the Weekly Standard

JULY 5 / JULY 12, 1999

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BILL BUCKLEY, MCCARTHYITE
ROBERT NOVAK

Befuddled by 'Internet Time'

The Government's Pointless Lawsuit Against Microsoft

by Thomas W. Hazlett
and George Bittlingmayer

This is a combined issue. The next* WEEKLY STANDARD *will appear in two weeks. Happy Fourth of July.

the weekly Standard

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Cover by Fred Harper

Books & Arts

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BPA INTERNATIONAL

The Clinton Doctrine

As NATO consolidates its victory in Kosovo, unnamed senior White House aides have begun wondering aloud—though always on background—whether it isn't time for the world to acknowledge the existence of a "Clinton Doctrine" worthy of mention in the same breath as other famous presidential foreign policy doctrines: Monroe, Truman, Reagan, and so forth. They are doing this on background, sheepishly, because the phrase "Clinton Doctrine" already exists as a term of derision for the administration's notoriously feckless handling of international security affairs. Yeah, well, the president's image handlers plead, couldn't we *now*, at least, with Slobo practically in handcuffs, finally admit that there's a there there?

Actually, no, we can't. In Cologne, Germany, on June 20, CNN's Wolf Blitzer caught up with the president himself, and questioned him about his purportedly coherent foreign policy principles. "Is there, in your mind, a Clinton doctrine?" Blitzer asked. Here's Clinton's response:

"Well, I think there's an important principle here that I hope will be now upheld in the future, and not just by the United States, not just by NATO, but also by the leading countries of the world through the United Nations. And that is that while there may well be a great deal of ethnic and religious conflict in the world—some of it might break out into wars—that whether within or beyond the borders of the country, if the world community has the power to stop it, we ought to stop genocide and ethnic cleansing.

"People ought—innocent civilians ought not to be subject to slaughter because of their religious or ethnic or racial or tribal heritage. And that is what we did but took too long in doing in Bosnia. That is what we did and are doing in Kosovo. That is, frankly, what we failed to do in Rwanda, where so many died so quickly, and what I hope very much we'll be able to do in Africa if it ever happens there again."

Some "doctrine." *If it ever happens again, we hope we'll be able to stop it, if we have the power to stop it, and if we don't move too slowly or fail to move at all, which we acknowledge we sometimes do.*

Take heart, ye bloodthirsty tyrants of the world. In Washington, they still don't actually know what they're doing—even when they do it right.

Al Gore's Left Bank

One more item for the "A Little Learning Is a Dangerous Thing" file. Fulfilling his promise to explain his proposals for a "new partnership" between government and faith-based organizations, Al Gore gave an interview on religion to seven reporters on May 29. Of course, the interview lasted only 45 minutes, but that was enough time for the vice president to offer such *mots* as "Faith is at the center of my life; I don't wear it on my sleeve." It was also enough time—according to the *New York Times* account by the excellent religion reporter Peter Steinfels—for Gore to race through an impressive list of impressive thinkers who, the vice president explained, had influenced his thinking on religion.

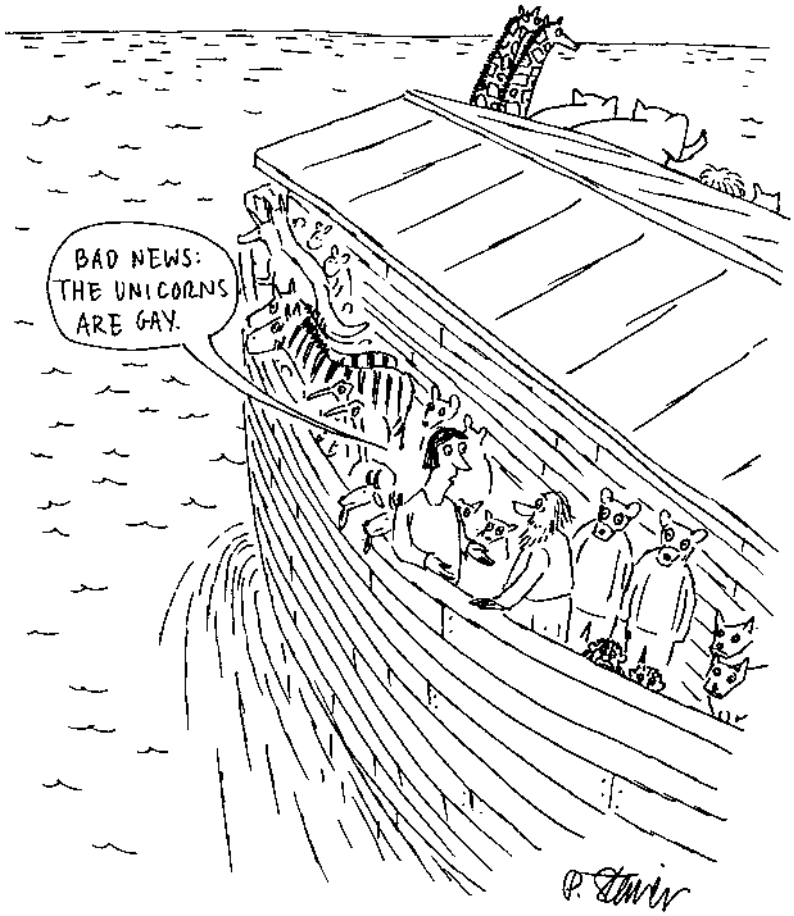
There was a glance at Reinhold Niebuhr, a nod toward Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, a gesture toward Edmund Husserl, and a bow to Maurice Merleau-Ponty. *Merleau-Ponty?* Could our well-read would-be president simply be rattling off a dimly remembered reading list from freshman year at Harvard? The French philosopher in question was the author of the 1946 *Humanism and Terror*, the book that tried to answer Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* by defining Stalin's murderous Moscow show trials as true humanism, rightly understood. But President Clinton, you'll recall, has claimed an affinity with *Darkness at Noon*. He compared himself, during the impeachment trial, to Koestler's wrongly accused hero, Rubashov. So perhaps all Gore is doing with his citation of Merleau-Ponty is finding yet another way to distance himself from the troubles of that man in the White House.

Hasta la Vista, Bilingual Ed

The early report card is in on Proposition 227, which ended bilingual education in California last year. It gets an A+. In Oceanside, Calif., where implementation has been immediate and aggressive, and where one-fifth of the students were non-English-speakers, scores on the SAT 9, a nationwide achievement test, have skyrocketed in every subject and grade level.

Oceanside's seventh grade English-language results

Scrapbook



are most telling. Last year's seventh graders scored in the 4th percentile on the test's reading portion, meaning 96 percent of students nationwide scored better than they did. After less than a year of English immersion, this year's seventh graders scored in the 23rd percentile, a dramatic improvement. There were similarly startling improvements in math, spelling, and other subjects. Other districts have used a parental-request clause in 227 to slow down the transition to English instruction. They may want to reconsider in light of Oceanside's achievement.

Conservatives have argued all along that bilingual ed was less about helping non-English-speaking students than about promoting multiculturalism and ethnic separatism. Thus it should come as no surprise that the state's education bureaucrats have poor-mouthed Oceanside's improvement. Some even had the audacity to claim that the increases are the result of students' previous time in bilingual ed.

As Maria Trejo of the state's department of education told the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, "Our suspicion in the state is that, yes, many [non-English-speaking] students are going to do well on the SAT 9 because they've been in a good [bilingual] program." Shameless.

Next Year in Tel Aviv

Going behind Congress's back is becoming a habit for Bill Clinton. First, he misused a recess appointment (generally reserved for emergencies) to make gay-rights activist James Hormel the ambassador to Luxembourg. Now he has misapplied a waiver provision in the 1995 Jerusalem Embassy Relocation Act to prevent the U.S. embassy's scheduled move from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. The 1995 act, with overwhelming support from Congress, called for the embassy to relocate by May 31, 1999. Despite a 1992 campaign promise to move the embassy to Jerusalem, the undisputed capital of Israel since 1967, Clinton has now used the waiver provision to delay the move for six months.

But the waiver was only intended to be used in an emergency, if it was deemed "necessary to protect the national security interests of the United States." According to Clinton, we could not risk moving the embassy now for two reasons: It would endanger both the prospect for a comprehensive Middle East peace and the lives of American embassy personnel. Not uncharacteristically, he is wrong on both counts. Arguably, he is harming the chance for peace by yet again raising unrealistic Palestinian hopes over the status of Jerusalem. But West Jerusalem—where the embassy would be located—has been in Israeli hands since the end of the War of Independence in 1948. Furthermore, while Jerusalem may not be the safest place in the world, it is a veritable paradise when compared with Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, or even Beijing.

As a presidential candidate, Clinton was adamant in his recognition of Jerusalem as "Israel's eternal capital." More mush from the eternal dissembler.

Help Wanted

National Affairs Inc. (publisher of *The Public Interest* and *The National Interest*) is looking for an assistant to the editors. The job involves bookkeeping (A/P, A/R, payroll, and benefits) and general administrative duties. Previous bookkeeping experience required. Send résumé to Karis Kercher, *The Public Interest*, 1112 16th Street, NW, Suite 530, Washington, DC 20036.

Casual

Cul-de-sac Cool

My old pal Nick e-mailed me last week to say that he was trading up from his charming limestone bungalow a block from the campus where he teaches to a split-level on a half-acre lot. We've stayed buddies since college, a friendship built on the incredibly durable foundation of petty rivalry and one-upmanship.

Now that Nick has tenure, I can reveal that I got my start in journalism because *he* applied for a menial job at the *American Spectator*, then an obscure conservative magazine in Bloomington, Ind. We were both starving but ambitious students at the time, looking for part-time work. He spotted the help-wanted ad first and warned me, "If you're my friend, you won't apply, too." Nothing doing, I said. "If you're *my* friend, you won't let it bother you when I get the job." I did, and, happily, he didn't—let it bother him, that is. He got published before me, though—I still remember getting the triumphant clip in the mail—and we've been gloating back and forth like this for a couple of decades now. So I wasn't about to let him out-suburb me. "You may have forgotten," I e-mailed back, "that when the Starrs moved to suburbia two years ago, we went all the way: split-level house on a cul-de-sac."

I think I win this round. In the realm of anti-fashionable living, you can't trump a suburban cul-de-sac these days. Al Gore in his "sprawl" speech earlier this year talked about "lonely cul-de-sacs" as the epitome of suburbs so ill-conceived and distant from city centers that "a commuting parent often gets home too late to read a child a bedtime story." (Speak for yourself, Motorcade Al.) Not long after that, it was widely reported that one of the Columbine High School killers lived on a "quiet cul-de-sac," though it surely can't have been very quiet when he was practicing bomb-making.

This was the capper on years of subtle digs at cul-de-sacs in the media. When cul-de-sacs make the news, they are without exception reported to be either "quiet" or "tranquil," unless a particularly vicious crime takes place on one, in which event the cul-de-sac in question turns out to have been not just quiet but also "isolated" and "secluded" and sometimes even "out of the way." With nothing to go on but the clichés of local TV reporters, you might conclude that the sure way to avoid violent crime in America is to steer clear of cul-de-sacs and live on a noisy street, ideally one where the neighbors don't keep to themselves, the trees aren't leafy, and the lawns are poorly manicured.

But cul-de-sacs, as I hope Nick is lucky enough to find out when he buys his next house, are great places to live. This is why millions of people buy houses on them, often even paying a premium for the privilege. It may be lonely at the top—the vice president is an authority on that—but it's not lonely on America's cul-de-sacs. To the contrary, a dead-end street makes for a more intimate neighborhood. Nor is it all that quiet—not with all the pick-up basketball games that go on out front. As generations of children have known, despite whatever grown-ups may say, the street is a wonderful place to play, maybe the best. Cul-de-sacs exploit this fact of life.

So what explains the cul-de-sac bashing? Unhappy adolescence, I think. People move to the suburbs when their children no longer comfortably fit in the old house or apartment and they're shopping around for a good high school. This means that you find a disproportionate number of 14-year-olds living on cul-de-sacs. They then grow up with lousy memories of being 14 and blame it on the house their parents moved to that year. The same principle is at work in the overly romantic view people tend to have of city living. They get out of college and move to the city. There are disproportionate numbers of 23-year-olds living in urban neighborhoods. And they tend to confuse the joy of urban living with the joy of being 23.

If you grow up in a big old house in a marginal city neighborhood, as Nick did, or the boondocks, as I did, it's probably easier to appreciate the superiority of modern suburban living. Not that big old houses don't have their advantages. The secret to supervising large numbers of children, Nick used to quote his father, is squeaky floors. That's true enough, but Nick's about to find out that split-level houses offer fantastic lines of sight—simultaneous surveillance of three floors from Dad's living-room couch.

I just hope he doesn't find out that my lot is less than half the size of his half-acre. Then I might have to buy a Chevy Suburban.

Richard Starr

God and the Gipper

Tucker Carlson writes that no one knows what, exactly, President Reagan believes about God ("God is My Campaign Manager," June 21). President Reagan believed, and stated, that America was set apart by a divine plan that placed this great continent between the oceans to be found by people from every corner of the earth, united by their love of God and freedom. The president also professed a deep kinship with Israel, believing we enjoy a special relationship, thanks not only to our strategic partnership and common democratic ties, but because Americans and Israelis are "all children of Abraham, children of the same God." And, he said, "the forces of tyranny seek to undo the work of generations of our people, and to put out the light that we've been tending for these past 6,000 years."

After the attempt on his life in 1981, the president said that "whatever time is left for me belongs to Him." He evoked howls when, referring to the Bible, he said, "I have often believed that within the covers of this one book are all the answers to all of the problems we face—if we would just read it, and heed it." In his remarks to the National Religious Broadcasters in 1983, Reagan said the defiant faith of millions trapped behind the Iron Curtain proved that 60 years of Soviet attempts to wipe out Christianity were a fiasco. And, predicting that believers would triumph over communism, he said that one man, Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, was more powerful than all the Soviet military might. He concluded with the passage that he said "we all go by," John 3:16: "For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him will not perish, but have everlasting life."

