Peace Links, and the Institute for Soviet-American Relations.

Harriett Crosby is a psychologist who specializes in cross-cultural understanding. She is founder and President of the Institute for Soviet-American Relations (ISAR), a non-partisan forum created to encourage personal contact and public education within each nation about the other.

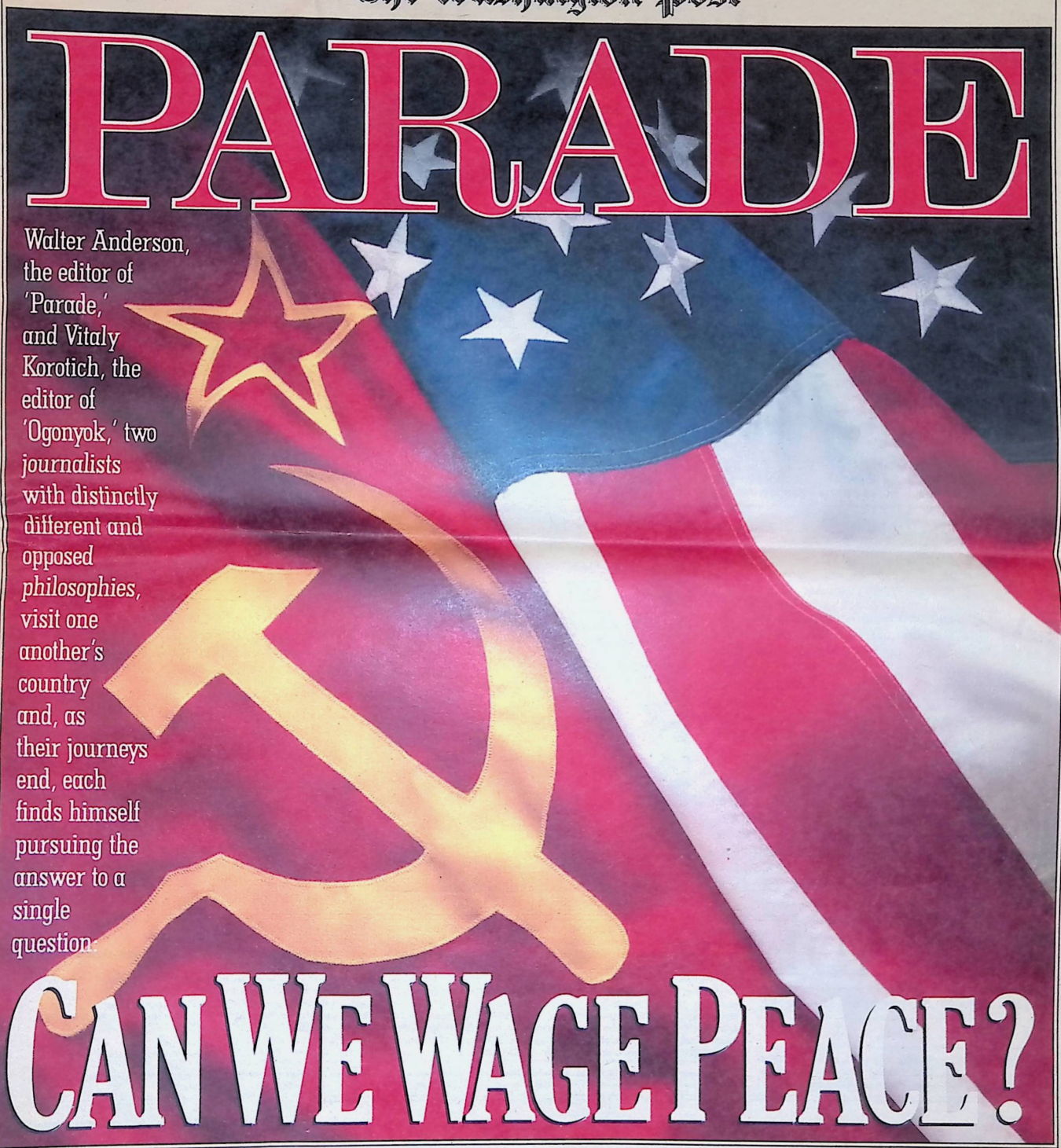
Victoria Elliot, a businesswoman, psychologist, and photographer, is the President of Victoria Elliot Executive Source, Inc.

Polly Howells, a psychotherapist now in private practice, worked for several years with the Russian Adolescent Program for Jewish Emigres and for four years with the Board of Family and Child Services in Brighton Beach Brooklyn. She has a degree from Harvard in Russian History and Literature.

SUNDAY, JUNE 21, 1987

The Washington Post

PARADE



Walter Anderson, the editor of 'Parade,' and Vitaly Korotich, the editor of 'Ogonyok,' two journalists with distinctly different and opposed philosophies, visit one another's country and, as their journeys end, each finds himself pursuing the answer to a single question.

CAN WE WAGE PEACE?

Personality Parade

Want the facts? Opinion? Truth? Write Walter Scott, 140 N. Hamilton Dr., Beverly Hills, Calif. 90210, or phone (213) 651-3375. Full name will be used unless otherwise requested. Volume of mail makes personal replies impossible.

Q Is it true that Gary Hart and his close Hollywood friend, Warren Beatty, have both been womanized? Can you provide the name of the plastic surgeon who performed the operations?—N.R., Santa Fe, N.M.

A Hart and Beatty are as masculine as men come. They have been referred to as "womanizers," in the sense that a womanizer is a man who indulges himself in the pursuit of women.



Gary Hart (I) with wife, Lee, and Warren Beatty in '82

Q When Gerald Ford became U.S. President in 1974, he pardoned Richard Nixon. Has it ever been established just what Nixon was pardoned for, and whether the pardon was part of a deal?—Arthur D. Penser, Huntsville, Ala.

A Ford's pardon proclamation reads as follows: "Now, therefore, I, Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States, pursuant to the pardon power conferred upon me by Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution, have granted and by these presents do grant a full, free and absolute pardon unto Richard Nixon for all offenses against the United States which he, Richard Nixon, has committed or may have committed or taken part in during the period from January 20, 1969, through August 9, 1974." Gerald Ford and Alexander Haig Jr.—Nixon's chief of staff, who conferred with Ford before Nixon resigned his Presidency—both have denied that they negotiated a deal which provided a pardon in exchange for Nixon's agreement to step aside so Ford, as Vice President, could succeed him. Many diehards still believe, however, in the "You give me the job, I'll give you the pardon" theory.

Q Watching Sen. Daniel Inouye of Hawaii on television, I am moved to ask how he lost his right arm. Was he in an accident?—Mel Campbell, Rochester, N.Y.

A Senator Inouye, 62, lost his right arm in World War II, fighting in Italy and France with the all Japanese-American 442nd Infantry Regimental Combat Team.



Senator Inouye

Q Larry Hagman, who plays J.R. Ewing in the "Dallas" TV soap opera, is how many years younger than his wife, Maj? And how does she pronounce her name? Is it true that the Hagmans fly an erotic-type flag over their house in California? Where do they live in the film colony?—T.T., Weatherford, Tex.

A Larry Hagman was born on Sept. 21, 1931, making him 55. His wife, the former Maj (pronounced "My") Axelsson, is two years his senior. Larry and Maj were wed in a Swedish ceremony in 1954. The flag that flies over their house in Malibu carries the motto "Vita Celebratio Est," which translates from the Latin into "Life Is a Celebration" or "Life Is a Ball."



The Hagmans: Life's still a ball, 33 years after wedding

Q Has Yves Montand—the French motion picture star whose wife, actress Simone Signoret, passed away almost two years ago—discreetly gotten married to actress Brigitte Bardot in the south of France? That's the rumor circulating around Paris these days. Is it true or false?—D.S., Newport, R.I.

A False. Yves Montand, 65, has a new lady-love in his life, but she is not Brigitte Bardot. She is Carole Amiel, 29, an attractive young woman whom the actor hired as his private secretary and with whom he has been seen recently on the French Riviera. The Oscar-winning actress Simone Signoret died on Sept. 30, 1985.



Harry Hamlin gazes at the lovely Mrs. H, Laura Johnson

Q Harry Hamlin of the "L.A. Law" TV series—is he the father of a child born out of wedlock to a famous foreign actress? Is she Catherine Deneuve, the French beauty?—N.D., Carlsbad, Calif.

A Hamlin, 35, is the father of a 7-year-old son, Dimitri, by the Swiss actress Ursula Andress, 51. Hamlin currently is married to actress Laura Johnson, 28, formerly of the "Falcon Crest" TV show.

Q Who were the two shortest and tallest U.S. Presidents?—H. Ritchie, Bridgeport, Conn.

A James Madison was the shortest, at 5 feet 4. Martin Van Buren and Benjamin Harrison were tied for second, at 5 feet 6. The two tallest Presidents were Abraham Lincoln, at 6 feet 4, and Lyndon B. Johnson, 6 feet 3.

WALTER SCOTT 1987

PARADE®

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JUNE 21, 1987

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Several weeks ago, at the invitation of the Soviet Union and with the encouragement of the United States government, Walter Anderson, the editor of *Parade*, and Vitaly Korotich, the editor of the Soviet magazine *Ogonyok*, visited each other's country. It was agreed beforehand that each would write his impressions of the other's land and that the two articles would be published side-by-side in *Parade* and *Ogonyok*. This is the first time an American editor's view of the Soviet Union has appeared in a magazine like *Ogonyok*, an illustrated weekly with a circulation of 1.5 million. Korotich, who has published material previously banned by the authorities, is credited with introducing the idea of investigative reporting to the Soviet press, and *Ogonyok* has become its country's most controversial and eagerly sought publication. The Soviet editor's trip to the United States, on which he was accompanied by his wife, included visits to Washington, D.C., Knoxville, Chicago, New Orleans and New York.

CAN WE WAGE PEACE?



Walter Anderson (left), editor of *Parade*, and Vitaly Korotich, editor of *Ogonyok*.



Photos by Brent Petren

TWO EDITORS VISIT EACH OTHER'S COUNTRY



CAN WE WAGE PEACE?



How Different Are We?

IT WAS GRAY, COLD AND wet, a prickly March afternoon, when I stood at the foot of the great statue in Volgograd, the Stalingrad memorial, the statue of a woman, sword in her hand, imploring her citizens to join her, defend her, give their lives if they must. It was here, in the heavy, dark and lonely silence this place commands, that I began to understand.

No American, I realized, can come here and talk to these people about war. They know war in a way that is intimate and personal. Twenty million of them were killed in World War II. No family was untouched. Yet a question tugged at me: Can they survive peace?

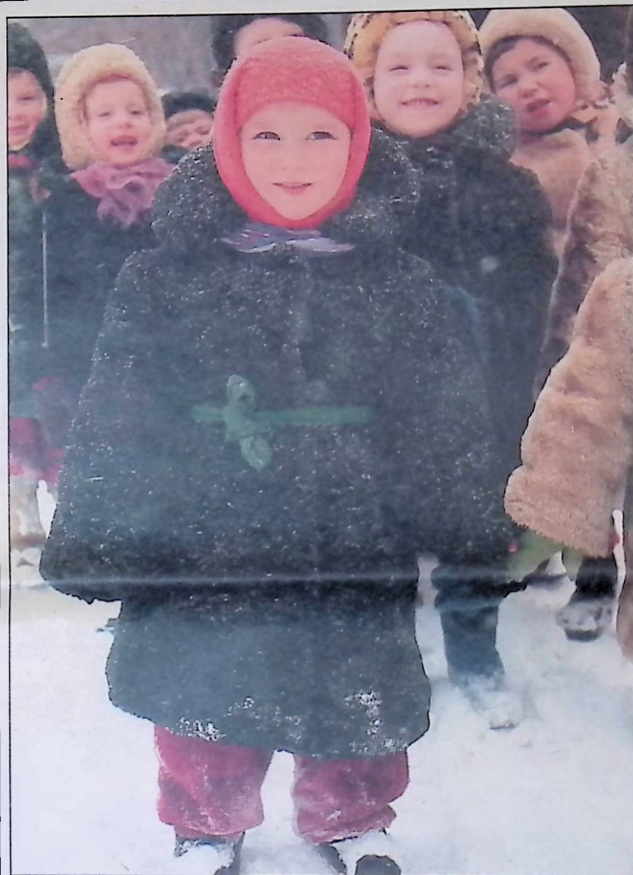
Although the Soviet Union has housed and clothed millions of people since the Germans invaded, today many buildings seem to crumble at the edges, food shortages still occur, and the quality of consumer goods is suspect. More, a black market thrives, life expectancy declines, alcoholism and absenteeism in the workplace rise. I met people in the Soviet Union at the most crucial time since the war years, a dramatic moment when this country is trying a new policy, a concept called *glasnost*, a policy that could, if it succeeds, improve lives.

What is *glasnost*?

I went to the Soviet Union to try to find out. I went with some expectations and, no doubt, a few prejudices.

In two weeks I visited Moscow, Leningrad, Volgograd, Kiev and Tbilisi. Now, as I sit down to write this article, aware that it will appear both in *Parade* and in the Russian-language magazine *Ogonyok*, I find myself facing the challenge of telling American readers what Soviet citizens are like and, at the same time, telling Soviet readers, because I speak only for myself, what I'm like. I also want the Soviet people to know what I think of them and their country.

What remains with me most forcefully are the contrasts of the Soviet Union. Although religion is universally discouraged, its icons, like those by Andrei Rublev in the Troitskaya Cathedral in Zagorsk, are treasured. Although some of the finest literary masterpieces of my country—works of Twain, London, Faulkner, Hemingway, Mailer and Updike, among hundreds of others—are accessible in schools and libraries, straight news about America is rare. Although divorce and abortion occur with stunning frequency, probably at a



Laurie R. King

when one day in Kiev, alone as a child, he was summoned by a Nazi soldier who, slowly, reached into his jacket and withdrew not a pistol but a harmonica, when a guide in Volgograd explained how children, friends of his, died after World War II when buried explosives detonated in the rubble on which they played.

Unfortunately, though, and here's the contrast, it is equally clear that no one can miss the young soldiers on leave, strolling the streets, whether in Kiev, Tbilisi, Volgograd, Moscow or Leningrad—or ignore the war the Soviet Union can't seem to stop in Afghanistan, a conflict that nearly every citizen I spoke with predicted would end within two years. It undoubtedly will surprise many Americans, as it did me, to learn that there are Soviet citizens, intellectuals and workers alike, who actually fear,



Left: Kindergarten children enjoy a session in a Moscow playground. Above, a young lieutenant in the Soviet armed forces, on leave from his unit, takes his girl for an afternoon stroll in Moscow.

I found most Soviet citizens to be without pretension and, like the best people in my own country, capable of genuine warmth and love

rate even higher than in the United States, the family bonding and the love among people is palpable, enviable, the people often seeming to be as much a family as a nation.

But the sharpest contrast has been provided by war.

The individuals I met do not want

war and they do not want it in a way that is profoundly personal, often based on childhood memories. I was riveted when Ilya Glazunov, a prominent painter, described to me the deaths of his parents by starvation in the siege of Leningrad when he was a boy, when Vitaly Korotich, the poet and editor, told me of his fear

expect in some cases, a nuclear attack from the United States:

A railway conductor told me, "Your leaders have a war mentality." It undoubtedly will surprise him and other citizens to know that millions of Americans think exactly the same thing about Soviet leaders.

A teacher in Moscow argued, "Even if your President never presses the button, your country is using the arms race, all the money we have to spend to keep up, to prevent us from raising the standard of living for our people." Again, this view may surprise many Americans.

No one, certainly not I, can tour the Soviet Union, travel through five cities in two weeks, and really know enough. People are too complex to be known

BY WALTER ANDERSON



that easily, a shell within a shell, like the popular little wooden dolls on sale all over Russia, each layer concealing a more interesting layer, then another. Also, I'm an American, an American with an unyielding bias favoring the guiding principles upon which my own nation has been founded.

This in mind, do I understand the Soviet Union?

Understand the Soviet Union better.

Enough?

No, better.

Is "glasnost" real?

Yes, I believe it is. It is also one of the most significant and dramatic stories of our time, the struggle of a country that has fallen behind, of a leader who's trying to revitalize a society by attacking problems at their roots, bringing citizens into the process, with criticism and introspection. It is not democracy—the power's still firmly at the top—but glasnost is an opportunity to challenge some rigid bureaucratic controls. What the Soviet system has lacked, in my view, is the very discourse, *open* discourse, that gives the United States its vitality. No one knows whether glasnost will work in the Soviet Union—or what will happen if it does not.

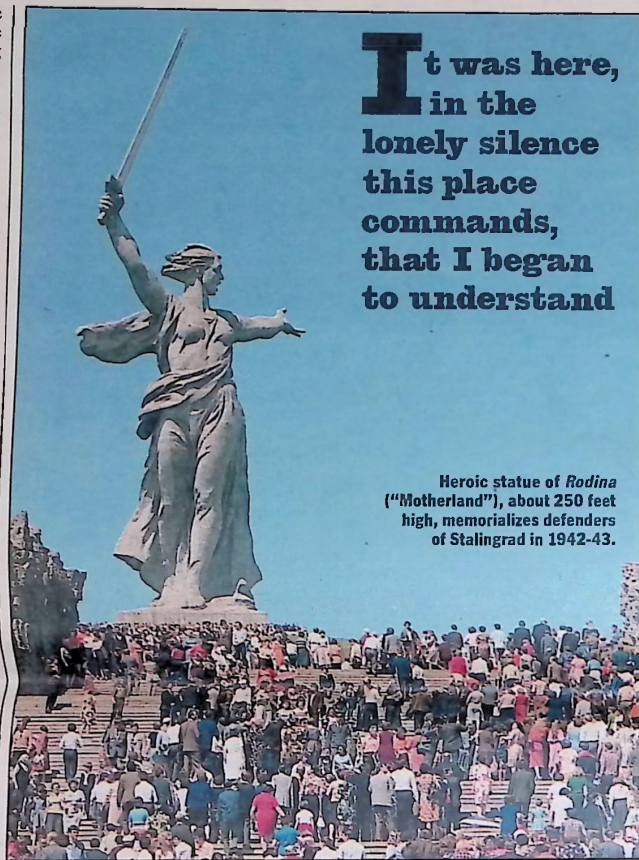
What, actually, is "glasnost"?

Strictly defined, it's *publicity*, which V.I. Lenin, the man who founded the Soviet state, once described as a sword that heals the wound it inflicts. Today, though, it means something more than publicity; it means *openness*. Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1982, started the process, but it has been enlarged by and is most associated with the current General Secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev, who has welcomed, even demanded, criticism and the expression of ideas. Glasnost, as I see it, is a major effort to restore citizen participation in government, to encourage people to play a larger role throughout the system. One Communist, a well-educated man, said, "Now, for the first time, where I've always been silent, I find myself participating, really participating—and I've been asked to represent others and lead, even to be *critical*."

We see glasnost when we read disclosures in the press about the Chernobyl disaster or the sinking of a nuclear submarine, when we hear the news reports about domestic problems like prostitution and other street crime—and it's reflected in the release of Soviet prisoners like Andrei Sakharov, Yuri Orlov and Anatoly Shcharansky, as well as the publication of previously banned work by authors like Vladimir Nabokov and Boris Pasternak. A Russian writer, who before the war had been imprisoned for three years without a specific charge, told me, "With glasnost, I think we have a future."

Why is "glasnost" happening now?

It was here,
in the
lonely silence
this place
commands,
that I began
to understand



Heroic statue of Rodina ("Motherland"), about 250 feet high, memorializes defenders of Stalingrad in 1942-43.

The Soviet Union today lags behind the West in consumer technology and, even after seventy years, it is still challenged by food shortages. Surprisingly, this country so rich in culture and natural resources can at times resemble a Third World nation. Simple water drainage in some cities is poorly engineered, for example, requiring teams of workers to chop ice off streets in winter. Initia-

tive in the workplace, one Ukrainian explained, has been diminished by decades of orders from above. "As you can see," a well-traveled Russian told me, "our standard of living should be higher. Now, with more people participating—not just the bosses giving orders—I really believe we will have progress with our reconstruction, what we call *perestroika*."

Should the United States cooperate?

If glasnost works, the Soviet Union will, of course, be stronger. I believe Americans need to decide for themselves who are more dangerous: the people who will rise to power if Mikhail Gorbachev fails or those who will rise if he succeeds.

Will "glasnost" last?

I don't know. A reading of history raises doubts when one considers Stalin's purges, Khrushchev's fall, Brezhnev's rise. If, however, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev is as committed to glasnost as he appears to be, if he's able to inspire more support than opposition in the Kremlin, then the citizens' fervor for it just might make a difference. Almost without exception, the citizens I spoke with craved openness, heatedly insisting that it must continue.

Georgi Tovstonogov, director of the Maxim Gorky Drama Theater in Leningrad, told me, "We can choose plays now without permission. The performance for tonight, called *Theatre of the Days of Nero and Seneca*, was not permitted before glasnost. Now we have less bureaucracy involved. My dream is that this process will go on. It is the dream of all intellectuals. We need to learn more about other countries and encourage their people to learn about us. After seeing a performance of our play called *Story of the Horse*, German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said, 'This was worth five international conferences.' You see, then he understood!"

"What," I asked, "are the problems?"

"There is resistance to glasnost," he said, "stiff resistance in the bureaucracy, and questions from people who are used to the old way: 'Why,' some ask, 'do we need this?'"

An author in Moscow explained, "There are writers and painters, a few others in the arts, who oppose glasnost because all their careers they have supported a point of view. They became very secure, unchallenged, in their positions. Now, they face competition in the world of ideas, and personally I think they feel threatened; they fear losing control, losing the ability to decide

continued

The Faces Of 'Glasnost' in Today's Russia

Citizens on all levels welcome Gorbachev's new "openness." From left: actors Kseniya and Alexander Zadneprovsky at their home in Kiev; Ilya, the schoolboy who wanted to practice his English; and Georgi Tovstonogov, head of the Maxim Gorky Drama Theater.



Photos by Loretta Anderson



ANDERSON/continued

so easily what citizens will see and hear. Maybe they worry that the people will like the new talent more and will like them less. As for the bureaucrats who, before glasnost, got their power through political favors and payoffs, in the past they were very comfortable making decisions, telling people what they could and couldn't do, giving but never taking blame, almost always saying *no*. Now these bureaucrats are held accountable for their decisions—and they must share with, delegate, listen to and, in some cases, even heed workers. This means the bureaucrats can't hide behind their desks. They must share. Some have lost their jobs. I think more will."

Why would others resist?

"A few people don't like the change," a teenager in Volgograd told me, "because, like my parents, they're used to the old way. Others made decisions for them. It's easier when you can blame somebody else, when you don't have to think. So many times I have heard: 'Why should we read bad news? What good comes of it?' My parents did what they were told, read what they were told, saw what they were told. This is hard for them, but, for me, glasnost is better."

In Kiev, the Ukraine's Deputy Minister of Culture, Alexander Tribushny, said, "We have rock music and break-dancing and many more plays, more views now. Glasnost is growing."

Will it continue?

"Yes," he told me.

"Since you've had short-lived periods of openness before, as you did with Nikita Khrushchev," I asked, "why do you believe today is different?"

"Because so many people are included in this process now," Tribushny said. "Khrushchev had only a narrow circle of leaders involved. Also, what has been said and revealed can't be undone or taken back. Most important are the vast numbers of people who support this."

Soviet citizens, I learned, despite hearing more than forty years of half-truths and near-truths about the United States, have a curiosity, a thirst for things American. I remember how two teenage girls, both deaf, excitedly responded in sign language to the Wyeth family art exhibit in Leningrad, how a prominent theater director in the same city casually lit his cigarette with an "I Love New York" lighter, how a Moscow cabdriver hummed along to "Bess, You Is My Woman Now" from the George Gershwin opera "Porgy and Bess" as it played over his radio, how he shook his head to the heavy-metal melody that followed it—how the pride swelled in the voices and faces of Georgian students and teachers, a Volgograd librarian, a family of actors and a poet in Kiev, and Communist Party officials in nearly every city

when they were able to display gifts created in my homeland, gifts given to them by other Americans, and the respect, rarely grudging, for the quality of our products, and the questions, questions upon questions, about America.

That this article is being read by Soviet citizens is in itself a genuine expression of glasnost, and, in this spirit, I'd like to help my hosts know at least one American better—me. I started to realize early in my trip that the people I met in the Soviet Union understood much about the culture in which I was raised, more, perhaps, than many Americans may know about the Soviet Union, but what may not be clearly understood about us is deeper.

Although we quarrel among ourselves in America, race with race and among religions, no matter how many times we fail each other, the quest for tolerance is as much a part of our fiber, I told

I asked a Russian friend in Moscow to define the Russian character.

"Strong," he said, "and smart and tough." He paused, then added with emphasis, "And we don't want war."

"That," I told him, "could also define the American character."

Are we, as a people, so different?

I don't think so.

I found most Soviet citizens to be direct, without pretension and, like the best of people in my own country, capable of genuine warmth and love. When the distinguished actor Alexander Zhdanovskiy of Kiev sang a compelling, haunting duet with his wife Kseniya after dinner in their home, I felt a sense of sharing, the same feeling I had when the Georgian film genius Revaz Chkheidze candidly described to me his personal religious beliefs, what he saw as the spiritual significance of a Christian icon in his office. I was impressed by the



Bombed-out building left standing as a stark reminder of the Battle of Stalingrad.

a Georgian journalist, "as your love of motherland, *rodina* as you call it, is yours." Americans like myself, I said, support Soviet Jews and others who seek to emigrate today, because we feel we must. I described to him the human joy, the pride I had found in the conference room of the Volgograd Polytechnic Institute. There I had talked, shared tea with sons and daughters of the peasants who had built this building with their own hands, sons and daughters who today are graduates who hold scientific patents throughout the world, evidence one more time that there are extraordinary possibilities in ordinary people. How can I accept that a society that has literally rebuilt itself from dust in less than half a century, has clothed and housed its people in a remarkable triumph of human will and spirit, can't rise above the denial of freedom? *You are better than that.*

depth of culture, the superior education of young children, the gentle physical touching among adults, the holding of hands, the gracious hospitality and the generosity, sometimes totally unexpected generosity. Take Ilya, a small boy on spring recess, a boy who reminded me of my own son when he was younger. We met in a Volgograd hotel lobby when he left a group of students to shyly, hesitantly ask me if I would speak with him so that he could learn about America and practice his English. He confided that he loved soccer, that he had a great deal of homework, that when he grew up he wanted to be a microbiologist. Then Ilya, thanking me, reached in his pocket and thoughtfully handed me a gift, a souvenir keychain he had purchased for himself.

Are we, as countries, so different?

Yes.

Never was it so apparent to me how

different we are than when I listened to Soviet Minister of Education G.A. Yagodin in his office on my last day in Moscow. The policy of glasnost is good, he said, and it will help reveal, and ostensibly correct, the mistakes of people in government—but it presents a problem: "If someone says that I'm not right, but I feel that I am right, what should I do?" That, sir, touches the very essence of democracy, particularly the relationship between free speech and a responsive government. I'm reminded how Minister Yagodin sought to persuade me of the failure of the American system of justice by describing to me a recent and famous trial in New York:

"The Mafia was found innocent because," he insisted, "they were afraid to convict them. You call that justice?"

Yes, I said, and they have a name. We call them a jury—and that jury did something that, whether we agree or disagree with its verdict, we can do in America: *It rejected its government's case.*

More, the trial and the verdict are public.

If an educated person like Minister Yagodin does not seem to grasp the importance of this freedom and this responsibility—when he is unaware of so many other cases in which American juries have rejected the government's position—the weakness of the Soviet information network is glaring: What, I wondered, do others learn? I asked a Russian to tell me how he'd go about reporting corruption. He did not know. I asked others: *No one knew*. One admitted, "We have problems in our legal system, but glasnost will help."

I hope so.

Clearly, the Soviet Union and the United States face serious challenges aside from the threat of war. We have much to learn from each other. Don't we have similar concerns, like alcohol and drug abuse and crime? How can we improve the quality of health care? Don't we share the important task of educating and encouraging young people?

Can we survive peace?

"One can only imagine the progress if we work together on common problems," I was told by Yuri Babansky, Vice President of the Soviet Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. Or, I thought, the devastation if we are forced to war. **E**

Walter Anderson, 42, has been editor of PARADE magazine for seven years. A former Marine sergeant and Vietnam veteran, he is a graduate of Mercy College in Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., for which he now serves as chairman of the Board of Trustees. Before joining PARADE, he was a newspaper editor and reporter. He also is the author of the recently published book "Courage Is A Three-Letter Word."



CAN WE WAGE PEACE?



How Should We Live?

WHEN I WAS SHOWN the enormous granaries on the border of Illinois and Ohio, I thought they reminded me of oil tanks, these great gray cylinders, and I knew they contained an energy source no less important: food.

I was intrigued when local farmers explained to me how much effort it took to harvest all this grain, how the grain elevators themselves were observation towers to the endless flatlands, how from their roofs one could see vast distances.

Thus, when asked if I'd like to go up to the very top of one of these grain tanks—I may even have suggested the journey myself—I said yes.

A small elevator compartment came down the gray cylinder, and the three of us—two Americans and I—stepped inside.

The cabin crawled upward, twitching like a fly climbing a steep wall. When it had risen more than a hundred feet, almost to the very top, the little cabin shuddered, then suddenly stopped. I recalled how my wife, who was safely on the ground below, had warned me that this journey was a dubious adventure; I wondered what she was thinking as she looked up at this little gray box that was trembling very high up along the side of the grain elevator. Just when it seemed that we would be stuck for some time, one of my companions slipped out of the cabin and climbed to the roof where, very high up, he began repairing something. Shortly, the cabin shuddered again and continued up, this time without



Soviet leader Gorbachev and his wife tour a clothing factory in Kuibyshev, USSR.



Alex Haley (l), plays host to Vitaly Korotich at his farm in Norris, Tenn.

know her fear. I've seen it before. It costs billions of dollars to instill that fear. It has taken legions of hostile journalists from many countries—and filmmakers who create movies like *Amerika*—to reinforce that terrible fear.

I believe, though, that at every level—the head of state, a farmer, a journalist—



Old-timer Levi Collins chats with Korotich during visit to the Museum of Appalachia.

In Tennessee, we talked, sang, even danced, all the while sensing the common background to our existence as human beings

any stops, with our companion riding on the roof.

There always has to be a man who appears, who is willing to face risk for someone else's sake. He thinks about what he can do, his capability, and he gets to it.

Mikhail Gorbachev, I believe, has turned out to be just such a leader for my country. He is courageous, ready to take risks—but for the well-being of our people, not for his own sake.

As I traveled through America, I

thought about how great were our common links, our mutual responsibility, how critically important are the decisions that can affect us all. Perhaps the greatest "superpower" should be our common desire to survive on earth, to work together.

I know this is not simple.

I remember a woman at the Atlanta airport, a frightened woman who bolted away when she heard I was from the Soviet Union. I'm not sure what she was afraid I was going to do. I only

each of us can do a great deal today to help the world survive, to help us become wiser and better.

Chernobyl taught me quite a bit. When that terrifying, murderous force broke out, young firemen—just kids, really—went into the flames, perishing but saving millions of lives in the process. Their sacrifice made my sense of life more acute. What greatness, I thought: These courageous young people were willing to die for the sake of others, for those who live nearby, a lasting example of self-sacrifice for me and, I hope, for you.

Chernobyl became a tragedy because of some disgracefully irresponsible people. The reactor that exploded is to me a symbol of an evil force which forever exists beside us. Human beings were dying, and the danger remained enormous—until these young firemen stopped it at the cost of their own lives.

I remember when Soviet cosmonaut Georgy Grechko told me how a Soviet spaceship was saved only seconds before exploding. It could have been a disaster like Challenger, he said, but, fortunately, at the last instant, the emer-

continued

BY VITALY KOROTICH



CAN WE WAGE PEACE?

KOROTICH/continued

gency system worked. Time and time again, people and their nations wind up on the edge of survival because of someone's indifference, because situations required heroism when the most ordinary and responsible decision, made in a timely fashion, would have accomplished much more. Like Chernobyl.

Today we speak of *glasnost*, of the politics of openness in my country, as if there's something extraordinary about publishing books that previously were prohibited and by the release of wrongly convicted people from prison. The thing is, such publications and releases should be seen as normal, completely normal. I think that the abnormal, what was lawless, was that books by Pasternak and Gumilev were missing from our bookshelves. There existed a void for plays and books that were prohibited even recently in my country. Such openness should have been the norm, instead of the necessity. Houses, books and atomic power plants should not burn. We should not have to carry children from a fire; there should be no fire. That is all. It's very simple.

Spiritual Chernobyls are no less dangerous than that fiery nuclear reactor. The cry "S-O-S" is more relevant today than ever before, but as *Save Our Souls*.

The people of America I met on my tour across your land impressed me with their sincerity and their broad understanding of the importance of good relations between our countries.

This understanding, I believe, has grown in the last few years. It has been a joy to sense this. In the fall of 1982, America surprised me with its dourness. Its anti-Sovietism, I felt, had penetrated the very pores of American life. *Rambo: First Blood Part II* had not been released yet, nor had *Red Dawn* or *Amerika* been filmed. But one could foretell that they would make their appearance.

I think that America has survived the appeal to hatred. America did not become animalistic; nor did it allow itself to become obsessed with animosity toward my country.

Yet, as you know, some politicians attempted to build a lightning rod out of hatred. The face of hatred showed its fury. It shook in the river of time, then slowly began to drift away. It was good to sense this, good to know that my worst fears did not come true. A spiritual Chernobyl did not consume America from within; this great country remained just as diverse in its interest and appreciation, from *Rambo* to Mickey Mouse, understanding the value of each and relating to each appropriately.

I took part in a farmers' holiday near one of the world's best museums of folk life, the Appalachian museum created



Korotich and Anderson on the campus of Mercy College in Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.

I believe that at every level—the head of state, the farmer, a journalist—each of us can do a great deal today to help the world survive

by John Rice Irwin at Norris, Tenn. With me was Alex Haley, author of one of the most profound books of our time, *Roots*. We talked, sang, even danced, all the while sensing the common background to our existence as human beings—for him, the victory he had described over slavery and the difficult and honest trek toward freedom; for me, the victory over a hatred which some have tried to foist upon our people—and the joy each of us felt from the farmers' handshakes and smiles.

How much paper and film has been wasted in the attempt to divide people speaking different languages, people who only work and hope for a future? It would be possible, I'm sure, to feed all of the starving people of Africa with the cost of one movie dedicated to hatred. The investment that has been made in hatred, as I see it, has not paid off. Though there still may be pieces of shrapnel flying around from the bombs of hatred that continue to explode, the number of their victims grows smaller and smaller.

I recall my encounters in Chicago and New Orleans, in Washington, D.C., and New York. We were far from agreeing with one another on everything, but

each time we attempted to understand each other more sincerely. This is the essence of our reconstruction, our openness. Even if you know what the world can give you, to paraphrase John Kennedy, you must ask what you can do for the world.

I am a realist.

I know that there are people in America who are not interested in improved relations with my country. I know such people in my own country as well. By creating, inflating and inflaming tensions between us, these people in both nations attempt to justify their own existence. Any step toward mutual understanding makes their lives, everything that they did and continue to do, seem senseless. They profit in loss. Hatred is much simpler than love; war is much simpler than peace. The confrontationalists, fueled by personal and powerful ambition, know how to use newspapers and television studios. Those who seek cooperation are learning, though. If we stick at it, I believe, we will be stronger.

I dislike it when some people bring a conspiratorial attitude into the meetings of people of goodwill from our nations.

It really rubs me the wrong way when,

at Soviet-American meetings, people begin to talk about who's buying whom, who will obtain more benefit from improved relations between our nations.

The benefit is obvious. It will benefit me, my wife and children very much. New Orleans dockworkers will profit, the farmers of Illinois and Tennessee as well. And, along with them, the wine-makers of Soviet Georgia.

Some people, though, will lose: It has been a long time since I've seen unemployed bureaucrats.

You may not believe in the openness for which my country's current leadership is fighting. You may distrust me, because I tell you I am a Communist. Nevertheless, it is not at all difficult to understand that no one will benefit from an explosion in Chernobyl or a bad harvest in Ohio. We must hold hands in the darkness. If fewer people die in Afghanistan and Nicaragua, in Angola and El Salvador, then life will improve for all of us.

We need to foster healthy feelings of humanity within ourselves. Otherwise, we will not survive.

Nations—all nations—must give their citizens the freedom to choose their place of residence. This must be the individual's choice. To me, that is obvious.

Those of us who have chosen their countries forever, though, how should we live? How do we learn to share common joys, common pain, to hope for all?

This evening, when Americans watch their televisions, then retire to bed, it will be morning, the beginning of a new day in my country. I would like to do all I can so that you sleep peacefully. When night comes for me in my country, I will retire to sleep in the faith that America, which I know and love, will see to it that my peace—my children's peace—is not disturbed.

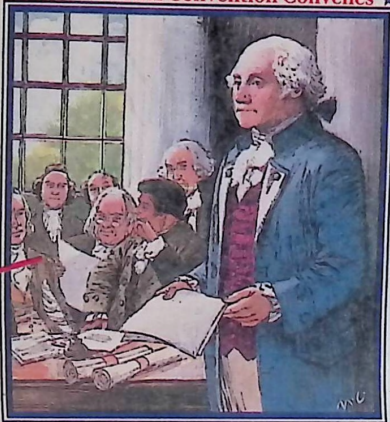
It is very good that we grow closer. In spite of everything.

Vitaly Korotich, 51, who became editor of "Ogonyok" last year, is a native of Kiev in the Soviet Union. He trained as a doctor at the Kiev Medical Institute, earning a gold medal as valedictorian. He decided in 1965, at the age of 29, to give up medicine in order to work full-time as a writer, and in that year he was elected secretary of the Ukrainian Writers' Union. He subsequently edited the Ukrainian magazine "Ranok" and worked free-lance, eventually publishing more than 40 books in 15 languages. He has won the Ukrainian and All-Soviet State poetry prizes, recognition from the International Organization of Journalists, and has been named an honorary cultural figure in Poland for his translations of Polish poetry. He has visited the United States several times, including a six-month stay in 1967.

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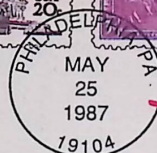


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JUNE 21, 1987

On Parade

WHAT'S UP THIS WEEK

BY LYNN MINTON

MOVIES

Goofy Planet Joins The Space Wars

Mel Brooks' new comedy, **Spaceballs**, is about a planet of ruthless idiots who've squandered all of its air. The plot—both a takeoff of *Star Wars*-type movies and a satire of how we live today— involves Spaceball's scheme to steal air from the peace-loving planet Druidia.



Brooks as President Skroob in *Spaceballs*

A New Dagnet Goes Beyond the Facts

Do you remember, "Just the facts, ma'am"? Now, director Tom Mankiewicz brings us the perfect actor—Dan Aykroyd—to play the relentlessly incorruptible Sgt. Joe Friday in **Dagnet**, a loving parody of the long-running TV series. "We used the *dum de dum dum*, the style and the rhythms of the old show," says Mankiewicz, "in a plot about a maniacal band of hedonistic zealots who try to take over Los Angeles."

BOOKS

Do You Save Matchbooks?

Close Cover Before Striking: The Golden Age of Matchcover Art is a great-looking and witty collection of matchbook covers from the 1920s to the '50s—ads for gum, gas, beer, war bonds and "delicious 5¢ Creamsicles"—that take us back in time. And prove we're not so crazy if we're always picking up the matches from restaurants and hotels. From Abbeville Press. \$19.95.

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This is the joy of owning the world's first porcelain and crystal bell. Impressively wedding the two artistic mediums most cherished by collectors. And wonderfully affordable at just \$69, in three monthly installments of \$23 each.

Created by Wilhelm Buehler, the internationally renowned bird artist, "Goldfinch" is a work of stunning realism. The golden plumage, black cap and tipped feathers of the American goldfinch are all precisely defined. As are the petals of each flower and the serrations on each leaf.

Its crafting is equally remarkable. The sculpture is hand assembled from individual porcelain castings. After firing, it is painted by hand—each feather, leaf and petal. Full lead crystal is tinted to a blush of apple-blossom pink... and hand gathered to form the bell. Pure 24 karat gold rims the bell. And a faceted crystal clapper, on a 24 karat gold electroplate chain, provides the lilting ring and an elegant touch.

An important first for collectors, and a treasure of rare enchantment to display in your home, this imported porcelain and crystal bell is available only from The Franklin Mint. To enter your order, simply sign and return the accompanying form by July 20, 1987.



Shown approximately actual size of 5" in height.

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Intelligence Report

Because of volume of mail received, Parade regrets it cannot answer queries.

Cost of Royalty

For those interested in how much some members of the British royal family are voted by the government to fulfill their public duties, herewith the latest annual figures from the Civil List, the British document that reveals who gets what. Most include raises of 4.8% to cover inflation, and all were converted into dollars (at \$1.61 for a pound).

The Queen: \$6,965,021; the Queen Mother: \$603,750; Prince Philip, the Queen's husband: \$336,490; Princess Anne, their daughter: \$209,944; Princess Margaret, the Queen's sister: \$204,470; Prince Andrew, the Queen's second son: \$80,500; Prince Edward, her youngest: \$32,200.

Andrew and Edward got no raises this year. As for Prince Charles, heir to the throne, he receives no payment. His income is derived from the Duchy of Cornwall estates.



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She's an Authority on Rape

If you're a young man dating a young lady, and she says "stop!" or "no!" in the course of your togetherness, you had better listen, because some young ladies today are of a mind to sue you for assault or even accuse you of rape.

That's the warning from Susan Estrich, 34, who is on leave from the Harvard Law School, where in 1981 she became the first woman to teach criminal law and the first professor to include rape law in her lectures. Professor Estrich is an authority on rape and the author of *Real Rape*, a pioneering work on the subject, published earlier this year.

Estrich wrote her book, she recently explained to this reporter, because she feels strongly that the law—particularly as it relates to "simple rape"—is unfair to women and must be changed. A "simple rape" is one in which a man engages in intercourse with a woman who isn't his wife, against her will and without her consent. There are no witnesses except the participants, who often have had a prior relationship. There are no threats with weapons and no multiple assailants, as in gang rapes. It is the kind of rape case that many district attorneys are reluctant to try, because the conviction rate is so low.

Professor Estrich empathizes with the victims of rape, because she herself was one. As she sat in her car on May 31, 1974—a few days before she was scheduled to graduate from Wellesley College, said Estrich—"a man held an ice pick to my throat and said, 'Push over, shut up, or I'll kill you.'" She added: "I did what he said, but I couldn't stop crying. When he was finished, I jumped out of my

car as he drove away."

The Boston police never found the man who raped her, but the trauma she suffered apparently has been unforgettable. A lawyer's daughter, Estrich entered Harvard Law School. was the first woman elected president of the *Harvard Law Review* and was graduated in 1977. She clerked for U.S. Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens and federal appellate Judge J. Skelly Wright, then decided to ration her time between teaching at Harvard and supporting such top Democrats as Sen. Ted Kennedy, Walter Mondale and now Gov. Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts. Last year, she married Martin Kaplan, a vice president at Walt Disney Pictures.

When asked if she had any idea how to decrease the rape rate in this country, Estrich said: "I think much of it depends on how we educate our young men. If women today are liberated enough to say 'yes' when we want sex, we deserve to be respected and not raped when we say 'no.'"



Professor Estrich in class at Harvard Law School

Biggest Taxpayers

In Japan, anyone who pays a yearly income tax larger than 10 million yen (U.S. \$71,428) has his or her name printed on a list, copies of which are posted in local tax offices throughout the country.

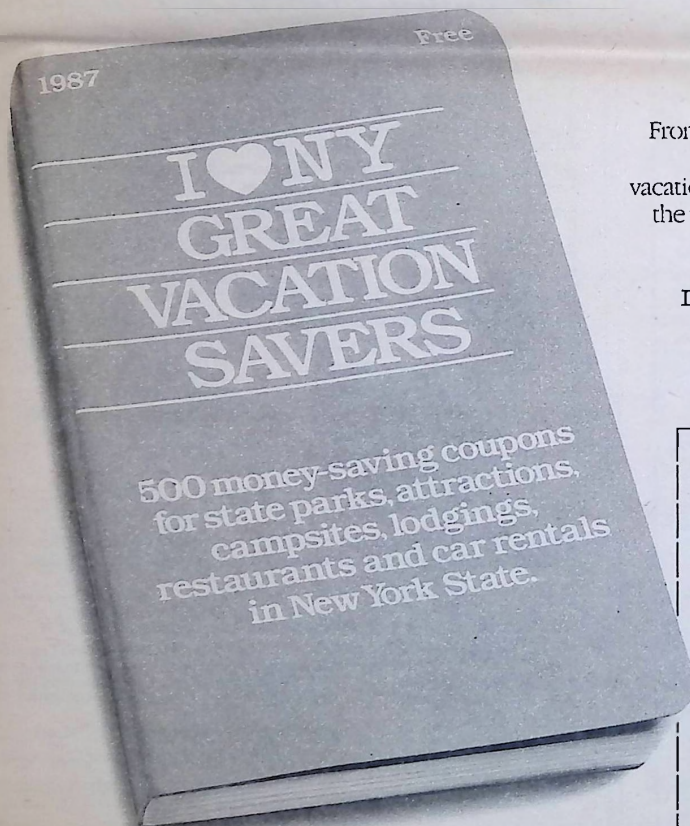
Last year, Shigeo Takahashi, 68, a retired real-estate tycoon from Hayama, paid 1.58 billion yen

(\$11,285,714), making him the No. 1 taxpayer in Japan. Takahashi was followed by two widows: Shinako Mitsui, 76, and Shiro Egusa, 86, both of whom derived most of their income from land sales.

In 1986, Japan boasted 88,306 persons who had paid more than 10 million yen in taxes.

BY LLOYD SHEARER © 1987

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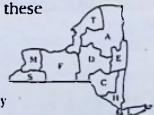
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An open letter to all unmarried women and men.

You know what you want. You want a special person with whom you can share your most intimate secrets—someone who understands you and loves you just the way you are. You want to experience the simple pleasure of sitting together at the kitchen table on a rainy Saturday morning, both of you in bathrobes, sipping a steaming cup of coffee and reading the paper. You want to be able to share your successes and setbacks with someone who really cares. You want to know that you have a soulmate, someone who sees the world as you do. You want to find someone with whom you can share the bittersweet experience of gracefully growing old together. You want never to be lonely again!

The way it used to be

If you are beginning to question if there is something wrong with you, don't. Finding a mate used to be a lot easier. A generation or two ago, most people lived in the same community where they were raised. They knew everyone, often marrying their childhood sweethearts. They would then live in the same community for the rest of their lives. Finding a mate under those circumstances was very easy.

But today it's much different. We're all from somewhere else. We move across town or across country, leaving our friends and neighbors behind. And suddenly, when we are ready for marriage (or remarriage), we find ourselves alone, not knowing how to meet the right kind of people. Unfortunately, while our world has changed, our methods for finding a partner have not... until now.

Today's answer

My name is Ben Dominitz, author of the book, *How to Find the Love of Your Life*. In it, I explain a completely new and revolutionary method, unlike any ever offered, to help those seeking a long-lasting relationship. This is completely opposed to the current ideas about how to find someone—ideas that don't amount to much more than "circulate and meet people." And yet, this method, which has been hailed by experts and readers alike, is easy and dignified. In fact, it is downright old-fashioned. In short, it's something anyone can do—something you can do. I promise.

After reading my book, you will finally understand why you haven't yet found the right person, and you will see why the usual "methods" for meeting others have actually worked against you. Most important, you will learn, with my highly effective method, how to dramatically increase your chances for long-lasting love with the right person.

Among the things you will learn are:

- Why you should avoid "chance encounters," singles bars, and parties to meet your mate.

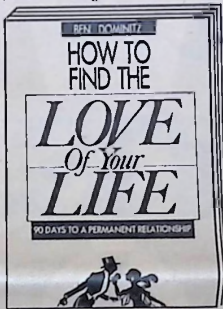
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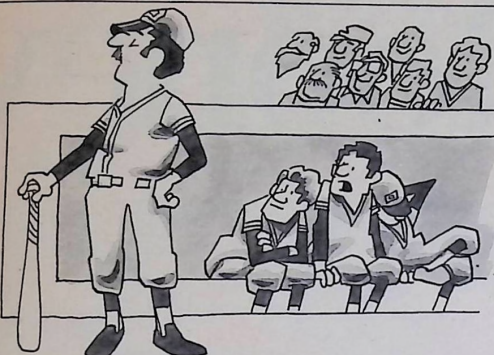
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IN STEP WITH:



BY JAMES BRADY

Mickey Rooney

MICKEY ROONEY CAME INTO the big rehearsal hall with a shout of laughter. He is a short, stocky fireplug of a fellow with white hair and a dancer's nimble feet, and he was wearing plastic eyeglasses attached to an elastic strap, like skiers' goggles. When I told him my name, he said, "God bless you, Jim.

God bless you," and went past me to sit down at an upright piano and bang out a tune. The eyeglasses, he said, were always falling off during dance rehearsal, so he'd contrived this method of keeping them on—unbroken.

He has been in show business since the age of one, when he crawled out onto a vaudeville stage during his parents' act. A year later, he was a regular. At 5, he made his first film, playing a midget. That was in 1926. He is now in his late 60s, and one of the chorus girls in his current show told me, "He never stops talking. He never stops, period."

For a time, he was down and out. Broken marriages, alimony, age—all seemed to be catching up with him. Then came a corny musical called *Sugar Babies*, with Ann Miller. It ran on Broadway and on tour for seven years and reestablished Rooney not only as a star but also as a big money-maker. Five years ago, he won an Emmy for his TV role as Bill, a retarded older man. Now, he is going out on a national tour again with *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, and we were talking in New York, where he was rehearsing.

Rooney was born in Brooklyn. I asked if he ever went back. There was near-ferocity in his answer: "Never! Never look back. Always look ahead." I looked back for him: the Andy Hardy films; *Boys Town*, with Spencer Tracy; *Babes in Arms*, with Judy Garland; *National Velvet*, with Elizabeth Taylor; *The Human Comedy*, for which he received an Oscar nomination; *The Bridges at Toko-Ri*; *Breakfast at Tiffany's*; and *The Black Stallion*, with another Oscar nomination.

In his time, he played with most of the big names—and was, and is, a big name himself. As an actor, he can make you laugh, he can make you cry. He's also a gifted musician. He plays nearly every instrument, has composed several popular songs and has written a symphony. Knopf, a serious publisher, will bring out his new book. Yet he still plays the clown, clapping an Irish tweed country hat on his head and cracking jokes. Without drawing breath.

Behind the tomfoolery, there is a serious man who has, at long last, grown up. Get him talking about religion sometime, about having found faith, about straightening out a tangled life. Remember that old movie, *Life Begins for Andy Hardy*? It has just begun again.

BORN: Sept. 23, 1920, in Brooklyn, N.Y.

PERSONAL: Eight marriages—the first to Ava Gardner, 1942-43, and the most recent to Jan Chamberlain; seven children.

STAGE: *Sugar Babies*, 1979-86.

FILMS: Include Mickey McGuire comedies, 1926-32; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1935; *Captains Courageous*, 1937; *Love Finds Andy Hardy*, 1938; *Boys Town*, 1938; *Strike Up the Band*, 1940; *Young Tom Edison*, 1940; *The Human Comedy*, 1943; *Girl Crazy*, 1943; *National Velvet*, 1944; *The Bridges at Toko-Ri*, 1954; *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, 1961; *Requiem for a Heavyweight*, 1962; *Pete's Dragon*, 1977; *The Black Stallion*, 1979.



Sixty-six years after he made his first appearance in vaudeville at age one, Mickey Rooney is back on tour. Right now, he's playing the Pantages Theatre in Los Angeles in a farce set in Rome 2000 years ago.

BRADY'S BITS

"You know what?" he said. "They've got a Mickey Rooney doll. You wind it up, and it gets married." He knows about his height is 5 feet 3, but he adds: "I was 6 feet 4 when I married Ava Gardner." Yet for nine years now, he has been married to Jan Chamberlain, a singer and songwriter. They have a house in the San Fernando Valley and a ranch where Mick has just started yet another career—breeding horses.

H.D.S. GREENWAY

Add 'sovereignty' to Bush's grand illusions about Iraq

PRIME MINISTER Iyad Allawi and his companions in Iraq's transitional government must be wondering what kind of used car they have bought from the Bush administration. They have a sovereignty that is so limited that they do not control their country's air space or its ports. The security forces they do control are so limited, undertrained, and untested that Iraq's new leaders are completely dependent on foreign soldiers even for their very lives.

They are being asked to rule a country that has been so reduced by the incompetence of the Americans that very few lights turn on at night in the capital, and security is so bad that US proconsul Paul Bremer had to creep away in a stealth handover, thus denying the Iraqis the ceremonial dignity

of the raising of the flag in the full view of the Iraqi nation.

Iraq's new leaders have legal control of Saddam Hussein, but not physical custody, which pretty much describes their situation in the country at large. And all of this comes from the Bush team that sold you weapons of mass destruction, a Saddam Hussein-Al Qaeda alliance, and dreams of Iraq as a light unto nations, a US style democracy, and a friend to Israel that the mother of all crooked used car salesmen, Ahmed Chalabi, promised.

The Bush administration promised change in the Middle East, but change came in the form of a deeper hatred for the United States, and an Iraq in which only 2

percent of the people view the United States as liberators.

The stealth handover seemed to symbolize the entire back-and-forth manner with which the United States has governed Iraq. At first it was going to be retired

The stealth handover denied Iraq the dignity of a flag-raising.

General Jay Garner as proconsul. But then, after only a month on the job, in came Paul Bremer. At first there was going to be a permanent constitution and general elections before the handover of sovereignty. But then the administration said sovereignty first followed by a constitution and elections.

One of Bremer's first acts was to disband the Iraqi army, putting 200,000 men out of work without pensions and unable to support their families. But then, after the damage was done, the United States changed its mind and began paying pensions and trying to reconstitute the army.

At first the Marines were going to root out those who had killed and mutilated four American contractors in Fallujah. Then that manhunt was abandoned and Fallujah turned over to a former general in Saddam Hussein's army.

At first Moqtada al-Sadr was going to be killed or captured. Then that was dropped and al-Sadr was left at large. At first it

was going to be de-Ba'athification. Then it was re-Ba'athification, and on and on. And the Bush administration accuses John Kerry of flip-flops.

Indeed the entire history of Bush's intervention in Iraq became a series of fallback positions. When weapons of mass destruction and Saddam's connections with Al Qaeda turned out to be bogus, it was human rights that the administration turned to for justification; an irony for right-wingers who despise using military force for social engineering as something Democrats do. Then, of course, there is the legacy of Abu Ghraib.

The problem now will be for Iraq's interim government and its successors to get out from under the image of being American pup-

pets — something a succession of Saigon governments never managed to do. And they must be wondering if one day they too will be abandoned just as South Vietnam's leaders were.

As for the Americans, the State Department now takes over from the Pentagon with the arrival of Ambassador John Negroponte, but the endless problems between civilian and military authority that also hindered America's intervention in Vietnam will now begin.

Iraq's new leaders are aware that the American presence itself has become the problem, not the solution. But the profound hope of the Bush administration that Iraq's new government will now take the heat when things go wrong, at least until Nov. 2, may prove just another grand illusion.

H.D.S. Greenway's column appears regularly in the Globe.

File

Commentary

September 2004

World War IV: How It Started, What It Means, and Why We Have to Win

Norman Podhoretz

A Note to the Reader

This past spring, when it seemed that everything that could go wrong in Iraq was going wrong, a plague of amnesia began sweeping through the country. Caught up in the particulars with which we were being assaulted 24 hours a day, we seemed to have lost sight of the context in which such details could be measured and understood and related to one another. Small things became large, large things became invisible, and hysteria filled the air.

Since then, of course, and especially after the hand over of authority on June 30 to an interim Iraqi government, matters have become more complicated. But the relentless pressure of events, and the continuing onslaught both of details and of their often tendentious or partisan interpretation, have hardly let up at all. It is for this reason that, in what follows, I have tried to step back from the daily barrage and to piece together the story of what this nation has been fighting to accomplish since September 11, 2001.

In doing this, I have drawn freely from my own past writings on the subject, and especially from three articles that appeared in these pages two or more years ago.¹ In some instances, I have woven sections of these articles into a new setting; other passages I have adapted and updated.

Telling the story properly has required more than a straight narrative leading from 9/11 to the time of writing. For one thing, I have had to interrupt the narrative repeatedly in order to confront and clear away the many misconceptions, distortions, and outright falsifications that have been perpetrated. In addition, I have had to broaden the perspective so as to make it possible to see why the great struggle into which the United States was plunged by 9/11 can only be understood if we think of it as World War IV.

My hope is that telling the story from this perspective and in these ways will demonstrate that the road we have taken since 9/11 is the only safe course for us to follow. As we proceed along this course, questions will inevitably arise as to whether this or that move was necessary or right; and such questions will breed hesitations and even demands that we withdraw from the field. Some of this happened even in World War II, perhaps the most popular war the United States has ever fought, and much more of it in World War III (that is, the cold war); and now it is happening again, notably with respect to Iraq.

But as I will attempt to show, we are only in the very early stages of what promises to be a very long war, and Iraq is only the second front to have been opened in that war: the second scene, so to speak, of the first act of a five-act play. In World War II and then in World War III, we persisted in spite of impatience, discouragement, and opposition for as long as it took to win, and this is exactly what we have been called upon to do today in World War IV.

For today, no less than in those titanic conflicts, we are up against a truly malignant force in radical Islamism and in the states breeding, sheltering, or financing its terrorist armory. This new enemy has already attacked us on our own soil—a feat neither Nazi Germany nor Soviet Russia ever managed to pull off—and openly announces his intention to hit us again, only this time with weapons of infinitely greater and deadlier power than those used on 9/11. His objective is not merely to murder as many of us as possible and to conquer our land. Like the Nazis and Communists before him, he is dedicated to the destruction of everything good for which America stands. It is this, then, that (to paraphrase George W. Bush and a long string of his predecessors, Republican and Democratic alike) we in our turn, no less than the "greatest generation" of the 1940's and its spiritual progeny of the 1950's and after, have a responsibility to uphold and are privileged to defend.

Out of the Blue

The attack came, both literally and metaphorically, like a bolt out of the blue. Literally, in that the hijacked planes that crashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center on the morning of September 11, 2001 had been flying in a cloudless sky so blue that it seemed unreal. I happened to be on jury duty that day, in a courthouse only a half-mile from what would soon be known as Ground Zero. Some time after the planes reached their targets, we all poured into the street—just as the second tower collapsed. And this sight, as if it were not impossible to believe in itself, was made all the more incredible by the perfection of the sky stretching so beautifully over it. I felt as though I had been deposited into a scene in one of those disaster movies being filmed (as they used to say) in glorious technicolor.

But the attack came out of the blue in a metaphorical sense as well. About a year later, in November 2002, a commission would be set up to investigate how and why such a huge event could have taken us by surprise and whether it might have been prevented. Because the commission's public hearings were not held until the middle of this year's exceptionally poisonous presidential election campaign, they quickly degenerated into an attempt by the

Democrats on the panel to demonstrate that the administration of George W. Bush had been given adequate warnings but had failed to act on them.

Reinforcing this attempt was the testimony of Richard A. Clarke, who had been in charge of the counterterrorist operation in the National Security Council under Bill Clinton and then under Bush before resigning in the aftermath of 9/11. What Clarke for all practical purposes did—both at the hearings and in his hot-off-the-press book, *Against All Enemies*—was to blame Bush, who had been in office for a mere eight months when the attack occurred, while exonerating Clinton, who had spent eight long years doing little of any significance in response to the series of terrorist assaults on American targets in various parts of the world that were launched on his watch.

The point I wish to stress is not that Clarke was exaggerating or lying.² It is that the attack on 9/11 did indeed come out of the blue in the sense that no one ever took such a possibility seriously enough to figure out what to do about it. Even Clarke, who did stake a dubious claim to prescience, had to admit under questioning by one of the 9/11 commissioners that if all his recommendations had been acted upon, the attack still could not have been prevented. And in its final report, released on July 22 of this year, the commission, while digging up no fewer than ten episodes that with hindsight could be seen as missed "operational opportunities," thought that these opportunities could not have been acted on effectively enough to frustrate the attack. Indeed not—not, that is, in the real America as it existed at the time: an America in which hobbling constraints had been placed on both the CIA and the FBI; in which a "wall of separation" had been erected to obstruct communication or cooperation between law-enforcement and national-security agents; and in which politicians and the general public alike were still unable and/or unwilling to believe that terrorism might actually represent a genuine threat.

Slightly contradicting itself, the commission said that "the 9/11 attacks were a shock, but they should not have come as a surprise." Maybe so; and yet there was no one, either in government or out, to whom they did not come as a surprise, either in general or in the particular form they took. The commission also spoke of a "failure of imagination." Maybe so again; and yet the word "failure" seems inappropriate, implying as it does that success was possible. Surely a failure so widespread deserves to be considered inevitable.

To the *New York Times*, however, the failure was not at all inevitable. In a front-page editorial disguised as a "report," the *Times* credited the commission's final report with finding that "an attack described as unimaginable had in fact been imagined, repeatedly." But not a shred of the documentary evidence cited by the *Times* for this categorical statement actually predicted that al Qaeda would hijack commercial airliners and crash them into buildings in New York and Washington. Moreover, all of the evidence, such as it was, came from the 1990's. Nevertheless, the *Times* "report" contrived to convey the impression that in the fall of 2000 the Bush administration—then not yet in office—had received fair warning of an imminent attack. To bolster this impression, the *Times* went on to quote from a briefing given to Bush a month before 9/11. But the document in question was vague about details, and in any case was only one of many intelligence briefings with no special claim to credibility over conflicting assessments.

Thus the Bush administration, which had just been excoriated in hearings held by the Senate

Intelligence Committee for having invaded Iraq on the basis of faulty intelligence, was now excoriated by some of the 9/11 commissioners for not having acted on the basis of even sketchier intelligence to head off 9/11 itself. This contradiction elicited a mordant comment from Charles Hill, a former government official who had been a regular "consumer" of intelligence:

Intelligence collection and analysis is a very imperfect business. Refusal to face this reality has produced the almost laughable contradiction of the Senate Intelligence Committee criticizing the Bush administration for acting on third-rate intelligence, even as the 9/11 commission criticizes it for not acting on third-rate intelligence.³

However, the point I most wish to stress is that there was something unwholesome, not to say unholy, about the recriminations on this issue that befouled the commission's public hearings and some of the interim reports by the staff. It therefore came, so to speak, both as a shock and as a surprise that this same unholy spirit was almost entirely exorcised from the final report. In the end the commission agreed that no American President and no American policy could be held responsible in any degree for the aggression against the United States unleashed on 9/11.

Amen to that. For the plain truth is that the sole and entire responsibility rests with al Qaeda, along with the regimes that provided it with protection and support. Furthermore, to the extent that American passivity and inaction opened the door to 9/11, neither Democrats nor Republicans, and neither liberals nor conservatives, are in a position to derive any partisan or ideological advantage. The reason, quite simply, is that much the same methods for dealing with terrorism were employed by the administrations of both parties, stretching as far back as Richard Nixon in 1970 and proceeding through Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan (yes, Ronald Reagan), George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and right up to the pre-9/11 George W. Bush.

A "Paper Tiger"

The record speaks dismally for itself. From 1970 to 1975, during the administrations of Nixon and Ford, several American diplomats were murdered in Sudan and Lebanon while others were kidnapped. The perpetrators were all agents of one or another faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). In Israel, too, many American citizens were killed by the PLO, though, except for the rockets fired at our embassy and other American facilities in Beirut by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), these attacks were not directly aimed at the United States. In any case, there were no American military reprisals.

Our diplomats, then, were for some years already being murdered with impunity by Muslim terrorists when, in 1979, with Carter now in the White House, Iranian students—with either the advance or subsequent blessing of the country's clerical ruler, Ayatollah Khomeini—broke into the American embassy in Tehran and seized 52 Americans as hostages. For a full five months, Carter dithered. At last, steeling himself, he authorized a military rescue operation which had to be aborted after a series of mishaps that would have fit well into a Marx Brothers movie like *Duck Soup* if they had not been more humiliating than comic. After 444 days, and just hours after Reagan's inauguration in January 1981, the hostages were finally released by the Iranians, evidently because they feared that the hawkish new President might actually launch a military strike against them.

Yet if they could have foreseen what was coming under Reagan, they would not have been so fearful. In April 1983, Hizbullah—an Islamic terrorist organization nourished by Iran and Syria—sent a suicide bomber to explode his truck in front of the American embassy in Beirut, Lebanon. Sixty-three employees, among them the Middle East CIA director, were killed and another 120 wounded. But Reagan sat still.

Six months later, in October 1983, another Hizbullah suicide bomber blew up an American barracks in the Beirut airport, killing 241 U.S. Marines in their sleep and wounding another 81. This time Reagan signed off on plans for a retaliatory blow, but he then allowed his Secretary of Defense, Caspar Weinberger, to cancel it (because it might damage our relations with the Arab world, of which Weinberger was always tenderly solicitous). Shortly thereafter, the President pulled the Marines out of Lebanon.

Having cut and run in Lebanon in October, Reagan again remained passive in December, when the American embassy in Kuwait was bombed. Nor did he hit back when, hard upon the withdrawal of the American Marines from Beirut, the CIA station chief there, William Buckley, was kidnapped by Hizbullah and then murdered. Buckley was the fourth American to be kidnapped in Beirut, and many more suffered the same fate between 1982 and 1992 (though not all died or were killed in captivity).

These kidnappings were apparently what led Reagan, who had sworn that he would never negotiate with terrorists, to make an unacknowledged deal with Iran, involving the trading of arms for hostages. But whereas the Iranians were paid off handsomely in the coin of nearly 1,500 antitank missiles (some of them sent at our request through Israel), all we got in exchange were three American hostages—not to mention the disruptive and damaging Iran-*contra* scandal.

In September 1984, six months after the murder of Buckley, the U.S. embassy annex near Beirut was hit by yet another truck bomb (also traced to Hizbullah). Again Reagan sat still. Or rather, after giving the green light to covert proxy retaliations by Lebanese intelligence agents, he put a stop to them when one such operation, directed against the cleric thought to be the head of Hizbullah, failed to get its main target while unintentionally killing 80 other people.

It took only another two months for Hizbullah to strike once more. In December 1984, a Kuwaiti airliner was hijacked and two American passengers employed by the U.S. Agency for International Development were murdered. The Iranians, who had stormed the plane after it landed in Tehran, promised to try the hijackers themselves, but instead allowed them to leave the country. At this point, all the Reagan administration could come up with was the offer of a \$250,000 reward for information that might lead to the arrest of the hijackers. There were no takers.

The following June, Hizbullah operatives hijacked still another airliner, an American one (TWA flight 847), and then forced it to fly to Beirut, where it was held for more than two weeks. During those weeks, an American naval officer aboard the plane was shot, and his body was ignominiously hurled onto the tarmac. For this the hijackers were rewarded with the freeing of hundreds of terrorists held by Israel in exchange for the release of the other passengers. Both the United States and Israel denied that they were violating their own policy of never bargaining with terrorists, but as with the arms-for-hostages deal, and with equally

good reason, no one believed them, and it was almost universally assumed that Israel had acted under pressure from Washington. Later, four of the hijackers were caught but only one wound up being tried and jailed (by Germany, not the United States).

The sickening beat went on. In October 1985, the *Achille Lauro*, an Italian cruise ship, was hijacked by a group under the leadership of the PLO's Abu Abbas, working with the support of Libya. One of the hijackers threw an elderly wheelchair-bound American passenger, Leon Klinghoffer, overboard. When the hijackers attempted to escape in a plane, the United States sent Navy fighters to intercept it and force it down. Klinghoffer's murderer was eventually apprehended and sent to prison in Italy, but the Italian authorities let Abu Abbas himself go. Washington—evidently having exhausted its repertoire of military reprisals—now confined itself to protesting the release of Abu Abbas. To no avail.

Libya's involvement in the *Achille Lauro* hijacking was, though, the last free pass that country's dictator, Muammar Qaddafi, was destined to get from the United States under Reagan. In December 1985, five Americans were among the 20 people killed when the Rome and Vienna airports were bombed, and then in April 1986 another bomb exploded in a discotheque in West Berlin that was a hangout for American servicemen. U.S. intelligence tied Libya to both of these bombings, and the eventual outcome was an American air attack in which one of the residences of Qaddafi was hit.

In retaliation, the Palestinian terrorist Abu Nidal executed three U.S. citizens who worked at the American University in Beirut. But Qaddafi himself—no doubt surprised and shaken by the American reprisal—went into a brief period of retirement as a sponsor of terrorism. So far as we know, it took nearly three years (until December 1988) before he could pull himself together to the point of undertaking another operation: the bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in which a total of 270 people lost their lives. Of the two Libyan intelligence agents who were tried for planting the bomb, one was convicted (though not until the year 2001) and the other acquitted. Qaddafi himself suffered no further punishment from American warplanes.

In January 1989, Reagan was succeeded by the elder George Bush, who, in handling the fallout from the destruction of Pan Am 103, was content to adopt the approach to terrorism taken by all his predecessors. During the elder Bush's four-year period in the White House, there were several attacks on Americans in Turkey by Islamic terrorist organizations, and there were others in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Lebanon. None of these was as bloody as previous incidents, and none provoked any military response from the United States.

In January 1993, Bill Clinton became President. Over the span of his two terms in office, American citizens continued to be injured or killed in Israel and other countries by terrorists who were not aiming specifically at the United States. But several spectacular terrorist operations occurred on Clinton's watch of which the U.S. was most emphatically the target.

The first, on February 26, 1993, only 38 days after his inauguration, was the explosion of a truck bomb in the parking garage of the World Trade Center in New York. As compared with what would happen on September 11, 2001, this was a minor incident in which "only" six people were killed and over 1,000 injured. The six Muslim terrorists responsible were caught, tried, convicted, and sent to prison for long terms.

But in following the by-now traditional pattern of treating such attacks as common crimes, or the work of rogue groups acting on their own, the Clinton administration willfully turned a deaf ear to outside experts like Steven Emerson and even the director of the CIA, R. James Woolsey, who strongly suspected that behind the individual culprits was a terrorist Islamic network with (at that time) its headquarters in Sudan. This network, then scarcely known to the general public, was called al Qaeda, and its leader was a former Saudi national who had fought on our side against the Soviets in Afghanistan but had since turned against us as fiercely as he had been against the Russians. His name was Osama bin Laden.

The next major episode was not long in trailing the bombing of the World Trade Center. In April 1993, less than two months after that attack, former President Bush visited Kuwait, where an attempt was made to assassinate him by—as our own investigators were able to determine—Iraqi intelligence agents. The Clinton administration spent two more months seeking approval from the UN and the "international community" to retaliate for this egregious assault on the United States. In the end, a few cruise missiles were fired into the Iraqi capital of Baghdad, where they fell harmlessly onto empty buildings in the middle of the night.

In the years immediately ahead, there were many Islamic terrorist operations (in Turkey, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Yemen, and Israel) that were not specifically aimed at the United States but in which Americans were nevertheless murdered or kidnapped. In March 1995, however, a van belonging to the U.S. consulate in Karachi, Pakistan, was hit by gunfire, killing two American diplomats and injuring a third. In November of the same year, five Americans died when a car bomb exploded in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, near a building in which a U.S. military advisory group lived.

All this was trumped in June 1996 when another building in which American military personnel lived—the Khobar Towers in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia—was blasted by a truck bomb. Nineteen of our airmen were killed, and 240 other Americans on the premises were wounded.

In 1993, Clinton had been so intent on treating the World Trade Center bombing as a common crime that for some time afterward he refused even to meet with his own CIA director. Perhaps he anticipated that he would be told things by Woolsey—about terrorist networks and the states sponsoring them—that he did not wish to hear, because he had no intention of embarking on the military action that such knowledge might force upon him. Now, in the wake of the bombing of the Khobar Towers, Clinton again handed the matter over to the police; but the man in charge, his FBI director, Louis Freeh, who had intimations of an Iranian connection, could no more get through to him than Woolsey before. There were a few arrests, and the action then moved into the courts.

In June 1998, grenades were unsuccessfully hurled at the U.S. embassy in Beirut. A little later, our embassies in the capitals of Kenya (Nairobi) and Tanzania (Dar es Salaam) were not so lucky. On a single day—August 7, 1998—car bombs went off in both places, leaving more than 200 people dead, of whom twelve were Americans. Credit for this coordinated operation was claimed by al Qaeda. In what, whether fairly or not, was widely interpreted, especially abroad, as a move to distract attention from his legal troubles over the Monica Lewinsky affair, Clinton fired cruise missiles at an al Qaeda training camp in Afghanistan, where bin

Laden was supposed to be at that moment, and at a building in Sudan, where al Qaeda also had a base. But bin Laden escaped harm, while it remained uncertain whether the targeted factory in Sudan was actually manufacturing chemical weapons or was just a normal pharmaceutical plant.

This fiasco—so we have learned from former members of his administration—discouraged any further such action by Clinton against bin Laden, though we have also learned from various sources that he did authorize a number of covert counterterrorist operations and diplomatic initiatives leading to arrests in foreign countries. But according to Dick Morris, who was then Clinton's political adviser:

The weekly strategy meetings at the White House throughout 1995 and 1996 featured an escalating drumbeat of advice to President Clinton to take decisive steps to crack down on terrorism. The polls gave these ideas a green light. But Clinton hesitated and failed to act, always finding a reason why some other concern was more important.

In the period after Morris left, more began going on behind the scenes, but most of it remained in the realm of talk or planning that went nowhere. In contrast to the flattering picture of Clinton that Richard Clarke would subsequently draw, Woolsey (who after a brief tenure resigned from the CIA out of sheer frustration) would offer a devastating retrospective summary of the President's overall approach:

Do something to show you're concerned. Launch a few missiles in the desert, bop them on the head, arrest a few people. But just keep kicking the ball down field.

Bin Laden, picking up that ball on October 12, 2000, when the destroyer *USS Cole* had docked for refueling in Yemen, dispatched a team of suicide bombers. The bombers did not succeed in sinking the ship, but they inflicted severe damage upon it, while managing to kill seventeen American sailors and wounding another 39.

Clarke, along with a few intelligence analysts, had no doubt that the culprit was al Qaeda. But the heads neither of the CIA nor of the FBI thought the case was conclusive. Hence the United States did not so much as lift a military finger against bin Laden or the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, where he was now ensconced and being protected. As for Clinton, so obsessively was he then wrapped up in a futile attempt to broker a deal between the Israelis and the Palestinians that all he could see in this attack on an American warship was an effort "to deter us from our mission of promoting peace and security in the Middle East." The terrorists, he resoundingly vowed, would "fail utterly" in this objective.

Never mind that not the slightest indication existed that bin Laden was in the least concerned over Clinton's negotiations with the Israelis and the Palestinians at Camp David, or even that the Palestinian issue was of primary importance to him as compared with other grievances. In any event, it was Clinton who failed, not bin Laden. The Palestinians under Yasir Arafat, spurning an unprecedentedly generous offer that had been made by the Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak with Clinton's enthusiastic endorsement, unleashed a new round of terrorism. And bin Laden would soon succeed all too well in his actual intention of striking another brazen blow at the United States.

The sheer audacity of what bin Laden went on to do on September 11 was unquestionably a product of his contempt for American power. Our persistent refusal for so long to use that power against him and his terrorist brethren—or to do so effectively whenever we tried—reinforced his conviction that we were a nation on the way down, destined to be defeated by the resurgence of the same Islamic militancy that had once conquered and converted large parts of the world by the sword.

As bin Laden saw it, thousands or even millions of his followers and sympathizers all over the Muslim world were willing, and even eager, to die a martyr's death in the jihad, the holy war, against the "Great Satan," as the Ayatollah Khomeini had called us. But, in bin Laden's view, we in the West, and especially in America, were all so afraid to die that we lacked the will even to stand up for ourselves and defend our degenerate way of life.

Bin Laden was never reticent or coy in laying out this assessment of the United States. In an interview on CNN in 1997, he declared that "the myth of the superpower was destroyed not only in my mind but also in the minds of all Muslims" when the Soviet Union was defeated in Afghanistan. That the Muslim fighters in Afghanistan would almost certainly have failed if not for the arms supplied to them by the United States did not seem to enter into the lesson he drew from the Soviet defeat. In fact, in an interview a year earlier he had belittled the United States as compared with the Soviet Union. "The Russian soldier is more courageous and patient than the U.S. soldier," he said then. Hence, "Our battle with the United States is easy compared with the battles in which we engaged in Afghanistan."

Becoming still more explicit, bin Laden wrote off the Americans as cowards. Had Reagan not taken to his heels in Lebanon after the bombing of the Marine barracks in 1983? And had not Clinton done the same a decade later when only a few American Rangers were killed in Somalia, where they had been sent to participate in a "peacekeeping" mission? Bin Laden did not boast of this as one of his victories, but a State Department dossier charged that al Qaeda had trained the terrorists who ambushed the American servicemen. (The ugly story of what happened to us in Somalia was told in the film version of Mark Bowden's *Black Hawk Down*, which reportedly became Saddam Hussein's favorite movie.)

Bin Laden summed it all up in a third interview he gave in 1998:

After leaving Afghanistan the Muslim fighters headed for Somalia and prepared for a long battle thinking that the Americans were like the Russians. The youth were surprised at the low morale of the American soldiers and realized, more than before, that the American soldier was a paper tiger and after a few blows ran in defeat.

Miscalculation

Bin Laden was not the first enemy of a democratic regime to have been emboldened by such impressions. In the 1930's, Adolf Hitler was convinced by the failure of the British to arm themselves against the threat he posed, as well as by the policy of appeasement they adopted toward him, that they were decadent and would never fight no matter how many countries he invaded.

Similarly with Joseph Stalin in the immediate aftermath of World War II. Encouraged by the

rapid demobilization of the United States, which to him meant that we were unprepared and unwilling to resist him with military force, Stalin broke the pledges he had made at Yalta to hold free elections in the countries of Eastern Europe he had occupied at the end of the war. Instead, he consolidated his hold over those countries, and made menacing gestures toward Greece and Turkey.

After Stalin's death, his successors repeatedly played the same game whenever they sensed a weakening of the American resolve to hold them back. Sometimes this took the form of maneuvers aimed at establishing a balance of military power in their favor. Sometimes it took the form of using local Communist parties or other proxies as their instrument. But thanks to the decline of American power following our withdrawal from Vietnam—a decline reflected in the spread during the late 1970's of isolationist and pacifist sentiment, which was in turn reflected in severely reduced military spending—Leonid Brezhnev felt safe in sending his own troops into Afghanistan in 1979.

It was the same decline of American power, so uncannily personified by Jimmy Carter, that, less than two months before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, had emboldened the Ayatollah Khomeini to seize and hold American hostages. To be sure, there were those who denied that this daring action had anything to do with Khomeini's belief that the United States under Carter had become impotent. But this denial was impossible to sustain in the face of the contrast between the attack on our embassy in Tehran and the protection the Khomeini regime extended to the Soviet embassy there when a group of protesters tried to storm it after the invasion of Afghanistan. The radical Muslim fundamentalists ruling Iran hated Communism and the Soviet Union at least as much as they hated us—especially now that the Soviets had invaded a Muslim country. Therefore the difference in Khomeini's treatment of the two embassies could not be explained by ideological or political factors. What could and did explain it was his fear of Soviet retaliation as against his expectation that the United States, having lost its nerve, would go to any lengths to avoid the use of force.

And so it was with Saddam Hussein. In 1990, with the first George Bush sitting in the White House, Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in what was widely, and accurately, seen as a first step in a bid to seize control of the oil fields of the Middle East. The elder Bush, fortified by the determination of Margaret Thatcher, who was then prime minister of England, declared that the invasion would not stand, and he put together a coalition that sent a great military force into the region. This alone might well have frightened Saddam Hussein into pulling out of Kuwait if not for the wave of hysteria in the United States about the tens of thousands of "body bags" that it was predicted would be flown home if we actually went to war with Iraq. Not unreasonably, Saddam concluded that, if he held firm, it was we who would blink and back down.

The fact that Saddam miscalculated, and that in the end we made good on our threat, did not overly impress Osama bin Laden. After all—dreading the casualties we would suffer if we went into Baghdad after liberating Kuwait and defeating the Iraqi army on the battlefield—we had allowed Saddam to remain in power. To bin Laden, this could only have looked like further evidence of the weakness we had shown in the ineffectual policy toward terrorism adopted by a long string of American Presidents. No wonder he was persuaded that he could strike us massively on our own soil and get away with it.

Yet just as Saddam had miscalculated in 1990-91, and would again in 2002, bin Laden misread how the Americans would react to being hit where, literally, they lived. In all

likelihood he expected a collapse into despair and demoralization; what he elicited instead was an outpouring of rage and an upsurge of patriotic sentiment such as younger Americans had never witnessed except in the movies, and had most assuredly never experienced in their own hearts and souls, or, for those who enlisted in the military, on their own flesh.

In that sense, bin Laden did for this country what the Ayatollah Khomeini had done before him. In seizing the American hostages in 1979, and escaping retaliation, Khomeini inflicted a great humiliation on the United States. But at the same time, he also exposed the foolishness of Jimmy Carter's view of the world. The foolishness did not lie in Carter's recognition that American power—military, economic, political, and moral—had been on a steep decline at least since Vietnam. This was all too true. What was foolish was the conclusion Carter drew from it. Rather than proposing policies aimed at halting and then reversing the decline, he took the position that the cause was the play of historical forces we could do nothing to stop or even slow down. As he saw it, instead of complaining or flailing about in a vain and dangerous effort to recapture our lost place in the sun, we needed first to acknowledge, accept, and adjust to this inexorable historical development, and then to act upon it with "mature restraint."

