

Treason doth never prosper, and here's the reason: for if it prosper, none dare call it treason.

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Los Angeles Times

Mansoor Ijaz--

Clinton Let Bin Laden Slip Away And Metastasize; Sudan Offered Up The Terrorist And Data On His Network. Clinton And His Advisors Didn't Respond.



President Clinton and his national security team ignored several opportunities to capture Osama bin Laden and his terrorist associates, including one as late as last year. I know because I negotiated more than one of the opportunities.

From 1996 to 1998, I opened unofficial channels between Sudan and the Clinton administration. I met with officials in both countries, including Clinton, U.S. National Security Advisor Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger and Sudan's president and intelligence chief. President Omar Hassan Ahmed Bashir, who wanted terrorism sanctions against Sudan lifted, offered the arrest and extradition of Bin Laden and detailed intelligence data about the global networks constructed by Egypt's Islamic Jihad, Iran's Hezbollah and the Palestinian Hamas.

Among those in the networks were the two hijackers who piloted commercial airliners into the World Trade Center.

The silence of the Clinton administration in responding to these offers was deafening.

As an American Muslim and a political supporter of Clinton, I feel now, as I argued with Clinton and Berger then, that their counter-terrorism policies fueled the rise of Bin Laden from an ordinary man to a Hydra-like monster.

Realizing the growing problem with Bin Laden, Bashir sent key intelligence officials to the U.S. in February 1996.

The Sudanese offered to arrest Bin Laden and extradite him to Saudi Arabia or, barring that, to "baby-sit" him--monitoring all his activities and associates.

But Saudi officials didn't want their home-grown terrorist back where he might plot to overthrow them.

In May 1996, the Sudanese capitulated to U.S. pressure and asked Bin Laden to leave, despite their feeling that he could be monitored better in Sudan than elsewhere.

Bin Laden left for Afghanistan, taking with him Ayman Zawahiri, considered by the U.S. to be the chief planner of the Sept. 11 attacks; Mamdouh Mahmud Salim, who traveled frequently to Germany to obtain electronic equipment for Al Qaeda; Wadiah El-Hage, Bin Laden's personal secretary and roving emissary, now serving a life sentence in the U.S. for his role in the 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in Tanzania and Kenya; and Fazul Abdullah Mohammed and Saif Adel, also accused of carrying out the embassy attacks.

Some of these men are now among the FBI's 22 most-wanted terrorists.

The two men who allegedly piloted the planes into the twin towers, Mohamed Atta and Marwan Al-Shehhi, prayed in the same Hamburg mosque as did Salim and Mamoun Darkazanli, a Syrian trader who managed Salim's bank accounts and whose assets are frozen.

Important data on each had been compiled by the Sudanese.

But U.S. authorities repeatedly turned the data away, first in February 1996; then again that August, when at my suggestion Sudan's religious ideologue, Hassan Turabi, wrote directly to Clinton; then again in April 1997, when I persuaded Bashir to invite the FBI to come to Sudan and view the data; and finally in February 1998, when Sudan's intelligence chief, Gutbi al-Mahdi, wrote directly to the FBI.

Gutbi had shown me some of Sudan's data during a



three-hour meeting in Khartoum in October 1996. When I returned to Washington, I told Berger and his specialist for East Africa, Susan Rice, about the data available. They said they'd get back to me. They never did. Neither did they respond when Bashir made the offer directly. I believe they never had any intention to engage Muslim countries--ally or not. Radical Islam, for the administration, was a convenient national security threat.

And that was not the end of it. In July 2000--three months before the deadly attack on the destroyer Cole in Yemen--I brought the White House another plausible offer to deal with Bin Laden, by then known to be involved in the embassy bombings. A senior counter-terrorism official from one of the United States' closest Arab allies--an ally whose name I am not free to divulge--approached me with the proposal after telling me

he was fed up with the antics and arrogance of U.S. counter-terrorism officials.

The offer, which would have brought Bin Laden to the Arab country as the first step of an extradition process that would eventually deliver him to the U.S., required only that Clinton make a state visit there to personally request Bin Laden's extradition. But senior Clinton officials sabotaged the offer, letting it get caught up in internal politics within the ruling family--Clintonian diplomacy at its best.

Clinton's failure to grasp the opportunity to unravel increasingly organized extremists, coupled with Berger's assessments of their potential to directly threaten the U.S., represents one of the most serious foreign policy failures in American history.

Mansoor Ijaz, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, is chairman of a New York-based investment company.



Michael Kelly--

Leahy's Little Sneer



Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, who enjoys a good snit as well as the next member of Congress, is piqued because President Bush did not seek his counsel before issuing the order allowing suspected terrorists who are not U.S. citizens to be tried by military tribunals. Leahy found out what the administration was proposing in the newspapers, as if he were some citizen or something. Oh, the ignominy.

"There's been no consulting," Leahy sulked last week. "These things just get announced: George Washington got a British spy once by doing this, so thank goodness we've got recent precedents." This little sneer is wonderfully instructive, and not just for what it says about the senator's self-centeredness and shallowness.

In mocking the Bush administration for citing precedents for its limited transgressions against civil liberties in war, Leahy seeks to point up the absurdity of the administration's claim to extraordinary recourses. He succeeds only in pointing up the irresponsibility of his own position.

For precedence is the point of the whole thing. Or, rather, lack of precedence. Any intellectually honest contemplation of the situation we are dealing with here must begin with the obvious: The United States has never faced a threat like this. It has faced graver threats, but never one of this

nature -- and that unprecedented nature is such as to demand unprecedented curtailing of liberties.

To remind the senator, the unprecedented threat is this: Al Qaeda, a global terrorist organization, has declared war on the United States and is waging that war not through conventional battlefield means but through attacks on American institutions and people wherever they exist. We have ample reason (Sept. 11) to know that this organization can inflict massive punishment inside America. At war with this enemy, we appear close to destroying its leadership; but thousands of trained followers are still planted in cells around the world.

Since the suicide bombers of Sept. 11 were able to legally enter and live in America for many months, we have to assume that there are additional al Qaeda terrorists also hidden in America. Going by track record, we have to assume that these terrorists are well financed, well trained, self-sufficient and equipped with specific targeting plans that require no triggering orders. We have no idea who these people are, or what their plans are, or when they will attack again. We have no intelligence penetration of al Qaeda, and because of its purposely fragmented structure, we cannot crack the organization's secrecy through conventional spying, such as eavesdropping on messages between headquarters and the field. We know that it takes only a few al Qaeda terrorists, in our country, to strike past



our inadequate internal defenses and inflict great casualties.

In other wars the nation had to deal with spies, saboteurs and enemy sympathizers at home. But the current situation is truly novel. This time, we are not dealing with a fifth column at home that may help enemy armies abroad or in their defined battles against our armies. We are dealing with elements of the enemy army here, on a battlefield that is the nation.

Facing this unheard-of threat, a government that did not engage in the immediate and widespread detention of foreign suspects here, and did not aggressively question anyone who might help in the hunt for hidden terrorists here, would be guilty of an impeachable failure to defend and protect the nation.

Likewise, with the use of military tribunals. **The New York Times**, in a page-length editorial, writes of Bush's order: "The order's breadth is astonishing, allowing for the indefinite

detention and trial of any non-citizen the president deems to be a member of al Qaeda, or to be involved in international terrorism of any type, or to be harboring terrorists." This is exactly wrong. What is astonishing is the nature of the threat to this country; the Bush administration's response to this threat is, in context, not only reasonable but required. What would be astonishing (not to mention criminally negligent) would be for the government to treat the issue as critics such as Leahy and the **Times** seem to wish, as just another chapter in the old liberties-vs.-law-and-order debates.

We are not talking about rounding up the usual suspects. We are talking about rounding up soldiers of an enemy army before they have a chance to strike again on their chosen battlefield -- here, in America, against us all. To ignore this context is to make no argument at all.

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Michelle Malkin--

Stop Throwing Money At CDC

Dr. David Satcher, the nation's lame duck surgeon general, wants taxpayers to cough up more money for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. This irrelevant bureaucrat's last-ditch money grab is one of the more distasteful examples of exploiting the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks for institutional gain.

At a medical conference on bioterrorism in San Francisco this week, Satcher - a Clinton-appointed holdover who leaves office in February -- blasted the CDC's research facilities as a national disgrace. He whined about an electricity blackout that left the Atlanta-based CDC labs without power during the early days of the anthrax attacks. The country, Satcher told the media, should be "ashamed of the condition of the laboratories." He then promoted a bipartisan proposal by Sens. Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Bill Frist (R-Tenn.) to boost the CDC coffers by \$3.2 billion.

Neither Congress nor the public should fall for Satcher's poorhouse rhetoric. The CDC's overall annual budget is nearly \$4 billion - and growing every year. Over the past decade, the agency has abandoned its primary focus on infectious diseases and instead splurged on kiddie condom ads, "anti-bullying" lessons, anti-smoking propaganda, gender inequity awareness, anti-gun junk science, public relations campaigns against politically incorrect "social" diseases (such as TV violence), and other Big Brother behavior modification programs that treat individual vices - personal lifestyle choices - as germs to be eradicated.

Moreover, unlike most government agencies, the CDC has its own high-powered private benefactors pressing Congress for increased funding. The "Friends of CDC" is an Atlanta-based group of deep-pocketed corporations, including the Home Depot Inc., BellSouth Corp., Delta Air Lines Inc., and United Parcel Service Inc., which each pitched in \$5,000 to form a lobbying group for the agency. That campaign helped secure more than \$100 million more in federal funds this year for CDC building upgrades and repairs.

Nevertheless, Satcher and public health officials continue to carp about the labs' crumbling infrastructure -- leaky roofs, termite-infested floors, broken air conditioners, overcrowded offices, and dilapidated refrigerators. Who's to blame? It's "the fault of the nation, not the fault of the CDC," Satcher complained.

Perhaps Satcher has been too busy teaching kindergarteners about birth control to read the government's own reviews of how the CDC squanders public funds. A report issued

earlier this year by the General Accounting Office and PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP concluded that the CDC's financial management staff was largely "incompetent" and that its managers had "little or no accounting experience."

The review was ordered after a whistleblower exposed how CDC essentially lied to Congress about where it spent federal funds set aside for chronic fatigue syndrome. About half of the \$22.7 million appropriated for the vaguely-defined malady was spent on other research or could not be accounted for by the CDC.

Shortly after apologizing for that fiasco, the CDC admitted "misdirecting" up to \$7.5 million earmarked each year since 1993 for research on the deadly hantavirus. Some went to CDC officials studying a viral outbreak in Malaysia. The rest of the diverted funds, as one official confessed, were almost impossible to trace because of CDC bookkeeping practices. And soon after that, a congressional panel chaired by Rep. Thomas Bliley (R-Va.) expanded its probe of the CDC to examine the dubious handling of some \$13 million in public funds to seek out 4 million people thought to be infected by hepatitis C.

"There appears to be a diversion of funds and, on the surface, that seems to be a pattern at CDC," noted Pete Sheffield, a spokesman for Bliley.

Congress should think twice before giving in to Dr. Satcher and his public health cronies begging for bucks under the guise of combating terrorism. Throwing more money at the blame-mongers, book-cookers, and blind spenders at the CDC will only make the problem worse.



Lenoard Pitts, Jr.--

Martin Luther Ka-CHING!

JEWISH WORLD
REVIEW

A few words to define Martin Luther King. Leader of the civil rights movement, sometimes called the second American revolution. Man whose commitment to nonviolent resistance transformed a nation and inspired a world. Member of that top tier of American heroes that includes Jefferson and Lincoln.

If you're wondering why I would think you needed a refresher course on the greatness of King, well ... that wasn't for you. It was for his family. One gets the impression that they forget sometimes. Or worse, that for them he has become Martin Luther Ka-CHING! their property, product and all-around cash cow.

It's an impression that has, unfortunately, been confirmed more than once over the years. There was the time the family sued **USA Today** for reprinting King's "I Have a Dream" speech, settling out of court for a cash payment. And the time they allowed that speech and King's image to be used to hawk Alcatel, a communications company. And this other time when they let Cingular, the cell-phone company, use him in an ad that also featured Kermit the Frog.

But have you heard the latest? According to published reports, the effort to build a monument to King on the Mall in Washington has reached an impasse over - you guessed it - the family's demand that a fee be paid for the use of King's image and words. I asked Harry Johnson, president of the King National Memorial Project Foundation Inc., about it, and he told me - rather diplomatically, I thought - that "impasse" is the wrong word. Negotiations are ongoing and the project is proceeding, he said. But he confirmed the request for a fee.

The Atlanta-based Martin Luther King Center for Nonviolent Social Change has issued a statement denying that the King family has requested anything, noting that it's the center itself that is negotiating the "permissions agreement." Given that the center was founded by King's widow and is run by his youngest son, that seems a distinction without a difference.

When I asked if this "permissions agreement" involved a payment for the use of King's likeness and words, a spokesperson

professed not to know and promised to get back to me. At this writing, a day and a follow-up phone call later, I'm still waiting. It's worth noting, though, that even the written statement seems to anticipate payment of some sort, noting that "any funds" the center receives will be used to further its mission of educating the world about King.

That's a lofty-sounding promise that does little to erase the growing sense that the man's heirs would, if they could, levy a usage fee against every fourth-grader who recites "I Have a Dream" for the school pageant.

Granted, they have a legal right to do so. Martin Luther King held no public office. He was a private citizen. And as such, his family is entitled to control and profit from his writings, his speeches and his likeness. But the standard that ought to apply here has little to do with what is legally permissible. Rather it has to do with what is right.

And measured against that standard, the guardians of King's legacy have persistently come up short.

When you sue **USA Today** for what some would call a public service, when you allow King to be used as a shill for phone companies, when you hold up a monument on the mall saying in essence, "Show me the money!" you send the unavoidable message that the money has assumed an unfortunate primacy. As a result, King's guardians look grasping, greedy, tacky, short-sighted and, worst of all, unworthy of a man for whom wealth was neither alpha nor omega.