Bently Elliot
White House Speechwriting Office, 1981-86
New Canaan, CT

At War with History

David Frum's interesting review of the World War I books by John Keegan and Niall Ferguson is spoiled by doubtful statements in the last two paragraphs ("The Historians' War," June 21). Frum thinks the best explanation for loss of leadership by the British economy is "the unique strength of British trade unions, which had already by 1900 loaded onto British industry the most restrictive business practices in the developed world." There is some truth in this for 1955, but for 1900 or even 1930? Nonsense. British industry, as shown by the story of the miners after World War I and the general strike of 1926, was capable of breaking strikes and humiliating unions if it wanted to. The decline of British economic leadership was due to a weak educational infrastructure in technology and business administration. Oxbridge was

much more responsible for British economic decline than the Trade Union Congress. The British upper-class preference for lifestyle cultivation over capital growth lies behind the educational deficiency.

Drawing a lesson for the United States today, Frum goes on to claim in his final paragraph that "a country, no matter how rich, ceases to be great when it loses the heart to protect itself in a world of dangerous states." But Germany in 1914 did not represent a danger to Britain. The United States and Russia, any farsighted observer would have decided, represented much greater threats. The lesson to be drawn from August 1914 is that a liberal-left government in London, not willing to seem weak, allowed itself to enter a European continental imbroglio in which Britain's national interest was not involved. Sound familiar?

Norman F. Cantor
Sag Harbor, NY

Curators of Controversy

In response to David Brooks's article, I believe there is a different way to view the National Museum of American History ("The National Museum of Multiculturalism," June 7). It is an institution that appropriately reflects the diverse population of the United States of America and the experiences of the ordinary and extraordinary peoples who compose the patchwork quilt which characterizes our nation.

If Brooks and his family had paused for a few moments at one of our two visitors' information desks, he would have realized that most of our visitors do come to the Museum of American History to see specific American icons—the artifacts that represent the ideas which they have studied and read about since they were children. Our visitors come to see the Star-Spangled Banner, Lewis and Clark's compass, the gunboat *Philadelphia*, the remembrances of the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial, and even Dorothy's ruby slippers and Archie Bunker's chair—all of these and many other treasured objects are viewed and enjoyed by millions of visitors every year. On their way to visit these treasures, our visitors stop and see some of the very exhibits to which Brooks referred, and learn about aspects of American history that might have been covered in their history books only briefly, but which have contributed to American history as surely as the heroes whose names and ideas are familiar to us all.

It is unfortunate that Brooks visited the museum while the new Star-Spangled Banner Conservation Laboratory and Exhibit was under construction. This most treasured icon, which is undergoing major preservation and conservation, will be seen by millions of national and international visitors during the next three years. The exhibit and lab address a major historical event and object that have inspired and renewed the democratic spirit in generations of citizens. It also launches the

Correspondence

museum's first capital campaign, which will provide the resources for the first comprehensive renovation of the museum since it opened in 1964 as the Museum of History and Technology. When Brooks returns in the year 2001, he can begin his visit in our new Welcome Center where, thanks to modern technology, he will be able to plan a personalized tour to address his specific interests and review the chronological history of our great nation on a timeline that integrates ideas, people, and historic events. Upon leaving the Welcome Center, he will visit the new American Legacies exhibition, which will address what it means to be an American, including many of the ideas, events, and heroes to which he refers in his article.

But Brooks does not have to wait until the year 2001 and the opening of the Welcome Center to see important artifacts and learn about critical ideas and issues in American history. Presently on the floors of the museum, but overlooked by Brooks, are Jefferson's lap desk, George Washington's uniform, the ENIAC computer, Abraham Lincoln's life mask, the John Bull locomotive, and numerous other objects illustrating important events in the history of this country.

As stewards of America's history for all its peoples, we are pleased to hear diverse viewpoints. Our curators and staff understand that different people seek different experiences at the National Museum of American History. Therefore, we anticipate that all our visitors will find some exhibitions more satisfying than others. Rather than being narrow-minded as Brooks suggests, we strive to be open-minded. Our extensive range of exhibits and public programs allows each visitor, whether he comes once or repeatedly, to leave with new knowledge and a broader perspective of our country's history.

Spencer R. Crew
Director
National Museum of
American History
Washington, DC

A Hairy Situation

David Skinner's article was fun to read—and yes, I'll be looking for chest hair on every disrobed male lead—but I don't buy it ("Notes on the Hairless Man," June 21). When hasn't American culture pictured men, however hairy their chests or wrinkled their faces, as overgrown adolescents who find their greatest satisfactions in adventures with other men (often quite apart from everyday civilized life)? How often has domestic life been treated as either (at best) a subject of comedy or (at worst) a threat to masculinity? How often has true romance been pictured as something apart from marriage? Humphrey Bogart doesn't marry Ingrid Bergman, after all; he walks into the fog with Claude Rains. What David Skinner describes is not new. It has little to do with gayness and still less with chest hair.

Jerry Himmelstein
Amherst, MA

Automatic Appeal

Christopher Caldwell is quite correct when he says "the Age of Espresso won't last forever" and Starbucks may go the same route as the Horn & Hardart "automat" restaurants ("Java Jive," June 21). However, his lack of understanding as to why someone would want to get his lunch by sticking a quarter into a machine is typical of today's jump-to-the-next-fad group. The automat was a special place, and remains so in the minds of the millions of New Yorkers who patronized it.

It was a Saturday ritual to go there with your family. To a kid, putting that coin in and getting a piece of pie or glass of milk was a truly happy experience. In later years when you didn't have much money, you could get a square meal at a very reasonable price. And since H & H disappeared there is nowhere to go for the world's best baked beans, macaroni and cheese, or pumpkin pie. The automat was a place to sit and relax while you drank your coffee, with no supercilious personnel hurrying you on your way to make room for the next millionaire-in-waiting willing to spend $3 or more for a cup of coffee.

Horn & Hardart is fondly remembered by many and will remain so for a long time, and I doubt that Starbucks will ever evoke that kind of memory.

Julia M. Abramson
Rahway, NJ

the weekly Standard

From Belgrade to Beijing

Slobodan Milosevic has lost the war in Kosovo, and his dictatorship of Yugoslavia may be headed (let's hope) for the dustbin of history. Now it's time for the United States to start paying serious attention to a far more dangerous dictatorship several thousand miles to the east, in Beijing. Sound like a geographical stretch? The Chinese obviously don't think so.

It turns out that the reason the Chinese were so upset about the accidental bombing of their embassy in Belgrade, and the reason they still refuse to believe it was an accident, is that American bombs hit what the *New York Times* describes as a Chinese "intelligence-gathering nerve-center" and killed two Chinese spies—not "journalists." One can only guess what the Chinese were doing with this intelligence operation during the U.S. bombing campaign against Yugoslavia. Maybe they were gathering information on the F-117 stealth aircraft the Serbs shot down. Almost certainly they were providing whatever assistance they could to help Milosevic beat the United States and NATO. This should come as no surprise. Milosevic also got help from Saddam Hussein and kept in close contact with the Libyan government of Muammar Qaddafi. That's the thing about the world's dictatorships. They stick together.

Most Americans learned the right lesson in the Kosovo conflict: Appeasement of dictators is a disastrous error. Even former U.S. Balkans envoy Richard Holbrooke now admits that the Clinton administration "made numerous mistakes" in dealing with Milosevic. But can we apply this lesson when it comes to dealing with the Communist leaders in Beijing? Or will we have to wait for disaster to strike there, too, before some future administration official is forced to admit that the "engagement" policy of the Bush-Clinton years was mistaken?

The evidence of the Chinese government's hostile intentions, both with regard to its own people and to U.S. interests worldwide, is overwhelming. Those proponents of engagement with China who claim that we should not be shocked by the revelations in the Cox committee report are partly right. Anyone who knows the Chinese dictators understands that they want to increase their military capabilities in order to achieve their ambition of intimidating U.S. allies and someday forcing the United States itself out of Asia. What *is* shocking, however, is this: This basic truth has so far barely dented the comfortable bipartisan consensus supporting the continued appeasement of Beijing.

In early June, President Clinton announced his intention to renew most-favored-nation status for China. When Congress votes on MFN in the next few weeks, will Republicans stand up and send at least a symbolic message that they will not accept business as usual with the Butchers of Beijing, any more than with the Butcher of Belgrade? Or will they fear losing hundreds of thousands of dollars in "soft money" from American corporations that do business in China? And never mind MFN—the big American corporations that routinely lose money in China, and apparently can't wait to lose more, will also try to block the tightened export controls recommended by the Cox committee. Will Republicans have the nerve to place national security and national principle above trade?

It happens that the American people would support such an effort. A new poll by the Pew Research Center shows only 29 percent of Americans agreeing that the United States should grant "most-favored-nation" status to China, with 57 percent opposed. But wait a second. Advocates of engagement have succeeded in changing the term "most-favored-nation" status to the supposedly more salable "normal trade relations." It turns out the American people don't fall for the trick. Thirty-two percent say the United States should grant "normal trade relations" status to China, 54 percent say no. So that linguistic legerdemain picked up all of three points.

The U.S. victory in Kosovo came after many years of inattention to and appeasement of Milosevic's tyranny. Thankfully, the United States and NATO were so strong, and Milosevic so weak, that we could prevail even after what Holbrooke acknowledges to be the Clinton (and Bush) administrations' many mis-

takes. Our margin for error in the case of China is smaller. The longer we appease Beijing and pretend it is some kind of "strategic partner," refusing to acknowledge the reality that China is in fact a serious strategic competitor, the greater the chance that someday—maybe soon, maybe a decade from now—we will pay the price for our fecklessness. Holbrooke said last week in the Senate hearings for his confirmation as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, "Had the United States responded vigorously and appropriately early in the [Balkan] crisis, we might have avoided three of the four wars that the Belgrade dictatorship has caused." The best way to avoid a future crisis with China is not to appease it, but to respond "vigorously and appropriately" while there's still time to check Beijing's ambitions, preserve the peace, and strengthen the forces of reform in China.

—Robert Kagan and William Kristol, for the Editors

Bill Bradley Does Los Angeles

by Tucker Carlson

Los Angeles

If there was ever a doubt that Bill Bradley is the ultimate anti-pander presidential candidate, it has just disappeared. It's a little before 11:00 on a sunny June morning, and Bradley is sitting with a small group of gay activists at the L.A. Gay and Lesbian Center in Hollywood. Bradley is several days into an extended swing through California. He has come here, he says, not to lecture people on his ideas, but to listen to theirs. He's getting an opportunity to do that right now.

A heavy-set woman in a yarmulke has risen and introduced herself as the center's resident rabbi. Voters in California, she is saying, may soon face a ballot initiative designed to make homosexual marriage illegal in the state. Like many politically active gays, the rabbi is infuriated at the prospect that the initiative will pass. She wants to know how Bradley intends to help. "What I'd like to hear from you, Senator, is how we can build stronger gay and lesbian families."

Bradley pauses thoughtfully. "Just so you know my record," he says, "I voted for the Defense of Marriage Act in the Congress." In other words: I supported a bill almost identical to the one you're so upset about. And without being asked, I'm telling you about it.

Bradley's reply should cause howls of protest, or at least snorts of contempt. But he delivers it in such a flat, no-big-deal tone that nobody in the room seems to notice. The rabbi merely nods understandingly, as if to say: Of course. It's natural for a friend of the gay community to vote with Bob Barr on social policy.

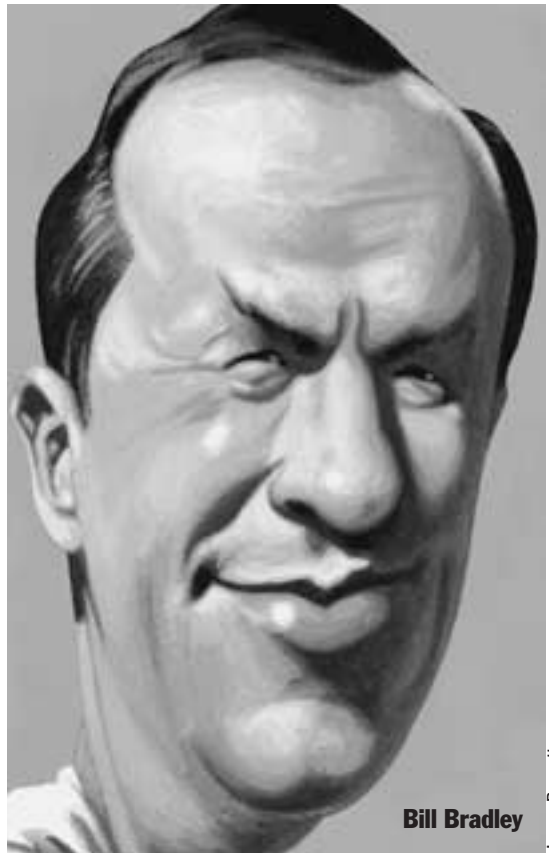
It goes on like this for half an hour, as Bradley fields questions he often can't answer from professional gay activists. Sitting next to Bradley is his wife, Ernestine Schlant, a professor of German literature at Montclair State University in New Jersey. Schlant has her arms folded across her chest and looks unusually severe (perhaps because her husband has neglected to introduce her). Bradley, meanwhile, seems almost ethereal. What can we do to prevent school children from using the word "gay" as a slur? asks one woman with palpable intensity. "That's not an easy issue," Bradley says, shaking his head. "It's really not an easy issue. What are your thoughts?" Before the woman can answer, a man next to her cuts in to propose "a federal task force to deal specifically with teachers and administrators." Bradley doesn't reply. He just nods slowly.

> THE CAMPAIGN DOESN'T MAKE FOR COMPELLING TELEVISION. TEN MINUTES INTO THE GAY-CENTER EVENT, FOUR TV CREWS DECIDE TO LEAVE.

The *New York Times* described Bradley's campaign style as "a kind of Zen-like calm and self-acceptance." If you didn't know better, you might mistake it for sleeping pills. Whatever it is, it doesn't make for compelling television. Ten minutes into the gay-center event, the four TV crews on the scene decide to leave. Bradley is in mid-sentence when a producer walks to the table in front of him and collects the microphones.