In one fell swoop, the Ayatollah Khomeini made nonsense of Carter's delusionary philosophy in the eyes of very large numbers of Americans, including many who had previously entertained it. Correlatively, new heart was given to those who, rejecting the idea that American decline was inevitable, had argued that the cause was bad policies and that the decline could be turned around by returning to the better policies that had made us so powerful in the first place.

The entire episode thereby became one of the forces behind an already burgeoning determination to rebuild American power that culminated in the election of Ronald Reagan, who had campaigned on the promise to do just that. For all the shortcomings of his own handling of terrorism, Reagan did in fact keep his promise to rebuild American power. And it was this that set the stage for victory in the multifaceted cold war we had been waging since 1947, when the United States under President Harry Truman (aroused by Stalin's miscalculation) decided to resist any further advance of the Soviet empire.

Few, if any, of Truman's contemporaries would have dreamed that this product of a Kansas City political machine, who as a reputedly run-of-the-mill U.S. Senator had spent most of his time on taxes and railroads, would rise so resolutely and so brilliantly to the threat represented by Soviet imperialism. Just so, 54 years later in 2001, another politician with a small reputation and little previous interest in foreign affairs would be confronted with a challenge perhaps even greater than the one faced by Truman; and he too astonished his own contemporaries by the way he rose to it.

Enter the Bush Doctrine

In "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" (1947), the theoretical defense he constructed of the strategy Truman adopted for fighting the war ahead, George F. Kennan (then the director of the State Department's policy planning staff, and writing under the pseudonym "X") described that strategy as

a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies . . . by the adroit and vigilant application of counterforce at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points.

In other words (though Kennan himself did not use those words), we were faced with the prospect of nothing less than another world war; and (though in later years, against the plain sense of the words that he himself did use, he tried to claim that the "counterforce" he had in mind was not military) it would not be an entirely "cold" one, either. Before it was over, more than 100,000 Americans would die on the far-off battlefields of Korea and Vietnam, and the blood of many others allied with us in the political and ideological struggle against the Soviet Union would be spilled on those same battlefields, and in many other places as well.

For these reasons, I agree with one of our leading contemporary students of military strategy, Eliot A. Cohen, who thinks that what is generally called the "cold war" (a term, incidentally, coined by Soviet propagandists) should be given a new name. "The cold war," Cohen writes, was actually "World War III, which reminds us that not all global conflicts entail the movement of multimillion-man armies, or conventional front lines on a map." I also agree that the nature of the conflict in which we are now engaged can only be fully appreciated if we look upon it as World War IV. To justify giving it this name—rather than, say, the "war on terrorism"—Cohen lists "some key features" that it shares with World War III:

that it is, in fact, global; that it will involve a mixture of violent and nonviolent efforts; that it will require mobilization of skill, expertise, and resources, if not of vast numbers of soldiers; that it may go on for a long time; and that it has ideological roots.

There is one more feature that World War IV shares with World War III and that Cohen does not mention: both were declared through the enunciation of a presidential doctrine.

The Truman Doctrine of 1947 was born with the announcement that "it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure." Beginning with a special program of aid to Greece and Turkey, which were then threatened by Communist takeovers, the strategy was broadened within a few months by the launching of a much larger and more significant program of economic aid that came to be called the Marshall Plan. The purpose of the Marshall Plan was to hasten the reconstruction of the war-torn economies of Western Europe: not only because this was a good thing in itself, and not only because it would serve American interests, but also because it could help eliminate the grievances on which Communism fed. But then came a Communist coup in Czechoslovakia. Following as it had upon the installation by the Soviet Union of puppet regimes in the occupied countries of East Europe, the Czech coup demonstrated that economic measures would not be enough by themselves to ward off a comparable danger posed to Italy and France by huge local Communist parties entirely subservient to Moscow. Out of this realization—and out of a parallel worry about an actual Soviet invasion of Western Europe—there emerged the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Containment, then, was a three-sided strategy made up of economic, political, and military components. All three would be deployed in a shifting relative balance over the four decades it took to win World War III.⁴

If the Truman Doctrine unfolded gradually, revealing its entire meaning only in stages, the Bush Doctrine was pretty fully enunciated in a single speech, delivered to a joint session of Congress on September 20, 2001. It was then clarified and elaborated in three subsequent statements: Bush's first State of the Union address on January 29, 2002; his speech to the graduating class of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point on June 1, 2002; and the remarks on the Middle East he delivered three weeks later, on June 24. This difference aside, his contemporaries were at least as startled as Truman's had been, both by the substance of the new doctrine and by the transformation it bespoke in its author. For here was George W. Bush, who in foreign affairs had been a more or less passive disciple of his father, talking for all the world like a fiery follower of Ronald Reagan.

In sharp contrast to Reagan, generally considered a dangerous ideologue, the first President Bush—who had been Reagan's Vice President and had then succeeded him in the White House—was often accused of being deficient in what he himself inelegantly dismissed as "the vision thing." The charge was fair in that the elder Bush had no guiding sense of what role the United States might play in reshaping the post-cold-war world. A strong adherent of the "realist" perspective on world affairs, he believed that the maintenance of stability was the proper purpose of American foreign policy, and the only wise and prudential course to follow. Therefore, when Saddam Hussein upset the balance of power in the Middle East by invading Kuwait in 1991, the elder Bush went to war not to create a new configuration in the region but to restore the status quo ante. And it was precisely out of the same overriding concern for stability that, having achieved this objective by driving Saddam out of Kuwait, Bush then allowed him to remain in power.

As for the second President Bush, before 9/11 he was, to all appearances, as deficient in the "vision thing" as his father before him. If he entertained any doubts about the soundness of the "realist" approach, he showed no sign of it. Nothing he said or did gave any indication that he might be dissatisfied with the idea that his main job in foreign affairs was to keep things on an even keel. Nor was there any visible indication that he might be drawn to Ronald Reagan's more "idealistic" ambition to change the world, especially with the "Wilsonian" aim of making it "safe for democracy" by encouraging the spread to as many other countries as possible of the liberties we Americans enjoyed.

Which is why Bush's address of September 20, 2001 came as so great a surprise. Delivered only nine days after the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, and officially declaring that the United States was now at war, the September 20 speech put this nation, and all others, on notice that whether or not George W. Bush had been a strictly conventional realist in the mold of his father, he was now politically born again as a passionate democratic idealist of the Reaganite stamp.

It was also this speech that marked the emergence of the Bush Doctrine, and that pointed just as clearly to World War IV as the Truman Doctrine had to War World III. Bush did not explicitly give the name World War IV to the struggle ahead, but he did characterize it as a direct successor to the two world wars that had immediately preceded it. Thus, of the "global terrorist network" that had attacked us on our own soil, he said:

We have seen their kind before. They're the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions, by

abandoning every value except the will to power, they follow in the path of fascism, Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way to where it ends in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies.

As this passage, coming toward the beginning of the speech, linked the Bush Doctrine to the Truman Doctrine and to the great struggle led by Franklin D. Roosevelt before it, the wind-up section demonstrated that if the second President Bush had previously lacked "the vision thing," his eyes were blazing with it now. "Great harm has been done to us," he intoned toward the end. "We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment." Then he went on to spell out the substance of that mission and that moment:

The advance of human freedom, the great achievement of our time and the great hope of every time, now depends on us. Our nation, this generation, will lift the dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail.

Finally, in his peroration, drawing on some of the same language he had been applying to the nation as a whole, Bush shifted into the first person, pledging his own commitment to the great mission we were all charged with accomplishing:

I will not forget the wound to our country and those who inflicted it. I will not yield, I will not rest, I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people. The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them.

Not even Ronald Reagan, the "Great Communicator" himself, had ever been so eloquent in expressing the "idealistic" impetus behind his conception of the American role in the world.⁵

This was not the last time Bush would sound these themes. Two-and-a-half years later, at a moment when things seemed to be going badly in the war, it was with the same ideas he had originally put forward on September 20, 2001 that he sought to reassure the nation. The occasion would be a commencement address at the Air Force Academy on June 2, 2004, where he would repeatedly place the "war against terrorism" in direct succession to World War II and World War III. He would also be unusually undiplomatic in making no bones about his rejection of realism:

For decades, free nations tolerated oppression in the Middle East for the sake of stability. In practice, this approach brought little stability and much oppression, so I have changed this policy.

And again, even less diplomatically:

Some who call themselves realists question whether the spread of democracy in the Middle East should be any concern of ours. But the realists in this case have lost contact with a fundamental reality: America has always been less secure when freedom is in retreat; America is always more secure when freedom is on the march.

To top it all off, he would go out of his way to assert that his own policy, which he properly justified in the first place as a better way to protect American interests than the alternative favored by the realists, also bore the stamp of the Reaganite version of Wilsonian idealism:

This conflict will take many turns, with setbacks on the course to victory. Through it all, our confidence comes from one unshakable belief: We believe in Ronald Reagan's words that "the future belongs to the free."

The first pillar of the Bush Doctrine, then, was built on a repudiation of moral relativism and an entirely unapologetic assertion of the need for and the possibility of moral judgment in the realm of world affairs. And just to make sure that the point he had first made on September 20, 2001 had hit home, Bush returned to it even more outspokenly and in greater detail in the State of the Union address of January 29, 2002.

Bush had won enthusiastic plaudits from many for the "moral clarity" of his September 20 speech, but he had also provoked even greater dismay and disgust among "advanced" thinkers and "sophisticated" commentators and diplomats both at home and abroad. Now he intensified and exacerbated their outrage by becoming more specific. Having spoken in September only in general terms about the enemy in World War IV, Bush proceeded in his second major wartime pronouncement to single out three such nations—Iraq, Iran, and North Korea—which he described as forming an "axis of evil."

Here again he was following in the footsteps of Ronald Reagan, who had denounced the Soviet Union, our principal enemy in World War III, as an "evil empire," and who had been answered with a veritably hysterical outcry from chancelleries and campuses and editorial pages all over the world. Evil? What place did a word like that have in the lexicon of international affairs, assuming it would ever occur to an enlightened person to exhume it from the grave of obsolete concepts in any connection whatsoever? But in the eyes of the "experts," Reagan was not an enlightened person. Instead, he was a "cowboy," a B-movie actor, who had by some freak of democratic perversity landed in the White House. In denouncing the Soviet empire, he was accused either of signaling an intention to trigger a nuclear war or of being too stupid to understand that his wildly provocative rhetoric might do so inadvertently.

The reaction to Bush was perhaps less hysterical and more scornful than the outcry against Reagan, since this time there was no carrying-on about a nuclear war. But the air was just as thick with the old sneers and jeers. Who but an ignoramus and a simpleton—or a fanatical religious fundamentalist, of the very type on whom Bush was declaring war—would resort to archaic moral absolutes like "good" and "evil"? On the one hand, it was egregiously simple-minded to brand a whole nation as evil, and on the other, only a fool could bring himself to believe, as Bush (once more like Reagan) had evidently done in complete and ingenuous sincerity, that the United States, of all countries, represented the good. Surely only a know-nothing illiterate could be oblivious of the innumerable crimes committed by America both at home and abroad—crimes that the country's own leading intellectuals had so richly documented in the by-now standard academic view of its history.

Here is how Gore Vidal, one of those intellectuals, stated the case:

I mean, to watch Bush doing his little war dance in Congress . . . about

"evildoers" and this "axis of evil". . . I thought, he doesn't even know what the word axis means. Somebody just gave it to him. . . . This is about as mindless a statement as you could make. Then he comes up with about a dozen other countries that have "evil" people in them, who might commit "terrorist acts." What is a terrorist act? Whatever he thinks is a terrorist act. And we are going to go after them. Because we are good and they are evil. And we're "gonna git 'em."

This was rougher and cruder than the language issuing from editorial pages and think tanks and foreign ministries and even most other intellectuals, but it was no different from what nearly all of them thought and how many of them talked in private.⁶

As soon became clear, however, Bush was not deterred. In subsequent statements he continued to uphold the first pillar of his new doctrine and to affirm the universality of the moral purposes animating this new war:

Some worry that it is somehow undiplomatic or impolite to speak the language of right and wrong. I disagree. Different circumstances require different methods, but not different moralities. Moral truth is the same in every culture, in every time, and in every place. . . . We are in a conflict between good and evil, and America will call evil by its name.

Then, in a fascinating leap into the great theoretical debate of the post-cold-war era (though without identifying the main participants), Bush came down squarely on the side of Francis Fukuyama's much-misunderstood view of "the end of history," according to which the demise of Communism had eliminated the only serious competitor to our own political system⁷:

The 20th century ended with a single surviving model of human progress, based on non-negotiable demands of human dignity, the rule of law, limits on the power of the state, respect for women and private property and free speech and equal justice and religious tolerance.

Having endorsed Fukuyama, Bush now brushed off the political scientist Samuel Huntington, whose rival theory postulated a "clash of civilizations" arising from the supposedly incompatible values prevailing in different parts of the world:

When it comes to the common rights and needs of men and women, there is no clash of civilizations. The requirements of freedom apply fully to Africa and Latin America and the entire Islamic world. The peoples of the Islamic nations want and deserve the same freedoms and opportunities as people in every nation. And their governments should listen to their hopes.

The Second Pillar

If the first of the four pillars on which the Bush Doctrine stood was a new moral attitude, the second was an equally dramatic shift in the conception of terrorism as it had come to be defined in standard academic and intellectual discourse.

Under this new understanding—confirmed over and over again by the fact that most of the terrorists about whom we were learning came from prosperous families—terrorism was no

longer considered a product of economic factors. The "swamps" in which this murderous plague bred were swamps not of poverty and hunger but of political oppression. It was only by "draining" them, through a strategy of "regime change," that we would be making ourselves safe from the threat of terrorism and simultaneously giving the peoples of "the entire Islamic world" the freedoms "they want and deserve."

In the new understanding, furthermore, terrorists, with rare exceptions, were not individual psychotics acting on their own but agents of organizations that depended on the sponsorship of various governments. Our aim, therefore, could not be merely to capture or kill Osama bin Laden and wipe out the al Qaeda terrorists under his direct leadership. Bush vowed that we would also uproot and destroy the entire network of interconnected terrorist organizations and cells "with global reach" that existed in as many as 50 or 60 countries. No longer would we treat the members of these groups as criminals to be arrested by the police, read their Miranda rights, and brought to trial. From now on, they were to be regarded as the irregular troops of a military alliance at war with the United States, and indeed the civilized world as a whole.

Not that this analysis of terrorism had exactly been a secret. The State Department itself had a list of seven state sponsors of terrorism (all but two of which, Cuba and North Korea, were predominantly Muslim), and it regularly issued reports on terrorist incidents throughout the world. But aside from such things as the lobbing of a cruise missile or two, diplomatic and/or economic sanctions that were inconsistently and even perfunctorily enforced, and a number of covert operations, the law-enforcement approach still prevailed.

September 11 changed much—if not yet all—of that; still in use were atavistic phrases like "bringing the terrorists to justice." But no one could any longer dream that the American answer to what had been done to us in New York and Washington would begin with an FBI investigation and end with a series of ordinary criminal trials. War had been declared on the United States, and to war we were going to go.

But against whom? Since it was certain that Osama bin Laden had masterminded September 11, and since he and the top leadership of al Qaeda were holed up in Afghanistan, the first target, and thus the first testing ground of this second pillar of the Bush Doctrine, chose itself.

Before resorting to military force, however, Bush issued an ultimatum to the extreme Islamic radicals of the Taliban who were then ruling Afghanistan. The ultimatum demanded that they turn Osama bin Laden and his people over to us and that they shut down all terrorist training camps there. By rejecting this ultimatum, the Taliban not only asked for an invasion but, under the Bush Doctrine, also asked to be overthrown. And so, on October 7, 2001, the United States—joined by Great Britain and about a dozen other countries—launched a military campaign against both al Qaeda and the regime that was providing it with "aid and safe haven."

As compared with what would come later, there was relatively little opposition either at home or abroad to the opening of this first front of World War IV. The reason was that the Afghan campaign could easily be justified as a retaliatory strike against the terrorists who had attacked us. And while there was a good deal of murmuring about the dangers of pursuing a policy of "regime change," there was very little sympathy in practice (outside the Muslim world, that is) for the Taliban.

Whatever opposition was mounted to the battle of Afghanistan mainly took the form of skepticism over the chances of winning it. True, such skepticism was in some quarters a mask for outright opposition to American military power in general. But once the Afghan campaign got under way, the main focus shifted to everything that seemed to be going awry on the battlefield.

For example, only a couple of weeks into the campaign, when there were missteps involving the use of the Afghan fighters of the Northern Alliance, observers like R.W. Apple of the *New York Times* immediately rushed to conjure up the ghost of Vietnam. This restless spirit, having been called forth from the vasty deep, henceforth refused to be exorcised, and would go on to elbow its way into every detail of the debates over all the early battles of World War IV. On this occasion, its message was that we were falling victim to the illusion that we could rely on an incompetent local force to do the fighting on the ground while we supplied advice and air support. This strategy would inevitably fail, and would suck us into the same "quagmire" into which we had been dragged in Vietnam. After all, as Apple and others argued, the Soviet Union had suffered its own "Vietnam" in Afghanistan—and unlike us, it had not been hampered by the logistical problems of projecting power over a great distance. How could we expect to do better?

When, however, the B-52's and the 15,000-pound "Daisy Cutter" bombs were unleashed, they temporarily banished the ghost of Vietnam and undercut the fears of some and the hopes of others that we were heading into a quagmire. Far from being good for nothing but "pounding the rubble," as the critics had sarcastically charged, the Daisy Cutters exerted, as even a *New York Times* report was forced to concede, "a terrifying psychological impact as they exploded just above ground, wiping out everything for hundreds of yards."

But the Daisy Cutters were only the half of it. As we were all to discover, our "smart-bomb" technology had advanced far beyond the stage it had reached when first introduced in 1991. In Afghanistan in 2001, such bombs—guided by "spotters" on the ground equipped with radios, laptops, and lasers, and often riding on horseback, and also aided by unmanned satellite drones and other systems in the air—were both incredibly precise in avoiding civilian casualties and absolutely lethal in destroying the enemy. It was this "new kind of American power," added the *New York Times* report, that "enabled a ragtag opposition" (i.e., the same Northern Alliance supposedly dragging us into a quagmire) to rout the "battle-hardened troops" of the Taliban regime in less than three months, and with the loss of very few American troops.

In the event, Osama bin Laden was not captured and al Qaeda was not totally destroyed. But it was certainly damaged by the campaign in Afghanistan. As for the Taliban regime, it was overthrown and replaced by a government that would no longer give aid and comfort to terrorists. Moreover, while Afghanistan under the new government may not have been exactly democratic, it was infinitely less oppressive than its totalitarian predecessor. And thanks to the clearing of political ground that had been covered over by the radical Islamic extremism of the Taliban, the seeds of free institutions were being sown and given a fighting chance to sprout and grow.

The campaign in Afghanistan demonstrated in the most unmistakable terms what followed from the new understanding of terrorism that formed the second pillar of the Bush Doctrine:

countries that gave safe haven to terrorists and refused to clean them out were asking the United States to do it for them, and the regimes ruling these countries were also asking to be overthrown in favor of new leaders with democratic aspirations. Of course, as circumstances permitted and prudence dictated, other instruments of power, whether economic or diplomatic, would be deployed. But Afghanistan showed that the military option was open, available for use, and lethally effective.

The Third Pillar

The third pillar on which the Bush Doctrine rested was the assertion of our right to preempt. Bush had already pretty clearly indicated on September 20, 2001 that he had no intention of waiting around to be attacked again ("We will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism"). But in the State of the Union speech in January 2002, he became much more explicit on this point too:

We'll be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons.

To those with ears to hear, the January speech should have made it abundantly clear that Bush was now proposing to go beyond the fundamentally retaliatory strike against Afghanistan and to take preemptive action. Yet at first it went largely unnoticed that this right to strike, not in retaliation for but in anticipation of an attack, was a logical extension of the general outline Bush had provided on September 20. Nor did the new position attract much attention even when it was reiterated in the plainest of words on January 29. It was not until the third in the series of major speeches elaborating the Bush Doctrine—the one delivered on June 1, 2002 at West Point to the graduating class of newly commissioned officers of the United States Army—that the message got through at last.

Perhaps the reason the preemption pillar finally became clearly visible at West Point was that, for the first time, Bush placed his new ideas in historical context:

For much of the last century, America's defense relied on the cold-war doctrines of deterrence and containment. In some cases, those strategies still apply. But new threats also require new thinking. Deterrence—the promise of massive retaliation against nations—means nothing against shadowy terrorist networks with no nation or citizens to defend.

This covered al Qaeda and similar groups. But Bush then proceeded to explain, in addition, why the old doctrines could not work with a regime like Saddam Hussein's in Iraq:

Containment is not possible when unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction can deliver those weapons or missiles or secretly provide them to terrorist allies.

Refusing to flinch from the implications of this analysis, Bush repudiated the previously sacred dogmas of arms control and treaties against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction as a means of dealing with the dangers now facing us from Iraq and other members of the axis of evil:

We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best. We cannot put our faith in the word of tyrants, who solemnly sign nonproliferation treaties, and then systematically break them.

Hence, Bush inexorably continued,

If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long. . . . [T]he war on terror will not be won on the defensive. We must take the battle to the enemy, disrupt his plans, and confront the worst threats before they emerge. In the world we have entered, the only path to safety is the path of action. And this nation will act.

At this early stage, the Bush administration was still denying that it had reached any definite decision about Saddam Hussein; but everyone knew that, in promising to act, Bush was talking about him. The immediate purpose was to topple the Iraqi dictator before he had a chance to supply weapons of mass destruction to the terrorists. But this was by no means the only or—surprising though it would seem in retrospect—even the decisive consideration either for Bush or his supporters (or, for that matter, his opponents).⁸ And in any case, the long-range strategic rationale went beyond the proximate causes of the invasion. Bush's idea was to extend the enterprise of "draining the swamps" begun in Afghanistan and then to set the entire region on a course toward democratization. For if Afghanistan under the Taliban represented the religious face of Middle Eastern terrorism, Iraq under Saddam Hussein was its most powerful secular partner. It was to deal with this two-headed beast that a two-pronged strategy was designed.

Unlike the plan to go after Afghanistan, however, the idea of invading Iraq and overthrowing Saddam Hussein provoked a firestorm hardly less intense than the one that was still raging over Bush's insistence on using the words "good" and "evil."

Even before the debate on Iraq in particular, there had been strong objection to the whole idea of preemptive action by the United States. Some maintained that such action would be a violation of international law, while others contended that it would set a dangerous precedent under which, say, Pakistan might attack India or vice-versa. But once the discussion shifted from the Bush Doctrine in general to the question of Iraq, the objections became more specific.

Most of these were brought together in early August 2002 (only about two months after Bush's speech at West Point) in a piece entitled "Don't Attack Iraq." The author was Brent Scowcroft, who had been National Security Adviser to the elder President Bush. Scowcroft asserted, first, that there was

scant evidence to tie Saddam to terrorist organizations, and even less to the September 11 attacks. Indeed, Saddam's goals have little in common with the terrorists who threaten us, and there is little incentive for him to make common cause with them.

That being the case, Scowcroft continued, "An attack on Iraq at this time would seriously jeopardize, if not destroy, the global counterterrorist campaign we have undertaken," the

campaign that must remain "our preeminent security priority."

But this was not the only "priority" that to Scowcroft was "preeminent":

Possibly the most dire consequences [of attacking Saddam] would be the effect in the region. The shared view in the region is that Iraq is principally an obsession of the U.S. The obsession of the region, however, is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Showing little regard for the American "obsession," Scowcroft was very solicitous of the regional one:

If we were seen to be turning our backs on that bitter [Israeli-Palestinian] conflict . . . in order to go after Iraq, there would be an explosion of outrage against us. We would be seen as ignoring a key interest of the Muslim world in order to satisfy what is seen to be a narrow American interest.

This, added Scowcroft, "could well destabilize Arab regimes in the region," than which, to a quintessential realist like him, nothing could be worse.

In coming out publicly, and in these terms, against the second President Bush's policy, Scowcroft underscored the extent to which the son had diverged from the father's perspective. In addition, by lending greater credence to the already credible rumor that the elder Bush opposed invading Iraq, Scowcroft's article belied what would soon become one of the favorite theories of the hard Left—namely, that the son had gone to war in order to avenge the attempted assassination of his father.

On the other hand, by implicitly assenting to the notion that toppling Saddam was merely "a narrow American interest," Scowcroft gave a certain measure of aid and comfort to the hard Left and its fellow travelers within the liberal community. For from these circles the cry had been going out that it was the corporations, especially Halliburton (which Vice President Dick Cheney had formerly headed) and the oil companies that were dragging us into an unnecessary war.

So, too, with Scowcroft's emphasis on resolving "the Israeli-Palestinian conflict"—a standard euphemism for putting pressure on Israel, whose "intransigence" was taken to be the major obstacle to peace. By strongly insinuating that the Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon was a greater threat to us than Saddam Hussein, Scowcroft provided a respectable rationale for the hostility toward Israel that had come shamelessly out of the closet within hours of the attacks of 9/11 and that had been growing more and more overt, more and more virulent, and more and more widespread ever since. To the "paleoconservative" Right, where the charge first surfaced, it was less the oil companies than Israel that was mainly dragging us into invading Iraq. Before long, the Left would add the same accusation to its own indictment, and in due course it would be imprinted more and more openly on large swatches of mainstream opinion.

A cognate count in this indictment held that the invasion of Iraq had been secretly engineered by a cabal of Jewish officials acting not in the interest of their own country but in the service of Israel, and more particularly of Ariel Sharon. At first the framers and early spreaders of this defamatory charge considered it the better part of prudence to identify the conspirators not as Jews but as "neoconservatives." It was a clever tactic, in that Jews did in fact constitute a large

proportion of the repentant liberals and leftists who, having some two or three decades earlier broken ranks with the Left and moved rightward, came to be identified as neoconservatives. Everyone in the know knew this, and for those to whom it was news, the point could easily be gotten across by singling out only those neoconservatives who had Jewish-sounding names and to ignore the many other leading members of the group whose clearly non-Jewish names might confuse the picture.

This tactic had been given a trial run by Patrick J. Buchanan in opposing the first Gulf war of 1991. Buchanan had then already denounced the Johnny-come-lately neoconservatives for having hijacked and corrupted the conservative movement, but now he descended deeper into the fever swamps by insisting that there were "only two groups beating the drums . . . for war in the Middle East—the Israeli Defense Ministry and its amen corner in the United States." Among those standing in the "amen corner" he subsequently singled out four prominent hawks with Jewish-sounding names, counterposing them to "kids with names like McAllister, Murphy, Gonzales, and Leroy Brown" who would actually do the fighting if these Jews had their way.

Ten years later, in 2001, in the writings of Buchanan and other paleoconservatives within the journalistic fraternity (notably Robert Novak, Arnaud de Borchgrave, and Paul Craig Roberts), one of the four hawks of 1991, Richard Perle, made a return appearance. But Perle was now joined in starring roles by Paul Wolfowitz and Douglas Feith, both occupying high positions in the Pentagon, and a large supporting cast of identifiably Jewish intellectuals and commentators outside the government (among them Charles Krauthammer, William Kristol, and Robert Kagan). Like their predecessors in 1991, the members of the new ensemble were portrayed as agents of their bellicose counterparts in the Israeli government. But there was also a difference: the new group had managed to infiltrate the upper reaches of the American government. Having pulled this off, they had conspired to manipulate their non-Jewish bosses—Vice President Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, and George W. Bush himself—into invading Iraq.

Before long, this theory was picked up and circulated by just about everyone in the whole world who was intent on discrediting the Bush Doctrine. And understandably so: for what could suit their purposes better than to "expose" the invasion of Iraq—and by extension the whole of World War IV—as a war started by Jews and being waged solely in the interest of Israel?

To protect themselves against the taint of anti-Semitism, purveyors of this theory sometimes disingenuously continued to pretend that when they said "neoconservative" they did not mean "Jew." Yet the theory inescapably rested on all-too-familiar anti-Semitic canards—principally that Jews were never reliably loyal to the country in which they lived, and that they were always conspiring behind the scenes, often successfully, to manipulate the world for their own nefarious purposes.⁹

Quite apart from its pernicious moral and political implications, the theory was ridiculous in its own right. To begin with, it asked one to believe the unbelievable: that strong-minded people like Bush, Rumsfeld, Cheney, and Rice could be fooled by a bunch of cunning subordinates, whether Jewish or not, into doing anything at all against their better judgment, let alone something so momentous as waging a war, let alone a war in which they could detect

no clear relation to American interests.

In the second place, there was the evidence uncovered by the purveyors of this theory themselves. That evidence, to which they triumphantly pointed, consisted of published articles and statements in which the alleged conspirators openly and unambiguously advocated the very policies they now stood accused of having secretly foisted upon an unwary Bush administration. Nor had these allegedly secret conspirators ever concealed their belief that toppling Saddam Hussein and adopting a policy aimed at the democratization of the entire Middle East would be good not only for the United States and for the people of the region but also for Israel. (And what, an uncharacteristically puzzled Richard Perle asked a hostile interviewer, was wrong with that?)

Which brings us to the fourth pillar on which the Bush Doctrine was erected.

The Fourth Pillar

Listening to the laments of Scowcroft and many others, one would think that George W. Bush had been ignoring "the Israeli-Palestinian conflict" altogether in his misplaced "obsession" with Iraq. In fact, however, even before 9/11 it had been widely and authoritatively reported that Bush was planning to come out publicly in favor of establishing a Palestinian state as the only path to a peaceful resolution of the conflict; and in October, after a short delay caused by 9/11, he became the first American President actually to do so. Yet at some point in the evolution of his thinking over the months that followed, Bush seems to have realized that there was something bizarre about supporting the establishment of a Palestinian state that would be run by a terrorist like Yasir Arafat and his henchmen. Why should the United States acquiesce, let alone help, in adding yet another state to those harboring and sponsoring terrorism precisely at a time when we were at war to rid the world of just such regimes?

Presumably it was under the prodding of this question that Bush came up with an idea even more novel in its way than the new conception of terrorism he had developed after 9/11. This idea was broached only three weeks after his speech at West Point, on June 24, 2002, when he issued a statement adding conditions to his endorsement of a Palestinian state:

Today, Palestinian authorities are encouraging, not opposing terrorism. This is unacceptable. And the United States will not support the establishment of a Palestinian state until its leaders engage in a sustained fight against the terrorists and dismantle their infrastructure.

But engaging in such a fight, he added, required the election of "new leaders, leaders not compromised by terror," who would embark on building "entirely new political and economic institutions based on democracy, market economics, and action against terrorism."

It was with these words that Bush brought his "vision" (as he kept calling it) of a Palestinian state living peacefully alongside Israel into line with his overall perspective on the evil of terrorism. And having traveled that far, he went the distance by repositioning the Palestinian issue into the larger context from which Arab propaganda had ripped it. Since this move passed almost unnoticed, it is worth dwelling on why it was so important.

Even before Israel was born in 1948, the Muslim countries of the Middle East had been fighting against the establishment of a sovereign Jewish state—*any* Jewish state—on land

they believed Allah had reserved for those faithful to his prophet Muhammad. Hence the Arab-Israeli conflict had pitted hundreds of millions of Arabs and other Muslims, in control of more than two dozen countries and vast stretches of territory, against a handful of Jews who then numbered well under three-quarters of a million and who lived on a tiny sliver of land the size of New Jersey. But then came the Six-Day war of 1967. Launched in an effort to wipe Israel off the map, it ended instead with Israel in control of the West Bank (formerly occupied by Jordan) and Gaza (which had been controlled by Egypt). This humiliating defeat, however, was eventually turned into a rhetorical and political victory by Arab propagandists, who redefined the ongoing war of the whole Muslim world against the Jewish state as, instead, a struggle merely between the Palestinians and the Israelis. Thus was Israel's image transformed from a David to a Goliath, a move that succeeded in alienating much of the old sympathy previously enjoyed by the outnumbered and besieged Jewish state.

Bush now reversed this reversal. Not only did he reconstruct a truthful framework by telling the Palestinian people that they had been treated for decades "as pawns in the Middle East conflict." He also insisted on being open and forthright about the nations that belonged in this larger picture and about what they had been up to:

I've said in the past that nations are either with us or against us in the war on terror. To be counted on the side of peace, nations must act. Every leader actually committed to peace will end incitement to violence in official media and publicly denounce homicide bombs. Every nation actually committed to peace will stop the flow of money, equipment, and recruits to terrorist groups seeking the destruction of Israel, including Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Hizbullah. Every nation committed to peace must block the shipment of Iranian supplies to these groups and oppose regimes that promote terror, like Iraq. And Syria must choose the right side in the war on terror by closing terrorist camps and expelling terrorist organizations.

Here, then, Bush rebuilt the context in which to understand the Middle East conflict. In the months ahead, pressured by his main European ally, the British prime minister Tony Blair, and by his own Secretary of State, Colin Powell, Bush would sometimes seem to backslide into the old way of thinking. But he would invariably recover. Nor would he ever lose sight of the "vision" by which he was guided on this issue, and through which he had simultaneously made a strong start in fitting not the Palestinian Authority alone but the entire Muslim world, "friends" no less than enemies, into his conception of the war against terrorism.

With the inconsistency thus removed and the resultant shakiness repaired by the addition of this fourth pillar to undergird it, the Bush Doctrine was now firm, coherent, and complete.

Saluting the Flag Again

Both as a theoretical construct and as a guide to policy, the new Bush Doctrine could not have been further from the "Vietnam syndrome"—that loss of self-confidence and concomitant spread of neoisolationist and pacifist sentiment throughout the American body politic, and most prominently in the elite institutions of American culture, which began during the last years of the Vietnam war. I have already pointed to a likeness between the Truman Doctrine's declaration that World War III had started and the Bush Doctrine's equally portentous declaration that 9/11 had plunged us into World War IV. But fully to measure the distance traveled by the Bush Doctrine, I want to look now at yet another presidential doctrine—the

one developed by Richard Nixon in the late 1960's precisely in response to the Vietnam syndrome.

Contrary to legend, our military intervention into Vietnam under John F. Kennedy in the early 1960's had been backed by every sector of mainstream opinion, with the elite media and the professoriate leading the cheers. At the beginning, indeed, the only criticism from the mainstream concerned tactical issues. Toward the middle, however, and with Lyndon B. Johnson having succeeded Kennedy in the White House, doubts began to arise concerning the political wisdom of the intervention, and by the time Nixon had replaced Johnson, the moral character of the United States was being indicted and besmirched. Large numbers of Americans, including even many of the people who had led the intervention in the Kennedy years, were now joining the tiny minority on the Left who at the time had denounced them for stupidity and immorality, and were now saying that going into Vietnam had progressed from a folly into a crime.

To this new political reality the Nixon Doctrine was a reluctant accommodation. As getting into Vietnam under Kennedy and Johnson had worked to undermine support for the old strategy of containment, Nixon—along with his chief adviser in foreign affairs, Henry Kissinger—thought that our way of getting out of Vietnam could conversely work to create the new strategy that had become necessary.

First, American forces would be withdrawn from Vietnam gradually, while the South Vietnamese built up enough power to assume responsibility for the defense of their own country. The American role would then be limited to providing arms and equipment. The same policy, suitably modified according to local circumstances, would be applied to the rest of the world as well. In every major region, the United States would now depend on local surrogates rather than on its own military to deter or contain any Soviet-sponsored aggression, or any other potentially destabilizing occurrence. We would supply arms and other forms of assistance, but henceforth the deterring and the fighting would be left to others.

On every point, the new Bush Doctrine contrasted sharply with the old Nixon Doctrine. Instead of withdrawal and fallback, Bush proposed a highly ambitious forward strategy of intervention. Instead of relying on local surrogates, Bush proposed an active deployment of our own military power. Instead of deterrence and containment, Bush proposed preemption and "taking the fight to the enemy." And instead of worrying about the stability of the region in question, Bush proposed to destabilize it through "regime change."

The Nixon Doctrine had obviously harmonized with the Vietnam syndrome. What about the Bush Doctrine? Was the political and military strategy it put forward comparably in tune with the post-9/11 public mood?

Certainly this is how it seemed in the immediate aftermath of the attacks: so much so that a group of younger commentators were quick to proclaim the birth of an entirely new era in American history. What December 7, 1941 had done to the old isolationism, they announced, September 11, 2001 had done to the Vietnam syndrome. It was politically dead, and the cultural fallout of that war—all the damaging changes wrought by the 1960's and the 1970's—would now follow it into the grave.

The most obvious sign of the new era was that once again we were saluting our now ubiquitously displayed flag. This was the very flag that, not so long ago, leftist radicals had

thought fit only for burning. Yet now, even on the old flag-burning Left, a few prominent personalities were painfully wrenching their unaccustomed arms into something vaguely resembling a salute.

It was a scene reminiscent of the response of some Communists to the suppression by the new Soviet regime of the sailors' revolt that erupted in Kronstadt in the early 1920's. Far more murderous horrors would pour out of the malignant recesses of Stalinist rule, but as the first in that long series of atrocities leading to disillusionment with the Soviet Union, Kronstadt became the portent of them all. In its way, 9/11 served as an inverse Kronstadt for a number of radical leftists of today. What it did was raise questions about what one of them was now honest enough to describe as their inveterately "negative faith in America the ugly."

September 11 also brought to mind a poem by W.H. Auden written upon the outbreak of World War II and entitled "September 1, 1939." Although it contained hostile sentiments about America, remnants of Auden's own Communist period, the opening lines seemed so evocative of September 11, 2001 that they were often quoted in the early days of this new war:

I sit in one of the dives
On Fifty-second Street
Uncertain and afraid
As the clever hopes expire
Of a low dishonest decade.

Auden's low dishonest decade was the 1930's, and its clever hopes centered on the construction of a workers' paradise in the Soviet Union. Our counterpart was the 1960's, and its less clever hopes centered not on construction, however illusory, but on destruction—the destruction of the institutions that made up the American way of life. For America was conceived in that period as the great obstacle to any improvement in the lot of the wretched of the earth, not least those within its own borders.

As a "founding father" of neoconservatism who had broken ranks with the Left precisely because I was repelled by its "negative faith in America the ugly," I naturally welcomed this new patriotic mood with open arms. In the years since making that break, I had been growing more and more impressed with the virtues of American society. I now saw that America was a country in which more liberty and more prosperity abounded than human beings had ever enjoyed in any other country or any other time. I now recognized that these blessings were also more widely shared than even the most visionary utopians had ever imagined possible. And I now understood that this was an immense achievement, entitling the United States of America to an honored place on the roster of the greatest civilizations the world had ever known.

The new patriotic mood therefore seemed to me a sign of greater intellectual sanity and moral health, and I fervently hoped that it would last. But I could not fully share the confidence of some of my younger political friends that the change was permanent—that, as they exulted, nothing in American politics and American culture would ever be the same again. As a veteran of the political and cultural wars of the 1960's, I knew from my own scars how ephemeral such a mood might well turn out to be, and how vulnerable it was to seemingly

insignificant forces.

In this connection, I was haunted by one memory in particular. It was of an evening in the year 1960, when I went to address a meeting of left-wing radicals on a subject that had then barely begun to show the whites of its eyes: the possibility of American military involvement in a faraway place called Vietnam. Accompanying me that evening was the late Marion Magid, a member of my staff at COMMENTARY, of which I had recently become the editor. As we entered the drafty old hall on Union Square in Manhattan, Marion surveyed the 50 or so people in the audience, and whispered to me: "Do you realize that every young person in this room is a tragedy to some family or other?"

The memory of this quip brought back to life some sense of how unpromising the future had then appeared to be for that bedraggled-looking assemblage. No one would have dreamed that these young people, and the generation about to descend from them politically and culturally, would within the blink of a historical eye come to be hailed as "the best informed, the most intelligent, and the most idealistic this country has ever known." Those words, even more incredibly, would emanate from what the new movement regarded as the very belly of the beast: from, to be specific, Archibald Cox, a professor at the Harvard Law School and later Solicitor General of the United States. Similar encomia would flow unctuously from the mouths of parents, teachers, clergymen, artists, and journalists.

More incredible yet, the ideas and attitudes of the new movement, cleaned up but essentially unchanged, would within a mere ten years turn one of our two major parties upside down and inside out. In 1961, President John F. Kennedy had famously declared that we would "pay any price, bear any burden, . . . to assure the survival and the success of liberty." By 1972, George McGovern, nominated for President by Kennedy's own party, was campaigning on the slogan, "Come Home, America." It was a slogan that to an uncanny degree reflected the ethos of the embryonic movement I had addressed in Union Square only about a decade before.

The New "Jackal Bins"

In going over this familiar ground, I am trying to make two points. One is that the nascent radical movement of the late 1950's and early 1960's was up against an adversary, namely, the "Establishment," that looked unassailable. Even so—and this is my second point—to the bewilderment of almost everyone, not least the radicals themselves, they blew and they blew and they blew the house down.

Here we had a major development that slipped in under the radar of virtually all the pundits and the trend-spotters. How well I remember John Roche, a political scientist then working in the Johnson White House, being quoted by the columnist Jimmy Breslin as having derisively labeled the radicals a bunch of "Upper West Side jackal bins." As further investigation disclosed, Roche had actually said "Jacobins," a word so unfamiliar to his interviewer that "jackal bins" was the best Breslin could do in transcribing his notes.

Much ink has been spilled, gallons of it by me, in the struggle to explain how and why a great "Establishment" representing so wide a national consensus could have been toppled so easily and so quickly by so small and marginal a group as these "jackal bins." In the domain of foreign affairs, of course, the usual answer is Vietnam. In this view, it was by deciding to fight an unpopular war that the Establishment rendered itself vulnerable.

The ostensible problem with this explanation, to say it again, is that at least until 1965 Vietnam was a popular war. All the major media—from the *New York Times* to the *Washington Post*, from *Time* to *Newsweek*, from CBS to ABC—supported our intervention. So did most of the professoriate. And so did the public. Even when all but one or two of the people who had either directly led us into Vietnam, or had applauded our intervention, commenced falling all over themselves to join the antiwar parade, public opinion continued supporting the war.

But it did not matter. Public opinion had ceased to count. Indeed, as the Tet offensive of 1968 revealed, reality itself had ceased to count. As all would later come to agree and some vainly struggled to insist at the time, Tet was a crushing defeat not for us but for the North Vietnamese. But Walter Cronkite had only to declare it a defeat for us from the anchor desk of the CBS *Evening News*, and a defeat it became.

Admittedly, in electoral politics, where numbers are decisive, public opinion remained potent. Consequently, none of the doves contending for the presidency in 1968 or 1972 could beat Richard Nixon. Yet even Nixon felt it necessary to campaign on the claim that he had a "plan" not for winning but for getting us out of Vietnam.

All of which is to say that, on Vietnam, elite opinion trumped popular opinion. Nor were the effects restricted to foreign policy. They extended into the newly antagonistic attitude toward everything America was and represented.

It hardly needs stressing that this attitude found a home in the world of the arts, the universities, and the major media of news and entertainment, where intellectuals shaped by the 1960's, and their acolytes in the publishing houses of New York and in the studios of Hollywood, held sway. But it would be a serious mistake to suppose that the trickle-down effect of the professoriate's attitude was confined to literature, journalism, and show business.

John Maynard Keynes once said that "Practical men who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist." Keynes was referring specifically to businessmen. But practical functionaries like bureaucrats and administrators are subject to the same rule, though they tend to be the slaves not of economists but of historians and sociologists and philosophers and novelists who are very much alive even when their ideas have, or should have, become defunct. Nor is it necessary for the "practical men" to have studied the works in question, or even ever to have heard of their authors. All they need do is read the *New York Times*, or switch on their television sets, or go to the movies—and, drip by drip, a more easily assimilable form of the original material is absorbed into their heads and their nervous systems.

These, in sum, were some of the factors that made me wonder whether the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 would turn out to mark a genuine turning point comparable to the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. I was well aware that, before Pearl Harbor, several groups ranging across the political spectrum had fought against our joining the British, who had been at war with Nazi Germany since 1939. There were the isolationists, both liberal and conservative, who detected no American interest in this distant conflict; there were the right-wing radicals who thought that if we were going to go to war, it ought to be on the side of Nazi Germany against Communist Russia, not the other way around; and there were the left-wing radicals who saw the war as a struggle between two equally malign imperialistic systems in which they had no stake. Under the influence of these groups, a large majority of

Americans had opposed our entry into the war right up to the moment of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. But from that moment on, the opposition faded away. The antiwar groups either lost most of their members or lapsed into a morose silence, and public opinion did a 180-degree turn.

At first, September 11 did seem to resemble Pearl Harbor in its galvanizing effect, while by all indications the first battle of World War IV—the battle of Afghanistan—was supported by a perhaps even larger percentage of the public than Vietnam had been at the beginning. Nevertheless, even though the opposition in 2001 was still numerically insignificant, it was much stronger than it had been in the early days of Vietnam. The reason was that it now maintained a tight grip over the institutions that, in the later stages of that war, had been surrendered bit by bit to the anti-American Left.

There was, for openers, the literary community, which could stand in for the world of the arts in general. No sooner had the Twin Towers been toppled and the Pentagon smashed than a fierce competition began for the gold in the anti-American Olympics. Susan Sontag, one of my old ex-friends on the Left, seized an early lead in this contest with a piece in which she asserted that 9/11 was an attack "undertaken as a consequence of specific American alliances and actions." Not content with suggesting that we had brought this aggression on ourselves, she went on to compare the backing in Congress for our "robotic President" to "the unanimously applauded, self-congratulatory bromides of a Soviet Party Congress."

Another of my old ex-friends, Norman Mailer, surprisingly slow out of the starting gate, soon came up strong on the inside by comparing the Twin Towers to "two huge buck teeth," and pronouncing the ruins at Ground Zero "more beautiful than the buildings were." Still playing the enfant terrible even as he was closing in on his eightieth year, Mailer denounced us as "cultural oppressors and aesthetic oppressors" of the Third World. In what did this oppression consist? It consisted, he expatiated, in our establishing "enclaves of our food out there, like McDonald's" and in putting "our high-rise buildings" around the airports of even "the meanest, scummiest, capital[s] in the world." For these horrendous crimes we had, on 9/11, received a measure—and only a small measure at that—of our just deserts.

Then there were the universities. A report issued shortly after 9/11 by the American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA) cited about a hundred malodorous statements wafting out of campuses all over the country that resembled Sontag and Mailer in blaming the attacks not on the terrorists but on America. Among these were three especially choice specimens. From a professor at the University of New Mexico: "Anyone who can blow up the Pentagon gets my vote." From a professor at Rutgers: "[We] should be aware that the ultimate cause [of 9/11] is the fascism of U.S. foreign policy over the past many decades." And from a professor at the University of Massachusetts: "[The American flag] is a symbol of terrorism and death and fear and destruction and oppression."

When the ACTA report was issued, protesting wails of "McCarthyism" were heard throughout the land, especially from the professors cited. Like them, Susan Sontag, too, claimed that her freedom of speech was being placed in jeopardy. In this peculiar reading of the First Amendment, much favored by leftists in general, they were free to say anything they liked, but the right to free speech ended where criticism of what they had said began.

Actually, however, with rare exceptions, attempts to stifle dissent on the campus were largely directed at the many students and the few faculty members who *supported* the 9/11 war. All these attempts could be encapsulated into a single phenomenon: on a number of campuses, students or professors who displayed American flags or patriotic posters were forced to take them down. As for Susan Sontag's freedom of speech, hardly had the ink dried on her post-9/11 piece before she became the subject of countless fawning reports and interviews in periodicals and on television programs around the world.

Speaking of television, it was soon drowning us with material presenting Islam in glowing terms. Mainly, these programs took their cue from the President and other political leaders. Out of the best of motives, and for prudential reasons as well, elected officials were striving mightily to deny that the war against terrorism was a war against Islam. Hence they never ceased heaping praises on the beauties of that religion, about which few of them knew anything.

But it was from the universities, not from the politicians, that the substantive content of these broadcasts derived, in interviews with academics, many of them Muslims themselves, whose accounts of Islam were selectively roseate. Sometimes they were even downright untruthful, especially in sanitizing the doctrine of jihad or holy war, or in misrepresenting the extent to which leading Muslim clerics all over the world had been celebrating suicide bombers—not excluding those who had crashed into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon—as heroes and martyrs.

I do not bring this up in order to enter into a theological dispute. My purpose, rather, is to offer another case study in the continued workings of the trickle-down effect I have already described. Thus, hard on the heels of 9/11, the universities began adding innumerable courses on Islam to their curricula. On the campus, "understanding Islam" inevitably translated into apologetics for it, and most of the media dutifully followed suit. The media also adopted the stance of neutrality between the terrorists and ourselves that prevailed among the relatively moderate professoriate, as when the major television networks ordered their anchors to avoid exhibiting partisanship.

Here the great exception was the Fox News Channel. The *New York Times*, in an article deploring the fact that Fox was covering the war from a frankly pro-American perspective, expressed relief that no other network had so cavalierly discarded the sacred conventions dictating that journalists, in the words of the president of ABC News, must "maintain their neutrality in times of war."

Although the vast majority of those who blamed America for having been attacked were on the Left, a few voices on the Right joined this perverted chorus. Speaking on Pat Robertson's TV program, the Reverend Jerry Falwell delivered himself of the view that God was punishing the United States for the moral decay exemplified by a variety of liberal groups among us. Both later apologized for singling out these groups, but each continued to insist that God was withdrawing His protection from America because all of us had become great sinners. And in the amen corner that quickly formed on the secular Right, commentators like Robert Novak and Pat Buchanan added that we had called the attack down on our heads not so much by our willful disobedience to divine law as by our manipulated obedience to Israel.

Oddly enough, however, within the Arab world itself, there was much less emphasis on Israel as the root cause of the attacks than was placed on it by most, if not all, of Buchanan's fellow paleoconservatives on the Right. Even to Osama bin Laden himself, support of Israel ranked only third on a list of our "crimes" against Islam.

Not, to be sure, that Arabs everywhere—together with most non-Arab Middle Eastern Muslims like the Iranians—had given up their dream of wiping Israel off the map. To anyone who thought otherwise, Fouad Ajami of Johns Hopkins, an American who grew up as a Muslim in Lebanon, had this to say about the Arab world's "great refusal" to accept Israel under any conditions whatsoever:

The great refusal persists in that "Arab street" of ordinary men and women, among the intellectuals and the writers, and in the professional syndicates. . . . The force of this refusal can be seen in the press of the governments and of the oppositionists, among the secularists and the Islamists alike, in countries that have concluded diplomatic agreements with Israel and those that haven't.

Ajami emphasized that the great refusal remained "fiercest in Egypt," notwithstanding the peace treaty it had signed with Israel in 1978. It might have been expected, then, that the Egyptians would be eager to blame the widespread animus against the U.S. in their own country on American policy toward Israel, especially since Egypt, being second only to the Jewish state as a recipient of American aid, had a powerful incentive to explain away so ungrateful a response to the benevolent treatment it was receiving at our hands. But no. Only about two weeks before 9/11, Ab'd Al-Mun'im Murad, a columnist in *Al-Akhbar*, a daily newspaper sponsored by the Egyptian government, wrote:

The conflict that we call the Arab-Israeli conflict is, in truth an Arab conflict with Western, and particularly American, colonialism. The U.S. treats [the Arabs] as it treated the slaves inside the American continent. To this end, [the U.S.] is helped by the smaller enemy, and I mean Israel.

In another piece, the same writer expanded on this unusually candid acknowledgment:

The issue no longer concerns the Israeli-Arab conflict. The real issue is the Arab-American conflict—Arabs must understand that the U.S. is not "the American friend"—and its task, past, present, and future, is [to impose] hegemony on the world, primarily on the Middle East and the Arab world.

Then, in a third piece, also published in late August, Murad gave us an inkling of the reciprocal "task" he had in mind to be performed on America:

The Statue of Liberty, in New York Harbor, must be destroyed because of . . . the idiotic American policy that goes from disgrace to disgrace in the swamp of bias and blind fanaticism. . . . The age of the American collapse has begun.

If this was the kind of thing we were getting from an Arab country that everyone regarded as

"moderate," in radical states like Iraq and Iran nothing less would suffice than identifying America as the "Great Satan." As for the Palestinians, their contempt for America was hardly exceeded by their loathing of Israel. For example, the mufti—or chief cleric—appointed by the Palestinian Authority under Yasir Arafat had prayed that God would "destroy America," while the editor of a leading Palestinian journal proclaimed:

History does not remember the United States, but it remembers Iraq, the cradle of civilization. . . . History remembers every piece of Arab land, because it is the bosom of human civilization. On the other hand, the [American] murderers of humanity, the creators of the barbaric culture and the bloodsuckers of nations, are doomed to death and destined to shrink to a microscopic size, like Micronesia.

The absence of even a word here about Israel showed that if the Jewish state had never come into existence, the United States would still have stood as an embodiment of everything that most of these Arabs considered evil. Indeed, the hatred of Israel was in large part a surrogate for anti-Americanism, rather than the reverse. Israel was seen as the spearhead of the American drive for domination over the Middle East. As such, the Jewish state was a translation of America into, as it were, Hebrew—the "little enemy," the "little Satan." To rid the region of it would thus be tantamount to cleansing an area belonging to Islam (*dar al-Islam*) of the blasphemous political, social, and cultural influences emanating from a barbaric and murderous force. But the force, so to speak, was with America, of which Israel was merely an instrument.

Although Buchanan and Novak were earlier and more outspoken in blaming 9/11 on American friendliness toward Israel, this idea was not confined to the Right or to the marginal precincts of paleoconservatism. On the contrary: while it popped up on the Right, it thoroughly pervaded the radical Left and much of the soft Left, and was even espoused by a number of liberal centrists like Mickey Kaus. For the moment, indeed, the blame-Israel-firsters were concentrated most heavily on the Left.

It was also on the Left, and above all in the universities, that their fraternal twins, the blame-America-firsters, were located. Yet Eric Foner, a professor of history at my own alma mater, Columbia, risibly claimed that the ACTA report was misleading since the polls proved that there was "firm support" for the war among college students. "If our aim is to indoctrinate students with unpatriotic beliefs," Foner smirked, "we're obviously doing a very poor job of it."

True enough. But what Foner, as a historian, must have known but neglected to mention was that even at the height of the radical fevers on the campus in the 1960's, only a minority of students sided with the antiwar radicals. Still, even though they were in the majority, the non-radical students were unable to make themselves heard above the antiwar din, and whenever they tried, they were shouted down. This is how it was, too, on the campus after 9/11. There were, here and there, brave defiers of the academic orthodoxies. But mostly, the silent majority remained silent, for fear of incurring the disapproval of their teachers, or even of being punished for the crime of "insensitivity."

Such, then, was the assault that began to be mounted within hours of 9/11 by the guerrillas-with-tenure in the universities, along with their spiritual and political disciples scattered

throughout other quarters of our culture. Could this "tiny handful of aging Rip van Winkles," as they were breezily brushed off by one commentator, grow into a force as powerful as the "jackal bins" of yesteryear? Was the upsurge of confidence in America, and American virtue, that spontaneously materialized on 9/11 strong enough to withstand them this time around?

Some who shared my apprehensions believed that if things went well on the military front, all would be well on the home front, too. And that is how it appeared from the effect wrought by the spectacular success of the Afghanistan campaign, which disposed of the "quagmire" theory and also dampened antiwar activity on at least a number of campuses. Nevertheless, the mopping-up operation in Afghanistan created an opportunity for more subtle forms of opposition to gain traction. There were complaints that the terrorists captured in Afghanistan and then sent to a special facility in Guantanamo were not being treated as regular prisoners of war. And there were also allegations of the threat to civil liberties posed in America itself by measures like the Patriot Act, which had been designed to ward off any further terrorist attacks at home. Although these concerns were mostly based on misreadings of the Geneva Convention and of the Patriot Act itself, some people no doubt raised them in good faith. But there is also no doubt that such issues could—and did—serve as a respectable cover for wholesale opposition to the entire war.

Another respectable cover was the charge that Bush was following a policy of "unilateralism." The alarm over this supposedly unheard-of outrage was first sounded by the chancelleries and chattering classes of Western Europe when Bush stated that, in taking the fight to the terrorists and their sponsors, we would prefer to do so with allies and with the blessing of the UN, but if necessary we would go it alone and without an imprimatur from the Security Council.

This was too much for the Europeans. Having duly offered us their condolences over 9/11, they could barely let a decent interval pass before going back into the ancient family business of showing how vastly superior in wisdom and finesse they were to the Americans, whose primitive character was once again on display in the "simplistic" ideas and crude moralizing of George W. Bush. Now they urged that our military operations end with Afghanistan, and that we leave the rest to diplomacy in deferential consultation with the great masters of that recondite art in Paris and Brussels.

Taking their cue from these masters, the *New York Times*, along with many other publications ranging from the Center to the hard Left—and soon to be seconded by all the Democratic candidates in the presidential primaries, except for Senator Joseph Lieberman—began hitting Bush for recklessness and overreaching. What we saw developing here was a broader coalition than the antiwar movement spawned by Vietnam had managed to put together, especially in its first few years. The antiwar movement then had been made up almost entirely of leftists and liberals, whereas this new movement was bringing together the whole of the hard Left, elements of the soft Left, and sectors of the American Right.

Treading the path previously marked out by his colleague Mickey Kaus on the issue of Israel, Michael Kinsley of the soft Left allied himself with Pat Buchanan in bringing forth yet another respectable cover. This was to indict the President for evading the Constitution by proposing to fight undeclared wars. Meanwhile, the same charge was moving into the political mainstream through Democratic Senators like Robert Byrd, Edward M. Kennedy, and Tom Daschle, though they also continued carrying on about quagmires and slippery slopes and "unilateralism."

I for one was certain that, as the military facet of World War IV widened—with Iraq clearly being the next most likely front—opposition would not only grow but would acquire enough assurance to dispense with any respectable covers. Which was to say that it would be taken over by extremists and radicalized. About this I turned out to be correct, while those who scoffed at the "jackal bins" and the "aging Rip Van Winkles" as a politically insignificant bunch turned out to be wrong. But I never imagined that the new antiwar movement would so rapidly arrive at the stage of virulence it had taken years for its ancestors of the Vietnam era to reach.

Varieties of Anti-Americanism

A possible explanation of the great velocity achieved by the new antiwar movement was that, like the respectable critique immediately preceding it, the radical opposition was following the lead of European opinion. In this instance, encouragement and reinforcement came from the almost incredible degree of hostility to America that erupted in the wake of 9/11 all over the European continent, and most blatantly in France and Germany, and that gathered even more steam in the run-up to the battle of Iraq. If demonstrations and public-opinion polls could be believed, huge numbers of Europeans loathed the United States so deeply that they were unwilling to side with it even against one of the most tyrannical and murderous despots on earth.

That this was the feeling in the Muslim world did not come as a surprise. Unlike in Europe, where the attacks of 9/11 did elicit a passing moment of sympathy for the United States ("We Are All Americans Now," proclaimed a headline the next day in the leading leftist daily in Paris), in the realm of Islam the news of 9/11 brought dancing in the streets and screams of jubilation. Almost to a man, Muslim clerics in their sermons assured the faithful that in striking a blow against the "Great Satan," Osama bin Laden had acted as a jihadist, or holy warrior, in strict accordance with the will of God.

This could have been predicted from a debate on the topic "Bin Laden—The Arab Despair and American Fear" that was televised on the Arabic-language network Al-Jazeera about two months before 9/11. Using "American Fear" in the title was a bit premature, since this was a time when very few Americans were frightened by Islamic terrorism, for the simple reason that scarcely any had ever heard of bin Laden or al Qaeda. Be that as it may, at the conclusion of the program, the host said to the lone guest who had been denouncing bin Laden as a terrorist: "I am looking at the viewers' reactions for one that would support your positions—but . . . I can't find any." He then cited "an opinion poll in a Kuwaiti paper which showed that 69 percent of Kuwaitis, Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, and Palestinians think bin Laden is an Arab hero and an Islamic jihad warrior." And on the basis of the station's own poll, he also estimated that among all Arabs "from the Gulf to the Ocean," the proportion sharing this view of bin Laden was "maybe even 99 percent."

Surely, then, the chairman of the Syrian Arab Writers Associations was speaking for hordes of his "brothers" in declaring shortly after 9/11 that

When the twin towers collapsed . . . I felt deep within me like someone delivered from the grave; I [felt] that I was being carried in the air above the corpse of the mythological symbol of arrogant American imperialist power. . . . My lungs filled with air, and I breathed in relief, as I had never breathed before.

If this was how the Arab/Muslim world largely felt about 9/11, what could have been expected from that world when the United States picked itself up off the ground—Ground Zero, to be exact—and began fighting back? What could have been expected is precisely what happened: another furious outburst of anti-Americanism. Only this time the outbursts were infused not by jubilation but by the desperate hope that the United States would somehow be humiliated. This hope was soon extinguished by the quick defeat of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, but it was immediately rekindled by the way Saddam Hussein was standing up against America. Saddam had killed hundreds of thousands of Muslims in Iran, and countless Arabs in his own country and Kuwait. Obviously, however, to his Arab and Muslim "brothers" this was completely canceled out by his defiance of the United States.

Was there, perhaps, an element of the same twisted sentiment in the willingness of millions upon millions of Europeans to lend de-facto aid and comfort to this monster? Of course, the claim was that most such people were neither pro-Saddam nor anti-American: all they wanted was to "give peace a chance." But this claim was belied by the slogans, the body language, the speeches, and the manifestos of the "peace" party. Though hatred of America may not have been universal among opponents of American military action, it was obviously very widespread and very deep. And though other considerations (pacifist sentiment, concern about civilian casualties, contempt for George Bush, faith in the UN, etc.) were at work, these factors had no trouble coexisting harmoniously with extreme hostility to the United States.

Thus, within two months of 9/11, a survey of influential people in 23 countries was undertaken by the Pew Research Center, the Princeton Survey Research Associates, and the *International Herald Tribune*. Here is how a British newspaper summarized the findings:

Did America somehow ask for the terrorist outrages in New York and Washington? . . . [M]ost people of influence in the rest of the world . . . believe that, to a certain extent, the U.S. was asking for it. . . . From its closest allies, in Europe, to the Middle East, Russia, and Asia, a uniform 70 percent said people considered it good that after September 11 Americans had realized what it was to be vulnerable.

It would therefore seem that the Italian playwright Dario Fo, winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1997, was more representative of European opinion than he may at first have appeared when spewing out the following sentiment:

The great speculators wallow in an economy that every year kills tens of millions of people with poverty—so what is 20,000 [*sic*] dead in New York? Regardless of who carried out the massacre, this violence is the legitimate daughter of the culture of violence, hunger, and inhumane exploitation.

In France, a leading philosopher and social theorist, Jean Baudrillard, produced a somewhat different type of apologia for the terrorists of 9/11 and their ilk. This was so laden with postmodern jargon and so convoluted that it bordered on parody ("The collapse of the towers of the World Trade Center is unimaginable, but this does not suffice to make it a real event"). But Baudrillard's piece did at least contain a revealing confession:

That we have dreamed of this event, that everyone without exception has dreamed of it, . . . is unacceptable for the Western moral conscience, but it is still a fact. . . . Ultimately, they [al Qaeda] did it, but we willed it.

Much the same idea, in even more straightforward terms, was espoused across the Channel by Mary Beard, a teacher of classics at my other alma mater, Cambridge University, who wrote: "[H]owever tactfully you dress it up, the United States had it coming. . . . World bullies . . . will in the end pay the price." With this the highly regarded novelist Martin Amis agreed. But Beard's old-fashioned English plainness evidently being a little too plain for him, Amis resorted to a bit of fancy continental footwork in formulating his own endorsement of the idea that America had been asking for it:

Terrorism is political communication by other means. The message of September 11 ran as follows: America, it is time you learned how implacably you are hated. . . . Various national characteristics—self-reliance, a fiercer patriotism than any in Western Europe, an assiduous geographical incuriosity—have created a deficit of empathy for the sufferings of people far away.

What on earth was going on here? After 9/11, most Americans had gradually come to recognize that we were hated by the terrorists who had attacked us and their Muslim cheerleaders not for our failings and sins but precisely for our virtues as a free and prosperous country. But why should we be hated by hordes of people living in other free and prosperous countries? In their case, presumably, it must be for our sins. And yet most of us knew for certain that, whatever sins we might have committed, they were not the ones of which the Europeans kept accusing us.

To wit: far from being a nation of overbearing bullies, we were humbly begging for the support of tiny countries we could easily have pushed around. Far from being "unilateralists," we were busy soliciting the gratuitous permission and the dubious blessing of the Security Council before taking military action against Saddam Hussein. Far from "rushing into war," we were spending months dancing a diplomatic gavotte in the vain hope of enlisting the help of France, Germany, and Russia. And so on, and so on, down to the last detail in the catalogue.

What, then, was going on? An answer to this puzzling question that would eventually gain perhaps the widest circulation came from Robert Kagan of the Carnegie Endowment. In a catchy formulation that soon became famous, Kagan proposed that Americans were from Mars and Europeans were from Venus. Expanding on this formulation, he wrote:

On the all-important question of power—the efficacy of power, the morality of power, the desirability of power—American and European perspectives are diverging. Europe is turning away from power, or to put it a little differently, it is moving beyond power into a self-contained world of laws and rules and transnational negotiation and cooperation. It is entering a post-historical paradise of peace and relative prosperity, the realization of Kant's "Perpetual Peace." The United States, meanwhile, remains mired in history, exercising power in the anarchic Hobbesian world where international laws and rules are unreliable and where true security and the defense and promotion of a liberal order still depend on the possession and use of military might.

In developing his theory, Kagan got many things right and cast a salubrious light into many dark corners. But it also seemed to me that he was putting the shoes of his theory on the wrong feet. Although I fully accepted Kagan's description of the divergent attitudes toward military power, I did not agree that the Europeans were already living in the future while the United States remained "mired" in the past. In my judgment, the opposite was closer to the truth.

The "post-historical paradise" into which the Europeans were supposedly moving struck me as nothing more than the web of international institutions that had been created at the end of World War II under the leadership of the United States in the hope that they would foster peace and prosperity. These included the United Nations, the World Bank, the World Court, and others. Then after 1947, and again under the leadership of the United States, adaptations were made to the already existing institutions and new ones like NATO were added to fit the needs of World War III. With the victorious conclusion of World War III in 1989-90, the old international order became obsolete, and new arrangements tailored to a new era would have to be forged. But more than a decade elapsed before 9/11 finally made the contours of the "post-cold-war era" clear enough for these new arrangements to begin being developed.

Looked at from this angle, the Bush Doctrine revealed itself as an extremely bold effort to break out of the institutional framework and the strategy constructed to fight the last war. But it was more: it also drew up a blueprint for a new structure and a new strategy to fight a different breed of enemy in a war that was just starting and that showed signs of stretching out into the future as far as the eye could see. Facing the realities of what now confronted us, Bush had come to the conclusion that few if any of the old instrumentalities were capable of defeating this new breed of enemy, and that the strategies of the past were equally helpless before this enemy's way of waging war. To move into the future meant to substitute preemption for deterrence, and to rely on American military might rather than the "soft power" represented by the UN and the other relics of World War III. Indeed, not even the hard power of NATO—which had specifically been restricted by design to the European continent and whose deployment in other places could, and would be, obstructed by the French—was of much use in the world of the future.

Examined from this same angle, the European justifications for resisting the Bush Doctrine—the complaints about "unilateralism," trigger-happiness, and the rest—were unveiled as mere rationalizations. Here I went along with Kagan in tracing these rationalizations to a decline in the power of the Europeans. He put it very well:

World War II all but destroyed European nations as global powers. . . . For a half-century after World War II, however, this weakness was masked by the unique geopolitical circumstances of the cold war. Dwarfed by the two superpowers on its flanks, a weakened Europe nevertheless served as the central strategic theater of the worldwide struggle between Communism and democratic capitalism. . . . Although shorn of most traditional measures of great-power status, Europe remained the geopolitical pivot, and this, along with lingering habits of world leadership, allowed Europeans to retain international influence well beyond what their sheer military capabilities might have afforded. Europe lost this strategic centrality after the cold war ended, but it took a few more years for the lingering mirage of European global power to fade.

So far, so good. Where I parted company with Kagan's analysis was over his acquiescence in the claim that the Europeans had in fact made the leap into the post-national, or postmodern, "Kantian paradise" of the future. To me it seemed clear that it was they, and not we Americans, who were "mired" in the past. They were fighting tooth and nail against the American effort to move into the future precisely because holding onto the ideas, the strategic habits, and the international institutions of the cold war would allow them to go on exerting "international influence well beyond what their sheer military capabilities might have afforded." It was George W. Bush—that "simplistic" moralizer and trigger-happy "cowboy," that flouter of international law and reckless unilateralist—who had possessed the wit to see the future and had summoned up the courage to cross over into it.

But Bush was also a politician, and as such he felt it necessary to make some accommodation to the pressures coming at him both at home and from abroad. What this required was an occasional return visit to the past. On such visits, as when he would seek endorsements from the UN Security Council, he showed a polite measure of deference to those, again both at home and abroad, who insisted on reading the Bush Doctrine not as a blueprint for the future but as a reckless repudiation of the approach favored by the allegedly more sophisticated Europeans and their American counterparts. In Kagan's apt description of how the Europeans saw themselves:

Europeans insist they approach problems with greater nuance and sophistication. They try to influence others through subtlety and indirection. . . . They generally favor peaceful responses to problems, preferring negotiation, diplomacy, and persuasion to coercion. They are quicker to appeal to international law, international conventions, and international opinion to adjudicate disputes. They try to use commercial and economic ties to bind nations together. They often emphasize process over result, believing that ultimately process can become substance.

None of this was new: the Europeans had made almost exactly the same claim of superior sophistication during the Reagan years. At that time—in 1983—it had elicited a definitive comment from Owen Harries (the former head of policy planning in the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and himself a member of the realist school):

When one is exposed to this claim of superior realism and sophistication, one's first inclination is to ask where exactly is the evidence for it. If one considers some of the salient episodes in the history of Europe in this century—the events leading up to 1914, the Versailles peace conference, Munich, the extent of the effort Europe has been prepared to make to secure its own defense since 1948, and the current attitude toward the defense of its vital interests in the Persian gulf—one is not irresistibly led to concede European superiority.

Two decades later, Harries as a realist would have his own grave reservations about the Bush Doctrine. But I had no hesitation in adding the "sophisticated" European opposition to it as the latest episode in the long string of disastrously mistaken judgments he had enumerated back in 1983.

Unrealistic Realists

The astonishing success of the campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq made a hash of the skepticism of the many pundits who had been so sure that we had too few troops or were following the wrong battle plan. Instead of getting bogged down, as they had predicted, our forces raced through these two campaigns in record time; and instead of ten of thousands of body bags being flown home, the casualties were numbered in the hundreds. As the military historian Victor Davis Hanson summarized what had transpired in Iraq:

In a span of about three weeks, the United States military overran a country the size of California. It utterly obliterated Saddam Hussein's military hardware . . . and tore apart his armies. Of the approximately 110 American deaths in the course of the hostilities, fully a fourth occurred as a result of accidents, friendly fire, or peacekeeping mishaps rather than at the hands of enemy soldiers. The extraordinarily low ratio of total American casualties per number of U.S. soldiers deployed . . . is almost unmatched in modern military history.

True, the aftermath of major military operations, especially in Iraq, turned out to be rougher than the Pentagon seems to have expected. Thanks to the guerrilla insurgency mounted by a coalition of intransigent Saddam loyalists, radical Shiite militias, and terrorists imported from Iran and Syria, American soldiers continued to be killed. Nevertheless, by any historical standard—the more than 6,500 who died on D-Day alone in World War II, to cite only one example—our total losses remained amazingly low.

But it was not military matters that aroused the equally sour skepticism of the realists. Their doubts centered, rather, on the issue of whether the Bush Doctrine was politically viable. Most of all, they questioned the idea that democratization represented the best and perhaps even the only way to defeat militant Islam and the terrorism it was using as its main weapon against us. Bush had placed his bet on a belief in the universality of the desire for freedom and the prosperity that freedom brought with it. But what if he was wrong? What if the Middle East was incapable of democratization? What if the peoples of that region did not wish to be as free and as prosperous as we were? And what if Islam as a religion was by its very nature incompatible with democracy?

These were hard questions about which reasonable men could and did differ. But those of us who backed Bush's bet had our own set of doubts about the doubts of the realists. They seemed to forget that the Middle East of today had not been created by Allah in the 7th century, and that the miserable despotisms there had not evolved through some inexorable historical process powered entirely by internal cultural forces. Instead, the states in question had all been conjured into existence less than a hundred years ago out of the ruins of the defeated Ottoman empire in World War I. Their boundaries were drawn by the victorious British and French with the stroke of an often arbitrary pen, and their hapless peoples were handed over in due course to one tyrant after another.

Mindful of this history, we backers of the Bush Doctrine wondered why it should have been taken as axiomatic that these states would and/or should last forever in their present forms, and why the political configuration of the Middle East should be eternally immune from the democratizing forces that had been sweeping the rest of the world.

And we wondered, too, whether it could really be true that Muslims were so different from most of their fellow human beings that they liked being pushed around and repressed and beaten and killed by thugs—even if the thugs wore clerical garb or went around quoting from

the Quran. We wondered whether Muslims really preferred being poor and hungry and ill-housed to enjoying the comforts and conveniences that we in the West took so totally for granted that we no longer remembered to be grateful for them. And we wondered why, if all this were the case, there had been so great an outburst of relief and happiness among the people of Kabul after we drove out their Taliban oppressors.

Yes, came the response, but what about the people of Iraq? Most supporters of the invasion—myself included—had predicted that we would be greeted there with flowers and cheers; yet our troops encountered car bombs and hatred. Nevertheless, and contrary to the impression created by the media, survey after survey demonstrated that the vast majority of Iraqis *did* welcome us, and *were* happy to be liberated from the murderous tyranny under which they had lived for so long under Saddam Hussein. The hatred and the car bombs came from the same breed of jihadists who had attacked us on 9/11, and who, unlike the skeptics in our own country, were afraid that we were actually succeeding in democratizing Iraq. Indeed, this was the very warning sent by the terrorist leader Abu Musab al Zarqawi to the remnants of al Qaeda still hunkered down in the caves of Afghanistan: "Democracy is coming, and there will be no excuse thereafter [for terrorism in Iraq]."

Speaking for many of his fellow realists, Fareed Zakaria of *Newsweek* disagreed with al Zarqawi that democracy was coming to Iraq and contended that it was premature to try establishing it there or anywhere else in the Middle East:

We do not seek democracy in the Middle East—at least not yet. We seek first what might be called the preconditions for democracy . . . the rule of law, individual rights, private property, independent courts, the separation of church and state. . . . We should not assume that what took hundreds of years in the West can happen overnight in the Middle East.

Now, those of us who believed in the Bush Doctrine saw nothing wrong with pursuing Zakaria's agenda. But we rejected the charge—often made not only by realists like Zakaria but also by paleoconservatives like Buchanan—that our position was too "ideological" or naively "idealistic" or even "utopian." We agreed entirely with what the President had long since contended: that the realist alternative of settling for autocratic and despotic regimes in the Middle East had neither brought the regional stability it promised nor—as 9/11 horribly demonstrated—made us safe at home. Bush had also long since given his answer to the question posed by "some who call themselves realists" as to whether "the spread of democracy in the Middle East should be any concern of ours." It was, he affirmed in the strongest terms, a concern of ours precisely because democratization would make us more secure, and he accused the realists of having "lost contact with a fundamental reality" on this point. In this respect, I would argue, Bush was adopting a course akin to the one taken by the Marshall Plan, which had simultaneously served American interests and benefited others. Like the Marshall Plan, his new policy was a synthesis of realism and idealism: a case of doing well by doing good.

Those of us who supported the new policy also took issue with the view that democracy and capitalism could grow only in a soil that had been cultivated for centuries. We reminded the realists that in the aftermath of World War II, the United States managed within a single decade to transform both Nazi Germany and imperial Japan into capitalist democracies. And

in the aftermath of the defeat of Communism in World War III, a similar process got under way on its own steam in Central and Eastern Europe, and even in the old heartland of the evil empire itself. Why not the Islamic world? The realist answer was that things were different there. To which our answer was that things were different everywhere, and a thousand reasons to expect the failure of any enterprise could always be conjured up to discourage making an ambitious effort.

To this, in turn, the counter frequently was that the Bush administration had wildly underestimated the special difficulties of democratizing Iraq and had correlatively misjudged the time so great a transformation would take, even assuming it to be possible at all. Yet talk about a "cakewalk" and the like mainly came from outside the administration; and in any event it had been applied to the future military campaign (which definitely did turn out to be a cakewalk), not to the ensuing reconstruction of Iraq. As to the latter, the administration kept repeating that we would stay in Iraq "for as long as it takes and not a day longer." How long would that be? For those who opposed the Bush Doctrine, a year (or even a month?) after the end of major combat operations was already much too much; for those of us who supported it, "as long as it takes and not a day longer" still seemed, given the stakes, the only satisfactory formula.

As with democratization, so with the reform and modernization of Islam. In considering this even more difficult question, we found ourselves asking whether Islam could really go on for all eternity resisting the kind of reformation and modernization that had begun within Christianity and Judaism in the early modern period. Not that we were so naive as to imagine that Islam could be reformed overnight, or from the outside. In its heyday, Islam was able to impose itself on large parts of the world by the sword; there was no chance today of an inverse instant transformation of Islam by the force of American arms.

There was, however, a very good chance that a clearing of the ground, and a sowing of the seeds out of which new political, economic, and social conditions could grow, would gradually give rise to correlative religious pressures from within. Such pressures would take the form of an ultimately irresistible demand on theologians and clerics to find warrants in the Quran and the sharia under which it would be possible to remain a good Muslim while enjoying the blessings of decent government, and even of political and economic liberty. In this way a course might finally be set toward the reform and modernization of the Islamic religion itself.

The Democrats of 2004

What I have been trying to say is that the obstacles to a benevolent transformation of the Middle East—whether military, political, or religious—are not insuperable. In the long run they can be overcome, and there can be no question that we possess the power and the means and the resources to work toward their overcoming. But do we have the skills and the stomach to do what will be required? Can we in our present condition play even so limited and so benign an imperial role as we did in occupying Germany and Japan after World War II?

Some of our critics on the European Right sneer at us not, as the Left does, for being imperialists but for being such clumsy ones—for lacking the political dexterity to oversee the emergence of successor governments more amenable to reform and modernization than the despotisms now in place. I confess that I am prey to anxieties about our capabilities, and to others stemming from our character as a nation. And in thinking about our long record of

inattention and passivity toward terrorism before 9/11, I fear a relapse into appeasement, diplomatic evasion, and ineffectual damage control.

Anxieties and fears like these were given a great boost by the attacks on the Bush Doctrine that became so poisonous in the 2004 presidential primary campaigns of the Democratic party. I have already told of my early apprehensions about the potential spread of the antiwar movement from the margins to the center, and my subsequent amazement in watching it go so far so fast. Whereas it took twelve years for the radicals I addressed in that drafty union hall in 1960 to capture the Democratic party behind George McGovern, their political and spiritual heirs of 2001 seemed to be pulling off the same trick in less than two. This time their leader of choice was the raucously antiwar Howard Dean. Though he eventually failed to win the nomination, his early successes frightened most of the relatively moderate candidates into a sharp leftward turn on Iraq, and drove out the few who supported the campaign there. As for John Kerry, in order to win the nomination, he had to disavow the vote he had cast authorizing the President to use force against Saddam Hussein.

To make matters worse, the campaign to discredit the action in Iraq moved from the hustings into the halls of Congress, where it wore the camouflage of a series of allegedly nonpartisan hearings. In these hearings, the most prominent of which was held by the Senate Intelligence Committee, high officials of the Bush administration were hectorred by Democratic legislators (and even a few Republicans) in terms that often came close to sounding like the many articles and books in circulation that were accusing the President of having lied to us in going after Saddam Hussein. This was no slow process of trickle-down; this was an instantaneous inundation of the whole political landscape.

Among the lies through which Bush supposedly misled John Kerry and everyone else was that there might have been some connection between Saddam and al Qaeda. Now, even those of us who believed in such a connection were willing to admit that the evidence was not (yet) definitive; but this was a far cry from denying that there was any basis for it at all.¹⁰ So far a cry, that according to the reports that would be issued both by the Senate Intelligence Committee and the 9/11 Commission in the summer of 2004 (and contrary to how their conclusions would be interpreted in the media), al Qaeda did in fact have a cooperative, if informal, relationship with Iraqi agents working under Saddam.¹¹

It was the same with another of the lies Bush allegedly told to justify the invasion of Iraq. In his State of the Union address of 2003, he said that "The British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa." Then an obscure retired diplomat named Joseph C. Wilson IV, who had earlier been sent to Niger by the CIA to check out this claim, earned his 15 minutes of fame—not to mention a best-selling book—by loudly denouncing this assertion as a lie. But it would in due course be established that every one of the notorious "sixteen words" Bush had uttered was true. This was the consensus of the Senate Intelligence Committee report, two separate British investigations, and a variety of European intelligence agencies, including even the French.¹² Not only that, but it turned out that Wilson's own report to the CIA had tended to *confirm* the suspicion that Saddam had been shopping for uranium in Africa, and not, as he went around declaring, to debunk it.¹³ The liar here, then, was not Bush but Wilson.

But of course the biggest lie Bush was charged with telling was that Saddam possessed weapons of mass destruction. On this issue, too, those of us who still suspected that the WMD remained hidden, or that they had been shipped to Syria, or both, were willing to admit that we might well be wrong. But how could Bush have been lying when every intelligence agency in every country in the world was convinced that Saddam maintained an arsenal of such weapons? And how could Bush have "hyped" or exaggerated the reports he was given by our own intelligence agencies when the director of the CIA himself described the case as a "slam dunk"?