"I won't have any money to leave behind," he roared, two months to the day before he was killed. "I won't have the fine and luxurious things of life to leave behind. But I just want to leave a committed life behind."

He did that.

And we are all heirs to that life, all ennobled and enlarged by its achievements, its vision, its sacrifice. It belongs to all of us.

And guess what? You can't sell me what I already own.



The McAdam Report
Read By More People In Louisville
Than Any Other City

CBS's Goldberg Exposes Leftist Media Bias

"The little nut from the Christian group." That's how a staff editor at **CBS News'** Washington bureau described presidential candidate Gary Bauer in April 1999. It was an inside conference call, but it was going out to **CBS News** bureaus all over the country. It was a planning session for weekend news coverage.

True, it wasn't said on the air for public consumption. But the bureau chiefs participating in the discussion met it with dead silence. No one protested.

What that tells you is that this reflects an attitude prevalent in much of the major media. A shrug of the shoulders and "Doesn't everybody think so?" It is OK to slur fundamentalist Christians. But anyone making a similar disparaging comment about any of the "politically correct" minority groups would have been dismissed.

That is Bernard Goldberg's point, laid out in 223 pages of his new book, "**Bias: A CBS Insider Exposes How the Media Distort the News**" (Regnery).

This is not Rush Limbaugh complaining for the 100th time of "bias in the liberal media."

This comes from the pen of a man who was a correspondent for **CBS News**, having worked inside the company for 28 years. Nor is the author part of the so-called "vast right-wing conspiracy" imagined by Hillary Clinton. Since Bernie Goldberg first broke his silence and went public with an op-ed piece on media bias in the **Wall Street Journal** in February 1996, he had never voted for a single Republican.

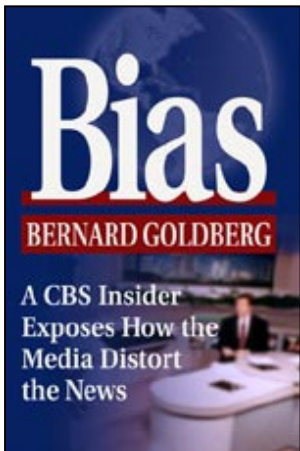
There is an elitist culture at the major networks, he alleges, and that goes for the so-called "prestige press," as well. The electronic media steal much of their material from the **New York Times** and the **Washington Post**, the ultimate icons of the "Eastern establishment press."

Another former **CBS News** employee said to this writer that "anyone working at **CBS News** who is not a leftist knows how it must have felt to be a black kid in a white school in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, back in 1938."

The almost universal slant at the major networks is not the result of a left-wing conspiracy, the former **CBS** newsman says. The people who work there come from similar backgrounds. Many of them attended some of the best Ivy League schools. And there's contempt for "white trash" out there. As one who grew up in a lower-middle-class family in the South Bronx, Goldberg resents it.

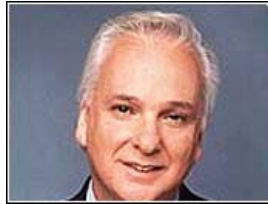
There is an inherent hostility to Heartland America at the "big three" networks: **ABC**, **NBC** and **CBS**. They don't pretend to have much affinity for folks living in Omaha or Kansas City.

That was reflected at a Washington media party several years ago where this reporter witnessed loud guffaws from the group at the mere mention of having once lived and worked in Salt Lake City.



They Even Fool Themselves

Goldberg, who spent his last years at **CBS** in the doghouse for his 1996 **Wall Street Journal** piece, says that if these correspondents were to take a lie detector test as to whether they



slanted the news leftward, they would deny it and pass with flying colors.

Many of them don't consider that they're leaning in any political direction. They really think they are simply mainstream. There is no other side of the argument except what you

hear from a few right-wing nut cases. In their world, mainstream conservatism doesn't exist.

As one Washington news correspondent once said to me, "There is no left wing." There's just normal goodness, as opposed to the extremists.

Apparently, not everyone with the establishment media is in complete denial.

Andrew Heyward, now top man at **CBS News**, told Goldberg after the 1996 op-ed piece that of course, the networks tilt left, but that if Goldberg ever quoted him as saying that, he would deny it.

Such moments of candor do occur. But they are rare. One other such moment came when Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., in 1985 was urging conservatives around the country to buy **CBS** stock so they could be "Dan Rather's boss," and give the other side a chance to get a fair hearing on a major network.

An indignant supervisor at **CBS** at the time commented privately that "our politics" was none of Helms' business.

"Our politics"? We veer left, but if you quote me, I'll deny it? That seems to make hash of Dan Rather's statement, quoted by Goldberg, that most network reporters don't know whether they're Republican or Democrat, and they "vote every which way."

Rather was especially upset with Goldberg for telling his story in the **Wall Street Journal** because that paper's editorial page takes a consistently conservative stand.

But Rather had written op-ed material for the **New York Times**, which he insisted was "middle of the road." **The Times**, notes Goldberg, is consistently liberal. Nothing wrong with that, but Rather's remark again recalls the prevailing wisdom in Washington media circles that "there is no left wing."

Survey after survey has concluded that journalists are indeed very different from the people they cover. Goldberg cites Peter Brown, an editor of the **Orlando Sentinel** who asks, "How many members of the **Los Angeles Times** and **St. Louis Post-Dispatch** belong to the American Legion or the Kiwanis or go to prayer breakfasts?"

Ironically, the farther up the ladder you go to meet executives at the networks outside the news divisions, the more unlikely it is that you will find far-left-wing ideologues. That's

why Goldberg commented on the Sean Hannity radio talk show Monday that he couldn't understand "why the money guys allow the news guys to squander an asset."

That is a big problem, whether the news editors at "the big three" realize it or not. Each year, they are losing more and more viewers from their nightly news programs. Many are getting their news from talk radio and cable TV, including **Fox News Channel**, which has picked up a considerable audience just

because it tries to balance out the conservative and liberal points of view.

Goldberg is coming under vicious attack for his apostasy. But if "Bias" starts a meaningful conversation on a problem that the news mavens refuse to explore, he will have performed a greater service to the public than in all his years as a **CBS News** insider.

Wes Vernon was a correspondent for a news department within the CBS Radio News Division for 25 years. It was NOT part of CBS News.



Howard Kurtz--

Goldberg On CBS: Nothing Good To Report



It's not every day that someone likens Dan Rather and **CBS News** to the Mafia. Or declares that the don in this case is The Dan, "who wanted me whacked." Or calls the **CBS** brass "a bunch of hypocrites" so consumed by liberal bias that they reflexively slant the news.

The source of this vitriolic attack is none other than Bernard Goldberg, a **CBS** correspondent for 28 years who left the network last year. In his forthcoming book, "**Bias**," published by the conservative house Regnery Publishing, Goldberg unloads on his ex-employer.

What's striking is the intensely personal nature of Goldberg's assault. He describes Rather as a generous man who is also "ruthless and unforgiving," with a touch of Richard Nixon's "paranoia." He accuses one correspondent of "junk journalism." And he says **CBS News** President Andrew Heyward once told him: "Look, Bernie, of course there's a liberal bias in the news. All the networks tilt left. . . . If you repeat any of this, I'll deny it."

Heyward declined to be drawn into a debate with Goldberg, saying: "Bernie asked to see me before the book was published and said he didn't want to be portrayed as a liar or a disgruntled employee. Therefore, I have no comment."

Goldberg became something of a pariah at **CBS** after accusing the network of liberal bias in a 1996 op-ed piece for the **Wall Street Journal**.

Some **CBS** insiders describe Goldberg as a talented journalist who became increasingly bitter and isolated at the network. They are stunned that he would betray Heyward, a longtime friend who refused to fire him during the **Journal** controversy, pushed to get him a spot at "**60 Minutes II**" and kept him on the payroll until Goldberg could qualify for a larger pension at 55.

"In the end, he seemed to think his job was to report on **CBS News** instead of reporting for **CBS News**," said Bob Schieffer, chief Washington correspondent. "Bernie just seemed to be upset about everything. He was upset with the world."

Correspondent Eric Engberg said Goldberg committed an "act of treason" and decided the best way to sell a book "is to trash your friends and former colleagues. . . . He didn't have many friends in this organization because he was a selfish, self-involved guy who was not a team player."

Engberg accused Goldberg of a "sleazy, snake-in-the-grass style" for not complaining to him before blasting him in the **Journal** over his report ridiculing Steve Forbes's flat-tax plan.

Goldberg, who now works for **HBO's** "Real Sports," said yesterday he wrote the book because he cares about journalism and that he "left out a bunch of things that might really embarrass people. . . ."

"Whenever you raise an issue like this, they close ranks and close their minds. They're just going to call me these terrible

vicious names instead of looking at the problem. . . . They don't like the people they're broadcasting to. I can't tell you how many times I heard the term 'white trash' thrown around. I come from a lower-middle-class background and I resent that."

Rather declined to comment, but told the **Dallas Morning News** in 1996 that he wouldn't let anyone "intimidate" him "into reporting the news their way."

To which Goldberg writes: "Why is it that when journalists write something tough about other people it's called 'news,' but when someone writes something tough about news people like Dan Rather it's called 'intimidation'?"

In Goldberg's view, **CBS** staffers are too "arrogant" to examine the leftward tilt of their reporting, which he says is shared by the other major networks. (Only Andy Rooney sent a supportive note after the **Journal** article.)

Goldberg describes a **CBS** conference call in which a Washington staffer "nonchalantly referred to a presidential candidate as 'Gary Bauer, the little nut from the Christian group.' " No one, says Goldberg, raised an objection.

"**Bias**" devotes considerable attention to the subject of race. During the May 2000 sweeps, Goldberg says, **CBS's** "48 Hours" and **NBC's** "Dateline" ran no stories involving blacks, and **ABC's** "20/20" ran two. (The lone exception was "**60 Minutes**," on which seven of 12 stories featured blacks as main characters.)

During a 1999 story for "48 Hours" on a teenager in jail, Goldberg says, a New York producer asked his field producer, "What is she?"

" 'She's black,' the producer told his boss in New York, 'but she's light-skinned.' He felt he had to say that to get the okay to proceed with the story." Another producer is quoted as saying

the bosses "were not subtle at all. They made it pretty damn clear to me that 'we want stories with white folks.'"

Susan Zirinsky, executive producer of "48 Hours," says Goldberg is merely making assumptions.

"There's not one fact in there," she says. "These are charges without validation. If you can't give me a specific, I say case closed. We are about doing good stories, end of sentence. Race is not a factor." Ticking off stories involving blacks, Zirinsky says the program is focusing next month on black families in Texas who adopted more than 80 problem kids.

Goldberg quotes from a " '48 Hours' Survival Guide": "Looks count, too. This is television after all. You can find the

most articulate character in the world, but if she has no teeth or has a beard, no one will hear what she is saying." Zirinsky says the memo is "not from my era" and no longer in use.

The book also derides coverage of family issues: "Feminists are the pressure group that the media elites (and their wives and friends) are most aligned with."

Goldberg tips his hat to **ABC's** Peter Jennings for acknowledging the media should include more conservative voices. "Does anyone think a 'diverse' group of conservative journalists would give us the news straight?" Goldberg asks. "I sure as hell don't. They'd be just like the Left."



Richard Starr--

The Boy Who Loved bin Laden **Standard**

the weekly

John Phillip Walker Lindh, aka Sulayman al Faris, aka Abdul Hamid, was a spiritual kid. He joined the Taliban, and his mother couldn't be prouder.

In this week's **Newsweek** we learn that American Taliban is no longer just a figure of speech. Colin Soloway reports that one of the 86 survivors of the Mazar-i-Sharif prison uprising, a filthy looking jihadist going by the name "Abdul Hamid," is actually "a white, apparently middle-class American, a convert to Islam" who grew up in the suburbs of Washington, D.C., and (are you surprised?) Northern California.

A companion piece, a **Newsweek** "web exclusive", provides more biographical detail. There we learn that 20-year-old Abdul, raised John Phillip Walker Lindh, is a "sweet, shy kid" who "wanted to study somewhere where [Islam] is practiced in its purest form." That would be his mother speaking. Now, there's not much larger significance to this story that I can see, but it does nicely illustrate two enduring motifs in American journalism.

1) This is a big country. A population of 250-plus million makes for lots of oddballs, a surprising number of whom eventually hook up with reporters.

And 2) Where do they find these parents? On the face of it, John Phillip "Abdul Hamid" Walker Lindh, now reportedly in the custody of American Special Forces, looks likely to be tried for treason. And his parents, who one assumes must be distraught

beyond measure, nonetheless babble to reporters about what a good boy he is. That, and give evidence that he knew exactly what he was doing.

Here's Dad, a lawyer by the way: "When the U.S.S. Cole was bombed as it refueled in the Yemeni port of Aden in October of 2000, killing 17 U.S. sailors, father and son had an uncomfortable e-mail exchange. Frank says he was upset that the dead sailors were the same age as his son. John seemed to have a

more casual view of the attack, which U.S. authorities blamed on operatives of Osama bin Laden. He suggested that the U.S. ship should never have been there in the first place, and that by docking in an Islamic country, had committed an 'act of war.' The bombing, John implied, was a justified response. Lindh says he was 'concerned' by his son's views, but felt that since John was an adult, there was little he could do to change them. 'It was clear he had developed a different point of view,' says Lindh. 'My days of molding him were over.'"

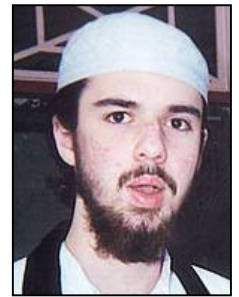
Maybe his days of molding his son were over, but he was still paying his bills. When "Abdul" e-mailed his parents in April that he was going to leave the madrassah in Pakistan and go "somewhere cooler" (Afghanistan), Dad wired \$1,200.