The television reporters only showed up at all because Bradley appears to be pursuing an unexpected campaign strategy. Known as a moderate over his 18 years in the Senate, Bradley recently has shown signs of an ideological edge. He has hired a campaign manager who once worked for Ted Kennedy and NARAL. He has begun criticizing the Democratic party for

lacking compassion. And he has taken his message to the party's liberal base. In his ten days in California alone, Bradley gave his pitch to gays, feminists, organized labor, environmentalists, and the homeless. The obvious—and by now, conventional—explanation is that Bradley is trying to outflank Al Gore on the left. As a theory it makes sense. Until you listen to what Bradley actually says.



Bill Bradley

James Bennett

Consider the speech on child poverty he gave at a Los Angeles day care center called Para los Niños. Located on skid row, the center is the perfect venue for a candidate running left, and for the first part of his remarks Bradley seemed to be. He bemoaned the lack of health care for the poor, attacked The Powers That Be for ignoring the underclass, and expressed general outrage over the country's unequal distribution of wealth. "The face of children's poverty in America today," Bradley said, "is a mournful mosaic." With a little more alliteration, it could have been Jesse Jackson speaking.

Except that Jesse Jackson would have proceeded to demand new and larger government programs to fight child poverty. Bradley called for campaign-finance reform. "Helping America's children may seem a long way from reforming campaign finance," he admitted, "but, in fact, they're closely intertwined."

Bradley never explained how limiting contributions to political candidates would feed kids in Compton. (Though he did promise it would "allow leaders to listen to their own inner voice.") Instead, he abruptly segued from old-style power-to-the-people liberalism to Clinton-era yuppie whining. These days, Bradley explained, it's not just the poor who are poor. Everyone, welfare mothers and soccer moms, can "suffer from 'time poverty.'" As an example, Bradley offered the less-than-heart-rending story of "a mother who is a corporate vice president who only sees her child for a rushed bedtime story at night." Still later in the speech, Bradley made distinctly conservative noises, declaring that only parents (not governments or villages) are fit to raise children.

He may be all over the map, but Bradley is no ideologue. This makes him popular with a certain kind of well-educated moderate, but it makes his campaign against Al Gore—the solid favorite among middle-of-the-road Democrats—harder to rationalize. It also makes you wonder what inspired him to run for president.

As the press van pulls away from the Gay and Lesbian Center, the reporters inside mull over what it has been like to follow Bradley through California. The consensus: weird. The day before, for instance, Bradley did an afternoon event at a Planned Parenthood clinic. He arrived an hour behind schedule, and by the time he got there, the reporters facing a 5:00 filing deadline were anxious to finish their stories. A radio reporter asked Bradley if he would mind answering a few quick questions before beginning his colloquy with the audience. Bradley refused. Most reporters are fairly sympathetic to Bradley—he and John McCain are favored to win the Media Primary—but the ones in the van aren't sure what to make of behavior like this. "It seems like he doesn't want any more press," says a reporter who has been covering him for weeks.

Bradley seems press-averse even when he holds press conferences. The next stop is a "media availability" at the California Hospital Medical Center downtown, where Bradley plans to unveil his position on gun control. The room is set up for an ordinary press conference—folding chairs, television cameras, a podium placed in front of a campaign banner—but Bradley doesn't behave like an ordinary candidate. For one thing, he does absolutely nothing to call attention to himself (or to his poor wife, whom, again, he neglects to introduce). He simply shows up, walks to the front of the room, and begins speaking. Everything about Bradley's demeanor—the heavy-lidded eyes, the sleepy voice, the wading-through-molasses

hand movements—promises a uniquely soporific 30 minutes. He doesn't disappoint.

Bradley begins by explaining that nothing he says about gun control should be construed as an attack on "the rights of sportsmen and sportswomen." To this day, he says, he fondly remembers accompanying his grandfather "along the banks of the Mississippi River in Missouri with a .22 and shooting things in the river."

Shooting things in the river? What kinds of things? No one stops him to ask, and he's off into boilerplate: "I believe a national discussion and dialogue must begin on guns," "I think it's time to stand up to the National Rifle Association," etc., etc., blah, blah, blah. Anybody with cable television can listen to Dick Gephardt say stuff like this all day long on C-SPAN. The reporters are beginning to look as bored as the candidate does. Then, without warning, Bradley pulls out a gun.

It's a Lorcin .380, a small, semi-automatic pistol that Bradley claims sells for virtually nothing in the inner city. He slowly waves it around the room. Cheap, shoddily constructed "junk guns" like this, he says, are used in the "vast majority" of crimes. Eliminate junk guns, and America will be a much safer country.

BRADLEY SLOWLY WAVES THE SMALL, SEMI-AUTOMATIC PISTOL AROUND THE ROOM. EVEN ARMED, HE HAS A NARCOTIC EFFECT ON AUDIENCES.

As it turns out, Bradley has no idea what he's talking about. According to ATF statistics, two out of the three guns most frequently used in crimes—the Smith & Wesson .38 and the Ruger 9 mm—are expensive and well-made. But no one in the room seems to care enough to make him explain himself. Even armed, Bradley has a narcotic effect on audiences.

A television reporter tries to change the subject. What do you think, he asks, of the House vote to allow the Ten Commandments to be posted in classrooms? It's a question any normal presidential candidate would be prepared for—the vote is less than a day old; it's on the front page of today's *Washington Post*. Bradley treats it like an outrageous non sequitur, like he's just been asked the price of yak butter in Bhutan. He's bugged. "Well, I'm glad this is a conference on guns," he says. Until this moment it would have seemed impossible that a man as tall as Bradley could come off as bitchy.

Bradley seems to be in a better mood several hours later at the day's last event, a fund-raiser at the Beverly Hilton hosted by TV baron Barry Diller. Bradley's staff seems cheery, too. Bradley's old roommate from his years on the Knicks, Phil Jackson, has just signed a $30 million contract to coach the Lakers. By happy coincidence, Jackson and Bradley had been scheduled to meet the same day the deal was settled, and Bradley was swept up in the surrounding hype. Pictures of Jackson and Bradley led the local news.

As the dinner begins, Bradley's wife gets up (confirming publicly for the first time all day that she is in fact his wife) and introduces the candidate. She describes her husband as strong but gentle, someone who "sits there so demurely, so sweetly." It's meant as a compliment, but Bradley seems to bristle. "I have difficulty seeing myself as demure," he says as he takes the microphone.

Bradley quickly recovers and gives what for him is a pretty good speech. It's a mixture of left, right, and center—he quotes Paul Wellstone one minute, calls for "the lowest possible tax rate" the next—but it's intelligent and easier to listen to than his earlier efforts. At one point, he talks about the importance in politics of being "true to who you are." It's obvious he means it. Unfortunately, Bradley has decided to be so true to who he is that he has neglected to put on stage makeup. In the glare of the spotlight, his enormous forehead has become a mirror, reflecting a beam across the ballroom. He looks like a lighthouse.

For Bradley, it's a point of pride not to worry about details like shiny foreheads. And he may be a better, deeper person for it. On the other hand, this is politics. I can't help thinking of a conversation I had at the beginning of the day. At the Gay and Lesbian Center, I wound up sitting next to a middle-aged man with thick glasses and an English accent. He introduced himself as Anthony Dent, a financial analyst in Los Angeles who had gone to Oxford with Bradley in the mid 1960s. Dent explained that he had followed Bradley's career over the years and was thrilled to learn that his old friend was running for president. "I always knew he was destined for greatness," Dent said.

A lot of people who knew Bradley when he was young say things like this, and for the most part they've been proved right. Rhodes Scholar, Hall of Fame basketball player, three-term U.S. senator—by any measure, Bradley has a dazzling résumé. It seems a shame he'll have to add Hack Presidential Candidate to his list of occupations.

Dent didn't come out and say so, but he seemed to agree. Bradley was explaining to the audience how he

wants "to get people to appreciate the unique contributions of the gay and lesbian community to America." He didn't sound very convincing. He certainly didn't seem destined for greatness. Dent watched for a moment, then whispered a reluctant assessment: "He is a bit like a warmed-over Paul Tsongas."

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BUSH ♥ SCALIA

WHO IS GEORGE W. BUSH'S IDEAL JUDGE, the model for nominees he'd pick for the Supreme Court? Antonin Scalia, that's who. In public comments, of course, Bush has declared his desire, if elected president, to choose judges who interpret the Constitution strictly, and Scalia qualifies on that count. Appointed by President Reagan in 1986, Scalia is one of the most conservative justices on the high court, and is part of the minority that favors overturning *Roe* v. *Wade*, the 1973 decision that legalized abortion. But when asked about the kind of judge he would really want, Bush was quite specific. "I have great respect for Justice Scalia," Bush said, "for the strength of his mind, the consistency of his convictions, and the judicial philosophy he defends."


George W. Bush

Daniel Adel

Bush singled out Scalia in response to a written question I submitted to his presidential campaign. Some Bush aides thought he might cite Clarence Thomas, nominated by Bush's father, President Bush, in 1991, as the model for his judicial appointments. Every bit as conservative as Scalia, Thomas would likewise reverse *Roe* v. *Wade*. But Thomas is more controversial as a result of sexual harassment charges made against him by Anita Hill. Bush is not an admirer of his father's other nominee, David Souter, now one of the Court's leading liberals.

In one sense, Bush's willingness to spotlight Scalia was surprising. One of the most important working assumptions of the Bush campaign is that abortion is a losing issue for Bush (or for any Republican running nationally). The more visibility the issue gets, the worse it is for Bush. He and his aides believe this despite a recent CNN/*USA Today* poll that found 71 percent of Americans would allow abortions only in cases of rape, incest, or saving the life of the mother. This is exactly Bush's position. Still, he is reluctant to tout it. He never mentions abortion in prepared remarks. But he does answer questions on the issue. In Pennsylvania last week, while campaigning with pro-choice governor Tom Ridge, Bush said he would not apply a pro-life litmus test to his vice presidential running mate if he wins the GOP nomination.

Bush declined to give his view of *Roe* v. *Wade* when I asked, in another written question, if he believed the case was wrongly decided. "I'm not a lawyer," he said. "My job is to appoint judges who are strict constructionists." And finally: What would Bush do as president to protect unborn children and make the country more willing to accept a ban on abortion in most cases? "In a democracy, a leader can propose," Bush said. "He cannot impose. Laws are changed as minds are persuaded. But a president can lead by opposing public funding for abortion, by praising the private goodness of crisis pregnancy centers, by promoting adoption, by teaching abstinence to children, by ending partial-birth abortion. The goal is to build a culture of life brick by brick."

Another assumption of the Bush campaign is that support for his presidential bid by the Republican establishment reflects more than elite backing. More than 2,000 elected officials, lobbyists, party leaders, and activists paid $1,000 apiece to attend a Bush fundraiser in Washington last week. Deputy House whip Roy Blunt of Missouri said he hadn't seen such an outpouring of Republican support for a presidential can-

didate since Ronald Reagan was seeking reelection in 1984. Naturally, Bush was zinged in the press for having ties to lobbyists. But Bush strategists said the backing of elected officials—126 House members, 17 senators—is more revealing. They wouldn't publicly endorse Bush unless there was grass-roots backing for him. This is probably true. In a June NBC/*Wall Street Journal* survey, he led his nearest GOP rival, Elizabeth Dole, by 61 percent to 11 percent.

Another assumption: Negative attacks have lost their sting. Bush believes there's been a fundamental shift in public sentiment against harsh attacks. Voters are more likely to fault the attacker than the attacked. This belief goes back to his 1994 victory over incumbent Ann Richards in the Texas governor's race. Richards slashed at Bush, and he responded with a television ad saying he'd treat her "with respect" and that issues, not personal attacks, "should be the focus in this campaign." The soft counterpunch worked. Now, when Democratic national chairman Joe Andrew followed Bush around Iowa and New Hampshire, Bush spokesman David Beckwith simply belittled him as "the attack puppy." But while the assumption that sharp attacks don't work may be true in a general election, it may not hold up in primaries with multiple candidates. Yes, an attack on Bush by Steve Forbes could backfire on Forbes. But it could still hurt Bush indirectly by helping Dole or Lamar Alexander.

Forbes, by the way, is assumed by the Bush campaign to be his only threatening rival. This reflects the Bush camp's obsession with the power of money in politics. Bush's fund-raisers are bent on amassing a war chest in case their candidate needs to answer a volley of attack ads by Forbes. Note the conflict here with the prior assumption about attack ads. A massive Forbes air war, they fear, just might take a toll. Bush doesn't take any of the other candidates seriously. Dole lacks organization and money. John McCain has no GOP base. Gary Bauer and Pat Buchanan will hang around in the primaries, but only as conservative gadflies.

Still another assumption of the Bush campaign is that the general election will be a contest between big government and less government. In which case, the advocate of less government, Bush, wins against the exponent of big government, Al Gore. For now, Bush is playing up the compassionate side of "compassionate conservatism," but there's also a conservative side. Under Bush, new programs to help the poor and disadvantaged would be run by private and religious organizations and not directly by government. Thus, less government, a conservative goal. Gore, in announcing his candidacy, called for universal preschool, expanding Medicare, and other steps by the federal government.

Last, there's a big-picture Bush assumption: that the 2000 election is a major one, an important transition particularly for Republicans. Karl Rove, Bush's top strategist, likens 2000 to 1896, when William McKinley recognized the old post-Civil War issues had lost their bite and the GOP needed to attract new voters from the growing immigrant working class. McKinley created a governing Republican majority that lasted to 1932. To match McKinley's feat, Bush has redefined conservatism and aims to pull in more women, Hispanics, blacks, and Catholics. Compassionate conservatism is crafted with all of them in mind. Who knows? It may work.