To be sure, again according to the Senate Intelligence Committee report, the case, far from being a "slam dunk," actually rested on weak or faulty evidence. Yet the committee itself "did not find any evidence that administration officials attempted to coerce, influence, or pressure analysts to change their judgments related to Iraq's weapons of mass destruction capabilities." The CIA, that is, did not tell the President what it thought he wanted to hear. It told him what it thought it knew; and what it told him, he had every reason to believe.¹⁴

In the wake of the WMD issue, several others emerged that did even more to shake the confidence of some who had been enthusiastic supporters of the operation in Iraq. On top of the mounting number of American soldiers being killed as they were trying to bring security to Iraq, and on the heels of the horrendous episodes of the murder and desecration of the bodies of four American contractors in Falluja, came the revelation that Iraqi prisoners in Abu Ghraib had been subjected to ugly mistreatment by their American captors.

Among supporters of the Bush Doctrine, these setbacks set off a great wave of defeatist gloom that was deepened by the nervous tactical shifts they produced in our military planners (such as the decision to hold back from cleaning out the terrorist militias hiding in and behind holy places in Falluja and Najaf). Even the formerly unshakable Fouad Ajami was shaken. In a piece entitled "Iraq May Survive, But the Dream is Dead," he wrote: "Let's face it: Iraq is not going to be America's showcase in the Arab-Muslim world."

That the antiwar party would batten on all this—and would continue ignoring the enormous progress we had made in the reconstruction of Iraqi society—was only to be expected. It was also only natural for the Democrats to take as much political advantage of the setbacks as they could. But it was not necessarily to be expected that the Democrats would seize just as eagerly as the radicals upon every piece of bad news as another weapon in the war against the war. Nor was it necessarily to be expected that mainstream Democratic politicians would go so far off the intellectual and moral rails as to compare the harassment and humiliation of the prisoners in Abu Ghraib—none of whom, so far as anyone then knew, was even maimed, let alone killed—to the horrendous torturing and murdering that had gone on in that same prison under Saddam Hussein or, even more outlandishly, to the Soviet gulag in which many millions of prisoners died.

Yet this was what Edward M. Kennedy did on the floor of the Senate, where he declared that the torture chamber of Saddam Hussein had been reopened "under new management—U.S. management," and this was what Al Gore did when he accused Bush of "establishing an American gulag." Joining with the politicians was the main financial backer of the Democratic party's presidential campaign, George Soros, who actually said that Abu Ghraib was even worse than the attack of 9/11. On the platform with Soros when he made this morally disgusting statement was Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton, who let it go by without a peep of protest.

Equally ignominious was the response of mainstream Democrats to the most effective demagogic exfoliation of the antiwar radicals, Michael Moore's film *Fahrenheit 9/11*. Shortly after 9/11—that is, long before the appearance of this movie but with many of its charges against Bush already on vivid display in Moore's public statements about Afghanistan—one liberal commentator had described him as a "well-known crank, regarded with considerable distaste even on the Left." The same commentator (shades of how the "jackal bins" of yore were regarded) had also dismissed as "preposterous" the idea that Moore's views "represent a significant body of antiwar opinion." Lending a measure of plausibility to this assessment was the fact that Moore elicited a few boos when, in accepting an Academy Award for *Bowling for Columbine* in 2003, he declared:

We live in the time where we have fictitious election results that elect a fictitious president. We live in a time where we have a man sending us to war for fictitious reasons. . . . [W]e are against this war, Mr. Bush. Shame on you, Mr. Bush, shame on you.

By 2004, however, when *Fahrenheit 9/11* came out, things had changed. True, this movie—a compendium of every scurrility ever hurled at George W. Bush, and a few new ones besides, all gleefully stitched together in the best conspiratorial traditions of the "paranoid style in American politics"—did manage to embarrass even several liberal commentators. One of them described the film as a product of the "loony Left," and feared that its extremism might discredit the "legitimate" case against Bush and the war. Yet in an amazing reversal of the normal pattern in the distribution of prudence, such fears of extremism were more pronounced among liberal pundits than among mainstream Democratic politicians.

Thus, so many leading Democrats flocked to a screening of *Fahrenheit 9/11* in Washington that (as the columnist Mark Steyn quipped) the business of Congress had to be put on hold; and when the screening was over, nary a dissonant boo disturbed the harmony of the ensuing ovation. The chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Terry McAuliffe, pronounced the film "very powerful, much more powerful than I thought it would be." Then, when asked by CNN whether he thought "the movie was essentially fair and factually based," McAuliffe answered, "I do. . . . Clearly the movie makes it clear that George Bush is not fit to be President of this country." Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa seconded McAuliffe and urged all Americans to see the film: "It's important for the American people to understand what has gone on before, what led us to this point, and to see it sort of in this unvarnished presentation by Michael Moore."

Possibly some of the other important Democrats who attended the screening—including Senators Tom Daschle, Max Baucus, Barbara Boxer, and Bill Nelson; Congressmen Charles Rangel, Henry Waxman, and Jim McDermott; and elders of the party like Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and Theodore Sorensen—disagreed with Harkin and McAuliffe. But if so, they remained remarkably quiet about it.

As for John Kerry himself, he did not take time out to see *Fahrenheit 9/11*, explaining that there was no need since he had "lived it."

2004 and 1952

Returning now to the gloom that afflicted supporters of the Bush Doctrine in the spring of 2004: one of the reasons Fouad Ajami gave for it was that "our enemies have taken our measure; they have taken stock of our national discord over the war." Emboldened by our restraint in Falluja and elsewhere within Iraq, as well as by our concomitant willingness to bring the UN back into the political picture, our enemies had begun to breathe easier—and not only in Iraq:

Once the administration talked of a "Greater Middle East" where the "deficits" of freedom, knowledge, and women's empowerment would be tackled, where our power would be used to erode the entrenched despotisms in the Arab-Muslim world.

But now, Ajami lamented, it had become clear that "we shall not chase the Syrian dictator to a spider hole, nor will we sack the Iranian theocracy." There were even indications that, abandoning the dream of democracy altogether, we might settle for the rule of a "strong man" in Iraq.

But how accurate was the measure our enemies had taken of us? Was it possible that their gauge was being thrown off by the overheated atmosphere of a more than usually bitter presidential campaign, and by the caution George Bush felt it necessary to adopt in seeking reelection?

This seemed to me then, and it still seems to me now, the most decisive question of all. I therefore want to conclude by examining it, and I want to do so by returning to the analogy I drew earlier between the start of World War III in 1947 and the start of World War IV in 2001.

When the Truman Doctrine was enunciated in 1947, it was attacked from several different directions. On the Right, there were the isolationists who—after being sidelined by World War II—had made something of a comeback in the Republican party under the leadership of Senator Robert Taft. Their complaint was that Truman had committed the United States to endless interventions that had no clear bearing on our national interest. But there was also another faction on the Right that denounced containment not as recklessly ambitious but as too timid. This group was still small, but within the next few years it would find spokesmen in Republican political figures like Richard Nixon and John Foster Dulles and conservative intellectuals like William F. Buckley, Jr. and James Burnham.

At the other end of the political spectrum, there were the Communists and their "liberal" fellow travelers who—strengthened by our alliance with the Soviet Union in World War II—had emerged as a relatively sizable group and would soon form a new political party behind Henry Wallace. In their view, the Soviets had more cause to defend themselves against us than we had to defend ourselves against them, and it was Truman, not Stalin, who posed the greater danger to "free peoples everywhere." But criticism also came from the political center, as represented by Walter Lippmann, the most influential and most prestigious commentator of the period. Lippmann argued that Truman had sounded "the tocsin of an ideological crusade" that was nothing less than messianic in its scope.

In the election of 1948, Truman had the seemingly impossible task of confronting all three of these challenges (and a few others as well). When, against what every poll had predicted, he succeeded in warding them off, he could reasonably claim a mandate for his foreign policy.

And so it came about that, under the aegis of the Truman Doctrine, American troops were sent off in 1950 to fight in Korea. "What a nation can do or must do," Truman would later write, "begins with the willingness and the ability of its people to shoulder the burden," and Truman was rightly confident that the American people were willing to shoulder the burden of Korea.

Even so, enough bitter opposition remained within and around the Republican party to leave it uncertain as to whether containment was an *American* policy or only the policy of the Democrats. This uncertainty was exacerbated by the presidential election of 1952, when the Republicans behind Dwight D. Eisenhower ran against Truman's hand-picked successor Adlai Stevenson in a campaign featuring strident attacks on the Truman Doctrine by Eisenhower's running mate Richard Nixon and his future Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Nixon, for example, mocked Stevenson as a graduate of the "Cowardly College of Communist Containment" run by Truman's Secretary of State Dean Acheson, while Dulles repeatedly called for ditching containment in favor of a policy of "rollback" and "liberation." And both Nixon and Dulles strongly signaled their endorsement of General Douglas MacArthur's insistence that Truman was wrong to settle for holding the line in Korea instead of going all the way—or, as MacArthur had famously put it, "There is no substitute for victory."

Yet when Eisenhower came into office, he hardly touched a hair on the head of the Truman Doctrine. Far from adopting a bolder and more aggressive strategy, the new President ended the Korean war on the basis of the status quo ante—in other words, precisely on the terms of containment. Even more telling was Eisenhower's refusal three years later to intervene when the Hungarians, apparently encouraged by the rhetoric of liberation still being employed in the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe, rose up in revolt against their Soviet masters. For better or worse, this finally dispelled any lingering doubt as to whether containment was the policy just of the Democratic party. With full bipartisan support behind it, the Truman Doctrine had become the official policy of the United States of America.

The analogy is obviously not perfect, but the resemblances between the political battles of 1952 and those of 2004 are striking enough to help us in thinking about what a few moments ago I called the most decisive of all the questions now facing the United States. To frame the question in slightly different terms from the ones I originally used: what will happen if the Democrats behind John Kerry defeat George W. Bush in November? Will they follow through on their violent denunciations of Bush's policy, or will they, like the Republicans of 1952 with respect to Korea, quietly forget their campaign promises of reliance on the UN and the Europeans, and continue on much the same course as Bush has followed in Iraq? And looking beyond Iraq itself, will they do unto the Bush Doctrine as the Republicans of 1952 did unto the Truman Doctrine? Will they treat Iraq as only one battle in the larger war—World War IV—into which 9/11 plunged us? Will they resolve to go on fighting that war with the strategy adumbrated by the Bush Doctrine, and for as long as it may take to win it?

From the way the Democrats have been acting and speaking, I fear that the answer is no. Nor was I reassured by the flamboyant display of hawkishness they put on at their national convention in July. Yet as a passionate supporter of the Bush Doctrine I pray that I am wrong about this. If John Kerry should become our next President, and he may, it would be a great calamity if he were to abandon the Bush Doctrine in favor of the law-enforcement approach through which we dealt so ineffectually with terrorism before 9/11, while leaving the rest to those weakest of reeds, the UN and the Europeans. No matter how he might dress up such a

shift, it would—rightly—be interpreted by our enemies as a craven retreat, and dire consequences would ensue. Once again the despotisms of the Middle East would feel free to offer sanctuary and launching pads to Islamic terrorists; once again these terrorists would have the confidence to attack us—and this time on an infinitely greater scale than before.

If, however, the victorious Democrats were quietly to recognize that our salvation will come neither from the Europeans nor from the UN, and if they were to accept that the Bush Doctrine represents the only adequate response to the great threat that was literally brought home to us on 9/11, then our enemies would no longer be emboldened—certainly not to the extent they have recently been—by "our national discord over the war."

In World War III, despite the bipartisan consensus that became apparent after 1952 (and contrary to the roseate reminiscences of how it was then), plenty of "discord" remained, and there were plenty of missteps—most notably involving Vietnam—along the way to victory. There were also moments when it looked as though we were losing, and when our enemies seemed so strong that the best we could do was in effect to sue for a negotiated peace.

Now, with World War IV barely begun, a similar dynamic is already at work. In World War III, we as a nation persisted in spite of the inevitable setbacks and mistakes and the defeatism they generated, until, in the end, we won. To us the reward of victory was the elimination of a military, political, and ideological threat. To the people living both within the Soviet Union itself and in its East European empire, it brought liberation from a totalitarian tyranny. Admittedly, liberation did not mean that everything immediately came up roses, but it would be foolish to contend that nothing changed for the better when Communism landed on the very ash heap of history that Marx had predicted would be the final resting place of capitalism.

Suppose that we hang in long enough to carry World War IV to a comparably successful conclusion. What will victory mean this time around? Well, to us it will mean the elimination of another, and in some respects greater, threat to our safety and security. But because that threat cannot be eliminated without "draining the swamps" in which it breeds, victory will also entail the liberation of another group of countries from another species of totalitarian tyranny. As we can already see from Afghanistan and Iraq, liberation will no more result in the overnight establishment of ideal conditions in the Middle East than it has done in East Europe. But as we can also see from Afghanistan and Iraq, better things will immediately happen, and a genuine opportunity will be opened up for even better things to come.

The memory of how it was toward the end of World War III suggests another intriguing parallel with how it is now in the early days of World War IV. We have learned from the testimony of former officials of the Soviet Union that, unlike the elites here, who heaped scorn on Ronald Reagan's idea that a viable system of missile defense could be built, the Russians (including their best scientists) had no doubt that the United States could and would succeed in creating such a system and that this would do them in. Today the same kind of scorn is heaped by the same kind of people on George W. Bush's idea that the Middle East can be democratized, while our enemies in the region—like the Russians with respect to "Star Wars"—believe that we are actually succeeding.

One indication is the warning to this effect issued by al Zarqawi to al Qaeda, from which I

have already quoted. But his letter is not the only sign that the secular despots and the Islamofascists in the Middle East are deeply worried over what the Bush Doctrine holds in store for them. There is Libya's Qaddafi, who has admitted that it was his anxiety about "being next" that induced him to give up his nuclear program. And there are the Syrians and the Iranians. Of course they keep making defiant noises and they keep trying to create as much trouble for us as possible, but with all due respect to the disappointed expectations of Fouad Ajami, I have to ask: why would they be sending jihadists and weapons into Iraq if not in a desperate last-ditch campaign to derail a process whose prospects are in their judgment only too fair and whose repercussions they fear are only too likely to send them flying?

This fear may, as Ajami says, have been tempered by our response to the troubles they themselves have been causing us. But it cannot have been altogether assuaged, since it is solidly grounded in the new geostrategic realities in their region that have been created under the aegis of the Bush Doctrine. Professor Haim Harari, a former president of the Weizmann Institute, describes these realities succinctly:

Now that Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya are out, two-and-a-half terrorist states remain: Iran, Syria, and Lebanon, the latter being a Syrian colony. . . . As a result of the conquest of Afghanistan and Iraq, both Iran and Syria are now totally surrounded by territories unfriendly to them. Iran is encircled by Afghanistan, by the Gulf States, Iraq, and the Muslim republics of the former Soviet Union. Syria is surrounded by Turkey, Iraq, Jordan, and Israel. This is a significant strategic change and it applies strong pressure on the terrorist countries. It is not surprising that Iran is so active in trying to incite a Shiite uprising in Iraq. I do not know if the American plan was actually to encircle both Iran and Syria, but that is the resulting situation.

Finally, there is the effect the Bush Doctrine has had on the forces pushing for liberalization throughout the Middle East. When Ronald Reagan used the word "evil" in speaking of the Soviet Union, and even confidently predicted its demise, he gave new hope to democratic dissidents in and out of the gulag. Back then, very much like Ajami on Bush, some of us fell into near despair when Reagan failed to act in full accordance with his own convictions. When, for example, he responded tepidly to the great Polish crisis of 1982 that culminated in the imposition of martial law, the columnist George F. Will, one of his staunchest supporters, angrily declared that the administration headed by Reagan "loved commerce more than it loathed Communism," and I wrote an article expressing "anguish" over his foreign policy. Yet even though (once more like Ajami today) our criticisms were mostly right in detail, we were proved wondrously wrong about the eventual outcome. It was different with the dissidents behind the Iron Curtain. They knew better than to get stuck on tactical details, and they never once lost heart.

So it has been with the Bush Doctrine. Bush has made reform and democratization the talk of the entire Middle East. Where before there was only silence, now there are countless articles and speeches and conferences, and even sermons, dedicated to the cause of political and religious liberalization and exploring ways to bring it about. Like the dissidents behind the Iron Curtain in the 1980's, the democratizers in the Middle East today evidently remain undiscouraged. Falluja and the rest notwithstanding, there has been, if anything, a steady increase in the volume and range of the reformist talk that was and continues to be inspired by

the Bush Doctrine.¹⁵

I do not wish to exaggerate. Except in Iran, and perhaps also one or two other non-Arab Muslim states, the democratizers are still a relatively small group, and as yet their ranks seem to contain no one comparable in intellectual stature or moral and political influence to Sakharov or Solzhenitsyn or Sharansky. But the editor of the *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Barry Rubin, who has generally been very skeptical about the chances for democratization in the region, offers a cautious assessment that seems reasonable to me:

Democracy and reform are on the Arab world's agenda. It will be a long, uphill fight to bring change to those countries, but at least a process has begun. Liberals remain few and weak; the dictatorships are strong and the Islamist threat will discourage openness or innovation. Still, at least there are more people trying to move things in the right direction.

To which I (though not Rubin) would add, thanks to George W. Bush.

Then there is Gaza, where at least some elements of the fabled Palestinian street have for the very first time exploded with denunciations not of Israel or the United States, but of Yasir Arafat's tyrannical and corrupt rule. For the first time, too, we find articles in the Arab press calling for Arafat's removal—in favor not of the Islamist alternative represented by Hamas but of a different kind of leadership.

Here, for example, is the *Jordan Times*:

The rapid deterioration of the domestic political order in Gaza mirrors similar dilemmas that plague most of the Arab world, revolving around the tendency of small power elites or single men to monopolize political and economic power in their hands via their direct, personal control of domestic security and police systems. Gaza is yet another warning about the failure of the modern Arab security state and the need for a better brand of statehood based on law-based citizen rights rather than gun-based regime protection and perpetual incumbency.

And here is the *Arab Times* of Kuwait:

Arafat should quit his position because he is the head of a corrupt authority. Arafat has destroyed Palestine. He has led it to terrorism, death, and a hopeless situation.

And there is this, from the *Gulf News* in Dubai:

Palestinians are saying their president for life—Arafat—is the problem along with his cronies who rule them, rob them, and impoverish them. Arabs have a responsibility here too. They can say "Israel" until they are all blue in the face, but it does not change the fact that a large part of the fault lies with the Palestinians and the Arabs.

According to a Palestinian legislator quoted by the *Washington Post*, "what is happening in the streets of Gaza has [nothing] to do with reform. It's a simple power struggle." By contrast,

the Iranian-born commentator Amir Taheri sees it as a new kind of "intifada aimed at bringing down yet another Arab tyranny." Chances are that there is some truth in both of these opposing judgments, and in any event it is still too early to tell how the turmoil in Gaza will play itself out. But it is surely not too early to say that there would have been no uprising against Arafat, and much less talk about reform, if not for George W. Bush's policies combined with his courageous willingness to back those of Ariel Sharon.

History's Call

In his first State of the Union address, President Bush affirmed that history had called America to action, and that it was both "our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's fight"—a fight he also characterized as "a unique opportunity for us to seize." Only last May, he reminded us that "We did not seek this war on terror," but, having been sought out by it, we responded, and now we were trying to meet the "great demands" that "history has placed on our country."

In this language, and especially in the repeated references to history, we can hear an echo of the concluding paragraphs of George F. Kennan's "X" essay, written at the outbreak of World War III:

The issue of Soviet-American relations is in essence a test of the overall worth of the United States as a nation among nations. To avoid destruction the United States need only measure up to its own best traditions and prove itself worthy of preservation as a great nation.

Kennan then went on to his peroration:

In the light of these circumstances, the thoughtful observer of Russian-American relations will experience a certain gratitude for a Providence which, by providing the American people with this implacable challenge, has made their entire security as a nation dependent on their pulling themselves together and accepting the responsibilities of moral and political leadership that history plainly intended them to bear.

Substitute "Islamic terrorism" for "Russian-American relations," and every other word of this magnificent statement applies to us as a nation today. In 1947, we accepted the responsibilities of moral and political leadership that history "plainly intended" us to bear, and for the next 42 years we acted on them. We may not always have acted on them wisely or well, and we often did so only after much kicking and screaming. But act on them we did. We thereby ensured our own "preservation as a great nation," while also bringing a better life to millions upon millions of people in a major region of the world.

Now "our entire security as a nation"—including, to a greater extent than in 1947, our physical security—once more depends on whether we are ready and willing to accept and act upon the responsibilities of moral and political leadership that history has yet again so squarely placed upon our shoulders. Are we ready? Are we willing? I think we are, but the jury is still out, and will not return a final verdict until well after the election of 2004.

—August 2, 2004

NORMAN PODHORETZ, editor-at-large of COMMENTARY, is the author of ten books. The most recent of them, The Norman Podhoretz Reader, a selection of his writings from the 1950's through the 1990's edited by Thomas L. Jeffers, was brought out earlier this year (Free Press). In June, Mr. Podhoretz was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor.

1 "How to Win World War IV" (February 2002), "The Return of the Jackal Bins" (April 2002), and "In Praise of the Bush Doctrine" (September 2002). A fourth piece I used was "Israel Isn't the Issue" (*Wall Street Journal*, September 20, 2001).

2 He did, however, seem to have committed a sin of omission. Richard Lowry, the editor of *National Review*, reports that according to John Lehman, one of the Republican commissioners, "Clarke's original testimony included 'a searing indictment of some Clinton officials and Clinton policies.' That was the Clarke, evenhanded in his criticisms of both the Bush and Clinton administrations, whom Lehman and other Republican commissioners expected to show up at the public hearings. It was a surprise 'that he would come out against Bush that way.' Republicans were taken aback: 'It caught us flat-footed, but not the Democrats.'" In a different though related context, the commission quotes material written by Clarke while he was still in office that is inconsistent with his more recent, much-publicized denial of any relationship whatsoever between Iraq and al Qaeda.

3 Hill was referring here to the hearings of the 9/11 commission, not its final report, which did not single out the Bush administration for criticism on this score.

4 The analysis offered by Kennan in "The Sources of Soviet Conduct"—as against his own later revisionist interpretation of it—turned out to be right in almost every important detail, except for the timing. He thought it would take only fifteen years for the strategy to succeed in causing the "implosion" of the Soviet empire.

5 In expressing his determination to win the war, however, Bush was mainly reaching back to the language of Winston Churchill, who vowed as World War II was getting under way in 1940: "We shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end."

6 It is worth noting that Churchill, who had been the target of many derogatory epithets in his long career but who was never regarded even by his worst enemies as "simple-minded," had no hesitation in attaching a phrase like "monster of wickedness" to Hitler. Nor did the political philosopher Hannah Arendt, whose mind was, if anything, overcomplicated rather than too simple, have any problem in her masterpiece, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, with calling both Nazism and Communism "absolute evil."

7 Fukuyama did not return the compliment. While not exactly rejecting the Bush Doctrine, he would later criticize it and call for a "recalibration." He would do this more in sorrow than in anger, but still in terms that were otherwise not always easy to distinguish from those of what I characterize below as the respectable opposition.

8 As John Podhoretz would later write: "Those who supported the war, in overwhelming numbers, believed there were multiple justifications for it. Those who opposed and oppose it, in equally overwhelming numbers, weren't swayed by the WMD arguments. Indeed, many of them had no difficulty opposing the war while believing that Saddam possessed vast quantities of such weapons. Take Sen. Edward Kennedy. 'We have known for many years,' he said in

September 2002, 'that Saddam Hussein is seeking and developing weapons of mass destruction.' And yet only a few weeks later he was one of 23 senators who voted against authorizing the Iraq war. Take French President Jacques Chirac, who believed Saddam had WMD and still did everything in his power to block the war. So whether policymakers supported or opposed the war effort was not determined by their conviction about the presence of weapons of mass destruction."

9 The classic expression of this fantasy was, of course, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a document that had been forged by the Czarist secret police in the late 19th century but that had more recently been resurrected and distributed by the millions throughout the Arab-Muslim world, and beyond. It would also form the basis of a dramatic television series produced in Egypt.

10 Stephen F. Hayes has done especially good work on this issue, both in a series of articles in the *Weekly Standard* and in his book *The Connection: How al Qaeda's Collaboration with Saddam Hussein Has Endangered America*.

11 Additional corroboration of "meetings . . . between senior Iraqi representatives and senior al Qaeda operatives" would come from a comparable British investigation conducted by Lord Butler, whose report would be released around the same time as the Senate Intelligence Committee.

12 From the Butler Report: "We conclude also that the statement in President Bush's State of the Union Address of 28 January 2003 that 'The British Government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa' was well-founded."

13 From the Senate Intelligence Committee Report: "He [the CIA reports officer] said he judged that the most important fact in the report [by Wilson] was that Nigerian officials admitted that the Iraqi delegation had traveled there in 1999, and that the Nigerian prime minister believed the Iraqis were interested in purchasing uranium, because this provided some confirmation of foreign government service reporting."

14 Going even further than the Senate Intelligence Committee, the Butler Report concluded: "We believe that it would be a rash person who asserted at this stage that evidence of Iraqi possession of stocks of biological or chemical agents, or even of banned missiles, does not exist or will never be found."

15 A representative sample can be found on the website of the Middle East Media Research Institute (<http://www.memri.org/reform.html>).

Commentary

Resisting the Politics of Fear

John E. Mack, M.D.

Senator John Edwards and many other Americans believe that Vice President Cheney "crossed the line" when he said that if we chose John Kerry instead of George Bush "we'll be hit again and we'll be hit in a way that will be devastating from the standpoint of the United States." But I believe that line was crossed many months ago when President Bush and his administration chose to manipulate the minds of our people by relentlessly threatening us with the danger of terrorist attacks. Because the terrorist danger is real, it is especially important that our capacity to assess the risk we face not be distorted for political gain.

There is nothing new about this strategy for gaining and holding power. Writers from the ancient Greek historian Thucydides to Baron de Montesquieu to Herman Goering in the twentieth century have told us that all national leaders need to do to retain power is to focus on an external threat and accuse those who won't go along with their plans of a lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. What may, perhaps, be unique is the systematic, virtually scientific, way that the current administration has used fear to control dissent and titrate the amount of fear we are supposed to feel.

At a conference on "Fear: Its Political Uses and Abuses" sponsored last February by the New School University in New York the organizers noted that "This may be the only time in our history when we are not only warned that we should be afraid, but told exactly how afraid we should be (red, orange or yellow alerts), and yet, regardless of how afraid we should be, we are given no advice about what to do, except perhaps to be wary of strangers, and stock up on duct tape and bottled water."

Terrorism is, of course, an authentic threat. But the ceaseless use of the rhetoric of terror, violence and danger that has accompanied a growing number of false alarms numbs our minds and robs us of the power to tell truth from lies and discriminate genuine dangers from those that are held before us for domestic political purposes. Hollow bombast and threat become confused with strength, and silly macho talk of girlie men or derision of "sensitivity" may cover ignorance and weakness. Fear of this kind can, as it has in the past, lead to unwarranted acts of aggression being committed in our name.

There are other harmful consequences of the politics of fear. It can and has been used to take away our liberties while we preach about freedom and democracy for others. It brings about a kind of national psychological regression, reducing our minds to primitive oversimplified ways of thinking, what conservative columnist

Charley Reese called the "comic book world of American heroes and foreign evil doers"

The leaders themselves become, in the end, convinced of their own threatening projections and succumb inevitably to the atmosphere of fear they have helped to create. Their judgment then becomes impaired, and they fail to address genuine dangers while inflating, as in the case of Iraq, threats to our national security that do not actually exist. As this regression affects those in the political chain of command, it may be shocking but should not be surprising that atrocities like those at the Abu Ghraib prison would be committed, even in some instances, by women.

Worst of all perhaps is what the politics of fear has done to our values as a people. Poet Michael Blumenthal, returning to the United States last month after three years living in Europe, found here "a frightened and frightening nation, a nation filled not with generosity and humanity and decency and charity," a nation "that seems unable to find any deeper reason for its patriotism than a profound, and cynically manipulated atmosphere of anxiety and fear." And former assistant to President John F. Kennedy, Theodore Sorenson, in a commencement speech in Nebraska last May warned of the damage being done to the "very heart and soul of this country" as it moves "toward a mean-spirited mediocrity in place of a noble beacon."

Some of us are awakening to the danger of the politics of fear. Voices are being raised in opposition. Catharine Gamboa of Baltimore writes to the editor, "I refuse to allow myself to be terrorized and blatantly manipulated by these ominous drumbeats," and Steve Mavros of Philadelphia declares he is "sick and tired of living in fear" and of "alerts telling me whether or not I can walk outside (New York Times September 9, p. A32). Kasey Hrehocik, a senior at Poteet High School in Texas wrote a paper opposing the "fear mongering" to which she had been exposed. "When we allow fear to override societal defenses that hold our ideals and values together," she warned, "we allow our home, America, to become a garbage-littered swamp filled with manipulations and lies."

But scattered voices like those of these brave people must be joined by a swelling tide of resistance. The misuse of fear to control our minds should become a central focus of our national consciousness, and students at every level of our educational system need to be taught to recognize the signs of this corrosive strategem. Only in this way, I believe, will we be able to preserve our national values and integrity, and make the intelligent choices upon which genuine security and fulfillment depend.

John E. Mack, M.D.
Professor of Psychiatry
Harvard Medical School

The head of college Republicans hopes to follow Karl Rove's path. 4



Ugly Meetings

Protesters have had angry encounters with convention delegates, despite largely peaceful protests. 12



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TUESDAY, AUGUST 31, 2004

NYT + P1

The New York Times

SAVE The Republicans SAVE

THE CONVENTION IN NEW YORK

The Natural: Giuliani Plays Role of Backer With Relish

By MICHAEL SLACKMAN

Rudolph W. Giuliani's address last night at Madison Square Garden followed weeks of marathon campaigning for President Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney. From personal appearances on the campaign trail to television spots and radio and newspaper interviews, Mr. Giuliani seemed to be everywhere aiding the re-election effort, a role that is tailor-made for the former mayor.

In his speech, Mr. Giuliani invoked images of the Sept. 11 terror attacks in a way that few political figures can. He laced his address with personal experiences, like when he saw a body plummet from the World Trade Center, and partisan attacks on the Democratic nominee, Mr. Giuliani touched some of the most fundamental issues of the campaign, according to his prepared remarks, which were released earlier in the evening.

Mr. Giuliani applauded the president's decision to invade Iraq, saying that Saddam Hussein was himself a "weapon of mass destruction." He emphasized the themes of leadership and compassion, and he compared the president to the wartime British prime minister, Winston Churchill, and the last American president of the Cold War, Ronald Reagan.

In his remarks, he recalled how President Bush "stood amid the fallen towers and said to the barbaric terrorists who attacked us, 'They will hear from us.'"

He said they did hear from the United States in Afghanistan, Iraq and other countries that may now be reluctant to sponsor terrorism. To keep that campaign going, Mr. Giuliani said, the president must be re-elected. "We owe that much to our loved ones and heroes we lost on Sept. 11," he said. Mr. Giuliani, more than anyone else, can talk about Sept. 11 in a political context, while simultaneously inoculating the Bush-Cheney ticket against accusations that it might be trying to exploit the national tragedy for political gain, political consultants said.

The last few weeks have been the highest public profile Mr. Giuliani has had since he left City Hall and started a consulting firm. His role as cheerleader-in-chief has fueled speculation that Mr. Giuliani hopes to emerge as the party's strongest presidential hopeful in 2008. Polls show that Mr. Giuliani has tremendous support among the party faithful and among voters nationwide, though he says it is too soon to begin thinking about 2008.

"I may run for office again, but I will wait until after this election to see what makes sense, what works, what do I want," Mr. Giuliani said in an interview.

But no matter who wins in November, there will be a crowded field of Republicans in 2008, not to mention another New Yorker that would be vying for the same contributor and voter base, Gov. George E. Pataki. It

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Michael Bavosa, a New Jersey state trooper, was one of many who searched train cars and checked bags. He made a sweep on a train at Pennsylvania Station in Newark.

Outward Calm Attests to the Disruption of the City

By N. R. KLEINFELD

Emptier-than-normal commuter trains whisked through intensified security yet pulled into the city largely on time. New Yorkers unable to finagle the week off endured bomb-sniffing dogs and squads of inquisitive police officers in thickly guarded Midtown Manhattan. Political agitators howled their dissent but kept their protests from raging into violence.

As the visiting Republicans began to carry out their ordained business on the opening day of the Republican National Convention yesterday, the city awoke and dispensed with its own business with determined complacency, as if nothing more than the Jaycees were in town.

For the most part, people uncomplainingly tolerated the expanse of closed streets and insistent and pervasive security details. The morning rush was remarkably light given the previous weeks of warning, with some commuters getting to work earlier than normal because of reduced passenger

loads.

Businesses, though, lamented what they found to be subdued traffic, and those making deliveries faced a fair amount of travail. The New York Stock Exchange recorded its lightest trading day of the year.

The outward, seemingly unruffled calm of the day, in a sense, spoke to how disruptive the convention actually was to the city's entrenched rhythms. Warned and warned again about the perils and peculiarities of the first-ever Republican convention in this stubbornly Democratic city — and in an age of heightened terrorism — many New Yorkers reconfigured their routines, staying home from work, fleeing the city, closing businesses, all to sidestep potential chaos or simple annoyance.

Even though the week preceding Labor Day is always a choice week to loiter on the beach, a summer Monday morning still seemed more like a winter Sunday.

During the lunch hour in Times Square, when it is usually a formidable challenge to

thread one's way through the sidewalks at faster than a crawl, the crowds were so thin that it was possible to sprint a respectable 100 meters.

Thousands of people participated in scattered political demonstrations throughout the city, without major disruption. A "Poor People's March" wended from the United Nations to Madison Square Garden late in the afternoon, after the police decided to allow it despite the lack of a permit.

But several Republican delegates found themselves confronted by aggressive and profane protesters, who accosted them at hotels, theaters and restaurants. [Article, Page P12.]

Because of the convention, a number of subway stations around the Garden were closed, bus routes were altered and streets sealed off. Police officers managed pedestrian traffic in Midtown, and security inspections were made on commuter trains and subways.

Despite the interventions, the morning

rush unspooled in a far tidier fashion than anticipated. The Long Island Rail Road, Amtrak and New Jersey Transit did experience some delays, but they were due to equipment problems unrelated to the convention. New Jersey Transit said that ridership was 40 percent below normal, the L.I.R.R. said its trains carried 10 to 15 percent fewer passengers. Some motorists, though, complained of disruptive ordeals.

Officials at Pennsylvania Station, who sit beneath Madison Square Garden and one of the key commuter funnels into the city, had worried about underground congestion, since all but two of the eight entrances are closed for security reasons. But passenger flow was light yesterday.

Ambling through the station at 6:30 a.m., Michael J. Gallagher, who is in charge of operations at Penn Station, noticed that station seemed emptier than usual. As he walked to his office on the opposite side of the complex, he saw that the New Jersey

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APPLE'S ALMANAC

R.W. Apple Jr.

McCain, Trying His Best Not to Look Back

As it does for so many who left their youth in Southeast Asia, the Vietnam War follows John McCain around. He doesn't talk endlessly about it; just veterans do. But sometimes he can't help himself.

In Mr. McCain's speech last night to the Republican National Convention, the Arizona senator concentrated on the present, not the past, paying tribute to men and women in the armed services in these somber, heartfelt terms: "We may be good citizens, but make no mistake, they are the very best of us. It's an honor to live in a country that is so well and so bravely defended by such patriots. May God bless them, the living and the fallen, as he has blessed us with their service."

But when we talked over a drink the night before, Mr. McCain grew agitated about the television commercials sponsored by a group of Vietnam veterans who question the war record of Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts, the Democratic presidential nominee, and specifically his entitlement to the medals that he won. He found the advertisements "completely nauseating," Mr. McCain said. Mr. McCain and I have been

friends since I flew from Saigon in July 1967 to report on an accident on the aircraft carrier Forrester in the Gulf of Tonkin, in which a Zuni rocket accidentally detonated and set fire to the 400-gallon fuel tank of his A-1H Skyhawk, parked on the flight deck. More than 50 men were killed in the inferno that followed.

Afterwards, he came to stay at my house in Saigon for a week or so, and we enjoyed the bright lights of the wartime capital together. Only three months later, he was shot down and held as a prisoner of war in Hanoi for five long years.

Is this really the best we can do, Mr. McCain asked, almost 30 years after the fighting ended? Are we fated to go over this ground again and again, looking backward instead of forward? Won't we ever get over that war? He said he "hated the way this issue is dominating the campaign," and I thought I detected deep frustration that he had managed to do nothing about it.

"If they question Kerry's medals," he said, "they question everybody's medals. All those men who found it so hard to come home, who found so little gratitude for their

sacrifices when they got here, are going to feel mistreated again. The families of the people whose names are on the monument in Washington will feel wronged, too. The painful wounds we all worked so hard to close will all be reopened.

"We've got to get that garbage off the air as soon as we can."

Mr. McCain, who opposed George W. Bush for the Republican presidential nomination four years ago, has had a cordial relationship with Mr. Kerry for decades and has defended his war record. But lately he has been campaigning intensively with President Bush. Last week, he and Mr. Bush said they would act jointly to try to rein in all so-called 527 groups — the unregulated committees purportedly independent of major-party campaigns — on both sides of the partisan divide. The advertisements questioning Mr. Kerry's war record, the work of a 527 group of Swift boat veterans, were largely financed, at least initially, by rich Texas Republicans, some with past links to Mr. Bush.

But Mr. Bush has never specifically condemned the Swift boat commercial, confin-



Bettman/Corbis

President Nixon greeted John McCain in 1973 on his return to the United States after five years as a prisoner of war.

ing himself to a mild statement that Mr. Kerry served honorably.

Mr. McCain's comments on Sunday night were so much more vehement than any I had heard him make before that I asked him whether he thought the president had acted sufficiently boldly on the issue of the commercials. Not yet, he said. In that case, would he bring the matter up again with Mr. Bush?

"Yes, I will," he said, "probably this week but not in quite the same terms. You and I were there, and he wasn't, and he's the president of the United States, and he is entitled to be treated respectfully."

So like the Democratic convention in Boston, the Republican convention here is faced with unresolved questions about two wars, the present one in Iraq (depicted by Mr. Bush as a part of the larger struggle against terror) and the long-settled war in Vietnam. Such questions are never easy, and wars have uncomfortably cohabited with conventions through the decades — Lincoln fretting in 1864 right up to the moment when Sherman cut the South in half that he would not be renominated, Harry S. Truman stepping aside in favor of Adlai E. Stevenson in 1952 with the nation soured on the stalemated "police action" in Korea, Lyndon B. Johnson renouncing his hopes for another term in 1968 even before the convention in the face of Eugene J. McCarthy's challenge.

Only Dwight D. Eisenhower, with the credibility born of his triumphs in World War II, found an easy way out of the political conundrums of war. "I shall go to Korea," he announced. People took that to mean, "I shall end the war in Korea," and rushed to cast their votes for him.

PARTIES AND ENTERTAINMENT

"We party much harder than the Democrats." RACHEL LEMANPINK
ELEPHANTSAs Merriment Rolls On,
Can It Get Any Happier?

By GLENN COLLINS

And they partied on, those red state revelers in the big blue town. But it wasn't always about President Bush and Vice President Cheney.

"Giuliani and McCain, some people refer to them as the ticket," said former Senator Fred Thompson, raising a laugh — and a cheer or two — yesterday from 500 luncheon guests who had paid \$2,000 a plate to squeeze past the stringent security at Cipriani on East 42nd Street.

He added, "And I don't exactly know what they're talking about." The audience did. More laughter.

And soon it was Senator John McCain who was tweaking the received political hierarchies by praising Rudolph W. Giuliani as "America's mayor," notwithstanding the reign of that Bloomberg fellow.

After Mr. Giuliani spoke, he received the silver medallion of the Special Warrior Foundation, which pays college costs of the children of deceased Navy Seals members, Army Rangers, Green Berets and other special forces.

The fund-raiser was at once something of a Giuliani administration reunion and a mini-pod of G.O.P. celebrities, including Bo Derek, who noted after the speeches that she was an honorary Green Beret, and was greatly honored to be sitting "in a room of heroes today."

Congress, some of whom may actually have attended, but could scarcely be identified thanks to the primordial darkness. Exempted were the band members of Lynyrd Skynyrd, of course, who had the whole look: country-tangled locks under cowboy hats, "Mississippi Boy" T-shirt.

The bat-cave-ish décor was promisingly primitive, but the young Washington crowd of lobbyists, delegates and convention folk pretty much ran to suits, khaki and the assorted Chanel purse: basic yacht-club mixer. But hey, they held up fists and called out for "Free Bird." Then, monogrammed Zippos were thrust into the air.

Elephants on a Wire

When will they speak? The ubiquitous first twins, Barbara and Jen-



Stephanie Keith for The New York Times

Stephanie Parker at the "W Stands for Women" event.

na Bush, maintained radio silence again yesterday at the W Stands for Women bash at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel. Not so inhibited were their grandmother Barbara, their aunt, Doro Bush Koch, and vice-presidential wife Lynne Cheney, who told the 1,400 women that "with your help we are going to win this election."

"Ron Reagan, speaking yesterday at the party for the book 'If You Had Five Minutes with the President,' concerning tonight's tribute to his father: 'Where I get off the boat is when they start drawing the personal comparisons, and saying that these two people are the same as people, as men. I knew Ronald Reagan, in the cliché phrase, and George W. Bush is no Ronald Reagan.'"

"Where to accommodate that crab, shrimp and salmon at a New England Clambake last night, in honor of Governor Mitt Romney of Massachusetts, for 1,000? An aircraft carrier would do, the Intrepid."

"We party much harder than the Democrats," said Rachel Leman, an aide to Representative David Drier of California, who played host at the bowling-cum-apple martini party at BowlMor on Sunday night, where delegates shimmied to "Funky Town." Her tone made it into a war cry.

Father Knows Best

The cynosure of the star journalists at the party at Elaine's on Sunday night was a 25-year-old first-timer interviewing an altogether long-winded Joe Pantoliano, the actor. As the answers went on and on, the reporter's mother asked: "Who is that guy? He talks too long."

The maternal concern was expressed by Libby Pataki. The on-air talent with the microphone was the first daughter, Emily Pataki, pressed into service for the entertainment news show "Extra!" for the week. So there she was, fully crewed (camera, sound, producer). All eyes were on Emily.

And O.K., since her dad and Mortimer Zuckerman were co-hosts for the party, why not interview her parents? Gov. George E. Pataki — who seemed to glow in the presence of his daughter — twinkled, then tossed her a quote: that it was "a lot of fun to host people like you in the media." Ba-dum-bum.

After she taped her standup introduction outside ("And my dad hosted another grand old party at legendary New York nightclub Elaine's," she intoned), Emily was asked what it was like to interview her father.

"Nothing short of hilarious," she said. "The smile on his face. I don't think I've ever seen anything like it."

Doing Office Casual

Must have been a dearth of hard-core Big Apple rednecks available for the Sunday night party at Crobar. It honored the Southern members of

With Andrew Jacobs, Damien Cave, Mary Spicuzza, Campbell Robertson and Lily Koppel.



Robert Skolarik for The New York Times

Sara Taylor, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, reading her poem at 1:30 a.m. on Monday at a hall in Chinatown.

LIFE

At Midnight, Protesters Turn Poets and Dreamers

By JULIE SALAMON

In a tropical summer night with a moon hanging low, New York can be like a landscape meant for poets and dreamers. At least that is how it med in the late hours after Sunday's big protest, even with clusters of police officers gathered at street corners and helicopters buzzing overhead.

The Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade didn't want the day to end. So toward midnight, tired and burned from marching and hang-out in Central Park, about 65 members gathered in a borrowed natown space to eat and entertain themselves with what they referred to as a "talent show," which lasted till nearly 2 a.m.

We think people even in the most tense time need to be involved in artistic endeavors," explained Sara Taylor, a slight, intense woman who is a poet, office worker and spokeswoman for the Youth Brigade. As Taylor and the rest of her crew — Marxist-Leninist-Maoist followers of Bob Avakian, chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party — are young, mostly in their teens and 20's, which may explain in their casual mixture of summer camp and radical rhetoric (they believe in the inevitability of armed revolution) and their stamina. When Taylor's turn before the audience arrived, close to 1:30 a.m., she delivered two fiery poems in a voice coarse from shouting during hours of protest.

New York is always a 24-hour town, but with the Republican convention here, the alternative cultural scene has gone into overtime. The poetry club, an East Village nightclub on the Bowery between Recker and Houston Streets, is remaining open all night this week for restless souls and insomniacs looking for political conversation and

pageantry and yoga. The Tank, a space on West 42nd Street that is normally a venue for performing and visual arts, has become a counterculture way station as well, providing entertainment at night and daytime tourism aid for protesters, including doughnuts and coffee in the mornings — also offered to police officers, if any happen by.

On its Web site, imagine04.org, the Imagine Festival, the umbrella for scores of politically minded arts events this week, advertises several all-night venues, including the Freedom of Expression National Monument, a giant red megaphone aimed at the sculptures of Law, Truth and

To appease restless souls, the alternative cultural scene goes into overtime.

Equity arrayed on the New York County Courthouse in Foley Square. There were no visitors there at 2:30 a.m. Monday. Some police officers across the street with a big dog — the only life around — said there probably wouldn't be any speakers for another seven or eight hours.

Likewise, "True Story Project: Being," a video installation in a storefront at 217 East 42nd Street advertised as an all-night happening, had no audience in the middle of the night, mainly because there weren't any pedestrians. The situation was worse at "The War Room," an installation at 208 West 37th Street described as "poignant paintings of the war and its aftermath," but impossible to see behind locked gates cover-

ing the windows.

A spokeswoman for Billionaires for Bush, the street-performance parody group, urged protesters not to partake of after hours events, artistic or otherwise. In an e-mail message, she advised: "It is very important that all protesters realize beforehand, that protesting zaps a lot of energy, and requires people to be in good health, well rested and hydrated."

For some counterculture visitors to New York, the protests merely provide an excuse for poetry. At close to 4 a.m. on Monday, C.C. Arshagra was sitting at the bar of the Bowery Poetry Club explaining how he and some poet friends managed not to find the half-million or so people marching in Sunday's big protest.

"I know I'm going to look like an idiot, but the truth is the truth," said Mr. Arshagra, a slender 46-year-old man dressed, poetically, all in black, with his long graying hair pulled back into a pony tail. "We gave up. We were hungry."

Further explanation was offered by his fellow poet Jamie McLaughlin, 24, who was wearing a dress she'd made out of a shawl. "We were with a woman walking really slowly and smoking cigarettes," said Ms. McLaughlin, a street musician and artist's model.

Mr. Arshagra, who works as a delivery driver in Boston, said he really didn't mind. After coming to New York with some fellow poets for the Howl festival, which concluded last Tuesday, he said, he decided to hang around for the Republican convention. His goal was to recite poetry where and when he could — he got a gig at the FusionArts Museum on the Lower East Side — while remaining receptive to serendipitous encounters.

CABARET REVIEW

A Kerry Impersonator? Well, Bring Him On

By STEPHEN HOLDEN

Thank heaven for guest artists. At Sunday's opening-night performance of "The Thalia Follies," a mostly toothless, singsomey mishmash of anti-Republican doggerel performed by four perky singers and a pianist, the day was saved by the surprise appearance of the political comedian Andy Borowitz.

Tall and beanpole skinny, Mr. Borowitz bears some resemblance to Senator John Kerry. And that likeness, Mr. Borowitz declared, practically licking his chops, has spurred his fantasy that should Mr. Kerry be elected president Mr. Borowitz will be riding the gravy train as a presidential impersonator. That's why he's voting for Mr. Kerry, he explained mischievously, before donning a Bill Clinton wig mused up to suggest a Kerry coif and offering a preview of what to expect.

His dead-on parody of a Kerry stump speech didn't disappoint. He made much of the candidate's habit of extending and fluttering his right arm as though wielding a lawn sprinkler and of Mr. Kerry's labored, oratorical style in which crucial phrases are punctuated with funeral pauses, as in "Bring. It. On." It was an amusing performance that injected levity into the overlong show, directed by Isaiah Sheffer in a stiff, old-fashioned style of a 1960's revue.



Richard Termine for The New York Times

The singer Kevin Burdette taking part in the anti-Republican revue "Thalia Follies."

Another guest, Roy Zimmerman, a West Coast singer-songwriter, lifted the evening from its rut with his song "Chicken Hawk," ridiculing the military policies of Bush administration officials who didn't serve in the armed forces. It wasn't the lyrics so much as Mr. Zimmerman's twangy delivery and his squawking and clucking between phrases that conveyed

his scorn with a contagious irreverence.

"The Thalia Follies," which calls itself a political cabaret and runs through Thursday at Symphony Space, features the singers Kevin Burdette, Sidney J. Burgoyne, Natalie Douglas and Nora York. The show, a patchwork of songs and readings, isn't dumb so much as dull.

You can admire the craft of Calvin Trillin's revisions of "My Heart Belongs to Daddy" and "Danny Boy" (they're now "We Speak Not of Osama" and "Oh Kenny Boy," Kenny being Kenneth Lay, former chairman of Enron), but singing deflates the buoyancy of their clever light verses. And Jonathan Sheffer's ambitious, grim "Pat and Jerry Show, an Eight-Minute Opera," an ominous sung conversation between Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell, feels out of place.

The writer E. L. Doctorow has supplied the most politically incendiary segment in his essay "Why You Can't Sleep: A Rant," read at a feverish pace by the four performers. The devastating, beautifully written overview of the Bush era compares the rise of neo-conservatism to McCarthyism and worries about the erosion of civil liberties and entitlement programs. In assessing Bush administration policies, this scary broadside left no stone unturned.

...was pa...
time was about up.

...and Lily Koppel.

...Ben Robertson

...mor on Sunday night, where de
legates shimmied to "Funky Town."
Her tone made it into a war cry.



Photographs by Naum Kazhdan/The New York Times

The Sandwich Quiz: How Many Can Pick the Pastrami?

Republican delegates in the city this week may want to try the quintessential New York sandwich: pastrami on rye. But how many of them can tell the difference between pastrami and corned beef?

According to an informal survey by The New York Times using the pictures above, fewer than half. But New Yorkers did not fare much better.

Pastrami, which is spicier, is dry-cured, smoked and steamed. Corned beef undergoes long cooking in brine with peppercorns.

"Pastrami is not easy to find at home," said Dwight Wells, a Republican delegate from North Carolina. "You have to go to one of those fancy-schmancy delis."

Benjamin L. Ginsberg, the lawyer who recently resigned from

President Bush's re-election campaign because of his work with Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, said, "The best is a combination of pastrami, corned beef and chopped liver." Nodding to Mike Murphy, a consultant who worked for Senator John McCain's presidential campaign in 2000, he said, "I teach my Irish friends how to eat soul food." HANNAH FAIRFIELD

REPUBLICAN DELEGATES

12 out of 30



NEW YORKERS

15 out of 30



The pastrami sandwich is on the right

THE DELEGATES

"There's a real difference of opinion over how to do the war. And that's what we're hearing." DONNA CUPP

THE CONVENTIONEERS

Swing-State Delegates Confident in Bush and Don't Much Like Kerry

By MICHAEL COOPER

They exude serene confidence about President Bush's re-election prospects. They talk of his likeability, and say the Iraq war and the economy should help him, not hurt him. And they plain don't like Senator John Kerry — or his wife.

They are the president's front line warriors in the battleground states, the Republican delegates and alternates from those too-close-to-call states that will decide the next election. And as the Republican National Convention got underway in New York yesterday, they spoke with great confidence about how they see the race shaping up.

Several of the conventioners spoke disdainfully of Senator Kerry in terms that were strikingly reminiscent of the way Al Gore was described by Republicans four years ago when he was the Democratic nominee, drawing contrasts between what they said was Mr. Kerry's "flip-flopping" on issues and Mr. Bush's "integrity."

"He's such a flim-flam fellow," said Barbara Wise, an alternate delegate from Brunswick, Ohio. "That opponent of George Bush's is not to be trusted, and Ohioans can see that. He's just not a suitable person for the job of presidency. Nor is that wife of his; she's crass."

In interviews in and around Madison Square Garden with two dozen delegates from swing states, several brought up their dislike of Teresa Heinz Kerry without prompting. Joseph Bongiovanni, 60, a law professor from Philadelphia, said he did not believe that Mr. Bush needed to do much more to win over Pennsylvania voters because he thought the Kerrys — especially Mrs. Kerry — would undermine themselves.

"As soon as the people get to meet her, that will be the biggest

help for Bush," he said, adding, "Although, she is a very attractive lady."

For the most part, the issues that the delegates said were important in their states were the issues that candidates have been talking about all year: fighting terrorism, the war in Iraq, education, the economy, health care. Some lauded Mr. Bush's opposition to gay marriage, and urged him to stake out more conservative positions. Others said local issues would help decide the November election.

In West Virginia, a state that had voted for only three Republican presidential candidates in the past 70 years before Mr. Bush carried it in 2000, the big local issue is coal.

"He is so involved in the energy issue, and coal is such a big part of it, that he packs Beckley, West Virginia, when he comes to visit, which is unheard of for a Republican," said Bob Ashley, 51, an insurance agent and member of the West Virginia House of Delegates who took a 12-hour bus ride to New York with the other delegates on Sunday. "Those are things that count in our state, and he is big in trying to help."

Mr. Ashley said the recent attacks on Senator Kerry's Vietnam War record by the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth had also boosted Mr. Bush's prospects in the state. He said one member of the Swift Boat group, Jack Chenoweth, had West Virginia roots, and had been interviewed recently on a local talk radio station.

"I think, with a West Virginia veteran who was a captain in the Swift Boat ahead of him, it's been real interesting, his story," Mr. Ashley said, adding that he has been seeing more Bush-Cheney bumper stickers than Kerry-Edwards stickers on West Virginia's roadways. "They're starting now to think, hey, this guy flips all the time, now maybe he's flipping on that. So that seems to have had an effect."

Delegates from several states say the best thing the president can do between now and November is visit their states again and again.

Gerald Pritchard, a 65-year-old delegate from Wallenport, Pa., said he thought the president would be able to make Pennsylvania a red state again simply by showing up. "He's got to show up there and do the town hall meetings," he said, "because if you meet George W. Bush, he's the most down-to-earth president we've ever had."

On the economic front, a delegate from Michigan urged Mr. Bush to outline more plans to help small businesses, and a delegate from Iowa said he should take the opportunity to show the American people that the Republican Party is not elitist.

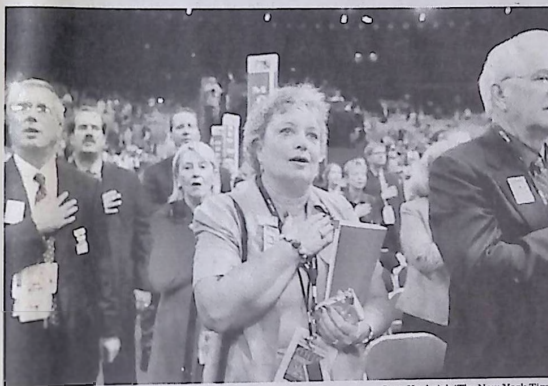
"The president needs to convey that the Republican Party is not a party of the rich," said Bill Clark, 64, a delegate from Cline, Iowa, who is a psychotherapist. "Outsiders may think differently, but when you are in the party you don't feel everyone is

Reporting for this article was contributed by Thomas Crampton, Mark Glassman and Marc Santora.



Robert Galbraith/Reuters

WASHINGTON: Jerry and Judy Miller got an overview of the session.



Sara Krulwich/The New York Times

OHIO: Delegates joined in making the Pledge of Allegiance.



Yoni Brook/The New York Times

OHIO: Rachel Whitehawk Day and Dwayne Clark, Sr. chatted.

well-to-do."

Others urged Mr. Bush to stake out more conservative positions. Ferrell Blount, the chairman of the North Carolina Republican Party, said, "All George Bush has to do in North Carolina is basically turn his conservative base out."

Debbie L. Warner, 46, a homemaker and delegate from Morgantown, W. V., who has four children, said, "He needs to emphasize his Christian

and his family values."

And Ahmed Kabani, 54, a delegate from Miami who runs his own travel agency, said: "He needs to emphasize his agenda on conservative social issues. The most important of those issues is making sure there is no same-sex marriage."

As they walked through the hallway outside the convention floor as the morning session wound down, two members of the Pennsylvania

delegation, Donna Cupp, 48, a housewife from Indiana County, and Michele Mustello, 40, a recorder of deeds in Butler County, north of Pittsburgh, said they felt some pressure to help Mr. Bush win Pennsylvania in 2004, after he lost it narrowly in 2000.

"At breakfast this morning, they were saying that if every precinct could just get 30 more votes, it wouldn't be a problem," Ms. Cupp said. "We have to get new registrations, get people to cross over."

But she noted that there is a reason some commentators are calling Pennsylvania — a state that is neither red nor blue — a purple state.

"I think that there's a real polarization amongst people, because I have a lot of Democrat friends, and they are very hateful of Bush," Ms. Cupp said. "But the Republicans just love him. And there's a real difference of opinion over how to do the war. And that's what we're hearing. So it always gets down to the middle. And everyone's going for the middle."

Ms. Mustello said she thought the president's positions on the economy, education and health care should help him win — particularly the new prescription drug benefit for Medicare, which she said was a good thing even if it is so complicated that local officials have been holding seminars to teach elderly people now to use it.

Ms. Cupp said the Pennsylvania delegates got a pair of flip-flops in their welcome packet, a reminder of the Republican view of Mr. Kerry.

"It's a joke, because he does flip flop on every single issue," she said. "You can't pin him down. He'll say one thing one time and completely reverse himself on another occasion. So who really knows what he stands for?"

But Ms. Mustello said Mr. Kerry was hardly mentioned at all in the speeches to their delegation. "It's not like, 'Kerry, he's a loser,'" she explained. "It's not like that. It's just like, 'President Bush is the man, and we want to keep him in another four years.'"

Brad Sinnott, who is the central committee chairman for the Franklin County Republican Party in Ohio, said people there, like Americans everywhere, were worried about Iraq. He said the Bush-Cheney camp has done a good job getting out the word about American success in Iraq, but they still need to do more. And that means, he said, more appearances by the candidates in Ohio.

Franklin County is split evenly to the two major candidates, he said, with about 40 percent favoring each and the remaining voters undecided.

"There needs to be an emphasis on getting out the Bush vote," Mr. Sinnott said.

To that end, he said, Republicans are mounting an aggressive registration campaign until Oct. 4, and will run an intense get-out-the-vote effort in the final 72 hours before Election Day.

"There needs to be an emphasis on getting out the Bush vote," he said. "It's the neck and neck in Franklin County, which mirrors the whole country. But I'm optimistic."

Party's Schedule

All times are Eastern Daylight

Tonight's Theme

People of Compassion

Speakers

Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison of Texas, deputy permanent co-chairwoman of the convention

Princella Smith, winner, MTV "Stand Up and Holla"

Senator Norm Coleman of Minnesota, deputy permanent co-chairman of the convention

Michael Williams, assistant convention secretary

Bonnie Garcia, assistant convention secretary

Senator Elizabeth Dole of North Carolina

Representative Anne M. Northup of Kentucky

George P. Bush, the president's nephew

Erika Harold, Miss America 2003

Steven McDonald, a wounded New York City police officer

Senator Sam Brownback of Kansas

Senator Bill Frist of Tennessee, majority leader

Elisabeth Hasselbeck, "Survivor" contestant

Education Secretary Rod Paige

Lt. Gov. Michael S. Steele of Maryland

Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger of California

Laura Bush

Rebbecca Esther Jungreis, founder, Hineni New York City

TV Schedule

Networks

ABC (Channel 7) 10 p.m. to midnight, live coverage, will also incorporate coverage into its news programming

BS (Channel 2) 10 p.m. to 11 p.m., live coverage, will also incorporate coverage into its news programming

NN live coverage throughout the day and evening

PTV 8 p.m. to 11 p.m.

FOX NEWS CHANNEL 9 p.m. to 1:30 p.m., live coverage, will also incorporate coverage into daily programming

MSNBC live coverage starting at 9 a.m.

NBC (Channel 4) 10 p.m. to 11:30 p.m., live coverage, will also incorporate coverage into its news programming

PBS (Channel 13) 8 p.m. to 11 p.m.

Comedy Central "The Daily Show With Jon Stewart," 11 p.m. to 11:30 p.m.

C-Span live gavel-to-gavel coverage

On

Inclusive? That 'big

'e 's more of a 'bud

With Jon...
...Span live gavel-to-gavel coverage

On The Web

Party Sites

w.gopconvention.com
w.georgewbush.com
w.gop.com
w.nc.org
w.gop.gov
w.republicans.org
w.nygov.org

News Organizations

For news organizations are planning to use live video from the television pool coverage by C-Span on their Web sites. The video will be the same that broadcast by the television network. Other Web-based news services will provide similar coverage, and National Journal.com, normally an only to subscribers, will have an access for the convention and provide a guide to convention news the Web.

New York Times

Complete coverage of the Republican National Convention, including: The latest news from New York Times on the Trail, a continually updated Web political report. Morning Briefing column by Katharine Q. Seelye, previewing the day ahead. E. W. Apple Jr. answering readers' questions. Audio clips, photographs and video reports. An interactive election guide with maps and charts highlighting crucial races, fund-raising, at-risk Congressional seats and past election results. Detailed convention schedule and complete texts of all major speeches. times.com/campaign

sued, began an investigation on Friday.

Reporting for this article was contributed by Thomas Crampton, Mark Glassman and Marc Santora.

MODERATES

Party Centrists Find Places On Stage but Not on Agenda

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

The Republican convention is featuring speeches by some of the party's centrist stars, but rank-and-file moderates said yesterday that they were unhappy with the direction of a party that is dominated by conservatives.

Rudolph W. Giuliani, the former mayor of New York City, spoke last night at the convention, as did Senator John McCain of Arizona, who, while an opponent of abortion rights, appeals to centrists and independent voters. Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger of California is to speak tonight.

But while these centrists dominate the lineup, the delegates are mostly conservative, the party's platform is conservative, and the president and vice president being nominated are mostly conservative.

The paradox of moderate and independent speakers serving as the face of a conservative party with a conservative agenda has left some of the party's centrists in varying states of despair.

Representative Michael N. Castle of Delaware, president of a group called the Republican Main Street Partnership, said that the party's "big tent" had shrunk to a "pup tent."

Many moderates are irked that in the party's search for independent and undecided voters, it is putting forward moderate candidates but not a moderate agenda, allowing Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton, the New York Democrat, to deride the scene as a Potemkin convention.

David Cargo, former governor of New Mexico and part of a group of former Republican officials called Mainstream 2004, said that having

moderate speakers was an admission by the party that it needed moderates to win the election.

"Maybe if we had a moderate product to sell, we'd be successful," Mr. Cargo said.

No less a figure than New Gingrich, the former speaker of the House and onetime darling of conservatives, spoke in defense of moderates, saying that without them, the Republicans would not be a majority party.

Mr. Gingrich, appearing at a panel discussion at a Midtown Manhattan theater sponsored by the Main Street Partnership, said the Republicans were more inclusive than the Democrats because they allowed people with all viewpoints to speak at their convention. Conversely, he said, the Democrats in 1992 did not allow Gov. Robert P. Casey of Pennsylvania, who opposed abortion rights, to speak at their convention.

"I would absolutely debate anybody," Mr. Gingrich declared, "who thinks you can somehow cleverly be a majority by narrowing down your base."

Ed Gillespie, chairman of the Republican National Committee, said that there was no effort to paper over the party's true conservative spirit by scheduling moderate speakers in prime time.

"We have the breadth of our party represented," Mr. Gillespie said. "Any party that's big enough to have the governorships of New York, California, Texas and Florida, a majority in the House, the Senate and the White House, is going to be big enough to accommodate some differences."

Christie Whitman, the former gov-

ernor of New Jersey and a well-known moderate Republican, basically endorsed the view that the party was inclusive, even though many of her views — in support of abortion rights and stem-cell research and against a constitutional amendment banning gay marriage — are out of sync with party dogma.

Referring to the president's support for the constitutional ban on gay marriage, Mrs. Whitman noted: "All you have to do is look at the fact that you have a vice president who also doesn't agree. And the party hasn't fallen apart. And he hasn't been written out of the party. We are a party of diversity."

But the Log Cabin Republicans, made up of gay men and lesbians, are furious over what they describe as the party's intolerance. The group said yesterday that the radical right wing had hijacked the party, with the platform making no accommodation to gay rights or gay marriage.

"The Republican Party cannot have it both ways," Patrick C. Guerriero, executive director of the Log Cabin Republicans, said at a news

conference yesterday. "We cannot have the voices of exclusion crafting a vicious and mean-spirited platform while at the same time putting the voices of inclusion in prime time."

The group is broadcasting a television commercial in New York that opens with a video of Ronald Reagan, whom the group lauds for having helped defeat a ballot initiative when he was governor of California that would have banned gay teachers from public schools.

In the commercial, Mr. Reagan says, "And whatever else history may say about me when I'm gone, I hope it will record that I appealed to your best hopes, not your worst fears."

Over images of Mr. Giuliani and Mr. McCain, an announcer asks: "Will we unite on the things that matter most, like winning the war on terrorism? Or will we divide the American family with the politics of intolerance and fear that only lead to hate?"

Mainstream 2004, meanwhile, held a conference call yesterday to express concern that the party had



Jeff Christensen/Reuters

Christie Whitman, former governor of New Jersey; Representative Fred Upton of Michigan; and Newt Gingrich, the former House speaker, on a panel yesterday about the importance of party moderates.

been "kidnapped" by conservatives. Mr. Cargo, the former governor of New Mexico, said that too often the administration spoke of needing to satisfy the base. But, he said, "the base is not in tune with Republican voters or the electorate at large." He cited the environment, the growing budget deficit and the appointment of conservative judges.

"We're rapidly losing support of people in the suburbs; we're losing women," he said.

But some moderates seemed satisfied. In the Sky Club at the top of the MetLife building, with sweeping views of Manhattan, the Republican Main Street Partnership held a packed cocktail party on Sunday. Representative Christopher Shays, a moderate Connecticut Republican who attended, said he was happy to voters to see "the full breadth of our party" in the speaker lineup.

The real drawback with the party's positions, he said, is that the will prevent the Republicans from winning the election easily.

"It doesn't need to be so close," Mr. Shays said, adding that the president could win more votes if he were more supportive of embryonic stem-cell research, more encouraging of energy conservation and more protective of the environment.

Representative Amo Houghton, moderate from upstate New York who is retiring from Congress this year, called himself "a dying breed." He said the party "has swung to far," adding, "If Eisenhower came along now, I don't know how we'd get him elected because there isn't a moderate machine to do it."

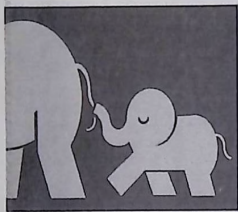
Inclusive? That 'big tent' is more of a 'pup tent,' says a Republican lawmaker.

THE AGENDA AND THE MESSAGE

"The issue with us Republicans isn't usually content. It's wordiness." ANDREW H. CARD JR.

Political Points

SHERYL GAY STOLBERG and JOHN TIERNEY



Illustrations by Stephen Savage

He's a Diplomat, Not a Strategist

"No, I'm not the next Karl Rove," Eric Hoplin, the chairman of the College Republican National Committee, insisted Monday, moments before the real Karl Rove was to address a gathering of the student organization's leaders in a wood-paneled bar on 39th Street. "But I do share a couple of distinctions with Karl."

Mr. Hoplin, an apple-cheeked, 26-year-old in blue oxford-cloth shirt and gold tie, is the first person since Mr. Rove to ascend from executive director to chairman of the group.

While the real Mr. Rove is busy telling reporters he is not President Bush's brain, Mr. Hoplin did not seem entirely convinced.

"I don't know," Mr. Hoplin said, before quickly turning the conversation in a more diplomatic direction.

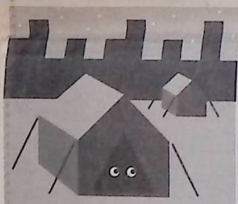
"Here's what I do know: The president is a smart man. He's a strong leader."

And Mr. Rove? "Karl is brilliant," he said.

But Mr. Hoplin seems to be no slouch himself. When Mr. Rove ran the College Republicans, the group operated as an arm of the National Republican Committee, which gave it a budget of \$100,000. With the new campaign finance rules, Mr. Hoplin said, he decided to split off from the national party. Now a separate entity, the College Republicans expect to raise \$10 million this year.

But unlike his predecessor, Mr. Hoplin says he has no plans to work behind the scenes as a political mastermind. "I'm going to run for office," he said.

If he needs a good strategist, he knows where to find one.



Here, Conservatives Have Many Slots

WHILE the Republicans were throwing up their big tent in Madison Square Garden, the little tent was pitched Monday across the street at the New Yorker Hotel in a stuffy suite festooned with posters of Ronald Reagan. There, a group of conservatives celebrated the publication of a new book, "Thank You, President Bush," featuring essays by notables like John Ashcroft, Phyllis Schlafly and Ed Meese.

"We are the Republican wing of the Republican Party," proclaimed Richard Engle, president of the National Federation of Republican Assemblies, which was co-host of the event. "Our intent is to see to it that the concepts, the ideals and the principles of the Republican platform are enacted into public policy."

You wouldn't know that by what's going on inside the Garden this week, where some of the hottest speakers — Rudolph W. Giuliani, John McCain, Arnold Schwarzenegger and the like — are not exactly sporting a red letter C on their lapels. The heavy representation of moderates

mistake. Mr. Federer is the author of several books, including "Three Secular Reasons Why America Should Be Under God" and "America's God and Country Encyclopedia of Quotations."

Asked why he thought the moderates had such a hold on the speakers' slots, Mr. Federer offered a two-word answer that may not endear him to the Republican powers that be: "political posturing."

A Moderate Who Went Too Far

NO one expects the Republican moderates to defy party leaders by advocating abortion rights from the Garden stage. Christine Todd Whitman once did, and it wasn't pretty.

"I was to give one of those four-minute throwaway speeches," Ms. Whitman, the former governor of New Jersey and former administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, said Monday, recalling the year, 1996, when she was co-chairwoman of the Republican convention with then-Gov. George W. Bush of Texas. "I included a line to the effect of — I don't remember the exact words — that 'even though we may disagree on issues such as choice, and I ran into enormous push back from people who didn't want that line in there. We took it out of the formal speech, I ad-libbed it in.'"

The response? Some delegates "stood up and turned their backs."

The lesson? "If we're going to be a national party," Ms. Whitman said, "we can't be about excluding people."

Of Marriage Vows And No-Tax Pledges

WHY, at the tender age of 47, did Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform and the scourge of tax-raising legislators on Capitol Hill, finally decide to get married?

"I signed up because I was promised there was a tax credit involved," Mr. Norquist said Monday, standing with his fiancée, Samah Alrayyes, 31. "Was I misinformed?"

Mr. Norquist was getting ready to celebrate the legislators who have signed his group's no-tax pledge at the kind of place where a tax cut comes in handy: the New York Yacht Club. He dismissed the idea that the venue might confirm Democratic stereotypes about Republicans.

"The Democrats always talk about rich Republicans, but there are always more furs and Cadillacs at their events," said Mr. Norquist, who announced his engagement at one of his recent Wednesday meetings, the weekly strategy session of the Washington conservative establishment.

As much as Mr. Norquist approved of President Bush's tax cuts, he said he wanted to hear about new topics in the president's speech on Thursday night.

"What he has to do in the speech," Mr. Norquist suggested, "is say, 'Here's what we did, and we were right, and they were wrong, and then pivot quickly around to the future. You don't get re-elected as a thank-you.'"

Miss Alrayyes, a public affairs officer at the United States Agency for International Development, said she too was a Republican believer in tax relief, though that did not guide her marital choice.

Under prodding, Mr. Norquist conceded that a tax credit hadn't really guided his decision either.

"No," he said, giving her a hug and kiss. "It wasn't about a tax credit. I would have done it even if it was just a deduction."

Lessons Learned At the Convention

Some things we learned today: Arthur B. Laffer, the guru of supply-side economics, voted for Bill Clinton twice. "Clinton was the single

THE PLATFORM

Social Conservatives Wield Their Influence on Platform

Continued From Page A1

will turn them from their murderous ways. Only total and complete destruction of terrorism will allow freedom to flourish."

The platform also describes the war with Iraq, which brought hundreds of thousands of protesters to the streets of New York this week, as justified and successful. "Iraq, which once had the worst government in the Middle East, is now becoming an example of reform to the region," it says.

Republicans also used the platform to promote the ownership society and "reformed" government that are expected to be a highlight of Mr. Bush's speech Thursday night as he tries to offer a conservative approach to such bread and butter issues as retirement and health care.

Mr. Kerry has proposed rolling back the Bush tax cuts for those making more than \$200,000 a year and using the money for new health care initiatives. The Republican platform echoes Mr. Bush and says the cuts must be made permanent. "We believe that good government is based on a system of limited taxes and spending," it says. "The taxation system should not be used to redistribute wealth or fund ever-increasing entitlements and social programs."

The platform describes the current deficit of \$445 billion as "unwelcome but manageable," and argues that it should be reduced by cutting spending, not limiting tax cuts.

Republicans also called once again

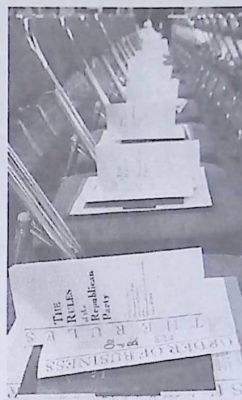
for "strengthening Social Security with ownership," allowing workers to direct part of their payroll taxes to personal investment accounts. Critics assert that the transition costs of such partial privatization would be huge because tax revenues would be diverted from the Social Security system into the private accounts.

The Democratic platform declares that the party opposes the creation of private accounts that are "subject to the whims of the market or the economy."

Party platforms are not binding on a candidate, but are generally considered a snapshot of the party's ideological and political imperatives in an election year. The current platform shows the critical role that social conservatives are playing in the Republican Party as it heads into an extremely competitive race in which each party must turn out its core supporters.

On abortion, the Republican Party restates its longstanding commitment to a constitutional ban and an end to legal abortion. It hails Mr. Bush for signing and defending the "Partial Birth Abortion Act" — a ban on a type of second and third trimester abortions. That law was recently held unconstitutional by two federal courts.

Social conservatives, who pushed Mr. Bush to endorse a federal constitutional amendment against gay marriage earlier this year, pushed for even stronger language in the platform, and succeeded. Mr. Bush has indicated that he embraced a constitutional amendment opposing same-sex marriage only as a last resort to prevent courts from deciding



Sara Krulwich/The New York Times

The party and convention rules await the arrival of the delegates.

the issue and said that states should be free to recognize same-sex civil unions or domestic partnerships. But the platform, as amended by the conservatives on the platform committee, condemns not only gay marriage but also state recognition of other same-sex unions as well.

At a news conference yesterday, Tony Perkins, president of the Family Research Council, a group of social conservatives, said that the push to strengthen the platform's opposition to same-sex civil unions was

partly a response to Vice President Dick Cheney's statement last week that he personally favored leaving the issue up to the states.

"We are obviously troubled by the vice president's comments last week, which in ways led to the strengthening of the language in the platform," Mr. Perkins said.

Mr. Kerry has said he opposes gay marriage, but also opposes a constitutional ban on it. The Democratic platform declares, "Marriage has been defined at the state level for 200 years and we believe it should continue to be defined there."

Andrew Kohut, president of the Pew Research Center, said Republicans were divided on the importance of the gay marriage issue, with only a third of Republicans who are not evangelicals describing it as a top voting priority, versus nearly three-fourths of the Republican evangelicals.

On another volatile issue, the platform applauds the president's decision to restrict federal financing for research using embryonic stem cells. Again, some conservatives tried to call for additional restrictions on privately financed research, but Dr. Frist, a close ally of the White House and a medical doctor, fought off that effort.

In a gesture to moderates, the Republican platform added a "unity plank," acknowledging that party members of good will might disagree. But the Log Cabin Republicans, a gay group, and Republicans for Choice faulted the plank for failing to specify the divisive social issues: abortion, stem-cell research and same-sex marriage.

Excerpts From the Party Platforms

Republican Platform

The war in Iraq

As Republicans, we do not equivocate, as others have done, about whether America should have gone to war in Iraq. The best intelligence available at the time indicated that Saddam Hussein was a threat. On that point, President Bush, members of both parties in Congress, and the United Nations agreed. While the stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction we expected to find in Iraq have not yet materialized, we have confirmed that Saddam Hussein had the capability to reconstitute his weapons programs and the desire to do so. ... President Bush had a choice to make: Trust a madman or defend America. He chose defending America.

Tax cuts

We believe that good government is based on a system of limited taxes and spending. Furthermore, we believe that the federal government should be limited and restricted to the functions mandated by the United States Constitution. The taxation system should not be used to redistribute wealth or fund ever-increasing entitlements and social programs. ... Our party endorses the president's proposals to make tax relief permanent, so that families and businesses can plan for the future with confidence.

Gay marriage

We strongly support President Bush's call for a constitutional amendment that fully protects marriage, and we believe that neither federal nor state judges nor bureaucrats should force states to recognize other living arrangements as equivalent to marriage. We believe, and the social sciences confirm, that the well-being of children is best accomplished in the environment of the home, nurtured by their mother and father anchored by the bonds of marriage.

Abortion

We say the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed. We support a human life amendment to the Constitution and we endorse legislation to make it clear that the 14th Amendment's protections apply to unborn children. Our purpose is to have legislative and judicial protection of that right against those who perform abortions.

Stem cell research

We especially welcome and encourage a stronger emphasis on adult stem cell and cord blood stem cell research. ... We recognize that funding for stem cell research for the first time, and did not affect stem policy that prevents taxpayer dollars from being used to encourage the future destruction of human embryos.

Democratic Platform

People of good will disagree about whether America should have gone to war in Iraq, but this much is clear: this administration badly exaggerated its case, particularly with respect to weapons of mass destruction and the connection between Saddam's government and Al Qaeda. This administration did not build a true international coalition. This administration disdained the United Nations weapons inspection process and rushed to war without exhausting diplomatic alternatives. Ignoring the advice of military leaders, this administration did not send sufficient forces into Iraq to accomplish the mission.

First, we must restore our values to our tax code. We want a tax code that rewards work and creates wealth for more people, not a tax code that hoards wealth for those who already have it. With the middle class under assault like never before, we simply cannot afford the massive Bush tax cuts for the very wealthiest. We should set taxes for families making more than \$200,000 a year at the same level as in the late 1990's, a period of great prosperity when the wealthiest Americans thrived without special treatment.

We support full inclusion of gay and lesbian families in the life of our nation and seek equal responsibilities, benefits, and protections for these families. In our country, marriage has been defined at the state level for 200 years, and we believe it should continue to be defined there. We repudiate President Bush's divisive effort to politicize the Constitution by pursuing a "Federal Marriage Amendment." Our goal is to bring Americans together, not drive them apart.

Because we believe in the privacy and equality of women, we stand proudly for a woman's right to choose, consistent with Roe v. Wade, and regardless of her ability to pay. We stand firmly against Republican efforts to undermine that right. At the same time, we strongly support family planning and adoption incentives. Abortion should be safe, legal, and rare.

President Bush has rejected the calls from Nancy Reagan, Christopher Reeve and Americans across the land for assistance with embryonic stem cell research. We will reverse his wrongheaded policy. ... We will pursue this research under the strictest ethical guidelines, but we will not walk away from the chance to save lives and reduce human suffering.

THE SPEECHES

Convention S

the concepts, the ideals and the principles of the Republican platform are enacted into public policy."

You wouldn't know that by what's going on inside the Garden this week, where some of the hottest speakers — Rudolph W. Giuliani, John McCain, Arnold Schwarzenegger and the like — are not exactly sporting a red letter C on their lapels. The heavy representation of moderates in the convention lineup has not made people like Mr. Engle happy, but at the book reception, the conservatives were trying to make the best of it.

"We're not left out at all," insisted Star Parker, the former welfare mother turned Christian social commentator who is a contributor to the book. "It's not about who's speaking to America. It's what the party stands for."

Stephen Moore, who runs the Club for Growth, an anti-tax group, and is also a contributor, tried hard to be equally sanguine. "Do you think the Democrats would ever let someone who is pro-life speak at their convention?" he asked before dashing into the book party.

But not everyone was so chipper. William J. Federer, the Republican candidate who is trying to win the Missouri seat held by Representative Richard A. Gephardt, the former House Democratic leader, said Republican strategists were making a

deduction."

Lessons Learned At the Convention

Some things we learned today:
1. Arthur B. Laffer, the guru of supply-side economics, voted for Bill Clinton twice. "Clinton was the single most conservative president I have ever seen," the former adviser to President Ronald Reagan said, speaking of Mr. Clinton's economic policies. But the 64-year-old Dr. Laffer quickly added that Mr. Reagan really made his heart flutter. Speaking to a gathering of Bush supporters on Monday, he called Mr. Reagan "the real president."

2. Republicans are psychedelic, man. The giant graphics that kept popping up on the screen on Monday night looked like an unfortunate sequel to "Yellow Submarine." When Ed Gillespie, the Republican National Committee chairman, spoke, an enormous electric-blue elephant appeared behind him, raising and lowering its trunk as if it was whacking him on the head. Maybe it was a message from all those disenchanted conservatives.

3. Abraham Lincoln is not a fan of the documentary maker Michael Moore. When Mr. Moore appeared at the convention, holding forth surrounded by a gaggle of reporters, a man dressed in a Lincoln costume sauntered by. "Trash," he said. "Garbage."

cent research in the private sector. We strongly support the president's policy that prevents taxpayer dollars from being used to encourage the future destruction of human embryos.

