

## Nation Sets Its Sights on Building Sane Economy

### True Cost Tax, Salary Caps, Trust-Busting Top List

By T. VEBLEN

The President has called for swift passage of the Safeguards for a New Economy (S.A.N.E.) bill. The omnibus economic package includes a federal maximum wage, mandatory "True Cost Accounting," a phased withdrawal from complex financial instruments, and other measures intended to improve life for ordinary Americans. (See highlights box on Page A10.) He also repeated earlier calls for passage of the "Ban on Lobbying" bill currently making its way through Congress.

Treasury Secretary Paul Krugman stressed the importance of the bill. "Markets make great servants, terrible leaders, and absurd religions," said Krugman, quoting Paul Hawken, an advocate of corporate responsibility and author of "Blessed Unrest, How the Largest Movement in the World Came into Being and Why No One Saw It Coming."

"At this point, the market is our

leader and our religion. No wonder the median standard of living has been declining so much for so long."

Krugman said that the new Treasury bill seeks to ensure the prosperity of all citizens, rather than simply supporting large corporations and the wealthy. "The market is supposed to serve us. Unfortunately, we have ended up serving the market. That's very bad."

Much as Roosevelt, after the Great Depression, put the brakes on C.E.O. wages and irresponsible banking practices, administration officials claim that today we need to rein in the industry that has caused such chaos and misery.

"The building blocks of post-World War II American middle-class prosperity have all been swept away," said House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who initially op-

Continued on Page A10

## Maximum Wage Law Succeeds

### Salary Caps Will Help Stabilize Economy

By J.K. MALONE

WASHINGTON — After long and often bitter debate, Congress has passed legislation, fiercely fought for by labor and progressive groups, that will limit top salaries to fifteen times the minimum wage. Tying the bill to a plan of overall reform of the U.S. economy, the bill echoes a similar effort enacted by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1942, which was followed by the longest period of growth for the middle class in U.S. history.

"When C.E.O. salaries remain stable thanks to high taxation of high salaries, there's little incentive to take big risks with shareholders' money, and the economy remains in a steady growth mode," said Senator Barney Frank, one of the bill's co-sponsors. "But when C.E.O. salaries can fly through the roof, there's a very strong incentive for C.E.O.s

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## TREASURY ANNOUNCES "TRUE COST" TAX PLAN

By MARCUS S. DRIGGS

The long-awaited "True Cost" plan, which requires product prices to reflect their cost to society, has been signed into law.

Beginning next month, throw-away items like plastic water bottles and other items which are wasteful or damaging to the environment will be heavily taxed, as in many developed countries. Steep taxes will also apply to large cars and gasoline.

The new plan calls for a 200 percent tax on gasoline, comparable to the one long in effect in most European countries. Companies and consumers are already switching in droves from inefficient gas vehicles to new electric cars. "We suddenly have a waiting list 200 names long for the EVI," said Jake Cluber, the owner of Cluber Chevrolet in

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## Popular Pressure Ushers Recent Progressive Tilt

### Study Cites Movements for Massive Shift in DC

By SAMUEL FIELDEN

The spate of reform initiatives undertaken by the Administration and both houses of Congress can be attributed directly to grassroots advocacy, according to a comprehensive study due out this month.

"In education and health care, most notably, but also in housing, banking, and the environment, we have documented unprecedented responsiveness on the part of political leaders," said Dr. Joyce Wellmon, director of the Plains Institute for Policy Analysis, a New York-based think tank. "Our data show a direct correlation between the level of activity of particular coalitions, on the one hand, and specific legislative action, on the other. It's popular pressure that is responsible for the swiftness and scope of legislation emerging from the White House and Congress."

The institute's report shows a three-fold increase in the incidence of letters, phone calls, faxes, and email received by congressional offices, 88 percent of which were from people who identified themselves as new members of particular activist organizations.

See nytimes.com for more

INTERNATIONAL A4-5

### Gitmo, Other Centers Closed

The notorious Guantánamo Bay, Cuba detention camp will be closed, along with a network of secret C.I.A.-run facilities in Eastern Europe, Afghanistan and elsewhere. PAGE A12

### Iraqi Refugees Worldwide Celebrate Withdrawal

Two million Iraqi exiles, and three million internal refugees, celebrated the end of hostilities and began making plans to return to their homes. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A6-9

### Conflict of Interest Law Will Stop Revolving Door

The "Revolving Door" bill will prohibit high-ranking corporate officers from holding public office for ten years upon

The report includes extensive interviews with House and Senate staff, who speak of "unimaginable change," a "dramatic policy shift," and "a new era of accountability" since the elections.