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POISON PILL

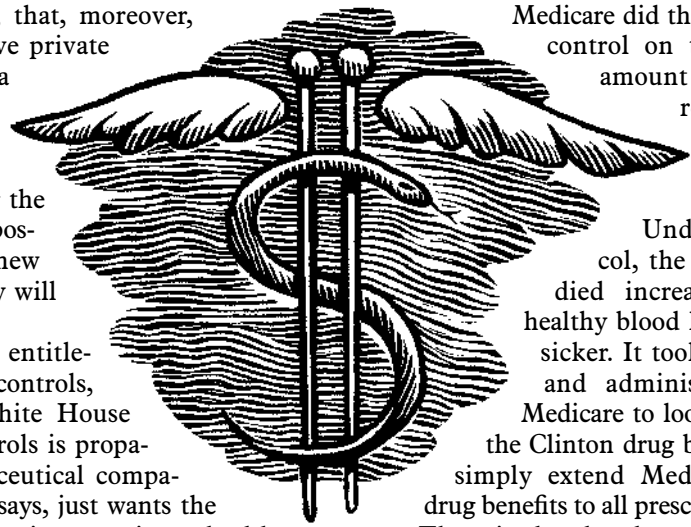
by Robert M. Goldberg

AS THE WHITE HOUSE GEARS UP to promote Bill Clinton's universal prescription-drug benefit for the elderly, it seems to have learned a thing or two from its historic health-care defeat of 1994. Like that earlier plan, Clinton's promise to pay for the prescription drugs of older Americans will put health care for millions more people under the control of the federal government—in this case, the prescriptions of nearly 40 million Medicare recipients. And like the earlier plan, the Clinton drug benefit promises better care for less money, but will inevitably end up with rationing and price controls that will degrade the quality of care available to the elderly. What's changed is that the White House is even less forthright about the true cost and character of its health-care scheme than it was five years ago.

The White House is mindful of the fact that Medicare is going bankrupt, so it claims that the new drug benefit would pay for itself. It's hard to see how. For one thing, a universal drug benefit would encourage the nearly 70 percent of retirees who already have private coverage for prescription drugs to drop it in favor of the new federal entitlement. This alone would add about $20 billion a year to Medicare spending. Covering the 30 percent who don't already have such coverage would add another $10 billion or so. Even

with an additional premium proposed by Clinton—as low as $10 a month—the program would hardly be self-financing.

That's why the White House claims that increased subsidy of drugs would lead to lower overall health-care costs. But this, too, is exceedingly unlikely. It's true drugs can be cost-effective, but only within the context of a well-coordinated effort to manage disease. And no one mistakes Medicare for well-coordinated health care. Consider one of the most cost-effective drugs there is—aspirin. For just pennies a day, it can lower your chances of a heart attack, yet over 25 percent of seniors fail to take the drug, even after a heart attack. Similarly, older Americans barely avail themselves of the flu and pneumonia shots that are already covered by Medicare. When you consider that Medicare now reimburses for prescription drugs for hospitalized seniors, that, moreover, most seniors already have private drug coverage, and that a government survey shows fewer than 2 percent of seniors say they have trouble getting the drugs they need, it's preposterous to think that a new prescription-drug subsidy will lower health-care costs.



So how will this new entitlement be paid for? Price controls, of course. Now, the White House claims talk of price controls is propaganda from the pharmaceutical companies; the government, it says, just wants the same discount drug companies now give to health-maintenance organizations (HMOs). That sounds reasonable until you realize that HMOs don't control anything like the 60 percent of all prescriptions written that the government would pay for under the Clinton plan. The federal government would then be the largest purchaser of prescription drugs in the world, and it could indeed force drug companies to lower their prices. But the high-quality, innovative medicine Americans now take for granted would be endangered.

Democratic populists in Congress and the White House like to rail about the profits of drug companies. Well, yes, companies in a free economy make money. And if they are in an industry that depends on new and improved products for profits, they reinvest a lot of what they make. If the White House were to propose federal control of 60 percent of the telecommunications or high-technology sectors of the economy, the idea would rightly be rejected outright because it would kill innovation. But somehow the administration keeps a straight face when it proposes controlling most of the pharmaceutical market and says that such a plan won't hurt biomedical innovation.

There are further perversities that would flow from price controls. Seniors would likely be forced to use only the drugs the government wanted them to have. While the Clinton White House brags that private firms would administer the drug benefit, the list of drugs available—as well as how and when—would be dictated by Medicare bureaucrats. The potentially harmful outcomes of such rationing can be seen with drugs that Medicare already covers.

There is, for instance, the sadly instructive saga of erythropoietin (EPO), a biotechnology product used to reduce the anemia that people suffer when they go through kidney dialysis. Dialysis patients on EPO are healthier and live longer than those without it. In 1993, in an effort to contain the cost of EPO, Medicare did three things: It put a price control on the drug, rationed the amount patients could get, and refused to reimburse its use for patients above a certain level of healthy blood cells. Under the Medicare protocol, the number of people who died increased and people with healthy blood levels wound up getting sicker. It took five years of lobbying and administrative review to get Medicare to loosen its EPO controls. If the Clinton drug benefit is adopted, it will simply extend Medicare's mishandling of drug benefits to all prescriptions.

There is also the phenomenon Duke economist Henry Grabowski calls the social drug lag—thanks to price caps, seniors would be last in receiving access to new medications. Negotiations with the government over prices could delay the access of seniors to most innovative medicines for years or—if the government blacklists a company that refuses to budge—forever.

Finally, no amount of populist rhetoric alters the fact that the Clinton plan will mainly benefit the well-off. Nearly 50 percent of seniors have family incomes of $25,000 or more and spend less than one percent of their income on drugs. Hence the Clinton plan will create an entitlement that will largely go to a group who can afford their drugs and their drug coverage.

Like the Health Security Act of 1994, the Clinton drug plan should be scrapped. It may seem like a panacea. But it is really a poison pill that seniors and non-seniors alike should avoid.

Kevin Chadwick

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Michigan by the Sea

by Robert H. Nelson

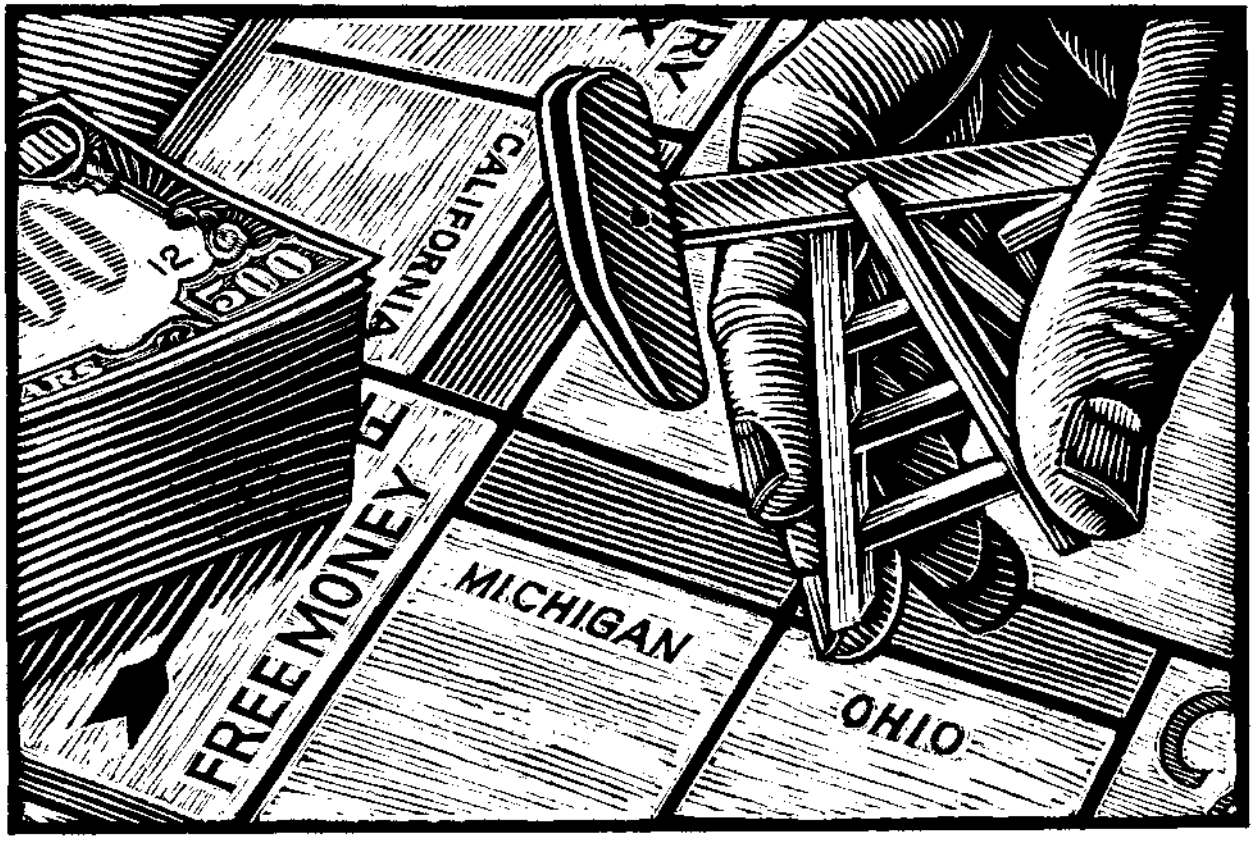
In the 1980s and '90s, large federal deficits put a damper on new spending. But now that an era of surpluses is here, some members of Congress are acting like alcoholics on a binge.

The new spirit of "bipartisanship" in the Congress is turning out to be grounded in the much older spirit of greed. One of the most unusual alliances across party lines unites two House members who seldom agreed before, the former Democratic chairman of the Commerce Committee, John Dingell of Michigan, and the chairman of the Resources Committee, Republican Don Young of Alaska. In February, Dingell and Young introduced a bill to commit $1.2 billion per year to compensate "coastal states" for the effects of oil and gas development on the outer continental shelf, which is owned by the federal government. In the Senate, similar legislation is co-sponsored by Democrat Mary Landrieu of Louisiana and Republican Frank Murkowski of Alaska, chairman of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee.

In the House, in order to win Dingell's support, Young had to define Michigan and other Great Lakes states as "coastal." Not only is Michigan far from the outer continental shelf, but no federal oil or gas lease has ever been offered for sale on the Great Lakes. Nevertheless, the Resources Committee projects that the bill would give Michigan $22 million per year in "coastal" impact aid, Illinois $15 million, Ohio $7.5 million, and other Great Lakes states their own pieces of the pie. To pay for all this, the legislation would tap federal oil and gas royalties, now about $4 billion per year (and virtually the only federal program that has made real money for taxpayers).

Young calls this Conservation and Reinvestment Act—which also provides an additional $900 million per year for federal and state land acquisition—his top legislative priority this year.

As chairman, Young has certain prerogatives. He has seen to it that his state would be among the biggest winners under the bill, gaining $111 million per year. Alaska does have an extremely long coastline, but unfortunately, leasing and exploration have so far revealed almost no exploitable offshore oil and gas. The huge Prudhoe Bay oil field is inland. Resistance from environmentalists has severely restricted past and prospective oil and gas leasing off Alaska. Simply put, the bill would give Alaska hundreds of millions of



David Danz

dollars over the next few years to ameliorate coastal impacts that do not exist.

California is so big that it has to be included in any congressional deal making. Although no outer-continental-shelf oil and gas lease sale has been held there since the mid 1980s, the state would receive $85 million a year. Thus would the ecology-conscious land of gas-guzzling sport-utility vehicles be rewarded for its intransigence on offshore drilling.

The only real action these days in new federal oil and gas development is in the Gulf of Mexico, where computer-exploration methods and deep-drilling technologies have yielded major discoveries and a spurt of new offshore production. Under the bill, Louisiana would receive a real bounty, $348 million per year. Not surprisingly, Louisiana Republicans Billy Tauzin and Richard Baker have joined with Louisiana Democrat Chris John as co-sponsors. Giving away the Treasury has always brought people together across party lines.

Many students of the outer-continental-shelf leasing program have argued that federal revenues from offshore oil and gas should be shared with adjacent states. The idea is that this would increase state political support for federal oil and gas exploration and development. What is difficult to justify, however, is the sharing of revenues where there have been neither leases nor production nor negative impacts on coastal communities.

The truth of the matter is that the Young-Dingell bill is about distributing free money. Seeking to head off potential opposition from environmentalists, Young and Dingell in a letter to House colleagues bluntly declare that the legislation is intended to provide "no incentives for new offshore drilling."

Most federal outer-continental-shelf oil and gas leases are sold to oil companies and then returned to the government without any exploration ever taking place. Despite considerable federal leasing in the Atlantic in the '70s and '80s, for example, little drilling took place, and today there are no producing wells off the Atlantic states. Yet, the Young-Dingell bill would distribute almost $200 million per year to New York, New Jersey, Virginia, and other East Coast states to mitigate nonexistent oil and gas "impacts." The Young-Dingell bill would allocate one quarter of the coastal funds on the basis simply of "shoreline miles" and another quarter on the basis of "coastal population," irrespective of any past or future federal oil and gas leasing activity.

Young has contrived an outer-continental-shelf impact-aid formula based on a series of heroic fictions. The result is not really coastal-impact aid at all but a new form of federal revenue sharing based on a very peculiar distribution formula, one designed simply to maximize support in Congress.

In the new era of budget surpluses, the only way to remove the apparently irresistible temptation to squander federal resources is to send them back to the taxpayers. Otherwise, expect to see lots more exercises of congressional imagination like declaring Lake Michigan part of the outer continental shelf.

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X-Rated Libraries

by Mark Y. Herring

THE BURNING QUESTION libraries face today is whether to install filters on the computers they make available to the public for online research. Stumbling now and then onto lascivious material while searching online is practically inevitable and so should be a matter of concern. All sorts of tricks are used to steer innocent users toward pornographic sites. If, for example, you accidentally type "Infoseeck" for "Infoseek" or "Whitehouse.com" for "Whitehouse.gov," you'll get an eyeful of what might be described as presidential activity. As regular Internet users are vividly aware, nearly every online search yields at least one pornographic site.

Yet the American Library Association, which represents 57,000 librarians, has roundly declined to promote the use of filters to block access to pornographic sites. The ALA isn't even concerned that, by not using filters, libraries make truly enormous amounts of pornography available to young people. Leonard Kniffel, the editor of ALA's official publication for librarians, *American Libraries*, has written, "Kids don't have time to sit at a library computer and troll for smut, nor do they wish to." The constitutional, philosophical, and cultural arguments the ALA has marshalled against filtering are similarly tainted by a weird blend of naivete and ignorance. More important, the ALA's case against filters is just plain wrong.