...and research under the strictest ethical guidelines, but we will not walk away from the chance to save lives and reduce human suffering.

The New York Times

THE SPEECHES

Convention Speeches Easily Invoke Familiar Ring of the President

By DAVID E. SANGER

The White House that mastered the black art of message control effortlessly transported its skills yesterday to the city better known for cacophony.

As speaker after speaker streamed across the Madison Square Garden podium, the phrases about President Bush, terror and Iraq had a familiar ring — the ring of Mr. Bush's stump speeches.

"Osama bin Laden is on the run," House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert said in a speech that was similar to Mr. Bush's frequent statements on Al Qaeda.

The president, Mr. Hastert added, "has taken the fight to the terrorists," a version of wording that Mr. Bush repeated this weekend from Miami to Ohio to West Virginia.

"We are safer than we were on Sept. 11," Senator John McCain of Arizona prepared to say in the evening, echoing a favorite line of Mr. Bush. "But we're not yet safe. We are still closer to the beginning than the end

of this fight."

Former Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who campaigned with Mr. Bush in New Mexico, returned home with one of Mr. Bush's favorite lines about the Democratic nominee, Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts.

Mr. Kerry "declared himself an antiwar candidate," Mr. Giuliani pre- pared to say. "Now he says he's prepared to say, 'Now he says he's prepared to say, with 64 days left, he war. At this rate, with 64 days left, he still has time to change his position at least three or four more times.'"

The convention organizers say they did not dictate the scripts. Perhaps they did not have to.

"You heard a lot of the Democrats saying they had a hard time controlling their speakers in Boston," Mark Wallace, the deputy campaign manager for Bush/Cheney 2004, said.

"We had a very collaborative process. If you are talking about the obvious issues of the nation's standing in the world and the war on terrorism, it doesn't surprise me, because the president has made it all so clear."

There is, in short, no Rev. Al

Sharpston on the roster, no firebrand who the organizers fear could drive off into unmapped territory or drone on during precious prime time on the television networks.

The biggest risk may have been Mr. McCain, who has been known to light into the administration, often twisting the knife with his wit. But Mr. McCain is a tamed voice these days. He has fully embraced Mr. Bush as the two men campaign, and gradually, perhaps temporarily, he is distancing himself from Mr. Kerry, the fellow veteran with whom he forged an alliance over normalizing relations with Vietnam.

There was little reason to worry, too, in inviting Senator Zell Miller, Democrat of Georgia, as keynote speaker. In Miami on Friday night, Mr. Miller introduced Mr. Bush to a crowd with a fervor that outdid the display by local Republican officials.

"There are many Democrats here and around the country who put the safety of our family above partisan politics," Mr. Miller said, making the case for his party brethren to cross

over and vote for Mr. Bush.

The main issues for the convention organizers, speechwriters and speakers who gather in a small room under the main floor of the Garden is packing the message into the allotted time.

"Traditionally, we don't really edit people's speeches," said Andrew H. Card Jr., the president's chief of staff who ran the 2000 convention. He said, "The issue with us Republicans isn't usually content. It's wordiness."

There is a notable exception to the attention organizers pay to speakers. They have not seen final drafts of Vice President Dick Cheney's speech tomorrow. It is expected to provide what a senior administration official called "the red meat that you wouldn't want the president uttering."

Then there is Mr. Bush's own speech, which was still in revision as he flew from New Hampshire to Michigan. Officials expect him to speak for nearly an hour on Thursday, though by then, he may find that his supporters have delivered many of his most road-tested lines.

Katherine Q. Seelye contributed reporting for this column.

TWO PRESIDENTS, TWO WARS

"I don't think you can win it." PRESIDENT BUSH

THE PRESIDENT

Bush Says He Doesn't Think U.S. Can Win War on Terror

Continued From Page A1

Bush's words would put him closer to the positions of the United States' European allies, who have considered Mr. Bush's talk of victory as simplistic and unhelpful.

Scott McClellan, the White House press secretary, told reporters on Air Force One that Mr. Bush was speaking about winning the war "in the conventional sense" and that his comments underscored the reality that ridding the world of terrorists would take decades.

"I don't think you can expect that there will ever be a formal surrender or a treaty signed like we have in wars past," Mr. McClellan said. "That's what he was talking about. It requires a generational commitment to win this war on terrorism."

Mr. Bush's comment came only a few days after an interview with The New York Times in which he acknowledged a "miscalculation" about the evolution of the insurgency in Iraq, saying that no one could have anticipated that a swift military victory would allow forces loyal to Saddam Hussein and others to melt into the cities and launch attacks on American forces.

But Democrats clearly saw those comments, and the one broadcast Monday, as missteps they could exploit, much as Mr. Bush has attacked Mr. Kerry's remark that he would have authorized the president to invade Iraq if he had known then what he knows now about Iraq's weapons.

"After months of listening to the Republicans base their campaign on their singular ability to win the war on terror, the president now says we can't win the war on terrorism," Senator John Edwards, Mr. Kerry's running mate, said in a statement. "This is no time to declare defeat — it won't be easy and it won't be quick, but we have a comprehensive long-



President Bush in Nashua, N.H., yesterday, where he faced a tough question about the Middle East.

Doug Mills/The New York Times

term plan to make America safer. And that's a difference."

Mr. Edwards elaborated on his criticism in an interview Monday with the ABC program "Nightline." Mr. Edwards said the battle against terrorism was "absolutely winnable" with the right leadership. "Now, in order to win it," Mr. Edwards said, "we have to do the right thing, which includes some of the things that I spoke about today: reform our intelligence operations, more human intelligence inside these terrorist cells, being more aggressive about the developing nuclear threats in North Korea and Iran, and different plans — a more effective plan in Iraq, a more effective plan in Afghanistan."

Mr. Kerry, who has limited his campaigning this week, was asked at his vacation home in Nantucket whether the war on terror could be won. He replied, "Absolutely."

Analysts said Mr. Bush's comment reflected both foreign policy and political realities, and appeared intended in part to emphasize that even a striking breakthrough, like the capture of Osama bin Laden, would not by itself assure the nation's security.

"From the start it's been clear that we're dealing with an ideological

struggle that affects a region, and not just a single movement or group," said Anthony Cordesman, a fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

With Mr. Kerry having trouble getting across how his approach would have been different from Mr. Bush's approach to Iraq, Mr. Bush can show some flexibility in his thinking, Mr. Cordesman said. "Bush can afford to move to a more nuanced ground precisely because Kerry has been unable to occupy it," he said.

Former Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York sounded more optimistic about overcoming terrorism when he addressed the convention Monday evening. "We will see an end to global terrorism," Mr. Giuliani said. "I know it will happen. It may seem a long way off. It may even seem idealistic. But it may not be as far away and idealistic as it seems."

Mr. Bush's comment was broadcast as he campaigned in Michigan and New Hampshire on his record on fighting terrorism, part of a leadup to his acceptance speech at the Republican convention in New York on Thursday night. In a part of the NBC interview that was broadcast during the weekend, he also commented on

his National Guard service during the Vietnam War and that of Mr. Kerry, a decorated combat veteran. "I think him going to Vietnam was more heroic than my flying fighter jets," Mr. Bush said. "On the other hand, I served my country. Had my unit been called up I would have gone."

In New Hampshire, Mr. Bush got an unusually tough question at an "Ask President Bush" event at Nashua High School North, forcing him to detour from his message of the day and defend Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel.

"How can Ariel Sharon be a man of peace, as you've said, if he causes death and torture among innocent Palestinians?" demanded a young woman who said she had recently spent two weeks in Libya.

"That's a great question," Mr. Bush responded. "First of all, Ariel Sharon is defending his country against terrorist attacks, just like we will." Mr. Bush then blamed the Palestinians for holding up progress in the Middle East. "Ariel Sharon is a duly elected official in a democracy," the president said. "We would hope that the Palestinians would have that same kind of democracy."

THE VETERANS

Ex-President Bush Calls Charges Of Swift Boat Group Compelling

By JAMES BENNET

Former President George Bush fanned doubts yesterday about Senator John Kerry's service in Vietnam, sustaining a decades-old debate that has dominated the presidential campaign in the last few weeks.

In an interview with CNN, Mr. Bush did not directly challenge Mr. Kerry's record but rather, with the subtlety of a seasoned par, parried questions in a way to gently bat the controversy aloft.

Pressed about advertisements by a group called Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, Mr. Bush called "rather compelling" the claims of some veterans who have attacked Mr. Kerry's service, and he noted that others had accused these veterans of lying. "I have great confidence in Bob Dole," he added. "I don't think he'd be out there just smearing."

The reference was to the former Kansas senator, who recently used a similar technique to avoid repeating the accusations, which are mostly unsubstantiated, while suggesting they might have merit. "Not every one of these people can be Republican liars," Mr. Dole said of Mr. Kerry's accusers on Aug. 22, also on CNN. "There's got to be some truth to the charges."

Former President Bush said Mr. Kerry "served honorably," but added of the veterans attacking him, "I don't know enough about them to say they're all liars."

Mr. Bush said that President Bush had been "victimized" by independent political groups — like the Swift boat veterans — running attack advertisements against him. He cited the liberal group MoveOn.Org and also mentioned "this sloppy Michael Moore, the filmmaker."

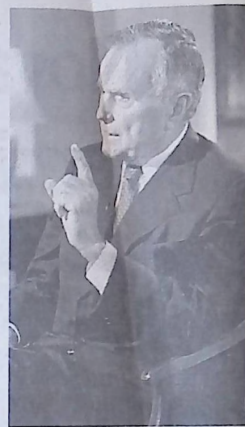
"For months before the president started campaigning, he was attacked by all kinds of people," his father said.

The former president said that in his last campaign, in 1992, he was "very careful" not to attack his opponent, Bill Clinton, for avoiding service in Vietnam.

But at his own nominating convention that year, he drew a comparison between his service as a naval aviator in World War II and the record of Mr. Clinton, then governor of Arkansas. "Well, what about the leader of

the Arkansas National Guard, the man who hopes to be commander in chief?" Mr. Bush asked in his speech accepting the nomination. "Well, while I bit the bullet, he bit his nails."

The former president also spoke yesterday at a rally for veterans, held on the margins of the convention in front of the aircraft carrier Intrepid, which was commissioned in 1943 and is now docked as a museum on



Mark Hull/CNN

Former President George Bush, in an interview yesterday on CNN.

Manhattan's West Side.

Standing before 10 American flags, Mr. Bush noted that veterans of World War II have been called the "greatest generation," but said he was not sure that was right. He said there were "heroes today defending our country, just as we did in Vietnam, just as we did in Korea."

In an apparent digression from his prepared remarks, he defended his son against the criticisms of protesters outside the convention. He said that "good Americans" could disagree on how to fight terrorism, but he added that "personal attacks against the commander in chief go far beyond the pale." He condemned "the senseless talk we hear from some marching around here now."

THE LONG SHADOW OF SEPT. 11

"In this city America finally awoke to the realities of a world at war." MARC RACICOT

THE OVERVIEW

Giuliani Lauds Bush's Leadership on Terrorism

Continued From Page A1

man, Scott McClellan, said that what Mr. Bush meant was that the war on terrorism could not be won by conventional means.

The other marquee speaker at the convention, Senator John McCain of Arizona, made no mention of Mr. Kerry in his speech, reflecting both Mr. McCain's friendship with Mr. Kerry and his long-expressed aversion to attack politics.

But Mr. McCain offered a spirited and detailed defense of Mr. Bush's invasion of Iraq, an issue that polls suggest has contributed greatly to growing doubts about his presidency. He said that Mr. Bush's aggressive foreign policy was required at a time when the United States was confronting the threat of chemical, nuclear or biological terror on its own soil.

"Our choice wasn't between a benign status quo and the bloodshed of war," Mr. McCain said. "It was between war and a graver threat. Don't let anyone tell you otherwise. Not our critics abroad. Not our political opponents. And certainly not a disingenuous filmmaker who would have us believe that Saddam's Iraq was an oasis of peace when in fact it was a place of indescribable cruelty, torture chambers, mass graves."

Inevitably, it fell to Mr. Giuliani — the mayor who became the face of the nation's response to the attacks, starting within hours after the buildings fell — to make the case for Mr. Bush, and against Mr. Kerry, in the context of that day that led the Republican Party to hold its first convention in New York in its history. He talked of the day with a level of detail he rarely uses, recounting, for example, arriving on West Street to see a man hurtling out of a top window of the North Tower.

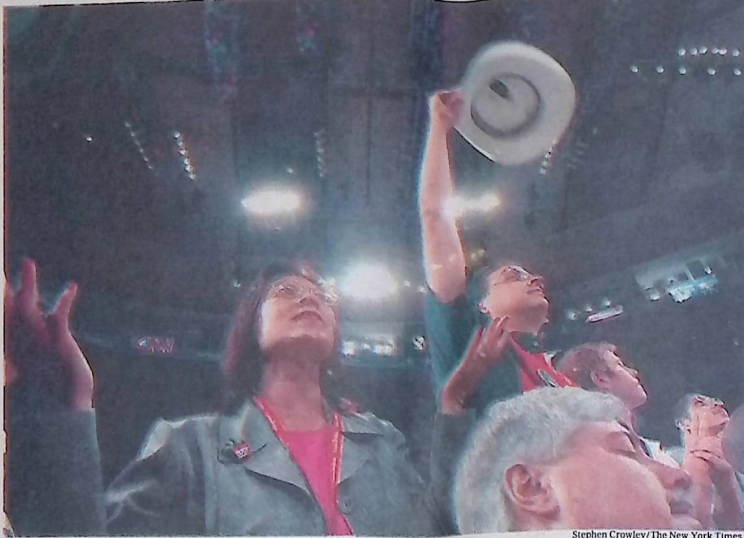
"On Sept. 11, this city and our nation faced the worst attack in our history," Mr. Giuliani said. "On that day, we had to confront reality. For me, standing below the north tower and looking up and seeing the flames of hell and then realizing that I was actually seeing a man — a human being — jumping from the 101st or 102nd floor drove home to me that we were facing something beyond anything we had ever faced before."

"At the time, we believed we would be attacked many more times that day and in the days that followed," Mr. Giuliani continued. "Spontaneously, I grabbed the arm of then Police Commissioner Bernard Kerik and said to Bernie, 'Thank God George Bush is our president.'"

"And I say it again tonight, 'Thank God George Bush is our president.'"

Mr. McCain, too, talked about Mr. Bush's leadership of the nation after the Sept. 11 attacks, speaking in unrestrained and glowing terms about a man with whom he experienced a bitter primary in 2000 and whom he has shown no hesitancy about criticizing since Mr. Bush won the White House. His speech stood in sharp contrast to the more-restrained declaration of support he gave for Mr. Bush when the Republicans first nominated him for president in Philadelphia four years ago.

"I knew my confidence was well-placed when I watched him stand on the rubble of the World Trade Center, with his arm around a hero of Sept. 11, and in our moment of mourning and anger, strengthen our unity and summon our resolve by promising to right this terrible wrong, and to stand up and fight for the values we hold dear," Mr. McCain said, according to the prepared text of his remarks.



Stephen Crowley/The New York Times



James Estrine/The New York Times

Hawaii delegates led a conga line around the floor of Madison Square Garden last night, the first night of four days of speeches. Top, delegates welcomed Senator Bill Frist, the majority leader, who will speak tonight.

"He promised our enemies would soon hear from us," he said. "And so they did."

The opening speeches and events of the convention left little doubt about why the Republican Party decided to hold its first convention in New York. In addition to Mr. Giuliani, delegates heard a speech from Tara Stockpile, the widow of a New York City firefighter who "ran through the doors of the World Trade Center but did not walk out"; Debra Burlingame, the sister of the captain of the American Airlines plane that crashed into the Pentagon; and Deena Burnett, the husband of a passenger of the United Airlines flight that crashed into a field in Pennsylvania.

And Mr. Kerik, who was Mr. Giuliani's police commissioner, praised what he described as the "strong and decisive leadership" of Mr. Bush.

Madison Square Garden was decorated with banners reinforcing, if more subtly, the message that came from the podium last night. "Fulfilling America's Promise: A Safer World, A More Hopeful America," said one.

Delegates said that the proceed-

ings confirmed their sense that New York was the right place for this convention.

"It is fitting and proper for us to be here in New York," said Bill Calhoun, an alternate delegate from Texas, who was wearing a Stetson hat. "After 9/11 George Bush came here and calmed New York and calmed the nation. We drove by ground zero last night after the welcoming party. We were humbled by how New York has recovered, so we think it is fitting for us to come here to say thank you."

Mr. Giuliani's and Mr. McCain's speeches competed for viewers with a premonition Monday Night Football game on ABC and "Fear Factor" on NBC, among other programs, as none of the major networks broadcast the convention in prime time.

The networks decided to cover only three hours across three nights of the Democratic and Republican conventions and collectively decided that, in addition to the acceptance speeches by Vice President Dick Cheney on Wednesday and Mr. Bush on Thursday, they would cover Tuesday night, when the first lady Laura Bush and Gov. Arnold Schwarzen-

ger of California would be the most newsworthy.

Mr. Bush campaigned yesterday in New Hampshire and Michigan. But the convention hall had Republican leaders, among them Mr. Bush's father, the former president; Barbara Bush; and Vice President Dick Cheney. The delegates greeted the former president and his wife by waving cowboy hats in the air.

By any measure, Mr. Giuliani offered the toughest attacks on Mr. Kerry last night. But he was hardly alone. Representative J. Dennis Hastert of Illinois, the House speaker, attacked Mr. Kerry both for supporting tax increases and for what he described as Mr. Kerry's wavering on the war.

"Instead of throwing tea in the Boston Harbor, John Kerry wants to throw the taxpayers onboard," Mr. Hastert said, adding: "Does anybody really know where John Kerry stands on the war? He has voted for it and against it."

"My friends, this is no time to pick a leader who is weak on the war and wrong on taxes."

NEWS ANALYSIS

First Night, Single Theme For Double Term: Sept. 11

By TODD S. PURDUM

Fewer than two miles from the site of the attack that horrified a city, united a nation and transformed George W. Bush's presidency, speaker after speaker at the Republican National Convention yesterday summoned the still-raw memories of Sept. 11 in service of a single, overriding theme: the nation will be safer if Mr. Bush wins four more years.

There is a fine line between invoking a disaster in which all New Yorkers — and all Americans, regardless of party — felt such a devastating stake, and exploiting it for partisan advantage. From morning to night, the Republicans strode proudly, even defiantly, right up to that line — if not over it — and the delegates responded with roaring approval.

Perhaps no single American has more earned the right to his opinion about the impact of the attacks than former Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York, whose steady leadership in the aftermath was initially seen as overshadowing even Mr. Bush's. Last night Mr. Giuliani repeated what he described as one of his initial thoughts that day: "Thank God George Bush is our president."

Bernard B. Kerik, who was the city's police commissioner on the morning of the attacks and later helped American troops in Baghdad train a new Iraqi security force, declared, "George W. Bush has my vote, and for the future and safety of this country, I pray to God he has yours as well."

And even the actor Ron Silver, an outspoken liberal on many issues of domestic and social policy, vowed that he would "never forgive, never forget, never excuse," what he called the murder of "2,605 of my neighbors" at the World Trade Center, and insisted: "The president is doing exactly the right thing."

The Republicans are hardly alone in summoning images of the smoldering trade center ruins in this campaign season. At their convention in Boston last month, the Democrats offered their own emotional tribute, with stirring music and videos, and delegates holding small flashlights simulating candles in the darkened hall.

But that was nothing compared to the intense and personal speeches here, and Mr. Bush has already faced criticism for using images of firefighters and the flag in early campaign advertising. So there was some risk in the graphic speech by Mr. Giuliani in which he recalled in remarks prepared for delivery seeing a man jumping from the trade center's north tower, then escaping from a nearby building in which he himself was briefly trapped only to realize "that things outside might be even worse."

In a speech that echoed Franklin D. Roosevelt's pre-World War II warning that the nation had a "rendezvous with destiny," Senator John McCain of Arizona took a less sharded, but no less emphatic, approach, recalling the moment national unity that initially followed the attacks.

"In that moment, we were not different races," a copy of Mr. McCain's prepared speech said. "We were not poor or rich. We were not Democrat or Republican, liberal or conservative. We were not two countries. We were Americans."

It was just that sense of shared purpose — and Mr. Bush's role in creating it, before his decision to invade Iraq shattered a bipartisan consensus — that the Republicans were striving to convey yesterday.

"The world identifies with this site," said Mitchell Moss, a professor

at the Wagner School of New York University and a longtime Giuliani watcher. "I think there's no downer risk in emphasizing concern about what happened here. It's part of our national fabric. I think more Americans can identify with ground zero than Baghdad, and that this is the reason we have to be constantly vigilant."

Rick Lazio, a delegate and former New York congressman, defended the speeches, saying: "Hearing John McCain and Rudy Giuliani praising ordinary Americans doing extraordinary things is not politicizing Sept. 11. This is about taking those actions for granted."

Michelle Bouchard, 42, a delegate from Manhattan, lost a close friend, a broker at Morgan Stanley, on Sept. 11. "I watched the towers fall from Seventh Avenue," Ms. Bouchard said. "I think you have to talk about it. We wouldn't be here with helicopters flying over us and guys with machine guns all around if it wasn't for that day. It rocked the world forever."

Democrats are all too aware of the power of those post-Sept. 11 images and memories. That is one reason Senator Tom Daschle of South Dakota, locked in a tossup re-election race this year, recently began broadcasting a new television advertisement that includes an image of him embracing Mr. Bush, and an excerpt of his own televised response to the president's stirring speech to Congress on Sept. 20, 2001, when Mr. Daschle declared, "Tonight, the president has called us again to greatness, and tonight we answer that call."

But Jano Cabrera, a spokesman for the Democratic National Committee, said that "Americans feel that what happened on Sept. 11 was a national tragedy that had nothing to do with partisanship, and that what should follow should have nothing to do with partisanship."

He added, "Democrats and Republicans alike want to protect this nation, and want to prevent another terrorist attack from happening."

Mr. McCain acknowledged as much, saying he did not doubt the Democrats' sincerity. But, he added, "they should not doubt ours."

Just as the Democrats strove to portray their convention city not as a liberal hotbed but the cradle of American liberty, speaker after speaker described New York not as a stew of urban dysfunction but as a hopeful city of immigrant dreamers — who found the American dream — and of gritty survivors who endured the nightmare of Sept. 11.

"There is no better place to celebrate President Bush's leadership and present his vision for the future than here in New York," said his campaign chairman, former Gov. Marc Racicot of Montana. "In this city, George W. Bush confronted one of the greatest tests of leadership ever to face a president. In this city, America finally awoke to the realities of a world at war. In this city, vibrant and better than ever, we find confirmation that America, though bruised, can never be shattered."

For his part, Mr. Bush made it clear in an interview broadcast yesterday that the attacks are never far from his mind. Asked on the NBC News program "Today" whether he had ever considered what his presidency would have been like without Sept. 11, he replied: "Well, I haven't had the luxury, because it was defined by 9/11. And you know, as I tell people, every day I wake up thinking about how better to protect America. It's the nature of the presidency, right now."

GROUND ZERO

Republicans Decide to See for Themselves What the Terrorists Did

By LESLIE EATON

The only other time that Dennis and Judy Buchholtz of Warren, Mich., were in New York was about a decade ago, and they "drove through as fast as we could go — we didn't tarry," as Mr. Buchholtz put it.

But they feel differently now. As soon as the Republican National Convention let out yesterday, they took a taxi to ground zero, wearing their matching shirts with the state outline appliquéd in red, white and blue on the back, their Bush-Cheney buttons and elephant pins and, in Mrs. Buchholtz's case, matching earrings (she is an alternate delegate).

"We've wanted to see it for, well, three years," Mr. Buchholtz said of the World Trade Center site, which was also depicted on his shirt. Walking along Church Street, they carefully read the signs describing the evolution and destruction of the World Trade Center and pondered its political lessons.

"You've got to give Bush credit," Mr. Buchholtz said. "They attacked us when he was president, and he went after them."

And then the Buchholtzes went to lunch — though not before a bystander roundly cursed their Republican anatomy as they climbed into a cab.

And so, even more than usual, cultures clashed at ground zero. Ruled off limits to formal political protests or organized patriotic parades, the edges of the scarred 17 acres became a place for people to act out the stresses and strains that are natural when a tidal wave of Republicans washes up on a rocky Democratic shore.

Which sometimes meant arguing. Heated words ("Saddam! Sudan!") issued from a small knot of people, at the center of which stood Steven Catanzaro, 45, of Clif-

Declared off limits to protests or parades, a scarred 17 acres is not without signs of stress and strain.

ton Park, N.Y., near Saratoga Springs. He and his wife were guests in the morning at the convention, having had the help of a relative who they said was an official in the Republican Party.

And then, still wearing his convention pass around his neck, he headed down to show his wife the site. And promptly got into a debate with a group of young people from Watsonville, Calif., who had flown in for the demonstration on Sunday and stayed "to heckle the delegates," said Jenn Laskin, 31, a teacher leading the group.

Her real goal, she said, was to show her charges a place where people "are different colors and all different nationalities," she said, adding that in her part of California, "it's Mexican and white."

She had come to the right place. The swirl of languages and nationalities at ground zero went on as usual yesterday, New Yorkers and tourists speaking Spanish and English and French and Icelandic and Urdu and Polish and Japanese.

A guy with a flute tootled "Amazing Grace." A television reporter repeated, "Well, there you have it," take after take after take. A leaflet lady passed out papers accusing George W. Bush and the C.I.A. of unimaginably complicated conspiracies.

If anything, it was a quiet day, at the site, but the shoppers' Babel that is Century 21 bustled as usual, though a diamond BUSH pin twinkled on one handbag-

buyer's breast. Other Republican visitors may have decided to come incognito, as Bill and Janice Nearon did. She wore an elephant pin, to be sure, but it was small and made of silver and amber. Both of their outfits were dark toned, subdued, almost New York-ish. "That's the idea," Mrs. Nearon said.

A delegate from Michigan and a candidate for city commissioner in St. Clair Shores, she is a longtime head of the Republican Party in Macomb County.

Why had they come down to ground zero? "I think if you're going to a convention in New York, my goodness, you have to see the devastation at the World Trade Center," Mrs. Nearon said.

Another delegate, Spencer Stokes, of Utah, said he worries that people have forgotten about 9/11 and believes that they need to see the site for themselves. "I expect every delegate to come down here," he said.

Delphina Oliveri lives no farther away than Houston Street, but she had never visited before. "I'm not over it," she explained.

After an old friend, Dr. Jon Bjornson, came from Philadelphia to join her at the protest march on Sunday, she reluctantly decided to take him downtown yesterday. "I wanted to see it," he said.

Not that there was much to see. There was almost no activity at the site itself, which now looks much like any enormous construction project, full of rusted iron, shiny aluminum, pipes and cables and concrete.

That, and the lack of protesters, seemed to disappoint Sarah Skidmore, a senior at the University of Akron who drove to New York with a group of like-minded Republican friends. Peering at the site, she recalled that she had been there about a month after the attack.

And now? Looking toward the sky, she said, "I guess it does kind of seem a little empty up there."



Fred R. Conrad / The New York Times

Judy and Dennis Buchholtz from Warren, Mich., took a taxi to the former site of the World Trade Center yesterday after attending the Republican National Convention in the morning.

Janon Fisher contributed reporting for this article.

THE SPEAKERS

"President Bush decided that we could no longer be just on defense against global terrorism, but we must also be on offense." RUDOLPH W. GIULIANI

THE MAYOR

The Applause Is Polite for Bloomberg, Content to Be in the Shadow of His Predecessor

By JENNIFER STEINHAUER

Over the course of 10 minutes yesterday afternoon, delegates to the Republican National Convention saw three New York City mayors walk through the room, and the one who attracted the least attention was the one who is actually in office.

Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg, welcoming the half-empty room of delegates yesterday morning, gave a short speech that seemed cribbed from the tourism office brochures, boasting of the city's new 45,000 private-sector jobs, its clean streets and its fine eating establishments.

At one point, the cameras turned away from Mr. Bloomberg altogether to focus on another mayor in the crowd, Rudolph W. Giuliani. After Mr. Bloomberg accepted his light smattering of polite applause and faded behind stage, Mr. Giuliani stormed through the hall, taking pictures with well-wishers and holding pictures for eager reporters.

While Mayor Bloomberg was warmly received by delegates, Mr. Giuliani, who gave one of the final speeches Monday, was embraced with red-hot passion, cheered loudly by delegates wherever he went, trailed by breathless television reporters and honored by groups whose parties he sometimes does not even have time to attend.

If Mr. Bloomberg is overshadowed by his most recent predecessor, he does not seem to mind. The mayor has spent the first 48 hours of the convention week trying as hard as he can to be nonideological, if not totally apolitical. Even a Democratic predecessor who turned up to speak at the convention, former Mayor Edward I. Koch, was more enthusiastically received during his address. (Just ask Mr. Bloomberg: when he called his own mother after speaking yesterday, she mentioned how good Mr. Koch was but had nothing to say about her son's performance.)

In his convention-week appearances so far, Mr. Bloomberg has rarely uttered the name of the president, rarely mentioned the attributes of his adopted party, and spent much of his time running to things that have nothing to do with politics, like a shopping spree at Macy's with delegates. When he talked about the convention, it was almost exclusively as it related to the city as its host, not the party that is its guest.

The events he attached his name to were for groups that are on the



James Estrin/The New York Times

Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg welcomed Republican delegates to Madison Square Garden yesterday morning, in the mostly nonpartisan role of Mr. New York, the host of the host city.

fringe of the party — like ones sponsored by the Log Cabin Republicans, a gay group that has not even endorsed the president, and the Republican Majority for Choice, a group that supports abortion rights.

By contrast, Mr. Giuliani has been relentlessly partisan since the delegates first arrived, saying little about what the convention means to New York City, and much about why he thinks Mr. Bush should be re-elected. When not on the convention floor, the former mayor has been

spotted at a rally on Ellis Island with Vice President Dick Cheney and a luncheon for a charity serving families of slain soldiers.

While Mr. Bloomberg's opening remarks focused on the host city, Mr. Giuliani's speech hewed carefully to the G.O.P. script that focuses on the events of Sept. 11, 2001.

And perhaps most tellingly, while Mr. Giuliani, long a supporter of abortion and gay rights, was to be honored by both the gay Republicans and the Republican Majority for

Choice, he skipped the party held by the gay group, and will not attend the cocktail party tonight held by the group that supports abortion rights.

Both recent and distant history suggest these two men's roles are natural. "The current mayor is the host, playing the traditional role at the convention," said Steven Cohen, a professor of public administration at Columbia University. "Rudy Giuliani is for the Republican Party their hero of 9/11."

Yesterday, Mr. Bloomberg was

gracious and welcoming, if less at ease than usual on his national stage. The mayor, who is prone to gaffes in speeches, said, "On Independence Day, Governor Pataki and I laid the tombstone for the Freedom Tower at the site of the World Trade Center," when he clearly meant cornerstone.

There was little response to his many lines celebrating New York for its diversity and dreamers. The thunderous applause came only when the mayor praised President Bush "for leading the global war on terrorism."

Mr. Bloomberg seemed most at home during his brief remarks when giving his personal tourism tip.

"At least one morning while you're here," he said, "begin the day with a ride on the ferry to Staten Island. Out there in the harbor, you'll glide past the Statue of Liberty, the beacon of freedom that America holds out to people everywhere. It's guaranteed to bring a lump to your throat, because you'll be looking at New York the way generations of new Americans have."



Rudolph W. Giuliani stood with Libby and George E. Pataki, the governor, with the New York delegation.

THE FORMER MAYOR

Giuliani Plays the Role of Backer With Relish

Continued From Page P1

is therefore natural that as Republicans renominate Mr. Bush to what would be a second and final term, the jockeying for a future shot at the presidency has already begun.

That has led to some signs, however subtle, of frustration among Republicans at Mr. Giuliani's ability to sit on the sidelines and remain so popular.

"Giuliani has a unique role in the country as a hero, as a strong leader and he has the added option of not having to vote on anything, which allows him to have very high approval ratings because he doesn't have to take tough positions," said Scott Reed, a Republican political strategist. "He is about to face a fork in the road if he wants to run nationally: how he deals with the social and economic conservatives which are the base of the Republican Party."

The answer may begin with the Bush-Cheney campaign and the convention. Helping to re-elect Mr. Bush, and helping to promote a Republican agenda, can only help Mr. Giuliani with the party faithful.

A moderate and popular Republican who holds no office.

Mr. Giuliani laid some of the groundwork last night with a speech that did some heavy lifting for President Bush. With the race very close, and a few key states in play, Mr. Giuliani spoke to a potentially important swing vote, like Jewish voters who are primarily supporters of Israel. While small in numbers, they can play pivotal roles in places like Pennsylvania, Florida and Ohio, analysts said. Democrats have been concerned for weeks that Mr. Kerry has done too little to address concerns among that important bloc of voters, while Mr. Giuliani seemed to speak right to them.

"Terrorist acts became a ticket to the international bargaining table," Mr. Giuliani said in his prepared remarks. "How else to explain Yasser Arafat winning the Nobel Prize when he was supporting a terrorist plague

in the Middle East that undermine any chance of peace."

Mr. Giuliani also served the convention as a voice of moderation, which dovetailed with the dominant theme of the week. Republicans working to re-elect the president see the convention as a chance to win over undecided voters.

Mr. Giuliani, who represented an overwhelmingly Democratic Northeast city, played to that theme, as did Senator John McCain, who also spoke last night, and Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger of California, who is scheduled to speak today.

But where Mr. Giuliani helps the most is with the central issue of the convention, and the campaign — leadership.

In his remarks, Mr. Giuliani sought to imbue Mr. Bush with his own imprimatur, again recalling the day of the attacks.

"Spontaneously, I grabbed the arm of then-Police Commissioner Bernard Kerik and said to Bernie, 'Thank God George Bush is our president,'" Mr. Giuliani said in recalling the moments after the attacks. "And I say it again tonight. 'Thank God George Bush is our president.'"

THE STAGING

Making the Garden Seem Warm and Cozy

By JIM RUTENBERG

When President Bush's father took the rostrum in Houston in 1992 to accept the Republican nomination for a second term, what should have been a shining moment was partly marred by criticism of the stage itself. It was so large and magisterial that some critics said it reinforced the notion that Mr. Bush was out of touch with the delegates above whom he stood so high.

It is no coincidence, then, that President Bush will give his acceptance speech from what his aides say is the lowest presidential podium in modern convention history.

In fact, if Madison Square Garden has never seemed so small, that is because it never has been. Mr. Bush's aides have redesigned the storied sports hall to make it appear as small and intimate as possible — including raising its floor nine feet — all with an eye toward presenting Mr. Bush on an equal footing with the delegates who will surround him.

"This is someone who wants to be close to the people that he's speaking to — certainly not above them," Russ Schrieffer, the convention's program director, said yesterday afternoon in an interview on the convention floor.

There has been no shortage of complaints this political season from the television news networks that the parties have turned their conventions into four-day-long television commercials.

With the potential to reach an audience of more than 20 million over the next four days, Mr. Bush's team is leaving no image to chance. It is hyperaware of every image it sends out — and the symbolism that may accompany it on cable news and, most important, the broadcast television networks that deliver the largest audiences.

"We assume that every image says something, everything communicates," said Mark McKinnon, Mr. Bush's chief media adviser, who helped oversee the convention plans. "So we want to make sure that everything communicates something that reflects the character of the president."

Underscoring the importance of the marketing of this convention, Mr. McKinnon is the head of the president's advertising team; Mr. Schrieffer is one of its key members.

Mr. Schrieffer said the hall had also been designed, in part, so that the dozens of television cameras lining it will pick up the message of the day on signs strategically placed along

the perimeter of the floor. For good measure, the convention planners have designed a screen that can rise behind the podium and flash the message directly into the camera. The message of the day yesterday: "A Nation of Courage."

"This is clearly a megaphone to get our message out," Mr. Schrieffer said.

This does not mean that the television networks are always willing participants. David Bohman, executive producer of CNN's convention coverage, said he was trying to select shots that did not include the president's campaign slogans, though he said it was sometimes un-

Manhattan skyline was to be shown behind him, a reminder of the twin towers that are no longer part of it. Mr. Bush's aides would not say what other images might be shown, though networks producers were widely expecting that the image of Mr. Bush holding a bullhorn at ground zero shortly after the Sept. 11 attacks — a defining image of his presidency — will be shown.

Mr. Schrieffer said that not everything was designed to convey a message, and that he had devised the imagery of the convention in large part to garner the largest audience. For instance, he said, the convention is relying on bold colors — mostly blue and red — because they tend to grab the most attention.

"We've attacked this from a standpoint of a television show, and what looks best on television," he said. "Big, bold, primary colors often read better on TV."

That is a different choice than that of Senator John Kerry's campaign aides, who in Boston used light-hued colors that they identified as presidential. Mr. Kerry also used a larger stage than the one Mr. Bush is to use. Mr. Bush's aides criticized it as unfocused.

In another shift from the Democrats, Mr. Bush's team has allowed the Arab satellite network Al Jazeera to show its logo prominently in the hall. The Democrats did not allow it to do so, though they offered varying explanations why.

But Mr. Bush's team is following Democratic suit in at least one respect. Like Mr. Kerry, Mr. Bush will speak on a stage that is different from that of the convention's other speakers, setting him apart from them. Where the main stage of the convention is set off to the side, Mr. Bush will speak from a stage at the center of the hall.

Of course, the symbolism of the move is paramount, placing Mr. Bush amid the delegates and portraying him as a man of the people.

Mr. Schrieffer warned against reading too much symbolism into the design of the convention hall.

Mitchell Moss, a professor of public policy at New York University, observed of the wooden lectern on the stage Monday, "Maybe I'm wrong, but it looks like a cross."

But convention planners said the lectern had been devised to appear art deco, in the spirit of the Empire State Building.



J. Scott Applewhite/The Associated Press

Workers, preparing for the first night of the Republican convention, set up a backdrop yesterday at Madison Square Garden.

avoidable.

"We still control where the cameras point," Mr. Bohman said.

Mr. McKinnon acknowledged that for the news media, "their job is to be a filter." But, he added, "It's our view once every four years the parties and the nominees ought to be able to say what they want to without that message being translated by somebody else."

To some extent the party's images will be hard to ignore. It has placed a video screen behind the stage that will alternately show campaign slogans, video images and the stars and stripes. Yesterday, it frequently featured a giant elephant, with a giant swinging trunk, set against red and white stripes.

For Mr. Giuliani's speech, the

THE SPEECHES

"Like all wars, this one will have its ups and downs. But we must fight." JOHN MCCAIN

Excerpt From the Speech by Senator McCain

Following is an excerpt from the speech of Senator John McCain of Arizona, as prepared for delivery last night to the Republican National Convention. The full address and video of it are at nytimes.com.

This week, millions of Americans, not all Republicans, weigh our claim on their support for the two men who have led our country in these challenging times with moral courage and firm resolve. So I begin with the words of a great American from the other party, given at his party's convention in the year I was born.

My purpose is not imitation, for I can't match his eloquence, but respect for the relevance in our time of his rousing summons to greatness of an earlier generation of Americans. In a time of deep distress at home, as tyrannical strangled the aspirations to liberty of millions, and as war clouds gathered in the West and East, Franklin Delano Roosevelt accepted his party's nomination by observing:

"There is a mysterious cycle in human events. To some generations much is given. Of other generations much is expected. This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny."

The awful events of Sept. 11, 2001, declared a war we were vaguely aware of, but hadn't really comprehended how near the threat was, and how terrible were the plans of our enemies. It's a big thing, this war.

It's a fight between a just regard for human dignity and a malevolent force that defiles an honorable religion by disputing God's love for every soul on earth. It's a fight between right and wrong, good and evil.

And should our enemies acquire for their arsenal the chemical, biological and nuclear weapons they seek, this war will become a much bigger thing.

So it is, whether we wished it or not, that we have come to the test of our generation, to our rendezvous with destiny.

And much is expected of us. We are engaged in a hard struggle against a cruel and determined adversary. Our enemies have made clear the danger they pose to our security and to the very essence of our culture — liberty.

Only the most deluded of us could doubt the necessity of this war.

Like all wars, this one will have its ups and downs. But we must fight. We must.

The sacrifices borne in our defense are not shared equally by all Americans. But all Americans must share a resolve to see this war through to a just end.

We must not be complacent at moments of success, and we must not despair over setbacks. We must learn from our mistakes, improve on our successes, and vanquish this unparadigmatic enemy.

If we do less, we will fail the one mission our American generation has ever failed — to provide to our children a stronger, better country than the one we were blessed to inherit.

Remember how we felt when the serenity of a bright September morning was destroyed by a savage atrocity so hostile to all human virtue we could scarcely imagine any human being capable of it.

We were united. First, in sorrow and anger. Then in recognition we were attacked not for a wrong we had done, but for who we are — a people united in a kinship of ideals, committed to the notion that the people are sovereign, not governments, not armies, not a pitiless, inhumane theocracy, not kings, mullahs or tyrants, but the

people. In that moment, we were not different races. We were not poor or rich. We were not Democrat or Republican, liberal or conservative. We were not two countries. We were Americans.

All of us, despite the differences that enliven our politics, are united in the one big idea that freedom is our birthright and its defense is always our first responsibility. All other responsibilities come second.

We must not lose sight of that as we debate who among us should bear the greatest responsibility for keeping us safe and free. We must, whatever our disagreements, stick together in this great challenge of our time.

My friends in the Democratic Party — and I'm fortunate to call many of them my friends — assure us they share the conviction that winning the war against terrorism is our government's most important obligation.

I don't doubt their sincerity.

They emphasize that military action alone won't protect us, that this war has many fronts: in courts, financial institutions, in the shadowy world of intelligence, and in diplomacy.

They stress that America needs the help of her friends to combat an evil that threatens us all, that our alliances are as important to victory as are our armies. We agree.

And, as we've been a good friend to other countries

*'Only the most deluded of us
could doubt the necessity
of this war.'*

In moments of shared perils, so we have good reason to expect their solidarity with us in this struggle.

That is what the president believes.

And, thanks to his efforts, we have received valuable assistance from many good friends around the globe, even if we have, at times, been disappointed with the reactions of some.

I don't doubt the sincerity of my Democratic friends. And they should not doubt ours.

Our president will work with all nations willing to help us defeat this scourge that afflicts us all.

War is an awful business. The lives of a nation's finest patriots are sacrificed. Innocent people suffer. Commerce is disrupted, economies are damaged.

Strategic interests shielded by years of statecraft are endangered as the demands of war and diplomacy conflict.

However just the cause, we should shed a tear for all that is lost when war claims its wages from us.

But there is no avoiding this war. We tried that, and our reluctance cost us dearly. And while this war has many components, we can't make victory on the battlefield harder to achieve so that our diplomacy is easier to conduct.

That is not just an expression of our strength. It's a measure of our wisdom.

That's why I commend to my country the reelection of President Bush, and the steady, experienced, public-spirited man who serves as our vice president, Dick Cheney.

Excerpts From Giuliani on the Impact of 9/11

Following are excerpts from the speech by former Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani last night at the Republican National Convention, as prepared for delivery. The full text is at nytimes.com/campaigns.

Welcome to the capital of the world.

New York was the first capital of our great nation. It was here in 1789 in Lower Manhattan that George Washington took the oath of office as the first president of the United States.

It was here in 2001 in Lower Manhattan that President George W. Bush stood amid the fallen towers of the World Trade Center and said to the barbaric terrorists who attacked us, "They will hear from us."

They have heard from us. They heard from us in Afghanistan, and we removed the Taliban. They heard from us in Iraq, and we ended Saddam Hussein's reign of terror. They heard from us in Libya, and, without firing a shot, Qaddafi abandoned weapons of mass destruction. They are hearing from us in nations that are now more reluctant to sponsor terrorists.

So long as George Bush is president, is there any doubt they will continue to hear from us until we defeat global terrorism?

I don't believe we're right about everything and Democrats are wrong about everything. Neither party has a monopoly on virtue. But I do believe that there are times in our history when our ideas are more necessary and important for what we are facing. There are times when leadership is the most important.

On Sept. 11, this city and our nation faced the worst attack in our history. On that day, we had to confront reality. For me, standing below the north tower and looking up and seeing the flames of hell, and then realizing that I was actually seeing a man — a human being — jumping from the 101st or 102nd floor, drove home to me that we were facing something beyond anything we had ever faced before.

At the time, we believed we would be attacked many more times that day and in the days that followed.

Spontaneously, I grabbed the arm of then-Police Commissioner Bernard Kerik, and said to Bernie, "Thank God George Bush is our president."

And I say it again tonight, "Thank God George Bush is our president."

Terrorism did not start on Sept. 11, 2001. It had been festering for many years.

And the world had created a response to it that allowed it to succeed. The attack on the Israeli team at the Munich Olympics was in 1972.

And the pattern had already begun. The three surviving terrorists were arrested and within two months released by the German government.

Action like this became the rule, not the exception. Terrorists came to learn they could attack and often not face consequences.

So terrorists learned they could intimidate the world community, and too often the response, particularly in Europe, was accommodation, appeasement and compromise.

On Sept. 20, 2001, President Bush stood before a joint session of Congress, a still grieving and shocked nation and a confused world, and he did change the direction of our ship of state. He dedicated America under his leadership to destroying global terrorism.

And since Sept. 11, President Bush has remained rock solid. It doesn't matter how he is demonized. It doesn't matter what the media does to ridicule him or

misinterpret him or defeat him.

They ridiculed Winston Churchill. They belittled Ronald Reagan. But like President Bush, they were optimists; leaders must be optimists. Their vision was beyond the present and set on a future of real peace and true freedom.

Winston Churchill saw the dangers of Hitler while his opponents characterized him as a war-mongering gadfly. Ronald Reagan saw and described the Soviet Union as "the evil empire," while world opinion accepted it as inevitable and belittled Ronald Reagan's intelligence. President Bush sees world terrorism for the evil that it is.

John Kerry has no such clear, precise and consistent vision. This is not a personal criticism of John Kerry. I respect him for his service to our nation. But it is important to see the contrast in approach between the two men: President Bush, a leader who is willing to stick with difficult decisions even as public opinion shifts, and John Kerry, whose record in elected office suggests a man who changes his position often even on important issues.

Yes, people in public office at times do change their minds — I've done that — or they realize they are wrong or circumstances change.

But John Kerry has made it the rule to change his position, rather than the exception.

*'We will see an end to global
terrorism. I can see it. I believe
it. I know it will happen.'*

When President Bush announced his commitment to ending global terrorism, he understood — I understood, we all understood — it was critical to remove the pillars of support for the global terrorist movement.

In any plan to destroy global terrorism, removing Saddam Hussein needed to be accomplished.

Frankly, I believed then and I believe now that Saddam Hussein, who supported global terrorism, slaughtered hundreds of thousands of his own people, permitted horrific atrocities against women and used weapons of mass destruction, was himself a weapon of mass destruction.

But the reasons for removing Saddam Hussein were based on issues even broader than just the presence of weapons of mass destruction. To liberate people, give them a chance for accountable, decent government and rid the world of a pillar of support for global terrorism is something for which all those involved, from President Bush to the brave men and women of our armed forces should be proud.

We will see an end to global terrorism. I can see it. I believe it. I know it will happen. It may seem a long way off. It may even seem idealistic. But it may not be as far away and idealistic as it seems.

Look how quickly the Berlin Wall was torn down, the Iron Curtain ripped open and the Soviet Union disintegrated because of the power of the pent-up demand for freedom.

When it catches hold, there is nothing more powerful than freedom.

THE DEMONSTRATIONS

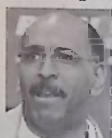
"These people are in a bubble. This is absolutely better than standing outside the Garden and shouting to let them know they are not welcome here." JAMIE MORAN

Worth Watching

Among the speakers on this evening's program.

Michael S. Steele

Lieutenant governor of Maryland



At 46, Michael S. Steele is considered one of the Republican Party's most promising African-American leaders. In 2003, Mr. Steele became the first African-American elected to a statewide office in Maryland. In 2000, he was elected chairman of the State Republican Party. Two years later, President Bush appointed him to the Board of Visitors of the United States Naval Academy.

Rod Paige

Secretary of education



Three years ago, Rod Paige, who led the Houston school system when President Bush was governor of Texas, became the first school superintendent to become secretary of education. As the nation's top education official, Mr. Paige has spearheaded the introduction of the administration's education act, known as No Child Left Behind. Signed into law in 2002, the legislation is intended to ensure equality in education and hold states and local school districts accountable to certain standards. Critics have argued that the act is under-financed and that it unfairly penalizes schools for not meeting accountability standards. Mr. Paige has also been an advocate of charter schools.

Sam Brownback

Senator



Sam Brownback, who filled Bob Dole's Kansas Senate seat when Senator Dole retired in 1996, has established himself as one of the most prominent conservative voices in Congress. He is an opponent of embryonic stem cell research, abortion and human cloning, and he recently voted in favor of a proposed amendment to ban same-sex marriages. But he has also shown that he is willing to work with his Democratic colleagues in the Senate. In 2001 he co-sponsored, with Senator Edward M. Kennedy and others, a bill to strengthen border security. Last year, he sponsored a bill to create a National Museum of African-American History and Culture. That measure was signed into law by President Bush in December.

Bill Frist

Senate majority leader



When Senate Republicans unanimously chose Bill Frist of Tennessee as their leader in December 2002, Dr. Frist, a former heart surgeon from Nashville, promised to "heal the wounds of division" in the party. Republicans had been divided in their support for Senator Trent Lott, the previous majority leader, after comments he made that seemed to show nostalgia for segregation. Nearly two years later, Dr. Frist has been most effective in his areas of expertise, medicine and science. He pushed for prescription drug benefits as a part of Medicare in passing the Medicare overhaul law last November. While he has supported the president's policy on embryonic stem cell research, he has also urged a review of it. Dr. Frist has said he will not seek reelection after his Senate term expires in 2006, but he is sometimes mentioned as a possible presidential contender in 2008.

CONFRONTATIONS

Protesters' Encounters With Delegates on the Town Turn Ugly

By RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD

Outside a hotel in Times Square, delegates to the Republican National Convention were swarmed by protesters dressed in black and swearing at them. Blocks away, delegates engaged in shoving matches with protesters seeking to spoil their night at the theater. And outside "The Lion King" on 42nd Street, a delegate was punched by a protester who ran by.

Although the organized protests yesterday and Sunday have been largely peaceful, there has been a starkly different tone to smaller incidents in Midtown and elsewhere: angry encounters and planned harassment of convention delegates as they go out on the town.

Sometimes the delegates answer back in toe-to-toe, finger-pointing shouting matches. Other times the police, who are guarding delegate gatherings, have dispersed protesters, who move on to other locations to taunt other delegates.

Since platoons of heavily armed police are guarding the convention site at Madison Square Garden, anarchists and other radicals are carrying out a coordinated plan to strike out at delegates at their hotels, breakfasts, parties, and on the streets.

The incidents are the result of months of planning by opposition groups, who report that they have obtained copies of plans and addresses for delegates' parties, caucuses and other functions outside the Garden.

Their efforts are aided by a support network that uses cellphone text messaging, among other means, to stay in communication. The cellphone messages were used extensively in a bike protest on Friday night and during demonstrations in Times Square on Sunday to direct protesters and alert them to where police were assembling.

"CT delegation breakfast every day @ Maison (7th ave & 53rd) from



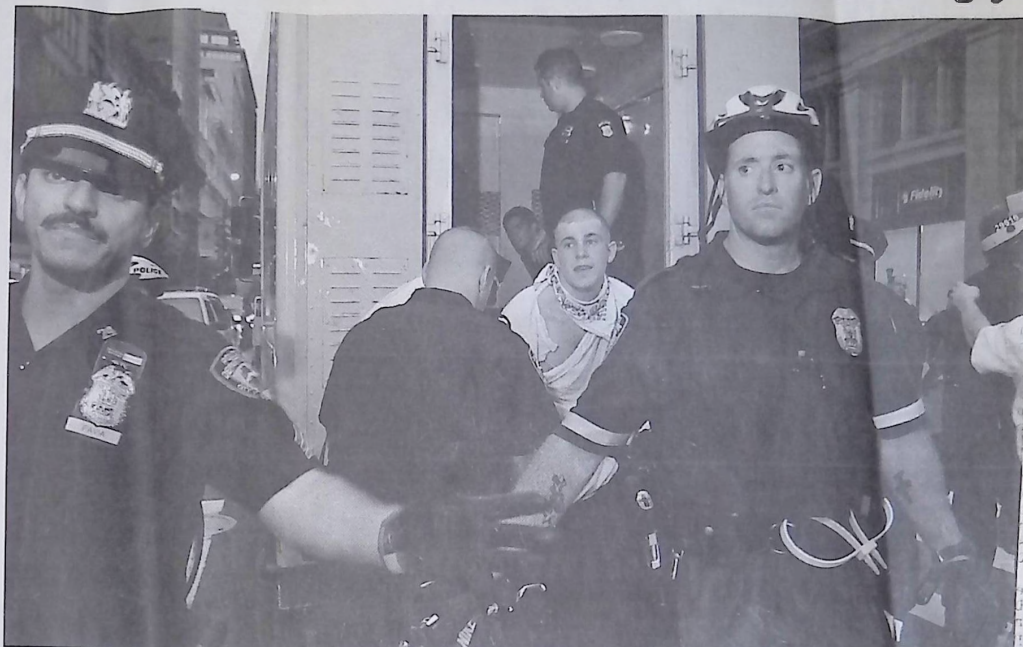
Liliana Komero/The New York Times
A woman on West 15th Street watched protesters marching to the Garden yesterday.

7-8:30. Can we get some dissenters?" said one text message yesterday, apparently referring to the Connecticut delegation's plan to gather at a Midtown restaurant. "Maison has outdoor buffet. It would be direct contact with delegates."

One Internet discussion list used by protesters posted an advisory about where some delegate buses would be idling in Midtown every morning. Another message included phone numbers and e-mail addresses for convention officials and advised that delegate hotels would be busiest in the morning and evening.

The harassment of delegates has been occurring as organized protests continue to draw thousands of people daily. The Still We Rise march by advocates for social issues was peace-

Reporting for this article was contributed by Marc Santora, Mary Spicuzza and Jennifer Steinhauer.



Nicole Engle/The New York Times
A protester was arrested yesterday on 23rd Street near Fifth Avenue during a march to the Republican convention site at Madison Square Garden.

ful, and a Poor People's March, a column several blocks long, proceeded from the United Nations to the Garden yesterday after the police decided to let it proceed even though organizers had not obtained a permit.

The police are bracing for another round of unsanctioned demonstrations today, which protesters have designated a day of "nonviolent civil disobedience and direct action." Among the parties expected to be a target is the Tennessee delegation's gathering at Sotheby's. A group calling itself the Man in Black Bloc plans to protest it, saying it is angered that the convention intends to honor the country singer Johnny Cash, who typically performed dressed in black.

Yesterday, Jamie Moran, who lives in Brooklyn and describes himself as an anarchist and helps direct the rncnotwelcome.org Web site, was roaming Times Square with a band of protesters shouting at delegates. "These people are in a bubble," he said. "This is absolutely better than standing outside the Garden and shouting to let them know they are not welcome here."

As delegate buses arrived at the Garden yesterday afternoon, protesters who had gathered for a demonstration screamed obscenities and gestured rudely at them. When the police spotted Pete Coors, a Republican candidate for United States Senate from Colorado, walking near the away.

Clearly, the protesters were not deterred by entreaties by former Mayor Edward I. Koch that New Yorkers be nice and an offer by Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg to give peaceful protesters buttons and shopping discounts.

Adam Chase, 23, who said he came from Michigan for the protests, said that while he believed demonstrators should not be violent, "I think it is delegates to tell us we should not be plotting the fears of the people."

Mindful that delegates are targets, ride officers guard their hotels and around town, and several receive police escorts. Numerous officers are assigned to many events outside the Garden.

"New York City is a fortress, and I

love it," Joseph Kyrillos, the New Jersey state Republican chairman, said yesterday at a delegate breakfast. "We need to thank the New York police for all the protection."

Leonardo Alcivar, a spokesman for the convention, said officials recommended that delegates not respond to heckling and taunts, which he said have been "few and far between."

Still, he said, "Our delegates understand the old adage, do unto others as they do unto you."

The tensest encounters between delegates and protesters so far occurred Sunday evening when large groups of demonstrators moved through the theater district while delegates were attending shows under arrangements prepared by convention planners. Several protesters were arrested for trying to block hotel and theater entrances, and face-to-face standoffs abounded.

Outside "Bombay Dreams" demonstrators shouted at and videotaped people standing outside for intermission.

At "Aida," a group of protesters unfurled a banner and hurled invective at delegates leaving the show. Some looked nervous, but a few shouted back, "You're sick, sick."

Shouted back, "You're sick, sick." "Phantom of the Opera" ended up in a sing-song, tit-for-tat with protesters. One protester shouted, "The phantom dies at the end."

Flora Rohrs, a delegate from Colorado, burst into song, "This is my country," with bits of "God Bless America" thrown in. She said, "What is going on here is we are still going to get George Bush re-elected."

For some, there was no escape even at dinner.

"A person came by and used an ex-

pletive and stuck his finger in our

face," said Deb Etcheson, an alter-

nate delegate from Iowa. "But I don't blame that on New Yorkers. I just love this city."

Some delegates seemed perplexed, even hurt, not because they did not expect protesters to be here, but because they did not expect them to get personal. "They were using foul language, getting real ugly," said Kim Kirkwood, a delegate from Amarillo, Tex. Her husband, Jim, said he could not understand it. "I have friends who are Democrats in Texas, and we talk about things, agree to disagree."

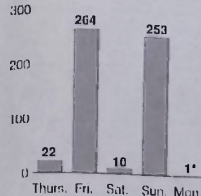
The Rev. Lou Sheldon, a delegate from Anaheim, Calif., said he was greeted by protesters outside the Marriot Marquis Hotel when he arrived Sunday night.

"They started screaming and yelling, 'Shame, shame, shame,'" he said. "It's disgusting. You spend X number of hundreds of dollars to come here, and you have to put up with this."

The Convention's Quiet First Day

There were fewer conflicts between protesters and police and fewer arrests yesterday than there had been in the preceding days.

CONVENTION-RELATED ARRESTS



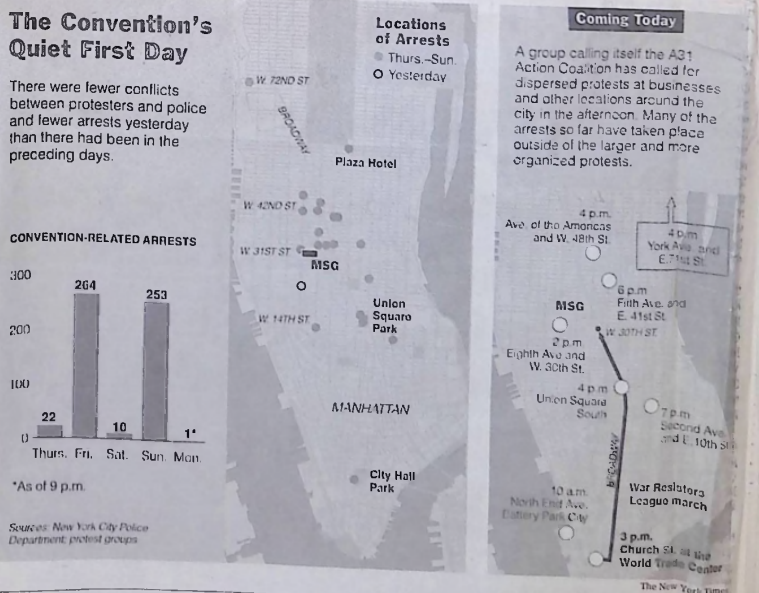
*As of 9 p.m.

Sources: New York City Police Department; protest groups

Locations of Arrests

Thurs.-Sun.

Yesterday



Coming Today

A group calling itself the A31 Action Coalition has called for dispersed protests at businesses and other locations around the city in the afternoon. Many of the arrests so far have taken place outside of the larger and more organized protests.

4 p.m. Ave. of the Americas and W. 48th St.
4 p.m. York Ave. and E. 71st St.
8 p.m. Fifth Ave. and E. 41st St.
2 p.m. Eighth Ave. and W. 30th St.
4 p.m. Union Square South
7 p.m. Second Ave. and E. 10th St.
3 p.m. Church St. at the World Trade Center
War Resisters League march

The New York Times

he has also urged a review of it. Dr. Frist has said he will not seek reelection after his Senate term expires in 2004, but he is sometimes mentioned as a possible presidential contender in 2008.

Elizabeth Dole Senator



During the 1996 Republican National Convention in San Diego, Elizabeth Dole wandered the aisles of the convention floor as she delivered an

address in praise of Senator Bob Dole, her husband and the presidential nominee that year. Tonight, she takes the podium as a senator herself. Mrs. Dole was a secretary of transportation and a secretary of labor, and she restructured the Red Cross in the early 1990's when she was the organization's president. She announced her own bid for the presidency in 1999, but withdrew in October that year after a weak showing in the polls. In 2002, she was elected to the Senate from North Carolina, her native state. Mrs. Dole has not crossed party lines on major issues, but has largely focused her attention on issues that affect North Carolina, like protecting the state's textile industry.

tributed by Marc Santora, Mary Spicuzza and Jennifer Steinhauer.

Garden.
"New York City is a fortress, and I

ARRESTS

Protesters Held at Pier 57 Complain of Conditions and Lengthy Waits

By PATRICK HEALY
and SUSAN SAULNY

Pier 57 was once just another dingy hulk on the Hudson River, a three-story parking garage for New York City Transit buses. But this week, the pier near West 14th Street has been outfitted with benches, portable toilets and chain-link fences to hold its new freight: protesters.

People who are arrested protesting the Republican National Convention are handcuffed and taken to the pier to be held and processed before they are sent to Manhattan Criminal Court. As the city's temporary detention center for demonstrators, the pistachio-colored building jutting 700 feet into the river has become one of the more contentious emblems of security during the convention.

As of last night, 531 people had been arrested since Thursday, the vast majority for misdemeanors, and many who cycled through the system complained that they had been held for as long as 30 hours in miserable conditions before being arraigned or receiving a desk ap-

pearance ticket. Several said they had contracted rashes from sleeping on the pier's floor, had gone hours without food and were given a Dixie cup to use to drink water.

Describing their treatment, several protesters who had been arrested referred to Pier 57 as Guantánamo on the Hudson.

"I felt safe from physical harm, but we were definitely not taken care of," said Aubryn Sidle, 22, who was released yesterday afternoon, about 24 hours after she was arrested during the huge protest march on Sunday in Manhattan.

But Paul J. Browne, the Police Department's chief spokesman, disputed the protesters' complaints, saying that police crews had thoroughly cleaned the building. He said protesters were held at the pier only until they could be taken to court.

"Nobody stays there," Mr. Browne said. "You're there temporarily, until the next step in the system."

Lawyers for the National Lawyers Guild, who are representing many protesters, said that next step had taken too long to reach.

One guild lawyer, Margaret Ratner Kunstler, said at least 18 people who were arrested Friday night during a bicycle demonstration had remained in custody for more than 24 hours. Ms. Kunstler said legal precedent in New York required that anyone arrested be brought before a judge within 24 hours.

Another lawyer for the protesters, Collin Starger, said demonstrators had also been held 18 to 24 hours before receiving desk appearance tickets, a process that takes about two hours because a defendant does not have to appear before a judge.

"Eighteen hours for a desk appearance ticket is outrageous," Mr. Starger said. "It certainly has the effect of deterring people from protesting, firing them out. Whether that's their intent, it depends on how paranoid you are."

Several lawyers also said they had not been allowed to visit demonstrators at the pier or at holding cells at Manhattan Criminal Court at 100 Centre Street.

One demonstrator, Andrew Mahoney, 22, said police officers

laughed when he asked to make a phone call. In a statement, Mr. Browne said those held at Pier 57 were being allowed to make calls.

As exhausted demonstrators trickled out of the court building yesterday afternoon, Robert M. Morgenthau, the Manhattan district attorney, made a rare appearance at some of the arraignments. He walked into two courtrooms on the first floor and shook hands with employees.

"It's going the way everybody expected," Mr. Morgenthau said. On a typical day, court officials said, 175 arraignments are held in Manhattan Criminal Court.

Across the street from the courthouse, about two dozen protesters ate burritos provided by their friends and recounted the hours they had spent at Pier 57. Several said they had been taken by bus to Pier 57, where men and women were separated, searched and put into one of several holding pens.

The protesters described the building as a cavernous structure with corrugated metal walls, fluorescent

lights and cracking walls. Each holding pen was made of chain-link fence topped with razor wire and equipped with two portable toilets and a few benches, protesters said.

Wajid Jenkins, 33, who was arrested early Sunday afternoon, said he had to wait 10 hours before he was allowed to use the bathroom.

Andrew Mahoney, 22, who said he spent 30 hours in custody after being arrested around 9 p.m. Friday, said 30 to 50 protesters were kept in each holding pen, and most of them slept on the floor during the night.

Mr. Mahoney said he contracted a rash similar to a severe sunburn from lying on the floor. Every few hours, Mr. Mahoney said, protesters were moved from one holding pen to another until they were finally loaded onto vans and taken to court.

Ben Moren, 19, who said he was arrested around 5:45 p.m. Sunday at Times Square and was released at 11 p.m. yesterday, said, "It was really dirty and kind of creepy, but I guess they needed a place to put all the kids."

THE DAY IN NEW YORK

"People do not seem to mind the job we're doing. In fact, I had a lot of people this morning say 'thank you' as I searched the car." SGT. PAUL HUGGINS, NEW YORK STATE POLICE



Carol Heileman for The New York Times

Riders were few on commuter trains yesterday, as was apparent at ticket vending machines in Pennsylvania Station in Manhattan about 9 a.m.

THE SCENE

Outward Calm Attests to the Convention's Disruption

Continued From Page 1

Transit ticketing area next door to his office was nearly deserted. Momentarily confused, he said, he asked himself, "It is Monday, right?" Paul Dovell, who has commuted on the L.I.R.R. from Stony Brook, on Long Island, into Penn Station for 12 years, called yesterday's trip the easiest commuting he had ever done. "It seems like tons of people are gone," he said.

Just to be on the safe side, though, he is staying overnight in the city at his sister-in-law's, he said. She left town because of the convention.

At Grand Central Terminal, the lines for morning-starters breakfasts of bagels and coffee at Zaro's were short, and seats were there for the asking at Eddie's Shoe Repair.

At Penn Station in Newark, as New Jersey Transit trains eased into the terminal, security officers boarded and searched every car, looking beneath seats and searching bags. "People do not seem to mind the job we're doing," said Sgt. Paul Huggins of the state police. "In fact, I had a lot of people this morning say, 'thank you,' as I searched the car."

Drivers entering Midtown Manhattan, though, had less fun. Lendy Jones, an electrician from Coney Is-

land, found the drive to his job on West 50th Street horrid. "It usually takes me a half-hour or 45 minutes," he said. "Today it took me two hours. The military, the police, they were stopping all of the trucks. It makes me feel safe, but I wish they could help traffic a bit." He intends to take the train today, he said.

Some commuters chose creative, if exhausting, alternatives. To avoid Penn Station, Michael Delikat, the director of information technology at Sotheby's, rode his bicycle to work from his home in Rutherford, N.J. He found both four- and two-wheel traffic light. "It was like a gift," he said. "Normally, it's chaos."

It was a particularly bad day to be a Manhattan deliveryman, as confirmed by Nelson Luna. He delivers bread, collecting it in New Jersey and making 30 to 40 stops in the city. The drive into New Jersey yesterday was awful, he said, and things worsened when he tried to get his bread to businesses near Rockefeller Center.

"It's terrible," he said, parked on Fifth Avenue near 51st Street, sweating and looking exhausted, bread still awaiting its destination. "There are a lot of police and closed streets everywhere. We can't get through. This week I have to start at 3 a.m. instead of 4 a.m."

Businesses near the convention were similarly displeased. Monir Zamel, who runs Andrew's Coffee Shop, at 35th Street and Seventh Avenue, said business was down 40 percent. "We had a handful of delegates,

a couple of police officers," he said. "But nothing close to making up for the regulars who aren't here. It is basically exactly the opposite of what the city said would happen."

At Herald House, a leather goods shop on 34th Street near Seventh Avenue, there was lots of leather and no customers. "We are down 60 percent at least," said Katie Szoboszalai, the owner. "Usually we are busy with back to school, with tourists."

When a television reporter told

Nearly empty trains, and the slowest day of the year on Wall Street.

Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg about sluggish sales at stores around the Garden, the mayor acknowledged that their location meant they were likely to be hurt but said that overall, "this is one of the better things that can happen to the city."

Several delegates, in fact, insisted that they were spending aggressively. "We got here last Tuesday, and we haven't stopped shopping," said Cyndi Collins, a member of the Arizona delegation.

Cyndi Sanders, a delegate from Alaska, said she had stocked up on

cashmere sweaters and coats at Bloomingdale's and Armani. "I've spent thousands of dollars already," she said. "We can shop and have moral values at the same time, you know."

Innumerable city residents and businesses revamped their lives for one week, just in case.

A small Manhattan hedge fund, whose president spoke on the condition of anonymity, moved its trading floor to a rented farm in upstate New York through Thursday and has installed seven key employees in a house next door. "We have access to all that we have access to in New York," the fund's president said. "It feels reasonably similar except for the chickens and the goats we hear in the background."

Young & Rubicam Brands, the Manhattan advertising and marketing company, said many of its employees had taken the week off, and others were working from home. Its Brand Buzz division decided to have a two-day meeting at the Trump Plaza Hotel in Atlantic City, figuring people would be unusually eager to get away.

Alexis Maysonet, 26, lives in Manhattan, but this week, he is staying with his aunt in the Bronx. "I just don't want to be in the city," he said. "The convention came, and I moved out." He spent yesterday at Orchard Beach, a place he had never been to before. He was bouncing a ball on the pathway overlooking the sand.

always on the phone," he said.

Carla Randau, a floor supervisor at Roy's, the restaurant at the Marriott Financial Center, concurred. "I have to admit a couple of them seem a little hectic," Ms. Randau said. "They seem like they're on a very tight schedule. We get a lot of orders to go."

Many hotel workers took the delegates' apparent industriousness as a positive sign. "It's a good thing that they're not ordering liquor," Ronald Epps, a housekeeping worker, said as he stood among the smokers. "It's good for the country. It means they're taking care of business."

Mr. Kelly, a Republican from Woodside, Queens, agreed. "They've got something to prove," he said. "They've got to show the other side that they're not the beasts people think they are."

A man who works in reservations at the W, who gave his name only as Robert, said that in fact, the delegates were an improve-

ment on the normal customer. "Our regular guests are a lot more obnoxious," Robert said. "They demand a lot of upgrades. These guys don't."

At worst, said Flor Barrera, a housekeeper at the Park Central, the delegates were unremarkable guests. "They look like regular tourists," she said. "They don't bother me at all."

Carlos Nieves, who restocks housekeeping supplies at the Roosevelt on East 45th Street, said the delegates at her hotel, from Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Oregon, seemed to be supporting the local economy. "They're doing a lot of shopping, by the looks of their garbage," he said. "A lot of souvenirs, a lot of clothing."

And notwithstanding their full schedules, the delegates were not too busy for small kindnesses. On his breast pocket, Mr. Nieves wore an Arizona state flag pin, a gift from a delegate. "He said, 'Would you like a pin from Arizona?'" Mr. Nieves recalled. "I

THE TV WATCH

Alessandra Stanley

Up Close and Personal With the First Family

The cowboy riding tall in the saddle and holding the reins of a little girl on her pony could have been Shane. (Come back!) It was actually Vice President Dick Cheney, revealing his kinder, more Western side to "Good Morning America" on the first day of the Republican National Convention.

It has become a truism to say that political conventions have been turned into made-for-television events. Actually, television is turning into a made-for-convention device: just as John Kerry and his family were all over the morning talk shows right before the Democratic convention in Boston last month, it is now the Republicans' turn.

President Bush gave an unusually long two-part interview to Matt Lauer of "Today." The man the president calls Vice gave Claire Shipman of ABC a tour of a disclosed location — his Wyoming ranch — and introduced her to his horses and grandchildren on "Good Morning America." The president's father told Paula Zahn of CNN that he wanted unsupervised negative advertisements to stop. "Get rid of all of these 527's or 547's or whatever they are," George H. W. Bush said. "Get them out of there, including the ones that have been brutalizing our son for months."

The once reclusive Bush twins spoke at the MTV Music Video Awards last night, and gave an interview to A&E for a biography of their mother, which will be shown Wednesday. Jenna described her as "bizarro clean."

The unusual openness makes political sense: with networks scaling back their coverage to an hour a night, the candidates and their families are offering chatty, personal interviews to put the convention back on the networks. Even a minute on a morning news show is seen by many millions more viewers than a full convention speech on C-Span or ABC's new digital channel, ABC News Now. (Peter Jennings's somewhat quixotic decision to anchor gavel-to-gavel coverage on a station few viewers receive paid off in other ways. ABC was the only one of the big three networks to catch an unscripted Bush family moment: the network broadcast an amateur tape it said showed Jenna Bush dancing with a drink in her hand to the rock group Lynard Skynard at a private party at the Crowbar, a Manhattan club.)

The president was quite candid about his desire to open up to voters going into the convention. "I mean, they see me, but they see me like in a 10-second sound bite at times," he told Mr. Lauer after hosting a talk-show style Q. and A. with supporters in Toledo, Ohio. "You know, they've seen me deal

with crises. They've seen me weep. They've seen me laugh. And I think it's important for me to be able to share my experiences with them, and this was a way to do so. I mean, I talked about some personal moments."

Mr. Cheney, meanwhile, was back in a suit and tie for his triumphant entrance into Madison Square Garden on Monday evening, but he and his wife, Lynne, brought along their two young granddaughters as if to signal that John Edwards is not the only vice presidential nominee with adorable kids in his life.

For viewers, the sudden gush of quality time with the nation's president and vice president and their families can come as a bit of a shock: It is so starkly different from the sober speeches, stern warnings and terse nightly news sound bites that usually prevail on the screen. Watching a smiling Mr. Cheney, dressed in an open-necked shirt and tan chambray jacket, ride horses and cradle an

So the convention coverage is cut back? Don't worry.

infant grandchild was a little like seeing Pittsburgh Steeler Mean Joe Greene suddenly give the jersey off his back to a small boy in the famous Coca-Cola advertisements of the late '70's.

Television commentators always point out, a bit derisively, that modern conventions are scripted, orderly and over-produced, but there is the same kind of stagecraft and discipline in the interviews they are granted by the nominees and party officials. President Bush, in particular, managed to stick to two central themes that will be echoed throughout the convention: his own likability up close and his resolve in the Oval Office. While talking to Mr. Lauer, he even used the words: "I know if we're steadfast, strong and resolute — and I ^{say these words very seriously} it's less likely that your kids are going to live under the threat of Al Qaeda for a long period of time."

"Resolute" is a word that keeps cropping up in Republican conversation. Karl Rove found a way to wedge it into a chat with the NBC anchorman, Tom Brokaw. He said voters would undoubtedly choose to re-elect the president, "given a choice between the strong and resolute leadership of this president in confronting the war on terror or this president's prescriptions for getting our economy growing again."

MIXED COMPANY

Such Clean-Living, Early-to-Rise Delegates. Don't They Know There's a Minibar?

By ANDY NEWMAN

Behold the Republican delegations. They make such a nice impression as they parade around town, neatly coiffed and tailored. But what are they really like?

In search of the answer to this question, a highly unscientific survey was conducted yesterday at the service entrances of four of the delegates' hotels. The respondents — heavily weighted toward smokers, as they were more likely to venture into the muggy air on their breaks — were pretty much unanimous: so far, in their hotel rooms anyway, the ladies and gentlemen in red are leading very clean lives indeed in New York, in every sense of the word.

"They're drinking only water," said Daniel Kelly, the minibar attendant at the W on Lexington Avenue between 49th and 50th Streets; temporary home to the delegations from Arkansas and Maine. "I sold one beer so far" — an Amstel Lite at that, to a dele-

gate from Arkansas. "It's not what I expected."

What did Mr. Kelly, who has been catering to the alcoholic tastes of conventiongoers of all sorts for 13 years, expect? "Partying. It's a free ride, you're in New York. But everything's out of their rooms already." It was a few minutes after noon. "No 'Do Not Disturb' signs."

A woman who works in the laundry at the W, who gave her name only as Mrs. Kelly, in no relation, reported that the delegates' linens were "very, very clean." At the Park Central on West 56th Street, Martin Benjamin, a building engineer, said the delegates from Idaho, Kansas and Maryland were not putting any undue strain on the plumbing system.

"They're about average," he said. Mr. Benjamin, 40, said he had noticed something else: even before last night's opening bell, the delegates were really, really busy. "Whenever I come into their rooms, they're

said O.K. Then he said, 'What do you think of the president?' I said, 'No disrespect, but I don't care about politics.'"

As for whether the delegates will be willing to part with more than pins, the jury was still out. "Nothing yet," said Mr. Benjamin, an immigrant from Guyana who is supporting his wife and 1-year-old twins from his wages at the W hotel and says he sometimes receives tips from guests.

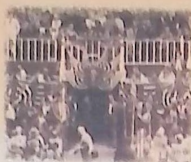
Of course, just because the delegates are making nice does not mean that the average hotel employee will vote for their leader. A middle-aged woman with a ponytail coming out the back of the Sheraton Manhattan at 51st Street and Seventh Avenue yesterday, where delegations from four states are quartered, sported a rather vulgar anti-Bush button on her purse.

She did not seem to care who saw it. "That's my personal feeling," she said, holding a lighter to her Newport.

APRANAC

Coons on Hostile Ground

Gas with a lot in common
w/pegs in round holes. 7



Criticizing Their Candidate

Some say Kerry squandered his gains
from his party's convention. 8



Raising a Glass

From the ale house to the links to the
jeweler, the Republican partying
continues. 10

WEDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 2004

NYT P1

The New York Times

SAVE

The Republicans

THE CONVENTION IN NEW YORK

SAVE

Hundreds Are Arrested As Protests Escalate

By DIANE CARDWELL
and RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD

A series of demonstrations rippled across Manhattan last night when protesters tried to converge on the Republican National Convention, as a day of planned civil disobedience erupted into clashes with police officers and led to the arrest of hundreds of people.

The wave of confrontations — which included a brawl with the police at the New York Public Library, marauding crowds cursing at delegates in Midtown and the detention of hundreds of protesters near ground zero — created a day of disorder in a convention week already marked by sustained protests against the Bush administration and the war in Iraq.

Yesterday's incidents stood in contrast to the enormous, mostly orderly antiwar march that drew hundreds of thousands of people to Manhattan on Sunday. But many of those protesting yesterday had purposefully avoided seeking permits for their rallies but had publicized their plans well in advance, leading hordes of police officers in cars, bikes, scooters and vans to flood various parts of the city primed to pre-empt much of the action before it could occur. At least 550 people were arrested.

The protesters gathered at various locations, many with the goal of descending on the convention site at Madison Square Garden. But at the various staging areas — near ground zero, in Union Square, in Herald Square near Macy's, and outside the New York Public Library — the police began making arrests, sending the crowds into a frenzy. These confrontations followed several other events, some of which went off without incident with the police taking aggressive action to prevent disruptions.

"Today a number of anti-R.N.C. activities failed to materialize, in-



Chang W. Lee/The New York Times

Symbols of a Candidate

Delegates during the Pledge of Allegiance on the second night of the Republican National Convention in a quiet moment before the speeches began at Madison Square Garden.



Symbols of a Candidate

Delegates during the Pledge of Allegiance on the second night of the Republican National Convention in a quiet moment before the speeches began at Madison Square Garden.

2008 Contenders Start The Wooing in 2004

By CARL HULSE

It was no accident that the Senate majority leader, Bill Frist, met with the New Hampshire delegation yesterday morning. Or that Senator Chuck Hagel was with those same delegates the evening before. And Gov. Mitt Romney of Massachusetts made sure that Iowans were among the invitees to his New England clambake on Monday.

On the surface, the Republican National Convention is all about 2004 and the re-election of President Bush. But there is also a distinct whiff of 2008 about the gathering as possible contenders for the nomination in four years take the opportunity now to make connections, establish their national credentials and cater to those with an important say in the primaries.

"When people are always asking you of course you think about it," said Dr. Frist, who showed up at the New Hampshire delegation's hotel wearing a pin promoting the state's first-in-the-nation primary status. "There are a lot of people here running to be president of the United States, without naming names."

While Dr. Frist, who addressed the Garden last night, might be reluctant to pick out the competition, other conventioners are not so reserved. Given that 2008 could be wide open, there is a steady hum about future candidates among those gathered in New York.

Dr. Frist, of Tennessee, is high on the list, along with a host of others with a strong presence at the proceedings, including former Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York, Gov. George Pataki of New York, Senator John McCain of Arizona, Senator Hagel and Governor Romney. But no one is talking publicly or nakedly displaying desire for the White House. It would be considered bad form to overlook the small matter of this November's vote.

"I don't think I would define it as laying groundwork for 2008," said Mr. Hagel, a Nebraskan who also met with delegates from neighboring Iowa. "My sense of it is my political

future will play itself out. We have an election to get through this year and we have a lot to do next year."

Bush campaign advisers say they view Dr. Frist, who has already said he will not seek re-election to the Senate in 2008, as being among the most aggressive of the possible hopefuls, with Mr. Pataki and Mr. Giuliani not far behind.

One top Republican noted that in his speech on Monday, Mr. Giuliani made it clear that politicians were allowed to change their views in some circumstances, though he ridiculed Senator John Kerry, the Democratic presidential candidate, for overdoing it. The strategist said the former mayor was setting the stage for the changes he would have to make to reach the more conservative Republican base.

Mr. McCain's public enthusiasm for the president's re-election campaign as well as the events celebrating him in New York were seen as evidence of an effort to cement his ties to the party establishment.