Mom, meanwhile, thinks if "he got involved with the Taliban he must have been brainwashed." But she is proud of him and seems to have been supportive when he dropped out of high school to study the Koran at a San Francisco mosque, and then spent a year in Yemen as a 17-year-old attending the Yemeni Language Institute.

Someone in this family may have been brainwashed, but it doesn't sound like it was Abdul, the Marin County jihadist.

Postscript: Multiculturalists will be pleased to learn that Abdul Hamid's parents say he decided to convert after being assigned to read "**The Autobiography of Malcolm X**" in high school. It's always uplifting to be reminded that books can change people's lives, right? What do you want to bet Alex Haley's classic isn't on as many high schools' required reading lists by next fall as it is now.

Richard Starr is a managing editor at The Weekly Standard.



Feminists Reaching For A Clue

All of the west's flabby intellectual elites have had problems with Sept. 11, but it's the professional feminists who are really feeling the squeeze (if they'll pardon the expression). They started confidently enough. In the stirring clarion call of Professor Sunera Thobani of the University of British Columbia, at a feminist conference two weeks after the attacks, "There will be no emancipation for women anywhere on this planet until the western domination of this planet is ended."

Meanwhile, the Worldwide Sisterhood Against Terrorism And War, which includes Susan Sarandon, Gloria Steinem, Alice Walker and about 75 other sisters and is "worldwide" mainly in the sense the World Series is, organized a petition called "Not In Our Name." "We will not support the bombing," declared the Worldwide Sisterhood. When the Afghan sisters began emerging from their hoods and it looked as if American bombing had liberated more women than every women's studies department put together, the feminists nimbly discovered a whole new set of grievances. Of all the various factions negotiating a broad-based government, only the original patriarch--the old king--has plans to include any broads. Washington, said Gloria Steinem, was colluding in "gender apartheid."

Well, yes, it's regrettable that there appear to be no Pashtun Janet Renos on the horizon in Kabul, and that the Jalalabad Playhouse has yet to book "The Vagina Monologues." But on the other hand, Afghan females will now be able to go to school, get jobs, receive proper medical treatment, walk unaccompanied in public, show their faces and dress as they wish.

It was this last point that the more inventive ladies seized on. As the **Boston Globe** put it, "The war on terrorism has certainly raised our awareness of the ways in which women's bodies are controlled by a repressive regime in a faraway land, but what about the constraints on women's bodies here at home?" This was in a column titled "The Burqa And The Bikini" by Jacquelyn Jackson, a "women's health advocate," and Joan Jacobs

Brumberg, a historian at Cornell University and author of **The Body Project: An Intimate History Of American Girls**. "Taliban rule has dictated that women be fully covered whenever they enter the public realm, while a recent U.S. television commercial for Temptation Island 2 features near naked women," they point out. "American girls and women have been stripped bare by a sexually expressive culture whose beauty dictates have exerted a major toll on their physical and emotional health."

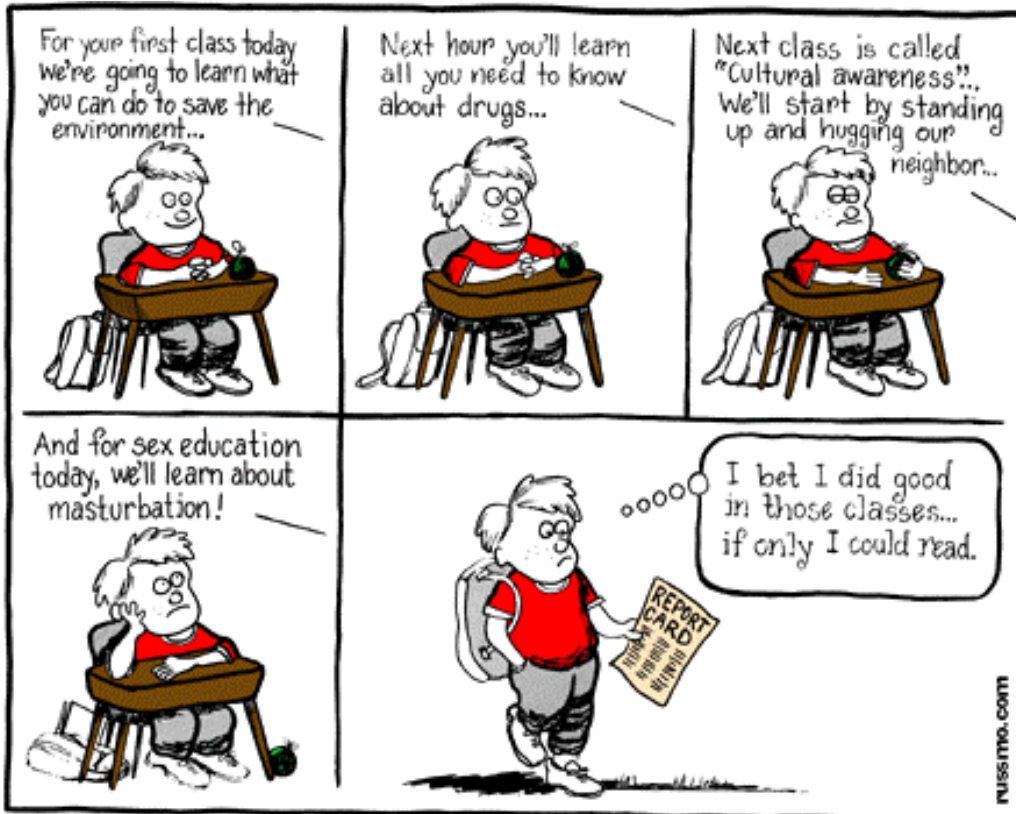
Got that? Afghan men make their women cover up, western men make their women strip off.

But according to the **Montreal Gazette**, quite the opposite is true: Afghan men make their women cover up--and so do we! "The burqa has many forms," writes Linda Gilman Novak. "North American females are urged to wear burqas of a different sort. Their appearance is subtle and sophisticated and not as easy to identify." I'll say.

But Ms. Gilman Novak does her best. She has noticed that various advertisements for Say What? Sweaters, Cover Girl mascara, Bonnell makeup and Esprit clothing show models with turtlenecks pulled up to cover their mouths and copy lines like, "I let my eyes do the talking."

"This is the sporty, outerwear version of the burqa," writes Ms. Gilman Novak. "Young girls learn from these images what society expects of them when they mature, and the message that rings loud and clear is that to speak out is not 'ladylike.' Girls grow up conditioned to be silent. Advertising tyrannizes women in our culture. It is the Taliban of North American society."

To be honest, the only reason I stumbled across the column was because of the come-



hither eyes of the Esprit model, staring out from the center of the comment page. I saw in those eyes not oppression but a playful, confident, modern western woman.

Who's right? **The Boston Globe** gals or the **Montreal Gazette's**? Are we western Talibans making women strip off or cover up? Well, the answer is: Both. Neither. Who cares?

The point the misses have missed is that the burqa was not what they call a "cultural confine," but the law: If you went for a stroll in Kabul wearing a turtleneck, you'd be arrested. And even "cultural confines" are mostly confined to non-western cultures--for example, to those Muslim societies where it's the "cultural tradition" for men whose sisters get raped to kill them. In 2001, North American women face no "cultural confines." If relentless messages about "body image" are tyrannizing American women into bulimia, how come we're the heaviest society in human history? Go to a suburban multiplex any night of the week and you can watch Julia Roberts or Gwyneth Paltrow surrounded by an audience whose distaff side weighs an average 220 pounds and is happily chowing down on supersized extra-buttery popcorn. Whatever oppressive messages about "body image" are being transmitted, these gals are cheerfully ignoring. As for "gender oppression," it's perfectly obvious that men's views on the matter are utterly irrelevant. If you stroll around downtown Washington, you can't help noticing that, in contrast to the heels and cleavage of Paris and Rome and almost every other

western capital, there's nothing but a vast tide of women in sneakers and comfortable, shapeless clothing.

This is their right as free citizens. But when feminists yank on about "cultural confines," they're denying the very essence of liberty--that each of us is free to choose and therefore responsible for his or her actions. To equate the turtleneck with the Taliban requires a failure of the imagination bordering on the psychotic: Imagine never being allowed to feel sunlight on your face--by law.

Most women understand this. The traditional "gender gap" in wars--women are usually 10 to 15 percent behind men in their approval of military action--has statistically all but vanished: 86 percent of American men back the Afghan campaign, 79 percent of women. So the more interesting question is why there's such a huge gap between the overwhelming majority of women and the feminists who claim to represent them.

Pace Professor Thobani, the west does not dominate the world because it "exploits" people, but because it emancipates them--it untaps its greatest resource, its citizens, and invites them to exploit their own potential. Some will rise to high office (Condi Rice), some will make a nice living cranking out ridiculous theses for a lucrative niche market (Joan Jacobs Brumberg). But if you want one phrase that encapsulates the difference between the society we live in and the ones our enemies wish to impose, it's this: the treatment of women. The gal in the street gets it. A pity the stars of the sisterhood don't.

Jonathan Rosenblum--

These Days, It Seems US Christians Care More About Israel Than American Jews Do

Conventional wisdom attributes the broad popular support that Israel enjoys in the US to the power of the Jewish lobby and the intense support for Israel among American Jews. That conventional wisdom, however, misses a great deal. Concern with Israel's security has long since ceased to preoccupy most American Jews. A recent survey by the Jewish Studies Center of CCNY concludes that of the 5.5 million Americans defined by sociologists as Jewish, half list their religion as "other" or "none."

Not surprisingly, ethnic identity of American Jews is declining rapidly. With little sense of themselves as Jews, most American Jews have little connection to one another, much less to Jews far away.

Even among those with more than a minimal Jewish identity, the Israel connection tends to be fickle. Witness the Reform movement's cancellation of programs last summer and the nearly 50% drop out rate among this year's rabbinical and cantorial students at the Conservative Shechter Institute. A mere 135 foreign students are registered for the Hebrew University's one-year program this year, less than a quarter of the number just two years ago.

When American Jews express opinions on Israel, they often appear to be completely out of touch with events here, and with the vast changes in Israeli public opinion over the past year. A recent survey conducted by Jewish groups close to the Clinton administration claims, *mirabile dictu*, that 85% of American Jews want the US to return to the activist role of the Clinton years - 75% even if it leads to confrontations between Israel and the States.

While those numbers must be taken with a grain of salt, the remarkable thing is that they reflect absolutely no change in light of the events of the past year. The sole exception to this

bleak general picture is the American Orthodox community. At the typical Israel Day Parade, a large majority of the participants will be wearing knitted kippot and long skirts. Already 20 years ago, historian Lucy Dawidowicz observed that only the Orthodox vote reflects great concern for Jewish interests, among which the security of Jews in Israel is paramount.

Nor is Orthodox support limited to sending checks. Despite a year of suicide bombings and terrorist attacks, there has actually been a slight increase in the enrollment of American post-high school students registered in yeshivas and seminaries in Israel.

Over 5,000 single young Orthodox Americans have come this year to study at these institutions, and thousands more young married men are continuing their yeshiva studies.

All this is not to say that the Jewish lobby does not play an important role in Washington, or that American Jewish philanthropy is not vital to Israel. AIPAC and other pro-Israel lobbying groups are feared, if not always loved, on Capitol Hill. Any politician with national ambitions must consider the heavy

concentration of Jews in states rich in electoral votes, and the wildly disproportionate Jewish money contributed to campaigns.

But while Jewish votes assure that New York's senators will always be demonstrably pro-Israel, those votes cannot begin to explain the broad consensus of congressional support for Israel and the consistently positive feelings toward Israel of the general American population.

Many of Israel's staunchest supporters in Congress have traditionally come from states with small Jewish populations: e.g., Senator Sam Brownback of Kansas, Senator Tim Hutchinson of Arkansas, Attorney-General John Ashcroft, formerly a senator from Missouri; and House Majority Whip Tom DeLay. Far from being supported by the mainstream Jewish community, these men are often anathematized by Jewish groups for their social conservatism. On a host of issues, from school prayer to aid to educational tax vouchers to abortion, they consistently line up on the opposite side from the organized Jewish community.

These men support Israel not because of the mainstream Jewish community, but despite it. Their views are shaped by their own consciences and reflect the consensus of their overwhelmingly Christian constituents.

Devout Christians constitute the bedrock of American support for Israel. Such Christians number in the tens of millions. Unlike American Jews, they are not embarrassed by criticisms of Israel in certain left-wing circles, and do not cancel tours to Israel after each terrorist incident.

Even a casual survey of the letters to the editor of The Jerusalem Post reveals how avidly many American Christians follow events in Israel. Mindful of the crucial importance of devout Christians, AIPAC employed an evangelical Christian as its chief lobbyist for years.

Orthodox Jews constitute a potentially vital link to the fundamentalist community. They find it easy to talk to believers



of other religions. "God talk" does not give them the willies; they also talk like that.

Christian supporters of Israel open up their Bibles and read that Israel is the Promised Land, promised to the Jews. The God-intoxicated Jews they read about in the Bible observe strict dietary laws, honor the Sabbath, and are bound by strict codes of sexual morality.

The Jews of the Bible, however, bear little resemblance to those the average American Christian is likely to see on TV or read about, who are likely to be found at the forefront of every movement of sexual liberation.

Given the image of Jews as the least religious segment of the American population, Christians who take the Bible seriously are bound to ask themselves: Do the Jews of the Bible - the ones to whom the Land was promised - still exist?

Similar questions about the connection between Jews of today and those of the Bible are aroused by the apparent indifference of so many modern Jews to the sanctity of the Land and even to the most important historical sites of their religion, like Rachel's Tomb and the Temple Mount.

Israel's Christian friends are thrilled when they meet Jews who take seriously the Bible's commandments and who continue to cherish the Temple Mount as the place where the Divine Presence dwelt. A visible Orthodox community thus serves as an important corrective to Christian stereotypes about godless Jews.