"Not since the Great Depression has the interaction between popular movements and public leaders been so robust," said Jorge Lazaro, head of the U.S. Government Accountability Office. Lazaro cited, in particular, the Wagner Act, also known as the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, which recognized the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively with their employers.

"Roosevelt showed no interest in the Wagner Act until it became clear the unions were going to force it through regardless," Mr. Lazaro noted. "At that point he jumped on it and helped push it into law."

Mr. Lazaro also pointed to the Depression-era organizing of the Farmers' Holiday Association, when farmers refused to sell or bid on crops, blockaded roads, and even once used a torpedo to halt a train carrying livestock into Iowa. Such direct actions helped push courts and legislatures to adopt

measures that granted relief from debt caused by low crop prices.

"The similarities between the two periods are remarkable, and the lesson that emerges is simple: if you want change, keep our feet to the fire."

Dr. Wellmon agrees. "The only reason the current President and Congress have been able to implement all these changes, was because of pressure from popular

movements that made them have to."

The Plains report, due out next month, cites the work of groups associated with United for Peace and Justice, an umbrella for anti-war groups, for galvanizing public support for ending the war, and for pushing the Administration to resist the oil lobby and other interest groups. It also cites the work

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leaving their companies, and public officials from accepting management positions at large corporations for the same period. Coupled with the Ban on Lobbying bill, the bill will reduce the influence of large corporations on public policy. PAGE B1

Health Insurance Act Clears House While almost all are celebrating the passage of the National Health Insur-

ance Act, which finally brings the U.S. up to par with other developed nations, representatives of Kaiser, Cigna and other health insurance companies are vowing to "fight tooth and nail" to protect their interests. PAGE A7

**Bush to Face Charges**  
Most observers weren't surprised by the high treason indictment itself, but rather by the party that brought it. The case could also provide an unexpected boost to the International Criminal Court, paving the way for more indictments. PAGE A5

BUSINESS A10-11

**Corporate Personhood Gets Real**  
An initiative to abolish limited liability will make shareholders pay for the crimes their corporations commit — even if they only own one or two shares in a mutual fund. PAGE A11

NEW YORK A12



**Bicycle Lanes Inaugurated**  
With the completion of the 9th Avenue bike lane and groundbreaking on other avenues, New York is on the (bike) path to becoming as livable as other world cities. PAGE A12

EDITORIAL A13

### A Lobbyist Defends Lobbying

The Ban on Lobbying bill is not without victims. PAGE A13

### Thomas L. Friedman

The columnist resigns, and will put down his pen to take up a screwdriver. PAGE A13

### A Baboon Troop's Experience

A particularly peaceful baboon troop may have lessons to teach us. PAGE A13

More Inside The Times.  
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HELP MAKE THE NEWS, TODAY

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# IRAQ WAR ENDS



## Troops to Return Immediately

By JUDE SHINBIN

WASHINGTON — Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom were brought to an unceremonious close today with a quiet announcement by the Department of Defense that troops would be home within weeks.

"This is the best face we can put on the most unfortunate adventure in modern American history," Defense spokesman Kevin Sites said at a special joint session of Congress. "Today, we can finally enjoy peace — not the peace of the brave, perhaps, but at least peace."

As U.S. and coalition troops withdraw from Iraq and Afghanistan, the United Nations will move in to perform peacekeeping duties and aid in rebuilding. The U.N. will be responsible for keeping the two countries stable; coordinating the rebuilding of hospitals, schools, highways, and other infrastructure; and overseeing upcoming elections.

The Department of the Treasury confirmed that all U.N. dues owed by the U.S. were paid as of this morning, and that moneys previously earmarked for the war would be sent directly to the U.N.'s Iraq Oversight Body.

The president noted that the Iraq War had resulted in the burning of many bridges. "Yet our history with our allies runs deep," he said, "and we all know that friends forgive friends for anything. Or nearly." A spokesperson for the French Ministry of Defense confirmed that France would assist the U.S. withdrawal. "The U.S. helped the Soviet Union defeat Hitler. We do recognize that."