Mr. McCain's advisers say no decision has been made about his future beyond working for re-election this year and the prospect of becoming the chairman of the Armed Services Committee in two years.

"Internally there has been no discussion of 2008," said John Weaver, a McCain political adviser. "We know the chatter is out there, but those decisions and those options will have to be discussed at a much later date."

Still, the convention is fertile territory for raising one's profile and the candidates-in-waiting are not missing any opportunities. Mr. Pataki visited the New Hampshire delegation before Mr. Frist, and Mr. McCain is expected to appear Thursday. Senator Rick Santorum, the conservative Republican from Pennsylvania, is scheduled to drop by as well.

"We have been very well attended to," said Tom Rath, national committeeman from the Granite State.

Mr. Rath described the convention ritual as an "elaborate dance" for politicians: courting the state with-

A Call to 'Win This Culture War'

By DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK

At a closed, invitation-only Bush campaign rally, Senator Sam Brownback of Kansas urged conservative Christian supporters yesterday to "win this culture war" and called for a broad socially conservative agenda, including requirements that pregnant women considering abortions be offered anesthetics for their fetuses.

Called "The Family, Faith and Freedom Rally" in e-mail invitations sent to Christian conservatives in New York for the convention, the event was organized by the Bush-Cheney campaign "to celebrate America and President George W. Bush," according to a copy of the invitation. The e-mail called Mr. Bush "a conservative leader who shares our values, who takes a strong stand for his faith." One invited participant said the rally was the only event sponsored by the campaign for social conservatives at the convention.

In his speech before a packed ballroom at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel, Senator Brownback singled out subjects of special interest to conservative evangelical Protestants including abortion, same-sex marriage, the

plight of Christians and other victims of violence in Sudan, human trafficking, events in Israel and a desire to roll back the Supreme Court's half-century-old interpretation of the separation of church and state.

"I fear for the Republic, I really do," Senator Brownback warned. "We are accused of having a radical agenda for saying that marriage is between a man and a woman and it is the best way for children to be raised. It is not about being hateful. It is about being truthful."

"We must win this culture war," he continued, reprising a theme of a speech by Patrick J. Buchanan from the podium of the 1992 Republican convention that in the view of many political experts alienated moderate voters in that election.

The event, which was closed to the news media, took place hours before Senator Brownback also spoke from the podium of the Republican National Convention, joining other speakers in lauding Mr. Bush as a champion of compassionate conservatism. Discussing White House efforts to fight AIDS, he said in his convention speech, "A fundamental principle of our democracy and our Republican Party is respect for the inherent dig-

nity, equality and sanctity of every human life."

Ralph Reed, a senior campaign adviser and liaison to conservative Christians, also addressed the crowd. Several campaign staff members, including the deputy political director, Christian Myers, attended, along with Timothy Goeglein, the White House liaison to Christian groups.

President Bush, for his part, also opposes legalized abortion and recognizing same-sex marriage. But he has said he supports the separation of church and state and the ability of states to create other forms of recognition for gay unions. He has pointedly avoided deprecating gays and lesbians or engaging in talk of a "culture war." Representatives of the Bush campaign did not respond to several calls for comment on other aspects of Senator Brownback's speech.

But in an e-mail message to The New York Times, Nicole Devenish, the campaign's communications director, criticized the newspaper for covering an event that "was closed to the press" as "not professional or appropriate." A New York Times reporter was invited to the event by participants who accompanied him.

The rally struck a very different tone from the speakers behind the podium inside the Republican convention, where themes of national unity and cultural inclusiveness have been the rule. And the difference highlights a delicate balancing act the Bush campaign faces in staging its convention.

The spotlight on the party's national convention is a chance to project a welcoming, pluralistic face to moderate or undecided voters. But, anticipating a close election, the campaign has also made it a priority to motivate the socially conservative evangelical Christians among its base to go the polls.

On the subject of opposition to abortion, Mr. Brownback argued that many women who choose abortion were unaware of what he said was the pain the procedure caused

ly avoided seeking permits for their rallies but had publicized their plans well in advance, leading hordes of police officers in cars, bikes, scooters and vans to flood various parts of the city primed to pre-empt much of the action before it could occur. At least 550 people were arrested.

The protesters gathered at various locations, many with the goal of descending on the convention site at Madison Square Garden. But at the various staging areas—near ground zero, in Union Square, in Herald Square near Macy's, and outside the New York Public Library—the police began rounding up protesters, sending the crowds into a frenzy. These confrontations followed several other events, some of which went off without incident with the police taking aggressive action to prevent disruptions.

"Today a number of anti-R.N.C. activities failed to materialize, including a takeover of the lobby of the Warwick Hotel, perhaps because of the police presence there," Police Commissioner Raymond W. Kelly told reporters at an early evening news conference.

Protesters and civil liberties lawyers expressed concerns over what they said had been unfair and overzealous tactics in dealing with demonstrators who may not have had



Other Muhammad/The New York Times

A protester arrested near the New York Public Library yesterday.

permits but were not acting violently.

"It's an example of the police suckering the protesters," said Donna Lieberman, executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union, referring to the arrest of some 200 protesters who said they thought they were abiding by an agreement they had negotiated with the police as they marched from ground zero on Fulton Street.

"It was a bait-and-switch tactic," she added, "where they approved a demonstration and the protesters kept up their end of the bargain. They undermined people's confidence in the police and that's a serious problem as we go forward."

The day, loosely organized by an anarchist collective called the A31 Action Coalition, began slowly, with highly anticipated events proving less than fractious. Indeed, the cat-and-mouse between the protesters and the police started early in the morning. Responding to word that anarchists planned to somehow disrupt the morning's trading, hundreds of police officers flooded the blocks surrounding the New York Stock Ex-



Hiroko Masuie for The New York Times

Various campaign paraphernalia greeted conservative Christians yesterday at a screening of "George W. Bush: Faith in the White House."

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THE IMAGE

"He is the lifeblood of the conservative movement. They love George Bush, but they idolize Dick Cheney." DONNA BRAZILE

THE VICE PRESIDENT

Cheney Functions as Icon As Well as Lightning Rod

By RICK LYMAN

Four years ago, Dick Cheney was the consummate Washington insider, offering reassurance to voters and gravitas to a Republican ticket headed by an untested governor from Texas. But the vice president who takes the stage at Madison Square Garden tonight is now not only a conservative icon, but also a campaign flashpoint, perhaps the most controversial running mate since Dan Quayle.

And he is very likely to remain so, because strategists for the two parties say it helps their cause to keep Mr. Cheney in the crosshairs.

"I can't think of how the difference could be bigger from the last campaign to this one in terms of his pub-

lic role and his perception by the voting public," Tad Devine, a senior strategist for the Democratic nominee, John Kerry, said. "He is clearly a liability."

Kerry campaign officials say that simply by mentioning the vice president or Halliburton, the military contractor he once headed, they can reinforce an image of a Republican administration that has favored the interests of the rich and the powerful.

"My response to that, to quote a great American, is if that's what they think, then bring it on," Stuart Stevens, a media consultant to the Bush-Cheney campaign, said as he mimicked a Kerry signature line.

Every attack the Democrats make on the vice president, Republican strategists say, not only energizes the party's core voters, but also keeps the focus on national security, an issue that the vice president is closely identified with and that will be the central thrust of the campaign.

"What they don't understand is

that there is a difference between an election and a re-election," Mary Matalin, a senior adviser to Mr. Cheney, said. "And more important, there is a difference between the pre-9/11 and the post-9/11 world."

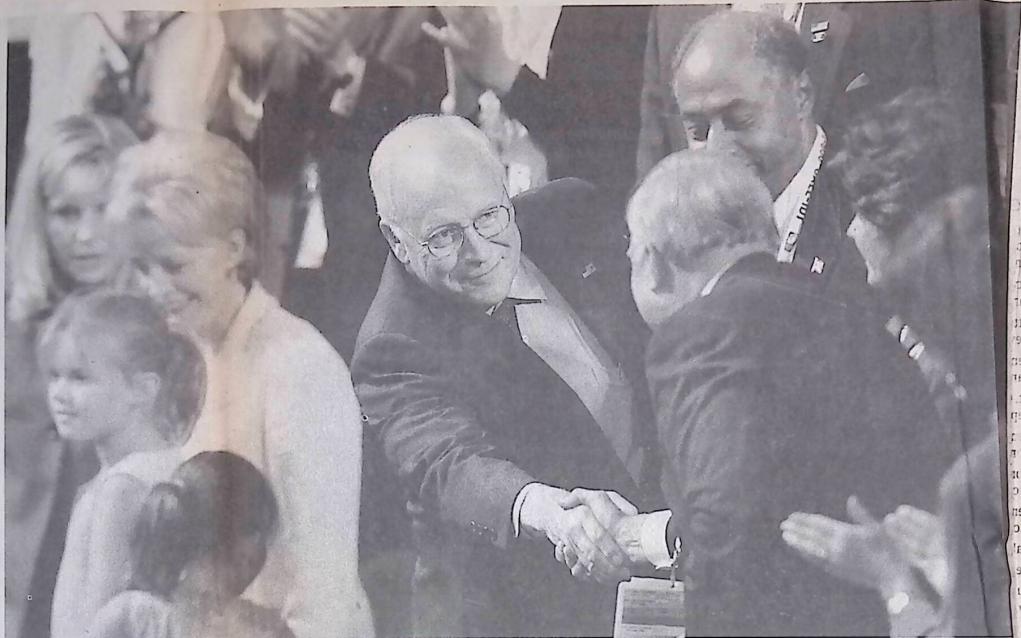
In his speech tonight, campaign officials said, Mr. Cheney will talk, in a broad historical sweep, about America as a country of opportunity, stressing the importance of leadership at crucial moments and why Republicans believe that President Bush's qualities as a leader are perfectly suited to fighting the war on terrorism.

"And, of course," a Cheney confidante said, "there will be a little bit about our Democratic opponents and the choice that they offer in terms of comparing leadership skills."

It may seem counterintuitive that a controversial vice president whose unfavorability ratings have nearly tripled to 37 percent from 13 percent in August 2000, could be a campaign asset. The key, Republican strategists say, is that Mr. Cheney remains highly popular among the party's voters, where his unfavorability rating was 7 percent last month.

Al Gore's campaign manager in 2000, Donna Brazile, is attending her first Republican convention, working for CNN. Ms. Brazile said the experience had convinced her that she was absolutely wrong when she recently told an interviewer that if she were running the Republican campaign she would drop Mr. Cheney from the ticket.

"He is a rock star to these guys," Ms. Brazile said. "He is not just a cultural figure. He is the lifeblood of the conservative movement. They love George Bush, but they idolize Dick Cheney. And turnout is what this election is going to be all about. So there is no way they should drop Cheney from the ticket."



Vincent Laforet/The New York Times

Vice President Dick Cheney and Lynne Cheney arriving on the floor of Madison Square Garden Monday for the first night of the convention.

playing a much more public role than vice-presidential candidates normally do.

John Edwards, the Democratic nominee, did not appear at his party's convention until the third night, when he accepted the nomination. Mr. Cheney not only kicked off the Republican gathering on Sunday with a rally at Ellis Island, but he has also attended every convention session, surrounded by a rotating coterie of relatives and Congressional candidates.

In between public appearances, Mr. Cheney attended private events with party officials and fund-raisers, as well as receptions for friends and family members.

Democratic critics view Mr. Cheney as an important proponent of the very policies that most enrage them: Iraq and a tax-cut plan that they believe favors the wealthiest Americans.

"Today, he's nothing but a liability," a spokeswoman for Mr. Kerry,

Stephanie Cutter, said. "Because he symbolizes everything that's gone wrong over the last four years. He's the father of many of the divisive policies, the hand behind the special interests and a key motivator behind the invasion of Iraq."

Also, the image persists of Mr. Cheney as the backstage manipulator, the guy who is pulling the president's strings and effectively running the government.

"Frankly, part of that is condescension to the president," Mr. Stevens, the Bush-Cheney media consultant, said. "Opponents condescend to him intellectually, just as a lot of Republicans condescended to Clinton morally. And I think that's one of the reasons Kerry is going to lose. We never understood Clinton's appeal, and that hurt us in our attempt to articulate why he was the wrong guy. And I don't think they understand the vice president."

Jeffrey Bell, a longtime Republican strategist who is not working on

the Bush campaign, said one reason for Mr. Cheney's low approval ratings was that he had not bothered to defend himself from attacks.

"When past vice presidents were attacked," Mr. Bell said, "they felt obligated to reply to keep their own future political prospects alive. But Cheney has made it clear that he has no plans to seek the presidency. And when he is attacked without responding, it just helps the negatives stick to him."

While Mr. Cheney has never been the most natural campaigner, the party has tried in recent weeks to warm up his image by having him appear in more casual attire alongside family members.

He has been a regular presence on the campaign trail, usually spending two or three days a week at events, and campaign officials said that pace would continue and, perhaps, even accelerate.

The campaign officials shrugged off complaints about Mr. Cheney's

stump skills.

"I guess there's a template for the media that a candidate has to be a baby kisser and a backslapper," Ms. Matalin said. "Dick Cheney is an effective campaigner by being able to give a comprehensive perspective on the president's policies and proposals. And we're going to come out of this convention with a lot of new proposals to talk about."

Kerry strategists say all of that is Republican bluster, intended to distract from Mr. Cheney's drag on the ticket.

"Halliburton and the breaks it got from the government, all of those no-bid contracts, have become a big issue for us, and Cheney speaks to that," Mr. Devine said. "Together, they speak to an even larger issue which underlies the weakness of the president right now, namely that he has represented powerful interests at the expense of ordinary people. Cheney fits into this so perfectly that all we need to do is say his name."

THE POLITICIANS

"There are a lot of people here running to be president of the United States, without naming names." BILL FRIST

THE KEYNOTE SPEAKER

Disaffected Democrat Who Is Now a G.O.P. Dream

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

Zig Zag Zell, his critics call him. Zellout. A traitor. An elephant in donkey's clothing. "They can call me anything they want," said Senator Zell Miller, the Georgia Democrat and leader of Democrats for Bush. "It's not anything new to me."

Mr. Miller is the talk of New York this week — interviewed on the news shows, invited to breakfast with the Ohio delegation, feted at a SoHo art gallery by the very same Georgia Republicans who spent decades trying to push him out of public office. Tonight he will become perhaps the only person in American political history to deliver the keynote address to conventions of opposing parties — in the same hall, no less.

So let Democrats whine and rant. Let them dredge up his impassioned address of 12 years ago, when Bill Clinton was nominated, in which Mr. Miller brought the house down when he declared of the current president's father, "George Bush just doesn't get it." Let them recite his remarks from a Georgia state Democratic dinner in 2001, when he introduced Senator John Kerry as an "authentic hero."

Mr. Miller says he warned Republicans that there would be "all these comparisons" between his words of old and new when they invited him to speak. But, having grown "mighty frustrated" with what he regards of the liberalism of the national Democratic Party, the senator says he will cast his first vote for a Republican, President Bush, this November. Then, when his Senate term expires in January, Mr. Miller says he will retire from politics for good.

At 72, he says, he has no intention of going out gently.

"If I were to be quiet, I would go out and cast my one vote out of the millions that's going to be cast," he said, in his familiar mountain Georgia twang, a voice as rich and textured as honey on toast. "What good would that do? I want the man to win."

Republicans, still smarting over the speech by Ron Reagan, the son of President Ronald Reagan, at the Democratic convention last month, see a delicious payback in Mr. Miller's appearance. They hope the Georgia senator will bring swing voters, independents and Democrats — especially conservative Southern Democrats who, like Mr. Miller, are disenchanted with the national party — to Mr. Bush's side.

"He will give them the message that it's perfectly acceptable and respectable to vote for Bush," said Charles Black, a Republican strategist with close ties to the White House.

Some of Mr. Miller's fellow Georgians are thrilled. Oscar Poole, a convention delegate and owner of Col. Poole's Georgia Bar-B-Q in East Ellijay, Ga., said, "We saw Zell coming this way two years ago. He saw the light."

Ed Gillespie, chairman of the Re-



Senator Zell Miller, far from his home in the Georgia mountains, at a reception Monday in a SoHo art gallery.

publican National Committee, said Mr. Miller's speech was "a statement that the Democratic Party has moved very far from the center."

Democrats are trying to make sense of what many call a betrayal. In Georgia, the Democratic Party is featuring Mr. Miller's 1992 speech on a fund-raising Web site, and in television advertisements. "Let's remember Zell for what he was, and forgive him for what he's become," said Bob Kahn, the state Democratic chairman, echoing the tag line of the commercials.

Others have suggested that in the twilight of his political career, Mr. Miller might be off his rocker. "It's almost schizophrenic," said David Worley, a longtime Georgia Democratic Party activist. Mr. Worley said he had come to the conclusion that "this is the only way for Zell Miller to get anyone to pay attention to him anymore."

Party leaders who have been close to Mr. Miller, like former Gov. Roy Barnes of Georgia and Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton of New York, have said little about his apparent conversion, seemingly too pained to talk. But Terry McAuliffe, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, insists that Mr. Miller will not bring Republicans any votes. "Who cares what Zell Miller thinks?" Mr. McAuliffe said. "He turned to the dark side long ago."

Mr. Miller, who told convention-goers in 1992 that the American dream "lives in the Democratic Party," says it is his party, not he, who has turned to the dark side.

"I was passionate for Bill Clinton back in those days," he said. "He was the Democrat I had been looking for who was going to take the party back to the center." But, Mr. Miller added, "he didn't quite govern like he ran."

Make no mistake, Mr. Miller is not switching parties. "I was born a Democrat," he often says, "and I'm

going to die a Democrat."

Democratic roots run deep in hardcrabble north Georgia, where he was born in a small town called Young Harris, tucked away in a remote valley in the Appalachian Mountains. His father, a teacher, died when Mr. Miller was two weeks old, and the senator, a skilled raconteur, loves to tell of how his mother, newly widowed with two young children, waded each day into a mountain creek to dredge up stones to build the house where he still lives.

Before leaving for the Republican convention in New York, Mr. Miller was interviewed by telephone from that house, with his dogs, Gus and Woodrow, by his side. "We've had a good walk this morning," Mr. Miller said cheerily. "So all's right with the world. At least, all's right with the

A senator who says he will 'die a Democrat' is a public cog in the Bush election effort.

world in the little valley of Young Harris."

In 1999, after 16 years as Georgia's lieutenant governor and 8 years as governor, Mr. Miller retired to his hometown, with his wife, Shirley, and taught at the local community college. But when Senator Paul Coverdell, a Republican, died in July 2000, Mr. Barnes, who was then governor, persuaded Mr. Miller to come out of retirement. Mr. Miller said then that he would be an advocate not for Democrats or Republicans, but for the citizens of Georgia.

In Washington, Mr. Miller says, he was stunned when Democratic leaders expected him to follow what he

calls "a party goose step." He supported Mr. Bush's tax cuts and was especially incensed by Democrats' efforts to block the president's judicial appointments.

He worked to elect Democrats in 2000 and 2002, but eventually quit going to the party's weekly caucus luncheons and wrote a book, "A National Party No More: The Conscience of a Conservative Democrat," which was published last year.

"Today, if you're a Democrat in Georgia, you have to spend most of the time explaining that you're not a Democrat like Tom Daschle," he said, referring to the Senate minority leader. Of the Democratic presidential nominee, Mr. Kerry, and his running mate, Senator John Edwards, Mr. Miller said, "Their philosophy is so far left of the mainstream that they, frankly, are off the charts."

Still, he stands by his description of Mr. Kerry as an "authentic hero."

"He is a person who volunteered for combat," said the senator, a former marine. "I respect and admire that very much."

Some have speculated that Mr. Miller is angling for a job in a second Bush administration. But he insists he has told the president, "There is nothing I would accept." Not even a cabinet post, or an ambassadorship? "Ambassadorship!" he cried, as if it were an offer to work in the salt mines. "You couldn't hold a gun on me and give me an ambassadorship. I've seen ambassadors; all they do is go to cocktail parties. I hate cocktail parties."

Instead, Mr. Miller said, he intends to go back to Young Harris, to teach and relax. As to any fallout from his convention speech, he says it cannot possibly be worse than the time when, as a candidate for governor, he came out in favor of a statewide lottery. "I couldn't even go to my own church," he said, "they were so mad at me."

THE TV WATCH

Alessandra Stanley

The First Lady's Influence Is Starting to Reveal Itself

There were times when Ronald Reagan's behind-the-scenes reliance on his wife, Nancy, spilled into public view, most memorably when television cameras caught him repeating her whispered cue, "We're doing everything we can."

Laura Bush has also tried to keep her assistance to her husband veiled, but she was unmasked this week even before her address to the convention last night. On the "Today" show on NBC yesterday morning, Mrs. Bush tried to correct what her husband had muddled the day before when he told Matt Lauer that the war on terrorism could not be won.

"I think we've made great success in winning the war on terror. But it's not a war that you're going to have a surrender at the end," Mrs. Bush said gently. "It's not anything like we've ever faced before in our country. And it will last a long time. I think that's what the president meant."

Political analysts often describe President Bush as more the political heir of Ronald Reagan than his own father. On television this week, Mrs. Bush, too, is playing a role closer to Nancy Reagan's than that of her mother-in-law, Barbara Bush. In Mr. Reagan's first term, Mrs. Reagan's fondness for china and designer clothes, as well as her prickly manner, set her up as the bad cop to her amiable husband, Mrs. Bush, on the other hand, is a warm, down-to-earth foil to her blunt, combative husband. But both wives were useful surrogates for their husbands in a way that Barbara Bush was not.

The first President Bush's wife occasionally spoke her own mind on issues like abortion. This Mrs. Bush speaks her husband's mind.

After Ron Reagan made the case for embryonic stem-cell research at the Democratic convention in July, Republican strategists turned to Mrs. Bush, whose father, like the younger Mr. Reagan, had Alzheimer's disease, to defend the president's opposition to it. And that pitted the current first lady against Ronald Reagan's widow.

At the Republican convention, and more important, in the many television interviews she gave yesterday, Mrs. Bush is presenting the president's softer side and trying to appeal to women. (Lost there be any doubts about last night's agenda, women and other compassionate speakers spoke at the podium under a big sign that said, "People of Compassion.") But campaign strategists —

working off polls that show that voters have a far more favorable view of Mrs. Bush than of Senator John Kerry's wife, Teresa Heinz Kerry — are also putting Mrs. Bush forward as a model wife and traditional first lady who is a Republican antidote to Mrs. Heinz Kerry.

"Teresa Heinz failed when she spoke because she talked more about herself than she did about her husband," Sheila Tate, a former press secretary to Nancy Reagan, told Fox News. Later, Ms. Tate added, "The minute a first lady forgets that she hasn't been elected, she usually gets into trouble."

Even after four years in the White House, the unflappable Mrs. Bush never seems to get into trouble. There are no famous Laura Bush false steps or East Wing to-dos. Her hairstyle is never in the news and her clothes are always appropriate. (She seems, though, to have little influence on the fashion tastes of her twin daughters, who share the Kerry daughters' fondness for daytime

A new TV biography likens Mrs. Bush to a "Cheshire cat."

decolleté.)

Mrs. Bush has a dignity and discipline in public life that few first ladies have managed. "She's a little bit like a Cheshire cat," Carl Sferazza Anthony, an authority on first ladies, says in a personal history of Mrs. Bush that will be shown today on A&E. "A lot of smiling, very genuinely warm person — but very knowing without telling."

Friends of Mrs. Bush's, her twin daughters, her husband and her in-laws portray her as a calm, loving helpmate and mother in the A&E program. The president's father and mother have a teasing relationship in public. Mr. Bush, like Ronald Reagan, is quite openly sentimental about his love for his wife — once, when dedicating a promenade in her name, he choked up talking about her: "This is a serene and peaceful place," he said, his voice cracking. "Just like Laura."

Her mother-in-law did suggest, however, that Mrs. Bush was not as docile as she sometimes appeared. "I don't think you instruct Laura Bush very much," she says dryly in the program.

Potential Contenders for 2008 Start the Wooing in 2004

Continued From Page P1

out appearing too interested in promoting their future interests over the current interests of, in this case, Mr. Bush.

He said the fact that New Hampshire is an election battleground this year gives those contemplating a candidacy a sound excuse for accepting an invitation to appear before the state's delegates.

Dr. Frist recently visited New Hampshire on behalf of the president and other candidates. Most of the others in the first ranks of 2008 hopefuls have also found reasons to make

trips to New England or Iowa.

The future field stretches well beyond these men. Four years is a lifetime in politics, and other party stars could emerge by then. Republicans in New York tick off the possibilities: Senators George Allen of Virginia, Sam Brownback of Kansas and Lindsey Graham of South Carolina. Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge, a former governor of Pennsylvania, is seen as a prospect, as is Gov. Bill Owens of Colorado.

One governor who has in the past been regularly considered a future candidate is not even in New York City. Jeb Bush of Florida is home tending to hurricane recovery.

But one of his longtime political allies, Al Cardenas, a former chairman of the Florida Republican Party, said he did not see the president's brother as part of the next field. "Right now his heart is really not into doing it," Mr. Cardenas said. But Mr. Bush, 51, is young enough that he could jump into the race eight or more years down the road.

All of the candidates will be closely watching this election for trends that could determine the type of candidate Republicans will be searching for in four years: a more conservative figure like Mr. Frist could be attractive; there may be a call for more moderate Northeastern politi-

cians like Mr. Giuliani or Mr. Pataki; or independent figures like Mr. McCain and Mr. Hagel may be sought.

There is also a scenario that many gathered in Madison Square Garden do not want to contemplate. Should he lose, President Bush could conceivably try again in 2008 and he would have to be given a lot of deference as a former standard-bearer.

Anxious to avoid that possibility, the potential contenders say their only goal at the convention is to help return Mr. Bush to the White House.

"The governor is entirely focused on getting the president re-elected," a spokeswoman for Mr. Romney said.

THE DEMOCRATIC RUNNING MATE

Edwards, in Appalachia, Reaches Out to Working Families

By MICHAEL JANOFFSKY

BECKLEY, W.Va., Aug. 31 — Senator John Edwards brought the Democratic presidential campaign to Appalachia on Tuesday, using his two appearances to declare that the Bush administration had done little to help America's working families.

As Senator John Kerry, the party's presidential nominee, took the day off on Nantucket, Mr. Edwards, his running mate, continued to criticize President Bush for "miscalculations," like the one the president admitted last week over events in Iraq. Mr. Edwards told both his audiences — an older couple sitting on their front porch and, later, a crowd of about 1,000 at a midday rally — that the administration had engaged in "a whole series of miscalculations."

"When you're watching this convention on TV from New York City, what I want you to remember is what they said last time," Mr. Edwards said at the rally, here in Beck-

ley. "President Bush stood at the Republican convention in 2000, and he said, criticizing Bill Clinton and Al Gore: 'They have not led. We will.'"

"Yeah, they've led us, all right. Have they led us to more jobs?"

The crowd roared, "No!"

"Have they led us to better health care?"

"No!"

"Have they led us to a safer America?"

"No!"

"The truth is, they have led us from the edge of greatness off a cliff," Mr. Edwards said, "and it's time to lead George Bush back to Crawford, Tex."

Mr. Edwards also took aim at former Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York, who, in addressing the convention on Monday night, criticized Mr. Edwards for his frequent reference to "two Americas." Mr. Giuliani suggested that the phrase meant one America where Mr. Edwards could take a position and another

where he could contradict it.

Mr. Edwards depicts the two Americas as those of the haves and the have-nots, and on Tuesday he accused Mr. Giuliani of "making fun" of them.

"But out here in West Virginia," he said to a crescendo of cheers, "you're living it."

Earlier, Mr. Edwards sat for 30 minutes with Darrell and Malinda Todd outside their four-bedroom brick home in nearby Piney View. There he bemoaned the administration's economic policies and outlined the Democratic ticket's own economic plans, based on rolling back tax cuts for the wealthy. Mr. Todd, 60, who retired in 2002 after 43 years in the coal industry, has had heart and prostate problems, and his health insurance expired Tuesday; his wife, 57, is a cook at an elementary school.

Mr. Edwards told them that since Mr. Bush took office, five million people had lost their health insurance and four million had become pov-

erty-stricken through loss of jobs and a drop in wages. As a result, he told the Todds, "it's hard for me to understand why anybody would want to rehire somebody like that to be president."

West Virginia, a state hit hard by job losses, narrowly voted for Mr. Bush in 2000 and has become a frequent stop for both campaigns. Mr. Bush, who appeared at a rally in Beckley in mid-July, has visited the state 12 times during his presidency. Mr. Kerry five times this year.

Mr. Edwards told both of his audiences that as a millworker's son who grew up in a small town in North Carolina, he could identify with the problems of West Virginians. But before he left the porch, Mrs. Todd asked him if he would ever come back, "or will you just forget about us?"

"The reason why I'll come back," he promised, "is because I come from a place just like this."

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RINGING ENDORSEMENTS

"My husband didn't want to go to war, but he knew the safety and security of America and the world depended on it." LAURA BUSH

Party's Schedule

All times are Eastern Daylight

Tonight's Theme

A Land of Opportunity

Speakers

7:00 p.m. to 11:15 p.m.

Representative Shelley Moore Capito of West Virginia, deputy permanent co-chairman of convention

Gov. Linda Lingle of Hawaii, temporary convention chairwoman

Attorney General Brian Sandoval of Nevada

Senator Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania

Lt. Gov. Michael Steele of Maryland, deputy permanent co-chairman

Jennette Bradley, assistant convention secretary

Bernie Garcia, assistant convention secretary

Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky

Labor Secretary Elaine Chao

Representative Rob Portman of Ohio

Lurita Doan of Virginia and Patricia Stout of Texas

Representative Paul Ryan of Wisconsin

Michael Reagan

Lt. Gov. Kerry Healey of Massachusetts

Gov. Mitt Romney of Massachusetts

Senator Zell Miller, Democrat of Georgia

Lynne Cheney

Vice President Dick Cheney

TV Schedule

Networks

ABC (Channel 7) 10 p.m. to midnight, live coverage, will also incorporate coverage into its news programming

CBS (Channel 2) 10 p.m. to 11 p.m., live coverage, will also incorporate coverage into its news programming

CNN live coverage throughout the day and evening

CPTV 8 p.m. to 11 p.m.

DISCOVERY TIMES "Page One," The New York Times's look at the next day's front page, originates in the convention hall nightly at 10

FOX NEWS CHANNEL 9 p.m. to 11:30 p.m., live coverage, will also incorporate coverage into daily programming

MSNBC live coverage starting at 9 a.m., will also incorporate coverage into daily programming

NBC (Channel 4) 10 p.m. to 11:30 p.m., live coverage, will incorporate coverage into its news programming

PBS (Channel 13) 8 p.m. to 11 p.m.

Comedy Central "The Daily Show With Jon Stewart," 11 p.m. to 11:30 p.m.

C-Span live gavel-to-gavel coverage

On The Web

THE OVERVIEW

Upbeat G.O.P. Revives Bush's Compassion Theme

Continued From Page A1

the domestic issues Mr. Bush campaigned on in 2000, and speaker after speaker testified that he had made great headway in delivering on his promises, and had gone to war only to project the same compassionate American values. Lest the upbeat theme be lost on anyone, delegates waved signs proclaiming themselves "People of Compassion."

George P. Bush, long one of his uncle's most popular surrogate campaigners, especially among Latinos and immigrant groups, spoke in English and Spanish, telling delegates: "Our party has always represented the interests of all people seeking opportunity. We are the home of entrepreneurs, men and women who want to know the pride of accomplishment, the honor of self-sufficiency."

But the night was not without some more passionate — and confrontational — words. Senator Elizabeth Dole of North Carolina, one of Mr. Bush's early rivals for the nomination four years ago, offered a blunt defense of the party's stance against gay marriage, abortion and secularism.

"Two thousand years ago a man said, 'I have come to give life and to give it in full,'" Mrs. Dole said. "In America, I have the freedom to call that man Lord, and I do. In the United States of America, we are free to worship without discrimination, without intervention and even without activist judges trying to strip the name of God from the Pledge of Allegiance, from the money in our pockets and from the walls of our court-houses. The Constitution guarantees freedom of religion, not freedom from religion. The right to worship God isn't something Republicans invented, but it is something Republi-

Emphasizing domestic values and portraying the war as necessary to protect them.

cans will defend."

Senator Bill Frist of Tennessee described the Democratic nominee, John Kerry, as "the personal injury lawyers' best friend" and defended the Republicans' effort to expand access to health care, saying, "I'll tell you what Senator Kerry's prescription will be: Take a handful of tax increases and don't call me in the morning."

And Mr. Steele, the first African-American elected to statewide office in Maryland, styled himself as the Republican answer to the Democrats' black keynote speaker, Barack Obama of Illinois, and unleashed some even tougher words about Mr. Kerry, who he noted "recently said he doesn't want to use the word 'war' to describe our efforts to fight terrorism."

"Well, I don't want to use the words 'commander in chief' to describe John Kerry," Mr. Steele said.

Mr. Palge offered a vigorous defense of Mr. Bush's education policy, declaring: "This election may be multiple choice, but there's only one correct choice. To go forward, not back. To choose compassion, not cynicism. To set high standards, not settle for second best. To elect a true reformer with proven results, not a Johnny-come-lately with more promises."

Just before 7:30 p.m., Pennsylvania, the swing state that Mr. Bush has visited more than 30 times — more often than any other as president — cast all its 75 votes for Mr. Bush, officially putting him over the top of the 1,255 votes needed for nomination.

A couple hours later, Mr. Schwarzenegger recalled his youth in Austria, which was still partly Soviet-occupied, and the fear he felt at a Soviet checkpoint. "I was a little boy; I wasn't an action-hero back then," he said. "And I remember how scared I was that the soldiers would pull my father or my uncle out of the car and I'd never see him again."

By contrast, he said, "In this country, it doesn't make any difference where you were born. It doesn't make any difference who your parents were. It doesn't make any difference if, like me, you couldn't even speak English until you were in your 20's. America gave me opportunities, and my immigrant dreams came true. I want other people to get the same chances I did, the same opportunities. And I believe they can. That's why I believe in this party and why I believe in this president."

He described the United States as a nation that sends Peace Corps volunteers to "teach village children," that "gives more than any other country to fight AIDS in Africa and the developing world," and that



George P. Bush, the president's nephew, addressing the Republican National Convention last night.

Photographs by Vincent Laforet/The New York Times

"fights not for imperialism, but for human rights and democracy."

He recalled his visits with wounded American troops in hospitals from Iraq to Germany to rebut the trademark reference of Senator John Edwards, the Democratic vice-presidential contender, to two Americas, one rich and one poor. "I can tell you this: Our young men and women in uniform do not believe there are two Americas," Mr. Schwarzenegger said. "They believe we are one America, and they are fighting for it."

Polls show that Mr. Schwarzenegger and Mrs. Bush are far more popular with voters across the country than the president is, and it was no accident that they were chosen to head the bill on the night the convention first reached a broad national audience in prime time.

Mrs. Bush seemed eager to offer a life partner's loving explanation of a

man who always seems to shrink from explaining himself.

"Tonight," she said, "I want to try and answer the question that I believe many people would ask me if we sat down for a cup of coffee or ran into each other at the store: You know him better than anyone, you've seen things no one else has, why do you think we should re-elect your husband as president?" She answered herself by saying, "As you might imagine, I have a lot to say about that."

She went on to describe "some very quiet nights at the dinner table," nighttime phone talks with foreign leaders and "an intense weekend at Camp David" with Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain as Mr. Bush weighed his options for confronting Saddam Hussein. "And I was there when my husband had to decide," she said. "Once again, as in our parents'

generation, America had to make the tough choices, the hard decisions, and lead the world toward greater security and freedom."

As a result, she said, "50 million more men, women and children live in freedom thanks to the United States of America and our allies."

Mr. Bush, campaigning in Nashville, used a speech to the American Legion to douse the brushfire he started with remarks broadcast a day earlier, in which he suggested that the war on terror might not be winnable in the usual sense.

"We meet today in a time of war for our country, a war we did not start but one that we will win," Mr. Bush said. Later, he told Rush Limbaugh: "Listen, I should have made my point more clear about what I meant. What I meant was, was that this is not a conventional war. It is a different kind of war."



On The Web

Party Sites

www.gopconvention.com
www.georgewbush.com
www.gop.com
www.rnc.org
www.gop.gov
www.republicans.org
www.nygonop.org

News Organizations

Major news organization are planning to use live video from the television pool coverage by C-Span on their Web sites that will be the same as that broadcast by the television network. Other Web-based news sites will provide similar coverage, and NationalJournal.com, normally open only to subscribers, will have open access for the conventions and provide a guide to convention news on the Web.

The New York Times

Complete coverage of the Republican National Convention, including:
■ The latest news and Times on the Trail, a continually updated Web political report.
■ A Morning Briefing column by Katharine Q. Seelye, previewing the day ahead.
■ R. W. Apple Jr. answering readers' questions.
■ Audio clips, photographs and video reports.
■ An interactive election guide with maps and charts highlighting crucial states, fund-raising, at-risk Congressional seats and past election results.
■ A detailed convention schedule and complete texts of all major speeches.
nytimes.com/campaign

THE CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR

Schwarzenegger Takes to Limelight Again

By MICHAEL SLACKMAN

Valerie White had each fingernail carefully painted to resemble a tiny, shiny American flag. No detail was too small for the big night, the night she put on her sequined vest, and her husband, Lyn, his flag-decorated tie, so they could welcome Arnold Schwarzenegger to Madison Square Garden.

It was Mr. Schwarzenegger's night in prime time. The bodybuilder turned movie star turned politician, who won his latest role as California governor in a recall vote last year, took center stage to lend his moderate image, his immigrant-made-good story, to a convention seeking to define the G.O.P. once again as a bigtent party.

"He's what America is all about," said Mrs. White, an alternate delegate from Asheboro, N.C. "You can come to this country and be successful."

Mr. Schwarzenegger's immediate job in speaking to the convention was to help promote the re-election of President Bush. But his appearance could not help but pump up his own political prospects. Conventions provide a chance to preen before the party faithful, an especially valuable opportunity for moderate Republicans like Mr. Schwarzenegger. And he wasted no time in trying to burnish his Republican credentials with biting partisan remarks.

"Speaking of acting, one of my movies was called 'True Lies,'" he said in remarks prepared for delivery. "It's what the Democrats should have called their convention."

Some of his supporters are even talking of Mr. Schwarzenegger as presidential material, though that would take an amendment to the Constitution, which permits only na-

tive-born citizens to serve as president. Mr. Schwarzenegger was born in Austria. There were some people in the hall who despite their enthusiasm for Mr. Schwarzenegger were uncomfortable with that notion.

"I'd hate to see that happen right now," Mr. White said of permitting foreign-born citizens to be president. "You hear about things like sleeper cells. It might be dangerous."

But even those concerns could not dim the excitement over seeing Mr. Schwarzenegger taking the stage to speak in support of President Bush — or quash the talk of a possible

A future president?
Maybe not. A star on
the stump?
Indisputably.

White House run.

"I think he's very good for the Republican Party," said Don Yost of Key West, Fla., a guest of the Bush-Cheney campaign to the convention, who said he would like to see that requirement changed.

With Mr. Schwarzenegger bringing Hollywood star power to the Republican Party, there has been increased attention to proposals that would begin the complicated process of amending the Constitution so that foreign-born citizens can serve as president. Senator Orrin G. Hatch, Republican of Utah, has proposed such an amendment, which is pending in the Judiciary Committee. It would allow a person to become pres-

ident 20 years after becoming a citizen. Representative Vic Snyder, Democrat of Arkansas, has introduced a similar proposal in the House. That proposal would allow a naturalized citizen to serve as president after 35 years. Mr. Schwarzenegger has been a citizen since 1983.

"In this country, it doesn't make any difference where you were born," Mr. Schwarzenegger said in remarks prepared for delivery to the convention. "It doesn't make any difference who your parents were. It doesn't make any difference if, like me, you couldn't even speak English until you were in your 20's. America gave me opportunities, and my immigrant dreams came true. I want other people to get the same chances I did, the same opportunities. And I believe they can."

Even Republicans who disagree with Mr. Schwarzenegger on social issues had nothing but praise for him last night. "Arnold Schwarzenegger is the John Wayne of the current generation," said the Rev. Jerry Falwell, who helped lead conservative evangelical Protestants into politics 20 years ago as the founder of the Moral Majority. "His speech will motivate people to vote in California and across the country."

Patti Gaines, an alternate delegate from Alabama, got to the convention hall about an hour early yesterday. She wore a black tank top with the word "Republican" written in hot pink on the front.

"From the time we found out about it, that's who I wanted to make an effort to come and see," Ms. Gaines said of the California governor. "I wanted to see Laura, too. It was nice that they were on the same night, but he was the main reason."

when my husband had to decide," she said. "Once again, as in our parents'

this is not a conventional war. It is a different kind of war."

Excerpts From Address By Gov. Schwarzenegger

Following are comments by Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger of California as prepared for delivery to the Republican National Convention last night. The full remarks and video are on the Web at nytimes.com/campaign.

My fellow Americans, this is an amazing moment for me. To think that a once-scrawny boy from Austria could grow up to become governor of California and stand in Madison Square Garden to speak on behalf of the president of the United States that is an immigrant's dream. It is the American dream.

I was born in Europe — and I've traveled all over the world. I can tell you that there is no place, no country, more compassionate, more generous, more accepting, and more welcoming than the United States of America.

As long as I live, I will never forget that day 21 years ago when I raised my hand and took the oath of citizenship.

Do you know how proud I was? I was so proud that I walked around with an American flag around my shoulders all day long.

When I was a boy, the Soviets occupied part of Austria. I saw their tanks in the streets. I saw communism with my own eyes. I remember the fear we had when we had to cross into the Soviet sector. Growing up, we were told, "Don't look the soldiers in the eye. Look straight ahead." It was a common belief that Soviet sol-

diers could take a man out of his own car and ship him off to the Soviet Union as slave labor.

My family didn't have a car — but one day we were in my uncle's car. It was near dark as we came to a Soviet checkpoint. I was a little boy, I wasn't an action hero back then, and I remember how scared I was that the soldiers would pull my father or my uncle out of the car, and I'd never see him again. My family and so many others lived in fear of the Soviet boot. Today, the world no longer fears the Soviet Union — and it is because of the United States of America! ...

America gave me opportunities, and my immigrant dreams came true. I want other people to get the same chances I did, the same opportunities. And I believe they can. That's why I believe in this country, that's why I believe in this party — and that's why I believe in this president.

Now, many of you out there tonight are "Republican" like me in your hearts and in your beliefs. Maybe you're from Guatemala. Maybe you're from the Philippines. Maybe Europe or the Ivory Coast. Maybe you live in Ohio, Pennsylvania, or New Mexico. And maybe, just maybe, you don't agree with this party on every single issue.

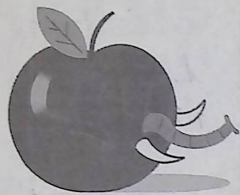
I say to you tonight I believe that's not only O.K., that's what's great about this country. Here we can respectfully disagree and still be patriotic, still be American, and still be good Republicans.

THE MESSAGE

"We may never sit down at a peace table, but make no mistake about it, we are winning." PRESIDENT BUSH

Political Points

JOHN TIERNEY and SHERYL GAY STOLBERG



Illustrations by Stephen Savage

she intend to," Ms. Carbaugh said. "And there is absolutely no sense at all of feeling awkward."

But what about helping Mr. Bush? "There's no awkwardness for Maria to be present when her husband delivers his speech," Ms. Carbaugh.

So we tried once more. "Maria's there to be present when her husband — Here, Ms. Carbaugh paused. "Should I just hit rewind and play it again?"

Bush Favorites: Crème Brûlée And Apple Pie

NOW it can be told: George Bush does not hate all things French.

"He likes a good crème brûlée," Roland Mesnier, who retired last month after 25 years as the White House pastry chef, confided yesterday.

This seemed an impolitic revelation, given last year's move by Republicans to banish french fries from the House of Representatives. The French-born Mr. Mesnier assured us that there was nothing treasonous about.

"I give it an American twist," he said. "I make a good old cider apple brûlée with baked apple in it. That, he likes very much. You see, that's very American."

We caught up with the charming Mr. Mesnier, dressed in his signature white jacket and toque, at the New York Hilton.

"The president is not someone who dwells on food too much," he said. "He loves good food, but it's mainly simple food. Like when it comes to desserts, a good well-made chocolate cake with ice cream. That's what he likes, and usually vanilla ice cream. Nothing too sophisticated. Or he likes a good pie, a good apple pie."

Hmmm. Does not dwell too much. Like things simple and unsophisticated. Could it be that the taste buds reflect the man?

Mr. Mesnier was diplomatic in his reply. Even the most sophisticated

THE PRESIDENT

In Retreat, Bush Says U.S. Will Win War on Terrorism

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

NASHVILLE, Aug. 31 — President Bush moved to put out a political brush fire on Tuesday with a forceful declaration to the nation's largest veterans group that the United States will win the war on terrorism and that the country will never show "weakness or uncertainty" on his watch.

A day after NBC broadcast an interview with Mr. Bush in which he said he did not think the United States could win the war against terrorism, which has become the focus of his presidency and his re-election campaign, he raced back to his optimistic statements that America will prevail.

"In this different kind of war, we may never sit down at a peace table, but make no mistake about it, we are winning, and we will win," Mr. Bush told a cheering crowd at the annual convention of the American Legion.

In the interview with Matt Lauer of NBC, recorded Saturday and run on Monday, Mr. Bush was asked about the war on terrorism and replied, "I don't think you can win it." Democrats immediately seized on the remark as defeatist and used it to begin a full day of political attacks against Mr. Bush.

After addressing the veterans, Mr. Bush continued to backtrack from the comment he made to Mr. Lauer. "I probably needed to be more articulate about it," Mr. Bush told Rush Limbaugh, the radio talk show host, in a live interview in Des Moines.

By then, Senator John Kerry's campaign had jumped on the president's comments to the American Legion, saying that they amounted to backpedaling and showed Mr. Bush to be a flip-flopper — a phrase that Bush officials have used for months to belittle Mr. Kerry.

"Bush flip-flops on winning the war on terror," read the e-mail message sent to reporters by Phil Singer, a Kerry campaign spokesman. Mr. Singer added, "This president has gone from mission accomplished to mission miscalculated to mission impossible on the war on terror."

The president in turn began his own new attack on Mr. Kerry for what he said was the senator's wa-



Doug Mills/The New York Times

President Bush greeted members of the American Legion yesterday after his address at the group's annual convention in Nashville.

varing position on a Pentagon plan to move up to 70,000 troops out of Europe and Asia over the next decade. Mr. Bush announced his support for the plan on Aug. 16, and Mr. Kerry's campaign promptly criticized the realignment as dangerous, particularly the shift of about 12,000 troops from South Korea to Iraq.

"Within hours after I announced this plan, my opponent came out

against it, and that's his right to do so," Mr. Bush told the veterans. "He's allowed to say what he believes. The only problem is that he endorsed the idea just 17 days earlier."

As the crowd laughed, he cited a segment of comments Mr. Kerry made Aug. 1 on "This Week" on ABC. Mr. Kerry, Mr. Bush recounted, said "I think we can significantly change

the deployment of troops, not just in Iraq, but elsewhere in the world — the Korean Peninsula, perhaps, Europe, perhaps. There are great possibilities open to us, but this administration has very little imagination."

Mr. Bush then said to more laughter, "Well, it takes a lot of imagination to come out against a position you took just 17 days earlier."

The Kerry campaign countered that the president had distorted the senator's remarks and that Mr. Kerry had preceded his comments on Aug. 1 with the caveat, "if the diplomacy that I believe can be put in place can work." Kerry aides said he did support redeploying troops from South Korea, but only if North Korea made concessions in talks to dismantle its nuclear weapons program.

Laura Bush also joined the fire and counterfire over the war against terrorism on Tuesday. In an interview with Diane Sawyer on ABC's "Good Morning America," Mrs. Bush said that when her husband said he did not think America could win the war, he was emphasizing the unconventional nature of the struggle.

"This isn't a war with a country where you're going to have a surrender at some point," Mrs. Bush told Ms. Sawyer. "But the fact is, as we look around the world, we are already winning the war on terror."

Mr. Bush was accompanied on Tuesday by Senator John McCain of Arizona, who has repeatedly promised to press the president to denounce commercials by a group of Vietnam War veterans who say that Mr. Kerry lied about his war record.

Mr. McCain told reporters in Nashville that he had not yet spoken to the president about the issue, but would try to do so later in the day. "One thing you don't want to do with the president of the United States is try to, you know, really? He knows how I feel. We've discussed that and many issues. It's important, but it's not the overriding issue of our relationship."

Mr. McCain also played down Mr. Bush's comments to Mr. Lauer. "What he meant was, we're never going to have a peace signing on the Missouri," Mr. McCain said, referring to Japan's surrender on the battleship Missouri in 1945.

One Gaffe, Much Advice

WHEN President Bush said that maybe, just maybe, we couldn't really win the war on terrorism, it turned into the gaffe heard round the city.

"He made himself fair game," a former senior administration official said, baffled at the president's statement days before showing up in New York. "Can you imagine what we would have done if Kerry said it?"

So all day, Republicans were trying to spin their man out of a hole. "I think he believes it's winnable," Ken Mehlman, Mr. Bush's campaign manager, said. "But there will be parties in the streets of New York celebrating V-E Day the way they did V-J Day and V-E Day."

But at the Council on Foreign Relations — where Dick Cheney is a member — Mr. Bush's comments were lunchtime fodder.

"A classic Washington gaffe, one where you tell the truth inadvertently," said Max Boot, a conservative scholar and columnist.

Richard N. Haass, the council president who is a former senior official in Mr. Bush's State Department, suggested that the president should have used a metaphor not of war but of disease, which can be prevented and treated, if not eradicated.

By the time lunch was over, Mr. Bush had cleared up things. Sort of. "We are winning," he told the Veterans of Foreign Wars. "And we will win."

Just don't expect a parade.

Smoothing The Speech For Delivery

THE war on terror may not be winnable. But Mr. Bush, a man who jokes about his battles with the English language, has just about conquered his convention speech.

"He's ready," said Karen P. Hughes, Mr. Bush's longtime communications aide, who has been traveling with him on the campaign trail but stopped on Tuesday in Manhattan to sign copies of her autobiography.

She said the president had "reading out loud" sessions on Friday and Sunday "where we read for pacing and figure out what parts need to be tightened and which parts work and which parts don't."

Today, Ms. Hughes will dash back to Washington, she said, for a final rehearsal before the teleprompter.



The way she spoke, it sounded as if Mr. Bush is wistful about the whole experience.

"He knows this will be his last campaign," she said.

Awkward? Not for Shriver

YOU might think it's awkward for Maria Shriver, a registered Democrat and member of America's most famous Democratic family, to sit with the First President Bush last night at the Republican convention. You might think that is why she turned down all interview requests and scheduled no public appearances on her visit to New York.

How cynical. "Absolutely not," Terri Carbaugh, Ms. Shriver's press secretary, said, insisting that it was not awkward at all. "She supports her husband completely."

Yes, but couldn't the sight of a Democratic celebrity, even one married to a Republican governor, Arnold Schwarzenegger of California, help re-elect a Republican president?

"Maria does not have a public position in the presidential race, nor does



world travelers "still prefer to have a dessert like their mother would have made," he said. We reminded him that the president has not always been complimentary about his mother's culinary talents; he once said he ate dinner at home "as long as my mother wasn't cooking."

Mr. Mesnier wouldn't go there. "That," he said, "is between him and his mother."

Patterns In the Lectern

FOUR years ago, Democrats claimed they saw the word "rats" pop up on the screen in a Republican advertisement, a coded message, they argued, to turn voters away from their candidate, Al Gore.

Now some people are suggesting they see a cross in the geometric wood patterns of the convention lectern and wonder whether it is a subliminal message from Mr. Bush's campaign to Christian conservatives.

"It is the very height of insensitivity for the Republican Party to feature a cross at the center of the podium of this convention for the duration of the opening night of the convention," the executive director of the National Jewish Democratic Council, Ira N. Forman, said yesterday. "This wooden cross must be at least three feet tall, and it sends a signal of exclusivity loudly and clearly."

Nonsense, Mr. Bush's chief strategist, Karl Rove, said yesterday. "My God, where do they come up with this stuff?" he asked on CNN.

Note to conspiracy theorists: Mr. Rove used the word God.

Flip Sandals Flop on Street

JOHN KERRY flip-flops are a flop in New York.

The beach sandals that feature a left shoe showing what Mr. Kerry is for (the war in Iraq, the Bush tax cut, No Child Left Behind, welfare reform, gay marriage and NAFTA) and a right shoe showing what he is against (the war in Iraq, the Bush tax cut, No Child Left Behind, welfare reform, gay marriage NAFTA) have not been selling as well as Tim Agne, a souvenir vendor, had hoped.

So Mr. Agne cut the price, from \$25 to \$15. "We've flipped-flopped on prices," he conceded.

CAMPAIGN PROMISES

Bush's Promises of 2000: Some Fulfilled, Some Thwarted

Continued From Page A1

the economy was already slowing by the time he took office. The stock market bubble burst in March 2000, the economy plunged into recession in March 2001, and other shocks followed: the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001; the corporate accounting scandals at Enron, WorldCom and other companies; and anxieties about the war in Iraq.

Though many of those factors were outside Mr. Bush's control, the bottom line, for the Democrats, at least, is that prosperity diminished for millions of people. The nation lost more than two million manufacturing jobs, and few have been restored since the recession officially ended in November 2001. The nation has added 1.5 million jobs since last August, but it still has 1.2 million fewer than when Mr. Bush took office. The median family income, after adjusting for inflation, was about \$1,535 lower in 2003 than in 2000.

"Whether you are talking about jobs, or income or growth, the record is terrible," asserted Roger C. Altman, a former deputy treasury secretary who is a senior economic adviser to Senator John Kerry, in a conference call with reporters on Monday.

Bush allies counter that the tax cuts made the recession the shortest and shallowest in history. "It was exactly the right time to provide tax relief," said Dan Bartlett, the White House communications director. "It was a key victory for our economy and the fulfillment of a campaign promise." He added, "We're more than ready to have that debate with Senator Kerry."

Critics also say the tax cuts came at an enormous cost, helping to turn a huge surplus into a widening deficit that will burden generations to come.

Another major theme of Mr. Bush's speech in Philadelphia was that the Democrats had failed to lead on an array of major challenges. Chief among them were the long-term fiscal problems of Medicare and Social Security, which are expected to come under increasing pressure with the retirement of the baby boomers.

"We know the tests of leadership," Mr. Bush told the convention. "The issues are joined. We will strengthen Social Security and Medicare for the greatest generation, and for generations to come."

Mr. Bush did deliver on a goal that eluded his predecessor, Bill Clinton, pushing through a Medicare overhaul that for the first time added an outpatient prescription drug benefit. The law has proved confusing to many elderly beneficiaries so far, polls suggest, and Mr. Bush has reaped little political benefit from it.

The Nomination Speech, Four Years Ago

George W. Bush made several specific promises in his acceptance speech for the Republican Party's 2000 presidential nomination.

Promise	Assessment
POVERTY <i>And we will extend the promise of prosperity to every forgotten corner of this country.</i>	In 2003, 1.3 million more people were below the poverty line than in 2002. The 2003 real median family income was down \$1,535 from 2000, but home ownership is now at a record level of nearly 69 percent.
SOCIAL SECURITY <i>We will strengthen Social Security and Medicare for the greatest generation, and for generations to come. . . . We will set it on firm financial ground, and make prescription drugs available and affordable for every senior who needs them.</i>	Medicare was expanded to help pay prescription drug costs for the elderly, at an estimated cost of \$534 billion over 10 years, but seniors have been lukewarm because of the plan's complexity and limitations. Mr. Bush dropped plans for partly privatizing Social Security, which could have cost \$8 trillion over 40 years.
EDUCATION <i>On education, too many American children are segregated into schools without standards, shuffled from grade to grade because of their age, regardless of their knowledge. . . . And those who spend your tax dollars must be held accountable. . . . Now is the time to make Head Start an early learning program, to teach all our children to read, and renew the promise of America's public schools.</i>	The No Child Left Behind law deems about a third of the nation's public schools "in need of improvement." Federal spending on the poorest schools has increased to \$13.3 billion from \$8.3 billion. Early reading efforts have been given more than \$1 billion a year. But spending on Head Start, the day care program for poor children, has remained flat.
TAX CUTS <i>Today, our high taxes fund a surplus. . . . So we will abolish the death tax. On principle no one in America should have to pay more than a third of their income to the federal government. So we will reduce tax rates for everyone, in every bracket. . . . So we will lower the bottom rate from 15 percent to 10 percent and double the child credit.</i>	He made all the tax cuts promised as well as others, including reduction of the marriage penalty and cuts in capital gains and stock dividends. But the Federal budget deficit will hit a new record of \$400 billion this year and deficits could exceed \$4 trillion over ten years if Mr. Bush's tax cuts are made permanent.

Sources: George W. Bush's speech at the Republican National Convention, Aug. 3, 2000; Census Bureau; National Education Association; U.S. Government

The New York Times

Its cost alienated many conservatives, who were already upset at the steady growth of government spending under Mr. Bush.

But Republicans argue that it will eventually prove a great boon to retirees. The law provided discount cards this year, with additional assistance for low-income elderly, and will offer a full drug benefit by 2006.

But Medicare's long-term financial problems remain; the trustees of the fund said earlier this year that its condition had significantly deteriorated, in part because of soaring health costs and in part because of

the new Medicare law.

Administration officials and outside experts agree that both Medicare and Social Security will eventually fall trillions of dollars short of the money needed to meet all the entitlements guaranteed under current law.

Moreover, the disappearance of the budget surpluses in 2001 and the re-emergence of big deficits has eliminated one source of money to help fill the gap.

Mr. Bush's proposal for reform centers on letting people divert a portion of their payroll taxes from So-

cial Security to personal accounts they could own and control.

The idea was that people could accumulate far more wealth by investing in stocks and other instruments that yield higher returns than the Treasury bonds purchased for the Social Security trust fund. But such a plan could add trillions of dollars to the deficit over the next several decades, because revenues from Social Security taxes would drop sharply even though benefits would remain high for years to come.

The Bush administration did not push the proposal for many reasons: the stock market decline, the focus on terrorism, and general political reluctance on Capitol Hill to deal with the issue. "The administration started out aggressively, but when the political costs of privatization became apparent, it backed away," said Robert D. Reischauer, president of the Urban Institute and former director of the Congressional Budget Office.

No issue was more of a signature of "compassionate conservatism" four years ago than education. As a candidate, Mr. Bush set two goals that would ultimately seem competing, even conflicting: strong local control of schools and tough federal standards to ensure that schools for poor children are teaching them effectively.

The second goal led to No Child Left Behind, a sweeping law that is the centerpiece of the Bush education agenda and that has sometimes led educators and state and local officials to fight back, accusing the administration of infringing on states' rights.

The law requires schools to report on the progress of distinct groups of students, including minority and disabled students, and to show that each is making adequate progress toward proficiency. So far, it has seemed about a third of the nation's public schools "in need of improvement." The law promises children in subpar schools the right to transfer to better schools, but only a tiny share of those eligible have actually succeeded in switching schools.

Mr. Bush has come under attack from Democrats and educators who accuse the administration of failing to fully finance the law. But federal spending on the poorest schools has increased about 60 percent on his watch, to \$13.3 billion from \$8.3 billion.

Mr. Bush has also sharply expanded early reading efforts, setting aside more than \$1 billion a year for new programs to teach children to read by the third grade. Spending on Head Start, the day care program for poor children, has only kept pace with inflation, however, with only about 60 percent of children who are eligible receiving services.

ECHOES OF 9/11

"I couldn't watch. They were presenting a memorial within the convention, and it was not necessary." DIANE FAIRBEN

IER MAYOR

Popular by All Counts, Is He Republican Enough?

MIKE MCINTIRE

from the adulation of Iowa fans who hung on his every delegation breakfast, Rudy Giuliani was back-slapping out of a Sheraton banquet yesterday when he was taken to a halt by a delegate Luana Stollenberg. Stollenberg stepped into Mr. Giuliani's path to ask politely that he consider his support for abortion, and handed him a sheaf of paper on the subject. He listened and seemed to read the material before signing down a corridor packed with fans wanting autographs and posing with "America's mayor."

The fleeting encounter in the Midtown Manhattan hotel was but a bump for Mr. Giuliani, who emerged as the most sought-after son at the Republican National Convention even before his rip-roaringly partisan speech Monday night. He is greeted at events by whooping, hat-waving crowds of party faithful eager to meet the man they came to know as the calm face of fortune after the Sept. 11 attacks.

But the episode hinted at the uphill battle the former New York mayor would face should he choose to capitalize on his popularity and seek the Republican nomination for president in 2008.

A former Democrat with liberal views on abortion, gay rights and gun control, Mr. Giuliani was virtually estranged from his party not long ago, having earned the enmity of many Republicans after endorsing Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, a Democrat, over George E. Pataki in 1994.

Sept. 11 changed much of that. Ed Gillespie, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, routinely introduces Mr. Giuliani — who once proposed doing away with party affiliations in New York City elections — as a valuable asset to the party, campaigning tirelessly for Republican candidates around the country.

But for all his newly partisan tone — in his convention address he thanked God for the Bush presidency and tore into the Democratic nominee, John F. Kerry — Mr. Giuliani's long history as a political maverick may make it hard for him to evolve from the hero of 9/11 to a candidate acceptable to the Republican Party's base, some political analysts say.

"I think he will have an extremely difficult time developing into a viable national candidate for the Republicans," said William B. Eimicke, a professor of public administration at Columbia University.

"There's no question he's got charisma and has developed a real campaign style," Mr. Eimicke said. "But once you move beyond terrorism and 9/11, what is he going to do on all these other issues? Even for a New York City mayor, he was significantly to the left on many of these things."

Mr. Giuliani has been reluctant to talk much about his future plans. Asked yesterday whether he was considering a presidential bid in

2008, Mr. Giuliani brushed it aside, saying, "I don't know what I'm going to do."

"I have no focus beyond 2004 right now," he said. "The only two things I'm thinking of in the future right now are the Yankees getting themselves into the World Series and President Bush being re-elected."

Speaking to groups of Republicans in recent days, Mr. Giuliani has vigorously talked up President Bush, while also burnishing his own reputation as a crime fighter and a leader in times of crisis, sometimes leaving the message with humor.

He entertained delegates attending a performance of "Wonderful Town" with his familiar Don Corleone shtick. At a performance of "42nd Street," where delegates from Texas, Montana and other Western states gave him a standing ovation, Mr. Giuliani referred to old movie scenes of "what 42nd Street used to look like" before his administration cracked down on crime.

In his speech at Madison Square Garden on Monday, Mr. Giuliani did not shy away from using the memory of Sept. 11 for political advantage, but in a way that left even some Kerry supporters impressed with his political prospects.

One of them, Polly Perkins Johnson of Connecticut, whose boyfriend was killed in the Sept. 11 attacks, said she disagreed with the Republican use of Sept. 11 for political purposes, but praised Mr. Giuliani.

"He was fabulous compared to anybody else who spoke — by far the most human and entertaining," she said. "I felt closer to him, and the way he would run the country, than George Bush."

But Diane Fairben of Floral Park, N.Y., whose son Keith, a paramedic, was killed while helping at the trade center, said Mr. Giuliani was too graphic in his remarks.

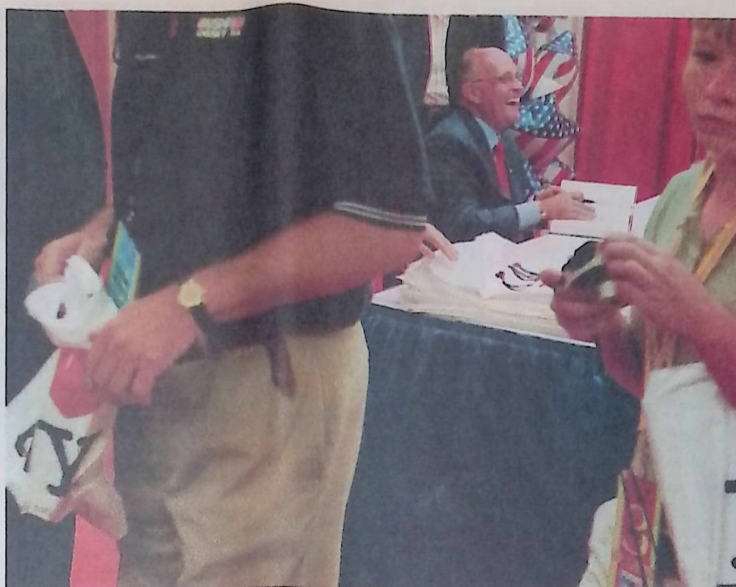
"I couldn't watch," she said. "They were presenting a memorial within the convention, and it was not necessary."

Scott W. Reed, a Republican strategist and campaign manager for Bob Dole in the 1996 presidential election, said Mr. Giuliani had proved very adept at positioning himself as an authority on law enforcement and anti-terrorism, and using it to advance within the party.

"He is able to adapt and seize a moment to better his political standing," Mr. Reed said. "That is an asset in politics."

So far, Republicans have been mostly satisfied to bask in Mr. Giuliani's post-Sept. 11 aura and not press him to explain his stance on other issues. During their breakfast meeting yesterday, Iowa delegates eagerly asked Gov. Mitt Romney of Massachusetts about his effort to ban gay marriage, but never raised the issue with Mr. Giuliani, who briefly lived with a gay couple during his divorce.

Ms. Stollenberg said she liked Mr. Giuliani even though she disagreed with his support for abortion rights. Still, when asked whether his position on the issue would give her pause before endorsing a Giuliani bid for higher office, she replied, "That would be a large issue for me."



Rudolph W. Giuliani signed copies of his book, "Leadership," at the Hilton Hotel in Manhattan yesterday. He has brushed aside questions about whether he will seek the Republican presidential nomination in 2008.

SOUND BITE

Giuliani Described Remark to Kerik Years Ago

By KEVIN FLYNN

The anecdote seemed almost too scripted, too on-message to be true. Rudolph W. Giuliani told the Republican National Convention on Monday night that, in a spontaneous moment, in the midst of the attacks on Sept. 11, he had grabbed the arm of his police commissioner and said, "Thank God George Bush is our president."

To many people who have reviewed Mr. Giuliani's actions that morning — and to a number of New Yorkers interviewed yesterday — the account seemed brand new. National Democratic Party officials even began poking around. Neither Mr. Giuliani nor his police commissioner, Bernard B. Kerik, had described the incident in books they later wrote.

But, as it turned out, Mr. Giuliani has recounted a version of his conversation with Mr. Kerik in several earlier settings. At least one of the tellings took place three years ago, long before Mr. Bush found himself in a close election, campaigning as a wartime president who can take a punch.

In December 2001, three months after the attacks, Mr. Giuliani appeared with Laura Bush, the president's wife, and Cardinal Theodore E. McCarrick, the archbishop of Washington, on "Meet the Press," where Mr. Giuliani suggested there might have been "divine guidance" in the election of Mr. Bush as president. "I remember saying it on the street to Police Commissioner Kerik," Mr. Giuliani recounted on the program. "I said — because I knew the president before, when he was governor — and I said, 'Thank God he's there.'"

More recently, in June of last year, Mr. Giuliani told the crowd at a Bush fund-raiser that he remembered saying a little prayer on Sept. 11 to thank God that George Bush was president. He did not mention Mr. Kerik. But last month, while campaigning in Louisiana for a local Republican candidate, Mr. Giuliani told essentially the same anecdote that he related to great applause at the convention Monday night.

"Without really thinking, based on just emotion, spontaneous," Mr. Giuliani told the delegates, "I grabbed the arm of then-Police Commissioner Bernard Kerik, and I said to him, 'Bernie, thank God George Bush is our president.'"

Mr. Kerik, in an interview yesterday, described



Rudolph W. Giuliani and Bernard Kerik in 2001.

the same conversation, with a slight variation on timing. He said he thought Mr. Giuliani made the remark a few minutes before the collapse of the first tower as they walked north from the World Trade Center, toward Barclay Street.

Mr. Giuliani has said he made the comment just after they fled from a building on Barclay Street after the collapse. Mr. Kerik said they had been discussing the need to get in touch with someone at the White House, when suddenly, Mr. Giuliani grabbed his arm. I said, "What is it?" He said, "Thank God Bush is president." Later on, Mr. Kerik said, Mr. Giuliani explained what he meant: with Mr. Bush as president there would be a strong response to the attack.

In his best-selling book, "Leadership," Mr. Giuliani describes grabbing Mr. Kerik's arm that morning, after watching a man jump from the north tower. The book does not include the remark about President Bush.

Mr. Giuliani's spokeswoman did not return a call. Mr. Kerik said he recalled both remarks and found nothing new in Mr. Giuliani's description at the convention. "He has talked about this a number of times," he said.

FIREFIGHTERS

Union to Give Nod to Bush At Meeting In Queens

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

President Bush will meet tonight in Queens with more than 50 New York City firefighters as well as the widows of several firefighters who died on Sept. 11 to show his appreciation of the firefighters' heroism, union leaders and city and campaign officials said yesterday.

And in a break with its parent union and with most other labor groups in the country, New York City's main firefighters' union will endorse Mr. Bush at the meeting, union leaders said.

The backing could help Mr. Bush win support from firefighters nationwide, even though the country's largest firefighters' union has endorsed Senator John Kerry.

Still, by appearing with the public safety workers whose ranks sustained the greatest loss of life in the World Trade Center's collapse, Mr. Bush may have to walk a fine line to avoid appearing to exploit the tragedy.

Leaders of the city's main firefighters union, the Uniformed Firefighters Association, said more than 50 firefighters were receiving security clearances to meet with Mr. Bush at the Italian Charities of America Hall on Queens Boulevard in Elmhurst. Yesterday, workers were setting up large-screen television sets on the second floor so that Mr. Bush, the firefighters and other supporters could watch the convention.

"People in the convention hall will see the president mixing and mingling," said Scott Stanzel, the press secretary for Mr. Bush's re-election campaign.

William Mirro, a firefighter in Rescue Company 4, said he and a co-worker had sent the White House a letter inviting the president, and the Bush campaign's scheduling director had accepted.

A need to walk a fine line to avoid appearing to exploit a tragedy.

"I was really trying hard because I think we could give him a big plug," Mr. Mirro said. "The president stood by us. He's kept us safe since 9/11."

Several union officials said that Stephen Cassidy, the president of the Uniformed Firefighters, which has 8,700 members, would announce his union's endorsement this evening. Labor leaders said the union's board voted 7-2 on Sunday to endorse the president.

At the same time this evening, tens of thousands of workers from dozens of unions, including 1198, the health care union, and District Council 37 are scheduled to march to the Garden to protest Mr. Bush's policies.

"Obviously, I'd prefer that they didn't make this endorsement," said Brian McLaughlin, president of the New York City Central Labor Council, which is predicting that 50,000

Thomas J. Lueck contributed reporting for this article.

Republican nomination to seek the White House in 2008.

A former Democrat with liberal views on abortion, gay rights and gun control, Mr. Giuliani was virtually estranged from his party not long ago, having earned the enmity of many Republicans after endorsing Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, a Democrat, over George E. Pataki in 1994.

Sept. 11 changed much of that. Ed Gillespie, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, routinely introduces Mr. Giuliani — who once proposed doing away with party affiliations in New York City elections — as a valuable asset to the party, campaigning tirelessly for Republican candidates around the country.

But for all his newly partisan tone — in his convention address he thanked God for the Bush presidency and tore into the Democratic nominee, John F. Kerry — Mr. Giuliani's long history as a political maverick may make it hard for him to evolve from the hero of 9/11 to a candidate acceptable to the Republican Party's base, some political analysts say.

"I think he will have an extremely difficult time developing into a viable national candidate for the Republicans," said William B. Eimicke, a professor of public administration at Columbia University.

"There's no question he's got charisma and has developed a real campaign style," Mr. Eimicke said. "But once you move beyond terrorism and 9/11, what is he going to do on all these other issues? Even for a New York City mayor, he was significantly to the left on many of these things."

Mr. Giuliani has been reluctant to talk much about his future plans. Asked yesterday whether he was considering a presidential bid in

ABOUT NEW YORK

Walters Pass Hors d'Oeuvres and Remember Friends on the 107th Floor

Continued From Page A1

quently raised the subject of the terrorist attacks of September 11th, some more delicately than others. That day is history, of course. But in the city they have chosen for their political coronation, it is also personal — so personal that they may be closer to the tragedy than they realize, in the form of that silent person before them, offering tenderloin tips on a tray.

At Ben Benson's steakhouse in Midtown, for example, their waiter might be Magdi Labib, once a dining room captain at Windows on the World who earned twice what he is making now. Standing in his white apron in the restaurant's mostly empty patio on Monday's muggy night, he watched as Republican delegates dined inside in air-conditioning, and he remembered. "So many stories," he said.

How 15 or 20 Windows employees would head after work to a Chinese restaurant in Queens, and eat like one big family. How an enthusiastic new waiter named Telmo Alvear worked the breakfast shift that Tuesday to help out a colleague, and died for it. How, after the calamity, a certain former dining-room captain returned to his native Egypt for a few months to clear his head.

Mr. Labib said that he became an American citizen more than a decade ago because he wanted to vote. Now, as politicians dither and Iraqi battles continue and the third anniversary approaches, he said he cannot shake his anger. "I love what this country stands for," he said, but now, "I don't believe anybody."

One of them, Polly Perkins Johnson of Connecticut, whose boyfriend was killed in the Sept. 11 attacks, said she disagreed with the Republican use of Sept. 11 for political purposes, but praised Mr. Giuliani.

"He was fabulous compared to anybody else who spoke — by far the most human and entertaining," she said. "I felt closer to him, and the way he would run the country, than George Bush."

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Hurt is more in evidence than anger among the Windows workers now at Noche, just a few blocks west from Ben Benson's.

No place has stronger ties to Windows on the World than Noche. It is managed by some of the same people who managed Windows. It had 60 former Windows employees when it opened in 2002, thanks in part to the involvement of Local 100 of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union and a group called the Restaurant Opportunities Center of New York. Whenever the police identified Windows effects among trade center debris, they called Noche.

Noche now has about 15 former Windows employees, from Ramon Lorenzo, a dishwasher, to Joe Amico, the general manager. They listened quietly to September 11th chatter at Sunday's gathering of Missouri Republicans, and at Monday's Republican Governors Association party, where Mr. Johnson served wine, Mr. Rojas worked the penthouse bar, and Monzur Ahmed and Ahad Ahmed kept the buffet tables clean and inviting.

After Monday's party, they walked over to Ben Benson's, where Magdi Labib, the former dining room captain, greeted them with hugs. While the lights of a Con Edison truck flashed ominously down West 52nd Street, they sat and talked about what they would have said.

MONZUR AHMED would have spoken of his uncle, Shabbir Ahmed, a Windows banquet server whose remains have never been found. To this day, he said, when he goes fishing in Brooklyn, he imagines his uncle beside him, say-

SOUND BITE

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At the same time this evening, tens of thousands of workers from dozens of unions, including 1199, the health care union, and District Council 37 are scheduled to march to the Garden to protest Mr. Bush's policies.

"Obviously, I'd prefer that they didn't make this endorsement," said Brian McLaughlin, president of the New York City Central Labor Council, which is predicting that 50,000 people will attend tonight's rally. "There's never such a thing as 100 percent support, but we have the closest thing to 100 percent opposition to the policies of George Bush. Virtually every single union in New York will be there."

Several union officials said Mr. Cassidy has had repeated contacts with the White House, hoping that the Bush administration might make some money available to the city so that his union could receive a larger raise than Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg has offered. For the past month, the firefighters union and the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association have heckled Mr. Bloomberg wherever he has gone, angry that he is offering no more than the 5 percent raise over three years that he has offered other municipal unions.

Last September, the nation's main fire union and the parent of the New York City union, the International Association of Firefighters, became the first large union to endorse Mr. Kerry. Harold Schaitberger, the president of the 280,000-member union, was long Mr. Kerry's most visible labor supporter, often standing at his side during campaign speeches.

Mr. Schaitberger said he always appreciates when presidents meet with firefighters, but he added: This president has not really fulfilled his promises to the nation's first responders in a meaningful way, in terms of resources, equipment, training and staffing. John Kerry has a 20-year track record of action and support for firefighters."

Charles Morello, president of the New York State Professional Firefighters Association, said Mr. Cassidy's local was the only one of 105 locals in the state not to endorse Mr. Kerry at a meeting last month.



Walters at Noche, a Times Square restaurant, who used to work at Windows on the World, from left, James Johnson, Monzur Ahmed, Ahad Ahmed, Victor Rojas and Memon Ahmed. Noche is closing this week.

ing what he always said: "Coffee's ready, Monzur. Doughnut's ready."

Mr. Johnson would have recalled speaking by telephone to Christine Olender, the assistant to the general manager, that morning. Mr. Rojas would have remembered a banquet server named Gomez. Ahad Ahmed would have talked of a manager

named Jupiter. Other names were mentioned, out of respect.

A few minutes before Rudolph W. Giuliani began talking of September 11th at a political event down at Madison Square Garden, they decided to go home, to places that most delegates would not be visiting: Harlem, and Woodside, and Elmhurst.

Noche will close for good this week; its owners have other plans. But there was still another Republican party to work last night, a lunch and dinner scheduled for today, and a final lunch on Thursday. After that, some Windows on the World veterans will be looking again for another restaurant.

PERSONALITIES

"One reason they are such a successful dynasty is that they are cooperative." PETER SCHWEITZER

Young, Passionate, Republican: What Some Say About the Issues

Many delegates to the Republican convention are first timers, but for some, their vote to nominate President Bush will be the first ballot they have cast. Among the 4,853 delegates and alternates, 221, or almost 5 percent, are under 30. Here are what some of the young delegates had to say about why they are Republicans and what issues matter to them.

DYLAN LOEB McCLAIN



Frances Roberts for The New York Times

"I am very interested in tax relief. I think that the Republican Party puts a lot of emphasis on taking personal responsibility instead of relying on the government. I don't agree in punishing hard work and success and high taxes do that."

Kelley Beaman
Tennessee, 28

Self-described homemaker from Nashville; married with two step-daughters. Founder of Tennessee Institute for Governmental Ethics, a group that wants stricter rules for legislators and lobbyists.



Monika Graff for The New York Times

"My mom was single and she and my brother are strongly Democrats. My mom also brought me up religiously. ... I don't feel that Democrats are as religious. I am not saying God is Republican, but the Republican Party embodies a sense of values a lot better than the Democratic side does."

Isalah McGee
Iowa, 25

Grew up in California, but now lives in Des Moines. Is a married teacher and high school football coach. Is working toward a master's degree in education at Drake University.



Chester Higgins Jr./The New York Times

"It's their commitment to freedom. Having heard stories from my parents and grandparents about what it was like in the Soviet Union, that is very important to me. They stand for freedom from taxation and freedom from an overly intrusive government."

Igor Birman
California, 22

Emigrated with his family from Russia in 1994. They live in Oakland and he is a second-year law student at Emory Law School in Atlanta. He is studying to get a pilot's license.



Frances Roberts for The New York Times

"My parents have a lot to do with it. I also agree with Republicans' handling of the economy and lowering taxes and wanting smaller government. I am fully pro-life. That is a big issue where I come from."

Ryan Stevens
Pennsylvania, 21

Senior at William and Mary College in Virginia, majoring in mathematics and art history. A native of Hazleton. His mother was a Republican delegate in 1984 and his brother was a Republican delegate in 2000.



Diane Bondareff for The New York Times

"Everything that they stand for, I believe in. The war on terror, no abortions, no gay marriages, the economy, public education, civil rights versus civil liberties. ... I say if some people want to read my e-mail, then go ahead. I will give that up to be safe."

Ashlee Hasselman
Washington, 18

From Pacific, Wash. Starting Green River Community College in the fall. She was captain of the swimming and water polo teams in high school. "Compelling really lets me get my aggression out."



Scott Ellis for The New York Times

"Their commitment to education and defense. On defense, I don't see how we can do everything inside our country if our country is not safe."

Mary Pauline Jones
Virginia, 18

From Vienna, Va. Freshman at Christopher Newport University. Has been involved in politics since she was 6. Her father worked on Col. Oliver North's unsuccessful Senate campaign in 1994.

Bush Family Reunion, Including Asterisks

Continued From Page A1

dent's indispensable man, had "traveling commitments" and could not make it to New York, his office said. Richard G. Darman, an architect of that administration's fiscal restraint and tax increase, is on vacation in Martha's Vineyard. Richard N. Bond, the Republican chairman under the elder Mr. Bush, is settling a son in at college.

"Been there," Mr. Bond said by telephone. "Done that."

Brent Scowcroft, who helped the first President Bush conduct the first Persian Gulf war, is at work in his office in Washington. No one here talks much about that Wall Street Journal opinion column he wrote in August 2002 warning that a new war in Iraq did not seem to be justified by the threat posed by Saddam Hussein; would likely be followed by a "large-scale, long-term occupation"; and would "seriously jeopardize, if not destroy, the global counterterrorist campaign we have undertaken."

Colin L. Powell, who has worked with both presidents and has evinced a leaning toward the multilateralism of the first, is also staying away, pleading the nonpolitical nature of his role as secretary of state. That consideration did not stop then-Secretary Baker from attending the 1992 convention, though he was preparing to give up his post to manage the campaign.

Condoleezza Rice, the national security adviser, also worked for the first President Bush and, like Mr. Powell, addressed the 2000 Republican National Convention. She is not scheduled to speak, but her spokeswoman said she may sit in the hall for the president's speech.

Though scorned at times as a weak-kneed moderate by the party faithful, former President Bush was rapturously greeted by delegates when he arrived Monday evening in

Courtney Radsch contributed reporting for this article.

his box before the podium in New York.