Orthodox Jews are Israel's secret weapon in the war for American public opinion. They constitute, as a group, Israel's most committed supporters within the American Jewish community. And they serve as a crucial link between Israel and its strongest Christian supporters.



Tunku Varadarajan--

Wartime Letters: The Fight Against Terror, From A To Z

As anti-Taliban forces overcome the Afghans from the Taliban (as well as the motley, but deadly, assortment of Arabs, Chechens, Pakistanis, Pakistanis and more Pakistanis), it might be a useful juncture at which to jot up a little primer on the war. After all, we seem to be reaching the end of a chapter. The selection of entries, while personal, is not eccentric, and I trust that most readers will find, in this glossary de la guerre, an echo of their own priorities and interests.

A is for Afghanistan, a benighted land whose inhabitants have, over generations, turned warring into a fine art. Kiplingesque noble savages, they usually fight each other, but just occasionally, there will come along foolish foreigners who unite all Afghans in a temporary hatred of The Outsider. A landlocked place in the middle of nowhere, with no natural resources to speak of, the country has, nonetheless, held a bizarre "strategic" appeal for empire-builders through the ages--dating back to Alexander the Great, and on down to the British and the Soviets.

B is for President Bush, who, with his declaration of war on terrorism, grew overnight in stature from dubious sapling to giant beanstalk. War has brought out the best in the man, stirring him to rhetorical heights in addresses to the nation and to action that brought to mind (at least to old-timers) the decisiveness of Churchill. Never has a man made Maureen Dowd look quite so silly.

C is cockfighting, a pastime beloved of gentler Afghans (the ones who don't ride around on horseback fighting over a carcass of a sheep, that is). All forms of fun were pretty much banned by Islamic killjoys for the past six years, so connoisseurs of bloody beaks have a lot of catching up to do. Ditto with kite-flyers and soccer players.

D is for the daisy-cutter, an awe-inspiring bomb that conjures an unlikely bucolic image. It's a pity the explosive device isn't called a daffodil-cutter, or we could have amused ourselves adapting Wordsworth:

I wandered lonely as a cloud
That floats on high o'er Afghanistan,
When all at once I saw a crowd,
A host, of turbaned Taliban;
Beside the lake, beneath the trees,
Fluttering and shooting in the breeze.

E is for Enduring Freedom, the sonorous but apt label given to the "Operation"--that oh-so-slightly clinical euphemism for war--currently under way in Afghanistan (and, we hope, in other places afterwards; see "H" below). Parenthetically, what we want to know is, who thinks up these names? Is there a "label czar" in the Defense Department?

F is for fatwa, the most emphatic Arabic concept to enter the Western lexicon since the adoption of "zero." We know it means "religious decree," but what we don't yet understand is who has the right to issue the darn things? Ayatollahs dish them out whenever it takes their fancy, as do numerous mullahs, big and small, around the world. And now, in a chilling vindication of all those Huntingtonian prophecies, there's a fatwa against an entire civilization--that of the West.

G is for Geraldo, the latest correspondent to drop in Kabul. Read all about him in my next column.

H is for Saddam Hussein, antagonist in the likely next chapter in Operation Enduring Freedom. As evidence emerges--both concrete and circumstantial--of the Iraqi tyrant's ties to the attacks of Sept. 11, pressure for his armed ouster grows increasingly irresistible. In a world grown robustly Manichean, in which evil is denounced as evil and its practitioners are called to account, Saddam is likely to find that this President Bush is immensely more determined in his disposal of enemies than his father was.

I is for Islam, which, we are told, is what this war is not about. We are at war, instead, with those who would "pervert Islam," "hijack a noble religion," "stain the name of a great faith," etc. We are asked to ignore that--Turkey and Bangladesh excepted--there is no Islamic country that is a democracy. We are asked to ignore the still more damning fact that scarcely any Islamic institutions in the West have come out and condemned Sept. 11 in unequivocal terms.

When Margaret Thatcher points out that she would have liked to hear more Islamic clerics in Britain speak out against terrorism, she is pilloried as "racist" and "divisive" by the multicultural establishment. And when Silvio Berlusconi, Italy's prime minister, says that "we must be aware of the superiority of our



civilization, a system that has guaranteed well-being, respect for human rights and--in contrast with Islamic countries--respect for religious and political rights, a system that has as its values understandings of diversity and tolerance," he is treated like a pariah by his confreres at the European Union. Go figure.

J is for jihad, which is about the only thing (apart from oil) produced in the Muslim Middle East. Unlike "crusade," its Western conceptual counterpart, jihad has maintained its religious, confessional intensity since the days of the Prophet Mohammed. In societies that are intellectually and materially impoverished, this form of holy war against infidels offers the easiest way out of the depths to which stagnation has consigned Muslim youth.

K is for Kabul, Kandahar and Kunduz, places whose names ring with undeniable romance, and which are now associated, too, with destruction and gore. Afghan toponyms are as handsome as the country's people--who can deny that names like Mazar-e-Sharif and Herat and Ghazni have a certain poetry, a certain panache?

L is for loya jirga, the centuries-old Afghan practice whereby elders sit around in a large group (or grand council) and decide how many sheep to roast for the week. Actually, that is a slight misrepresentation. They also discuss politics, though scarcely in the sort of quasi- or protodemocratic way that proponents of the council suggest. Still, it is worth convening one of these affairs only because the alternative does not bear

thinking--and because of the hilarity that will ensue when Hannity and Colmes try to wrap their tongues around the phrase.

M is for Pakistan's Gen. Pervez Musharraf, arguably the luckiest man in the world right now. This panjandrum was on a hiding to nothing before Sept. 11; he'd seized power in a coup (so what's new in Pakistan?), exiled the leaders of the two largest political parties, and packed his curriculum vitae with sponsorships of groups that wage terrorist war on India. Now, he's a valued ally, a latter-day Ataturk, who has reaped for Pakistan a windfall for his support in the war against terrorism. Forget for the moment that he ferried out from Kunduz some 200 soldiers of the Pakistan army, who were fighting for the Taliban--fighting against us, in other words.

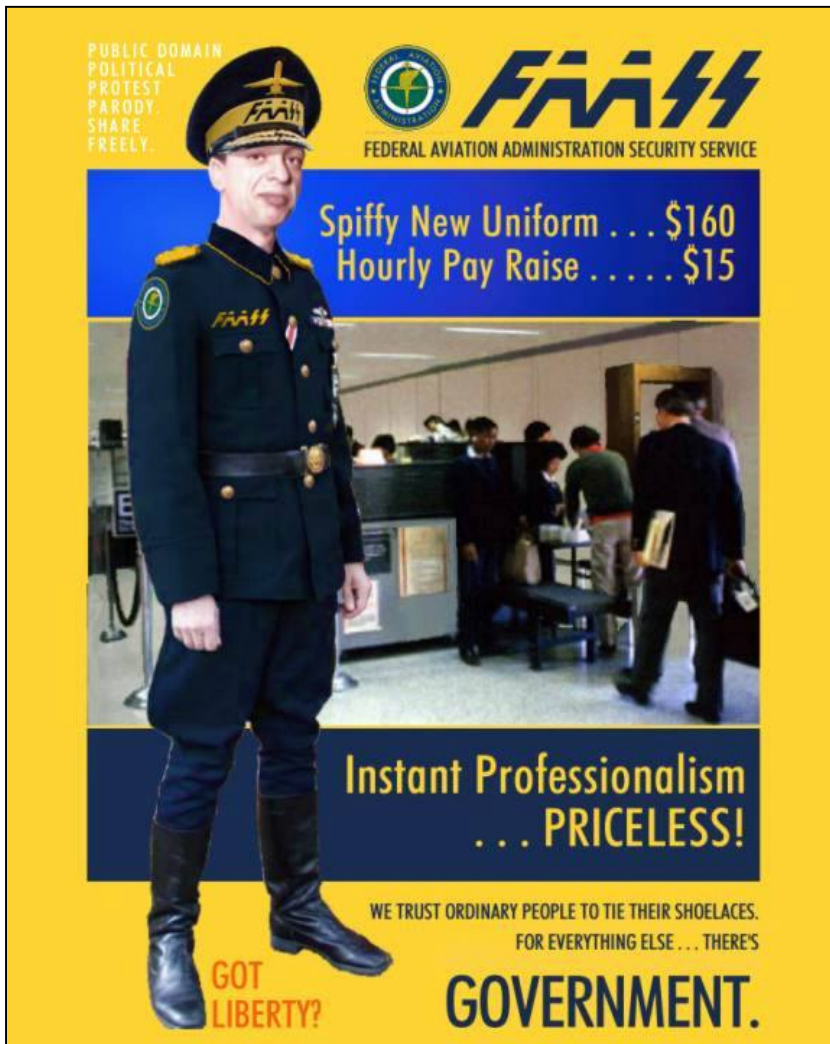
N is for New York, where the war began, where thousands of innocents were slain. New Yorkers are watching the war with special interest. They are invested in Operation Enduring Freedom in a way that few others are. They want justice. Something tells me that they'll get it.

O is for Osama bin Laden, the most evil man since Hitler, the embodiment of the enemy, the personification of every diabolical force against which we are at war. His death may not end the war against terrorism, not even stanch the flow of terrorism against us; but that is no reason not to desire it fervently, passionately. Let his elimination, however, not spell the end of the war.

P is for Pashtuns, the ethnic group that predominates in the Taliban, and that comprises a plurality of the Afghan population. Pashtuns are some of the most hidebound, unscientific people on earth, their values unchanged for centuries--though the enforcement of those values is today conducted by Kalashnikov, not scimitar. They have unbending codes of honor, which involve, mostly, the oppression of women. They have a profoundly inflated sense of self-worth, which is why it is, for many of them, inconceivable that they be governed by an alliance of such "inferiors" as Tajiks, Uzbeks and Hazaras. Perhaps a partition of Afghanistan, one that gives the Pashtuns a homeland of their own in the south (with the possibility, at some stage in the future, of incorporating Pashtun lands in present-day Pakistan) would be the best way out of a cycle of interminable civil war.

Q is for al Qaeda, the deadly, nihilistic organization set up by bin Laden, one that seeks to scorch the earth of the West, to level the buildings of the unbelievers, to bring fire and destruction upon the heads of the infidels. Never in history has the enemy been so shapeless, so elusive. The outfit is thought to have " sleeper " cells in the heart of the Western world, all biding their time before striking at our cities, killing our people, razing our buildings and our way of life.

R is for the Russians, to whom we must, this time, give thanks. They (along with India, an unsung ally in the whole campaign) kept the Northern Alliance supplied with arms and other basic necessities in the long years of war that preceded this one. And it was Moscow's green light that made it possible for Uzbekistan to allow the U.S. to use military facilities in that country. With Islamist terror the new enemy of civilization, look to the Russians for



sturdy support. Nazhdrovyel

S is for Saudi Arabia, which, in contrast, has hardly been of any help at all. The ally from hell, Riyadh has obfuscated, dragged its feet, refused to divulge evidence on the Saudis (and they were almost all Saudis) who carried out the Sept. 11 attacks, and generally made pretty sure that we get as little from them as possible. All this while the U.S. protects its regime, and its oilfields, from Saddam. Talk about an atrocious bargain.

T is for the Taliban, the group of "students"--or Islamic seminarians--who ran Afghanistan with a ferocious brutality for six-plus years. Dour, violent, misogynist and completely without pity, they made their land a living hell for anyone but the most fanatical adherent of their brand of Wahhabi Islam. The movement was funded and armed by Pakistan, and the majority of the ruling Taliban elite were trained in Pakistani madrassas, or Islamic schools. The movement would not have survived a week, let it be known, without the unending supply of fighters (often regular army men or retired soldiers) from Pakistan.

U is the ummah, the Arabic word used to describe the Muslim world, or the global community of the faithful (both individuals and nations). Bin Laden urges the ummah to be at war with the West; vast swaths of the ummah, in fact, see themselves as being at war with the West.

V is for veils, the tragic leitmotif of Afghanistan under the Taliban, the device by which women were rendered--literally--faceless, and powerless, jobless and devoid of dignity.

W is for warlords, that catchall phrase used to describe every petty chieftain in any godforsaken part of the world who wields a gun and answers to no authority other than that of a bigger, meaner chieftain who wields a bigger, meaner means of

going "bang bang you're dead." Afghanistan has a surplus of such characters, all of them unsavory, all of them with no desire other than to lord it over a wedge of territory and to profit from doing so. Warlords inherit their "office" from their fathers, which is why you have 15-year-olds at the helm of armies of 10,000 men. All this has always made Afghanistan a very exotic--and very dangerous--place.

X is for those marks on the map, every one a Taliban or al Qaeda stronghold, where U.S. warplanes have been dropping their bombs. Think of each as a notch for justice.

Y is for yammering liberals--of whom Susan Sontag is an example, par excellence--who see this war as one that the West has reaped, and who equate the ways of the civilized world with those of the men with whom we are at war. These are the people who can't bring themselves to utter the word "terrorist," and who cannot, like the ABC network's David Westin, bring themselves to say that the Pentagon was not a legitimate target on Sept. 11. (And just to prove that not all yammerers are liberal, there was Ann Coulter, the evangelist.)

Z is for Zahir Shah, the former king of Afghanistan. Ousted in 1973, this charming octogenarian is thought to be the country's best bet for a unifying figure. There is merit in the contention, for sure. After all, in a land where life expectancy is not much more than 40, a man in his 80s must command a great deal of awe. But is he too gentle, too polished, for this rough-hewn land? And does he have the stomach, after years of exile in Rome, for the rigors of postbellum Kabul? One wonders, and one prays.

Mr. Varadarajan is deputy editorial features editor of The Wall Street Journal.



Ralph de Toledano--

The Enviros: Some Notes For The Record

Paul Ehrlich, one of the leading enviros and junk scientists, has warned decade after decade that within the next 10 years there will be mass starvation because this trembling Earth will be unable to provide food, shelter or energy for an "exploding" population. Ehrlich does not say, "Oops, sorry," when his predictions bump up against reality, but instead makes those same predictions all over again. And the media eat it up.