Filtering, the ALA argues, directly contradicts the First Amendment, ergo, it's wrong, as is *any* form of

censorship. This position warps the First Amendment into absolute protection for any and all expression. In its *Intellectual Freedom Manual*, the ALA defines intellectual freedom sweepingly as "the right of any person to believe whatever he wants on any subject, and to express his beliefs or ideas in whatever way he thinks appropriate."

Granted, the Supreme Court has been expansive in its opinions about what speech is, recognizing a range of activities from nude dancing to the wearing of arm bands as protected "speech." This, however, does not amount to First Amendment protection for any and all "speech": Court after court has held that some forms of speech deserve no protection at all.

Roth v. *United States* excluded obscenity from the protections accorded to free speech. The plaintiff had developed a lucrative mail order business selling erotic and obscene works, which were quaint in comparison to the online material filtering advocates want to block. Products Roth sold, works like *Photo and Body* and *American Aphrodite Number Thirteen*, were declared unprotected speech. Justice Brennan, writing for the majority, decided that not only was obscenity "utterly without redeeming social importance," but it falls into the same category as libel and is therefore unprotected.

Roth has been adjusted—most notably by way of the "Roth Test"—but its central argument is still intact. *Miller* v. *California*, another censorship case, added community standards to *Roth*'s restrictions, placing the burden on communities and local judges. These and other cases have all made the point that the First Amendment is neither absolute nor ambiguous. Since our founding, obscenity and pornography have not been protected forms of speech, regardless of the Court and regardless of the medium used as "speech."

If the First Amendment allows that some forms of speech are not worthy of protection, why then does the ALA condemn filtering? The ALA argues that any restriction on the flow of information is repugnant. To stand for the dissemination of information, the ALA believes, it is necessary to stand against filters. Any limit, then, on the flow of any information is wrong.

This might be a more persuasive principle if librarians didn't violate it every day. I do not know of many libraries that maintain subscriptions to KKK materials, or routinely purchase "hate" books from, say, gay-bashing groups. Librarians rightly object to these materials because the "information" contained therein serves no one but the hopelessly unredeemable. Furthermore, librarians often end up restricting information for the most lamentable reason: price. Hardly a librarian alive or dead has not rejected some very valuable resource simply because it cost too much. Budgetary constraints cause libraries to lose good, solid information all the time.

Let's not forget, too, that filtering can be refined to the point where almost no worthwhile information is accidentally filtered. Making such improvements to existing filters may not be easy and may require greater technical expertise. But it *can* be done. Indeed, it is being done and quite successfully. All the same, to argue, as the ALA does, that we must not filter anything for fear of blocking something worthwhile is akin to arguing that we must not prosecute any criminals for fear of convicting the innocent.

Furthermore, it is clear that the ALA has taken a stand against filtering because that appears to be the position of all intelligent people. Everyone knows, after all, that any form of censorship is odious. Yet, the majority of public opinion remains *with* filtering. Even some professional library organizations, such as the Association of College and Research Libraries and the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science have made statements that conflict with ALA's ne plus ultra anti-filtering views. It is not too much of a stretch to say that of the 50,000 ALA members, a sizable number are for using filters.

Librarians have always had to make distinctions between the worthwhile and the worthless. Filtering, you could say, is in their job description. And any librarian who cannot discern an important difference between sexmuseum.com and womenshistory.com clearly does not belong in a library.

We are fast approaching an epidemic of access to Internet pornography. Cases are now coming to light in which library access to the Internet aided and abetted child-molesters (such as the case of Jack Hornbeck, a convicted child molester who used a Los Angeles public library's Internet connection to distribute child pornography and to arrange sex with children). Moreover, a recent survey by Filtering Facts indicates that 45 percent of all Internet pornography obtained through libraries is being accessed by underage people. Since libraries now offer 50 percent of all Internet access outside the home, they are fast becoming America's chief purveyors of pornography.

If librarians do not make the case that hardcore pornography should be filtered, then others will make the logical deduction that librarians can't be trusted at all. And so, it is especially unfortunate that the ALA, which could have been a voice of reason in this debate, decided to pander to some imagined consensus against filtering. Rather than stand up for the professional prerogatives of its members, the ALA decided to undermine the standing of all librarians, suggesting that they are nothing more than delivery boys ready to pass along every kind of smut available online.

Mark Y. Herring has recently been named dean of library services at Winthrop University in South Carolina.

Befuddled by "Internet Time"

The Government's Pointless Lawsuit Against Microsoft

By Thomas W. Hazlett and George Bittlingmayer

The antitrust case *United States* v. *Microsoft* was filed in May 1998 and went to trial last October in Judge Thomas Penfield Jackson's federal district court in Washington, D.C. On June 24, the final witness left the stand. The parties now have thirty days to file proposed "findings of fact," on which Judge Jackson will base his decision, expected late this fall.

The Department of Justice charged that Bill Gates's computer empire had attempted to "defeat" its competitor Netscape by, among other tactics, forcing Internet service providers to distribute Microsoft's Internet-surfing software, or browser, to customers, "foreclosing" competitors. The government's complaint singled out just two Internet service providers for signing exclusive deals to use Microsoft browsers—America Online (AOL) and its subsidiary CompuServe.

Now, just over a year since the complaint was filed, the landscape has altered dramatically. AOL owns Netscape and has established a formal alliance with another computer powerhouse, Sun Microsystems. Together, the two firms are valued at $170 billion and control 43 percent of Internet and online access in the United States. Microsoft's campaign to "defeat Netscape" does not appear to be going so well.

Except in Jackson's courtroom. There and only there, the dazzling incompetence of Microsoft counsel and the flamboyant irrelevance of the government's case loom larger than market realities. The very heart of the charge against Microsoft is that its monopolistic activities will financially asphyxiate Netscape by denying it market share. Yet now that Netscape has been adopted by wealthy parents (AOL) and is the favorite of a rich uncle (Sun), Justice Department lawyers insist that "the AOL-Netscape transaction isn't relevant to the key issues in the trial."

In a funny way, they are right. While crucial events zip past at Internet speed, the government is trying a case on the theory that it knows precisely what technology would win out in the marketplace if only Microsoft would sit back and let others do their thing. Not only is the government's picture of the computer industry obsolete, but its assumptions about competition are wildly unrealistic. Useful competitors—firms that bring better products to consumers at lower prices—do not produce those social benefits by sitting back and casually ceding market share to rivals. In prosecuting what it breathlessly calls Microsoft's "jihad" against Netscape, the government has fallen into the classic antitrust trap of confusing the health of a particular competitor with the health of the market as a whole.

The government's case against Microsoft treats as a smoking gun the evidence that Microsoft considered Netscape (and Sun's Java programming language) a genuine threat worthy of countering. Thus, the government highlights Microsoft vice president Paul Maritz's boast to industry executives, "We are going to cut off [Netscape's] air supply. Everything they're selling, we're going to give away for free."

But the dynamics of the situation belie the charge of predatory conduct. Netscape's browser, Navigator, became the most popular software application in history, landing on 38 million computers in just 18 months, thanks to its free distribution on machines running Microsoft's Windows operating system. Naturally, Microsoft countered. It spent hundreds of millions to improve its own browser, Internet Explorer, and distribute it free even when Netscape foolishly got grabby and stuck a $49 price tag on Navigator. This is just the way Adam Smith drew it up on the chalkboard.

Firms thrive on issuing death threats to rivals. Netscape itself incorporated Java—to create what the government claims is the best bet for ending the Win-

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dows "monopoly"—in a bold bid to quash Bill Gates's world. The brash Marc Andreesen, then vice president of technology at Netscape, taunted the "Beast from Redmond" (Washington, where Microsoft is based) and drew instant support from the formidable "anybody but Microsoft" crowd. Michael Cusumano and David Yoffie write in their fascinating book *Competing on Internet Time: Lessons from Netscape and Its Battle with Microsoft* that "As early as September 1995, [Andreesen] claimed that the combination of Java and a Netscape browser would relegate the operating system to its original role as an unimportant collection of 'slightly buggy device drivers.'" In other words, death to Microsoft Windows.

Netscape had reason to think big. In its initial foray into the marketplace, it had taken on a product with near-100 percent market share—Mosaic, the browser Andreesen had helped create at the University of Illinois in 1993—and reduced it to ashes. This devastation was according to plan: Netscape had pointedly code-named its product "Mozilla"—Mosaic killer. This was in the spirit of Apple's challenge to Windows 95 (developed under the name "Chicago")—a new operating system developed under the code name "Capone." For that matter, it was in the generic spirit of "creative destruction" that rules Silicon Valley. A recent book about the computer business is entitled *Unleashing the Killer App: Digital Strategies for Market Dominance*, the "killer app" (short for application) being the new product that buries the old.

Are all corporate countermeasures fair, or do some tactics punish consumers by pushing prices higher? Doesn't legitimate competition sometimes entail firms' extinguishing rivals and thereby injuring customers? Clearly, determining where honest rivalry ends and anti-competitive predation begins can be a tricky business. Fortuitously, we know from another case what a real smoking-gun memo looks like, and the Department of Justice has nothing close in the Microsoft case. Ironically, we also know that the government's own economic expert in the Microsoft case thinks even a real smoking-gun memo reveals absolutely nothing.

While testifying for the defense in the 1994 case of *Leza Coleman, et al.* v. *Sacramento Cable Television*, MIT economist Franklin Fisher was asked to interpret the behavior of officials of Sacramento Cable Television who projected their losses from lowering their prices in response to competition. The company, which enjoyed a monopoly position, had already slashed its prices and given away free cable and even TV sets in the neighborhoods where it faced competition from two upstart rivals. It eliminated the first rival, then quickly raised its prices in the area where they had competed, and next embarked on a campaign to defeat the second, better-capitalized opponent, Pac West.

The key memo, dated January 25, 1988, from Richard Davis, CEO of Sacramento Cable Television, bemoaned the problem of "revenue exposure" (price cuts due to competition) and estimated the dollar loss if the second competitor got a foothold in the market: $16,560,000 over 30 months. The memo concluded, "Taking Pac West out of the picture early has significant value."

Smell the smoke? The California court found against Sacramento—but Fisher disagreed: "As regards the behavior of SCT," he testified, "it seems to me that their behavior was, in fact, competitive behavior and ought not to be characterized as anti-competitive." He argued, "Companies should not be compelled to hold a price umbrella over inefficient competitors. They're also not compelled to be stupid and not notice when the inefficient competitor goes out of business."

In the Sacramento case, Fisher advanced a simple behavioral rule: Identify actions as profit-maximizing—and therefore legal—so long as the price charged exceeds the marginal cost. Said Fisher, "A company takes an action. It is profit maximizing on its own bottom. It may also have the effect of destroying or eliminating competition. In that case, you found documents in which the company says, 'Yes, we are going to destroy or eliminate competition.' That strikes me as irrelevant."

Now, however, in the Microsoft case, Fisher is an expert witness for the prosecution. Unable to recognize clear anti-competitive behavior back in 1994, he now errs in the opposite direction and sees predation where there is none. This level of confusion is a tip-off as to the true merit of what Robert Bork has called the Justice Department's "rock solid case." Bizarrely, Microsoft counsel attempted to introduce Dr. Fisher's previous contradictory writings and testimony only after he had left the witness stand—when Judge Jackson appropriately deemed them inadmissible.

Microsoft's best defense may be simply to read back to the court the government's original complaint, with its ambitious predictions, now laughably outdated. The complaint centers on the government's contention that Java would offer performance competitive with—or superior to—Microsoft's Windows. But even the Java cheerleaders at Netscape who originally sold this theory to Justice have changed their tune. "Javagator is dead," said Andreesen in July 1998, as reported in *Internet Time*. "My joke is that a

Java Navigator will have a lot of good attributes: It's slower. It will crash more and have fewer features. So you can do fewer things. It will simplify your life."

But that's okay—there's a brand new competitor to Windows that the government didn't even contemplate: Linux. This "open" operating system, whose code is posted for any user or company to install and customize, is exploding in growth. It is now running 8 million computers worldwide. Early 1999 saw announcements by IBM, Hewlett Packard, Compaq, and other major computer makers that they will offer Linux as an alternative to Windows. It is clear today that the government's central prediction—that Java was the one and only competitor to Windows—was dead wrong.

Fred Harper

But the complaint's supporting predictions were off target as well. For instance, the complaint charged that Microsoft's monopolization of the market was aided and abetted by exclusive deals with Internet content providers, and it named three such partners-in-crime: Disney, Hollywood Online, and CBS SportsLine. Earth to Justice: Does a cross-promotional deal with Hollywood Online "tip" the market? Hollywood Online does not even rank among the Top 15 News and Entertainment Web sites, while Disney and CBS SportsLine make it all the way to Nos. 12 and 13. Sadly for Microsoft and the Justice Department's forecasters, the four most popular sites are AOL News Channel, AOL Entertainment Channel, AOL Computing Channel, and AOL Sports Channel.

The complaint raised the specter of Microsoft as gatekeeper, controlling access to the Internet: "[T]he Internet browser market is itself a substantial source of monopoly profits to any company that might achieve a durable dominant position and be able to charge monopoly prices for the efficient use of the Internet or the web." But with the explosion of Web sites, e-commerce, online subscribership, dial-up Internet access (now included—*for free! Ready the indictment!*—with cheap new computers from vendors like Gateway), and even pay-to-surf deals, the toll-free Internet is thriving.

Which leads to the government's most spectacularly errant prediction: that Microsoft was suppressing investment in the Net. From Janet Reno's lips to your ears: "Microsoft's conduct adversely affects innovation [by] impairing the incentive of Microsoft's competitors and potential competitors to undertake research and development, because they know that Microsoft will be able to limit the rewards from any resulting innovation; impairing the ability of Microsoft's competitors and potential competitors to obtain financing for research and development."

Who can't get financing for what are now called "these speculative dot-com deals"? What Wall Streeters now tout as "the incredible Internet IPO market" was triggered by Netscape's August 1995 initial public offering—then the most successful in U.S. financial history. Learned financial advisers today complain of the "glut" of Internet-related deals; the *Economist* cries that "venture capitalists in Silicon Valley have more money than they know what to do with." Don't these fledgling start-ups and risk-taking investors understand that Microsoft will only crush them?