Yet neither of the prime-time speakers on the convention's first night — Senator John McCain and former Mayor Rudolph Giuliani — even recognized him in their speeches, let alone mentioned him in recalling their heroes or presidents past. Mr. Giuliani skipped over him to speak of Ronald Reagan, George W. Bush's preferred political parallel.

The Presidents Bush "are very different political leaders with different temperaments, different philosophies," said Peter Schweitzer, a research fellow at the conservative Hoover Institution who is the author, with his wife, Rochelle, of "The Bushes: Portrait of a Dynasty" (Doubleday).

The dozens of Bush relatives form the core of a vote-getting and fund-raising machine.

But, he said, family trumps policy. "The Bushes are certainly a dynasty in the sense that the Kennedys are, but it's better to think of them as a brand name," he said, adding that the Bushes defined their brand not in terms of content but in terms of character traits like reliability and trustworthiness.

He said that in striking out in his own direction, George W. Bush was in fact following a family tradition, established when former President Bush, son of a Connecticut senator, departed for Texas and his own Congressional career.

"One reason they are such a successful dynasty is that they are cooperative," Mr. Schweitzer said, "but they are also competitive, and that goes not just between siblings but between father and son."

One official of the first Bush administration who is attending the convention, C. Boyden Gray, a Washington lawyer, said that, on domestic matters, the differences between the Bushes were not so great.

He acknowledged that the son's deficits had raised eyebrows among the father's domestic policy team. "The spending has bothered some Republicans who worked in the Reagan and Bush '41' years," he acknowledged, attributing today's lesser restraint to the fact that the same party controls both the White House and Congress.

"But other than that, I think it's the same principles," he continued, citing issues like tort reform.

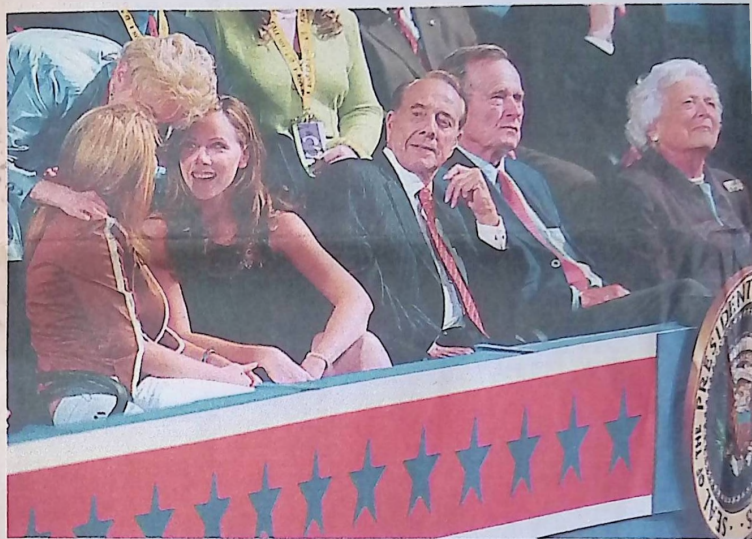
George W. Bush has repeatedly said he does not turn to his father for counsel, saying almost ritualistically in interviews that his father is simply not as informed as advisers to the president.

"It doesn't hurt his feelings because he knows they're more up to speed than he is," Mr. Bush told Fox News Network last year. Similarly, he said he spoke to his brother Jeb, the governor of Florida, "maybe once a month."

Pressed as to why he would not speak more often to the governor of such a politically important state, Mr. Bush noted that he was busy and said of his family, "We are not, you know, pick-up-the-phone, chit-chat people."

Jeb Bush is notably not here. The official conversation is that he is coping with Hurricane Charley, but his absence also keeps him out of his brother's footlights and dampens speculation during the convention about a dynastic succession in 2008.

Former President Bush is not scheduled to speak at the convention, in keeping with a practice he established in 1992. "He doesn't believe that former presidents should speak at the convention," said his spokeswoman, Jean Becker. "He believes it should be about the current generation and future generations."



Seated together yesterday, from left, Jenna and Barbara Bush, Bob Dole, and George and Barbara Bush.

Former President Bush is speaking on the margins and granting television interviews, playing a role less as statesman or policy maker than as paterfamilias. It is the elder Mr. and Mrs. Bush — "the 41's," as family members call them — who are the hosts of a private dinner on Wednesday evening at a Manhattan hotel for the relatives at the convention.

John Ellis, a cousin of George W. Bush and a partner in the New York venture capital firm GH Venture Partners, distinguished the elder Mr. Bush by referring to him as "big George." He said family members sometimes referred to the men by their single differing initial — H. or W. But he said he always addressed both men by the same name, "Mr. President."

Referring to the family compound in Kennebunkport, Me., Mr. Ellis said, "If you go up to Maline in the summer you see a lot of the family,

and the ones that you miss, it's good to see at something like this."

He added, "George Herbert Walker Bush was nominated by four conventions, and W. has been nominated by two, and this might be the last one, so I guess it's special in that way." Asked if Jeb Bush might not be nominated in 2008, he said, "I don't know if he wants to run, and I don't know how many Bushes can run for President."

Former President Bush has said he is less interested in big issues these days than in the success of his sons. Asked by CNN if, given his own defeat in 1992 after one term in office, he had any advice for George W. Bush, Mr. Bush replied, "No, but I keep reading in the papers that his staff has gained a lot from my defeat, which is good."

As president, George H. W. Bush kept his extended family in the spotlight, roughhousing with his grand-

children, chucking horseshoes with his four sons and daughter or fishing with his siblings. The present President Bush has not been seen as much with his extended family.

But the spotlight has, inevitably, found his immediate family — and they appear increasingly to seek it out. Like Barbara Bush before her, Laura Bush has taken an assertive, public role.

The Bushes' 22-year-old twins, Barbara and Jenna, have been making daily, brief appearances at the convention. Like George P. Bush, they have stepped into the family role of outreach to the particular constituency they might appeal to.

It is working, at least to judge by the unsolicited declaration of one volunteer at the convention, Steven Szaronos, a 21-year-old senior and a member of the Miami University of Ohio College Republicans. "Barbara Bush is the hotter twin," he confided.

THE RELIGION ISSUE

Behind Closed Doors, Conservative Christians Hear a Call to 'Win This Culture War'

Continued From Page P1

the fetus. His call for women contemplating abortions to be offered anesthetics for the fetus was an allusion to a bill, "The Unborn Child Pain Awareness Act," that he has discussed introducing in Congress. "We are going to keep moving this agenda forward," he said.

Mr. Brownback urged the importance of appointing more conservative judges, arguing that courts have conducted "a 40-year assault on the constitution." He added, "It is no longer separation of church and state. It is removal of church from state."

Defining issues outside the convention hall.

Urging action to alleviate violence in Sudan, he argued that the "strategic interest" of the United States was "that there are beautiful individuals there suffering, that many of you have prayed for a long time."

"You are the heart and soul of the party," said Senator Brownback, a favorite of party conservatives. "And

the press hits you all the time, like there is something wrong with faith, family and freedom."

Recalling the motto "In God We Trust," Senator Brownback asked, "Is it still true? I say it is, and I say we fight."

Addressing the same audience, Ralph Reed, a Bush campaign adviser, and liaison to Christian conservatives, recalled Mr. Bush's response to a question about his favorite philosopher during the 2000 Republican primary. "The President said Jesus Christ," Mr. Reed recalled. And amid rousing applause, he repeated Mr. Bush's distinctively evangelical follow-up: "The president said, as only he can say, 'If I have to explain it to

you, then you don't understand it.'"

Mr. Bush's most important accomplishment, Mr. Reed argued, was greater than any legislative achievement: "He has returned to us an office that was occupied by George Washington, Abe Lincoln, and Ronald Reagan. He has restored the honor and dignity of the highest office in the land."

Before the television cameras inside the convention, the campaign has relied on a combination of moderate, platitudinal words and religious atmospherics to appeal to both moderate voters and conservative Christians at once. On the first night of the convention, for example, Senator John McCain praised Islam as an

honorable religion — a statement many evangelical Christians consider heretical — and two Muslim speakers invoked Allah from the stage.

But less explicit aspects of the evening resembled an evangelical Protestant church service — a series of personal testimonials from the widows of Sept. 11 victims, which included heartfelt allusions to prayer, followed directly by a performance of the hymn "Amazing Grace."

Although Mr. Buchanan's 1992 speech may have alienated moderate voters by taking aim at the popular culture, political advisers to President Bush believe his 2000 campaign failed to adequately mobilize

conservative Christian voters. Mr. Bush's political adviser, Karl Rove, has often said that conservative Christian turnout in 2000 was about 4 million votes below his projections in the last elections, and anticipating another close race they are counting on regular church-goers, who tend to vote Republican, to help Mr. Bush come out ahead.

Mr. Reed urged the crowd at the Waldorf to do everything possible to ensure Mr. Bush's re-election, especially reaching out to acquaintances at their "churches, veterans halls, and rotary clubs." In the last election, he warned, "we got out-hustled the last weekend."

STREETS OF NEW YORK

"They undermined people's confidence in the police, and that's a serious problem as we go forward." DONNA LIEBERMAN

DEMONSTRATIONS

Hundreds Are Arrested As Protesters Grow Volatile

Continued From Page P1

change before 8 a.m. Roughly an hour later, dozens of officers responded to an obscure corner near the exchange at South Williams Street and Mill Lane, where protesters had stretched a ball of yarn across the street.

Within minutes, 14 young people sat handcuffed and seated with their backs to a wall near the short pedestrian mall, surrounded by three or four times as many police officers. Several balls of red and yellow yarn were strewn about the street, and a boom box sat nearby with a sign on a bedsheet reading "Celebrate the Power of Money." One of the protesters wore a pinstriped suit and a beret.

Paul J. Browne, a police spokesman, said of the protesters, "A lot of

the sidewalk and did not block foot traffic or vehicles, they could proceed toward Madison Square Garden. But within minutes, the protesters were confronted by a line of police officers who told demonstrators they were blocking the sidewalk and would be arrested, although they did not appear to be blocking pedestrian traffic at that point. A commanding officer, telling the crowd of about 200 "you're all under arrest," ordered other officers to bring the "prison van" and the "orange netting" with which to enmesh the protesters.

"We don't know why we are being arrested, we were just crossing the street," said Lambert Rochfort, who was among the protesters. "We were told if we don't do anything illegal we would be allowed to march on the sidewalk and we did just that. Then they arrested us for no apparent reason."

Later in the afternoon, a clash erupted on the steps of the New York Public Library after two women tried to hang a protest banner over one of the lions atop the library steps. After the police pinned the women to the ground, a crowd of protesters struggled with police, answering requests to move with chants of "Oink, oink, oink." People coming off of the subways were thrown to the ground and the steps of the library were left littered with chairs and debris.

As protesters converged on Herald Square in the evening, the police tried to contain the increasingly raucous crowds. Hundreds of protesters seemed to get too close to the buses of delegates and the crowd became unruly as the police moved in metal barricades and used scooters to try to push the crowd back.

Those who would not move were arrested, and each time the police moved in to make an arrest, they were swarmed by protesters.

The protesters at Herald Square, frustrated by their lack of ability to move closer to Madison Square Garden, began breaking off in clusters of hundreds or so and storming the streets and avenues in Midtown, throwing cones and other objects at cars and windows as they ran. As police drew close, they tried to scatter. Police tackled them in streets, corners and in front of stores. Innocent bystanders were also caught up in the maelstrom.

In one instance, about 200 people broke away from the larger group in a chase that went all the way from 33rd Street and Broadway to 27th Street and Park Avenue, before being tackled by police. At 27th Street and Madison Avenue, protesters set fire to a large pile of trash near the Carlton Hotel as delegates and other guests made their way out of the convention.



Michelle V. Agins/The New York Times

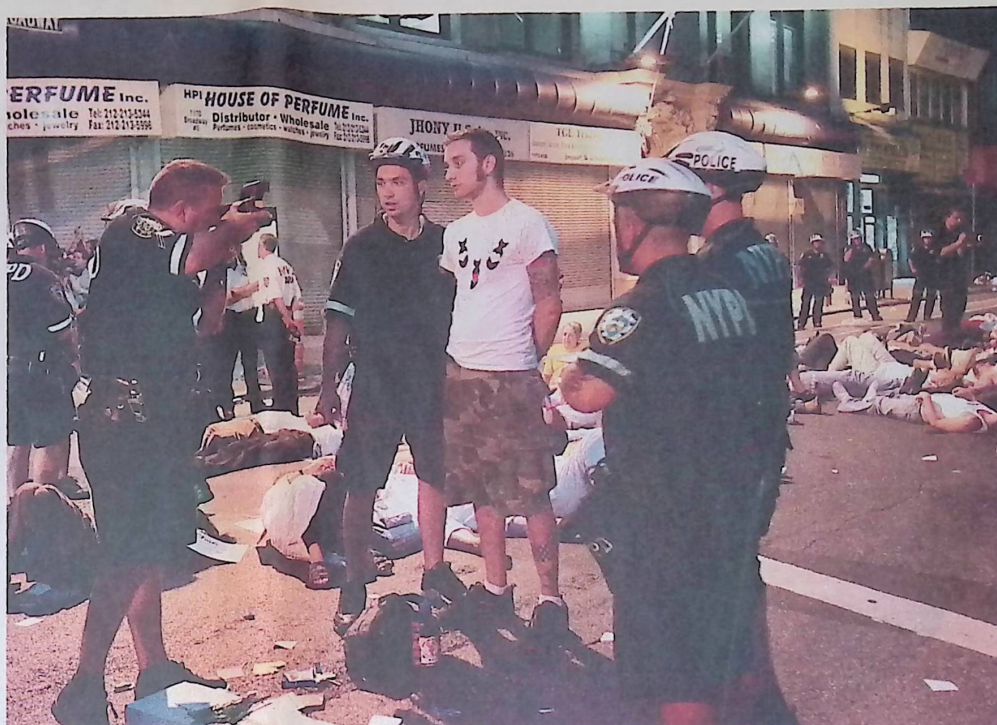
The police arrived early at meeting places for protests and began making arrests, angering crowds.

them are from out of town, and I think it was reflected in the choice of intersections."

But the protests gained intensity throughout the day, and by late afternoon, the tenor had clearly changed as the police appeared to adjust their tactics to deal with the spontaneous eruptions throughout the city and the crowds of demonstrators grew increasingly volatile as the arrests mounted.

Indeed, the turning point appeared to come as several hundred protesters with the War Resisters League tried to begin a march up Fulton Street that organizers had negotiated with police, although they did not have a permit. Ed Hedemann, one of the organizers, said their understanding was that if they stayed on

Reporting for this article was contributed by Marc Santora, Michael Wilson, Mary Spicuzza, William K. Rashbaum and Colin Moynihan.



Nicole Bengivena/The New York Times

Members of the War Resisters League held a "die-in" as marchers lay down in the street at 28th Street and Broadway.



Keith Bedford for The New York Times

Protesters wearing pig snouts demonstrated against Halliburton, which was holding a breakfast at the New York Hilton for the Texas delegation.

APPLE'S ALMANAC

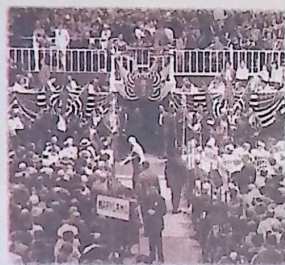
R. W. Apple Jr.

New York 2004, and Other Tales From the Chronicles of Hostile Ground

By now, it must be obvious to everyone that President Bush and the Republicans are about as good a fit with New York as Joe Torre and the Yankees with Boston. Or a square peg in a round hole. Or a glove on a foot. Many prominent New Yorkers have simply left town for the duration; I know people who are spending convention week in Florida, Maine, Switzerland or Wyoming, or on Martha's Vineyard, among other places, and many are perfectly happy to portray their absences as political gestures even if they are really just holidays or flights from anticipated trouble in the streets.

Other citizens of Alexander Hamilton's hometown have just gone on with life, perhaps resentful of what they see as an invasion of their turf. Still others have carried angry placards in parades, as bitterly worded as any I have seen since 1968 in Chicago, or jabbed fingers in delegates' faces or worse—but they are in a tiny minority, and who knows whether they are real New Yorkers or ideological tourists?

This is a liberal city. Even its Republican mayors have tended to be "moderates," which is Republican-speak for liberal, and some have been former Democrats or "fusion" nominees, which is New Yorkese for Republicans who dare not call themselves that. In a poll of New Yorkers taken in Au-



The New York Times

The scene at an earlier Madison Square Garden in 1924, when it took Democratic convention delegates 103 ballots to settle on a nominee, John W. Davis.

gust, fewer than a quarter of the people who took part said they approved of the way Mr. Bush was handling his job, and more than half said the Republicans should have chosen someplace else to meet.

New Yorkers being New Yorkers, and therefore morally certain that their city is

the center of the galaxy, they tend to believe this sort of thing has never happened before. Wrong. There is nothing at all unprecedented about the arrival of the Republicans in a politically inhospitable city. True, they have never come to New York before, not in all the many quadrenniums since they first gathered in Philadelphia in 1856. But in 1890 they met in Detroit, where Republicans and conservatives are endangered species, to nominate Ronald Reagan, of all candidates. In New York, rich Republicans live on Park Avenue or Fifth Avenue; in Detroit, they live in suburbs like Grosse Pointe Farms.

More to the point, both parties have sometimes met in the same city in the same year, which by definition meant that one party or the other was occupying unfriendly territory. This took place in Chicago in 1884, 1932, 1944 and 1952.

With a few exceptions, there was at least one convention there every four years from 1940 to 1968, usually in the old International Amphitheater. Thrifty reporters got to know the Stockyards Inn across the street almost as well as they knew the bar at the National Press Club in Washington; it also served as the command post for John F. Kennedy's near-miss bid for the Democratic vice-presidential nomination in 1956.

In 1948, not two but three parties met in

Philadelphia—the Republicans to nominate Thomas E. Dewey, the Democrats to nominate Harry S. Truman and the Progressives to nominate Henry A. Wallace—all at Convention Hall. And in 1972, both the Republicans and the Democrats chose to gather in Miami Beach.

As a resort town, Miami Beach was at ease with all comers. I remember seeing Jesse Weiss, then the owner of the legendary Joe's Stone Crab, hobnobbing with liberal Democratic bigwigs one week, then kibitzing with Richard M. Nixon's top strategists in a private back room when the Republicans came to town a month later.

Recently, New York-nominated presidential candidates have a pretty good track record, and President Bush has something in common with them. Like Jimmy Carter, chosen at Madison Square Garden in 1976, at a convention ennobled by Barbara Jordan's soaring speech, and again in 1980, when a defeated candidate, Edward M. Kennedy, stole the rhetorical thunder, and like Bill Clinton, hailed as "the man from Hope" at a floridly theatrical production at the Garden in 1992, Mr. Bush is a Southerner.

Memories of those events are fresh in my mind. But poor timing (I was born 10 years too late, no matter what you may be think-

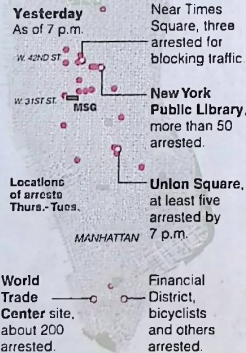
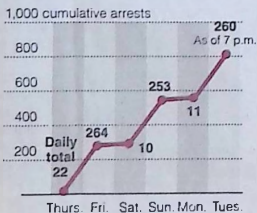
ing) prevented me from witnessing the most melodramatic, most protracted and certainly most counterproductive convention in New York political history: the 103-ballot Democratic marathon of 1924 that finally ended in the nomination of a Wall Street lawyer named John W. Davis. After a notably feckless campaign, he was swamped by the Republican nominee, Calvin Coolidge.

Besides its two-week duration and the suffocating midsummer heat inside an earlier Madison Square Garden, that convention is remembered for a rousing speech by Franklin D. Roosevelt in which he called his preferred candidate, Alfred E. Smith, the Happy Warrior, a nickname that stuck. And also for Gov. William Woodward Brandon of Alabama, who began each of the interminable roll calls with the same shout in support of his state's senior senator and favorite son, "Alabama," he would cry, "casts 24 votes for Oscar W. Underwood." After a few days, the whole hall started to chant the words along with him. It was the only fun the Democrats had that June and early July.

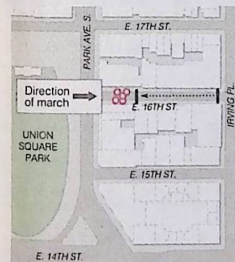
Perhaps there is a lesson there for the politicians and the journalists who long for a little more uncertainty and a little more drama in modern conventions.

A Flurry of Arrests

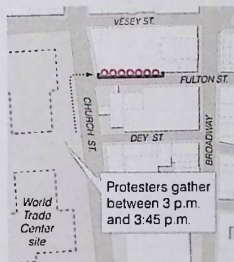
Many protesters did not have permits and publicized their plans well in advance, leading police to pre-empt much of the action before it could occur.



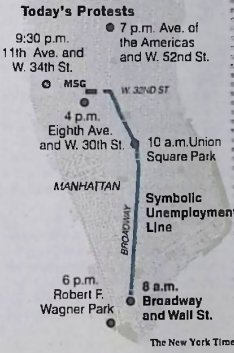
At 5:45 p.m., a few of the protesters are arrested. About 10 minutes later, police in hard helmets separate the protesters into two groups.



Just before 7 p.m., a group of several hundred begin to march east on 16th Street. They are stopped by police who fence in more than 50 of them.



About 500 people set off across Church Street at 3:50 p.m. About 200 are arrested when they march into the street.



THE STRATEGIES

"We're going to have to make a real strong case for change." ROBERT T. MATSUI

VIETNAM RECORD

Delegates Mock Kerry's Wounds, Angering Veterans

By JIM RUTENBERG

Stung by the angry reaction of veterans organizations, President Bush's aides and Republican Party officials distanced themselves yesterday from a delegate who handed out adhesive bandages marked with Purple Hearts at the Republican convention on Monday to mock Senator John Kerry's war wounds.

The bandages, distributed by Morton Blackwell of Arlington, Va., included a message that read: "It was just a self-inflicted scratch, but you see I got a Purple Heart for it."

The Military Order of The Purple Heart, an organization that says it has 38,000 Purple Heart recipients in its ranks, condemned the bandages in a statement yesterday. "The Purple Heart medal is being used as a political stunt," said a group's spokesman, Ray Funderburk. "It degrades the medal."

The Bush campaign and the party said they had nothing to do with the bandages and did not approve.

But even as they sought to distance themselves from the bandages, leading Republicans reprised a central accusation from an anti-Kerry group, Swift Boat Veterans for Truth. The Swift boat veterans' group has not only accused Senator Kerry of lying about his war wounds, but also said that he hurt American troops in 1971 Senate testimony that relayed stories of war crimes.

"I think it was inappropriate," Mr. Rove said on CNN of the bandages. But, he added, "I understand why some people who were in Vietnam feel very strongly about what Senator Kerry did and said when he came back."

When Senator Sam Brownback, Republican of Kansas, was asked about the bandages on CNN yesterday he also said they were inappropriate but said, "I have more controversy and questions about what he said after he came back because of the very issue of how it's seen by veterans at that point in time."

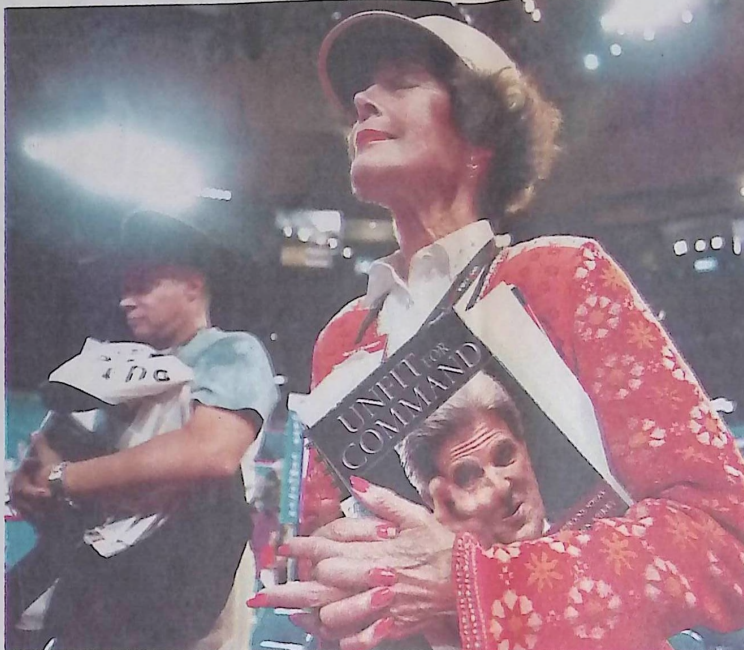
President Bush and his campaign aides have sought to distance themselves publicly from the Swift boat veterans, who got legal advice from the Bush campaign's top outside counsel, but have been more than happy to keep the controversy alive. The issue is coursing through the convention like an undertow.

Delegates carrying copies of the group's book, "Unfit for Command," are a regular sight throughout the convention hall. At a breakfast meeting at the New York Hilton yesterday morning where Mr. Rove was the featured speaker, Representative Curt Weldon of Pennsylvania held up a copy of "Unfit for Command" as recommended reading.

Mr. Bush's aides pointed out that speakers at the convention, from Senator John McCain of Arizona to former Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York have commended Senator Kerry's service — with Mr. Giuliani doing so from the convention podium Monday night.

"When Mayor Giuliani commended Mr. Kerry's service from the floor of the convention, he was greeted with applause," said Steve Schmidt, a campaign spokesman.

But, he added, "A great many veterans have said that John Kerry's



Charles Dharapal/The Associated Press

A book critical of Senator John Kerry's war record is popular at the Republican convention, even as Bush campaign officials try to distance themselves from the Vietnam veterans organization that is behind it.

Senate testimony in 1971 was extremely hurtful and troubling and they have earned their right to participate in the political process."

Democrats accuse the Bush campaign of trying to have its cake and eat it too, by saying it has nothing to do with the group — which got its initial financing came from prominent backers of Mr. Bush — and that Mr. Kerry served "honorably," while at the same time trying to keep the at-

tacks on the Democratic nominee's military record alive.

"They say that they're not engaging in attack politics," said Stephanie Cutter, a spokeswoman for Mr. Kerry, "and then someone close to them launches their attack."

As evidence, Democrats pointed to remarks by Mr. Bush last week that he did not believe that Mr. Kerry lied about his war record — the central thrust of the Swift boat group's charges. Those were followed this week by comments by Laura Bush that she did not believe the group's advertisements were "unfair," and by Mr. Bush's father that the group's claims were "rather compelling."

One Republican strategist at the convention, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said comments by Mr. Bush's father and the first lady were not planned. They were simply responding to questions and were speaking their minds, he said.

"You're talking about the dad and the wife of somebody who's had the hell beaten out of him," he said, referring to advertisements from Democratic groups against Mr. Bush. "For once in history a little beating goes the other way."

The strategist acknowledged, however, that the campaign did not seem to mind the attacks. "Of course they want it out there, and it's been effective," he said. "The ideal situation is the president can be against it, but those who love him can be for it, it helps."

Democrats, however, went on the offensive, trying to stoke voter anger over the bandages, which they said raised unfair questions about all Purple Heart winners. They pro-

vided reporters with statements from veterans denouncing the bandages as insults to all who served.

The Democratic National Committee also highlighted statements by the man who made the bandages, Morton Blackwell, a Virginia delegate, that he had known Karl Rove, Mr. Bush's chief political strategist, for decades.

In an interview yesterday, Mr. Blackwell said he had helped train Mr. Rove as a Republican organizer when Mr. Rove was still in high school. Mr. Rove said on CNN that Mr. Blackwell had in fact been a political opponent at one point.

Mr. Blackwell said he was simply having fun.

However, Jim Dyke, a spokesman for the Republican National Committee, said the party chairman, Ed Gillespie, asked Mr. Blackwell to stop distributing the bandages as soon as he learned of them and he did so.

While some delegates said they did not approve of the bandages, they echoed the president's aides that Mr. Kerry's postservice, antiwar comments were fair game.

Leona Johnston, an alternate from Fountain Hills, Ariz., said "I'm a product of the Vietnam era, I had a couple of friends who died in Vietnam. I think it's unfortunate that these men who have made the adds about John Kerry have had their reputations impugned by John Kerry."

The controversy is not likely to go away. The Swift boat group yesterday released a new advertisement, this one criticizing Mr. Kerry for taking part in a ceremony in 1971 at which antiwar veterans threw away combat medals.

THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE

Kerry Must Sharpen Attacks, Democrats Say

By DAVID M. HALBFINGER
and BY JODI WILGOREN

NANTUCKET, Mass., Aug. 31 — Democrats say they fear that Senator John Kerry squandered the capital from the Democratic National Convention as he spent August reeling from a frontal assault on his character and Vietnam record, with many urging him to immediately sharpen his attack on Mr. Bush and make a more persuasive case for change.

Mr. Kerry's inner circle, aware that he will probably enter the closing eight weeks of the race behind Mr. Bush, has been huddled in strategy meetings and adding staff. At the same time, some prominent Democrats outside the campaign have been calling for a new urgency and have been chafing at Mr. Kerry's decision to remain mostly out of the spotlight at his vacation home here this week during the Republican convention, but for a speech on Wednesday to the American Legion in Nashville.

"I want him to be campaigning like his life depended on it," said Representative Charles B. Rangel, Democrat of New York. "I don't want him to be playing football or surfing or bicycling. I want him to tell people we're at war and we shouldn't be at war, to talk about all of the things we used to have and we lost in the last four years."

In Virginia, where Democrats have been viewing the presidential race as winnable for the first time in decades, the state Democratic chairman, Kerry Donley, said he, too, thought it was unwise for Mr. Kerry to have hunkered down this week. "You have to take the campaign to the people," Mr. Donley said. "I'd like to see him out there right now."

Thursday at midnight, Mr. Kerry will begin a four-day bus blitz in Springfield, Ohio, with he and his running mate and their families fanning out to rallies in 22 states over the Labor Day weekend. Wednesday, the campaign plans to buy \$45 million in television time to run advertisements in 20 states until Election Day.

Some of Mr. Kerry's own advisers, speaking on condition of anonymity, attributed his lost month of August to his own lackluster performance on the stump, as well as a few tactical blunders, such as his insistence, under prodding from Mr. Bush, that he would still have voted to use force in Iraq even if he knew all that he does now about the failure to find unconventional weapons. One of Mr. Kerry's confidants said Mr. Kerry had expressed frustration that the campaign seemed unable to gain any traction in recent weeks.

Other Democrats criticized what they see as a too-cautious campaign, relying too heavily on the election being a referendum on an unpopular president.

"They seem to be trying to figure out what to do here, and it's a little late for that, you know," said one veteran Democratic strategist, who like many others refused to be quoted by name in criticizing the campaign.

Stephanie Cutter, Mr. Kerry's communications director, insisted that the campaign remains on its long-term game plan.

"We knew we were going dark in August and that the Bush campaign was going to unleash tens of millions

think that's where we must begin to focus and my hope is that's where we're going to be going."

Representative Jerrold Nadler of New York said he thought the campaign's handling of domestic issues was fine, but that Mr. Kerry needed to devise a sharper attack on Mr. Bush at the heart of his case for reelection: national security.

"We have them beaten on every issue six ways to Sunday, even on Iraq, the majority of people say it was a mistake to go in, except on the war on terrorism," Mr. Nadler said. A lot of political campaign managers say you ignore it. I think you take him head on on it."

Mr. Kerry huddled here in recent days with Mary Beth Cahill, his campaign manager and several key advisers. His campaign said the sessions were preparation for his debates with Mr. Bush and denied persistent speculation about a looming personnel shakeup.

Several senior Kerry aides who spoke on the condition of anonymity said the addition of two former Clinton hands, Joel Johnson and Joe Lockhart, had improved both operations and the mood inside the campaign headquarters in Washington.

Mr. Johnson's role is to keep the communications team laser-focused on Mr. Kerry's core messages rather than being distracted by each new attack from the Bush camp, while Mr. Lockhart is to begin traveling with Mr. Kerry in Nashville and will work directly with reporters.

The two campaign veterans, both of whom Ms. Cutter worked with in the White House, have siphoned off some of her responsibilities, but not her title; aides said her job remained secure, if refocused.

The Kerry campaign is huddling and adding staff.

Some inside the campaign also said the coming weeks would bring increasing influence from several longtime Kerry strategists: John Sasso, whom Mr. Kerry made general election manager of the Democratic National Committee; Michael Whouley, the ground guru who is credited with helping Mr. Kerry win the Iowa caucuses; and Tad Devine, who already is one of the team's senior media minds and public voices; as well as Doug Sosnick, another former Clinton aide.

"There's not going to be a staff shakeup," Ms. Cutter said definitively. "We are building up the team with the best and the brightest to take us through the homestretch."

Mr. Lockhart added: "Any idea that the senior leadership of this campaign is about to be changed is just not true."

The arrival of the new staff came after several weeks in which Mr. Kerry was slow to respond to an assault on his Vietnam war record and character, with largely unsubstantiated charges, by the group calling itself Swift Boat Veterans for Truth.

"I wish he'd borrowed a page from Bill Clinton — when attacked, you



Robert Galbraith/Reuters

Pat Peale, a delegate from Texas, sporting an adhesive bandage with a Purple Heart on Monday.

Courtney Kadach contributed reporting for this article.

doing so from the convention podium Monday night.

"When Mayor Giuliani commended Mr. Kerry's service from the floor of the convention, he was greeted with applause," said Steve Schmidt, a campaign spokesman.

But, he added, "A great many veterans have said that John Kerry's

Courtney Radsch contributed reporting for this article.



Robert Galbraith/Reuters

Pat Peale, a delegate from Texas, sporting an adhesive bandage with a Purple Heart on Monday.

STRATEGY

Loves Dogs, Hates Kerry: A Two-Prong Campaign Tactic

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

With Rudolph W. Giuliani's pummeling of John Kerry on Monday and last night's softer tribute to President Bush by Laura Bush, the Bush campaign has laid out for the convention what White House aides said was the two-sided template of its election strategy.

The first prong is to batter Mr. Kerry, as Mr. Giuliani did with almost ruthless abandon to open the convention, mocking Mr. Kerry as devoid of convictions, weak on national defense and politically unprincipled. It was a hammer that will be picked up tonight when Vice President Dick Cheney gives his acceptance speech, Mr. Bush's aides said yesterday.

The second part of the Janus strategy was on display yesterday, as Mrs. Bush — in a day of television interviews culminating in a prime-time speech to the convention at Madison Square Garden — offered tender testimony to her husband of 26 years. That capped two days in which the party's national chairman, Ed Gillespie, has taken to referring to Mr. Bush as a "good guy," and the delegates (and television viewers) have witnessed gauzy video presentations about a president whom voters were more likely to have seen slashing into Mr. Kerry on the campaign trail in August.

"Tonight, I want to try and answer the question that I believe many people would ask me if we sat down for a cup of coffee or ran into each other at the store: You know him better than anyone, you've seen things no one else has seen; why do you think we should re-elect your husband as pres-

ident?" Mrs. Bush said, in excerpts from the speech she had prepared.

At another point, she recounted one part of life in the White House: "We lost our beloved dog Spot, and had our hearts warmed by the antics of Barney."

This is a carefully modulated strategy, Mr. Bush's advisers said. It reflects what they say is the necessity of running a negative campaign against Mr. Kerry — and the difficulty of doing that when the relatively few voters in play are likely to be disengaged independents who have historically been alienated by sullen politics, and who have been bombarded with negative advertisements from both sides this year.

Mr. Bush is also maneuvering in an environment in which Democrats have been complaining about what they describe as Mr. Bush's unethical campaign practices. They argue that the Bush family has long resorted to brutal political tactics when cornered and is known for its parallel campaign tracks, one on the high road, and one on what Democrats would call the low road. Those accusations have proven particularly strong in the last month, in which Mr. Kerry has been the subject of unsubstantiated charges by veterans about his Vietnam combat medals.

Mr. Bush and his top campaign aides insist they have had nothing to do with, and do not approve of, the attacks that started earlier this summer. But Democrats said that Mr. Bush's wife and father, in separate interviews during the convention, fanned the story by suggesting that at least some of the charges had merit. And Karl Rove, his senior political adviser, denounced Mr. Kerry

for the charges he acknowledged, however, that the campaign did not seem to mind the attacks. "Of course they want it out there, and it's been effective," he said. "The ideal situation is the president can be against it, but those who love him can be for it, it helps."

Democrats, however, went on the offensive, trying to stoke voter anger over the bandages, which they said raised unfair questions about all Purple Heart winners. They pro-

The Bush strategy is to vilify Kerry. Compassionately.

in a CNN interview yesterday for Senate testimony he gave after returning from Vietnam in which he recounted reports of atrocities by American soldiers.

"They're doing the same thing they always do," said Stephanie Cutter, Mr. Kerry's communications director, referring, in particular to the remarks by the former president. "It's right out of their playbook."

While the Democrats, during their convention in Boston, at least said they were minding, an effort to hold down the attacks on Mr. Bush, Mr. Bush's aides said they were determined to use this week tearing down Mr. Kerry, in the calculation that Mr. Bush almost certainly cannot win unless voters are convinced that they cannot vote for Mr. Kerry.

Senator Larry E. Craig, an Idaho Republican, argued yesterday at a breakfast at the Harvard Club in Manhattan that Mr. Bush was edging up in polls precisely because of the continuing stream of attacks.

"He's moving up now in part because, as much as we hate negative campaigning, it does produce factual information," Mr. Craig said.

Mr. Bush's campaign manager, Ken Mehlman, said that the president had made a point of keeping any attacks on Mr. Kerry focused on his voting record and positions.

"An election is a choice, and I think

we need to talk about differences," Mr. Mehlman said. "Voters like information. And giving them information about the choices they face is helpful in winning an election."

But Democrats yesterday — noting Mr. Giuliani's scorching speech on Monday, as well as delegates wearing Band-Aids intended to mock Mr. Kerry's war wounds — disputed Mr. Mehlman's description of the attacks on Mr. Kerry.

Campaigns engage in endless debates over what the definition of negative is, at least when it comes to campaigns. But there was no doubt that the harshness of Monday, with its attacks on Mr. Kerry made on a night framed by the memory of the Sept. 11 attacks, was replaced yesterday by a much softer tack. Toughness took a back seat to compassion.

Mrs. Bush's appearance and her very personal speech — about what it was like to be married to a man who had sent American troops to battle — took the edge off Mr. Giuliani's attacks of the night before.

The other major speech last night, by Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger of California, offered a far more moderate view of the Republican Party than might have been taken from the platform adopted the night before.

"The goal is to capture, and recapture, the domestic conservative compassionate agenda of this president," said Nicole Devenish, the campaign's communications director.

That will swing back tonight, when Mr. Cheney speaks — and the subject turns back to the differences between Mr. Kerry and his challenger.

"The momentous choice people will have in this election will come into focus," Ms. Devenish pledged.

relying too heavily on the election being the best and the brightest to take us through the homestretch."

Mr. Lockhart added: "Any idea that the senior leadership of this campaign is about to be changed is just not true."

The arrival of the new staff came after several weeks in which Mr. Kerry was slow to respond to an assault on his Vietnam war record and character, with largely unsubstantiated charges, by the group calling itself Swift Boat Veterans for Truth.

"I wish he'd borrowed a page from Bill Clinton — when attacked, you respond quickly, that day," said Ron Oliver, the Arkansas Democratic chairman.

But Bill Carrick, a longtime Democratic strategist, said he would not have "gotten engaged in it" at all. "I think it is a distraction," he said.

Several longtime Kerry aides said that no matter how badly August had gone for Mr. Kerry, he still had the debates ahead and that he had shown again and again that he performs best when his back is against the wall.

"This is still the guy who can dig deeper than anyone when it counts," said one veteran adviser. "What I hate is that they're going to make it about his ability to do that one more time, when it didn't have to be. Imagine the pressure."

David M. Halbfinger reported from Nantucket and Jodi Wilgoren from New York.



Hector Mata/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

Senator John Kerry, who is taking a break during the Republican convention, windsurfed yesterday off the coast of Nantucket, Mass.

PARTIES AND ENTERTAINMENT

"This guy bought me two drinks. I tried to get him to dance. He wouldn't do it. He tells me, 'I'm very conservative, my friends made me come here.'" BIANCA



PINK
ELEPHANTS

So the Governor Takes the Speaker to a Bar, All in the Name of New York

By GLENN COLLINS

The grand Republican festivity machine went to warp speed yesterday. From early yesterday, all the day and into the night, le tout elephant partied on.

But first, a tutorial on that early-yesterday part, when Gov. George E. Pataki of New York and House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert found themselves in elbow-bending mode at McSorley's Old Ale House.

True, maybe there were some "Hastert to City: Drop Dead" headlines a few weeks ago — the ones that trumpeted the words of the speaker in his new book. And O.K., maybe he criticized what he saw as money-grubbing among New York officials after Sept. 11. You know, to pay for rebuilding Lower Manhattan?

But get some perspective. The governor has frequently worked with the speaker. More importantly, he hopes to be working closely with him again. Really, really soon: as New York tries to win permission from the Congress to convert those Liberty Bonds into real financing that will support transportation improvements.

So wouldn't it be a great idea if the speaker got to know a little bit more about historic New York? And could there be a more historic and convivial place than McSorley's in Manhattan, believed to be the city's oldest continuously run bar?

So much for backstory on the whole reason why the governor invited the speaker to a post-midnight get-together for 100 at the ale house.

And there was the exquisite convention party sight: two guys downing a few beers to the lilt of an Irish tenor, surrounded by revelers. As the room got happier, and as the conversation got warmer in the "wonderful saloon" chronicled by Joseph Mitchell in *The New Yorker*, the governor and the speaker migrated behind the bar. They rolled up their sleeves and began pulling pints of ale.

Well, they tried to: "Unfortunately," said an aide to the governor, who confirmed the event, "all they could get from the tap was foam."

Praise Among Family

The first twins speak. Or did, yesterday. And it is now abundantly clear why they waited so long. Muteness was a fund-raising tool: the "Tribute to Laura Bush" honored their mother at the Marriott Hotel (tickets: \$275 and up). Jenna, in a sleek white sheath with black stripes, brought laughter from the crowd of 1,250 by saying, "Actually, in our family I'm known as Barbara's re-



Gov. George E. Pataki of New York last night with the bartender at McSorley's, Gregory de la Haba, and House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert.

venge on George."

Jenna praised her grandmother as "Barbara 'the Enforcer' Bush." Her sister, Barbara, then took the podium to praise the first lady for her commitment to international women's rights — and did not fail to recall her mother's talent for leading a conga line at a grade-school slumber party with "Fire" by the Pointer Sisters blaring from the stereo.

Laura Bush then materialized, a vision in powder blue. After hugging her daughters, she offered a quip to an audience that seemed heavy with parental veterans. One of her favorite things about having the twins on the campaign trail, she said, deadpan, was "getting to hear them talk about how much they love me."

Breakfast Clubs

Shockingly, the men and women of the news media were not permitted within a mile of the Halliburton Breakfast for the Texas delegation at the Hilton Hotel yesterday. This did not deter 20 demonstrators out-

side from enjoying a little shindig, donning pink latex pig snouts (they were shouting, "money-grubbing pigs"). They passed out what they dubbed "Hallibacon bucks," rather accurately photocopied \$100 bills bearing pictures of a snarling Dick Cheney. Actually, there were more police than protesters — and more reporters than all of them together.

And Now, the Glitter

Now here's a party: playing dress-up with the merchandise at the Cartier mansion on Fifth Avenue. A very select group was invited there by George Mosbacher, the Republican rainmaker, to honor Representative David Dreier of California, the convention parliamentarian, on Monday night. Soon grand ladies were giggling like schoolgirls, trying on million-dollar bling. Some husbands looked on with palpable anxiety.

"I'm addicted to Cartier," said Dorothy Hall, who was fingering an \$18,000 white gold necklace as her husband, Terry L. Hall, president of

GenCorp, feigned disinterest. "He's here for the convention," she said. "I'm here to buy jewelry." Gail Ford, lobbyist and wife of Representative John E. Sweeney of New York, tried on an \$800,000 choker to match her \$300 earrings. "This is a short adrenaline rush, followed by sadness." She handed the piece back.

Elephants on a Wire

Yesterday, the famously public Black Course at Bethpage State Park on Long Island was decidedly private. Several governors, in the company of donors and delegates, tested the course where Tiger Woods won the 2002 United States Open. Really, though, could their scores be that bad? State police kept reporters from asking. Armed officers stood guard over the first tee.

Republican Congressional spouses have not lacked for teas, delicate breakfasts, tours and celebrations. But there's always a down side, isn't there. At a reception for spouses yesterday at the Lenox china show-

room on Madison Avenue, Sandie Knollenberg, wife of Representative Joe Knollenberg of Michigan, said: "I haven't done any shopping at all."

As might be expected, Representative Katherine Harris of Florida — Sun Belt tan, partisan glow — turned up at the voter-registration festivity at Pressure Lounge Monday night. Looking back, Congresswoman, what about your role in the Florida recount during the 2000 election? "I was just doing my job," she said. And is there anything you need to do to get Florida ready for the November election? "Oh," she replied, "I'm not secretary of state anymore."

So exactly what was inside the white goodie bags distributed yesterday by the Financial Services Roundtable, a brokerage-industry trade group, after the 300-person bagel brunch at Tavern on the Green? Sort of looked like hundreds of notes. And bills. The Treasury-issued kind? No, that would be wrong! They were just plain white stationery-store thank-you cards. In an embossed box.

MIXED COMPANY

The Dancers Are Ready. Where Are G.O.P. Laps?

By ANDY NEWMAN

When Eileen Shedroff writes her tell-all memoir of the life of a lap dancer, the chapter on the 2004 Republican National Convention is likely to be rather short.

By 1:30 a.m. yesterday, Ms. Shedroff, along with her employers at the Penthouse Executive Club, had been hoping for a bumper crop of delegates fresh from the Garden, fired up by Rudolph W. Giuliani and John McCain and looking to blow off steam and bucks.

But around the club's cavernous interior, the areas where the V.I.P.'s sit — one section went by the name The Egg — were empty. The private rooms upstairs were empty, even the one done up in sumptuous Republican-red velvet. Lounging around the pit were about 40 other dancers and three, count 'em, convention attendees from Indiana, as well as a couple of other paying customers.

Ms. Shedroff threw a few \$20-a-song dances to a dour-looking man in a yellow tie who told her he was a delegate, then she decamped to the bar after catching a glimpse of the contents of his wallet when he went to pay her.

"I know where to invest my time," said Ms. Shedroff, a frosted-blond former military nurse and current psychology graduate student in a gold robe and leopard-print bra. "It's not there."

Mark Yackow, the chief executive of the club, just off the West Side Highway at 45th Street, had promoted hard but kept his hopes in check. He knew that the delegates would not spend like the high-rolling regulars who would doubtless be chased off by the convention claspdown. But he thought maybe the convention volume would be enough to offset their absence, so he booked about 20 percent more dancers than he normally would for a week in late August.

As it turns out, so far, the turnout, he says, has been lacking. "We still have faith that the next few nights there'll be an influx of delegates and convention people going to the club," Mr. Yackow said yesterday afternoon. "But if it doesn't come in the next few days, it is what it is."

Bianca, a dancer from Puerto Rico, said it was the same stuff, different state with a group of delegates and their friends from North Carolina on Saturday. "This guy bought me two drinks. I tried to get him to dance. He wouldn't do it. He tells me, 'I'm very conservative, my friends made me come here.' He was really uncomfortable."

Mr. Yackow was not sure what had kept this particular collection of Rep.

With Mary Spicuzza, Andrew Jacobs, Jennifer Medina, Corey Kilgannon, Stacy Albin, Julie Bosman, Eric Dash.

"It's crazy," he said, and his facial expression made the case that he really thought so.

POLITICAL POINTS

Awards for a Show

Republicans show their muscle in the Garden. **5**



The TV Watch

The convention brings euphoria for Fox News. **11**



Crashing the Convention

Two dozen hecklers found it surprisingly easy to gain entry to Madison Square Garden. **8**

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 2004

The New York Times

SAVE The Republicans

THE CONVENTION IN NEW YORK

SAVE

City Ordered To Release Protesters Held 2 Days

By SUSAN SAULNY
and DIANE CARDWELL

A state judge in Manhattan yesterday angrily ordered the city to release more than 550 protesters who had been detained without seeing a judge — some for as long as 60 hours — after they were arrested at demonstrations against the Republican National Convention. When not all the protesters had been released by 6 p.m., he held the city in contempt and ordered a fine of \$1,000 for each person still held, without setting a time frame.

The judge, John Cataldo of State Supreme Court in Manhattan, demanded during a noon hearing that the city immediately process the demonstrators. Throughout the afternoon, knots of exhausted but relieved-looking protesters with disheveled clothing and grime-covered hands and arms emerged onto Centre Street from the Criminal Courts Building. Many raised their hands in triumph and were greeted with boisterous cheers, whistles and sometimes even flowers from hundreds of onlookers who had gathered. Others looked on nervously, waiting to hear news of relatives and friends.

The city's corporation counsel, Michael A. Cardozo, issued a statement saying, "The judge was wrong not to permit the city sufficient time to complete the processing of arrestees. The release of those individuals is unfortunate to say the least." The judge and lawyers for the protesters and the city reconvened at 6 p.m. to discuss the progress of the releases, which were not completed. Clearly frustrated, Judge Cataldo levied the fine on the city.

"The important thing is not the fine but to have these people released," the judge said. The detainees continued to emerge onto Centre Street into the evening.

The abrupt release and the threat of tens of thousands of dollars in fines capped a dramatic episode surrounding the convention, as more than 1,000 protesters who were swept off the streets Tuesday night were sent in handcuffs into the city's criminal



Nicole Bengiveno/The New York Times

Protest supporters, some only recently released themselves, celebrated as they saw more detained demonstrators freed at the Criminal Courts Building.



Protest supporters, some only recently released themselves, celebrated as they saw more detained demonstrators freed at the Criminal Courts Building.

Nicole Bergvener/The New York Times

Bush Is 'Unfit' To Lead U.S., Kerry Charges

By DAVID M. HALBINGER and MICHAEL JANOFSKY

NANTUCKET, Mass., Sept. 2 — Roaring back at his Republican rivals, Senator John Kerry called President Bush "unfit to lead this nation" for "misleading" America into war in Iraq, and he accused Mr. Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney of having avoided combat during the Vietnam War.

"For the past week, they attacked my patriotism and my fitness to serve as commander in chief," Mr. Kerry said in remarks Thursday night as Mr. Bush was about to accept the Republican nomination for a second term.

"Well, here's my answer," Mr. Kerry said. "I'm not going to have my commitment to defend this country questioned by those who refused to serve when they could have and by those who have misled the nation into Iraq."

Mr. Cheney capped a weeklong assault on Mr. Kerry's character and national-security credentials at the Republican convention on Wednesday night, saying that he honored Mr. Kerry's service in Vietnam but that the senator's 20-year voting record on foreign policy and military issues made him unfit to be president.

Mr. Kerry hit back last night in his toughest remarks yet about the qualifications of the Republican ticket.

"The vice president even called me unfit for office last night," Mr. Kerry said. "I guess I'll leave it up to the voters whether five deferments makes someone more qualified to defend this nation than two tours of duty."

Mr. Cheney received five deferments and did not serve in the military. Mr. Bush was in the Texas Air National Guard.

"Let me tell you what I think makes someone unfit for duty," Mr. Kerry said, turning to Mr. Bush. "Misleading our nation into war in Iraq makes you unfit to lead this nation. Doing nothing while this nation loses millions of jobs makes you unfit to lead this nation. Letting 45 million Americans go without health care makes you unfit to lead this nation."

"Letting the Saudi royal family control our energy costs makes you unfit to lead this nation. Handing out billions of government contracts to Halliburton while you're still on their payroll makes you unfit."

"That's the record of George Bush and Dick Cheney. And it's not going to change. I

Continued on Page P10

APPLE'S ALMANAC

By R. W. Apple Jr.

From Decisions to Impressions, in 4 Decades

In all probability, this is it for me, the last of 20 national political conventions, stretching all the way back to the 1960's — that is, unless I snag a special assignment in 2008 from *Geriatric Weekly*.

Over the last four decades, almost everything about conventions has changed. I started when they were all about decisions; now they are mostly about impressions, the impressions left in the minds of the delegates and party workers in the hall and the voters out beyond its walls. They are Atkins conventions, stuffed with the red meat of partisan combat but stripped of the satisfying carbohydrates of fierce intraparty struggle. That makes them less delicious, but it by no means robs them of significance.

Everything has been decided before the conventions open, true enough. But everyone knows before a coronation in London who the new king or queen will be, everyone knows before an inauguration in Washington who the new president will be, and yet those events have their uses: they focus a nation's attention on the transfer and who wields authority.

Likewise the conventions. In Boston in July, Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts introduced himself to the country as the Democratic nominee, a necessary first step in readying him for battle with President Bush. In New York this week, Mr. Bush, already on familiar terms with the electorate thanks to incumbency, set out to convince the American public that he had more to offer in a second term. Neither task could have been accomplished as effectively outside a convention forum.

So what are the other important changes? The makeup of the delegations is an obvious one, if often now overlooked. Delegates of 40 years ago were overwhelmingly male, middle-aged or older, white and long involved in politics, as either pros or semipros. The cigar, usually cheap, often smelly, was the badge of office and produced one of the enduring images of American politics, the smoke-filled room (the original was Suite 404 of the Blackstone Hotel in Chicago, where a group of senators and others agreed in June 1920 that Warren G. Harding should be the Republican nominee.)

At Madison Square Garden the last four nights, the participants were far less homogeneous. The Republican convention was less diverse in its makeup than the Democratic one, but still, 55 percent of the delegates were first-timers, mostly chosen by primary voters rather than state political

kingpins; 43 percent were women; and 14 percent were African-American, Asian or Hispanic — much lower percentages than at the Democratic convention but historically high for the Republicans. And no one was smoking stogies, although Matthew Dowd, the Bush campaign's chief strategist, was seen on the convention floor brandishing a well-chewed but unlit cigar.

What else? The parties are more corpo-



Associated Press

Party conventions of the past, like the Democratic one in 1956, seem to have more spontaneity than those today.

rate and less political, and therefore more lavish and less fun. The music is electronic and up to date, but not as reliably rousing as "Happy Days Are Here Again" pounded out by a brass band or an organ.

The biggest changes are technological in origin. Cellphones mean that anyone can be reached almost anywhere, as long as the caller has the right number, a huge advantage in managing a logistical monster like a convention. Network television has come and gone as the dominant chronicler of convention events, replaced by cable, with its capacity to pounce upon, explore and report an event in minutes, then chew it over for hours. The attack-response-adapt news cycle speeded up immeasurably.

The two greatest presidential orators of my time, John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan, did their best work outside the convention hall — in Berlin and in Normandy, at American University and at an evangelical conference, on television, in inaugural addresses. Looking back, I characterize most convention oratory the same way William Gibbs McAdoo, an unsuccessful Democratic presidential hopeful in 1920 and 1924, did the speeches of Warren G. Harding: they "leave

the Impression an army of pompous phrases moving over the landscape in search of an idea." But the exceptions, dear God, the spine-tingling exceptions: Adlai E. Stevenson promising to "talk sense to the American people" in 1956, Barry Goldwater asserting that "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice" in 1964, Robert F. Kennedy quoting "Romeo and Juliet" in extolling his dead brother that same year, Barbara Jordan asking "who then will speak for America" in 1976, Edward M. Kennedy pledging that "the dream shall never die" in 1980, Mario M. Cuomo telling his "tale of two cities" in 1984 and Bill Clinton assuring the nation, "I still believe in a place called Hope" in 1992.

A single year, 1988, brought my nominees for funniest speech (Ann W. Richards, claiming that George Bush, then the vice president, had been "born with a silver foot in his mouth"), worst speech (Mr. Clinton's agonizingly windy paean to Michael S. Dukakis in which the most applauded word was "finally") and most surprising speech (the pithy acceptance by the often-tongued Bush 41, studded with rhetorical goodies like "Read my lips, no new taxes" and "a kinder, gentler America.")

If the Democrats had more good convention orators on my watch, they also had the greatest capacity for self-immolation. Walter F. Mondale's 1984 speech urging higher taxes — c'mon, they won't hurt a bit — outdid even Goldwater's in inflicting damage on the man who delivered it. In 1968, they fought with rocks and fists in the streets of Chicago and with words in the International Amphitheater, dooming the candidacy of Hubert H. Humphrey at its outset and consigning him to join Henry Clay in the ranks of great American politicians who never reached the White House. Four years later, two more fiascos: George McGovern's bungled vice-presidential choice and his acceptance speech, delivered when most of the country was fast asleep.

Although it sometimes did not seem so at the time, the conventions provided stages not only for big personalities (winners like Richard M. Nixon, Ronald Reagan and Lyndon B. Johnson, losers like Humphrey and Nelson A. Rockefeller), but also for big ideas. Jobs, civil rights, the Vietnam War, the cold war and now the struggle against terrorism frame my memories of these noisy quadrennial encampments, far more than seas of signs and balloon drops and ridiculous hats.

who had gathered. Others hauled on their shoulders, waiting to hear news of relatives and friends.

The city's corporation counsel, Michael A. Cardozo, issued a statement saying, "The judge was wrong not to permit the city sufficient time to complete the processing of arrestees. The release of those individuals is unfortunate to say the least." The judge and lawyers for the protesters and the city reconvened at 6 p.m. to discuss the progress of the releases, which were not completed. Clearly frustrated, Judge Cataldo levied the fine on the city.

"The important thing is not the fine but to move these people released," the judge said. The detainees continued to creep onto Centre Street into the evening.

The abrupt release and the threat of tens of thousands of dollars in fines capped a dramatic episode surrounding the convention, as more than 1,000 protesters who were swept off the streets Tuesday night were sent in handcuffs into the city's criminal justice system. The city said it had cleared court dockets and opened additional courtrooms to handle the expected flood of protesters, but on Wednesday only a trickle of those arrested the night before appeared in court.

Judge Cataldo held a hearing at 7 p.m. to check on the city's progress and was not satisfied. "We're coming back again until this is settled," he said. "Once again, the order is, release these people."

A lawyer for the city said that all but 148 of the protesters who were part of the judge's original order had been released. But that number could not be independently confirmed last night.

Defense lawyers and protesters said something was amiss with the Police Department's detention process. City officials had maintained that those arrested were not being held for longer than 24 hours — the legal limit — without seeing a judge and that they were being given access to lawyers. The defense lawyers and protesters claimed the police were using long detentions as a tactic to keep the streets clear until the convention was over.

Yesterday, during the noon hearing in Judge Cataldo's courtroom, the city conceded that some protesters were being held too long. "We couldn't get everyone processed as quickly as we liked," said Michael A. Cardozo, the city's corporation counsel. He said the police had been overwhelmed by the number of arrests within a four-hour period on Tuesday, when about 1,200 people were taken into custody around Manhattan for offenses that ranged from disorderly conduct to resisting arrest to various degrees of assault. "We're doing our best" to move people through the system, he said.

Judge Cataldo replied, "I'm ordering that."

At one point, clearly exasperated, the judge told Mr. Cardozo, "These people have already been the victims of a process. I can

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Nicole Bergvener/The New York Times

Grimy T-shirts are displayed by Matt Hoesemann, left, and a companion who spent time at a city pier lockup.

LOOKING FORWARD

"Even when we don't agree, at least you know what I believe and where I stand." PRESIDENT BUSH

NEWS ANALYSIS

Bold Strokes but Few Details Laid Out in President's Pitch for Four More Years

Continued From Page A1

achieve. Mr. Bush's four years already have had enough excitement for eight. His old rival and now-fervent backer, Senator John McCain, said in an interview this week that like all his predecessors, Mr. Bush knows that his "legacy revolves as always around national security policy, the war on terror, but it also revolves around some need for major reform in some domestic areas."

Mr. Bush devoted the first half of his speech to domestic policy but he left the daunting details of the agenda items Mr. McCain outlined — overhauling Social Security and Medicare, reining in federal spending, reshaping immigration law — almost entirely unaddressed. The biggest ideas he did mention face significant opposition in Congress, and many would cost far more than his own party is willing to spend.

Four years ago in Philadelphia, Mr. Bush assailed eight years of Democratic rule with the refrain: "They had their chance. They have not led. We will." No one — not even his most passionate critics — can dispute that he has, first by steamrolling big tax cuts through a compliant Congress, then toppling the Taliban and winning support for a controversial war with Iraq.

But Mr. Bush's promise to "extend the promise of prosperity to every forgotten corner of this country" remains unmet, and the war is enmeshed in what even he recently acknowledged as a "miscalculation of what the conditions would be." The overriding question for an electorate that remains as polarized as the one that failed to give him a popular victory in 2000 is where Mr. Bush wants lead the nation next, and how he intends to get there.

"You don't want to have a battle over the status quo," said Matthew Dowd, his chief campaign strategist. "You want to talk about what are your policies, what are your plans?"

The Republicans have faulted John Kerry for failing to outline a more detailed idea of what he would do as president, and indeed he left his convention in Boston last month without explaining the meaning of his 19-year service in the Senate, or laying out much in the way of a fu-



Before addressing the Republican National Convention last night, President Bush appeared in Madison Square Garden for a sound check.

Yoni Brook/The New York Times

ture agenda, beyond promising not to be Mr. Bush.

Mr. Bush pledged to keep fighting "the terrorists across the earth — not for pride, not for power, but because the lives of our citizens are at stake." That is true enough, but Mr. Bush's own stated rationale for deposing Saddam Hussein has shifted repeatedly, the unconventional weapons that he said threatened the

world have not been found, and his opponents contend that his actions have inflamed Muslim extremists and put Americans at greater risk.

Even his father's former national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, who warned two years ago against rushing to war with Iraq, said in an interview published in The New York Observer this week that Mr. Bush may have overreacted to the threat

posed by Al Qaeda and that the administration's preoccupation with terrorism meant "we are maybe not paying enough attention to other problems in the world that have nothing to do with terrorism but are really significant."

Mr. Bush conceded no such error last night, instead repeating a version of a refrain he uses often: "Do I forget the lessons of Sept. 11 and take

the word of a madman, or do I take action to defend our country? Faced with that choice, I will defend America every time."

In all, it was a remarkable moment for a man whose political career began just 10 years ago with his election as governor of Texas, who won the White House by just five electoral votes (and a single vote on the Supreme Court), and who now

Making no apologies for swagger, promising to 'defend America every time.'

stands as one of the most decisive, unyielding presidents of modern times. Mr. Bush is hoping that his core voters will turn out in large numbers, and that even those undecided voters who may be uneasy about some of his decisions will respect his resolve.

Bill Clinton warned his fellow Democrats two years ago that "when people are insecure, they'd rather have somebody who's strong and wrong than somebody who's weak and right." That is why John Kerry spent so much time in his convention last month attesting to his combat service in Vietnam.

Mr. Bush had another challenge.

Voters take his strength for granted, as he acknowledged last night by saying: "In the last four years, you and I have come to know each other. Even when we don't agree, at least you know what I believe and where I stand." But polls show Americans have doubts about Mr. Bush's stubbornness, his truthfulness (only about 1 in 5 Americans now think he is telling the entire truth when he talks about Iraq), and even the likelihood that helped him so much last time. So one of his tasks was to show that for all the vicissitudes of war, the intelligence failures that failed to stop Al Qaeda's attacks and started American troops on the road to Baghdad, he remains the plain-spoken man they met four years ago.

He spoke of the pain of ordering troops into battle, "even when it is right," and of holding "children of the fallen, who are told their dad or mom is a hero, but would rather just have their dad or mom."

And he concluded: "One thing I have learned about the presidency is that whatever shortcomings you have, people are going to notice them — and whatever strengths you have, you're going to need them."

So the nation has. And so Mr. Bush will.

THE STRATEGY

"My guess is he'll have a big bounce, and in a couple weeks it will be back close to even." MARK MILLMAN

THE OVERVIEW

Evoking Sept. 11, Bush Vows Safer World

Continued From Page A1

rally in Springfield, Ohio, in which he delivered his toughest attack on Mr. Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney. "We all saw the anger and distortion of the Republican Convention," Mr. Kerry said, according to prepared remarks. "For the past week, they attacked my patriotism and my fitness to serve as commander in chief. Well, here's my answer. I'm not going to have my commitment to defend this country questioned by those who refused to serve when they could have and by those who have misled the nation into Iraq."

"The vice president even called me unfit for office last night," he said. "I'm guess I'll leave it up to the voters whether five deferments makes someone more qualified to defend this nation than two tours of combat duty."

Mr. Bush last night put on the table a series of proposals covering Social Security, taxes, health care, education and jobs, after months in which members of his own party implored him to set out a detailed agenda for a second four years in the White House and the Democrats excoriated him for lacking one. The speech called for two historic undertakings — rewriting the tax code to make it simpler and more conducive to economic growth, and overhauling Social Security to add personal investment accounts — but offered no details or answers to the political and budgetary problems that complicate those issues.

He offered more specifics on some of his other proposals, from increased spending for high school and community college programs to new incentives for construction of affordable housing. But most of them were relatively modest and not of the scale that by themselves would be likely to redefine the presidential race.

Overall, Mr. Bush's package lacked the freshness and sweep of the agenda he ran in 2000, in part because the growing federal budget deficit constrained him from proposing big new programs. He did not offer any short-term measures to bolster the economy through a slowdown in the recovery that has left him especially vulnerable in industrial swing states like Ohio.

The speech was part of an elaborate roll-out of Mr. Bush's fall campaign, and it culminated one of the hardest-hitting conventions in 10 years. After four days in which speaker after speaker attacked Mr. Kerry's credibility, credentials and even his patriotism, and focused almost entirely on national security, Mr. Bush expanded his appeal with a discussion of domestic policy that has been largely absent from the convention here.

By every measure, Mr. Bush was intending to present this as the start of a second-term agenda that many Democrats have argued has been neglected by the president in the campaign. Taking a page from Bill Clinton in 1992 and Mr. Kerry last month, Mr. Bush issued a 48-page glossy book that described his proposals, titled "A Plan for a Safer World and



Former Gen. Tommy R. Franks, who stepped down last year as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, after speaking yesterday at the convention.

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Mr. Bush said that his plan could also be found on the campaign's Web site, GeorgeWBush.com. At the same time, his campaign said it was starting a huge wave of advertising that is focused on what they assert was Mr. Bush's plan to lower health care costs, reduce dependence on foreign energy and staunch overseas job loss.

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ating a stage at the center of Madison Square Garden, and a runway that lead Mr. Bush to his circle painted with the presidential seal. Almost every camera angle showed up surrounded by people, the kind of shot that his image advisers have been pressing for at every stop during his campaign trips.

Mr. Bush delivered his speech on a closing night that neatly summarized the central themes of the convention — from its relentless attacks on Mr. Kerry, as carried by Gov. George E. Pataki of New York, to the repeated references to the Sept. 11 attacks and the assertion, often in terse language, that Mr. Kerry would not protect the country from further harm.

Mr. Bush was hailed from the stage by Gen. Tommy Franks, who

said he was breaking from a history of independence to support the president. "I'm not a Republican, I'm not a Democrat," he said, adding: "After almost four decades as a soldier I've been independent, some would say very independent. But, here I stand tonight, endorsing George W. Bush to be the next president of the United States."

And Mr. Pataki, in his speech, strongly suggested that failures by the Clinton administration to go after terrorists had permitted the attacks of Sept. 11. And he repeatedly said that Mr. Kerry would not have shown the fortitude against the threat to America that Mr. Bush had displayed.

"Senator Kerry says, 'America should go to war not when it wants to go to war but when it has to go to war,'" Mr. Pataki said. "Well, senator: the firefighters and cops who ran into those burning towers and died on Sept. 11th didn't want to go to war, they were heroes in a war they didn't even know existed."

"America did not choose this war," Mr. Pataki said. "But we have a president who chooses to win it."

Mr. Kerry supported Mr. Bush when he invaded Afghanistan after the Sept. 11 attacks, and he voted for the resolution that permitted Mr. Bush to invade Iraq. Mr. Kerry has also since said he would vote for that resolution again, even knowing how the invasion would turn out.

Mr. Bush was scheduled to leave New York as soon as he finished his speech, flying to Pennsylvania which, unlike New York, is a swing state.

Mr. Bush accepted the nomination to run for re-election as the nation's

43rd president under the watch of its 41st president, his father, George H.W. Bush, and his wife, Laura Bush. Before Mr. Bush arrived at the Garden, which was locked down in siege-like security which served as a reminder of how things had changed over these past four years, the audience of Republicans cheered as they watched grainy images of Bush family videos.

From the start of his speech, as he said he accepted his party's nomination, Mr. Bush took notice of the difficult times the nation has faced.

"When I said those words four years ago, none of us could have envisioned what these years would bring," he said. "In the heart of this great city, we saw tragedy arrive on a quiet morning."

He then underlined what has emerged as the dominant theme of this convention: that Mr. Bush would protect the nation from tragedy.

"This election will also determine how America responds to the continuing danger of terrorism — and you know where I stand," he said. "Three days after Sept. 11th, I stood where Americans died, in the ruins of the twin towers. Workers in hard hats were shouting to me, 'Whatever it takes.' A fellow grabbed me by the arm and he said, 'Do not let me down.'"

"Since that day, I wake up every morning thinking about how to better protect our country," he said. "I will never relent in defending America. Whatever it takes."

As he did in the 2000 campaign, Mr. Bush called for allowing but not requiring workers who are not already near retirement age to invest a por-

tion of their payroll taxes in personal investment accounts. But such a change would not by itself address what some analysts see as a looming financial crisis in the retirement system. And Mr. Bush did not address what other steps he might support, saying only that he would work with Congress.

Nor did Mr. Bush say how he would pay for the costs of a transition to a system with personal accounts, a shift that could cost trillions of dollars in coming decades at a time when the government is already saddled with substantial deficits.

In calling for a rewriting the tax code, Mr. Bush waded into one of the most politically and economically complex issues facing the government. The current code has few defenders in its totality, but Washington is thick with interest groups who have a vested interest in parts of it. The president avoided any mention of how he would deal with popular provisions that would probably have to go in any ambitious overhaul, like the deduction for mortgage interest payments, and he did not allude to the deep divisions among advocates of change over what kind of system might replace the current one, like a national sales tax or a single-rate flat tax.

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ADVERTISING

New Ad Blitz By Both Sides Rivets on Jobs And Economy

By JIM RUTENBERG

With their conventions behind them, Senator John Kerry and President Bush will turn to the paid airwaves to get their messages across, each beginning a barrage of commercials next week that hit strikingly similar themes about the economy and jobs.

The extensive exchange of commercials is the beginning of the endgame in what has already been the most expensive advertising war in presidential campaign history. The campaigns' new advertisements were released to reporters yesterday.

Mr. Bush's campaign is spending roughly \$7 million on three new advertisements to run in about 20 battleground states in conjunction with the Republican National Committee, according to party officials.

In one new spot an announcer calls for "a fairer, simpler tax code" and a reduction in "dependence on foreign energy."

In another, Mr. Bush personally reprises his message that the nation is overcoming the devastation wrought by the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks and goes on to promise: "During the next four years, we'll spread ownership and opportunity. We need to make our economy more job-friendly to keep American jobs here in America."

In a third, an announcer says Mr. Bush and Congress have a plan to "keep doctors in their communities"; arrange for "health centers in every poor county"; and provide "every eligible child with health coverage."

Mr. Kerry will spend at least \$1.5 million on advertisements in seven swing states, with new commercials taking Mr. Bush to task for his stewardship of the economy while painting Mr. Kerry as a protector of the middle class and Mr. Bush as a slave to special interests. His aides said the campaign would add to that level of spending through the week.

In one new commercial, Mr. Kerry looks into the camera and says, "The fundamental choice in this election is

The end game in the struggle for middle class voters.

between a president who will fight for the middle class, and a president who sides with the special interests in this country." He goes on to declare that it is time to end loopholes that reward companies that "ship jobs overseas"; to "get health care costs under control"; and to "end America's dependence on Middle East oil."

That commercial, Mr. Kerry's aides said, will run starting on Tuesday in Pennsylvania, Florida, Iowa, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire and Wisconsin.

In another new advertisement, to run in Ohio on Friday, Mr. Kerry highlights job losses there and tells viewers, "President Bush insists the economy is just fine." The campaign said it was also devising new commercials critical of Mr. Bush that it would show in every state he visits this week.

The commercials are Mr. Kerry's first significant advertising push

unfit for office last night," he said. "I'm guess I'll leave it up to the voters whether five deferments makes someone more qualified to defend this nation than two tours of combat duty."

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Overall, Mr. Bush's package lacked the freshness and sweep of the agenda he ran in 2000, in part because the growing federal budget deficit constrained him from proposing big new programs. He did not offer any short-term measures to bolster the economy through a slowdown in the recovery that has left him especially vulnerable in industrial swing states like Ohio.

The speech was part of an elaborate roll-out of Mr. Bush's fall campaign, and it culminated one of the hardest-hitting conventions in 10 years. After four days in which speaker after speaker attacked Mr. Kerry's credibility, credentials and even his patriotism, and focused almost entirely on national security, Mr. Bush expanded his appeal with a discussion of domestic policy that has been largely absent from the convention here.

By every measure, Mr. Bush was intending to present this as the start of a second-term agenda that many Democrats have argued has been neglected by the president in the campaign. Taking a page from Bill Clinton in 1992 and Mr. Kerry last month, Mr. Bush issued a 48-page glossy book that described his proposals, titled "A Plan for a Safer World and



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In calling for a rewriting the tax code, Mr. Bush waded into one of the most politically and economically complex issues facing the government. The current code has few defenders in its totality, but Washington is thick with interest groups who have a vested interest in parts of it. The president avoided any mention of how he would deal with popular provisions that would probably have to go in any ambitious overhaul, like the deduction for mortgage interest payments, and he did not allude to the deep divisions among advocates of change over what kind of system might replace the current one, like a national sales tax or a single-rate flat tax.

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Underlining Ms. Cahill's contention yesterday morning that this race is really starting anew, Mr. Kerry was poised to swing back hard at what he called the anger and distortion of the Republican convention at a midnight rally in Ohio. He planned to contrast his own record as a Vietnam veteran with Vice President

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Republicans shape their campaign and Kerry's as well.

Dick Cheney's lack of service, and to say that Mr. Bush was unfit for the Oval Office because of his handling of the war in Iraq and the economy.

There was another major piece of unfinished business from the Democratic convention — by spending so little time focused on Mr. Kerry's 20 years in the Senate, it gave the Republicans something of a blank slate to fill this week. Speaker after speaker took the stage at the Republican convention to denounce Mr. Kerry's voting record on foreign and domestic policy as liberal and extreme.

Democrats asserted today that Mr. Bush's convention was no nega-

STRATEGY

Buoyed G.O.P. Says It Has Framed the Agenda for the Fall Campaign

Continued From Page A1

Day speak to November with a lead.

Mark Mellman, the pollster for Mr. Kerry, agreed. "Bush has a lot of room to bounce and we expect him to bounce," Mr. Mellman said. "Every time a president speaks to the country — with one recent exception — they get a bounce." But, he added, "My guess is he'll have a big bounce, and in a couple weeks it will be back close to even."

From the start, the Democrats anticipated the kind of attacks the Republicans unleashed this week, which is why they largely devoted their convention in Boston to presenting Mr. Kerry as a decorated Vietnam War hero with the strength and courage to be president. At the time, Mr. Kerry's strategists indicated that they believed the convention would let their candidate cross a critical threshold and be seen as a credible commander in chief, enabling him to move on to domestic policy in August.

Democrats, historically, have an advantage on issues like health care and jobs, and they consider Mr. Bush particularly vulnerable on those issues, given the economic troubles and lagging job growth of recent years. But Mr. Kerry was thrown off-stride by the largely unsubstantiated attacks of a group of conservative

Vietnam veterans last month. And many Democrats now look back and view their own convention as a missed opportunity to begin the debate on domestic issues — not just to play defense on national security.

Mindful of the second-guessing and new doubts, the high command of the Kerry campaign defended those strategic decisions yesterday and said they had only begun to fight.

"If you ask a convention or a 30-second television ad to do too much, you get nothing out of it," said Tad Devine, a senior Kerry adviser. "I think that's why we had a pretty good convention. If we had to go back and do four days over again, I think there's very little we would change."

Mr. Devine also said that Mr. Kerry would not respond to the harsh portrayal of him point by point. But he promised: "There will be push-back and there will be challenge. We will challenge the president in relation to his policies."

The pushback began Thursday when the high command of the Kerry campaign made an unusual foray into enemy territory and descended on New York to sell their strategy for the remainder of the race to political reporters covering the Republican convention, which they denounced as filled with invective. "I think the personal attacks are really out of bounds," said Mary Beth Cahill, Mr. Kerry's campaign manager. "It's

The end game in the struggle for middle class voters.

between a president who will fight for the middle class, and a president who sides with the special interests in this country." He goes on to declare that it is time to end loopholes that reward companies that "ship jobs overseas"; to "get health care costs under control"; and to "end America's dependence on Middle East oil."

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The commercials are Mr. Kerry's first significant advertising push since he stopped running commercials in late July to save money. He was forced to pause because of a requirement in the campaign finance provisions that restricts candidates to spending \$75 million between their acceptance speeches and Election Day — a provision that kicked in for Mr. Kerry one month before it did for Mr. Bush.

Mr. Kerry's aides expressed relief that they could finally run advertisements after a month during which they sustained heavy attacks from Mr. Bush and from a group of Swift boat veterans who used advertising to question his war record.

Democrats and Mr. Kerry's aides acknowledged that those attacks dampened his poll numbers and, at the very least, slowed his momentum after the Democratic convention in Boston.

"We just had to sit and take it," said Tad Devine, a top adviser to Mr. Kerry.

Acknowledging that outside groups and the Democratic Party picked up the slack by running commercials against Mr. Bush through August, Mr. Devine said, "The fact is, it's got to be John Kerry — he's got to look voters in the eye and say, 'Listen, this is what we've got to do.'"

Mr. Devine said the new advertisements were striking what would probably be a recurring theme of Mr. Kerry's through Election Day: "That Kerry is going to fight for the middle class and Bush is going to stand up for the special interests."

THE SPEECH

"Some folks look at me and see a certain swagger, which in Texas is called walking." PRESIDENT BUSH

President Bush's Acceptance Speech to Convention Delegates in New York

Following is President Bush's speech accepting the Republican nomination last night in New York, as prepared for delivery:

Mr. Chairman, delegates, fellow citizens: I am honored by your support, and I accept your nomination for president of the United States.

When I said those words four years ago, none of us could have envisioned what these years would bring. In the heart of this great city, we saw tragedy arrive on a quiet morning. We saw the bravery of rescuers grow with danger. We learned of passengers on a doomed plane who died with a courage that frightened their killers. We have seen a shaken economy rise to its feet. And we have seen Americans in uniform storming mountain strongholds, and charging through sandstorms and liberating millions, with acts of valor that would make the men of Normandy proud.

Since 2001, Americans have been given hills to climb, and found the strength to climb them. Now, because we have made the hard journey, we can see the valley below. Now, because we have faced challenges with resolve, we have historic goals within our reach, and greatness in our future. We will build a safer world and a more hopeful America, and nothing will hold us back.

In the work we have done, and the work we will do, I am fortunate to have a superb vice president. I have counted on Dick Cheney's calm and steady judgment in difficult days, and I am honored to have him at my side.

I am grateful to share my walk in life with Laura Bush. Americans have come to see the goodness and kindness and strength I first saw 26 years ago, and we love our first lady.

I am a fortunate father of two spirited, intelligent and lovely young women. I am blessed with a sister and brothers who are also my closest friends. And I will always be the proud and grateful son of George and Barbara Bush.

My father served eight years at the side of another great American, Ronald Reagan. His spirit of optimism and good will and decency are in this hall, and in our hearts, and will always define our party.

Two months from today, voters will make a choice based on the records we have built, the convictions we hold, and the vision that guides us forward. A presidential election is a contest for the future. Tonight I will tell you where I stand, what I believe, and where I will lead this country in the next four years.

I believe every child can learn, and every school must teach, so we passed the most important federal education reform in history. Because we acted, children are making sustained progress in reading and math, America's schools are getting better, and nothing will hold us back.

I believe we have a moral responsibility to honor America's seniors, so I brought Republicans and Democrats together to strengthen Medicare. Now seniors are getting immediate help buying medicine. Soon every senior will be able to get prescription drug coverage, and nothing will hold us back.

Another drag on our economy is the current tax code, which is a complicated mess — filled with special interest loopholes, saddling our people with more than six billion hours of paperwork and headache every year. The American people deserve — and our economic future demands — a simpler, fairer, pro-growth system. In a new term, I will lead a bipartisan effort to reform and simplify the federal tax code.

Another priority in a new term will be to help workers take advantage of the expanding economy to find better, higher-paying jobs. In this time of change, many workers want to go back to school to learn different or higher-level skills. So we will double the number of people served by our principal job training program and increase funding for community colleges. I know that with the right skills, American workers can compete with anyone, anywhere in the world.

In this time of change, opportunity in some communities is more distant than in others. To stand with workers in poor communities — and those that have lost manufacturing, textile, and other jobs — we will create American opportunity zones. In these areas, we'll provide tax relief and other incentives to attract new business, and improve housing and job training to bring hope and work throughout all of America.

As I've traveled the country, I've met many workers and small business owners who have told me they are worried they cannot afford health care. More than half of the uninsured are small business employees and their families. In a new term, we must allow small firms to join together to purchase insurance at the discounts available to big companies. We will offer a tax credit to encourage small businesses and their employees.