Yet the details of what will bring about the predicted catastrophe shift with the reigning environmental fashions. In 1970, for example, this Chicken-Little-in-chief warned that the Earth was moving into a new ice age. Should the South Pole get colder (as Ehrlich said it would) the Antarctic ice cap would fall into the Antarctic Ocean and produce "a global tidal wave that could wipe out a substantial portion of mankind, and the sea level could rise 60 to 100 feet."

It didn't happen. But, without missing a beat, Ehrlich switched from ice age to global warming and issued yet another warning: "The population of the U.S. will shrink from 250 million to about 22.5 million before 1999 because of famine and global warming." (And then the melting ice cap would flood our coasts.) Well, 1999 has come and gone, bringing another set of warnings from Ehrlich but neither famine in the United States nor a decline in population.

Ehrlich is not the only enviro to play games with media gullibility. Every time the price of gasoline or heating oil rises the enviros spring up to claim that heedless and greedy humans are exhausting the world's energy supplies and will face darkened and heatless homes in winter and must suffer without air conditioning in summer — if not this year then next. And if you

don't believe this, just turn to the **New York Times** or the **Washington Post**, both great purveyors of junk science.

Too bad neither those newspapers nor the major TV networks subscribe to **Access to Energy**, a newsletter edited by Dr. Arthur D. Robinson, president and research professor of the Oregon Institute of Science and Medicine. Robinson is bitterly hated by the enviros, among other reasons because he has presented Vice President Dick Cheney with a list of 17,000 scientists who strongly oppose the idiotic Kyoto "global warning" treaty, signed by Al Gore without benefit of the advice or consent of the Senate. **Access to Energy** (Box 1250, Cave Junction, OR 97523) is the most authoritative publication of its kind available on scientific matters. Robinson lays it on the line in a recent issue:

"In 1947, proven oil reserves were 68 billion barrels. Between 1947 and 1968, 783 billion barrels were used —and proven reserves in 1998 stood at 1,000 billion (1 trillion) barrels.

"In 1966, world reserves of natural gas were 1 quadrillion cubic feet. Between 1966 and 1998, we used 2 quadrillion cubic feet — and reserves in 1998 stood at 5 quadrillion cubic feet.

"In 1949, world coal reserves were 256 billion short tons. Between 1949 and 1998, we used 168 billion short tons — and coal reserves stood at 1,000 billion (1 trillion) short tons."

Currently, "global warming" is the biggest ploy of junk scientists. Robinson states categorically that the enviros have presented not one verifiable scientific fact to bolster their claims of "global warming." Here's how he puts it: "The bottom line is that virtually all life on Earth derives its carbon (essential to life) from atmospheric carbon dioxide — either directly or by eating other living things that do so. ... Moreover, most of the carbon on the Earth is not stored in the atmosphere. Omitting rocks, 75 percent is stored in the oceans; 20 percent in the coal, oil and gas deposits; and about 1.4 percent in the atmosphere. The atmosphere itself is only about 0.04 percent carbon dioxide.

"Human activity converts about 0.05 percent of the coal, oil and gas, or about 0.01 percent of the total, into carbon dioxide. ... The principal result of human conversion of hydrocarbons into atmospheric carbon dioxide is a marvelous increase in the populations of plants and animals."

As everyone who has made a study of the enviros knows, their technique is to suppress facts or (less politely) simply to lie. This is their way of impressing the media and bullying Congress. Just one of the hundreds of examples I have in my files of their perfidy is the destruction of some 1,500 farms (200,000 acres of land) in the Klamath Basin of Oregon. The government cut off their irrigated water because enviros claimed "endangered" salmon and the sucker fish (a bottom-feeding scavenger) needed it.

This, of course, is an outright lie. The salmon run this year was the largest in six decades. But the Environmental Protection Agency already had made up its mind and was not interested in facts. Neither are the enviros. Their literature makes it abundantly clear that many of them would rather see the human race disappear than discomfort one animal. Although not always. **The Des Moines Register** quotes Ingrid Newkirk, cofounder and president of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, who

holds that an outbreak of the devastating hoof-and-mouth disease in the United States would reduce meat eating and therefore be "good for animals, good for human health and good for the environment. I only hope it comes here."

Lunatic? No doubt. Yet these are the people who are leading America and Congress by the nose.



Fred Barnes--

Bush's Recession?

Democrats Are Trying To Blame The Recession On George W. Bush. It's Worse Than Partisanship--It's Not True.

the weekly
Standard

Tom Daschle, the Senate majority leader, says President Bush is handling the economy poorly. His evidence? The White House now projects budget deficits for the next several years. Representative Nita Lowey of New York, who runs the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, labels the economic downturn "George Bush's recession." Richard Gephardt, the House Democratic leader, insists Bush is "mismanaging the economy."

The press has played this Democratic assault as a return to sharp partisan conduct after several months of bipartisanship following the terrorist attacks on September 11. But Democrats are indulging in something more than that: extremely muddleheaded economic thinking. And this is what the media ought to be examining but aren't.

For starters, let's look at the economic facts. The economy began to grow more slowly last year, and a real downturn began in March 2001. By the third quarter, the economy had fallen into negative territory--in other words, contracting rather than growing. And last week, the National Bureau of Economic Research declared we're now experiencing a recession.

So the question is, what caused it? Democrats don't have a clue. They don't understand the difference between the

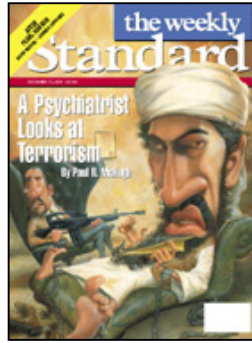
economy and the federal budget. The two are not the same. Yet Daschle suggests that budget deficits, which are projected for the next several years but haven't happened yet, caused the recession. That, of course, is economically impossible. The economy, we now know--and Daschle knows--began to shrink before the deficits were projected. But even if they had been projected months ago, that wouldn't matter.

Budget projections of shortfalls don't cause recessions or downturns and never have. Actual deficits don't either. Remember the period of 1982 to 2000, the period of spectacular economic growth. For most of those years, there were budget deficits, often whopping deficits, far larger than the ones projected for 2003 and 2004. Democrats and liberal economists used to regard deficits as good because they supposedly spurred demand and thus made the economy grow. Now, without

acknowledging the flip-flop, they claim deficits or just predictions of deficits have the opposite effect. Crazy, huh? Or maybe it's just mindless partisanship.

What about tax cuts? It would be one thing for Daschle to blame Bush's tax cuts for prompting projections of deficits in future budgets. They play a smaller role in this than the slowed economy or the burst of new spending since September 11. Still, in terms of static analysis, they might play some role in creating deficits. But Daschle is suggesting something different, namely that potential deficits in the future are hurting the economy now. That's impossible.

As for Lowey and Gephardt, it's hard to know what they're really talking about. When Lowey blamed Bush for the recession, she didn't explain how he caused it--and for good reason. He simply couldn't have caused it in so short a time as president. Besides, both Bush and the Federal Reserve were



into recession? I can't imagine a cogent answer, but at least they should be asked. If Republicans were making absurd economic claims, no doubt they'd be called on to justify them. The same should be true for Democrats.

Fred Barnes is executive editor of The Weekly Standard.



Henry Mark Holzer--

What Can Be Done With Taliban John?

"Everyone loves him," said his mom. "He's a really good boy, a really sweet boy."

Marilyn Walker was referring to her son, John Phillip Walker - aka Abdul Hamid - most recently seen on international television wounded, starved, and filthy from his several-day stay in the basement of a muddy makeshift prison in Northwest Afghanistan.

Mr. Hamid, an American citizen fighting on the side of the Taliban (and almost certainly the Al Qaeda forces of Osama bin Laden) was flushed out of his hideout through the application of freezing water, which wrote the final chapter to the prisoner revolt at the Qalai Janghi fortress.

During that revolt, not only were fighters of our Northern Alliance allies killed, so too was an American intelligence operative of the Central Intelligence Agency. Taken prisoner by the anti-Taliban forces, Walker-Hamid openly admitted sympathy for the terrorist bombing of the U.S.S. Cole, and the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

Tuesday, when at his press conference Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld was asked about what can be done with Taliban John, the secretary did not provide an answer. Although the answers are clear, they are limited.

To begin with, it's easy to say what isn't going to be done with Walker-Hamid. He isn't going to be put before any United States Military Tribunal, because the jurisdiction of those bodies, if ever they are convened, does not extend to American citizens. He will not be court-martialed, because he served in the wrong army. Nor will he be charged with treason, for two reasons. First, the "levying war" against the United States prong of the crime of treason is problematic, because in fighting for the Taliban against the Northern Alliance it is uncertain that Walker-Hamid was actually fighting against the United States. Second, while the "adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort" prong may be easier to prove than "levying war," the fact is that all American administrations since World War II have had an aversion to indicting for the "mother of all crimes," and no one has been charged with treason since the end of World War II (note the



Rosenberg case, which was brought under the Espionage Act), Indeed, if Jane Fonda was not charged with treason in 1972 after her successful propaganda efforts on behalf of the Communist North Vietnamese, Walker-Hamid certainly will not be indicted for treason.

That leaves Walker-Hamid facing two possible punishments.

One is under American criminal law. For example, an American citizen is subject to the judicial system of the United States for acts committed abroad if there is a connection - a "nexus" - to this country. Thus, for example, if an American citizen murders another American in our embassy in Prague (which is considered United States territory),

the alleged killer can be tried in an American court. We even extradited to the United States bombers of the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, and they weren't even American citizens. Equally, Jane Fonda could have been indicted in an American court for her conduct in wartime North Vietnam, given her acts' effect on the United States.

So let us recall the events surrounding Walker-Hamid's conduct in Afghanistan. He fought for the Taliban, was captured by the Northern Alliance, and arguably took part in the Qalai Janghi prison uprising where an American CIA agent was killed. Depending on the facts, under American criminal law Walker-Hamid might have been a principal in that killing, he might have been an aider and abettor, and/or a conspirator. If there are facts

supporting any of these roles, Walker-Hamid is chargeable in a United States court.

In addition, his American citizenship is at risk.

Under at least three sections of the Nationality Act, Walker-Hamid could lose his American citizenship: voluntarily (a question for the trier of fact) declaring allegiance to a foreign state, merely serving in a post for which such a declaration is required (even without making a declaration), or serving in the armed forces of a foreign state if it is engaged in hostilities

against the United States or by serving as an officer or noncommissioned officer in the armed forces of a foreign state.

Loss of citizenship is serious business. But if Walker-Hamid were to be convicted of having a role in the murder of our CIA agent, he might have to worry about losing more than just his citizenship.

Henry Mark Holzer, Professor Emeritus at Brooklyn Law School, is co-author of the forthcoming "Aid and Comfort": Jane Fonda in North Vietnam.



Editorial--

Ashcroft Wins The "Civil Liberties" Debate

The stampede you heard out of Washington yesterday was the sound of Senate Democrats and other liberals abandoning their two-week attack on military tribunals and Attorney General John Ashcroft. There may be some mopping up left, but this debate is over. It's one more sign that the obligation to community is reasserting itself as a core value in American politics.

The scene was Judiciary Chairman Pat Leahy's long-awaited "oversight" of Mr. Ashcroft. This was supposed to be the culmination of what have been many days of elite liberal assaults on Mr. Ashcroft for supposedly imposing a new fascist night in America. Newspapers and TV networks pretended there was great "bipartisan" angst about all this, especially military tribunals, though the only conservative critics were libertarians they usually ignore.

But a surprising and hopeful thing has happened in the meantime: The American public has resisted the clamor. Poll after poll shows that, by more than two to one, Americans support the use of military commissions to try noncitizen terrorists. This support is no thanks to the Bush Administration, which was initially caught off guard by the criticism, or to Republicans in Congress, who until yesterday offered little public defense.

We attribute it instead to the public's common-sense understanding that wars require a change in rules. For years, rights-talk has been the trump card of American politics. But faced with the genuine terror threat that surfaced on September 11, the political left's rights-above-all rhetoric sounds naive at best, dangerous at worst. Thanks to the public's good sense, American political discourse has a chance to return to a better balance between rights and security, between the legal rights of the individual and the obligations to protect the broader American community.

This all helps explain yesterday's liberal Senate rout. Mr. Ashcroft started out on offense and never let up. We can't recall so complete a political rout since Ollie North ran circles around the Iran-Contra committee.

The most dramatic moment came when Mr. Ashcroft, in his opening remarks, held up a copy of the al Qaeda training manual. It's part of the evidence that prosecutors had to make public in an earlier terror trial. And it describes how terrorists have been instructed to use America's civil-rights protections to their own destructive advantage. (Excerpts are on the Justice Department Web site.)

Terrorists are "directed to take advantage of any contact with the outside world," Mr. Ashcroft said, "to 'communicate with brothers outside prison and exchange information that may be helpful to them in their work.'" No wonder Mr. Ashcroft has wanted the power to listen to the conversations of a mere 16 federal inmates and their attorneys, so investigators know what deadly messages might be passed along.

Mr. Ashcroft also broke with this Administration's usual pattern and carried his argument to his critics. He rightly noted that the over-the-top, hysterical charges of many ("shredding the Constitution") "only aids terrorists--for they erode our national unity and diminish our resolve. They give ammunition to America's enemies, and pause to America's friends."

Perhaps because they can also read polls, Democrats came on more softly than expected. Mr. Leahy mostly sparred about historical precedents for tribunals. This gave Republican Orrin Hatch, who finally found his voice on this subject, a chance to report that President Bush has actually taken more civil-rights care with his tribunal order than FDR did in World War II.

Roosevelt secretly told the War Department to start up tribunals, while Mr. Bush has done it publicly through an order as commander in chief. FDR also let the armed forces decide who would be tried by tribunal, while the Bush order says only the President will decide.