One year ago the Department of Justice sped into court knowing its greatest foe was not Microsoft, but time. The case would become obsolete and ridiculous unless it moved quickly—it might even meet the same fate as *United States* v. *IBM*, the government's ill-conceived antitrust suit against IBM that dragged on for 13 years before it was simply dropped in 1982.

For all its haste, Justice is still too late. As the case enters its second year, the government's original complaint is ancient history, and there is only one thing left for it to accomplish. As Michael Cusumano and David Yoffie write, "The [Department of Justice]'s action could have a material impact on Netscape. Even though Navigator remained free, . . . a favorable ruling in the government's case might make it easier for Netscape to charge for enhanced versions of the browser in the future."

Maybe there is something to be said for higher

prices and corporate welfare. Indeed, the best line in the government's complaint is, ominously, "But Mr. Gates did not stop at free distribution [of Internet Explorer]." Certainly, however, there is much to be said for letting the computer titans fight to the death. AOL now owns Netscape, and the targets of Microsoft's allegedly predatory campaign are valued at three times what Microsoft's "monopoly" was worth when it launched its "jihad" in mid 1995. Consumers have gained enormously from the browser war. Robust competition is fueling rocket launches in the Internet IPO market, where scores of upstart rivals are challenging the old-line pillars of American commerce.

But the drama and folly on both sides of this case should not obscure its broader impact. *United States* v. *Microsoft* is not simply a boxing match between well-intentioned government officials and a single, incredibly successful firm. It's a brawl that includes Orrin Hatch (the Republican senator from Utah and water carrier for arch Microsoft rival and Utah constituent Novell), the 19 state attorneys general who joined the federal antitrust suit, and ProComp, the pressure group formed around Microsoft competitors Oracle, Sun, Netscape, and Sybase—photogenic potential candidate-endorsers in the great presidential swing state of California. Says Sun's CEO, Scott McNealy, "I think the government is doing all the right things. Government has to come in and discipline [Microsoft] until the rest of the world catches up."

Attacking industry pacesetters to win the plaudits of rival billionaires may result in some considerable ugliness for markets and consumers. The federal government's investigation of Microsoft has been going on virtually nonstop since 1990. In a study of the stock market effects of this long-running episode (forthcoming in the *Journal of Financial Economics*), we found that Wall Street discounted computer shares on antitrust news. In other words, the very companies that would benefit from greater efficiency in software markets lost value when Washington weighed in, supposedly to bring about just such efficiency. This perverse effect is strong evidence that rational investors don't like the government's case. More important, it suggests that billions of investment dollars—and valuable products for millions of consumers—are lost when financial markets fear the economic uncertainty that comes with speculative government litigation.

What's the Justice Department to do? Simply suck it up. Drop the case and let the Internet gold rush mine cyber-capitalism's mother lode. ♦

Dr. Koop Sells Himself

Or, How to Transform the "Conscience of the Nation" into a Hot Brand

By Matt Labash

It's difficult to pinpoint the precise moment when former surgeon general C. Everett Koop, America's most celebrated doctor after Spock, Seuss, and Scholl, went from being the country's foremost health-care authority to its foremost health-care commodity.

It may have come shortly after his retirement in 1989, when a spokesman explained, from a perch at the William Morris agency, that Koop would not, like so many others, be shamelessly capitalizing on his nine years of public service. Or it may have come when Koop became a $25,000-per-outing lecturer at health insurance conventions, a supermarket-poster pitchman for the egg industry, or when he was paid $750,000 for a few minutes worth of face-time in a 30-volume Time/Life video series.

Whenever the moment came, it likely took even Koop by surprise, since he wrote in his 1991 Random House memoir (the six-figure contract for which he finalized two months before he left office): "Like many Americans, I was disgusted with the way retired politicians—even presidents—cashed in on their celebrity status. . . . I was not about to sell or rent my integrity and the public trust." There was no time. There were too many boards to sit on, too many *Exor-*

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cist III sequels to make cameo appearances in, too many 71-line-long *Who's Who In America* entries to compose (Henry Kissinger, another healthy ego in the "K" volume, mustered only 34 lines worth of achievement).

But if it is impossible to date the genesis of the transformation, it surely culminated in mid-June. That's when Dr. Koop (the man) watched KOOP (the stock symbol) shoot as high as $20.25 per share, the day after the $9 per share initial public offering of drkoop.com (the eponymous health-care Web site—not to be confused with koopfoundation.org, the Web site for the Koop Foundation, or koop.dartmouth.edu, the site for the Koop Institute, Koop's monument to himself at Dartmouth, where he is not only the founder but the sole senior scholar).

It has become a cliché among envious bystanders in the Internet gold rush: After watching some still-living-in-momma's-basement techie take his no-name company public and become a millionaire dot-com-missar, who hasn't joked that he should just quit his day job, add a "dot com" to his name, and issue stock? But who has actually done so? Only C. Everett Koop, onetime surgeon general of the United States and now a brand name, the Colonel Sanders of health advice on the Web. And turning yourself into a dot-com brand name, it turns out, does work. Koop's 11 percent of drkoop.com's stock made him worth about $60 million on paper at the stock's peak (it's since dropped by half).

But Koop, for his part, is remaining cool. He says he's not keeping up with the daily fluctuations in drkoop.com stock—he's not in this for the money (as an insider, he can't sell for several months anyway, and meantime he's getting a percentage of the revenues). Rather, he is in it to fulfill his "lifelong mission" of "empowering patients." It's a bookend of sorts for a life spent accumulating medical knowledge—starting during a curious childhood, when Koop anesthetized neighbors' cats in trash cans full of ether to hone his surgical chops, continuing through his years as a pioneering pediatric surgeon and self-dramatizing surgeon general, and now climaxing in his reign as virtual doctor to millions of patients. Well, not exactly patients, as Internet doctors aren't allowed to treat patients online. But millions of "eyes," as the dot-com-missars say, click on drkoop.com each month to get "empowered" on every malady from impotence to incontinence.

A veritable playground of empowerment, drkoop.com promotes itself as the most heavily visited health-care Web site of the 20,000 or so in the field. Here, you can pick up a primer on chat-room lingo ("boggle" means "you boggle at the concept") before heading for the discussions on topics ranging from the mysterious and undefined "Black Rage Syndrome" to "Positive Thinking" and "Stress Management." Though the site has partnered with anti-scare-science outfits like the American Council on Science and Health, you can still read Reuters dispatches on late-breaking alarmist trends (fecal coliform bacteria lurk in our washing machines, according to a study funded by the manufacturers of Clorox bleach). You can plug in your medications to see what kind of adverse reaction to expect. (As an experiment, I entered: Viagra, Propecia, Phen-fen, Percodan, codeine, alcohol, and cocaine topical. Verdict: a "mild" reaction.) One section is given over to "Tackling Tobacco," brought to you by the good folks at Nicorette gum, who have taken to heart Koop's admonition as surgeon general to work for a "smokeless society by the year 2000." You can get your prescriptions filled by one of the many online pharmacy partners (Dr. Koop, the man, gets 2 percent of drkoop, the dot-com's, e-commerce transactions, in case his $135,000 annual salary, or his newly minted millions in equity don't get the job done). Most important, you can get an up-to-the-quarter-hour stock quote (12 1/8, as I write) which may or may not help with the stress management, depending on when you bought your shares.

What you don't get much of on drkoop.com is Dr. Koop himself. But why would you expect to? He's a busy 82-year-old with many balls in the air—29 exactly, according to his organizational chart. When I call him for an interview, suggesting I visit for a few hours at his home in New Hampshire, he brusquely asserts, "I don't do anything for over an hour." Including, it appears, tend to his Web site. Besides lending his ubiquitous name and face, there is little of the famous Dr. Koop voice at the site—that of the Reagan era's self-important, scolding Mennonite elder, though Koop is a Presbyterian. Sure, he happens by once in awhile (three or four times, so far), most recently for a chat-room appearance with supermodel-supermom-fitness-expert Kathy Ireland.

But that's not that important for an Internet business. Nor is it important that the two-year-old company last year lost $9 million. That's outmoded thinking, the dot-commissars tell me. What matters now is "empowerment" and "brand," which Koop has in spades. In fact, he's so empowering that two years ago, when he co-founded what was originally going to be an online medical records company, Koop and his partners called it Empower Health. Last summer, though, after market-testing Koop's name and finding out that an astounding 60 percent of the population

still knew who he was and 40 percent of them still regarded him as the country's top health authority even 10 years after he left office, the company wisely changed its name to drkoop.com.

What that means, says Barbara Hansen, who directs the Web site from its headquarters in Austin, Texas, is that "out of the hopper, we have brand. We don't have to invent it." And though nearly 80 percent of the 70,000 pages of content comes from third-party content-providers, it all falls under the aegis of Dr. Koop, who Barbara assures is "very, very involved." It's like a fried chicken franchise: One might patronize a Roy Rogers or KFC, but one would hardly expect to see the singing cowboy or Kentucky colonel—God rest their souls—standing over the fryer vats. What's important is that they invented the recipe, or at least tasted it once. And now others can carry on the good work that they began.

Kent Lemon

Dr. C. Everett Koop

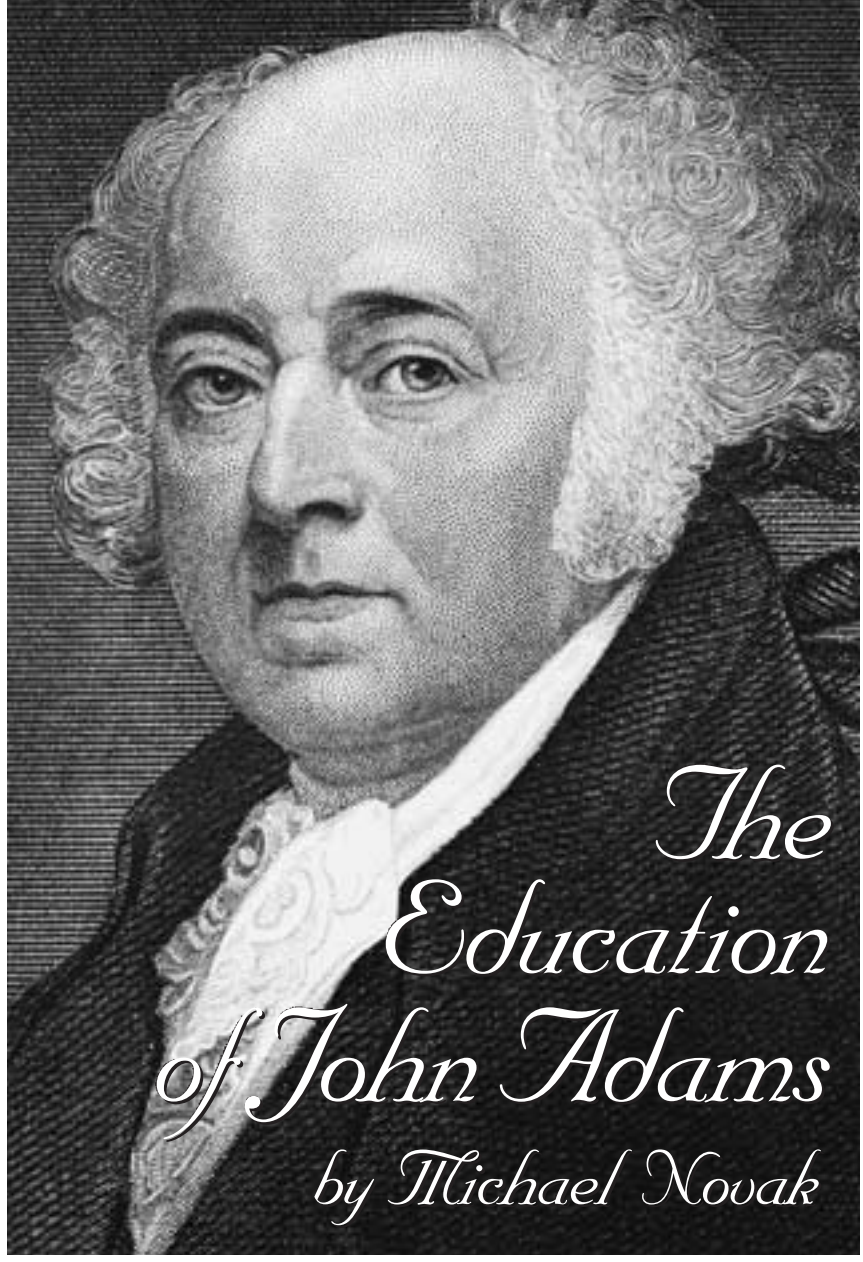
Indeed, like Roy Rogers and Colonel Sanders, Koop will carry on in perpetuity. It's right there in the company's prospectus, following pages of caveats warning investors of the many ways they could lose their shirts from wagering on such a volatile venture. Koop's name and likeness, the company informs, "may not be unreasonably withheld" from the site's health-care products, pending his approval, which, "upon his death," will "be made by Dr. Koop's estate." Koop's inevitable death, says Hansen, was something that got "brought up quite a bit on our road show" (where the company sells itself to investors). But thanks to the agreement, she says, "he will live on." Just like Colonel Sanders, who has lately become, posthumously, an animated white-suited squib dancing around a bucket of honey-bbq wings.

Till that fateful day, though, "he's certainly a presence in our office, though not every day," says Hansen. "He's here about once a quarter." Or maybe not. When I visit Koop at the Koop Institute, he says matter of factly of the Austin headquarters, "I've been there once." When I ask how often he monitors the Web site whose 70,000 pages are beamed out under his imprimatur, he says "about once a month."

He may be 82 years old, but that's the Koop we remember: cracking honest, like he did when the liberals tried to sandbag him during his confirmation hearing for being a pro-lifer, calling him "Dr. Kook." Or conversely, enraging conservatives and prophylactic prudes in the Reagan administration, when he pushed for sex education in the third grade to help combat AIDS, thereby paving the way for Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders, who like Koop, put on the unseasonably hot Captain Crunch uniform, bucked her own administration, and courageously fought to teach schoolchildren how to diddle themselves.