'Americans have been given hills to climb, and found the strength to climb them.'

people to set up health savings accounts, and provide direct help for low-income Americans to purchase them. These accounts give workers the security of insurance against major illness, the opportunity to save tax-free for routine health expenses, and the freedom of knowing you can take your account with you whenever you change jobs. And we will provide low-income Americans with better access to health care. In a new term, I will ensure every poor citizen in America has a community or rural health center.

As I have traveled our country, I have met too many good doctors, especially OB-GYNs, who are being forced out of practices because of the high cost of lawsuits. To make health care more affordable and accessible, we must pass medical liability reform now. And in all we do to improve health care in America, we will make sure that health decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by bureaucrats in DC.

will fund early intervention programs to help students at risk. We will place a new focus on math and science. As we make progress, we will require a rigorous exam before graduation. By raising performance in our high schools, and expanding Pell grants for low and middle income families, we will help more Americans start their career with a college diploma.

America's children must also have a healthy start in life. In a new term, we will lead an aggressive effort to enroll millions of poor children who are eligible but not signed up for the government's health insurance programs. We will not allow a lack of attention, or information, to stand between these children and the health care they need.

Anyone who wants more details on my agenda can find them online. The web address is not very imaginative, but it's easy to remember: GeorgeWBush.com.

These changing times can be exciting times of expanded opportunity. And here, you face a choice. My opponent's policies are dramatically different from ours. Senator Kerry opposed Medicare reform and health savings accounts. After supporting my education reforms, he now wants to dilute them. He opposes legal and medical liability reform. He opposed reducing the marriage penalty, opposed doubling the child credit, and opposed lowering income taxes for all who pay them. To be fair, there are some things my opponent is for — he's proposed more than two trillion dollars in new federal spending so far, and that's a lot, even for a senator from Massachusetts. To pay for that spending, he is running on a platform of increasing taxes — and that's the kind of promise a politician usually keeps. His policies of tax and spend, of expanding government rather than expanding opportunity, are the policies of the past. We are on the path to the future, and we are not turning back.

In this world of change, some things do not change: the values we try to live by, the institutions that give our lives meaning and purpose. Our society rests on a foundation of responsibility and character and family commitment.

Because family and work are sources of stability and dignity, I support welfare reform that strengthens family and requires work. Because a caring society will value its weakest members, we must make a place for the unborn child. Because religious charities provide a safety net of mercy and compassion, our government must never discriminate against them. Because the union of a man and woman deserves an honored place in our society, I support the protection of marriage against activist judges. And I will continue to appoint federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

My opponent recently announced that he is the candidate of "conservative values," which must have come as a surprise to a lot of his supporters. Now, there are some problems with this claim. If you say the heart and soul of America is found in Hollywood, I'm afraid you are not the candidate of conservative values. If you voted against the bipartisan Defense of Marriage Act, which

Middle East urged him to comply. After more than a decade of diplomacy, we gave Saddam Hussein another chance, a final chance, to meet his responsibilities to the civilized world. He again refused, and I faced the kind of decision that comes only to the Oval Office — a decision no president would ask for, but must be prepared to make. Do I forget the lessons of Sept. 11 and take the word of a madman, or do I take action to defend our country? Faced with that choice, I will defend America every time.

Because we acted to defend our country, the murderous regimes of Saddam Hussein and the Taliban are history, more than 50 million people have been liberated, and democracy is coming to the broader Middle East. In Afghanistan, terrorists have done everything they can to intimidate people, yet more than 10 million citizens have registered to vote in the October presidential election — a resounding endorsement of democracy. Despite ongoing acts of violence, Iraq now has a strong prime minister, a national council, and national elections are scheduled for January. Our nation is standing with the people of Afghanistan and Iraq, because when America gives its word, America must keep its word. As importantly, we are serving a vital and historic cause that will make our country safer. Free societies in the Middle East will be hopeful societies, which no longer feed resentments and breed violence for export. Free governments in the Middle East will fight terrorists instead of harboring them, and that helps us keep the peace. So our mission in Afghanistan and Iraq is clear: We will help new leaders to train their armies, and move toward elections, and get on the path of stability and democracy as quickly as possible. And then our troops will return home with the honor they have earned.

Our troops know the historic importance of our work. One Army specialist wrote home: "We are transforming a once sick society into a hopeful place. The various terrorist enemies we are facing in Iraq," he continued, "are really aiming at you back in the United States. This is a test of will for our country. We soldiers of yours are doing great and scoring victories in confronting the evil terrorists."

That young man is right, our men and women in uniform are doing a superb job for America. Tonight I want to speak to all of them and to their families: You are involved in a struggle of historic proportion. Because of your service and sacrifice, we are defeating the terrorists where they live and plan, and making America safer. Because of you, women in Afghanistan are no longer shot in a sports stadium. Because of you, the people of Iraq no longer fear being executed and left in mass graves. Because of you, the world is more just and will be more peaceful. We owe you our thanks, and we owe you something more. We will give you all the resources, all the tools, and all the support you need for victory.

Again, my opponent and I have different approaches. I proposed, and the Congress overwhelmingly passed, \$8 billion dollars in funding needed by our troops doing battle in Afghanistan and Iraq. My opponent and his running mate voted against this money for

peace with our good friend Israel. Young women across the Middle East will hear the message that their day of equality and justice is coming. Young men will hear the message that national progress and dignity are found in liberty, not tyranny and terror. Reformers, and political prisoners, and exiles will hear the message that their dream of freedom cannot be denied forever. And as freedom advances — heart by heart, and nation by nation — America will be more secure and the world more peaceful.

America has done this kind of work before, and there have always been doubters. In 1946, 18 months after the fall of Berlin to allied forces, a journalist wrote in *The New York Times*, "Germany is a land in an acute stage of economic, political and moral crisis. European capitals are frightened. In every military headquarters, one meets alarmed officials doing their utmost to deal with the consequences of the occupation policy that they admit has failed." Maybe that same person's still around, writing editorials. Fortunately, we had a resolute president named Truman, who with the American people persevered, knowing that a new democracy at the center of Europe would lead to stability and peace. And because that generation of Americans held firm in the cause of liberty, we live in a better and safer world today.

The progress we and our friends and allies seek in the broader Middle East will not come easily, or all at once. Yet Americans, of all people, should never be surprised by the power of liberty to transform lives and nations. That power brought settlers on perilous journeys, inspired colonies to rebellion, ended the sin of slavery, and set our nation against the tyrannies of the 20th century. We were honored to aid the rise of democracy in Germany and Japan and Nicaragua and Central Europe and the Baltics, and that noble story goes on. I believe that America is called to lead the cause of freedom in a new century. I believe that millions in the Middle East plead in silence for their liberty. I believe that given the chance, they will embrace the most honorable form of government ever devised by man. I believe all these things because freedom is not America's gift to the world, it is the Almighty God's gift to every man and woman in this world.

This moment in the life of our country will be remembered. Generations will know if we kept our faith and kept our word. Generations will know if we seized this moment, and used it to build a future of safety and peace. The freedom of many, and the future security of our nation, now depend on us. And tonight, my fellow Americans, I ask you to stand with me.

In the last four years, you and I have come to know each other. Even when we don't agree, at least you know what I believe and where I stand. You may have noticed I don't even frown, too. People sometimes have to correct my English — I know I had a problem when Arnold Schwarzenegger started doing it. Some folks look at me and see a certain swagger, which in Texas is called "walking." Now and then I come across as a little too blunt, and for that we

my closest friends. And I will always be proud and grateful son of George and Barbara Bush.

My father served eight years at the side of another great American, Ronald Reagan. His spirit of optimism and good will and decency are in this hall, and in our hearts, and will always define our party.

Two months from today, voters will make a choice based on the records we have built, the convictions we hold, and the vision that guides us forward. A presidential election is a contest for the future. Tonight I will tell you where I stand, what I believe, and where I will lead this country in the next four years.

I believe every child can learn, and every school must teach, so we passed the most important federal education reform in history. Because we acted, children are making sustained progress in reading and math, America's schools are getting better, and nothing will hold us back.

I believe we have a moral responsibility to honor America's seniors, so I brought Republicans and Democrats together to strengthen Medicare. Now seniors are getting immediate help buying medicine. Soon every senior will be able to get prescription drug coverage, and nothing will hold us back.

I believe in the energy and innovative spirit of America's workers, entrepreneurs, farmers, and ranchers, so we unleashed that energy with the largest tax relief in a generation. Because we acted, our economy is growing again and creating jobs, and nothing will hold us back.

I believe the most solemn duty of the American president is to protect the American people. If America shows uncertainty and weakness in this decade, the world will drift toward tragedy. This will not happen on my watch.

I am running for president with a clear and positive plan to build a safer world, and a more hopeful America. I am running with a compassionate conservative philosophy: that government should help people improve their lives, not try to run their lives. I believe this nation wants steady, consistent, principled leadership, and that is why, with your help, we will win this election.

The story of America is the story of expanding liberty — an ever-widening circle, constantly growing to reach further and include more. Our nation's founding commitment is still our deepest commitment: In our world, and here at home, we will extend the frontiers of freedom.

The times in which we live and work are changing dramatically. The workers of our parents' generation typically had one job, one skill, one career, often with one company that provided health care and a pension. And most of those workers were men. Today, workers change jobs, even careers, many times during their lives, and in one of the most dramatic shifts our society has seen, two-thirds of all moms also work outside the home.

This changed world can be a time of great opportunity for all Americans to earn a better living, support your family, and have a rewarding career. And government must take your side. Many of our most fundamental systems — the tax code, health coverage, pension plans, worker training — were created for the world of yesterday, not tomorrow. We will transform these systems so that all citizens are equipped, prepared — and thus truly free — to make your own choices and pursue your own dreams.

My plan begins with providing the security and opportunity of a growing economy. We now compete in a global market that provides new buyers for our goods, but new competition for our workers. To create more jobs in America, America must be the best place in the world to do business. To create jobs, my plan will encourage investment and expansion by restraining federal spending, reducing regulation, and making tax relief permanent. To create jobs, we will make our country less dependent on foreign sources of energy. To create jobs, we will expand trade and level the playing field to sell American goods and services across the globe. And we must protect small business owners and workers from the explosion of frivolous lawsuits that threaten jobs across America.

given hills to climb, and found the strength to climb them.

people to set up health savings accounts, and provide direct help for low-income Americans to purchase them. These accounts give workers the security of insurance against major illness, the opportunity to save tax-free for routine health expenses, and the freedom of knowing you can take your account with you whenever you change jobs. And we will provide low-income Americans with better access to health care: In a new term, I will ensure every poor county in America has a community or rural health center.

As I have traveled our country, I have met too many good doctors, especially OB-GYNs, who are being forced out of practice because of the high cost of lawsuits. To make health care more affordable and accessible, we must pass medical liability reform now. And in all we do to improve health care in America, we will make sure that health decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by bureaucrats in Washington, DC.

In this time of change, government must take the side of working families. In a new term, we will change outdated labor laws to offer comp-time and flex-time. Our laws should never stand in the way of a more family-friendly workplace.

Another priority for a new term is to build an ownership society, because ownership brings security, and dignity, and independence.

Thanks to our policies, homeownership in America is at an all-time high. Tonight we set a new goal: seven million more affordable homes in the next 10 years so more American families will be able to open the door and say welcome to my home.

In an ownership society, more people will own their health plans, and have the confidence of owning a piece of their retirement. We will always keep the promise of Social Security for our older workers. With the huge Baby Boom generation approaching retirement, many of our children and grandchildren understandably worry whether Social Security will be there when they need it. We must strengthen Social Security by allowing younger workers to save some of their taxes in a personal account, a nest egg you can call your own and government can never take away.

In all these proposals, we seek to provide not just a government program, but a path — a path to greater opportunity, more freedom and more control over your own life.

This path begins with our youngest Americans. To build a more hopeful America, we must help our children reach as far as their vision and character can take them. Tonight, I remind every parent and every teacher, I say to every child: No matter what your circumstance, no matter where you live, your school will be the path to the promise of America.

We are transforming our schools by raising standards and focusing on results. We are insisting on accountability, empowering parents and teachers, and making sure that local people are in charge of their schools. By testing every child, we are identifying those who need help, and we're providing a record level of funding to get them that help. In northeast Georgia, Gainesville Elementary School is mostly Hispanic and 80 percent poor, and this year 90 percent of its students passed state tests in reading and math. The principal expresses the philosophy of his school this way: "We don't focus on what we can't do at this school; we focus on what we can do. We do whatever it takes to get kids across the finish line." This principal is challenging the soft bigotry of low expectations, and that is the spirit of our education reform, and the commitment of our country. No dejaremos a ningún niño atrás. We will leave no child behind.

We are making progress, and there is more to do. In this time of change, most new jobs are filled by people with at least two years of college, yet only about one in four students get there. In our high schools, we

In this world of change, some things do not change: the values we try to live by, the institutions that give our lives meaning and purpose. Our society rests on a foundation of responsibility and character and family commitment.

Because family and work are sources of stability and dignity, I support welfare reform that strengthens family and requires work. Because a caring society will value its weakest members, we must make a place for the unborn child. Because religious charities provide a safety net of mercy and compassion, our government must never discriminate against them. Because the union of a man and woman deserves an honored place in our society, I support the protection of marriage against activist judges. And I will continue to appoint federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

My opponent recently announced that he is the candidate of "conservative values," which must have come as a surprise to a lot of his supporters. Now, there are some problems with this claim. It you say the heart and soul of America is found in Hollywood, I'm afraid you're not the candidate of conservative values. If you voted against the bipartisan Defense of Marriage Act, which President Clinton signed, you are not the candidate of conservative values. If you gave a speech, as my opponent did, calling the Reagan presidency eight years of "moral darkness," then you may be a lot of things, but the candidate of conservative values is not one of them.

This election will also determine how America responds to the continuing danger of terrorism, and you know where I stand. Three days after September 11, I stood where Americans died, in the ruins of the Twin Towers. Workers in hard hats were shouting to me, "Whatever it takes." A fellow grabbed me by the arm and he said, "Do not let me down." Since that day, I wake up every morning thinking about how to better protect our country. I will never relent in defending America — whatever it takes.

So we have fought the terrorists across the earth — not for pride, not for power, but because the lives of our citizens are at stake. Our strategy is clear. We have tripled funding for homeland security and trained half a million first responders, because we are determined to protect our homeland. We are transforming our military and reforming and strengthening our intelligence services. We are staying on the offensive, striking terrorists abroad, so we do not have to face them here at home. And we are working to advance liberty in the broader Middle East, because freedom will bring a future of hope, and the peace we all want. And we will prevail.

Our strategy is succeeding. Four years ago, Afghanistan was the home base of Al Qaeda, Pakistan was a transit point for terrorist groups, Saudi Arabia was fertile ground for terrorist fundraising, Libya was secretly pursuing nuclear weapons, Iraq was a gathering threat, and Al Qaeda was largely unchallenged as it planned attacks. Today, the government of a free Afghanistan is fighting terror, Pakistan is capturing terrorist leaders, Saudi Arabia is making raids and arrests, Libya is dismantling its weapons programs, the army of a free Iraq is fighting for freedom, and more than three-quarters of Al Qaeda's key members and associates have been detained or killed. We have led, many have joined, and America and the world are safer.

This progress involved careful diplomacy, clear moral purpose, and some tough decisions. And the toughest came on Iraq. We knew Saddam Hussein's record of aggression and support for terror. We knew his long history of pursuing, even using, weapons of mass destruction. And we know that September 11 requires our country to think differently: We must, and we will, confront threats to America before it is too late.

In Saddam Hussein, we saw a threat. Members of both political parties, including my opponent and his running mate, saw the threat, and voted to authorize the use of force. We went to the United Nations Security Council, which passed a unanimous resolution demanding the dictator disarm, or face serious consequences. Leaders in the

toritory enemies we are facing in Iraq," he continued, "are really aliming at you back in the United States. This is a test of will for our country. We soldiers of yours are doing great and scoring victories in confronting the evil terrorists."

That young man is right, our men and women in uniform are doing a superb job for America. Tonight I want to speak to all of them and to their families: You are involved in a struggle of historic proportion. Because of your service and sacrifice, we are defeating the terrorists where they live and plan, and making America safer. Because of you, women in Afghanistan are no longer shot in a sports stadium. Because of you, the people of Iraq no longer fear being executed and left in mass graves. Because of you, the world is more just and will be more peaceful. We owe you our thanks, and we owe you something more. We will give you all the resources, all the tools, and all the support you need for victory.

Again, my opponent and I have different approaches. I proposed, and the Congress overwhelmingly passed, 87 billion dollars in funding needed by our troops doing battle in Afghanistan and Iraq. My opponent and his running mate voted against this money for bullets and fuel and vehicles and body armor. When asked to explain his vote, the senator said, "I actually did vote for the 87 billion dollars before I voted against it." Then he said he was "proud" of that vote. Then, when pressed, he said it was a "complicated" matter. There is nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

Our allies also know the historic importance of our work. About 40 nations stand beside us in Afghanistan, and some 30 in Iraq. And I deeply appreciate the courage and wise counsel of leaders like Prime Minister Howard, and President Kwasniewski,

'Here buildings fell, and here a nation rose.'

and Prime Minister Berlusconi and, of course, Prime Minister Tony Blair.

Again, my opponent takes a different approach. In the midst of war, he has called America's allies, quote, a "coalition of the coerced and the bribed." That would be nations like Great Britain, Poland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Denmark, El Salvador, Australia and others — allies that deserve the respect of all Americans, not the scorn of a politician. I respect every soldier, from every country, who serves beside us in the hard work of history. America is grateful, and America will not forget.

The people we have freed won't forget either. Not long ago, seven Iraqi men came to see me in the Oval Office. They had "X's" branded into their foreheads, and their right hands had been cut off, by Saddam Hussein's secret police, the sadistic punishment for imaginary crimes. During our emotional visit one of the Iraqi men used his new prosthetic hand to slowly write out, in Arabic, a prayer for God to bless America. I am proud that our country remains the hope of the oppressed, and the greatest force for good on this earth.

Others understand the historic importance of our work. The terrorists know they know that a vibrant, successful democracy at the heart of the Middle East will discredit their radical ideology of hate. They know that men and women with hope, and purpose, and dignity do not strap bombs on their bodies and kill the innocent. The terrorists are fighting freedom with all their cunning and cruelty because freedom is their greatest fear? and they should be afraid, because freedom is on the march.

I believe in the transformational power of liberty: The wisest use of American strength is to advance freedom. As the citizens of Afghanistan and Iraq seize the moment, their example will send a message of hope throughout a vital region. Palestinians will hear the message that democracy and reform are within their reach, and so is

dom in a new century. I believe that millions in the Middle East plead in silence for their liberty. I believe that given the chance, they will embrace the most honorable form of government ever devised by man. I believe all these things because freedom is not America's gift to the world, it is the Almighty God's gift to every man and woman in this world.

This moment in the life of our country will be remembered. Generations will know if we kept our faith and kept our word. Generations will know if we seized this moment, and used it to build a future of safety and peace. The freedom of many, and the future security of our nation, now depend on us. And tonight, my fellow Americans, I ask you to stand with me.

In the last four years, you and I have come to know each other. Even when we don't agree, at least you know what I believe and where I stand. You may have noticed I have a few flaws, too. People sometimes have to correct my English — I knew I had a problem when Arnold Schwarzenegger started doing it. Some folks look at me and see a certain swagger, which in Texas is called "walking." Now and then I come across as a little too blunt, and for that we can all thank the white-haired lady sitting right up there.

One thing I have learned about the presidency is that whatever shortcomings you have, people are going to notice them, and whatever strengths you have, you're going to need them. These four years have brought moments I could not foresee and will not forget. I have tried to comfort Americans who lost the most on Sept. 11 — people who showed me a picture or told me a story, so I would know how much was taken from them. I have learned first-hand that ordering Americans into battle is the hardest decision, even when it is right. I have returned the salute of wounded soldiers, some with a very tough road ahead, who say they were just doing their job. I've held the children of the fallen, who are told their dad or mom is a hero, but would rather just have their dad or mom.

And I have met with parents and wives and husbands who have received a folded flag, and said a final goodbye to a soldier they loved. I am awed that so many have used those meetings to say that I am in their prayers, to offer encouragement to me. Where does strength like that come from? How can people so burdened with sorrow also feel such pride? It is because they know their loved one was last seen doing good. Because they know that liberty was precious to the one they lost. And in those military families, I have seen the character of a great nation: decent, and idealistic, and strong.

The world saw that spirit three miles from here, when the people of this city faced peril together and lifted a flag over the ruins and defied the enemy with their courage. My fellow Americans, for as long as our country stands, people will look to the resurrection of New York City and they will say: Here buildings fell, and here a nation rose.

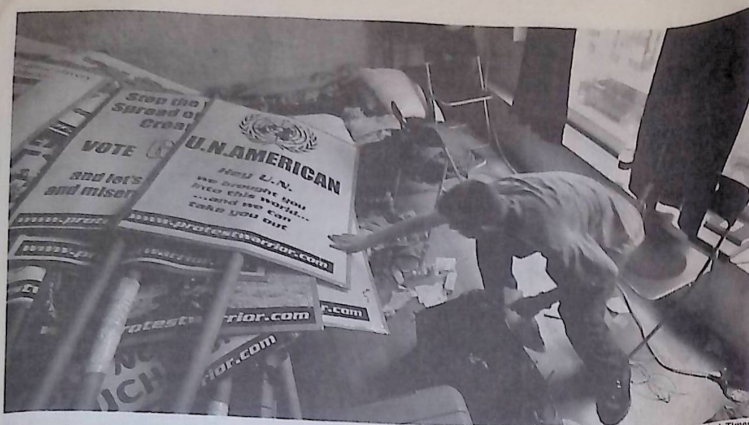
We see America's character in our military, which finds a way or makes one. We see it in our veterans, who are supporting military families in their days of worry. We see it in our young people, who have found heroes once again. We see that character in workers and entrepreneurs, who are renewing our economy with their effort and optimism. And all of this has confirmed one belief beyond doubt: Having come this far, our tested and confident nation can achieve anything.

To everything we know there is a season — a time for sadness, a time for struggle, a time for rebuilding. And now we have reached a time for hope. This young century will be liberty's century. By promoting liberty abroad, we will build a safer world. By encouraging liberty at home, we will build a more hopeful America. Like generations before us, we have a calling from beyond the stars to stand for freedom. This is the everlasting dream of America, and tonight, in this place, that dream is renewed. Now we go forward — grateful for our freedom, faithful to our cause, and confident in the future of the greatest nation on earth.

God bless you, and may God continue to bless America.

THE STREETS OF NEW YORK

"Isn't there a free-speech zone around here somewhere?" ALAN LIPTON



The sign-littered Garment Center loft used by the Protest Warriors, a group that seeks to confront leftists who it feels suppress right-wing dissent. Its quest took it finally to the New York City Civil Liberties Union.

CONSERVATIVES

Warriors of the Right Take to the Streets

By ALAN FEUER

The Protest Warriors were looking for a protest to protest. Things were slow.

Union Square was a bust. There were some pacifists around, but they turned out to be real pacifists, not "shills for Islamo-Fascism," as the warriors had hoped. "You're Quakers?" Alan Lipton asked the man behind a table in the square. He sounded disappointed. "Quakers are legitimate pacifists, guys, not leftists. Let's move on."

This was Wednesday morning. Mr. Lipton, 30, was talking to his fellow Protest Warriors — Kfir Alfia, also 30; Jason Dorsett, 31; and Jared Hansen, 18.

Undeterred, they asked some passersby where the action was. They asked a reporter who was writing about them where the action was. They got on their cellphones and called around looking for some action.

After three strikes, Mr. Lipton was a little antsy. "Isn't there a free-speech zone around here somewhere?" he asked.

The Protest Warriors are the right arm of agitprop, conservative counterinsurgents who, all week, have been shadowing the huge crowds and small gatherings that have demonstrated against the Republican National Convention and the war in Iraq.

Under the slogan "Fighting the Left... Doing It Right," about 150 Protest Warriors set out on Sunday to bring their laissez-faire, libertarian message to the hundreds of thousands of protesters who marched past Madison Square Garden, the site of the convention. On Monday, a smaller contingent of warriors rallied outside the offices of United for Peace and Justice, which organized the march on Sunday.

"We're the true pacifists," said Mr. Lipton, a former film student with an agile mind and a taste for anti-liberal rhetoric. "The only way to truly defeat war is to have a world of strong, free nations."

Besides, said Mr. Lipton, wearing a black watch cap and a skull and crossbones T-shirt, it is cool to be conservative. "We're rebels. Freedom fighters," he said.

On Wednesday morning, however, there had not been much to rebel or fight against. They eventually got to a demonstration at Pier 57, the temporary detention center set up on the West Side for people arrested in convention-related protests. After picking up some chocolate chip cookies at the farmer's market in Union Square, the Protest Warriors were on the way.

Walking west, Mr. Alfia — an Israeli who moved to Dallas when he was 3 — explained the origins of the group. He was living in San Francisco and had a high-tech job. Every night, he said, he would grouse to his girlfriend about the liberal tenor of the city and about the state income tax.

"After a while, she told me to stop

Looking for the 'shills for Islamo-Fascism,' or maybe liberals.

complaining and do something," Mr. Alfia said.

So he invited Mr. Lipton, a friend of many years, and two other friends to protest the first big march in San Francisco against the war in Iraq in February 2003. By the next month, they had established their Web site, protestwarrior.com. Mr. Alfia and Mr. Lipton moved to Austin, Tex., where they run the group, which now claims 9,000 members, using the proceeds from their online store.

"It's a testament to the power of capitalism," Mr. Alfia said.

As fired up as Mr. Alfia and his fellow warriors were, the pickings were slim when they reached Pier 57: A few lifeless "liberals" standing behind a police barricade. A couple of bored-looking police officers.

"That's it?" Mr. Dorsett asked one officer. "That's the demonstration?"

"That's it," the officer said.

Mr. Dorsett frowned. "Well, this is lame."

Might as well head back to "HQ," as the warriors call it, a cluttered loft in the Garment District filled with

provocative protest signs and several cases of canned domestic beer.

One of the signs said, "Leftists for Free Speech: Now Shut Up, You Fascist Conservatives!" Another showed the signing of the Declaration of Independence. "Right-Wing Extremists," the caption read.

Mr. Lipton went out to do some reconnaissance. Mr. Alfia tidied up the loft. Mr. Dorsett sorted through the signs. Mr. Hansen, meanwhile, sat down to eat some Wheat Thins.

Then a call came in: Mr. Lipton had spotted some liberals in the storefront office of the New York City Civil Liberties Union on Eighth Avenue near 37th Street. It had been these same liberals, Mr. Alfia said, who had complained to the police about their signs earlier in the week.

So off they went with a video camera. On the street outside the office, Mr. Lipton recorded an introduction.

"We're going in there," he said, looking at the camera and speaking into a microphone, "to ask these people why they only protect the right type of dissent."

The office was bright and busy, and a clerk at a desk looked confused, seeming not to understand why four men, appearing to be a film crew, had just burst into the room.

Why is it that you only protect left-wing protesters, Mr. Lipton asked the clerk. He held out the mike, but the clerk said nothing. Not a word, not a move.

Are you aware that the Constitution contains no provisions for things like education or racial quotas, Mr. Lipton said, trying again. There came the same response.

"Is there anyone in here that can speak?" he asked.

At this point, a young woman stepped forward and explained that she would answer Mr. Lipton's questions if he put away the microphone and the camera. "Dissent Is Patriotic" was written on her T-shirt.

Mr. Lipton considered her offer for a moment, seemed ready to accept, but then suddenly turned away.

"Once again, we've proven how intellectually bankrupt the left is and what cowards they are," he said to the camera. "Come on, guys. We're done."

And then they left.

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DOLLARS

Chris DeL. Gatto

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CAMBRIDGE

DISCOVER WHY CAMPAIGNS DO MATTER!

As the 2004 election approaches, campaigns suddenly seem to matter, as do questions about the electoral process in the aftermath of the 2000 presidential election. In *The 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundations of Party Politics* distinguished authors Johnston, Hagen and Jamieson examine the U.S. electoral process as an integrated event spanning a full year, drawing upon the Annenberg 2000 Election Study as well as candida-

The New York Times bestseller, UPDATED WITH NEW LIES

THE LIES OF GEORGE W. BUSH

DAVID CORN

A Burning Issue for Workers in a Melting Pot

By NINA BERNSTEIN

They were grabbing a bite at a Ray's Pizza before heading to Madison Square Garden, two women with Republican Convention V.I.P. tags on display, when the talk turned to immigration.

One, Diana Rains, a businesswoman and Republican Party official in Manatee County, Fla., acknowledged that she disapproved of a guest worker plan proposed by President Bush. "I have nothing against immigration," she said. "What I have a problem with is coming illegally and then demanding rights."

Joanne March Soucek, first vice president of Republican Women of Tracy, Calif., countered that her state needs agricultural labor. "Citizens don't want those jobs," she said. "The illegal aliens do all the work."

A few feet away stood the illegal Ecuadorean immigrant who had cooked, sliced and sold them their \$2.90 pieces of pepperoni pizza. Across West 58th Street, at the Essex House, luxury service to match their Central Park views depended on hotel room attendants like Sukai Mahmud of Gambia.

Downstairs at Ducasse, the four-star French restaurant where they had dined a few nights earlier, Bangladeshi waiters send their elegant uniforms to be laundered, by Mexicans, at the Korean dry cleaner down the block.

All around the Republican visitors this week, the complicated reality of immigration was at work, even if they were not always aware of it. As the party adopted a platform supporting a three-year guest worker status for some illegal immigrants

and opposing permanent amnesty, the issue burned for immigrants doing the work of a New York welcome, even when they held their tongues.

Outside Ducasse, Henry Aguilar, a floor captain from Ecuador via Europe, did not mince words in his critique of both parties on immigration.

"The Bush policy is a mess," said Mr. Aguilar, 34. "For me, Kerry, he goes to the pool, he puts his feet in, and all of a sudden he pulls his feet out because it's too cold."

The Democrats oppose the temporary worker program, instead promising "a path to citizenship" for those who have worked and paid taxes in the United States for five years, and who pass security screening.

Mr. Aguilar went on to denounce Gov. George E. Pataki for a state crackdown on driver's licenses that affects thousands of immigrant residents. But when asked if he had revealed such sentiments this week to Republican diners who sampled the lobster gazpacho and caviar on Ducasse's \$225 tasting menu, Mr. Aguilar looked scandalized. "I've served three presidents," he said.

Ms. Mahmud, the Gambian room attendant at Essex House, also practiced discretion — up to a point. As she told it, the hotel management distributed campaign-style buttons to the housekeeping staff before the arrival of 300 Republican guests. Despite what looked to her like a Republican logo, and her allegiance to Democrats, she dutifully pinned one on.

"Other workers asked me, 'Are you Republican?'" she recalled. "I said, 'I'm not Republican, but I want their money.'"

But by Monday, she added, no one

on the housekeeping staff was wearing a pin. "We're international," she said. "Asia, Africa, South America, Russia, China, you name it. We're all members of the union, like family. And that Bush immigration plan, that's a terrible thing."

One delegate at the Essex House tried hard to engage Nomani Choudhury, a room service waiter, in a political discussion. Mr. Choudhury, 54, a naturalized citizen from Bangladesh with a son serving in the United States Air Force in South Korea, said he chose not to voice his view that the Bush guest worker plan is a ploy that favors the rich, hurts unions like his — Unite Here — and exploits workers. But he did not play dead, either.

"He was asking me, 'What do you think, is Bush going to win this election?'" Mr. Choudhury recalled. "And I said, 'Not in New York.'"

Down the block, Sam Kim, 40, the manager of the dry cleaner shop, said both parties were ducking the real issues. A permanent resident born in South Korea, he said he paid \$10,000 for the birth of his first child for lack of insurance, and understands why some poor, native-born workers with Medicaid do not want to take a low-paid job without health insurance.

If all illegal workers were deported, as hard-liners demand, "then nobody will want to work 12 hours for little money," he said. "New York City is not going to be working without immigration, but we are working without health insurance, with school problems, and most illegal immigrants are not paying taxes."

And on a pizza man's wages of \$400 a week, he added, "Honestly, they can't."

ON THE FLOOR

"This convention rocks," TOMMY FRANKS

Changing
The Platform
At the Finish

For the first three days of the Republican National Convention, speakers spoke from the same stage in Madison Square Garden. But President Bush needed something a little more grand for his acceptance speech last night, and so for him organizers built an elaborate stage shaped like a giant cake in the middle of the convention floor. A work crew began the laborious process of assembling the stage in the Garden on Wednesday night. After clearing out a huge section of the convention floor, the crew laid out a circular base to serve as a platform. Workers then attached sections of staircases along the sides of the base. A catwalk connected the stage to the carpeted island. The finishing touch was a carpet bearing the presidential seal over the platform. At the end, an exhausted crew lay down on the convention floor to catch its breath and a worker vacuumed the carpet to ensure a pristine appearance.

Photographs by YONI BROOK/
The New York Times



Political Points

JOHN TIERNEY and SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

The Show Is Over.
Now for the Awards.

Illustrations by Stephen Savage

Most overanalyzed gimmick: The round stage for President Bush's acceptance speech. Was it designed so he would look like a pitcher all alone on the mound, or a man of the people in the center of the hall? After the Democrats projected strength with a stage looking like a battleship, was Mr. Bush trying to soften his image by standing on a platform without any hard edges? With the spotlight on him, would he come off as Teddy Roosevelt, "the man in the arena," or more like Thomas E. Dewey, derided as "the little man on the wedding cake"?

Sometimes a stage is just a stage. Most awkward sight: Republican delegates dancing to "Soul Man."

Best euphemism: Marvin Scott, the Republican Senate candidate from Indiana, an African-American, for calling his ancestors "involuntary immigrants."

Greatest gift to Republicans: John Kerry windsurfing off Nantucket. No one looks presidential in a bathing suit, especially when the rest of the news features Republican guys in suits talking tough about defending the country. Jay Leno delivered the coup de grâce: "I mean, even his hobby depends on which way the wind blows."

Greatest gift to Democrats (runner-up): The Band-Aids with purple hearts worn by conventioners. The Republican leadership quickly ordered them removed, but not before indignant Democrats cut into the Republicans' air time.

Greatest gift to Democrats: Mr. Bush's declaration on Monday that the war on terror could not be won, followed by a retraction a day later. If you're going to put on a meticulously scripted show, don't blow the opening night with an ad-lib.

Most unexpected stand-up comic: Rudy Giuliani isn't known for his light side, but he got one of the biggest laughs at the convention when he said, "Maybe this explains John Edwards's need for two Americas—one where John Kerry can vote for something and another one where he can vote against exactly the same thing."

Speech Award: The Republi-

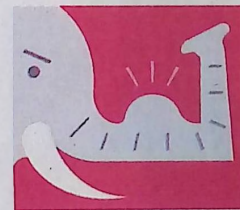
and malpractice insurance, he said, "And Senator Edwards, if you don't like hearing that, sue me."

Best line by the Bush twins: The excuse they borrowed from their father's standard response to questions about his youth. Alluding to their well-publicized adventures in under-age drinking, Jenna Bush said, "We kept trying to explain to my dad that when we were young and irresponsible, well, we were young and irresponsible."

Worst line by the Bush twins: "I know it's hard to believe, but our parents' favorite term of endearment for each other is actually 'Bushie.' " Too much information.

Ambien Award: Senator Bill Frist, the doctor who offered a new prescription for insomniacs in the hall. He combined a plodding, emotion-free speaking style with flights of rhetoric like, "Prescription drugs and Medicare, tax-free Health Savings Accounts, an ethical framework for scientific discovery, these will be part of our future. Tax credits for the uninsured, electronic medical records; a just, fair and fast medical liability system" — he went on, but we won't.

Most strategic electoral use of Sept. 11: Gov. George E. Pataki of New York. In his prepared remarks last night, he told of people from three states who helped New York after Sept. 11, and then asked their delegations to rise. All three — Ore-



gon, Iowa and Pennsylvania — just happen to be battleground states.

Least believable hipster: Tommy Franks, the retired general who directed the war in Iraq. In remarks last night, he declared, "This convention rocks."

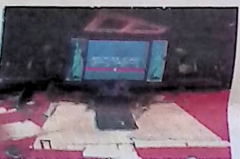
Biggest understatement: Dick Cheney, who, after promising to talk about President Bush, said, "And I may say a word or two about his opponent."

English as a Second Language Award: Mr. Bush, who said in his prepared remarks: "People sometimes have to correct my English? I knew I had a problem when Arnold Schwarzenegger started doing it."

Lamest Democratic response:

pristine appearance.

Photographs by YONI BROOK/
The New York Times



delegates dancing to "Soul Man." Best euphemism: Marvin Scott, the Republican Senate candidate from Indiana, an African-American, for calling his ancestors "Involuntary immigrants."

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Free Speech Award: The Republican National Committee, which, unlike its Democratic counterpart, permitted the Arab network Al Jazeera to post its sign inside the convention hall all week. It also let in a certain filmmaker.

Missing in action: Jeb Bush. For the clubby Bush clan, the convention was a family affair; some 50 Bush relatives spent the week in New York. But there was a notable exception: the president's brother Jeb. The Florida governor skipped the quadrennial family reunion, saying he needed to tend to victims of Hurricane Charley at home. But his absence was convenient for Republicans, allowing the president to avoid all those unpleasant memories of Florida in 2000, as well as predictions that a third Bush would seek the presidency in 2008.

Stupid pet trick: The White House staff's home video of President Bush's dog, Barney. The sketch featured Karl Rove, the White House political adviser, doing an impression of Howard Dean's scream; Andrew H. Card Jr., the chief of staff, scampering across the White House lawn; and Karen P. Hughes, Mr. Bush's longtime communications aide, feeding the Scottish terrier red meat and telling him to "stay on message."

Note to Karl: Don't give up your day job.

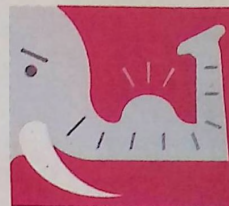
Least expected political rehabilitation: Richard Nixon, who inspired Arnold Schwarzenegger to become a Republican. "Listening to Nixon speak sounded more like a breath of fresh air," Governor Schwarzenegger told the convention. "I said to my friend, I said, 'What party is he?' My friend said, 'He's a Republican.' I said, 'Then I am a Republican.'"

Best line: "Don't be economic girlie men!" No attribution necessary.

Longest applause for a five-syllable word: John McCain, who brought the crowd to its feet by referring to that certain "disingenuous" filmmaker.

Most succinct attack on the legal profession: Mitt Romney, the governor of Massachusetts. After complaining about the costs of lawsuits

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English as a Second Language Award: Mr. Bush, who said in his prepared remarks: "People sometimes have to correct my English? I knew I had a problem when Arnold Schwarzenegger started doing it."

Lamest Democratic response: The "Thousand Points of Hope" rallies across the country last night, at which people held candles and flashlights. If you're going to steal a Republican idea — the "thousand points of light" that became a signature line of the first President Bush — at least change the number.

Teresa Heinz Kerry Shove It Award: Zell Miller, the Democratic senator from Georgia and convention keynote speaker, for telling Chris Matthews, the host of the MSNBC program "Hardball" to "get out of my face."

Mr. Miller's hellfire and brimstone address, which included a riff on Senator Kerry's votes on defense spending — "This is the man who wants to be commander in chief of our U.S. armed forces? U.S. forces armed with what? Spitballs?" — was a huge hit in the hall. But even some conventiongoers were left scratching their heads when the smooth-talking Southerner took on Mr. Matthews.

"You know, I wish, I wish we lived in the day where you could challenge a person to a duel," he said at one point. Mr. Matthews, a man not known for letting his guests get a word in edgewise, tried desperately to reclaim his ground, but the senator would not give. We think Mr. Miller, who will retire from the Senate in January, has a television future show in his future: "Spitball."

Best rationale for having Zell Miller deliver the keynote address: He made Dick Cheney look moderate.



THE REPUBLICANS

"The firefighters and cops who ran into those burning towers and died on Sept. 11 didn't want to go to war." GOV. GEORGE E. PATAKI



Barbara Goergen, an alternate delegate from Round Rock, Tex., joined her fellow Texans in cheering last night as they waited for President Bush to give his acceptance speech during the final evening of the convention.

THE REPUBLICANS

"Success breeds success." HUSEIN CUMBER



European Pressphoto Agency



Chang W. Lee/The New York Times

As workers built a theater-in-the-round stage for President Bush yesterday, Brittany Karnie Paige of Ohio, prepared "4 More Years" signs.



Yoni Brook/The New York Times

A convention page, Jessica Armijo, center, of Orange County, Calif., took a breather yesterday as she and other pages blew up "celebration" balls.

THE GOVERNOR

Pataki's Speech Caps a Week of Parties and Promotion

By MICHAEL COOPER

Gov. George E. Pataki capped off a frenzied week playing host to the Republican National Convention by introducing President Bush last night and lighting into his old Yale acquaintance John Kerry as "a candidate who has to Google his own name to find where he stands."

In a week that saw the governor hopping from delegate breakfasts to late-night parties to early-morning bartending at the historic McSorley's Old Ale House, Mr. Pataki was able to leave behind the pressing troubles of his state government, which remains hopelessly gridlocked on major issues. And last night he capped it all off with a convention speech that recalled his experiences on Sept. 11 and introduced himself to national Republicans, whom he hopes to woo as he sets the stage for a possible presidential run in 2008.

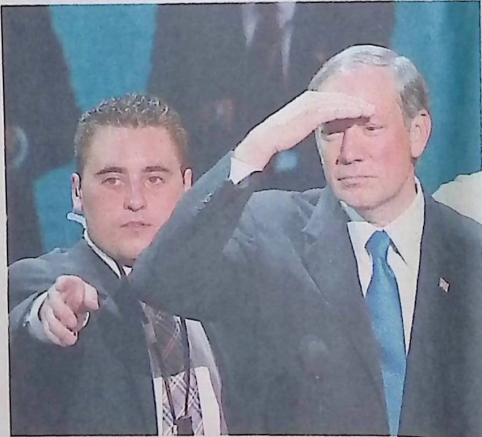
In prepared remarks of his speech, Mr. Pataki evoked "the fire in the sky" on Sept. 11, thanked the nation "from the very bottom of New York's heart" for its support after the attacks, praised President Bush's wartime resolve and derided the "flip-flopping and zig-zagging" of the Democrats. He said the Republicans were "going to win one for the Gipper" while the Democrats would "lose one with the flipper."

And Mr. Pataki's speech seemed to draw links between the attacks on the World Trade Center and the war in Iraq when he questioned Mr. Kerry's statement that "America should go to war not when it wants to go to war, but when it has to go to war."

"Well, excuse me, Senator," Mr. Pataki said, according to the prepared text. "The firefighters and cops who ran into those burning towers and died on September 11th didn't want to go to war. They were heroes in a war they didn't even know existed."

An aide said that Mr. Pataki considers Iraq "a front line in the war on terror."

Even though the Republicans are



Alex Wang/Getty Images

Gov. George E. Pataki during an equipment check yesterday afternoon at Madison Square Garden, where he later introduced President Bush.

given virtually no chance of carrying New York — in a comic video shown at the convention on Wednesday in which President Bush's dog, Barney, was credited with tipping the election, New York was the last state to move into the red-state column — Mr. Pataki has unhesitatingly embraced the Bush ticket.

Unlike Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg, who has tried to be a gracious host at his adopted party's convention without allying himself too closely to policies that are unpopular in New York, Mr. Pataki has been fully supportive of the visiting Republicans, putting aside his differences with them on issues ranging from abortion rights and gay rights to gun control and the distribution of security funding to the states.

If the Republicans' choice of New York City for their convention was seen as a brave foray into hostile ter-

ritory, some New York Democrats are painting Mr. Pataki as a fifth columnist. They are criticizing his efforts on behalf of a president and a Republican-led Congress that they maintain have failed to give the city enough money for homeland security and first responders after the Sept. 11 attacks, which have been featured so prominently at the convention.

"George Pataki wants New Yorkers to think he's a moderate, even though he walks in lockstep with the national, conservative Republican Party — and looks for every opportunity to promote their agenda," Assemblyman Herman D. Farrell Jr., in a statement yesterday.

In playing the ubiquitous host this week, Mr. Pataki worked tirelessly at raising his national profile.

He entertained an A-list roster of media types on Sunday night at his

party at — where else? — Elaine's, where the Albany press corps were joined by the likes of Barbara Walters, Tim Russert and Tina Brown.

And he networked with politicians like Mad. Mr. Pataki and his wife, Libby, held a private dinner for the Cheneys at the "21" Club on Tuesday night. The next day, they boldly served French food to other Republican governors and their spouses at a luncheon at Jean-Georges, an appropriately named setting for the current election season.

He addressed Bush donors and attended a fundraiser for Mitchell E. Daniels Jr., the Republican candidate for governor of Indiana. Mr. Daniels made headlines two years ago in New York when, as President Bush's budget director, he derided the efforts of Democratic lawmakers seeking more federal aid for the city after Sept. 11 as a "money-grubbing game." He later expressed regret for the remark.

Mr. Pataki got to test some of his toughest anti-Kerry lines to a breakfast of delegates from New Hampshire, a state he seems to be paying special attention to lately, which just happens to hold the first presidential primary in the nation.

And during what must have been a welcome break from his battles with the Democratic speaker of the State Assembly, Sheldon Silver, he hoisted a few with the Republican speaker of the House of Representatives, J. Dennis Hastert, at McSorley's Old Ale House.

The governor did not forget the visiting Republican masses, either, playing host at a couple of the biggest, most crowded parties of the week. There was his night with the New Jersey delegation at Cipriani's, where the Bellini cocktails flowed freely. And, on Wednesday night, he packed the Copacabana, where he greeted guests by wading through a sardine-packed crowd to a salsa beat, and gave out T-shirts that said "Amigos de America — Governor George E. Pataki."

Excerpts From Pataki: It's a Matter of Trust

Following are excerpts from the speech by Gov. George E. Pataki last night at the Republican National Convention, as prepared for delivery. The full text is at nytimes.com/campaign.

The past few evenings we have spoken of Sept. 11, of our heroes and of those we lost.

But there's a part of this story that has never fully been told. I'd like to tell it.

After Sept. 11 our tourism industry was hit hard. Do you know what the people of Oregon did? A thousand people from Oregon came to New York and rented a thousand hotel rooms so our workers and desk clerks and waiters could keep their jobs....

After Sept. 11, the people of Iowa heard that our guys at ground zero were cold, working through the night, so Iowa rushed 1,500 quilts to help keep them warm....

Pennsylvania, where are you? Five brothers in your state had been saving for years to go to Disney World. They had saved almost \$800. After Sept. 11 the boys drove to Brooklyn, to a firehouse that had lost eight men. They gave their Disney World money to the relief fund....

Now, I could tell a story like this about every single state in the country. But there was, of course, another state.

It woke up one morning and walked the kids to school, and suddenly the streets were full of sirens and there was fire in the sky. You know what they did, the people of this state? They charged into the towers, they stood on line like soldiers to give blood.

And then, in the days and nights that followed, the tough men and women of our great city came forward. They quieted the fire and dug us out of grief. They got into trucks and went to ground zero — the construction workers and ironworkers, our police officers and firefighters....

This great state rolled up its sleeves, looked terrorism straight in the face, and spat in its eye....

I want to help voters compare President Bush's record of achievement with Senator Kerry's. That way they'll be able to see the difference, which is that President Bush has a record of achievement....

George W. Bush says what he means, he means what he says, you can trust him.

Senator Kerry, on the other hand — well, what can we say of Senator Kerry?

He was for the war and then he was against the war. Then he was for it but he wouldn't fund it. Then he'd fund it but he wasn't for it. He was for the Patriot Act until he was against it. Or was he against it until he was for it?

I forget. He probably does too. This is a candidate who has to Google his own name to find out where he stands....

The president took strong action to protect our country. That sounds like something any president would do. How I wish that were so.

You know the history. Osama bin Laden declared war on America, and then came the attacks — the first World Trade Center, the embassies, the U.S.S. Cole — hundreds dead, thousands injured. How I wish the administration at that time, in those years, had done something. How I wished they had moved to protect us. But they didn't do it.

On Sept. 11, Al Qaeda attacked again. But this time they made a terrible mistake.

There's one thing they didn't bank on.

They didn't bank on George W. Bush.

THE FUND-RAISER

At the Age of 29, a Republican Fund-Raiser Has Already Become a High Roller

By GLEN JUSTICE

He has met seven times with President Bush, who now knows him by sight. He shot skeet with Vice President Dick Cheney. The Senate majority leader, Bill Frist, made a point of reaching out to him. And a group of leading Republican fund-raisers in Florida who are old enough to be his father are pushing their young protégé to the forefront of their cause.

His name is Husein Cumber. And Republicans who traveled in the right circles this week at their national convention no doubt ran into him. He sought them out at a party aboard an aircraft carrier and introduced himself over martinis at the New York Yacht Club. He made his way among some of the highest-rolling Republicans before sitting down to a dinner of steak and sweet potatoes at the New York State Theater. After all, he had come to the city with these events, and more, in his sights. "You walk in with the goal of getting 10 business cards," said Mr. Cumber, who lives in West Palm Beach, Fla., "and you have lunch with those 10 people."

Some might see him as a real political operator. Others see an ambitious young man. But the one distinction not open to debate is that Mr. Cumber is the youngest of President Bush's Ranger fund-raisers, having collected \$200,000 well before his 29th birthday this year.

His role as a volunteer fund-raiser certainly was helped by the fact that he runs the lobbying operation and is chief spokesman for a Florida railroad. But Mr. Cumber started building a vast network of political contacts even before he left college — and he hasn't stopped since.

Indeed, Mr. Cumber is one of the leaders of a new generation of Republican fund-raisers who are collecting large amounts of money for this year's election and, by extension, getting the attention that comes with it. He is one of 89 fund-raisers under 40 who have collectively raised millions of dollars for the

Bush-Cheney '04 campaign, placing him among an elite group of young men and women who will help choose future candidates and influence the Republican Party.

But for Mr. Cumber, the future is now. He has consistently been singled out by Republican candidates and veteran fund-raisers who seek his counsel, having been drawn to him because of his enthusiasm — and exceptional skills for one his age.

Bill Scherer, a Florida lawyer and fund-raiser who is one of several mentors for Mr. Cumber, is sold on him. "We want to be able to turn it over to Husein the next time around," he said, looking ahead to Republican fund-raising for 2008.

Mr. Cumber's commitment and stamina have convinced Mr. Scherer that he has what it takes. "I don't see any sign of him letting up," he said. "People get involved and then you don't see them again. Husein, he'll be here for a long, long time."

Mr. Cumber has spent years developing relationships — and a Rolodex — that will help the Republican Party as well as his own career.

"Success breeds success," Mr. Cumber said. "If you become part of the political process and part of a fund-raising network, you become part of an incredible group of contacts that will benefit you in the future. You have to be patient and you have to be consistently involved."

To do that, he always has a plan in the works. Mr. Cumber has taken almost every chance he has been given to meet the president — from his Texas ranch to a Christmas party at the White House. Each time, he says, he was careful to introduce himself using the same line so that the president would be more likely to remember him. He tells Mr. Bush he is a supporter from Florida who worked on the gubernatorial campaign of the president's brother Gov. Jeb Bush.

While Mr. Cumber is modest about the attention he has received from the president, his fund-raising friends say Mr. Bush knows him at



Librado Romero/The New York Times

Husein Cumber worked the room Monday at a breakfast for the Florida delegation at the Hilton New York.

the rope line. "I've seen the president call him by name," Mr. Scherer said.

The president's brother certainly remembers him. Governor Bush, when asked in an e-mail request last week to say a few words about Mr. Cumber, responded within minutes. "He has been a great supporter of mine," the governor wrote, "and has taken it to the next level for the president this last year."

And the hours of phone calls and travel paid off for him in New York this week. Mr. Cumber left the Ritz-Carlton with full-access credentials around his neck and a pocketful of passes — and certainly a business card or two — as he began a whirlwind tour of exclusive events with his fiancée and fellow fund-raiser, Meredith O'Rourke, who has raised

more than \$50,000 for the Bush campaign. They were often out by 7 a.m. for a breakfast and would sometimes return to their \$475-a-night room well into the evening.

The dinner at the New York State Theater on Sunday drew together some of the most prolific fund-raisers in the Republican Party. But when Mr. Cumber and Ms. O'Rourke walked into the theater's grand atrium with its four-story-high ceiling, they chatted with friends rather than working the event, which included four of President Bush's cabinet secretaries. Even so, Ken Mehlman, President Bush's campaign manager, stopped to say a quick hello.

The couple also attended events from their home state, including several breakfasts for the Florida dele-

gation and a hospitality suite in the Hilton New York on Monday, where Mr. Cumber chatted with a staff member for Representative Katherine Harris, the Florida congresswoman, who was interested in getting her boss down to Mr. Cumber's area. He also spoke with a party chairman from Duval County, who wanted him to spend time with young Republicans in Jacksonville. Mr. Cumber said he could oblige both requests.

Another fund-raising Ranger for President Bush, Justin Sayfie, 35, said Mr. Cumber loves the task. "I enjoy it, but he relishes it," Mr. Sayfie said. "That is unique."

After graduating from Duke University, where he custom-designed a political major, Mr. Cumber took a

volunteer position on Jeb Bush's campaign for governor in 1997. He quickly earned a paying job in the finance department.

"Husein is ambitious enough, and I mean that in the positive sense of the word," said Ann Herberger, who was the governor's finance director and Mr. Cumber's boss. "There were times we needed to get Husein to slow down so he could learn."

And learn he did. The job put him in contact with some of the state's top donors and fund-raisers. One of them was Jim Blosser, a lawyer and lobbyist in Fort Lauderdale who taught him the trade.

Mr. Cumber fell in with a group of successful Florida businessmen who, though much older, saw in him one of their own. The group, including Mr. Blosser, Mr. Scherer and John Collins, a 56-year-old contractor and real estate developer, introduced him to their own networks and helped him raise money. All three men say their respect for his work ethic grew fast, as did their friendship.

One story the group tells is about a night in Jackson's Steak House in Fort Lauderdale last year, when a group was sitting around comparing numbers. Unhappy that a twenty-something was raising a few thousand dollars more than he had, Mr. Collins — in the mood for some friendly competition — solicited a contribution from someone in the restaurant. Mr. Cumber raised the ante, collecting a check from his sister. It went on until the young protégé blinked.

"I called a time-out because I was going to lose the game," Mr. Cumber said. "He has more friends than I do."

Mr. Scherer, the Florida lawyer and fund-raiser, said he believed that Mr. Cumber would eventually play a role in government. "He's of the caliber of men and women who run the country in a big-time position," he said, adding that "if this is 29, what will he be when he's 39 or 49?"

THE STREETS OF NEW YORK

"People around the country are watching this. I'm getting more and more calls asking, 'How could this happen in New York City?'" NORMAN SIEGEL.



Anti-Bush demonstrators gathered last night for a candlelight vigil in Union Square, on the last day of the Republican National Convention.

DEMONSTRATIONS

Protesters Try to Get in Last Word Before Curtain Falls

By RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD

Protests continued into the final day of the Republican National Convention yesterday, with at least two dozen people arrested even before President Bush delivered his speech accepting the nomination.

Hundreds of people gathered chanting and carousing outside Madison Square Garden, where the convention was held, while a few thousand gathered a mile south in Union Square Park, a traditional staging area for protests. Many said they planned to march on the convention hall for the president's speech.

The arrests and rallies were a coda to a week in which protests veered from the benign to the chaotic, dropping banners, heckling delegates, blocking sidewalks and streets and occasionally scuffling with the police.

The 27 arrests by 9:30 p.m. yesterday brought the total for the convention to nearly 1,800, far fewer than the 1,000 a day that law enforcement officials had predicted.

To deal with the week's protests, which were the largest in the history of political conventions, the Police Department mobilized nearly its entire 37,000-member force, and flooded the streets around the Garden and delegate functions with officers, some in helmets and toting batons, some in plain clothes closely watching suspected troublemakers. Officers moved in swiftly at the slightest flare-up of lawbreaking and managed to contain demonstrations large and small with little violence, though many people complained that large numbers of bystanders had been unjustly arrested.

There was a final round of demonstrations across the city yesterday. United for Peace and Justice, which organized a protest that drew hundreds of thousands of people on Sunday, held a candlelight vigil last

night in Union Square. Some 2,000 people gathered, and the police massed in large groups north and west of the park, apparently to head off any march on the Garden.

Several hundred people had arrived hours earlier, after a daylong kaleidoscope of demonstrations that ranged from satirical street theater to solemn denunciations of war.

Outside Madison Square Garden, the antiwar group Answer drew 1,500 people for a demonstration that, while boisterous, stayed largely in a designated protest area at Eighth Avenue and 31st Street, far out of sight of most convention-goers.

A few hundred people marched in Harlem under the Artists and Activists United for Peace banner to draw

attention to what they said was the Bush administration's neglect of issues of poverty and racism.

Sporadically through the day yesterday, small unannounced protests sprang up, including one by 21 members of a group advocating for AIDS victims; they were arrested at Grand Central Terminal after unfurling a banner and sitting down around the information booth in the main concourse. Outside, about 100 protesters with the same organization, Housing Works, which offers services to homeless people with AIDS/HIV, picketed along 42nd Street between Vanderbilt and Park Avenues, chanting under the watchful eyes of dozens of police officers.

Verbal harassment of delegates on the streets and at their convention functions continued, leading Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg to draw parallels between the protesters and terrorists.

"It is true that a handful of people have tried to destroy our city by going up and yelling at visitors here because they don't agree with their views," Mr. Bloomberg said. "Think about what that says. This is America, New York, cradle of liberty, the city for free speech if there ever was one and some people think that we shouldn't allow people to express themselves. That's exactly what the terrorists did, if you think about it, on 9/11. Now this is not the same kind of terrorism but there's no question that these anarchists are afraid to let people speak out."

The Bloomberg administration has been suggesting in recent days that most of those arrested came from outside New York. Of 1,735 people arrested who gave their names, 61 have refused — 600 live in New York State and the rest outside, though the police did not say how many were from New Jersey or Connecticut.

Civil libertarians have complained that many of the arrests were unjustified and accused the police of an overzealous effort to ensure protests stayed far from the Garden.

ARRESTS

City Is Ordered to Release Protesters Held for 2 Days

Continued From Page P1

no longer accept your statement that you are trying to comply."

Judge Cataldo referred to a list produced by the court at 8 a.m. that indicated 120 people had been in police custody for more than 38 hours, and that 440 others had been in jail for at a day and a half without having an arraignment — the hearing at which charges are brought and bail is set. The State Court of Appeals ruled in 1991 that anyone arrested in New York who was not arraigned within 24 hours was eligible for immediate release.

The city and police officials said they could not pinpoint the cause of the delays. "I'm presuming it's volume," said Paul J. Browne, the chief spokesman for Police Commissioner Raymond W. Kelly. "What I'm assuming is that the volume caused some delay. I'm not prepared to say where in the process the delays were."

He denied that the long holding time was a deliberate tactic to keep protesters behind bars until the convention ends. Some members of the National Lawyers Guild circulated what they called an internal Police Department memo which seemed to suggest that protesters be held as long as possible, but Mr. Browne flatly called it a forgery.

During the hearing, Norman Siegel, a veteran civil rights lawyer, told the court that one client, a 17-year-old Trinity School student, had been in jail for 42 hours. "There is no reason, I submit, that this process had to take this long," Mr. Siegel said. The charge against the student was not known. Mr. Siegel, along with lawyers from the Legal Aid Society and the National Lawyers Guild, filed writs of habeas corpus and began arguing in court Wednesday that some protesters must be released. They said the vast majority of protesters were not being held for felonies but rather misdemeanors like disorderly conduct that should have been processed in a few hours.

Another contentious issue raised in court yesterday was that of the so-called "missing persons." Defense lawyers and lawyers for the city were trying to get an accurate accounting of how many people the police have not identified by name and arrest number, yet who are in the system somewhere.

"We've got to find these human beings and find them and release them," Mr. Cardozo said in court.

Defense lawyers said there could be 200 to 700 unidentified people in the system. "Nobody really knows what the numbers are, and that's a statement about the incompetency of the system," Mr. Siegel said.

He complained to Judge Cataldo that the protesters were being treated worse than criminals. "The only people being disadvantaged here are the protesters," he said. "We're arresting robbers who have only been in 10 hours."

One lawyer, Elizabeth Fink, contended in court that some protesters in custody were wrongfully arrested in the first place. Accounts from people who said they were going about their daily business on the streets when they got caught in mass arrests seemed to back up her claim.

"People around the country are

The city says numbers impede processing; others see a tactic.

watching this," Mr. Siegel said. "I'm getting more and more calls asking, 'How could this happen in New York City?'"

Relatives of the detained expressed similar concerns. Tom Roderick, 61, was outside the court late yesterday hoping to find his daughters, Emma Rose, 19, and Anne Marie, 16, who he said had been held 44 hours. He said it took a full day just to get their arrest numbers. He had been trading shifts with his wife so that one of them was always at home, waiting for a phone call.

Tales from those detained or their families have a consistent narrative: an arrest, followed by seemingly endless hours on buses, in holding pens and in cells at central booking before being allowed any outside contact, even brief communication.

Hanna Ingber, 23, said she was arrested at about 8 p.m. at the end of a bicycle protest in the East Village last Friday. She said she followed a commanding officer's directions to leave the demonstration through a line of police officers. She was there on a date, she said.



Michael Kamber for The New York Times

Detainees are welcomed by friends and family outside the Criminal Courts Building.

Hours later, after being handcuffed and photographed, she said, the crowd was broken into groups, put on buses and driven to the detention center on the Hudson River. The center has been a focus of steady complaints; many detainees said they had been covered in oily grime from the floors. Without conceding conditions were poor, city officials said yesterday that the holding area was carpeted on Wednesday.

Ms. Ingber said that the officers told them not to worry, that the process would not take long. In her account, as they sat outside of the detention center in the bus, several of the men complained that their handcuffs were too tight; one was yelling that he could not feel his hands, which another man said looked blue. Two officers came aboard. "What do you want me to do?" said one. "I'm not a doctor." The other one said, "You were the ones who had to riot. This is what you get."

Ms. Ingber said that about 11:30 that night she was corralled into a pen inside the detention center, where she would stay until about 11:30 a.m. Saturday. She said she was released about 1:30 a.m. Sunday.

The police issued a breakdown of the 1,735 protesters arrested in the last week who had identification, showing that 1,135 were from outside New York State. In addition, 61 of those arrested have refused to identify themselves, the police said.

Less Traffic and Thinning Protests

The Week: Commuters Have Largely Stayed Away

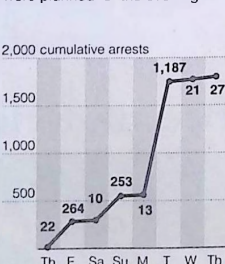
Total number of passengers on PATH trains and in vehicles using Hudson River tunnels, and differences from normal usage

	PATH TRAINS*	LINCOLN TUNNEL†	HOLLAND TUNNEL†
Monday	178,551 -39.4%	42,301 -39.4%	39,876 -15.2%
Tuesday	182,360 -37.6	43,539 -37.6	39,825 -15.3
Wednesday	180,012 -33.8	46,187 -33.8	39,876 -14.1

*Excluding free transfers from New Jersey Transit trains †Inbound only

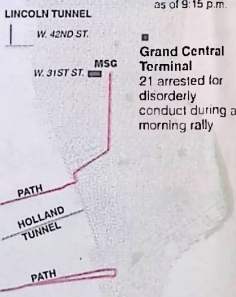
Yesterday: Protests Wind Down

Only 27 people had been arrested by 9:15 p.m. yesterday, but several large demonstrations were planned for the evening.



Arrests Yesterday

as of 9:15 p.m.



The New York Times

Sources: New York City Police Department, Port Authority of New York and New Jersey

Jennifer Steinhauer, Diane Cardwell and Janon Fisher contributed reporting for this article.

With Spare Passes in Hand, Protesters Found It Surprisingly Easy to Crash the Party

By MARC SANTORA

With tens of thousands of heavily armed police officers swarming the streets around Madison Square Garden, helicopters whirling overhead and bomb-sniffing dogs on every corner, the Republican National Convention was supposed to be the most tightly secured political event in history.

But over the last four days, roughly two dozen hecklers have proven that only a small device was necessary to penetrate the cordon and disrupt the convention: a delegate's spare guest credential or a media pass, which protesters said were surprisingly easy to get.

At least six times in the last four days, protesters have managed to get into the arena, twice coming within yards of Vice President Dick Cheney. Last night, as Gov. George E. Pataki introduced the president, security agents swept down on a woman who had a sign that condemned the administration before she had chance to display it. She was quickly removed from the arena.

To get all the way into the Garden, visitors had to have their passes checked three times and had to pass through metal detectors twice. While the elaborate security measures were effective in keeping out bombs, guns and knives, as well as other pro-

hibited items like umbrellas and strollers, critics of the Republicans were much harder to screen.

"I'm shocked by how easy this has been," said Medea Benjamin, 51, an antiwar protester from San Francisco. Ms. Benjamin managed to get within 20 feet of Mr. Cheney on Tuesday night and, during Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger's speech, unfurled a banner that read: "Be Pro-life, Stop Killing in Iraq."

"I am shocked by how many passes we can get," she said.

Ms. Benjamin is a member of a feminist antiwar group called Code Pink, which she said used various means to get passes.

"We have some very nice-looking women in Code Pink that have been hanging out in some nice bars, and these delegates like to impress the women," she said. They also have used family and friends to secure passes from both delegates and media organizations.

Part of the problem for the Secret Service, which was in charge of security at the Garden, was that thousands of passes were available but there was no system to match a pass with the person it was issued to. The serial number on the credentials could be tracked only to the organization that was responsible for distributing them, which did not help after an incident had taken place.

As the number of credentials ending up in the wrong hands mounted, security officials said they became

increasingly nervous. One convention official said that the dialogue between security officials and convention organizers grew heated as the week went on.

Secret Service officials would not comment on their efforts to prevent the security breaches. "Together with our law enforcement partners, we are confident in our law enforcement measures that have been put in place," said Ann Roman, a spokeswoman for the Secret Service.

On Thursday, before President Bush spoke, spot checks of credentials in the hallways of the Garden were stepped up. Police and federal agents were given photographs of at least five people who the authorities suspected might try to infiltrate the arena, according to one officer on duty. The police presence around the perimeter of the convention site was also visibly increased. But no new methods were employed to make sure that those with passes were supposed to be there.

"The word has been spread everywhere to be very careful," said the convention official, expressing frustration at the inability to verify the identities of passholders. "There is only so much you can do."

Several of the incidents, the official said, involved credentials issued to the broadcast media.

Part of the problem lies in the nature of political conventions, where informal schmoozing and multiple events in and outside the hall are

antithetical to tight security. Most large news organizations keep several unassigned floor passes in reserve, not knowing in advance which reporters will need them. Delegate schedules can change by the hour, resulting in frequent trading of passes. The system is not designed to require a pass to be coded to an individual.

In addition, there are a lot of seats to fill, and organizers have tradition-

There was no system to match credentials to their holders.

ally been generous to those claiming party affiliations. While the delegates number around 5,000, the Garden can hold another 10,000 people. Abhorring the empty seats visible on television during the first few nights of the convention, organizers would prefer to pack the hall.

Although word went out to Republicans to be wary when giving out passes, Ben Fox, 62, a delegate from Colorado, criticized the leaders of his delegation for trying to collect passes that were not going to be used so they could be redistributed.

"When they asked, I refused to hand in my badge," Mr. Fox said. "I

think you could have a real security problem."

For organizations like Code Pink, which gained public notoriety when it managed to infiltrate a Congressional hearing in 2002 and interrupt the testimony of Donald H. Rumsfeld, the secretary of defense, simply breaching the security is an effective political statement.

"It shows how you can never build a fortress big enough to keep out someone determined to get inside," Ms. Benjamin said.

Code Pink members infiltrated the Garden on several occasions. On Wednesday, during Mr. Cheney's speech, Gael Murphy was tackled to the ground when she revealed that she was an antiwar protester. Mr. Cheney briefly paused, the audience looked at the commotion and applauded when Ms. Murphy was carried off, and Mr. Cheney resumed his speech without noting the event.

Shortly after the incident, another Code Pink member unfurled a banner in the hall and was quickly wrestled down. A third member was there to keep track of those taken into custody, and was not apprehended, according to Ms. Benjamin.

On Monday night, Thomas Frampton, an antiwar protester, made it through security and shouted out slogans within 10 feet of Mr. Cheney. Mr. Frampton was charged with assaulting Secret Service agents.

Unlike other demonstrators, Mr. Frampton, a 21-year-old junior at

Yale University, got into the hall with credentials that should have restricted him to peripheral areas, gliding past guards by wearing one of the red shirts given to volunteers. On Thursday night, however, Secret Service agents were overheard discussing how to ensure that volunteers were restricted to assigned areas.

Twelve protesters from Act Up, the AIDS activist group, shouted down the White House chief of staff, Andrew H. Card Jr., during a speech he was giving to the Young Republicans on Wednesday. Only one person, who police said struck a cameraman, was charged with a crime.

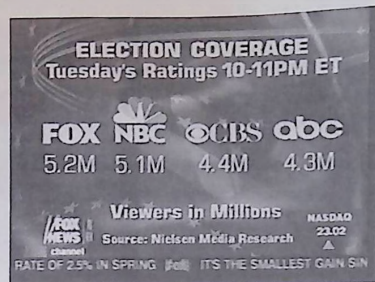
Since the group's passes were legitimate, a Secret Service spokesman said, there was little that could be done.

The Bush campaign has gone through elaborate measures at its political rallies across the country to keep both protesters and threats away from the president. Republican officials and Bush volunteers distribute the tickets to events and reportedly have even on occasion made people sign a document saying they are Republicans.

But Ms. Benjamin said this convention has been one of the easier events she has penetrated. All she had to do to get her banner inside, she said, was carefully fold it inside a newspaper and give security guards a friendly wave and a smile.

Thomas Crampton and John Files contributed reporting for this article.

ISSUES AND THE MEDIA

"These events are managed down to the last semicolon." TOM BROKAW

On Fox, the faces are more in-your-face, and that is the way its millions of viewers apparently like it. Righteous indignation, preferably at high volume, is part of the daily diet on this friskiest of networks.

THE TV WATCH

Alessandra Stanley

For Those Who Like Their News Fast, Furious, Loud and Caffeinated, It's Fox

On an ordinary news day, CNN is like a sip of iced tea. Fox News is a gulp of Jolt Cola.

It is the favorite news source of conservative-minded viewers, but Fox's anti-liberal sensibility is not its only draw. Even on matters as uncontested as the weather, Fox News's heart ticks to a faster, louder beat; it is a network that presents the news with pizzazz and a frisky tone. ("Back to you, guys" is how reporters in the field address the anchors in the studio.) And its top commentators express a righteous indignation—mostly at the mainstream media, Hollywood liberals and the Democratic Party—that envelops loyal viewers in a warm, cozy duvet of rage.

This has not been an angry week for the network, however. Fox News's ratings soared during the Republican National Convention; for the first time ever, more viewers watched the convention on Fox than on ABC, CBS or NBC. On Wednesday night, more people watched Zell Miller and Dick Cheney on Fox than on ABC and CBS combined.

And ever since Rudolph W. Giuliani's

speech on Monday, Fox commentators have looked radiantly at home—like John McEnroe the first time he made it to the press box in the old days to give commentary at the United States Open. A smiling Shepard Smith began a question to Gov. Mitt Romney of Massachusetts about whether he, Mr. Miller and Mr. Cheney had gone too far with their attacks on John Kerry this way: "And man, what an attack night it was!"

The Fox sensibility is most obvious in the opinion shows. Neil Cavuto interviewed Pat Boone yesterday, and was interested in whether his support of George Bush and conservative causes had hurt his show business career. Mr. Boone replied that indeed it had. He said that it was "in" for Hollywood celebrities to go to prison, and complained that when Robert Mitchell got out of prison after serving time on a marijuana charge, "he was bigger than ever." The difference between Fox and other cable networks was clearest at the beginning of the war in Iraq, where it was gung-ho from the start, lashing out at other news organizations when the seemingly easy victory turned sour. Its choice of special correspondents, Gerald

Rivera and Oliver North, was also distinctive.

But for the most part, Fox reporters report by the book, and the convention coverage has not proved any different: Wendell Goler, the network's White House correspondent, reported yesterday morning about President Bush's endorsement from New York firefighters on Wednesday, then noted that John Kerry had won the support of their national organization.

Fox anchors and commentators have more license to speak their minds, but they do not all march in lockstep. On Tuesday night, after Laura Bush and her twin daughters took the podium, Mont Kondracke, the editor of Roll-Call and a Fox regular, said Jenna and Barbara Bush "came off frankly as ditzes, and you wonder how, you know, whether they should have been on the program at all."

Certain topics, however, are irresistible, and none more than Mr. Kerry's war and antiwar activities. Wedged between anti-Kerry Swift boat ads (they run on all the cable shows, most of all on Fox), Fox News did a report yesterday about a mistake in

his Navy records: the "combat V" designation, which can accompany the Bronze Star, was also typed after his Silver Star citation, a redundancy since the Silver Star is by definition for valor in combat.

The Kerry campaign dismissed the story as a "35-year-old clerical error." But recalling that a Navy admiral, Jeremy M. Boorda, committed suicide in 1996 after reporters learned that he had wrongly worn a V for valor, a Fox reporter, Major Garrett, cited a Boston Herald newspaper article in which Mr. Kerry had said it was "very wrong" for Admiral Boorda to wear a ribbon he was not entitled to.

"Clearly," Mr. Garrett said in closing, the senator considers the issue "serious and legitimate."

Before the convention began, all the cable news stations reported on protests and police concerns about security.

A Fox news anchor, Laurie Dhue, did a report, based on an article in The New York Post, which like Fox is owned by Rupert Murdoch, members of the Weathermen, the 1970's revolutionary group that among other things blew up a building in Greenwich Vil-

lage. Ms. Dhue made it sound as if crazed anarchists were about to overrun the city. "And the paper says they're in the Big Apple," she said. "Plotting to disrupt next week's events."

On Wednesday, the Fox talk show host Sean Hannity interviewed Jack Kemp, a former presidential candidate who is now a conservative columnist.

"I think the more people know about John Kerry, the more they realize just how radical he really is, and it is not helping him," Mr. Hannity said. Mr. Kemp replied: "I don't disagree. I think he is left. I don't know if he's radical."

Mr. Hannity swatted away his doubts: "He's the No. 1 liberal in the Senate, more than Ted Kennedy. That's pretty liberal."

Fox News has many excellent reporters and its share of scoops, but its bristly anchors sometimes bring to mind the old joke about Claire Booth Luce's audience with the pope. Mrs. Luce could be heard passionately hectoring her host, who was overheard weakly protesting, "But madam, I too am a Catholic."

Faced With Poor Ratings, Networks Soul Search

By BILL CARTER

On his last night in the anchor chair at a political convention, Tom Brokaw of NBC was feeling resigned. The conventions, he said in an interview on Thursday, were mere "infomercials," with little to interest anyone beyond political partisans.

"These events are managed down to the last semicolon," said Mr. Brokaw, who is retiring after the election. "That's why I find it hard to climb those stairs and get into the anchor chair anymore."

Like Mr. Brokaw, a number of television executives yesterday blamed the Republicans and Democrats for the networks' dwindling convention viewership. But as the Fox News cable channel widened its lead in the convention ratings race, other observers suggested that the networks needed to look within.

While Fox broadcast the convention for much of the day, the three networks covered it only from 10 to 11 p.m.

Dorrance Smith, the longtime former ABC News executive who is now a television consultant to the Republican National Convention, called Fox's dominance in the ratings this week "truly a seminal event," and said that that development could be interpreted as a serious threat to the identities of the broadcast news operations.

"It never ceases to amaze me how the networks can continue to rationalize their ongoing decline in both numbers and relevancy," Mr. Smith said. "The way that we and the Democrats have programmed the 10 p.m. hour has reduced their impact dramatically. By limiting their coverage, they are forced to show what the conventions have programmed, and it has reduced to a bare minimum their ability to react and opine."

Dan Rather, the CBS anchor, said that precisely that kind of stage managing had helped reduce the networks' interest in the conventions. His team, he said, was left to act less like journalists than like sports producers who show up at a prepackaged event and turn on their cameras.

"Actually, in sports you can do more," Mr. Rather said. "You can say the fullback missed a block. Here we don't even get to do that."

After beating the broadcast networks for the first time on Tuesday, Fox News dominated viewership from 10 to 11 p.m. on Wednesday, when Vice President Dick Cheney gave his acceptance speech. Fox not only pulled in more viewers than any individual broadcast network, with 5.918 million, but also attracted more viewers than CBS (2.6 million) and ABC (3.3 million) combined. NBC had 4.5 million viewers, according to Nielsen Media Research.

While many network news executives dismissed Fox's success as a function of its warmth toward the



Peter Jennings of ABC at the Republican convention, where networks lagged behind Fox in viewers.

Republicans, many admitted that the size of the audience differential on Wednesday was startling.

"Any time you see a number of that magnitude you have to think about it," Neal Shapiro, the president of NBC News, said.

Contemplating what the net-

Viewers sense that not much news emerges from conventions.

works might do differently, Mr. Rather said one alternative would be to approach speeches ready to question every fact, figure and charge. Mr. Rather said that some executives at CBS had already suggested another approach this year: reducing coverage from three nights to two. With this week's rat-

ings, he added, talk of further cuts is "in the mix for sure," though he will be opposed. And Mr. Rather said that he would not be surprised if a network started to calculate how much better it could do financially by skipping convention coverage entirely and counter-programming with an entertainment show.

In curtailing convention coverage "the networks are operating as economic institutions and very minimally as public institutions," Tom Rosenstiel, the director of the Project for Excellence in Journalism, said.

But he argued not to overstate Fox's success this week. "I think it's premature to suggest this is a sign of Fox rising," Mr. Rosenstiel said. He noted that CNN and PBS did far better during the Democratic National Convention and said audiences with strong partisan preferences seemed to be gravitating during the conventions to channels that they were most comfortable with.

The more general news audience,

which tunes in to the networks during most breaking-news events, has sensed that the conventions do not provide much news anymore, Mr. Rosenstiel added. "Many have decided not to watch the conventions at all," he said.

Bill Shine, the vice president of production for Fox News, said that Fox was doing better than it had during the Democratic convention in Boston (its audience was up 261 percent on Wednesday versus the third night in Boston) not because of its appeal to partisan Republicans but because "the story is just more interesting than it was a month ago."

Mr. Rather suggested that the ratings may not be ideal for the Republican Party come November.

"I tip my cap to Fox," he said. "I'm sure people in the party are saying that's a great audience and on a channel that's friendly to us. But the wise ones know that this is preaching to the converted. And if they want to reach independent or swing voters, the way to do that is through the over-the-air networks."

FAITH GROUPS

Republicans Try to Expand Appeal to Religious Voters

By DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK and MICHAEL SLACKMAN

The Republicans used their convention to court deeply religious voters among two different, traditionally Democratic groups, Catholics and Jews, by holding rallies for supporters of each faith yesterday.

Bush campaign pollsters say those who attend a worship service at least once a week voted disproportionately for Mr. Bush four years ago, and in this election they have sought to enlist leaders and members of conservative congregations to help get out the vote.

Although evangelical Protestants have become a core part of the Republican base over the last three decades, pollsters say traditionalists among all faiths are likely to support the Republicans' stance on social issues, if the party can speak to them on their own terms. In a close election, no minority is too small to pursue, not even the small Orthodox Jewish minority.

In the morning, Ed Gillespie, chairman of the Republican party; Matt Schlapp, a top White House political aide; Senator Sam Brownback of Kansas, and a host of Republican elected officials addressed a gathering of about 300 Catholics at the Westin Hotel near the convention. They said the party had recruited more than 50,000 Catholic "team leaders" nationwide as part of an effort to build a special Catholic outreach program alongside the state and local Republican parties.

In the last election, Mr. Bush received about half the votes cast by the more than 60 million Catholic voters in the country. Mr. Gillespie told the crowd that a third of Catholics were still not registered to vote, he said the party was actively seeking those votes. In sharp contrast to the televised speeches on the floor of the convention, the nearly two-hour Catholic rally almost entirely avoided references to the war in Iraq, which the Pope has opposed. Instead, the speakers repeatedly emphasized the party's opposition to abortion and same-sex marriage, subjects largely unmentioned in the televised speeches at the convention. And they sought to link the Republican party with the immigrant experience and the social welfare work of churches.

When his grandfather arrived at Ellis Island, Mr. Gillespie told the crowd, "The church gave my father a footing in this country." He continued, "Compassionate conservatism is all about helping people, and I am very proud to tout this president's commitment to the idea of greater cooperation between government and church-based charities."

In an invocation, Father Frank Pavone, the founder of Priests for Life, who is seeking for the first time to organize voter registration efforts in Catholic churches around the country, said, "Isn't it great to be with Catholics who aren't afraid to be political?"

Josh Benson contributed reporting for this article from New York.

Bishop Edmund Carmody of Corpus Christi, Texas, compared the battle over abortion rights with the historic 4th century battle within the church over the divinity of Jesus, urging Catholics to vote only for candidates like President Bush who oppose abortion rights. He praised Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, head of the Vatican's Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, — who has said that anyone who voted for a candidate supporting abortion rights was "guilty of formal cooperation with evil" — calling him the modern equivalent of St. Athanasius, who stamped out a fourth-century heresy that argued that Jesus was not divine.

Jews are a far smaller group and pollsters say it is unlikely that Mr. Bush will receive more than 20 percent of their votes, but that has not deterred the party from trying, especially among the Orthodox.

While here for the convention in New York — a center of Orthodox Judaism — Tevi Troy, an Orthodox Jew who served as Mr. Bush's White

Focusing on Jews and Catholics who usually vote Democratic.

House liaison to the Jewish community, met with about 200 Orthodox rabbis and community leaders at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to push them to recruit members of their faith. To spread the word, he passed out booklets, "President George W. Bush: A Friend of the American Jewish Community."