As these and other details have emerged about tribunals, grown-up Democrats have begun to speak out in favor. Senator Joe Lieberman now supports them and even New York's Chuck Schumer, usually a hyper-partisan, has offered a qualified endorsement. Zell Miller, the Georgia Democrat, has been the sharpest critic of his own colleagues, noting that, "These nit-pickers need to find another nit to pick. They need to stop protecting the rights of terrorists. This is about national security. This is about life and death."

A genuine debate over civil liberties is a healthy sign of America's democratic vitality. And vigilance is always called for in the face of expanding government power. But the assault on Mr. Ashcroft has been so arch, and so little based on fact, that it has obscured more truth than it's exposed. The Bush-Ashcroft measures are well within America's Constitutional tradition during time of war. Once again the public has figured this out before most of the politicians.

Let's Not Stop Bashing Clinton Just Yet



"If we members of the Vast Right-wing Conspiracy don't get back to our daily routine of obsessive Clinton-bashing, then the terrorists will have won." I had pretty much given up writing -- or thinking -- about the former president until I read that in an essay by Mark Steyn in the **National Review**.

Steyn's words, however, brought me to my senses. It's darn near unpatriotic of me to ignore the man I think is most likely to spend eternity in hell, sandwiched between the casts of "Cats" and Michael Flatley's "Lord of the Dance."

Fortunately, there's even a news peg. The Metternich of McDonald's broke ground on his new \$200 million presidential library Dec. 5. This opens a new front in his relentless war to win a positive historical legacy.

At the groundbreaking, Bruce Reed, Bill Clinton's former domestic policy adviser, told The Washington Post, "George Orwell was right: He who controls the past controls the future." His point: There's always a battle to buff up or smudge down the historical legacies of presidents.

For example, it may surprise you that JFK was actually a tax-cutting, commie-hating, redbaiting, cold warrior who began America's involvement in Vietnam and for the most part ran to the right of Richard Nixon.

And, speaking of Nixon, you do remember that this alleged American dictator was the one who created the EPA, launched affirmative action (the "Philadelphia Plan"), implemented "wage and price controls," made peace with Red China and yanked America out of Vietnam.

But the former is a liberal icon and the latter a conservative tar baby.

Bill Clinton knows all this. Indeed, Bill Clinton was, by even friendly accounts, the most legacy-obsessed president in modern memory. From the outset, he was determined to bolster his standing in the history books. He told audiences that he was the first president to know anything about farming, which would have come as a surprise to everyone from George Washington and Thomas Jefferson to Harry Truman and Jimmy Carter - men who all actually made a living from the land, something Bill Clinton never did.

More damning, Bill Clinton lamented to aides that the country faced no threat along the lines of World War II that

would have provided him the opportunity to show his "greatness." More recently, it was reported in **The New York Times** that he wished Sept. 11 happened on his watch, again, so he could trade American lives for his legacy.

And this exposes Bill Clinton's biggest problem right now -- and I'm not talking about his insatiable appetite for pork rinds, interns and lying. Prior to Sept. 11, it was anyone's guess what history would have to say about Clinton. His boosters hoped, more than knew, that he would go down in history as the president who saved the economy and the Democratic Party, and thwarted the rising tide of mean-spirited conservatism. That was even his spin at the groundbreaking. "I believe the fact that we stood up to this right-wing movement ... will be something that will redound to my credit in history," Clinton said. "I don't think it will be a black mark."

Meanwhile, we Clinton-bashers hoped, more than knew, that Clinton would go down in history as a man who abused his power, became a peripatetic proselytizer for prurience and lowered the moral tone while surfing a rising economic and technological tide for which he deserved little credit.

But Sept. 11 changes all of that. Suddenly the Clinton era has become radically redefined. It has become the prelude to the World Trade Center attacks and the subsequent "War on Terrorism."

The bad news for Bill is that he did very little right and a great deal wrong in the effort to combat and prevent terrorism; his repeated refusal to accept Sudan's offer to extradite Osama bin Laden to the United States is just the tip of what increasingly looks like an iceberg of cowardly half-measures and poll-driven foreign policies that eventually crashed into the World Trade Center.

Neville Chamberlain, Mark Steyn reminds us, wasn't known as the emblematic "appeaser" of Nazism in 1940. If, somehow, WWII hadn't happened, Chamberlain's legacy would be totally different (as would Churchill's obviously). Who knows what the "future history" of Bill Clinton would have been had Sept. 11 not happened?

But it did. And, suddenly, Bill Clinton's efforts to nationalize health care and thwart Newt Gingrich's conservative steamroller are in danger of becoming footnotes to a record that set the stage for a long era of conflict.

It may be too soon to call Bill Clinton the Neville Chamberlain of the next World War. But if I were Bill Clinton, I'd build a big exhibit in my new library explaining why I wasn't.



"Impurifying Our Precious Bodily Fluids"

Fear Of Fluoridation Takes A Left Turn

In the 1964 movie **Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb**, General Jack D. Ripper launches a nuclear strike against the Soviet Union to stop the Communist infiltration that he fears will "sap and impurify all of our precious bodily fluids." In the 1960s, moviegoers instantly recognized that Ripper's character was a parody of a right-wing paranoid. It was a leftist highbrow swipe at the John Birch Society's (JBS) opposition to the campaign to fluoridate community water supplies in the 1950s. The JBS opposed the fluoridation of public water supplies on the grounds that it is an involuntary mass medical treatment that violates individual rights.

It is a curious anomaly that anti-fluoridationism became a right-wing cause. After all, it was muckraking New Deal journalist Rachel Lynn Palmer and physician Isidore Alpher who first warned in their 1937 classic **40,000,000 Guinea Pig Children** against the dangers posed by fluorine compounds to children. Most pernicious was the invention by a conscienceless corporation of a toothpaste with fluoride.

"Manufacturing a dentifrice containing fluorine seems nothing short of grotesque," they declared. "The possibility of such dentifrices being marketed is an excellent example of why only those accepted by the American Dental Association should be used."

Now, however, the left-wing environmentalist paranoids are beginning to embrace their lost anti-fluoridationist tradition. The jumpstart to modern left-wing opposition to fluoridation can be traced to an alarmist article, "Fluoride: Commie Plot or Capitalist Ploy" in the Fall 1992 issue of **Covert Action Quarterly**. That article claimed that fluoridation was devised in the 1940s chiefly as a way for the aluminum industry to dispose of toxic fluoride wastes. Instead of dumping the wastes in landfills, industry dumped them in the nation's water supplies, and at a profit too.

In 1992, libertarian theorist Murray Rothbard reprised the **Covert Action** story in an article for the John Birch Society-affiliated magazine **The New American**. In that article Rothbard wondered, "It has always been a bit of a mystery to me why left-environmentalists, who shriek in horror at a bit of Alar on apples, who cry 'cancer' even more absurdly than the boy cried 'Wolf,' who hate every chemical additive known to man, still cast their benign approval upon fluoride, a highly toxic and probably carcinogenic substance."

Of course, the answer to this conundrum is that the left couldn't oppose fluoridation because it was originally promoted as a public health measure. However, as soon as it was reframed as a "capitalist ploy," left-wingers could respectably begin to campaign against it. Fear of fluoride was on.

During the 2000 presidential campaign, Green Party candidate and left-wing icon Ralph Nader came out against fluoridation. Now groups like the Sierra Club claim that there are "valid concerns" about the "potential adverse impact of fluoridation on the environment, wildlife, and human health." Often-cited "adverse health impacts" of fluoridated water include bone cancer, depressed thyroid function, lowered IQ, weakened bones, and discolored teeth. As the perpetual unscientific environmentalist campaigns against trace amounts of synthetic chemicals show, the left is now the political tendency most desperately afraid of impurifying our precious bodily fluids.



In May 2000, the ideological environmentalist opposition to fluoridation got a further boost with the formation of the Fluoride Action Network (FAN). FAN founders include such alarmist luminaries as the late David Brower (former Sierra Club executive director and founder of Friends of the Earth), Teddy Goldsmith (founding editor of **The Ecologist**), Gar Smith (Earth Island Institute), and Terri Swearingen (Ohio anti-incineration activist).

But you needn't be either a capitalist or a communist dupe to think public fluoridation is a good idea. In the early 20th century, a dentist named Frederick McKay opened his practice in Colorado Springs. McKay noted that the teeth of many locals had brownish discolorations. He also noted that they had relatively few decayed teeth. Researching the matter for decades, McKay eventually concluded that fluorine compounds in the water supply were the cause of both the discoloration and the cavity prevention.

Trendley Dean, a U.S. Public Health Service dental officer, heard of McKay's research and designed studies in 1936 which showed that fluoride concentrations of around one part per million prevented tooth decay while not discoloring teeth. On December 14, 1945, Grand Rapids, Mich., became the first city in

which sodium fluoride was added to its water supply as a way to prevent dental caries.

Today, some 62 percent of Americans served by public water systems drink fluoridated water. Studies show that fluoridation reduces the amount of cavities that children get by up to 60 percent. (It reduces adult cavity levels by 35 percent.) One study estimated that fluoridation reduced U.S. dental care expenditures by \$39 billion between 1979 and 1989.

A new report issued on November 30 by the Task Force on Community Preventive Services for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), after reviewing peer-reviewed scientific evidence from around the world, once again "strongly recommended community water fluoridation." An earlier CDC report from 1999 noted that "opponents of water fluoridation have claimed it increased the risk for cancer, Down syndrome, heart disease, osteoporosis and bone fracture, acquired immunodeficiency syndrome, low intelligence, Alzheimer disease, allergic reactions, and other health conditions."

But that CDC report dismissed such claims: "The safety and effectiveness of water fluoridation have been re-evaluated frequently, and no credible evidence supports an association between fluoridation and any of these conditions." It is true that a very small number of people exposed to fluorides in drinking water will develop fluorosis, a cosmetic condition in which generally small chalky white spots appear on sufferers' teeth.

Since 1950, much to the chagrin of Palmer and Alpher, the American Dental Association "has continuously and unreservedly endorsed the optimal fluoridation of community water supplies as a safe and effective public health measure for

the prevention of dental decay." The CDC and ADA are not alone in their enthusiasm for fluoridation--nearly 100 national and international professional medical societies and research organizations also endorse community water fluoridation, including the Institute of Medicine, the World Health Organization, the National Academy of Sciences, and the American Medical Association.

On balance the scientific evidence seems to indicate that fluoridation is a safe and effective way to prevent tooth decay. Of course, that doesn't mean that future studies will not identify problems--research is always subject to revision. However it is highly likely that, after 50 years of use by millions of people, any truly major health problems resulting from fluoridation would already have made themselves evident.

Of course, as the debates over issues like vaccination and environmental policy have shown, scientific evidence doesn't sway committed ideologues. The technophobes and reactionaries of the left and the right will continue campaigning against fluoridation until the sun burns out. So if you don't want fluoride in your water supplies, then by all means join the motley ranks of anti-fluoridationist figures like Jack D. Ripper, Ralph Nader, and the Sierra Club. You are free to ignore the scientific evidence of fluoridation's benefits and vote "no" when it comes up as a referendum in your community. May you enjoy paying more for your dental bills and possibly condemning your children to false teeth in their old age.

Ronald Bailey is Reason's science correspondent and the editor of Earth Report 2000: Revisiting the True State of the Planet (McGraw-Hill)



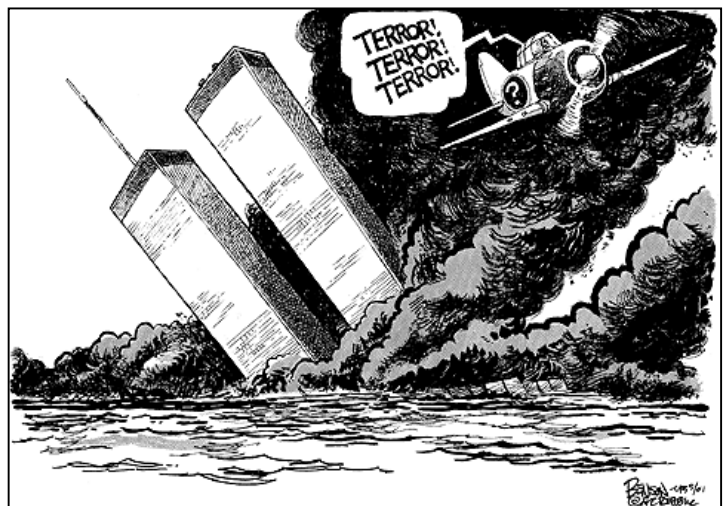
Victor Davis Hanson--

Dates In Infamy

It is already conventional wisdom to see the attacks of September 11, 2001, as something new in our nation's history. After all, our present enemies have no planes or tanks of their own. Indeed, no state claims al Qaeda as its own military arm. Our adversaries wore no uniforms — at least as they went up the ramps of our planes, and before they put on their macabre death headbands — and were seemingly innocuous as they sat among their victims.

In our response to the present surprise attack, we are told also that Americans may not know exactly whom we are fighting, or how we are even to discover when our foes in Afghanistan and elsewhere are vanquished. All these concerns contain an element of truth, but they are hardly the Truth. In fact, the destruction of the World Trade Center and the attack on the Pentagon share much in common with the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor 60 years ago this week — and so explain why the nature of the American response in both cases was remarkably the same.

Both Pearl Harbor and September 11 — for all our enemies' cowardly audacity in murdering unsuspecting Americans in a time of peace — were military blunders of the first order. The Japanese killed over 2,400 Americans, sank 8 battleships, and destroyed 186 planes, but they also found no aircraft carriers, sent no real modern ships to the bottom, left most of the Pacific fleet's critical oil reserves intact, and made no further attempt to disrupt shipping between Hawaii and the West Coast — much less seriously shell and bomb a mostly unprotected and ill-prepared American mainland.