In conflict zones worldwide, leaders and rebels pledged peace. (See "In Conflict Zones Worldwide, Peace Moves," on Page A4.)

On Wall Street, reactions were mixed, with the Dow Jones Industrial Average up 84 points, to close at 4,212. While KBR stock was quickly downgraded to a "junk" rating of BBB-, defense contractors such as Lockheed Martin and Northrop Grumman started up.

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## Nationalized Oil To Fund Climate Change Efforts

By MARION K. HUBBERT

Congress has voted to place ExxonMobil, ChevronTexaco, and other major oil companies under public stewardship, with the bulk of the companies' profits put in a public trust administered by the United Nations, and used for alternative energy research and development in order to solve the global climate crisis.

Rice noted that in the 1991 Gulf War, Hussein had used missiles to launch attacks on Israel, which made him popular with Arab citizens throughout the Middle East.

"Do you really think we would have given Saddam major public relations coup by allowing him to annihilate tens of thousands of you right there on holy territory?" asked Ms. Rice.

Former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger responded to Ms. Rice's revelation without surprise.

"Of course this was the case. When Israel believed Iraq had nuclear weapons in 1981, they didn't attack on the ground — they bombed from the air. That's a pre-emptive attack. If you believe deterrence will not prevent an attack and that your enemy has W.M.D.s, then the last thing you do is station your troops right next door."

ABC's George Stephanopoulos

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HELP MAKE THE NEWS, TODAY

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"Too many conservatives lose hope. They doubt that the liberal welfare state can be brought to collapse.... In short, they doubt that the Heritage Foundation's vision for America can be achieved."

- Heritage President Edwin J. Feulner, Ph.D.



We've all been hit hard by the big changes of the past year, but few as hard as Heritage. As the political waters muddy, and the legislative landscape goes Leninist, as our traditional outlets of lobbying and public relations are closed to big buyers — in these direst of times, the Heritage Foundation needs you.

Please give what you can to help us continue promoting the free-market values we all hold dear.

THERE IS STILL HOPE.  
BUT TIME IS RUNNING OUT.

The Heritage Foundation

## INSIDE THE TIMES: July 4th, 2009

### INTERNATIONAL

#### Peace Spreads to War Zones

Around the world, leaders and warlords in conflict zones are taking the U.S. example to heart. "We finally see what civilization can mean," said one rebel in a country that wished to remain anonymous. "Now we know it's what we want." PAGE A4

### NATIONAL



#### Rebuilding Infrastructure Brings Opportunities

The state of America's infrastructure, crumbling after years of neglect, is in for a \$1.6 trillion overhaul. But it won't simply pay for new highways. Instead, the reign of the automobile will begin to be brought to a close. PAGE C25

#### End of the Secret Programs

Under pressure from Congress, the Pentagon admits there is no

place in a democracy for secret programs costing billions of dollars annually, and announces that all "black budget" items will either be eliminated or made public. Assuring transparency remains a challenge. PAGE A7

#### "America's Army" Game Goes Diplomatic

The popular recruiting game is being beaten into a digital plow-share. "We're training the next generation of diplomats now," said a developer of the renamed "America's Diplomat." PAGE A8

#### Broadcast Reforms Launched

New regulations are on the way at the F.C.C., with the center piece being an independent media trust, funded by a tax on advertising sales, which could enable a truly independent public broadcasting system, the first of its kind in the country. PAGE C25

#### RU-486 Sales Approved

The F.D.A. announced approval of RU-486, also known as the Morning After Pill, as an over-the-counter medication. In a terse statement, the agency said, "The F.D.A. is in the business of safety, not politics." PAGE B14



### BUSINESS

#### Harvard Business School Closes Doors

America's oldest business school shuts its doors, citing the desire of America's youth to better the world, not extract maximum returns from it. PAGE A10

### NEW YORK

#### Military To Be Banned from New York High Schools

The New York City Council is scheduled to vote on a measure to close the doors on the City's Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps, following complaints by parents and teachers, and a recent spate of student walkouts. PAGE A12

#### New Police Crowd-Control Guidelines To Be Tested

As hundreds of thousands take to the streets to celebrate the end of hostilities, police will implement their new "People-Priority" policy. "Our streets belong first and foremost to pedestrians, especially those putting their bodies on the line to make change happen," said Police Commissioner Kelly. PAGE A12

## CORRECTIONS: FOR THE RECORD

#### "Special Interests"

The Times has in the past used the term "special interests" to describe unions, environmentalists and even whole ethnic groups, and has used the word "pandering" when politicians take these groups' concerns into account. We have typically not, however, used "pandering" to refer to politicians catering to the interests of corporations. The Times regrets that our use of such language may have given the impression that the interests of corporations are more important than those of citizens.