Yesterday Vice President Cheney made time to carry the party's flag to a closed-door meeting of the Republican Jewish Coalition, emphasizing Mr. Bush's support for Israel and his forceful approach to the Middle East, people who attended said.

Several representatives of Jewish groups said they were receptive to Mr. Bush's appeals, in part because they felt Mr. Kerry's support for Israel was less firm than it might be. Some said the Democratic National Convention did not do enough to address the issue of Israel's security, and that Mr. Kerry did not mention Israel in his acceptance speech. In contrast, speakers at the Republican Convention have invoked their support of Israel repeatedly.

"A lot of Jews, many of my friends, over the past several years have been profoundly touched by the willingness of George Bush to break through traditional formulas and to rethink the Middle East in such a way that Israel is likely to be left strong and more secure at the end of the process," said Seth Siegel, a Jewish businessman from New York who said he was a lifelong Democrat but will vote Republican in a presidential race for the first time in his life.

PARTIES AND ENTERTAINMENT

"Now that you've found out I can't sing, I really do want to thank everybody for being here." JOHN MCCAIN



PINK
ELEPHANTS

Star, Bush Fan, Governor: A Three-Arnold Circus

By GLENN COLLINS

In the waning pink-eyed moments of the Republicans' grand political carnival, there were so many celebrations. And so little time.

Indeed, yesterday was the advent of the multiple-festivity event. Not one, but three, Arnolds swooped in to give a rally speech for the California delegation at Planet Hollywood in Midtown. At the red carpet, Governor Schwarzenegger — arriving by tan S.U.V. in tan suit with one heck of a tan — was lionized by 1,000 frenzied bystanders and media crews. Arnold I — movie star — basked in a nova of digital flash photography and encountered a small army of life-size Terminator figures, the sentinels at the restaurant's entrance.

Inside, amid a sufficiency of food and drink, Arnold II — Bush supporter — launched into a panegyric for his president before the delegates, after an introduction by Representative David Dreier of California, a state that he promptly dubbed "Planet Arnold." ("I used to be a partner here," the governor said of the restaurant. "I made some good money on it.")

Arnold III — California pol — then met with political reporters in an adjacent room, articulating his legislative policy and his priority "to fix California," as he put it. So if California needs help, senator, how about America? "America is doing unbelievable," he declared.

A Laughable Button

Also in the province of the unbelievable, Cindy and John McCain's party at Cipriani 42d Street attracted some true exotics early yesterday. There, in a coliseum-size space full of roistering black-suited Republicans, the author Malachy McCourt appeared in a suit of Tom Wolfe white, upon which he had pinned a large "Beat Bush Again" button.

"They invited us to come here tonight," he explained, "and I'm a luntastic left winger and I said, 'Are you sure you want me to come?' and they said, 'Yes, he wants to meet you.'"

He certainly did. When Senator McCain arrived, he shook Mr. McCourt's hand, and laughed when he got a good look at the button.

Then the ubiquitous Joe Piscopo introduced the crowd to Mr. McCain, who bounded onstage to cheers. As Mr. Piscopo and Senator McCain crooned their "New York, New York" duet, the Senator got all show-businessy, and improvised: "It's up to you, Rep-ub-li-cans." The audience hooted and hollered.

Far more electrifying, then, than a Henry Kissinger apparition, was the arrival at 1 a.m. of Rudolph W. Giuliani. The crowd began chanting: "RUD-EE 2008! RUD-EE 2008!"

Senator McCain betrayed no noticeable upstaging symptoms. "Now that you've found out I can't sing," he said to the crowd at the end, "I really do want to thank everybody for being here."

And last night the indefatigable McCains were partying again, at the Fast Company Magazine bash at Elaine's. The senator ended his speech with the first Mayor Daley's quote: "Vote early and vote often."

At Gracie Mansion

Resplendent in a forest-green suit, the not-notably leprechaun-ish former Mayor Edward I. (Make Nice!) Koch overcame his inherent shyness yesterday and transcended his customary reserve at a delegates'

breakfast sponsored by the History Channel at Gracie Mansion. Also at the lectern were Lynne Cheney and Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg, neither of whom happen to live there. But the current mayor asked Mr. Koch — who was once a mansion resident — "Did you like it?"

"I'm happy to come back," Mr. Koch replied with his crocodile smile. Huge laugh. Mayor Bloomberg seemed to think it was funny, too.

When Mr. Koch was braced by the media scrum, the former Mayor abandoned his famously steadfast stance of strict nonpartisanship and launched into a lecture about the superiority of New York to that other host city. "The delegates I've talked to have been very laudatory of New York," Mr. Koch said. "Boston just did not get the reception that New York is getting. It's New York! Everything else is Podunk."

Amigos All

Just its name (the "Amigos de America" party) and the sponsor (Coca-Cola) conjured up sombrero vistas, even though the event was a celebration for the Puerto Rican and New York delegations. Pan-Hispanic confusion extended into the early hours yesterday at the Copacabana as a mariachi band garbed in the sombreros and embroidered short jackets of Mexico blasted island revelers into the early hours through the amped-up sound system.

But Gov. George E. Pataki, the evening's host, seemed unconfused — and unfazed — as he greeted the Puerto Rican delegates, friends and anyone else who would listen, in his earnest Peekskill-accented Spanish.

Rapping for Bush

Kid Rock, the Detroit-born rap artist who is a member of the spiky clump of George W. Bush supporters in the wonderful world of entertainment, trumpeted his support for the president Wednesday night at the recording-industry party for Senator Bill Frist, the majority leader, and J. Dennis Hastert, the House speaker. The Kid, as he is called, was wearing a black Western-style bowler hat with a rhinestone band over his sweat-drenched stringy blond hair. He jumped right into an elaboration of his own considered brand of Republicanism. If he were president, he explained, he would never get caught having sex in the Oval Office, but would instead install cameras in the Lincoln Bedroom.

The Kid professed his interest in joining the Mile High Club on Air Force One while smoking a joint. He emphasized his bullet points by punching his muscled arms into the air.

Elephants on a Wire

Go figure: all these show-business Bush-haters turned up at the party held by Governor Pataki last night: Bette Midler. Nicolas Cage. Susan Sarandon. Lenny Kravitz. Elton John. Ru-Paul. Yes, even Whoopi Goldberg.

"If she was real, then I can't imagine how she would come out alive," said one partygoer at Madame Tussaud's last night, staring down the

With Corey Kilgannon, Paula Schwartz, Jennifer Medina, Campbell Robertson, Julie Bosman, Anthony Ramirez, Lily Koppel, John Hall and Stacy Albin.



At Cipriani 42nd Street, Senator John McCain, right, and Joe Piscopo crooned "New York, New York" in the early hours yesterday.



Outside Planet Hollywood in Midtown, Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger stopped to chat with young delegates from California.

wax portrait of Ms. Goldberg.

Conspicuously absent were the statues of Bill Clinton, Dan Rather and John F. Kennedy. They'd been banished to "a back room," said Stacy Shuster, a Tussaud's spokeswoman. "But they will be back in place about an hour after the party ends."

When you are Gov. Frank H. Murkowski of Alaska, and you are

passionately concerned that the native seafood of your state hasn't been given the acclaim appropriate to its excellence, what do you have for lunch? Why, Kachemak Bay Alaskan oysters on the half shell, Alaskan king crab claw with avocado and blood orange, and Moroccan-spiced Alaskan king salmon with baby carrots. No, not in Alaska, but at the Riv-

erby Seafood Bar & Grill in Williston, on Long Island, yesterday. Not a stone's throw from the Garden.

Was there any pixel space surviving in the digital cameras of the delegates after the promenade of the Rockettes on Wednesday night? Given the joint corporate parentage of the Radio City Music Hall and Madison Square Garden, it was hardly a

mystery that two Rockettes — blue outfits, white stars, nothing inappropriate — were encouraged to make a grand sweep of the convention floor. Former Senator Bob Dole posed with the duo. In the V.V.I.P. box, former President George Bush got the attention of Mr. Giuliani. The two jumped to their feet. Gave a huge wave. Flash.

Fresh From Broadway, the Amazing Marc Reads the Mood Around the Garden

By ANDY NEWMAN

There is one person on Broadway who will not be overjoyed to see the Elephants fold up their big tent and leave town, for reasons having nothing to do with his politics.

His name is Marc Salem, and yesterday morning he marked the end of a fulfilling week by going for a walk.

Mr. Salem, a bald, bearded, short, stocky 51-year-old with advanced degrees in the study of human behavior, is the star of "Marc Salem's Mind Games on Broadway," a show in which he demonstrates uncanny abilities to divine hidden facts about audience members while blindfolded or otherwise sensorily deprived.

Since May, he has played the venerable Lyceum Theater on West 45th Street every Monday, when the Tony-winning play "I Am My Own Wife" takes the day off.

This week, rather than play to a house rendered underpopulated by the Republican convention, the star of "Wife" opted to take what was diplomatically referred to as a vacation, leaving Mr. Salem with his first-ever weeklong run on Broadway.

Mr. Salem has not broken any attendance records. (The theater was about half full at his show on



Diane Bondareff for The New York Times

Marc Salem, star of "Marc Salem's Mind Games on Broadway."

Wednesday night.) As far as he knows, and he seems to know this kind of thing, not a single delegate has come to see him. "It's me or Arnold Schwarzenegger," Mr. Salem

said. "It's not much of a choice."

But his little run has been, he said, "a big deal," at least for him. Hence the walk, at a reporter's request, from Times Square down to the bar-

ricades at 34th Street. It was a chance for Mr. Salem to show off, to apply to the scrambled streetscape of Midtown some of the skills he uses onstage, and in his other career as a consultant to lawyers, to determine in an instant (apparently, anyway) whether people are lying and where they went on their last vacation.

What was going on down there, in terms of body language and kinesics?

As it turns out, offstage, Mr. Salem's powers are pretty comparable to that of your average guy. He has an office on West 37th Street, four blocks north of Madison Square Garden, and as he walked past it he confessed that he had not visited it since 2004 B.C. (Before Convention) because he did not know if the area would be shut down or chaotic.

It was neither; just eerily quiet. During what should have been the morning rush hour, garment workers rolled metal closets up the right-hand lane of Eighth Avenue. (Mr. Salem noted that they always did that, but usually blocked traffic.)

At 34th Street and Eighth Avenue, where the sidewalks were half-open, mostly empty and, at that moment, protest-free, Mr. Salem made his

first official Observation.

"There's Jeff Greenfield," he said, pointing out the CNN political analyst walking across Eighth Avenue. "He seems quite relaxed, quite comfortable. He doesn't seem tired." Mr. Greenfield paused at a corner and waited to cross 34th Street. "His hands are clasped in front of him,"

A sort of mentalist makes a reassuring discovery.

Mr. Salem noted. "He's trying to get just a little bit of personal space."

After a minute at the corner, Mr. Salem began to notice something very strange indeed about the scene. Stranger than almost all the cars and buses being replaced by orange cones, blue wooden police-horses, metal barriers and white concrete dividers. Far stranger than the man in the chicken costume and green hard hat asking a police officer for directions. Stranger even than pedes-

trians obeying traffic signals.

"No one seems on edge now," Mr. Salem said. "Monday, maybe they were. Now you see a drooping of the shoulders; people aren't rushing around head down. There's a sense of 'Everything's fine, guys.'"

"In some way this is the most relaxed I've seen New Yorkers in a long, long time," he went on. "They're smiling. They're happy. We're under a police cordon. It looks like one out of every two police people are smiling." Not to worry, though. Mr. Salem promised that things would be as maddening as usual soon enough. But convention week had given him something to treasure.

"This is going to be a memorable week for me," he said. "Not so much the fact of doing a week on Broadway; it's this week in New York. The tension, building and release. I think the release" — something that those who fled the city for the duration will have missed — "will be very good."

Mr. Salem, who goes to great lengths in his show to point out that he is not a clairvoyant or a psychic, ventured a prediction.

"I think people are going to have an enjoyable weekend."

PETER LEVENDA'S BLOG

954 732
3466

The author of the *Sinister Forces* trilogy discusses related matters...

monday, may 22. 2006

WORLD-VIEW WARFARE

It's a German neologism from the twentieth century: *weltanschauungskrieg* or "world-view warfare". It's what we English-speaking people refer to as "psychological warfare", but the German is much more apt because it implies a "clash of civilizations" more than merely psyching someone out.

And that's what's happening now.

I've been silent for a long time (again) due to many factors, among them preparations for the upcoming third – and final – volume of *Sinister Forces*. This one is subtitled "The Manson Secret" and boasts a foreword by Paul Krassner. This volume gives the show away, and ties together the various maddening threads of the previous two volumes. Once you've read Volume Three, you can go back and re-read the first two volumes with a greater, a hopefully deeper, understanding. It is a difficult theme, no question, because it calls into doubt our entire "world-view" concerning American history, the separation of Church and State (ha!), and the underlying campaign of psychological warfare that has been visited upon us by the very people we used to trust.

Another factor has been the unexpected death of a close friend of mine, Judith McNally, to whom the third volume of *Sinister Forces* is dedicated. I'd known Judith for more than 35 years, and her passing was a shock to each of us who knew her. A former editor of *Filmmakers Newsletter* – who interviewed such luminaries as actor-director John Cassavetes, among others – she went on to greater glory as the personal assistant, researcher, and

factotum for a famous American author, in which capacity she was notorious among the Manhattan publishing world. She also briefly worked for Prae Publishing, a company that has since been exposed as a CIA front; a revelation she considered amusing. Considering that I worked for the Bell Corporation (which trained troops in Saudi Arabia in the 1970s and functioned as a CIA front for many years all over the world) as well as a certain Israeli banking firm – both companies which have been identified by the LaRouche people as tentacles of the world-wide British Intelligence-Jewish-Masonic-Satanic conspiracy, or something – we pretty much had the Illuminati nailed between the two of us. Now I've got to control the world myself. It's a dirty job, but ... well, you know.

Another factor is the ongoing investigation of Colonia Dignidad. I was privileged in the past few months to have been in contact with the family of Boris Weisfeiler, the American math professor who went missing in the Andes Mountains in 1985 after being taken to the Colony by Chilean security forces while he was on an innocent hike in the forest. Eyewitness testimony reveals that he was tortured and killed at the Colony, reason unknown. Due to a general physical similarity between Weisfeiler and myself, it is a possibility that he was initially mistaken for me: a possibility that now is being considered by the Chilean judge in charge of the case. A cache of documents has been uncovered at the Colony, including dossiers on their "enemies", but these documents are not being made public at this time ... may never be. There may very well be evidence in those documents of American complicity in the torture and interrogation of Chilean political prisoners in the immediate aftermath of the Pinochet coup of September 11, 1973, hence the backpedaling by Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice on this issue.

Yet another factor is the news. How can I compete? The National Security Agency has built a database of every phone call ever made in the United States in the last few years. The man who oversaw that program is President Bush's nominee for head of the CIA to replace Porter Goss. There is an investigation underway of Porter Goss's hires at CIA, since some of them

seem to be implicated in all sorts of unsavory practices. The Watergate H has re-entered the picture, replete with poker-and-prostitute parties. Hmrr ... let me see. Domestic spying, an unpopular war, a President who claim he is above the law of the land, and the Watergate Hotel. Does anyone remember Richard Nixon?

And now ... *The DaVinci Code*.

To my mind, a poorly-written cut-and-paste job that hobbled together all the best bits of *Holy Blood, Holy Grail*. For those of us who have already been down that road, there was no suspense or surprise in Dan Brown's book: I knew the secret from the first page. I confess I stopped reading after the first few chapters. Truth, after all, is not only stranger than fiction it is a good deal more entertaining. It's the fallout from this movie that interests me, however.

There has been a rash of documentaries on the History Channel in the past week or so that detail some of the controversies surrounding the Knights Templar, the Freemasons, Opus Dei, and all the other heavy furniture of *The DaVinci Code*. The programs were rather misleading; one had to watch a lot of them to understand how. Interviews with Freemasons and Masonic historians would have us believe that there is no worldwide conspiracy of Masons; fair enough. They portray the Masonic Society as essentially a charitable organization with no hidden agenda. Okay. Then, they proudly discuss the history of the American Revolution and how the Freemasons were an essential element in the inspiration and success of that venture; how Masonic lodges throughout the Colonies were a vital factor in bringing together the various factions of North and South in a concerted effort against the British; how European Freemasons such as Lafayette and Pulaski were enlisted into the fight; etc. etc. The dichotomy between the above two positions makes my head hurt. It's as if the Masons of today are saying, "Okay, we were a worldwide conspiracy *then*, but not *now*."

Actually, what is at stake here is something else, something far deeper wh

none of the documentaries dared to address. The Freemasons who helped found this nation included men like George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Hancock, and even Paul Revere. Their ideal – their dream – was to create a nation that owed no allegiance to kings or bishops but which was organized along scientific and rational lines (hence the separation of Church and State in our Constitution). Ultimate authority in the new country would be reason and compromise – the rule of law and not of personalities. They fought a revolution for these ideals and we have been fighting to preserve these ideals ever since.

What we have now, however, is a spiritual and political crisis in this country. We are being told that one religion takes precedence over all others and that Christianity – in particular a form of Evangelical Christianity – should determine the character and the laws of the land. The current situation would make the Founding Fathers spin like grieving gyroscopes in their graves.

What's an American to do?

Do we throw our support behind the Freemasonic ideal, or behind a questionable form of Christian conservatism? Are these our only choices?

Are we truly witnessing a power struggle between the Christian Right and the secret society of Freemasonry ... the latter which seems positively glorious by comparison?

The central theme of *The DaVinci Code* is the purported marriage between Jesus Christ and Mary Magdalene, and the idea that they had a child and that this child and its offspring represent a bloodline that exists today. The Catholic Church, and other Christian groups and Church historians, insist there is no evidence that such a liaison ever occurred, and therefore ridicule and castigate the book and the film as blasphemous, at worst, or simply bad scholarship at best. In all the interviews I've seen or read on this subject, one asks the Church apologists what seems to me to be the ultimate question:

What evidence exists that Jesus died on the cross and was resurrected a few

days later?

You can't have it both ways, ladies and gentlemen. You can't insist on hard evidence that Jesus and Mary had a child, but refuse to face the fact that there is no hard evidence for the core belief of your Church: that Jesus rose from the dead.

It is said the Knights Templar denied the resurrection of Christ and that this may have happened as a result of their sojourn in the Muslim lands. They either found evidence which proved this to their satisfaction during their habitation of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem ... or they heard this from Islamic scholars ... or they made contact with certain Gnostic and other heretical groups in the Middle East. Whatever the reason, they were eventually destroyed by both Church and State and this alleged blasphemy was given as one count of the indictment. The Freemasons are said to be descended, at least spiritually, from the Knights Templar and, indeed, there is a Templar degree in modern Freemasonry.

Did the Masonic insistence on a society of enlightened individuals who chose science over religion originate in the confrontation with the pagan impossibility of a dead and resurrected God?

Is the conflict taking place in our own country today – and around the world between Muslims and Jews, Muslims and Christians – a reflection of this same conflict, a conflict between belief in the Resurrection and belief that it simply didn't happen?

Does the furor over *The DaVinci Code* mask a deeper, unspoken and unspeakable, conflict between opposing spiritual forces at work in the world? If so, must we take sides?

If so, which side to take?

Any ... takers?

Posted by Peter Levenda at 13:25 | Comments (10) | Trackbacks (0)

friday, march 17. 2006

GREETINGS FROM THE ABYSS

Well ... maybe the subway stop just before the Abyss. The one where the exit gate is locked and the turnstiles don't work and the lights dangle from exposed wiring that have been chewed upon by rats.

I have been silent these last six weeks or so due to a whole host of issues - working writers tend to become swamped in outlandish minutiae that have nothing to do with their actual work - but that doesn't mean my third eye closed to the bizarre activities of the sinister forces in our immediate environment.

Here's just a few, culled from the mainstream press:

Item: On February 10, a woman was arrested for carrying a human head on her way back from Haiti to Fort Lauderdale. The head still had hair, teeth and ... skin. Myrlene Severe said that the head was to be used in a ritual to ward off evil spirits and, as such, was part of her religion, voodoo. Ms. Severe is Haitian-born, and a permanent resident of the US. I could make a joke about the lengths people will go to in order to get a little head, but I won't. This is a family site.

Item: On February 21, it was reported that Jeffrey Bronfman - a member of the Bronfman Canadian whiskey dynasty - was the head of the American chapter of a Brazilian church - O Centro Espirita Beneficiente Uniao do Vegetal - that uses a hallucinogenic tea as an integral part of their rites. The US Supreme Court upheld the right of that church to drink the tea (known as hoasca, which contains DMT). The church has 130 members in the United States, in the western New Mexico area. Noting the increasing popularity of absinthe in the US, one wonders if the church is a Bronfman test site for a

new beverage.

Item: On the same day, it was reported that Dena Schlosser – a 37-year-old woman and mother in McKinney, Texas – had heard the voice of God tell to amputate the arms of her 10-month-old daughter. During her trial it was revealed that she was found in her home (in 2004) covered in blood, and with the arms of her daughter already amputated, and with a deep wound in her own arm as she attempted to similarly amputate herself ... but using her own arms, a physical impossibility that had not occurred to her, evidently. She was pleading not guilty by reason of insanity. One wonders why it's always God who tells these people to commit hideous acts, and not Satan or Beelzebub? I submit that had Ms Schlosser been a member of the Bronfr sect – abovementioned – she would have spent that same afternoon in the pleasant, drug-induced bliss of hoasca and never would have committed this sickening crime.

Item: The following day it was reported that a 7-year-old girl in Dhanbad eastern Bihar state in India, had wed a dog in order to ward off the evil eye. The marriage ceremony took the requisite three days and followed all the normal rites the Santhal tribe follows for any wedding. Makes one wonder if the Process Church and the Son of Sam cult had something similar in mind with all those German shepherds?

Item: On February 23, it was reported that a young Jewish man – Ilan Ha – was found tortured, handcuffed, and naked near railroad tracks in a region south of Paris on February 13. He was pronounced DOA upon arrival at the hospital. It was revealed that the crime was perpetrated by a gang composed of Muslims living in France. The ringleader was arrested on a fugitive warrant in the Cote d'Ivoire, West Africa.

Item: Two days later, thirty members of the National Socialist Movement neo-Nazi organization – wearing uniforms replete with swastika armband – marched through a black neighborhood in Orlando, Florida. The group, based in Minneapolis, had also marched through Toledo, Ohio in October

causing a riot and the burning of businesses. In Orlando, though, the police made a dozen arrests or more after the group inflamed the residents with signs saying "White People Unite". SWAT teams were called out to maintain order.

Item: On March 2, the US Senate approved the renewal of the Patriot Act.
No comment.

Item: On March 5, it was reported that the records and, in some cases, the actual existence of literally thousands of US federal cases are kept secret. In most cases, the secrecy is only temporary until an indictment is returned and a witness testifies, but since 9/11 the number of secret cases has increased dramatically.

Item: On the same day, it was reported that a Hindu shrine to Mohandas Gandhi in New Delhi had to be purified after a visit by President Bush and the specially-trained sniffer dogs that accompany him. This one's too easy.
so ... no comment.

Item: On March 11, US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice congratulated Michelle Bachelet: Chile's new President and that country's first woman President. What was revealing was Rice's comment that "I think it's good to remember that it's now been almost 20 years that the United States has been a friend and supporter of Chilean democracy." When asked about US support for Chilean ex-President and military dictator Augusto Pinochet, she replied, "I think that the past is now behind us."

This is a very revealing exchange. In the first place, she states that the US has been a friend and supporter of Chilean democracy for only 20 years, i.e., since 1986? It is recognized that the US government – under the Nixon/Kissinger regime – destabilized the Chilean democracy under the democratically-elected President Salvador Allende in 1973. On September 11, 1973 to be exact. So, does Rice's comment mean that we supported Chilean fascism from 1973 to 1986, and then Chilean democracy from 1986 to the present? Former US Secretary of State Colin Powell remarked that

military coup against Allende was “not part of American history that we’re proud of”, thus admitting the American role in the overthrow of one of South America’s oldest democracies. As more bodies – and more documents – are uncovered at Colonia Dignidad, perhaps we will learn even more about the “past” that is “now behind us”?

Item: On the same day, Alexander Haig – the man who gave us the phrase “sinister forces” in relation to the 18-1/2 minute Oval Office tape gap – said that, in Iraq, US military leaders are repeating the mistakes made in Vietnam. No comment.

Item: On the same day, Ram Bahadur Banjjan – a 15-year-old boy believed to be the reincarnation of Gautama Siddhartha (the Buddha) – went missing in Nepal. Oops.

Item: The same week saw the famous “DaVinci Code Trial” in London, as the authors of *Holy Blood, Holy Grail* sue Dan Brown over the use of their material in his novel. I am probably alone in this country in thinking that *The DaVinci Code* was much weaker than Brown’s *Angels and Demons*, but in any case while I applaud Baigent and Leigh for suing the ass off Brown who did a cut-and-paste job with *Code*, I don’t hold out high hopes for the success in this trial.

Item: March 13. Seventeen statues of the Egyptian goddess Sekhmet were discovered at a site in Luxor, at the temple of Amenhotep III. Here, kitty, kitty ...

Item: March 15. Sirhan Sirhan was denied parole for the 13th time since conviction in 1968 for the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. You can read more about Sirhan Sirhan and the occult connections between the Palestinian immigrant and mind control/hypnosis in *Sinister Forces: The Nine*. And am I the only one who thinks that Sirhan Sirhan is looking a little like actor Tony Shalhoub?

Finally, on March 17 – St Patrick’s Day – singer Isaac Hayes has announced

he's leaving the cast of the popular cartoon series "South Park" over religious differences. See, "South Park" has begun making fun of Scientology and Tom Cruise and Mr Hayes is, well, Clear. He had no problem, though, with the series made fun of Jesus, Mohammad, Buddha, etc. But whatever you don't make fun of L. Ron Hubbard.

Sic transit gloria mundi.

Posted by Peter Levenda at 15:21 | Comments (6) | Trackbacks (0)

friday, february 3, 2006

SPEAKING TRUTH TO POWER

Earlier on this blog I mentioned the fact that my publisher -- Trine Day -- was being sued by the Special Forces Association over a book -- Expendable Elite -- that dared to tell the truth about special ops in Vietnam in the mid-1960s. The Special Forces Association has deep pockets, and their attack on Trine Day and Kris Millegan (the owner of Trine Day) as well as on Lt Col Martin (the author of Expendable Elite) was, in my view, clearly designed to bankrupt the company.

The court case began on Halloween last year, in the town where 32 degree Freemasonry was born in the United States: Charleston, South Carolina. The first trial ended in a mistrial. It was revisited in January of this year and ended -- on Candlemas, another pagan holiday -- with a verdict of "Not Guilty". The jury was out two hours just about long enough for them to have lunch and fill out the forms.

There was never any question about the righteousness of Expendable Elite or the bravery of Trine Day for publishing a book no one else would. I know, as the author of Sinister Forces, that these days it takes bravery to "speak truth to power". I congratulate Kris Millegan, Lt Col Martin, and Trine Day for their important victory in the American

courts. This case has received virtually no coverage in the mainstream media, even though it is about the First Amendment, government secrecy, covert ops, and all the panoply of 21st century American political angst. Had it been Random House that was being sued, we would have been watching the case live on Court TV. But who could take the chance of covering a trial involving the publisher of such tomes as "Fleshing Out Skull & Bones" or "America's Secret Establishment"?

So, you have to really dig around to read the truth, boys and girls. Freedom is something we have to win every day in our lives; the defenders of our country are not only the soldiers on the battlefield (or the spies in our embassies) but you, and me, and publishers like Kris Millegan.

Thank you all for your continued support.

Posted by Peter Levenda at 21:16 | Comments (7) | Trackbacks (0)

saturday, january 7, 2006

CINEMA VERITE?

Okay, I tried to restrain myself, but ...

Pat Robertson. Again. (sigh) It's almost too easy.

Now, according to the televangelist and founder of the *700 Club*, the illness of Ariel Sharon is God's punishment because the Prime Minister of Israel has the temerity to agree to give back some of the land that had been originally taken from the Palestinians. Even the White House had to distance itself from this latest pronouncement.

Isn't it interesting to see how we blame God for what happens to our enemies, but consider what happens to our friends as natural disasters?

When the hurricanes hit the United States last year and did such devastating damage, the Arab press considered it God's punishment for the invasion of Iraq. When the earthquakes hit Pakistan, or the tsunami hit Indonesia, it was a different story. Both Pakistan and Indonesia welcomed foreign aid, even if it came from the Great Satan. God is the first victim of religious fanaticism, it seems.

And Pat Robertson's case is no exception. He, and the other members of Christian Coalition who "support" Israel only do so because they have their own agenda that has nothing to do with defending the Israeli state forever. They believe that, in order for the Messiah to come, the Third Temple must be built. That can only be done if the Muslims are removed from Israel and the Dome of the Rock dismantled and the Temple rebuilt in its place. The Christians of Pat Robertson's denomination only want Israel defended long enough to ensure that this agenda is satisfied. Any accommodation with Palestine, therefore, only prolongs the agony. It is a cynical manipulation of religious and national sentiments, and we can expect no less from a man who has cynically supported vicious military dictators in the Third World for decades.

I don't want to get into a heated debate over the Israel-Palestine issue, if only because everyone seems to have their own moral positions firmly in place and there is no real way to discuss this without jumping the couch. We can talk about the Balfour Declaration, the Sykes-Picot agreement, Theodore Herzl, Partition, the Irgun, the Haganah, Deir Yassin, the King David Hotel, the refugee camps, and on into the night without getting anywhere.

Instead, let's look at the situation from a purely pragmatic, realpolitik, point of view.

The Palestinians were the pawns in a game being played by the superpowers in the 20th century. The Soviets used the plight of the Palestinians as a means of attacking the West. The Arab nations used the Palestinians as a means of castigating Israel and the West and each other. Yet, neither the Soviets nor

the Arab nations really wanted to do anything about the Palestinians. They were robot warriors in the Cold War: crazed terrorists/freedom fighters (depending on your point of view) who could be sent to do something spectacular and bloody to shift world opinion one way or another. They were pawns. And still are.

Had the Arab nations really wanted to do something for the Palestinians, they would have. They had the cash. They had the armies. But they couldn't get their act together. They used the Palestinians against each other and against the West. Lacking the courage or the will for a direct confrontation with Israel, they used Palestinian refugees as a kind of buffer to keep up the pressure on Israel without actually being guilty of attacking the Jewish state themselves. Implausible deniability, we might call it.

And, from the side lines, they had the support of all those Nazis who became military and security advisors to the governments of Egypt, Syria, and other Arab states, and who exacerbated the already simmering anti-Zionist sympathies of these governments and their peoples.

We can't complain, really. We did the same thing with the Cubans in Miami.

The Cubans are our Palestinians. Refugees who came to America during and after the Castro revolution of 1959, they became the largest immigrant population in Florida, eventually rising to prominence in government and business circles to the extent that they exert an uncomfortable control over virtually every aspect of cultural life in the southern part of the state. They want their homeland liberated, and the US government keeps assuring them they will do what they can to free Cuba from the grip of Castroism.

Sort of.

In my discussions with Cubans in Florida and Puerto Rico, I have pointed out that the US government does not really care about liberating Cuba. The Democrats have no real reason to see Cuba liberated. Ever since the Kennedy administration was viewed by anti-Castro Cubans as a disaster for

their agenda, the Democrats can no longer count on Cuban-American support. The Republicans have no real reason to see Cuba liberated, because they count on the Cuban vote to swing Florida's elections. By continually assuring the Cubans that they despise Castro as much as they do and promising that they will do whatever they can to bring Castro down, they shoo-ins for every election in the state that matters.

Should the Cubans return to a free Cuba, the Republicans would have lost only platform that makes sense in Florida. Otherwise, they would have liberated Cuba long ago.

I mean, Republican administrations have sent armies into Panama, Grenada and Kuwait without blinking an eye. They overthrew the Allende regime in Chile. They gave secret support to the Contras in Nicaragua. What about Cuba?

But the anti-Castro Cubans don't see it. They don't want to admit that they have been manipulated and used by the GOP since the Nixon administration.

And the Palestinians don't want to admit that they have been used and manipulated by the members of the so-called Arab League.

Now we have Hollywood getting into the fray. With Spielberg's latest offering, *Munich*, and with a German filmmaker insisting that President Kennedy was killed by a plot hatched by Castro's security service, and with the important achievement of *Good Night and Good Luck*, we are being pulled back into the Cold War and forced to re-evaluate our own history and its implications for the present day. Whether or not you agree with the history as being taught by these filmmakers, the questions they raise are serious and deserve some sort of response. Many historians were angry at Oliver Stone's *JFK*, but it cannot be denied that the film was responsible for opening up the debate on the Kennedy assassination ... and for opening up thousands of classified documents on the event, some of which made their way into *Sinister Forces*.

What we are experiencing is a phenomenon that is as ancient as *Hamlet*. Remember how the Danish prince uses a theatrical troupe to tell the true story of his father's assassination. I submit that these days we are more likely to hear the truth – or at least the right questions – from filmmakers from our political or religious leaders.

The play's the thing.

Posted by Peter Levenda at 11:23 | Comment (1) | Trackbacks (0)

tuesday, december 20. 2005

BY THE WAY ...

For those of you who were waiting for volume two of Sinister Force - A Warm Gun -- please be advised that it is now available directly from us, or from your local bookstore, amazon, barnes and noble, unknowncountry.com, and in the library at Langley. Volume three (the final volume, entitled The Manson Secret) is now in preparatic and ties the entire series together.

I want to thank everyone who has been supporting Trine Day, the publisher, and myself by logging on, leaving comments and questic reading (and buying!) the books, and generally creating the kind o buzz that we need. As we go into 2006, the continuing saga that i American history promises to get stranger, spookier ... and more dangerous. The point of view set forth in the Sinister Forces trilogy unusual and controversial, but as events unfold I am certain you w see how the Sinister Forces explanation may be the only viable wa looking at what has happened, and is happening, to our country ar to the world in general.

Sinister Forces talks about the place where psychology, physics, politics and history meet; you won't hear of that from anyone else,

anywhere else. Further, it offers a scientific explanation for some of the most perplexing and traumatic events of the last 50 years, bringing the occult, psychological warfare, brainwashing, assassinations, and serial murder together and looking at these phenomena in a completely new light.

Consider Sinister Forces the non-fiction version of the Wilson and Shea classic, *Illuminatus!* They're both trilogies, they both talk about the same subject matter, and they both raise consciousness merely by being read. I guess the only difference is: mine has footnotes.

The best of the "holiday" season to everyone and better luck next year!

Posted by Peter Levenda at 02:46 | Comments (11) | Trackbacks (0)

sunday, december 18. 2005

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

No, I don't mean 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. (sorry for the Catski humor)

I mean what we just heard this evening. I was going to show the comparisons between George Bush's petulant address defending his actions in going to war, and staying at war, in Iraq with a speech made by Richard Nixon on November 3, 1969 ... and then discover that someone had beaten me to it.

No one less than Jerry Springer, if you can believe that. He pre-empted me with a comparison between that speech and earlier Bush pronouncements, and this can be viewed at <http://www.geocities.com/whammerjammer33/nixonspeech1969.html>

Good night, and God help America.

Posted by Peter Levenda at 21:55 | Comments (0) | Trackbacks (0)

friday, december 16. 2006

GOOD MORNING, VIETNAM!

Okay. I don't want to say I told you so, but ...

On the heels of the MSNBC revelation that the Pentagon was (and spying on Americans who have the audacity to exercise their free speech ... in church ... against the Iraq War, the New York Times (to be outdone) has published today a new set of revelations that the Bush administration authorized the use of illegal wiretaps and other surveillance measures on American citizens since at least 2001 on the pretext of the "war on terror".

That means we are right back in 1968. The Red Squads. The Nixons' enemies' list. Government infiltration of political parties, anti-war groups, and the surveillance of private citizens who had the poor judgement to sign a petition or show up at a peace rally.

We didn't like it then, when we were in the midst of the Cold War, Vietnam, and anti-Communist hysteria. Why should we accept it now? What is the real difference between Communist cells operating secretly in the American heartland and terrorist cells doing the same thing, forty years later? Why was it wrong then, but okay now? When it was revealed that Nixon had authorized all sorts of illegal wiretaps, domestic intelligence activities and other illegal surveillance of American citizens, he was only a few steps away from impeachment.

Remember that he prolonged an unpopular war ("peace is at hand" ...remember that one? or how about "peace with honor"?); used the threat of worldwide communist conspiracy as a rationale;

never could answer a straight question with a straight answer; and spied on Americans he didn't like, meaning anyone that opposed his policies. He saw his struggle against the godless Communists as a life-and-death cosmic battle between good and evil ... and today our own current President (a kind of Tibetan reincarnated Nixon lama) frames his struggle with god-ridden terrorism the same way, and uses the cosmic scope of his imagination as an excuse to trample on our civil liberties.

At least the Senate is beginning to understand that there is something wrong with all of this. Maybe they're listening to someone. McCain got his anti-torture measure through (as if we, as Americans, need such a thing as a LAW forbidding "cruel and inhuman punishment" of prisoners!), and now, today, the Senate rejected the extension of the Patriot Act as-is.

The struggle isn't over yet, not over the Patriot Act, or torture, or the use of our intelligence services to spy on us. But, as Nixon used to say, maybe "there's light at the end of the tunnel". Let's just hope it isn't the headlamp of an oncoming train.

Posted by Peter Levenda at 17:27 | Comment (1) | Trackbacks (0)

tuesday, december 13, 2005

AN EMBARRASSMENT OF RICHES

Some of you may have been wondering at my long silence of late. Some of that was due to Hurricane Wilma and the general disruption of everyday life that took place in the aftermath. Some of it was due to a busy schedule of seminars, radio interviews, and the like.

But some of it was due to the fact that every time I sat down to write something for the blog, another weird event would take place that would

my breath away.

The Scooter Libby indictment was one; a new spate of 9/11 group and events designed to raise consciousness about the unanswered question about that event was another; the Iraqi elections (considered “satanic” by Qaeda) ... the Prime Minister of Iran casting doubt on the Holocaust ... the tanking of the President’s popularity polls ... Chris Matthews on *Hardball* demanding an answer from administration loyalists to the question of Bush’s credibility, or lack of it, in the face of new information concerning war planning, torture, etc etc and getting no response ... and giving up on getting a response ... it’s all been rather too much for a sensitive soul like your correspondent.

And then, today. (sigh) Revelations concerning the Pentagon’s spying on Americans. In America. A 400 page document obtained by MSNBC showing how the Department of Defense spied on ... on *Quaker* and considered them a “threat” because a small Meeting in Lake Worth, Florida had considered a peaceful protest against the Iraq war.

Ladies and gentlemen, I was one of those who said, at the beginning of our invasion of Iraq, that we were getting involved in another Vietnam. At the time, even the opponents of the war were not going that far. And yet here we are. A war that doesn’t end. 30,000 dead Iraqis by the President’s own estimate. More than 2,000 dead American soldiers (who are being shipped home like baggage, by the way, minus the dignity of a military escort or burial). A fight against “insurgents” or “terrorists” or whatever you want to call them in an alien land where you can’t tell the combatants from the civilians. And an orchestrated series of elections. All that sounds very familiar. Throw in domestic spying by our intelligence agencies, including the Pentagon, and it’s déjà vu all over again.

Can you say “Patriot Act”? Can you say “Homeland Security”? How much money was – and is – being spent on spying on Americans in their own homes, their own libraries, their own churches, and on the Internet,

maybe even on sites like this one ... and how much is being spent on providing a modicum of military honor for the soldiers who have fallen or are being shipped home like so many suitcases? Where are our priorities?

Have you seen *Syriana*? There is an interesting scene in which the George Clooney character – based on a real-life CIA spy – goes into Beirut to arrange an assassination. Before he does so, he has to obtain the approval of Hezbollah, an Islamic political party and military group in charge of a large section of the city that gained prominence due to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict and the presence of Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon.

The word “hezbollah” means “Party of God”.

And this is what it has all come down to, in the end. Our God against theirs. Christianity (or some perverse, perverted form of it) against Islam (or some perverse, perverted form of it). We are all fighting for God. We are convinced of the righteousness of our actions, of our point of view, of the necessity of taking extreme measures to defend our respective ways of life. Why is that?

Because we can't bear – we can't *bear* – to think that our wars and our deaths and our killings are for some other reason, some reason too horrible to contemplate. Oil. Money. Water. Food. We can't bear the idea that our religious sympathies are being manipulated by the callous, the greedy, the cynical.

We can't bear the thought that we have all, somehow, become Palestinians.

In *Unholy Alliance*, I quoted a statement by Adolf Hitler who said, “Mind my words, Bormann, I am going to become very religious.” This is the kind of cynicism that has overtaken our world. The atheists have a point of course, and their point of view should be honored. But the cynical manipulation of religious ideas in the service of politicians, generals, and spin doctors goes far beyond anything the atheists ever dreamed.

Like it or not, we have all become members of the Party of God.

Posted by Peter Levenda at 21:33 | Comments (6) | Trackbacks (0)

friday, october 28. 2005

FROM THE HAIRY UNDERAM OF DARKNESS

These are some gnostic utterances from the center of the storm.

Hurricane Wilma has come and but not yet gone, like the Ides of March, and caught us squarely in the jaw. We are without electric power, with water that must be boiled, with stores and gas stations that are closed. When night falls, here in South Florida, it's like my memories of the rainforest in Southeast Asia: hidden dangers lurk everywhere, below you and above you, and all around you as you tread warily from broken tree limb to lump of brush and debris, hearing things move and not knowing if they're squirrels, raccoons, small birds building nests in downed trees... or snakes, alligators, armadillos, or creepy crawly humans.

People here thank God that we have been spared the flooding of Katrina, and that we have received dry and cool weather in the day since Wilma which means we can survive without air-conditioning. People prayed to God that Wilma would pass them by, or that Wilma would not destroy their homes, their cars, their lives.

That would be considered funny by the Gnostics, who believed that matter including most especially Nature was not the creation of God but of the Demi-urge, a kind of demon who wanted humanity to fall down and worship it. There is a hint of this Gnostic belief in the New Testament, wherein the Devil is considered the "Prince of this world." I submit that neither the hurricane nor the calm weather was the responsibility of the God of the New or Old Testament, but equally

dubious gifts of an impersonal Satan.

A man standing outside the ruined Broward County Courthouse in downtown Fort Lauderdale, looking up at the broken glass and shattered walls, could only say one thing to describe the carnage: looks like Oklahoma City," referring to the bombing of the Federal Building in that city by Timothy McVeigh and his co-conspirators. A act of terrorism.

As I mention in book Two of Sinister Forces, a Malaysian politician Islamic fundamentalist, Nik Aziz, once remarked "God is a terrorist

In Malaysia, the people who are charged with arranging the weather are the indigenous shamans, the bomoh, who are hired to ensure that only sunny weather attends important religious or political events. I could use a few, I guess, except that Malaysia is where Islamic terrorists go on vacation. It's where the 9/11 planning took place, in an apartment in Kuala Lumpur not far from where I once lived. It's the Malaysians who are charged with causing the Bali bombings.

Maybe God is a terrorist, after all.

I find myself agreeing, if somewhat uncomfortably, with that assessment, and it reminds me of something else I wrote, long ago.

God is the only safe thing to be.

On a battery-powered television, I watched BBC News interviewing a spokesman for the Heritage Foundation. It was about the Iraqi elections. The Heritage Foundation is a right-wing think tank (probably an oxymoron) that is heavily sponsored by people like Richard Mellon Scaife (again, see book two of Sinister Forces) who went on the warpath against Clinton and his cronies. The spokesman

declared that we should begin to pull out of Iraq and let the Iraqis deal with the terrorism in their country. After all, he said, Northern Ireland has lived with terrorism for years; so has Israel, and terror is endemic in Colombia. I blinked my eyes in astonishment. I thought, after the WMD scenario, and after the Al-Qaeda/Saddam Hussein scenario, that we were really in Iraq to fight the war on terrorism. Now, it seems, they've moved the goal posts again.

Maybe God is a terrorist, and the neo-cons have just spoken with Him.

But then, there was the World Series.

My father, grandfather, and other deceased relatives on that side of the family must have finally embraced in an ecstasy of delirium, wherever they were. The White Sox have finally won the World Series after eighty-eight years! I remember many summers spent in Gary, Indiana as a child when the adults would huddle around the television or transistor radios, cans of Hamm's or Pabst Blue Ribbon in their fists, hot dogs on the grill, bottles of Coke for the kids, as the Sox played game after game in a losing battle. These were die-hard fans, these first and second generation immigrants from Slovakia; men who worked the steel mills or who went on to college and became bankers and administrators. The Catholic Church, the White Sox, and Eisenhower, roughly in that order of importance.

They would have cheered with glee to see that impossible catch by Ruben as he grabbed the ball and fell into the spectators, as an umpire turned and, with clenched fist jabbed into the air like a Black Panther, declared the catch good, the out secure. I watched that umpire and thought, why don't we have umpires instead of Supreme Court Justices? They are fair, impartial, pay attention only to the rules of the game without fear or favor, and anyway they already have

black suits.

What would have been the outcome of the 2000 election, had ump been in charge? As George Bush senior watched in dismay from the stands as his beloved Texas team lost the fourth game in a row to Chicago team, I thought back to the Florida vote and the hanging chad. Texas would have lost that game, too, if we had umpires instead of judges.

But, maybe not.

One of the stains on White Sox history is their famous thrown game of the Series back before my father was born. They deliberately lost the game so that the other side could win, because -- as they say-- the "fix was in".

Nothing an umpire can do about that.

And so it goes.

When I get real power and a real connection, I will be back answer your questions and commenting on the situation in general. Until then, our prayers are with Trine Day Publishing in their historic fight against the sinister Special Forces Association, a court case that begins on Halloween, in Charleston, South Carolina -- the sight of the Mother Lodge of the World of the Masonic Society. Show your support with a donation to their legal defense fund or just buy a book.

Or show up at the courthouse in Charleston and raise some consciousness in support of the First Amendment.

We're not terrorists, after all. We're just God's children.

Posted by Peter Levenda at 12:38 | Comments (10) | Trackbacks (0)

tuesday, october 18. 2005

THE WATCH ON THE ... TIGRIS?

I've been writing and talking about Nazism and neo-Nazism for some years now, but it's not a "hot button" topic so it's rarely addressed in the mainstream media. I was also one of the first to talk about the dangers of Islamic fundamentalism – back when the Berlin Wall came down and everyone spoke of the end of the Cold War and the redundancy of our defence establishment. I don't want to sound like a Cassandra, warning everyone of imminent doom, but there are connections between neo-Naziism and the violent wing of Islamic fundamentalism that are disturbing and about which our anti-terrorism experts never speak.

The nightmare of last Saturday's riots in Toledo, Ohio over a planned march by members of the National Socialist Movement (a neo-Nazi party) is evidence that racial tensions in our country are reaching another boiling point (especially after the perceived racism in the slow response to Hurricane Katrina's victims in New Orleans) and that the neo-Nazi element in our country is quick to exploit this tension to advance their own cause.

That this has uncomfortable ramifications for our own national security apparatus I hope to make clear in what follows.

On November 8, 2001 Swiss authorities raided the home of Albert Ahmece Huber in a Berne suburb. Huber was a former journalist and well-known neo-Nazi whose Berne home was adorned with pictures of Hitler and Himmler. The authorities raided his home because of his ties to Al-Qaeda and the events of September 11, 2001. A self-proclaimed link between Nazism and Islam, Huber has been an outspoken supporter of Islamic terrorism, and videotapes of his speeches are available at sympathetic mosques throughout the world.

Huber sees his goals as a Nazi and those of Al-Qaeda as being essentially same: the eradication of the Jewish race and their removal from positions of power within European and American governments. While Hitler himself would have been only contemptuous of the Arabs as *untermenschen* – sub-humans – the new fascist underground sees instead an important new ally in the radical and violent acts of Al-Qaeda and other extremist Islamic groups.

This is nothing new, and goes back to the days of the Third Reich, when the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem forged links with the Nazi Party in the 1930s, and indeed lived in Berlin as a guest of the Fuehrer until the end of the war. After the war, he returned to the Middle East along with many former SS officers who attained important status within the intelligence and military apparatus of the emerging Arab dictatorships.

This is an element of Arab – and, consequently, Islamic – history that many would have us ignore or forget. It is one of the reasons why Islamic leaders have such a hard time coming out publicly against acts of terror perpetrated by their co-religionists. The Nazi presence in the Middle East has certainly evaporated a great deal since the war, but there are still war criminals living in the Middle East and their influence over the secret police in Syria, Egypt and other countries cannot be discounted. The link between the “official” Nazis of the Third Reich and the neo-Nazi movement of today is strong; in the early days of the neo-Nazi movement, funds were routinely distributed to Skorzeny and other trustees of Nazi treasure to promising neo-Nazi organizations in America, South America, Europe, and beyond. Now that their identification with such extremists as the thugs of Al-Qaeda is known, they have certainly become a fifth column within the United States.

Perhaps we should not mention here the close cooperation that once existed between the Bush family (and other prominent Republicans) and the Nazis before and during World War II. Such an *ad hominem* reference is presumably beneath us. After all, we can argue, both Presidents Bush have invaded Iraq and bombed that country as well as Afghanistan. Thus, one

may presume that they are now ardent supporters of the State of Israel and definitely anti-Nazi. But what if the real intention is merely to suppress uncontrollable ideologues like Osama bin-Laden in favor of the “stability” repressive Arab regimes, such as those in Saudi Arabia? Bin-Laden is more of an immediate threat to the Saudis than he is to European and American governments. Remove bin-Laden and you have given the Royal Family breathing room. Remove Saddam Hussein, and you have done the same thing.

But, we may also argue, President Bush is a religious man, a born-again Christian with strong ties to the Christian *ummah*. Yet, Saudi Arabia remains highest on the list of foreign governments that suppress religious freedom including most especially Christian religious freedom. And what does the Christian Right really want with Israel? They support the modern State of Israel because they interpret their own Bible as requiring that Israel exist so that the Third Temple can be built and the Messiah return.

In other words, the State of Israel is only a means to an end for the Christian Right. It is a machine to jump-start the End of Days. If I were an Israeli, don't think I would be very comfortable with the lavish attention given to the country by Christians who still view Jews as Christ-Killers, and who want the Messiah to come once and for all and remove the unbelievers from the earth.

But then, I could be wrong.

Posted by Peter Levenda at 13:42 | Comments (7) | Trackbacks (0)

wednesday, october 5, 2005

**HE WALKS! HE TALKS! HISTORY CHANNEL, OCT 10, 9 PM
EASTERN**

Well, he talks, anyway.

For those of you who are curious as to who Peter Levenda is or what he looks like,

like, now is your chance. On the History Channel series, *Decoding the Past*, the installment titled *Nazi Prophecies* includes an interview with me as well as with other notables in the field such as Prof. Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke whose *The Occult Roots of Nazism* is an important contribution to the field.

This show will air at 9 pm Eastern on the History Channel on Monday, October 10, and will be rebroadcast a few hours later at 1 am Eastern on October 11.

And don't forget that I will also be talking to George Noory on Coast-to-Coast AM on Thursday night, October 13, from 11 pm to 2 am Pacific time. There will be a phone-in for questions, so if you have anything to ask me about *Unholy Alliance* or *Sinister Forces*, this is an excellent opportunity.

It's a media-heavy week next week for fans of *Sinister Forces*, *Unholy Alliance*, and the secret currents that run beneath the surface of our waking reality. See you then!

Posted by Peter Levenda at 23:24 | Comments (5) | Trackbacks (0)

tuesday, september 20. 2005

SIMON WIESENTHAL, DEAD AT 96

It is a common question: why go after all those Nazis from World War II? They must be a hundred years old by now, if they are still alive. Who benefits?

I've been asked that question, and I know that others who have written about the Nazis and who hunt Nazis are frequently asked the same.

Perhaps the life of Simon Wiesenthal can give us some answers.

At the age of 96, the man who single-handedly created the popular image of the indefatigable Nazi hunter has died in Vienna. There are a few people

around the world who are, today, breathing a sigh of relief; others who are celebrating the death of their nemesis, the man who has kept them on their toes and on the run for decades. But for most of us, today is a day to remember not only the Holocaust but the sixty-year career of a man who survived the death camps only to turn around and go after the perpetrators.

If Simon Wiesenthal could keep up that struggle until the age of 96, you can be sure that Nazi war criminals who escaped justice in 1945 continued to struggle to evade his net for the same length of time, until they themselves died of old age or were brought to justice.

Wiesenthal's greatest contribution, however, may very well be his success in keeping the story of the Holocaust alive. He did so in a way that many of us can appreciate: with intelligence, careful study and evaluation, and discretion. Wiesenthal was a kind of conspiracy theorist, looking for hidden enemies in government, business, and culture around the world; these enemies existed, of course, and were not the product of speculation or imagination, and he performed this function in a manner we should emulate. He did not tar everyone with the same brush. Even when confronted by the Nazi past of Kurt Waldheim, he stopped short of declaring the Austrian Prime Minister a war criminal (although he did call for his resignation), because the evidence just wasn't there. Wiesenthal was only interested in apprehending the real perpetrators of the Holocaust: the sadistic butchers and fiends who populate the nightmares of the survivors. The Eichmanns, the Barbies, the Mengeles.

It was the fictional story of Josef Mengele – Ira Levin's *The Boys From Brazil* – that brought Wiesenthal tremendous fame around the world. He was portrayed by Laurence Olivier, not a bad choice. Wiesenthal's character also made an appearance in the film version of *The Odessa File*, a well-done and thoughtful interpretation of the Frederick Forsythe novel that starred a youthful Jon Voigt (for those of you too young to remember, Voigt is the father of Angelina Jolie). Wiesenthal, in short, became iconic in the popular culture and he used that popularity to further his cause.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center was the first place I called after my return from Chile and its notorious Colonia Dignidad. I received courteous responses from them, but they were as cautious as their namesake and founder when it came to the presence of actual Nazi war criminals at the Colony. They were aware of Colonia Dignidad, of course, and I had the impression that they were monitoring the situation in some manner, but their brief was more to the purpose of keeping the memory of the Holocaust alive at a time when its very existence was being questioned by the revisionists: more important goal to be sure than hunting down a renegade war criminal lost in the mountains of Chile. There was a moment when I felt a little like the young man in the opening sequences of *The Boys From Brazil*, who is taking photographs of Mengele in Paraguay and phoning Wiesenthal to tell him what he has found. The Wiesenthal character was necessarily skeptical and told the young man to forget about it and go home.

Skepticism in the service of research and investigation is a tremendous tool. It saves one endless time going after wild geese, meaningless data, dead ends. For those of us involved in the darker areas of historical research – sometimes confused with speculative history or even with conspiracy theorism – skepticism is a necessity. It keeps us sane. And may even keep us alive.

But imagination is skepticism's left hand. Without it, we wouldn't even be involved in looking behind the curtain, in revealing the deeper politics behind world events. Imagination gives us the ability to conceive of other patterns, other connections between events, and renders us invulnerable to the cover story, the accepted version of events, the spin.

Unfortunately, Simon Wiesenthal did not need an active imagination. He experienced the sinister forces of history first-hand, in the death camps that took over eighty of his own relatives' lives and nearly took his own. It is a sincere hope that today Simon Wiesenthal – who stirred the imaginations of so many others, including my own – is now reunited with his wife (who died in 2003), with the family he lost in the Holocaust, and with the six million

others he fought to have remembered ... and that they have enclosed him an embrace of welcome, and of congratulations for a life well-lived and for his priceless contribution to the world.

Posted by Peter Levenda at 14:31 | Comments (4) | Trackbacks (0)

monday, september 19. 2005

THE BISHOP AND THE BOYS - PART THREE: JACK MARTIN AND THE CAMP STREET CATHEDRAL

"Similarly, as with CRISMAN, I think that in the course of the memoirs, periodic necessary references to the OLD CHURCHES have half answered the question. Applying to this subject the available models, I suggest that the most likely rational conclusion is that here, again – except with more particularity – we have a clandestine substructure developed to serve the intelligence community's concept of national security.

A bizarre structure, to be sure, but its very strangeness ... makes it all the more safe from possible investigators who are looking for spies wearing trenchcoats and carrying, like so many James Bonds, gold cigarette cases. The churches – like all churches – are virtually free from official inquiry by virtue of the Constitution, not to mention American custom. The "ministers" and "bishops" can accumulate money (religious fund raising) without serious inquiry as to the sources. They are free from the 9 to 5 routine expected of normal, patriotic Americans, free to operate in relative seclusion from the expected social involvements, free to engage in obscure crusades or missions and free to travel extensively ... as assignments may dictate. And where, as may be the case in some instances, there may actually be a home structure for the particular church, one would have the most natural of safe houses."

-- Handwritten memo from New Orleans
District Attorney Jim Garrison to Jonathan Blackmer of the House

Subcommittee on Assassinations, dated July 18, 1977 regarding Thomas J. Beckham.

The story of Jack Martin is almost as strange as that of his old friend and fellow clergyman, David Ferrie. With Jack, we are in the same twilight world we are with Ferrie and Oswald. In fact, "Jack Martin" is not even his real name.

Jack S. Martin was born in Phoenix, Arizona on July 1, 1915, but his name at the time was Edward Stewart Suggs. Like Carl Stanley, he eventually developed an arrest record and had served in the US Army during World War II. He became a back-alley abortionist in Houston, Texas after the war and had to flee the state when one of "Dr Suggs's" patients died as a result of his medical incompetence. The resulting murder charge was later dismissed, however, and Suggs eventually wound up in New Orleans (about 1954) where he became John Stewart Martin, Sr. or, simply, Jack Martin or Jack S. Martin.

Jack Martin is a pretty common name, so perhaps we should not be surprised to see a Special Agent Jack S. Martin appearing on Project Blue Book documents dating back to 1949, years before Edward Suggs changed his name (as far as we know). This particular Jack S. Martin was in California at the same time as our Ed Suggs, but was working for the OSI, Office of Special Investigations, a department of the US Air Force. This is shown by OSI documents from October 1949 in which S/A Jack S. Martin was investigating UFO sightings in northern California by an Edward W. Gurband, a Roy Oliver Neely, and a Reverend Curtis Daniels that had taken place on August 1, 1949 in the San Francisco area. Our Jack S. Martin, however, is not known to have changed his name that early and, besides, there is no evidence at all that he ever worked for the Air Force. However, just to be devil's advocate for a moment, there was no US Air Force during World War II; it was known as the Army Air Corps then, so it is possible, just barely possible – that Suggs/Martin did work for the Army Air Corps as an enlisted man or even as military police, but I have been unable to find

Suggs' military record to confirm or deny this possibility. I just leave here as an unresolved issue. It would be amusing (if not a little unnerving) to discover that both Guy Banister and Jack Martin were investigating UFOs for the government at the same time, though!

Getting back to Suggs, however, we find that he was passing himself off as variously an FBI agent or a CIA agent in the late 1950s and early 1960s, before the Kennedy assassination. An alcoholic, he wound up in a mental ward at New Orleans' Charity Hospital in January of 1957, with "sociopathic personality disorder, antisocial type". All during this time he was married to the long-suffering Paula Martin and even had a child, but he was unable to hold down a job for any length of time.

This is a familiar pattern in the Kennedy assassination case. Lee Harvey Oswald had the same track record as a married man with children unable to hold down a job, and who had been under psychiatric observation (at least, in the Soviet Union). If we are to believe the record, both men had delusions of grandeur and could be considered antisocial sociopaths. And of course, both had military service and both wound up in New Orleans at the same time, working out of Guy Banister's Camp Street office. Oswald, however, was not an alcoholic nor was he one of Carl Stanley's bishops.

As another aside, both Ferrie and Martin were involved in unorthodox medical practices and experimentation. Ferrie's obsession with curing cancer is well-known and documented, as well as his practice of hypnosis, and Martin had an on-again, off-again fascination with various forms of medicine, homeopathy, chiropractic, hypnosis, and the like.

In 1960, Martin was interviewed by the FBI on charges that he was impersonating an FBI agent. Martin seemed to have offered the Feds a deal in which he would reveal that one Carl J. Stanley of Kentucky was running an illegal operation by furnishing false ordination certificates and other worthless paper. The FBI interviewed Stanley himself, and came away with the opinion that *both* Stanley and Martin were fruitcakes.

There it would have ended had it not been for the events in Dallas on November, 1963 and a series of bizarre phone calls that took place between Stanley and the FBI, and Martin and the FBI in the hours after the Kennedy assassination.

Sometimes things are just as they seem, even in conspiracy studies. After all, the world is full of drunks, sociopaths, unemployed and unemployable men with delusions of grandeur who await the next big break ... or the next big bender. There are men who claim to be agents of the FBI or the CIA who have never even seen one up close. And there are men who defame the character of other men in revenge for imagined wrongs, who then recant their stories in embarrassment when confronted by authority.

This is probably a fair characterization of the conspiracy cases against David Ferrie and Jack Martin. After all, it is entirely possible that neither man had anything at all to do with the assassination or had anything to offer by way of relevant information or evidence. The book by Daniel Hopsick *Barry and the Boys* – does provide additional evidence on the role of David Ferrie and the anti-Castro underground, however, as well as of his presumptive ties to US intelligence agencies, most of it in the form of personal interviews with law enforcement personnel and others who knew Ferrie in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and for that reason alone is quite important.

And then there's Jack Martin.

Jack is portrayed as a hopeless drunk and, indeed, most of the investigators out of Jim Garrison's office confirm that view. Martin is usually cited as the person who started the entire Garrison investigation rolling by calling the DA's attention to David Ferrie as a suspect in the assassination. An examination of Martin's initial statement to the FBI on November 25, 1963, however, reveals that Martin's information on Ferrie was surprisingly accurate.

He mentioned that Lee Harvey Oswald had been in Ferrie's Civil Air Patrol squadron and that the two men knew each other, a claim that was

contested for years before photographs surfaced showing Oswald and Ferrie together during a CAP outing. In fact, Martin told the FBI that he saw photos of Oswald and Ferrie together at Ferrie's apartment. He also told investigators that Ferrie had a stock of weapons at his apartment, which was also true.

Further, he had details of Ferrie's problems with the law in the matter of "crimes against nature" with young boys, and of his penchant for hypnotism. He said that Ferrie had been "educated in a seminary", which was also true.

In fact, there is probably nothing in that initial report that is wrong.

In the second interview, dated November 27, 1963, Martin insisted that he never said he heard Ferrie say he was going to kill Kennedy. He honestly reported that much of what he knew about Ferrie came from information obtained from third parties, and that was pretty much the end of it. The only salient points of the two interviews was the information that Ferrie and Oswald knew each other. Later, to District Attorney Jim Garrison, Martin would suggest that Ferrie had hypnotized Oswald to commit the assassination, but that was not presented as a fact but only as conjecture.

Martin, however, was not the only one contacting the FBI concerning the possible relationship of David Ferrie to the assassination. Stanley Harris had told the FBI that he suspected Martin and Ferrie of involvement. It was a case of rats turning against each other. But why? Why the Kennedy assassination?

Most critics of the JFK conspiracy theories attack the New Orleans episode as so much smoke. They feel that Jim Garrison's case had no validity, no credibility. That Ferrie, Martin, Banister, and the rest were all colorful characters but they had nothing to do with the assassination. That Oswald never really visited the Camp Street office of Guy Banister. That he never met any of the individuals with whom he is usually associated: Clay

Shaw, David Ferrie, or Guy Banister himself.

But my approach to this case has been somewhat different. I'm not trying to prove anything. I only want to point out the incredible number of coincidences that multiply around this event and to suggest that there is an underlying cause whose very nature escapes us even as it is ubiquitous throughout history, our own personal histories as well as our national one.

Ferrie, Martin and Stanley were turning on each other with reckless abandon in the days after the assassination. It could be said to originate from Jack Martin's statements to investigators that Ferrie was somehow involved with Oswald, but that's not nearly the whole case. Something transpired to make everyone nervous. One can pore over the documents and exhibits of the Warren Commission Report for years and not find a similar set of circumstances, where a gang of strange persons turns on each other and squeals to the authorities about their friends' involvement with the assassination. It's unique.

In New Orleans, if we believe that Oswald was involved in some way with Banister, he was surrounded by anti-Castro Cubans, gun-runners, and wandering bishops. In Dallas, he is surrounded by Russian émigrés and women. The Dallas clique that includes George de Mohrenschildt and Ruth Paine is every bit as strange as the New Orleans "cathedral" at Camp Street (It's not for nothing that Louisiana is divided into parishes instead of counties.) We had men with CIA connections in New Orleans around Oswald, and now in Dallas we have more of the same. How many readers of this blog know that many CIA agents?

DeMohrenschildt himself was involved with the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, a known center for anti-Communist and specific anti-Soviet activity and espionage. Yet another Orthodox church in the vicinity of Oswald.

And was Jack Martin *really* investigating "phony" churches on behalf of the US government? Or was he trying to call someone's attention to

something? Jack Martin remained a bishop with the American Orthodox Catholic Church to the end of his days, even going so far as to bring in another Banister associate, the corpulent attorney and unapologetic racist Thomas Jude Baumler, to the Orthodox fold, consecrating Baumler bishop in August of 1974, nearly *eleven years after* the Kennedy assassination and seven years after the beginning of the Garrison investigation and the death of both Stanley and Ferrie.

From personal correspondence with an individual involved with this affair, I learned that Baumler had already been ordained a priest by Stanley years before; in other words, prior to Stanley's death in March, 1967. Baumler's status in New Orleans society was assured; he came from an old family and was associated with one of the famous Mardi Gras "crews". In addition, according to my informant, Baumler was also a Mason and belonged to the same lodge – the Etoile Polair Lodge of the French Grand Orient – as Mafia don Carlos Marcello, the man for whom David Ferrie was working on the day of the assassination.

My informant goes on to insist that Martin could be relied upon to furnish FBI files on "future applicants for Holy Orders", a strange capability for a hopeless drunk. It is widely rumored that Martin had a source at FBI headquarters in New Orleans who provided him these files, but he also must have known that he was an investigator for the District Attorney's office – something of which the DA was presumably not aware! Yet he had an income of some kind, for he was known to travel extensively throughout the United States for years on one errand or another involving the bishops, a "wanderer".

What was Baumler's interest in Carl Stanley and the American Orthodox Catholic Church? Why was it attractive to become consecrated Bishop of Baton Rouge-New Orleans in this miniscule, obscure church as late as 1974? Soon after his consecration, he went on to consecrate another bishop, this time William Francis Forbes, in October of 1974. And it was Baumler, after all, who told J. Gary Shaw in 1981 that Lee Harvey Oswald

worked for Guy Banister. He even told Jim Garrison investigator Harold Weisberg in 1969 that he personally met the elusive Oswald himself.

One of the other bishops of the American Orthodox Catholic Church Homer Ferdinand Roebke, an associate and colleague of Carl Stanley – consecrated one Forest Ernest Barber on March 7, 1965, less than five months after the Forbes consecration. As I am informed by investigator David Guyatt, Barber was a member of the Augustan Society (an “International Genealogical, Historical, Heraldic and Chivalric Society” with some interesting associations) as well as of the Shickshinny Knights of Malta, a far-right organization and secret society that numbered among its initiates such intelligence notables as the rabid right-winger Major General Charles A. Willoughby (the former Adolf Tschepp-Weidenbach and member of General MacArthur’s intelligence staff during World War II) as well as Colonel Philip J Corso, a man with a long background in intelligence dating from the war who was the author of *The Day After Roswell*, a controversial memoir of his experiences in the aftermath of the UFO crash in New Mexico.

Truly, the Guy Banister office at Camp Street in New Orleans could properly be considered a “cathedral” for wandering bishops. And a clearinghouse for spies.

To be continued.

Posted by Peter Levenda at 14:33 | Comments (2) | Trackbacks (0)

wednesday, september 7, 2005

THE BISHOP AND THE BOYS - PART TWO

One of the many separate tragedies accompanying the disastrous hurricane strike on New Orleans is the possible loss of some of the more important landmarks and archival material concerning the life and times of Lee Harvey

Oswald in that city, including those of Guy Banister, Jack Martin, David Ferrie, Clay Shaw, Thomas Beckham, Jim Garrison, and others. The New Orleans episode is rife with conspiracy and coincidence, and provides an important – if somewhat neglected – clue to the secret history of our country. The clue is to be found in the New Orleans office of private detective Guy Banister, for seventeen years an FBI SAC (Special Agent in Charge), who ran what seemed to be a clearing house for anti-Castro Cubans and a cover address for Lee Harvey Oswald.

As mentioned in the first part of this series – “The Bishop and the Boys, Part One” – there is a strange underworld milieu surrounding the activity of Oswald in that New Orleans period. This is the mysterious world of the wandering bishops. At one time, there were as many as four “bishops” functioning from Guy Banister’s Camp Street office, and these included virtually all of his investigators, from David Ferrie and Jack Martin to Thomas Beckham and the lawyer Thomas Jude Baumler. Beckham was bishop with the Universal Life Church, along with his friend Fred Lee

Crisman (the man who was involved with the seminal UFO event of the 20th century, the Maury Island affair) and with Raymond Broshears, yet another minister of the Universal Life Church and later with one of the Orthodox sects with lines to Stanley, and who became a well-known gay activist in San Francisco later on. (Broshears would claim, probably falsely, to have lived with David Ferrie in New Orleans; however, it seems certain that he was at least an acquaintance of Ferrie.) In addition, Ferrie, Martin, Beckham, Broshears and Baumler all shared the same apostolic succession: that of Bishop Earl Anglin James in Canada (about whom more later) and of Bishop Carl Stanley of the American Orthodox Catholic Church.

(In the interest of full disclosure, let the reader know that the author was at one time a minister of the Universal Life Church as a high school student in the Bronx in 1966, as were maybe thousands of other people at the time, attracted by ads in the back of magazines promising ordination and membership in the Church for a five dollar donation. Oddly enough, his minister’s card was stolen from the wallet in his gym locker one day by perpetrators unknown

Carl Stanley had an arrest record, a “rap sheet”, as long as your proverbial arm. Born in Revere, Massachusetts on May 13, 1902, he was first arrested in Los Angeles on November 22, 1927 for Grand Theft Auto. (Another coincidence. Stanley was first arrested precisely 36 years to the day before Kennedy assassination.) Following that there were a number of other arrests for violating postal laws by sending obscene material through the mails, and then on May 22, 1939 for assault and battery. He spent a total of 14 months in prison for various offences, as far as I can determine.

On January 11, 1941, however, and for reasons known only to him, Stanley enlisted in the Canadian Army for the duration of World War Two, being discharged on June 20, 1945 and becoming a Canadian citizen on August 1946. He could not stay out of trouble in Canada, however, finding himself arrested once again this time in Ontario in 1947, receiving a six months’ suspended sentence for theft.

Then, in April of 1950, Stanley attempted to enter the United States via Miami, Florida and deportation proceedings began against him. He did not have a US passport or an immigrant’s visa. Since he was a naturalized Canadian citizen – even though he was born in the United States – and lied about his citizenship, the US government decided to deport him. Deportation procedures took a lot of time, but he was eventually deported on February 1954, only to re-enter (illegally) in April of that year. However, he was married – to an American citizen – and consideration was given to allowing him to remain in the United States as the spouse of an American. His criminal record, however, was a problem. According to an INS letter dated October 29, 1965, he had convictions for “larceny, robbery, adultery, assault and battery, receiving stolen property, burglary, sending obscene letters through the mail, nonsupport of family and drunk and disorderly conduct”. The INS, however, took pity on Stanley because of his age (he was 63 in 1965) and they did not contemplate deporting him at that time.

He would be dead in less than two years.

From 1964 to his death, he was a bishop of the newly-formed American Orthodox Catholic Church, having been consecrated by Bishop Earl Angl James of Canada among others. He, along with Bishops Robert Zeigler, Colin Guthrie, and Homer Roebke, formed the AOCC in the Denver, Colorado area. A photograph in the author's possession shows the four m dressed in Roman Catholic-style bishop's regalia. According to my informant, that was all they could afford at the time.

In the same year, Walter Propheta was in New York City forming the East Coast version of the AOCC. In 1967, Propheta was involved with J. Edgar Hoover who evidently installed him as the "primate" of the American Orthodox Catholic Church at a dinner in Manhattan. (This tie between Propheta and the FBI was known to the author from Propheta's own admission to him in 1968.) Once installed, he advised the other bishops that they had to present their credentials to him to be approved as part of the new AOCC. While the other bishops refused, Stanley eagerly raced to New York City. One wonders what "credentials" this convicted felon offered to Propheta and the FBI, for a month later he was dead ... a few weeks after the controversial death of his bishop, David Ferrie.

Ferrie had been introduced to Stanley by Jack Martin, an investigator with Guy Banister's detective agency in New Orleans. Martin has been portrayed as a hopeless drunk in Oliver Stone's film of the assassination, and has been given short-shrift in other studies of the New Orleans connection. Martin himself ratted out Banister, Stanley and Ferrie to the FBI after the assassination when it became clear that District Attorney Jim Garrison was investigating the case. We should not take this all at face value, however, Martin – even though he pretended to be investigating Carl Stanley – remained a bishop of the American Orthodox Catholic Church for many years after the assassination and until the day he died, even participating in the consecration of Thomas Jude Baumler – a self-admitted fascist and attorney who also worked briefly as an investigator for Guy Banister and as a New Orleans politician in his own right – *as late as 1974*.

Martin first attempted to have David Ferrie consecrated by another bishop the East Coast, but the bishop felt that there was something “unholy” about Ferrie, and he declined. Ferrie then went on to Stanley where he was more successful. This occurs in the three year period *before* the Kennedy assassination.

Then something strange happened.

Immediately after the assassination of President Kennedy in November of 1963, Stanley himself alerted authorities that he thought David Ferrie and Jack Martin were involved. This was what prompted the entire investigation into both Ferrie and the wandering bishops that became the crux (no Latin puns intended) of the Garrison investigation. Why would Stanley have done this? Spite is one possibility, for if Martin's statements to the authorities are true – and that's a big “if” – then Stanley had reason to go after Martin since Martin was “investigating” him.

The timeline is suggestive for several reasons. In the first place, the American Orthodox Catholic Church (at least, the version we are discussing) had not yet been created. That would happen less than a year later. Stanley at the time was bishop of something called the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church, as well as of the Byzantine Primitive Catholic Church, Old Catholic Church in North America. (He was joined in both of these operations by Cyril T. Omarra, about whom the author can discover nothing so far.) Martin claimed to have been investigating Stanley “for several private clients” during the period 1959-1966, and had ordination and consecration certificates from Stanley's various churches dating from as early as 1960. Yet, Martin was an eager and active participant in the American Orthodox Catholic Church until his death, hardly the position of someone who held a dim view of the organization. Was his politicking against Stanley (and Ferrie) of a piece with what Propheta was doing in New York? Or was there a deeper motive involved, an attempt to divert attention away from someone or something?

That Martin and Stanley had a falling out in 1963 is certain; Stanley's report to the FBI that year that Martin and Ferrie were involved in a conspiracy to assassinate the President is proof positive of bad blood between them. What doesn't make much sense is the fact that Martin was a close associate of the other bishops who, together with Stanley, formed the AOCC in 1964, *after* Stanley dropped the dime on Martin and Ferrie. The whole affair would begin to look like an inspired disinformation operation if it weren't for the fact that the central characters are so ... odd.

Carl Stanley met with Propheta in New York City in early February, 1967 according to information provided to the author by another bishop. David Ferrie died in his New Orleans apartment on February 22, 1967. Ferrie's associate, Eladio del Valle (an anti-Castro Cuban) was murdered in a park lot in Miami on the same day. The following day – Feb 23, 1967 – Carl Stanley met with the FBI according to an FBI teletype dated March 9, 1967 (Was this on orders or advice by Bishop Propheta, the FBI-installed "Primate"?) According to the available documentation, he used that opportunity to further slander David Ferrie and Jack Martin. Ferrie, of course, had died just the day before. Clay Shaw was arrested on March 1, 1967. Carl Stanley then died of an apparent heart attack on March 8, 1967 in Louisville, Kentucky.

Ferrie himself was a key witness in the Garrison case against Shaw, and his death was a blow to the investigation and to the trial itself. But Garrison would never have known of Ferrie and his possible involvement in an assassination conspiracy had it not been for Carl Stanley who alerted the FBI concerning Ferrie and Jack Martin's alleged conspiracy in November of 1963. Thus, the other potential witness and whistle-blower – Carl Stanley – was also dead, fourteen days after Ferrie's own demise. That left Jack Martin – Bishop John Chrysostom Martin – as the only other living witness to the Stanley/Ferrie nexus.

Jack Martin was in the hospital the night of the assassination, having been pistol-whipped by his boss, Guy Banister, a man who had so many bishop

working for him he might as well have been the Pope. (One wonders if Martin's hospital admission and the police report of his beating by Banister was a last-minute attempt to establish an alibi, since we have Ferrie racing an ice-skating rink in Texas from New Orleans that same night in what may have been an attempt to establish *his*.) Banister was an ex-FBI agent of many years' experience, and one of the first SACs to investigate the West Coast UFOs of 1947. The bishops still living who knew Martin and who have been contacted by the author all agree on one point: that Martin was an excellent source for FBI files on potential candidates for the priesthood for years after the assassination. Leaving aside for the moment why wandering bishops need FBI files on potential priests, and why they would suspect the existence of those files in the first place, let us examine the Jack Martin story in a little more detail since it seems we never really knew him at all.

To Be Continued

Posted by Peter Levenda at 19:59 | Comments (2) | Trackbacks (0)

tuesday, september 6, 2005

DEJA VU

Like most everyone, I have been speechless – perhaps, one should say, “wordless” – before the horrors of New Orleans; hence my silence the past few weeks. There is not much of substance I can contribute to the analysis of this event, other than to observe that our president's reaction time to a crisis seems to be deteriorating. On September 11, 2001 he sat in that schoolroom for long minutes while our nation was under an attack of supposedly unknown origin and nature; this, in the nuclear age when seconds count. When Katrina struck, he waited days to respond.

There will be a lot of finger-pointing and blame-assessing in the days and weeks, months, to follow; there will be leaked documents, off-the-record comments, official studies and commissions, and in the end we will have

learned nothing. The racial issue has once again come to the front burner American discourse, and it is indeed difficult to deny that race had anything to do with the administration's delay in responding to this catastrophe; what at the same time, it is soul-sickening to admit that it may have had. My only immediate concern today is for the safety of the survivors, and the rescue of that noble city. We are only halfway through the hurricane season, so the possibility that more tragedy is on the way. On the bright side, our president may now have the training in disaster (or spin) control that is needed when the next hurricane strikes. There's nothing like OJT, I guess.

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All of that said, the war in Iraq continues to grind on and the Iraqis seem to have trouble coming to grips with the idea of a Constitution. Am I the only one who remembers that scene at the end of *Lawrence of Arabia* when T.E. Lawrence (played to pained perfection by Peter O'Toole) attempts to create constitutional democracy out of an assembly of warring Arab tribes in post-World War I Damascus? Auda Abu-Tayi (Anthony Quinn) and Sheikh A. (Omar Sharif), uncomfortable allies in the war against the Turks, are once again at each other's throats, and Lawrence despairs of ever finding unity in Arabia. He learns that the French and the British have decided on their own plan to divide the Middle East into spheres of European influence with the Suez Canal as the focal point of their attentions, and are forcing Prince Faisal (Alec Guinness!) to concede his control over his own country. At least, with the French and the British at that time, there was no pious pretence of bringing democracy to the Middle East. Of course, it was the Sykes-Picot Treaty and all that followed that brought us to the present impasse and what actually contributed to the creation of the artificial state known as Iraq. As I have said often in my own writings, we are still fighting World War I.

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Of course, if we observe what is happening in this country where religious fanaticism influences our political discourse, then maybe we are still fighting

Crusades. A recent cover story in *Time* magazine asked the question “Can you believe in God and evolution?”, as if science were a matter for belief. Our own president is of the opinion that the Christian fundamentalist idea “intelligent design” should be taught in the schools alongside evolution. Maybe we should bring back prayer in the schools: students should pray if they don’t have to endure such insanity from their teachers; God knows they get enough of it on Fox News. Fighting evolution reminds me of the Inquisition and its treatment (and murder) of Giordano Bruno and its resistance to the idea of heliocentrism. If the Sun revolved around the earth then it revolved around Vatican City; if the earth revolved around the Sun then Vatican City is just another religious ghetto fighting for equal time.

And then, of course, the Pat Robertson debacle. One wonders if he prayed for a hurricane to divert public attention from his assassination plea. Does that sound obscene? If we look at Rev. Robertson’s track record with military dictators, it’s not so far-fetched.

And where is the Democratic Party? Slowly, Americans are beginning to realize that we don’t actually have a two-party system anymore. You’re either a Republican, or a traitor. There is only power, and the wielding of power. Nothing else matters. Not you, not I, not the poor of New Orleans, Biloxi. The Democrats have lost their ability to lead, to frame the political debate in spiritual terms. They were dying a slow death since that awful election in November, 1963 and now the corpse of the Party is rotting before us.

If I sound bitter, dear reader, it’s just a symptom of the times we live in. I am not completely pessimistic. I have faith in our people. I know we will do the right thing when the time comes, and re-install (and install) clarity and sanity in our country. Some of us understood the problem years ago and raised our voices and were not heard; but those voices still carry and now more of our fellow citizens are listening to the words and the music. They sense a bitter form of betrayal by their elected officials, as reflected in the president’s waning approval ratings since he took office. We know things are wrong. And yet the president patronizes us in his speeches, grimacing as if in pain that he

to answer to anyone or account for anything, the beams fall from our eyes and the voices rise in our hearing, become clearer; speak to us.

In the words of the president's beloved Book, "he who has ears to hear, let him hear."

Posted by Peter Levenda at 15:49 | Comments (3) | Trackbacks (0)

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