So too it is with the terrorists. After the initial shock, they have been unable to erode further American assets. Al Qaeda has shown no ability to shut down a damaged Pentagon or ruin the cultural, political, and economic life of a scarred New York. While we have suffered a grave defeat — thousands dead, 50 billion in property damage, trillions lost in financial capital, and millions out of work — the ability of the United States to maintain its role as a world power remains unquestioned.

In fact, bin Laden's terrorists, like the Japanese militarists, violated the chief tenet of military science of the ages — one should never attack a militarily superior enemy in a time of peace without inflicting such damage as to cause ruination and thus prevent retaliation. Admiral Nagumo himself later acknowledged that he had "awakened a sleeping giant and filled her with a terrible resolve" — a confession apparently unknown to the supposedly astute bin Laden.

Six months after Pearl Harbor, in June 1942, the United States off Midway sank four Japanese fleet carriers, killed the enemy's most seasoned naval pilots, and prevented the occupation of the atolls. And within a year, Americans were fighting in Japanese waters, and there was no question that any warring — other than at a few frigid outposts in Alaska — would take place close to American shores. Afghanistan is thousands of miles from New York, but the theater of fighting in this war from now on is more likely to be over there than here.

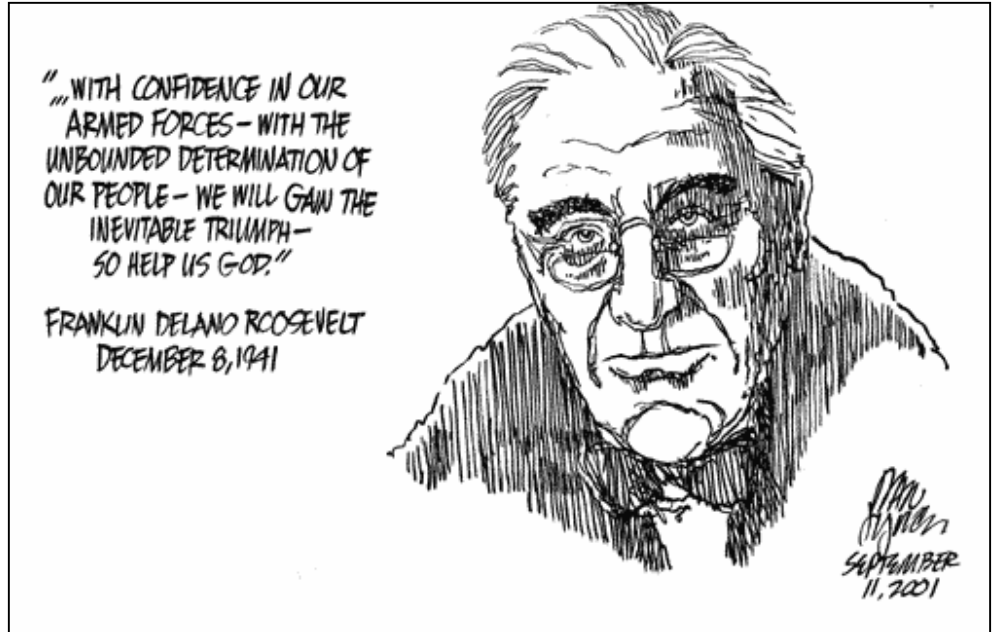
Just as the Japanese — in their fanatical banzai yells; embrace of suicide; and promises of death to weak, corrupt, and soft Westerners — misjudged us, so too the terrorists bragged that we were either too wealthy, too cowardly, or too impotent to retaliate in kind. And just as in the months after Pearl Harbor — at Midway and Guadalcanal — we proved the fanatics wrong on all counts, so too our present-day fascist attackers in Afghanistan are mostly either dead, captured, or hiding in caves. Bin Laden has learned the same lesson as did General Tojo: Shouting, threats, and a brutal and maniacal creed are no substitute for West Point, GM, Caltech, Sears, the U.S. Senate, and the American soldier.

Again, in a mere three weeks the United States is on the verge of annihilating the purportedly elusive and near-invincible al Qaeda network, with plans on the boards for systematic attacks throughout the Middle East against terrorist havens, networks, and sympathetic regimes. In such audacity, our present planners resemble their predecessors of December, 1941, who immediately began to draw up ambitious blueprints not merely to defend America, but to eliminate Japanese, Italian, and German fascism altogether and at once.

Apparently, both our grandfathers and the present generation realized that there is no quarter to be given criminals, whether they be fascist states or murdering fundamentalists. Such is the self-righteous fury of democracies, past and present, when they fall victim to unprovoked attack. A culture that is characteristically slow to anger, shockingly ill-prepared in times

of peace, and full of domestic concern with the most trivial of issues suddenly awakes from its slumber, taps its arsenal of free-thinking individuals, and then by consensus and law chooses not merely to defeat but to eradicate its enemies.

But there are a variety of other similarities between December 7 and September 11, and not all of them are merely military. The shock of World War I, followed by the boom of the 1920s and the depression of the 1930s, had created a self-



absorbed and then apprehensive America, either unwilling or unable to marshal its resolve to destroy incipient fascism in Europe and Asia. So too with us: After setbacks in Vietnam and Somalia — and despite the clear victories of the Gulf and in the Balkans — Americans were still unsure of their real power, and once again had begun to listen more to what our enemies might do to us than to what we most surely could do to them. The earlier recession of 1991, followed by the recent dot-com boom and bust that created millionaires and then paupers — in the same manner as the Roaring Twenties and subsequent Great Crash — fostered insularity and absorption with domestic affairs.

"It's the economy, stupid" in magnitude was hardly similar to the scope of the New Deal, but both Clinton and the early Roosevelt tended to ignore events abroad, in the belief that their political futures hinged on solving problems at home — hoping all the while that the fumes of past American prowess would deter foreign aggression. While the explosive growth in the American population and sophisticated technology of the last half-century suggest that our contemporary recessions and military cuts were not comparable to the more drastic ones of the 1930s, both eras nevertheless shared a psychological affinity with isolationism — and both illusions were shattered by Pearl Harbor and the September 11 bombings.

Politically, September 11 offers the same lessons as did December 7. It really is folly to radically cut one's defenses in times of peace — if for no other reason that enemies appear out of nowhere, and view even moderate disarmament as impotence and an invitation to aggression. Just as we ignored Manchuria until Zeros reached Oahu, so too the bombers in Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, and Yemen were the godfathers of the September terrorists. Appeasement, now and then, is a prescription for disaster. While we may still have plenty of

muscle to deal with both Afghanistan and Iraq, let us hope that our taxed and weary carriers in the next six months are not also needed off Palestine, North Korea, China, or Cuba. Since September 11, we have been relearning the depressing lesson of human nature that six decades ago we also rediscovered after Pearl Harbor — in the interval "suffering" what the Roman satirist Juvenal once dubbed "the evils of a long peace."

Landmark events, like Pearl Harbor and the recent attack, do not invent new mentalities so much as return us to the wisdom of the ages — predictably forgotten in the luxury of tranquility and prosperity. Americans woke up from their slumber on December 8, and soon fathomed that prior international agreements on arms-reduction had not stopped the building of the behemoth battleships Yamato and Musashi; that the League of Nations did not save Ethiopia or Manchuria; and that summit talks on the eve of Pearl Harbor led to disaster, not reprieve. So too will we learn once more that most of the Cold War accords on bioweaponry were violated by the former Soviet Union and others, that Saddam Hussein honored few of the 1991 armistice agreements, and that the United Nations can do nothing to prevent terrorism. Utopian internationalism has its uses among squabbling equals during peacetime, but only military preparedness and a willingness to use force can stop aggressors from killing the innocent.

Of course, in a rapidly changing and global culture, there are also many superficial differences between these attacks on America six decades apart. We are interviewing aliens, not interning citizens; our ancestors were asked to sacrifice for the war effort, we to spend our way out of a recession; few then had any qualms about hitting the Japanese back, yet our own cultural elite talk of the moral equivalence between terrorists deliberately killing the innocent in a time of peace, and soldiers consciously avoiding civilians in a time of war.

Yet human nature and democracy are constants through time and space, and so the real lesson of Pearl Harbor teaches us that fanatics, autocrats, and fascists, out of perceived rather than real grievances, will always envy and fear — but eventually hate



INFAMY II

— a culture of freedom and prosperity. The surprise attacks from such bankrupt cultures will always be encouraged by complacency aided by a dereliction of vigilance — the terrible price of amnesia that affluent and self-absorbed democracies so often pay.

The ultimate verdict — still unfathomable to many of America's cultural elite — likewise is not in doubt. Mr. bin Laden should remember that the wrecks of Battleship Row led to the cinders of Berlin and Tokyo; the fall of the Twin Towers and the firing of the Pentagon will bring al Qaeda and its abettors a similar oblivion. Pearl Harbor set off a chain reaction of mobilization, war production, and national resolve in America, as an energized response at Coral Sea led to Midway to Guadalcanal to Iwo Jima to Okinawa and finally, to Tokyo Bay. Each week, after December 7, we learned that our initial vulnerability was ephemeral, our rejoinder deadly and enduring. And because we are still our grandfathers' children, the Taliban, Saddam Hussein, perhaps Mr. Arafat, Assad, and others of their ilk should understand that September 11 was not the end, but the very beginning. We did not want this war and as a people abhor killing, but history teaches us that by God we shall surely end it — and on our terms, not theirs.

Hanson is author most recently of Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power.

**Queen's
Counsel**
From
The Times
Of London



Days Of Infamy—And Moral Clarity



"The facts of yesterday," President Roosevelt told the country on December 8, 1941, "speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation."

As well they did. Tragedies and naked acts of aggression have a way of bringing moral clarity both to men and nations. Prior to the date that lives in infamy, America was a country desperately trying to remain neutral in a world riven by the rise of expansionist, authoritarian powers. Then its enemies announced themselves, and rendered neutrality a morally unjustifiable position.

As many have observed, September 11, 2001 is another date that will live in infamy. And the three months that have followed it have marked a similar period of moral clarity.

We knew, well before Sept. 11, about the dangers and designs of radical Islam—there was no shortage of less spectacular terrorist attacks to remind us. But it was a reality the country hoped to ignore or make disappear through negotiation and appeasement. It took the unmistakable devastation, the insult, and the horror of losing thousands of Americans on our own soil to make us recognize that we are threatened by an undeniable evil, and the only way to defeat it is to destroy it outright.

That newly heightened sense of moral clarity has been evident in the swift, unambiguous, and bipartisan denunciations of Yasser Arafat that have followed the latest round of Palestinian terror in Israel. In the past, such incidents prompted American officials to offer all sorts of excuses for Arafat's inability or refusal to seize the terrorists in the territory he controls. They condemned Israel's retaliation more loudly than they condemned the attacks that provoked it. They expected Israel to ignore terror, to make it disappear through negotiation and appeasement.

Now, President George W. Bush, who only weeks earlier endorsed Palestinian statehood, has lumped Arafat into the same category as the Taliban and others who harbor (and thus support) terrorists. Even Hillary Clinton—who once publicly gave a kiss to Arafat's wife after the Palestinian First Lady had just delivered a venomous speech accusing Israel of poisoning Palestinian women and children with toxic gases—finally seems to get it. "This rests squarely on the shoulders of Yasser Arafat," she told the **New York Post**. "His unwillingness and refusal to ... round up and keep imprisoned terrorists sends a clear signal to those who not only wish to undermine the efforts of our government. It also sends a clear signal that no one is safe."

But moral clarity, though precious, is too often fleeting.

In his Pearl Harbor speech, Roosevelt vowed that

"always will we remember the character of the onslaught against us." It was a strong statement, but was it true? Has America's sense of outrage and disgust over the Japanese attack dulled in the intervening 60 years?

Earlier this year, editors of the **Los Angeles Times** decreed that reporters were no longer to refer to Pearl Harbor as a "sneak attack." Melissa McCoy, the paper's assistant managing editor in charge of the copy desk, tried her best to justify her decision to the **New York Times**. "You cannot say that 'sneak attack' is not accurate," she said, "but especially, I think, in California, this era in our history is particularly painful."

"Surprise attack," the editors advised, would be a more sensitive construction. Sensitivity had come to matter more than accuracy.

In my own high-school and college history classes, more time was spent discussing the horrors of Japanese-American internment than the treachery of the Imperial Navy on Dec. 7 (let alone, say, the rape of Nanking). And no discussion of Pearl Harbor was complete without the obligatory litany of American offenses that might have "caused" the attack, as well as the theory that FDR knew Japan was planning the raid but did nothing so he could use the event to whip up a public appetite for war.

On December 8, 1941, few Americans were under the illusion that their country was perfect, but fewer still had any doubts about which side had the obvious moral upper-hand. Over time, that moral clarity became muddled.

And in this age, when everything moves at a faster rate and emotion drives so much of political discourse, there's reason to fear that in some instances, anyway, the moral clarity brought about by Sept. 11 has already begun to fade.

Note Democrats' incessant hand-wringing about President Bush's decision to use military tribunals to prosecute terrorists overseas, as if Operation Enduring Freedom were a police action, not a war. Consider their carping about the Northern Alliance's treatment of its captured enemies, which, for war, especially in Afghanistan, is hardly unusual. Even the strange sympathy the establishment media have shown for John Walker Lindh, the American traitor who converted to Islam and joined the Taliban and Al Qaeda, suggests a loss of perspective.

It's a dangerous trend, and one that must be countered vigilantly. America can only triumph over its enemies in the confidence that whatever its shortcomings or imperfections, it is on the side of good in a monumental struggle against evil.

It will take nothing less than what Roosevelt described in 1941 as "the unbounding determination of our people" to gain "the inevitable triumph—so help us God."

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Suit: Sexgate Spurred Clinton Airstrike

Then-President Clinton was aiming to "restore his popularity" after the Monica Lewinsky sex scandal when he bombed a medicine-making plant in Sudan, according to a lawsuit filed by the plant's owner.