Sure, Koop may be showing signs of wear. When I first meet him, he asks how my colleague "Harry Barnes" is doing (around the magazine, we call him "Fred"). But he still has that undefinable "It": the "It" of a man who grows a mustacheless beard that thinly traces the jawline before rupturing into a chin bouffant, making him look as if he should be raising barns or hunting white whales; the "It" that gives vision to a visionary, that allows a man to refer to himself in casual conversation as the "health conscience of the nation"; the "It" that bestows on a man something more valuable than integrity, brand.

Having brand means one's name is greater than the sum of its vowels and consonants. Koop, the columnist Mary McGrory has written, is "the bearded symbol of solicitous integrity." Shortly before adorning him with the Medal of Freedom, and shortly after Koop shilled for his wife's health-care plan, President Clinton called Koop "the true face of American heroism." Or "Koop" could mean what it does in Amsterdam's Red Light district, where Dutch hookers stand under signs that read "te koop." There, it simply translates "for sale." ♦



The Education of John Adams

by Michael Novak

No single man is more responsible for the Fourth of July than John Adams. He knew full well the glory that would attach to the author of the Declaration of Independence, and there is a sense in which he spent his entire life preparing for and coveting that glory. But in the summer of 1776, Boston was still battle-scarred. And Adams recognized both that the colonies must be united behind the Declaration and that someone from Massachusetts might be accused of self-interest. So, in one of the greatest acts of abnegation in American history, he stood aside and let Thomas Jefferson, his rival from Virginia, claim the glory of declaring our independence.

No one in the colonies had worked harder to master the law and the ideas of statesmanship than John Adams. On a rigorous schedule, the young Adams roused himself at 6 A.M. to study Latin and Greek. Shy and without social graces, Adams felt both that he had been born to greatness and that he would have to work harder for it than others. Others recognized it as well: While a new lawyer, he was tapped by British agents as the most promising man in the younger set, the perfect choice to supervise the king's affairs in Massachusetts.

Yet Adams was aware of the real condition of America. In the century since 1688, Parliament had gained considerable sway in the British political system, and, faced with the heavy expenses of empire, it had begun to squeeze the colonies for revenue and to exercise enormous power over them. The price of dependency upon England was obsequiousness, servility, and the fawning pursuit of Parliamentary favors. Adams did not interpret America's anger at the Stamp Act of 1765 as a "tax revolt" but as a demand for the dignity denied by the act's underlying usurpation of consent and rights.

At the same time, Adams loved justice and, at enormous risk to his reputation among the growing band of partisans of independence, undertook in early 1770 the legal defense of the young British soldiers who had opened fire on an angry Boston mob. His brilliant and beautiful wife Abigail feared for his safety, but he argued that the integrity of the law demanded his services: "Where there is no law, there is no liberty." He won acquittal for the frightened young men and secured his reputation for both moral courage and respect for law.

C. BRADLEY THOMPSON
John Adams and the Spirit of Liberty
University Press of Kansas, 340 pp., $39.95

From the moment of his arrival at the opening of the Continental Congress in September 1774, he worked to persuade his fellow congressmen of the necessity and wisdom of independence—often at private discussions and small dinners. Complete union was his goal: full support from Georgia to New Hampshire. Adams bore the brunt of the deeply contested congressional argument.

Towards the end, while Jefferson was away in Virginia, Adams singlehandedly brought the issue to a vote and gave—in response to the objections by the Pennsylvania delegation—an extemporaneous summation that many recalled years later as the most brilliant argument they had ever heard. Congress passed the resolution for independence on July 2, and the

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Above: The presidents from George Washington to Franklin D. Roosevelt in a 1930s photomontage.

next day Adams wrote to Abigail his famous letter on the Declaration:

> The second day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary Festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the Day of Deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward forever.
>
> You will think me transported with enthusiasm, but I am not. I am well aware of the toil and blood and treasure that it will cost to maintain this Declaration, and support and defend these States. Yet through all the gloom I can see the rays of ravishing light and glory. I can see that the end is worth more than all the means; that prosperity will triumph in that day's transaction, even though we [may regret] it, which I trust in God we shall not.

The role of Adams in producing the Constitution was also pervasive. He was the first to suggest, as early as 1776, the method of convention and ratification by which a people might establish their own founding document. He was the moving force behind the 1780 state constitution of Massachusetts, which became the model for nearly all the other states, and the honor of being a constitutional lawgiver, a "Solon or Lycurgus," he perceived as the greatest glory of his life.

In the politics of the new nation he had helped found, Adams proved less successful. As George Washington's vice president, he was no match for the political guile of Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson baldly denied to Washington that he had libeled Adams, though the evidence was obvious, and Adams succeeded Washington as president for only one term before falling to Jefferson in a bitter reelection contest. But Adams nonetheless renewed his friendship with Jefferson in later years and, as an old man, carried on with the Virginian what is without rival the most extraordinary correspondence in American history. Their deaths occurred, a few hours apart, on July 4, 1826, exactly fifty years after their greatest mutual glory.

For gaining a picture of the life and character of John Adams, the most satisfying books remain Catherine Drinker Bowen's *John Adams and the American Revolution* and Joseph J. Ellis's *The Passionate Sage*. Rather than compete with these biographies, C.

Bradley Thompson has used his new volume, *John Adams and the Spirit of Liberty*, to analyze Adams's writings on the nature of constitutions, the republican form of government, and the requirements of liberty.

In focusing on these writings, Thompson performs a useful task, for Adams's key works are unknown to the general reader. Adams had a love for historical research—it would continue in his family for a hundred years—and mastered Anglo-Saxon and canon law, the legal customs of the Germanic tribes, and classical Greek and Latin authors. Many esteemed him the most learned man in America, and his "Novanglus" essays and *A Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* shaped nearly all constitutional debates both here and abroad.

In the years since, however, the memory of the Bostonian Adams has faded, while the Virginians Jefferson and Madison have claimed the allegiance of modern historians. The reason, I think, is that the Virginians seem to confirm the predilection of academics for the secular Enlightenment, while Adams is far more religious in his convictions—not an orthodox Christian, but utterly convinced of the importance of religion for American government.

Even Thompson in his otherwise admirable *John Adams and the Spirit of Liberty* neglects the religious dimension of Adams's thought. In the debate over the Massachusetts constitution of 1780, for instance, Adams argued strenuously for religious schools, financed by the state treasury if necessary. Such schools, Adams pointed out, compelled no one's

All Photos: UPI / Corbis-Bettman

John Adams is in the second row, seventh from the left. Below: Abigail and John Adams.

belief—and since a republic needs virtue, and virtue needs religion, a religious education is the indispensable foundation of free society. And all who benefit by the good habits such schools produce in the citizenry ought by right to help pay for them.

On this question, Adams is far more typical of the Founders' generation than were Jefferson and Madison. Jefferson was a sunny rationalist; hostile and even bigoted toward religion, especially Judaism; expected unbroken Progress; announced himself (unseriously) a materialist; and entertained a serene and uncomplicated view of the human spirit. Adams had a far more complicated sense of religion's centrality and understood matters that bigotry prevented Jefferson from grasping. "In spite of Bolingbroke and Voltaire," Adams wrote,

> I will insist the Hebrews have done more to civilize men than any other nation. If I were an atheist, and believed in blind eternal fate, I should still believe that fate had ordained the Jews to be the most essential instrument for civilizing the nations. If I were an atheist of the other sect, who believed or pretended to believe that all is ordered by chance, I should believe that chance had ordered the Jews to preserve and to propagate to all mankind the doctrine of a supreme, intelligent, wise, almighty sovereign of the universe, which I believe to be the great essential principle of all morality, and consequently of civilization.

It is in passages such as this that Adams reveals his biblical understanding of the relation of truth to liberty, liberty to virtue, and virtue to the public good. Adams had a republican, as opposed to a liberal, view of reality and political order. He emphasized the

fragility of liberty, its costs, its difficulties, its moral requirements.

But despite paying insufficient heed to Adams's religious thought, Thompson has prepared an intellectually exhilarating volume. The first chapter of his *John Adams and the Spirit of Liberty*, on "the American Enlightenment," is the weakest, a conventional and naively Lockean account with little sense of the religious and philosophical originality of Adams's appropriation of the Enlightenment.

With the third and fourth chapters, however, Thompson gives an excellent account of Adams's early thought. These chapters display, above all, Adams's conviction that liberty works through institutions and by law. No one laid out more fully than Adams the legal arguments that undergird the Declaration of Independence—and, for Adams, the case for independence was a legal one, through and through. The status of the colonies rested on personal grants by the monarch; when Parliament wrested power from the king, it strayed beyond these grants—particularly since no member of Parliament represented the votes of anyone in the colonies. Not only abuses by the monarch, therefore, but also those by a usurping Parliament were proper grounds for dissolving ties to England.

In the second half of *John Adams and the Spirit of Liberty*, Thompson takes up the central contribution of Adams to the principles of political architecture. Adams ranged widely in his thoughts on the science of politics, the science of history, and the science of human nature. He considered exactly what it meant to be not just a lawmaker but a *lawgiver*, founding a new republic. He dwelt on the principles of republican government, the fundamentals of sound government, and the "art" of political architecture—interpreting literally the idea that the American system is an experiment, to be tested as any other experiment and amended in the light of proven failures.

Adams was a bold and original thinker, a type ill-favored in democracies. He feared, for instance, the control of wealthy elites, generating a new aristocratic order. As a remedy he proposed allowing states to elect senators for life, as a way of institutionalizing a kind of natural aristocracy in one house, in order simultaneously to give it a voice and to confine it. It was this proposal that Jefferson (and later historians) leapt upon as anti-democratic. But

Adams had in mind the ability of the wealthy few to win and stay in office. To keep the nation democratic would require more than pretending that a natural aristocracy will not exist.

There is ample reason to believe that we are on the edge of an Adams revival. Recent years have seen an acknowledgment of Adams's notion of religious and moral education as necessary for the survival of the republic. The extreme position of Jefferson and Madison on church and state has increasingly proved intellectually and legally bankrupt. But the deepest reason for the return of Adams is that no other Founder—not Washington, not Jefferson, not Madison—sheds as broad an intellectual light on the kind of governance we need today. After a century of ignoring our second president, we have reached the shoals his lighthouse meant to warn us of. ♦

McCarthy and His Novelist

Bill Buckley on Tailgunner Joe

By Robert D. Novak

Only a wordsmith of William F. Buckley's caliber could try, and largely succeed, in depicting Joe McCarthy as an engaging, sympathetic, and ultimately tragic figure. Buckley's McCarthy is a rogue—but not a loathsome enemy of freedom so detestable that the very word "McCarthyism" is a name accepted even by conservative politicians for unjust, unfounded accusations.

Make no mistake. Buckley's new book is not a comprehensive analysis of Senator Joseph Raymond McCarthy. *The Redhunter* is truly a novel, the thirteenth by the doyen of conservative pundits who has honed his craft well in chronicling the fictional adventures of his CIA operative, Blackford Oakes. Even liberals who grow faint at the thought of any kind word about McCarthy will enjoy the pacing and suspense of an engrossing story with many twists and turns.

Little, Brown

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.
The Redhunter
A Novel Based on the Life and Times of Sen. Joe McCarthy
Little, Brown & Co., 544 pp., $25

Act One of Buckley's drama portrays how young Joe, manifesting grit and a cavalier disregard for the truth, started as a fifteen-year-old high school dropout and failed chicken farmer and ended as the youngest member of the U.S. Senate, elected in 1946 at thirty-eight.

In Act Two, McCarthy stumbles into his role as America's most famous Communist-hunter and inspiration to millions of his countrymen. No, he did not catch any real spies, but neither did he ruin the lives of innocent Americans. Buckley forthrightly describes the essence of "McCarthyism" when he deals with State Department adviser Owen Lattimore, immortalized as one of the senator's "victims." McCarthy accurately identified Lattimore as one of the influential insiders whose pro-Communist views adversely influenced U.S. Cold War strategy; McCarthy went overboard only by designating Lattimore as the top Soviet agent in America.

Act Three opens with the appearance of Roy Cohn as the McCarthy committee's chief counsel. Hired at the suggestion of Hearst columnist George Sokolsky to assuage unfounded charges of anti-Semitism by the senator, Cohn—at least in Buckley's presentation—is a mean-spirited fool who propels McCarthy into a fatal confrontation with Dwight D. Eisenhower. Joe's doom comes when the president, in the novel, declares, "This is it. The end of Ike's sweet temper. Son of a bitch." Condemned by the Senate and ruined politically, a brokenhearted, hopelessly alcoholic McCarthy dies at age forty-eight.

Eisenhower is part of a procession of real people with cameo roles: Harry Truman, Henry Wallace, Dean Acheson, J. Edgar Hoover, and Richard Nixon, to name only a few. But as in the historical novels of Buckley's *bête noire*, Gore Vidal, the real characters appear on the page primarily to interact with the fictional characters.

The Redhunter's fictional protagonist is idealistic young McCarthy aide Harry Bontecou (an unusual name that I previously had seen only in a footnote in Buckley's 1954 defense of the senator, *McCarthy and His Enemies*, citing a book by one Eleanor Bontecou). Harry seems to be roughly modeled on Buckley in both friendship with and criticism of McCarthy, though Buckley never actually worked for McCarthy and, as far as I know, did not experience Bontecou's romantic difficulties. Bontecou's conservative mentor, Willmoore Sherrill of Columbia University, can only be Buckley's conservative mentor, the late Willmoore Kendall of Yale.

In his own historical novel *Freedom*, William Safire provided a list of which events he had borrowed from history and which events he had made up. Buckley only asserts that "most events here recorded are true to life." But that does not mean they should be taken literally.

Some accounts in the book which seem most fictional are in fact taken

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from life—as when freelance writer Forrest Davis encounters McCarthy at a Washington party and, impelled by too much liquor, hands over to the senator a 169-page critical manuscript about General George C. Marshall's foreign policy blunders. A grateful McCarthy puts the entire manuscript, verbatim but unattributed, in the Senate record, then typically adds a characteristically, unsubstantiated accusation that the general is part of "a conspiracy of infamy."