The suit, which seeks \$50 million in damages, blasts Clinton's claim that the plant was "associated" with terrorist mastermind Osama bin Laden.

Clinton turned the plant - which reportedly made ibuprofen, antibiotics and anti-diarrhea pills - into rubble in 1998 when he ordered cruise-missile strikes in the midst of the Monica investigation.

There was no factual warrant for the destruction of the plant," says Stephen Brogan, a lawyer representing Salah Idris, who owned the plant and filed the lawsuit.

"Three days before the attack, President Clinton appeared on national television and made certain admissions about his conduct that were personally and



MISSILE RAUNCH: President Clinton in 1996 ordered this Sudan pharmaceutical plant destroyed by cruise missiles just to distract the media from Sexgate revelations the owner charges. - Associated Press

politically embarrassing to him and to the first lady," Brogan added.

"By ordering the U.S. military into action to destroy this claimed threat to the American people, President Clinton and his advisers sought to restore his diminished presidential authority and popularity."

Clinton declined comment.

The U.S. government, which is named as the plaintiff, wants a federal judge to dismiss the suit. It was filed last summer but has received little attention.



Hunderte Taliban wollen sich mit Handgranaten in die Luft sprengen

Die Lage in der eroberten Stadt Kandahar spitzt sich wieder zu. Die siegreichen Milizen beschießen sich gegenseitig. Hunderte von Taliban sind noch in der Stadt, drohen mit Massenselbstmord. Wo ihr Anführer Mullah Omar ist, bleibt unklar.

Die Straßen sind mit Toten gesäumt, schwer bewaffnete Truppen patrouillieren durch die zerstörte Stadt, die einstmals das spirituelle Zentrum des Landes war. Die Atmosphäre ist gespannt, vereinzelt kommt es bereits zu Scharmützeln zwischen den siegreichen Clan-Milizen. Häuser und Geschäfte werden geplündert. "Die Situation in der Stadt hat sich verschlechtert", sagte ein Paschtunenführer der **Agentur Reuters**.

Noch immer halten sich Hunderte von Taliban in den Ruinen auf. Etliche von ihnen sind am Flughafen zusammengelassen. Ein Sprecher des ehemaligen Kommandeurs von Kandahar, Gul Aghas, sagte, dort hielten sich 250 bis 300 Anhänger Bin Ladens auf. Jeder habe eine Handgranate in der Tasche. Sollte man ihnen näher kommen, wollten sie sich selbst in die Luft sprengen. Die Verhandlungen, sie zur Aufgabe zu bringen, dauerten an.

Mullah Omar angeblich in Gewahrsam talibanfreundlicher Milizen

Unterdessen scheinen die siegreichen Milizen die Stadt unter sich aufzuteilen. Einen großen Teil der Stadt kontrolliert der Kommandeur und Kriegs-Veteran Mullah Naqibullah. Taliban-Führer Mullah Omar hatte sich ihm am Freitag ergeben, nachdem er die Übergabe der Stadt ausgehandelt hatte. Naqibullah gilt als ein den Taliban nahestehender Paschtunenführer.

Seitdem wachsen die Befürchtungen, es könne zu einem Showdown zwischen Naqibullah und den Streitkräften des neu ernannten afghanischen Interim-Premiers Hamid Karsai kommen. Die Stammesführer haben einen Rat gebildet, der die Differenzen



beilegen soll, doch ob er Erfolg hat, ist ebenso ungewiss wie das Schicksal von Mullah Omar.

Die Londoner Times und der Sender BBC hatten berichtet, er befinde sich noch in der Hand von Naqibullah. Doch die Meldungen wurden bisher nicht bestätigt. Einige

Paschtunenführer gaben an, er sei mittlerweile verschwunden. Afghanische Anti-Taliban-Truppen und rund 1000 Elitesoldaten der USA suchen den Taliban-Fürsten mit allen Kräften. Jeder Soldat trägt einen Satz Fotos bei sich, die Schlüsselfiguren der Al-Qaida Terrororganisation zeigen. Nach dem Willen Karsais soll Omar vor Gericht kommen.

US-Verteidigungsminister Donald Rumsfeld bekräftigte, dass die USA sowohl die Führungsriege des El-Kaida-Terrornetzwerks als auch den Taliban-Führer gefangen nehmen wollen. "Es ist unsere Absicht, Omar zum richtigen Zeitpunkt unter unsere Kontrolle zu bekommen", sagte er.

Wo steckt Bin Laden?

Auch die Jagd auf den Terroristen-Führer Osama bin Laden dauert an. US-Flugzeuge flogen am Samstag erneut massive Bombeneinsätze auf die Bergfestung Tora Bora in Ostafghanistan. Die extrem unzugängliche Bergregion gilt als letztes Rückzugsgebiet von Taliban-Kämpfern. Oppositions-Einheiten haben angeblich Funksprüche abgefangen, wonach sich

dort auch Bin Laden versteckt. Genau weiß das aber offenbar niemand. "Die beste Ahnung, die wir haben, ist, dass er sich irgendwo in Mittelaafghanistan aufhält", sagte Rumsfeld in einem am Samstag veröffentlichten Interview der "Washington Post".

Die Suche in dem unwegsamem Gelände sei allerdings kompliziert, sagte Rumsfeld weiter. "Wer den Eindruck hat, dass die Grenzen kontrolliert werden und sicher sind, oder dass eine Handvoll Marineinfanteristen in der Lage ist, das Gebiet einzugrenzen und auch nur ein annähernd perfektes Kontrollsystem zu installieren, wäre realitätsfremd. Das ist nicht möglich", sagte Rumsfeld. Pakistan verstärkte unterdessen seine Grenzpatrouillen, um zu verhindern, dass Bin Laden und andere El-Kaida-Terroristen über die Grenze kommen.

Die Lage in Kandahar ist nach den Worten von Rumsfeld "sehr unübersichtlich". Die Tatsache, dass zahlreiche Taliban mit ihren Waffen geflohen seien, mache die Situation sehr gefährlich.

The
Washington
Times

Editorial--

Shame On Clinton — Again



Good news, sort of, for Bill Clinton and Madeleine Albright. Having persisted in telling tales at cross-purposes to explain why the Clinton administration did nothing about Osama bin Laden and the al Qaeda network for all those Clinton years, these two erstwhile office-holders may now read from the same page — literally — and discover in the January issue of **Vanity Fair** what went wrong on their watch.

In "The Osama Files" by David Rose, the former president and former secretary of state get a second chance to see the letters and secret memoranda that they, along with their top aides, once ignored or failed to act upon. The rest of us, meanwhile, get a look at an eye-popping paper trail that documents futile efforts by Sudan to alert the United States to the workings, the identities and the movements of the al Qaeda network, including, of course, bin Laden.

Mr. Clinton and Mrs. Albright may not only reconsider the entreaties of Sudan's President Omar al-Bashir to then-President Clinton (the Sudanese leader asked to open his country to the CIA and the FBI so the United States could investigate for itself whether Sudan trained or sheltered terrorists), but also the many invitations Sudan made to share terrorism information with U.S. intelligence agencies. In political retirement, they may reflect on whether it was such a brilliant idea, for example, for the State Department to have nixed FBI interest in meeting with Sudanese intelligence. As former Bush White House official and lobbyist Janet McElligott said when urging the government to examine Sudan's dossiers, "You do realize bin Laden lived there [Sudan] and they have files on his main people?"

Vanity Fair reports that Sudan's efforts to open its books on bin Laden began in February 1996, well in advance of the terrorist attacks that would make the Saudi-born terrorist infamous. That means that for more than four years the Clinton administration refused to consider intelligence that might have prevented the bombing of the Khobar Towers (June 1996), the destruction of the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania (August 1998), the attack on the USS Cole (October 2000) and, of course, September 11. Why was such potentially vital information not only ignored but never even evaluated?

"The simple answer is that the Clinton administration had accused Sudan of sponsoring terrorism, and refused to

believe that anything it did to prove its bona fides could be genuine," the magazine reports. No doubt. But there is probably more to this scandalous failure than the "politicization" of intelligence.

Just ask a simple question. What mattered more to Clintonites in June 1996: the news on June 25 that a truck bomb had exploded at Khobar Towers in Dharan, Saudi Arabia, or the Supreme Court decision on June 24 to hear Jones vs. Clinton after the 1996 re-election campaign? Or compare another strange confluence of events. What more likely preoccupied Mr. Clinton and his advisers in August 1998: the embassy bombings in Africa on Aug. 7, or Mr. Clinton's upcoming appearance before a grand jury in connection with the Lewinsky matter on Aug. 17?

Given the permanent reconfiguration of the Clinton White House into a scandal-busting spin machine, the answers to such questions are obvious and distasteful. They may make it easier to explain, for example, why Sudan's offer to extradite two suspected bombers and al Qaeda members, made in the days between the embassy bombings and Mr. Clinton's grand jury appearance, was met with silence — except, of course, for the sound of American bombs falling on a Khartoum medicine factory. They don't, however, make it any more conscionable.

The fact is, the scandal-riddled Clinton administration simply and disastrously failed to function — and that, surely, is the biggest scandal of them all.

What This War Has Really Wrought



Between making our brother-in-law open our mail -- which is probably the most work he has done in years -- looking out for terrorists, and following the President's advice to spend as much money as possible, we have not had time to solve the problem of Afghanistan -- but we do have some random thoughts.

We always knew that Trenton was located somewhere between New York and California, but because it is now revealed to be a place where terrorists hang out, we looked into the matter further. We discovered that Trenton is only about 20 miles from New York. So you can't make fun of us for being nervous when the President says that we will not only attack the terrorists but also those who harbor them. We used to look up in the sky to see if the pigeons were dropping anything down on us. Now we look up to see if anything else is coming down.

You can't really blame the Afghans for getting mixed up. First we bomb them and after that we drop food from airplanes. Besides mixing them up, this is also a very inefficient way of getting rid of these people. First we should drop the food. When they come out of their caves to get the food, then we should drop the bombs. If we let our mother-in-law prepare the food we would not even have to bomb them at all. They would be crying for mercy after one of her meals.

One thing has always puzzled us about the bombing. In most wars you bomb their houses so the bad guys end up living in caves. In Afghanistan they start out living in caves and all we end up doing is making more holes in the ground in which they could live. They now have so much extra living space that the real estate brokers in Afghanistan are going out of business.

The Afghan men whose pictures we see in the papers are not in the Noriega class - requiring a court appointed dermatologist - but they will never get their photographs in **Gentleman's Quarterly**. They look like their apparel was chosen from the rejects of Omar the Tentmaker after several camels wore them at the Saturday night camel hop. Additionally, since there is no running or any other water in their caves, there a fragrance problem; and the Afghan men's intimate relationships with the local sheep certainly does not help matters. Since not many of the Afghans are packed into subway cars going to work, they don't seem to mind the odor problem. Besides, if you smell the same as the person on the next camel, you would not be in a hurry to mail him a deodorant spray.

The French, who also have an aversion to bathing solved their problem by inventing perfume. Afghans have not had the success in the perfume business that the French enjoyed since

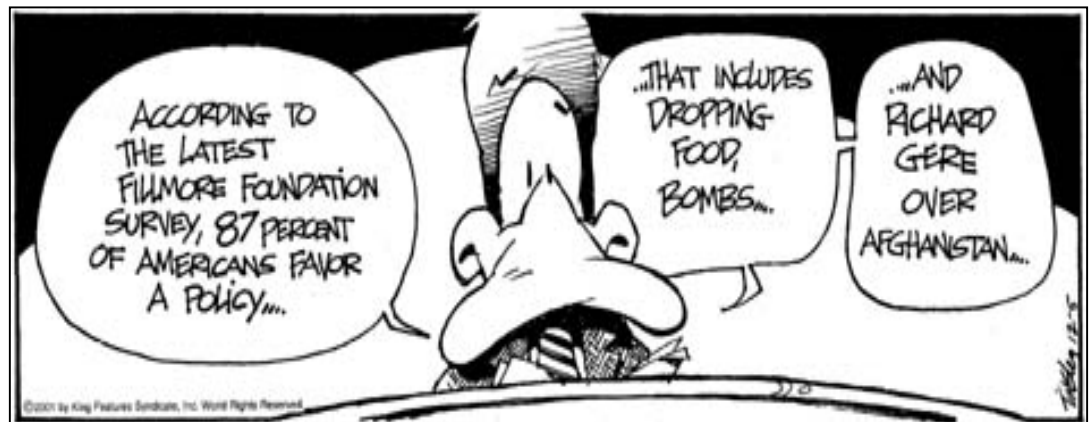
there would be no place for them to make perfume, no place to sell it and no money around for people to buy it. There would be no world- wide market for exciting new scents like Eau de Goat Lice, Evening in Taloquan or Kabul Number Five. If the Afghans begin to surrender in large numbers to the Allied troops, and our men told them to put their hands up, one might see a massive flight of our soldiers to the rear. This was the real reason our troops were issued gas masks.

Now at every event from the beginning of a Little League game to the opening of a supermarket somebody is called to sing The Star Spangled Banner. As soon as the announcer says that the national anthem will be sung by a triple Grammy Award winner who has sold 100 million records, you know the person who steps up to the microphone, tattoos and all, will not be able to carry a tune in a suitcase. What the Afghans on the ground are suffering is nothing like the damage the singers do to the anthem.

One of the problems in catching the terrorists is that they all look alike or worse yet, they all look like the guy who is sitting in the front seat driving your cab. Our government wants us to help capture these men. They point out that these individuals are responsible for thousands of murders, are desperate, possessed of all kinds of weapons including bombs in suitcases, and they want you to arrest them.

From our viewpoint anthrax allowed us to scratch ourselves in public. Before, people used to give us a funny look if we scratched ourselves. Now, when they give us the eye, we say that we are looking for anthrax. "Oh anthrax, give me a couple of scratches too." Which only goes to show that for every cloud, there is a cloudier lining.

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TWO GOOD REASONS TO BAN CLONING...



V. CHARVILLE