But many incidents in the novel are invented. Buckley tells a gripping story of how McCarthy's staff in 1950 leaked information to *Meet the Press* moderator Lawrence Spivak in preparation for Owen Lattimore's appearance on the Sunday evening television program. Truman, Acheson, and McCarthy are all described eagerly awaiting the broadcast. Spivak destroys Lattimore with evidence of his denied State Department roles and connection with Soviet spy Lauchlin Currie. "God almighty," says Acheson, as he watches the program. But in truth, Lattimore never appeared on *Meet the Press*. His embarrassment came later, before a Senate committee.

Truth-adjustment may be necessary for dramatic tension, but other diversions from reality seem gratuitous. Why have McCarthy addressing a Madison Square Garden rally to attack the Watkins Committee (which recommended his censure) as an "unwitting handmaiden" of the Communist conspiracy, when in fact he made that attack many weeks earlier in a Senate speech? Why have Wendell Willkie assailing McCarthy in 1954 when in fact the 1940 Republican nominee died ten years earlier?

What will bother liberal critics about *The Redhunter* is not the anachronisms but the dread that somehow Joe McCarthy is being "rehabilitated." The publication of the Venona decoding of Soviet communications makes clear that McCarthy, apart from his regrettable hyperbole, was correct in connecting Communist agents and sympathizers with egregious blunders in American national security policy after World War II.

But it is, in fact, far too late for rehabilitation, and novelist Buckley does not attempt it. Rather, he puts this melancholy appraisal in the mouth of Harry Bontecou: "It was one of Joe McCarthy's ironic legacies that it became almost impossible in future years to say that anyone was a Communist, because you'd be hauled up for committing McCarthyism." In the novel, his wife Jean tells McCarthy: "It's slipping away, and that's not just because there are liberals and Commie sympathizers after you. It's because your judgment is bad, and it's affected by booze."

A final word is given to Whittaker Chambers, who always took a much harsher view of McCarthy than his

AP / Wide World Photos

Chief counsel Roy Cohn whispers in the ear of Joseph McCarthy during a hearing of the Senate Investigation Committee, April 22, 1954.

friend Bill Buckley. In a letter to Harry Bontecou as McCarthy was falling, Chambers writes: "I think it would be a mistake to perpetuate a myth of McCarthy as something he was not. For the Left will have no trouble in shredding a myth which does not stand on reality." This is not fiction, but from a letter from Chambers to Buckley, who discovered it only recently.

But if the Right refrained from trying to make McCarthy a hero of mythic proportions, the Left felt no such hesitation and turned the senator into an ogre of Hitlerian dimensions. William F. Buckley's latest novel, *The Redhunter*, does succeed a little in shredding that liberal contrivance. ♦

To China with Love

Bill Gertz's chronicle of Bill Clinton's national security failures

By Mark P. Lagon

You might expect, from a book with the title *Betrayal*, a typical blast from the far, far right—a raging, rambling indictment of William Jefferson Clinton for everything from drug-running at Mena airport to conniving in Vince Foster's murder.

But in his new volume, the reporter Bill Gertz has put together something considerably less than that—and consequently, something considerably more. *Betrayal* makes the solid and convincing case that over the last six and a half years, the president's foreign policy has regularly betrayed American interests and principles for a variety of political, personal, and financial expediences. "In Bill Clinton's Washington," Gertz concludes, "national security facts never get in the way."

To assemble *Betrayal*, Gertz collected the combustible reporting he's done in recent years as national security correspondent for the *Washington Times*. His stunning stories, based on an unparalleled network of defense and intelligence sources, reveal the extent to which the Clinton administration has funneled aid and loans to a Russian government determined to act against U.S. interests, courted China while the People's Liberation Army has stolen military technology, and willfully refused to punish Iraq and North Korea for developing instruments of mass murder. And by way of concluding his argument, Gertz includes in *Betrayal* copies of the secret documents provided by his sources. The result is a hair-raising volume, an indictment of the Clinton administration more devastating and frightening than anything published before.

In the decade that has followed the end of the Cold War, America's foreign-policy experts have focused their attention on rogue states like Iran, Iraq, and North Korea. But Gertz shows that our Cold War problems haven't disappeared. Though liberalized, Russia and China are not so predictably benign that we needn't worry about their military capabilities. Indeed, Gertz points out, both Russia and China have helped Iran develop nuclear and chemical arms and the missiles needed to deliver them. The two states have even worked together, as when—after the stationing of two U.S. aircraft carriers near Taiwan in 1996—Russia allowed China to buy missiles and destroyers designed to fight off aircraft carriers.

In its policy toward Russia, Gertz concludes, the Clinton administration has simply mistaken America's interests. Serious consideration is worth paying to Gertz's argument that the often-praised Nunn-Lugar aid for financing the dismantling of weapons has actually subsidized the modernization of Russian arms:

> Unlike the United States, which has no new nuclear weapons in development, Russia is engaged in a major strategic arms buildup that includes new long-range land-based missiles

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and a new class of long range ballistic missile submarines . . . while at the same time, the United States is sending over $1 billion to help the Russians "dismantle" nuclear weapons.

In its policy toward China, on the other hand, the Clinton administration has embarked on a conciliatory "new mercantilism." But despite the administration's claim that treating China as a "trading partner" helps stabilize Asia, China's technological aid to Pakistan was a major factor in the nuclear tests undertaken by India and Pakistan last year. Indeed, the Cox committee's recent findings reveal that technology sold under loosened regulations or stolen from national laboratories has given China nuclear capabilities it can use itself or share with the likes of Pakistan and Iran.

The Clinton administration's fawning treatment seems only to have encouraged China to threaten, for example, to vaporize Los Angeles in 1996 if America defended Taiwan (a message, Gertz notes, delivered by a Chinese general to Chas Freeman, who had recently been the top Pentagon official in charge of U.S. policy in Asia). In the end, and in return for major concessions, China did agree not to target the United States with its nuclear missiles. But the agreement was purely symbolic (since it was reversible within minutes) and one that China nonetheless failed to keep: It was Gertz, in a *Washington Times* story, who revealed that China was continuing to expand its missile force and aim it at America.

Even with regard to the rogue states the Clinton administration claims to take as serious threats, the record has not been good. The policy toward North Korea, Gertz demonstrates, is at best feckless. The administration rewarded North Korea's flimsy promise to desist from building nuclear arms in 1994 with an inexplicable offer of light water reactors and fuel oil.

American intelligence found that North Korea continued to prepare weapons-grade fissile material in a mountainside facility at Kumchangri. (The North Koreans did clear out the facility before finally granting access to inspectors this spring—access for which Pyongyang extorted $200 million in American aid.) And then, on August 31, 1998, the supposedly persuaded North Korea fired a three-stage rocket over Japan, demonstrating a capacity to hit American territory.

BILL GERTZ
Betrayal
How the Clinton Administration Undermined American Security
Regnery, 291 pp., $27.95

In Iraq, too, Clinton's policy has vitiated American credibility—notably in Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's bizarre effort to block U.N. weapons inspectors (such as Scott Ritter, who resigned in protest) from pursuing promising leads into Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction program. The Iraq case demonstrates Gertz's ability to shed light even on reports he didn't break. The story of China—from the Loral and Hughes satellite transfers that improved China's missiles to ongoing spying at nuclear laboratories—won Jeff Gerth of the *New York Times* a well-deserved Pulitzer prize. But it is much clarified and expanded in Gertz's careful reconstructions in *Betrayal*.

On December 2, 1996, THE WEEKLY STANDARD ran a profile of the *Washington Times*'s national security correspondent, pointing out the extent to which this man, who never graduated from college, drops bombs in his columns that reverberate throughout Washington. The collection of his work in *Betrayal* reveals that nothing has changed in the last two and a half years. Bill Gertz remains a national asset. And as he shines his light in unwelcome places, he remains as well an agenda setter, compelling the Clinton administration to a more responsible—or at least less disastrous—foreign policy. ♦

BCA

FRIENDS

Stephen Ambrose on male camaraderie

By Stephanie Deutsch

The historian Stephen Ambrose has devoted his life's work to studying men—men like the American soldiers who won the Second World War. In the course of his long career, he's interviewed hundreds of veterans about what kept them going in battle, and in such popular and highly acclaimed volumes as the 1993 *Band of Brothers: E Company, 506th Regiment, 101st Airborne from Normandy to Hitler's Eagle's Nest* and the 1997 *Citizen Soldiers: The U.S. Army from the Normandy Beaches to Bulge to the Surrender of Germany*, he discovered that it was, in part, pride in their country and a sense of purpose they found hard to talk about.

But he discovered that it was also, in part, an experience they found it easy to describe: the sustaining friendship of the men with whom they served. And now, with *Comrades: Brothers, Fathers, Heroes, Sons, Pals*, Ambrose has written his paean to that sort of friendship, a quirky, uneven, personal book about

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the male camaraderie that is "one of the joys of my adult life."

In a series of twelve chapters, *Comrades* presents male friendships from history and from the author's own life, discovering that what distinguishes friends is a willingness to reach beyond self to share both joy and pain. Chapters on men aided by the friendship of their brothers—Dwight Eisenhower and George Custer—are followed by chapters on two intense and difficult friendships: Eisenhower and George Patton, and the Sioux warriors Crazy Horse and He Dog. The legendary friendship of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark is profiled, together with an account of the wartime friendships of Easy Company in the 101st Airborne and the postwar friendships of British, American, and German veterans. Ambrose himself has never seen combat, but he details from personal experience the kind of close male bonds that can form apart from war in moving chapters on his own brother, friends, and father.

The most telling chapter, however, is that on Richard Nixon, entitled "Nary a Friend." As the author of a three-volume biography of the president, Ambrose knows the man's life well. And he has come to see that one character flaw more than any other precipitated Nixon's downfall: the incapacity to make friends. "I believe you should keep your troubles to yourself," Ambrose quotes Nixon as saying. "Some people are different. Some people think it's good therapy to sit with a close friend and, you know, just spill your guts." And it was with thoughts like these, according to Ambrose, that Nixon "disqualified himself for love by refusing to ever open himself to it."

Henry Kissinger saw Nixon as having "a congenital inability ever to confide totally in anyone," and said that he had "no truly close friends." Ambrose rejects "the theme of the unloved boy." Nixon's parents were stern, he writes, but "who can say how much love is enough? Who can say that Nixon's childhood was in any way so exceptional that it scarred him for life?" The problem for Nixon was not lack of love; it was lack of character:

William Clark

Lewis and Clark Heritage Foundation

STEPHEN E. AMBROSE
Comrades
Brothers, Fathers, Heroes, Sons, Pals
Simon & Schuster, 139 pp., $21

Meriwether Lewis

> Nixon had gifts in abundance—brains, acceptably nice looks, good health, a marvelous memory, knowledge, superb acting ability and stage presence, a faithful family and awesome willpower, among others. . . . The one [gift] that he lacked was character. Virtue comes from character. That is why Nixon despised virtue and railed against it.

Nixon didn't just despise virtue, in Ambrose's view; he despised people, which is why he never wanted to be close to anyone except his daughters and, possibly, his wife. He could no more sacrifice himself in friendship, Ambrose concludes, "than he could bring himself to love, trust, and respect the American people."

Repeatedly, Ambrose contrasts Nixon with Eisenhower, a man with many warm friendships and a gift for leadership. Eisenhower grew up with five brothers for whom "competition was the natural order of things": They fought, one said, "for the sheer joy of slugging one another." Milton Eisenhower went on to become the general's lifelong adviser. Ike didn't always take his brother's advice—Milton was opposed to the 1956 presidential reelection bid, for example—but he always knew he had in Milton an affectionate, intelligent, discreet sounding board for his ideas. "They had," Ambrose decides, "an utter trust in the other's esteem and love."

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark shared what Ambrose calls "the best-known and the most productive friendship in American history." When Lewis was chosen to lead an expedition across the western two-thirds of the continent, he immediately thought of Clark, who had been his commanding officer during six months in the army. By this time, Lewis had come to outrank Clark, but he offered his friend co-command of the expedition anyway. When Clark's commission as captain did not come through, Lewis insisted that they represent to their men that they were of equal rank.

They always referred to each other as "Captain Lewis" and "Captain Clark" and, according to Ambrose, there was never a cross word between them dur-

ing their twenty-eight month trip. They had utter trust in each other; their friendship set the tone for the expedition and made possible its extraordinary success.

Lewis and Clark provoke Ambrose to his most lyrical description of friendship—and to his clearest recognition of the limitations of friendship as well. "Perfect friendship is rarely achieved, but at its height it is an ecstasy," he writes. "For Lewis and Clark, it was such an ecstasy, and the critical factor in their great success. But even at its highest, friendship is human, not godlike. For all his efforts and intentions, Clark could not save Lewis."

When Lewis fell prey to deep depression, Clark lent him money and opened his home to him. But he was not with him when, en route to Washington to try to straighten out his tangled financial affairs, Lewis sat on a hillside on the Natchez Trail, telling his servant that "General Clark . . . was coming on. He would set things straight. He always did." Not knowing what was happening to his friend, Clark did not come, and later that night, Lewis took his own life.

In all the friendships he describes, his own and those drawn from history, Ambrose celebrates this willingness to open up to others, to reveal vulnerability as well as strength, and to trust. It shows, for instance, in Ambrose's account of the time he and his wife "got into a bad situation with the booze"—when his friend John Holcomb, who had coped courageously with his own drinking problem, "was a source of strength and inspiration."

The relations Ambrose writes about show what affection can become when combined with loyalty, dignity, honesty, and courage—in short, with character. The friendships he describes are the opposite of "I feel your pain" sentimentality; they are a function of maturity. He quotes Heraclitus—"A man's character is his fate"—and he finds our friendships inextricably linked to our characters.

But character is not simply a static gift of the gods. Like a talent for throwing a baseball or telling stories, the character that shows in friendship may be strengthened or left to wither away. Combat can help form friendships, but so can peacetime experience. And for the men willing to venture into them, intimate friendships are not just the manifestations of character. They are what builds character—and what rewards it as well. ♦

After having referred in recent weeks to "Grecians" and "East Timorians," Gov. Bush during his press conference appeared to confuse the European countries of Slovakia and Slovenia. *—News Item*

George W. Bush's Map of the Balkans