#### Environment

We apologize for so often framing our environmental coverage from a business perspective; for overestimating the costs of solutions, which has made problems seem insurmountable; and for belittling the efforts of activists and local government. Future coverage will acknowledge the importance of creating laws to better regulate industry, and readers can look forward to a new Environment section every Thursday, beginning this week.

#### Advertising

The Times acknowledges that accepting money from the very corporations whose activities we are responsible for reporting on — running ads from Exxon-Mobil while reporting on climate change, for example, or from weapons manufacturers while reporting on the Iraq War — represents an obvious conflict of interest. The Times is considering two alternative revenue models. In one, similar to that of National Public Radio, subsidies and contributions will make up the balance of the budget not covered by subscriptions. The other involves establishing exacting standards for advertisers, similar to those of the Christian Science Monitor, or the Guardian in the U.K. Please also see the Business section for a report on the end of publicly traded NYT stock.

#### Automobiles

In past issues the New York Times featured an entire section on automobiles. Our senior vice president of advertising, Alex Buryk, once described this section as providing "well-integrated print and online advertising op-

portunities" that "meet advertisers' demands." As the effect of automobiles on the global climate crisis becomes evident, The Times acknowledges it made a serious error in expanding this section by three and a half pages in the past two years. Developments in the automobile industry will from now on be covered in our business and technology sections, and only when newsworthy. There will be no more reviews of cars.

#### Portraits of Grief

From September 14 to December 31, 2001, the New York Times published "Portraits of Grief," daily obituaries of the victims of the September 11 attacks. We are proud of this coverage, which won several awards. Tomorrow, the Times begins part two of the series with obituaries of the civilians and soldiers killed between 2001 and today in Afghanistan and Iraq. Two soldiers, and one hundred civilians, will be very briefly memorialized each day, adding a full fold-out page to each edition. The series will continue for thirty years. (Estimates of the number of Iraqis who have died

violent deaths since the 2003 invasion vary from 100,000 to well over one million. The Times apologizes for consistently using only the low end of this spectrum of estimates.)

#### Media Monopoly

The Times apologizes for under-reporting the effects and dangers of media consolidation, perhaps due to our own efforts at media consolidation: The Times owns almost two dozen regional newspapers, a number of television and radio stations, and partial shares in the Red Sox and the Discovery Channel. We now recognize this conflict of interest. No newspaper should concern itself with maximizing profits, and the paper of record should be held to an even higher standard than the rest of the publishing industry. Over the next two months, The Times will voluntarily trust-bust itself, thus contributing to the independence of American journalism.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

This special edition of The New York Times comes from a future in which we are accomplishing what know today to be possible.

The dozens of volunteer citizens who produced this paper spent the last eight years dreaming of a better world for themselves, their friends, and any descendants they might end up having. Today, that better world, though still very far away, is finally possible. And only if we stand behind it, and finally force our government to do its job.

It certainly won't be easy. Even now, corporate representatives are swarming over Washington to get their agendas passed. The energy giants are demanding "clean coal," nuclear power and offshore drilling. Military contractors are pushing the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. H.M.O.s and insurance companies are promoting bogus "reforms" so they can forestall universal health care. And they're not about to take no for an answer.

But things are different this time. This time, we can hold accountable the politicians we put into office. And because everyone can now see that the "free market" has nothing to do with freedom, there is a huge opportunity for us to stand behind all Americans, and that can make us truly free — free to pursue an education without debt, go on vacation every once in a while, keep healthy, and live without

the crushing guilt of knowing what our tax dollars are doing abroad.

Following are just a few of the many, many groups working for change. Join them, support them, and start your own, and we can begin to make the news in this paper the news in every paper.

If you want to end the war in Iraq and prevent new wars, United for Peace and Justice ([unitedforpeace.org](http://unitedforpeace.org)), American Friends Service Committee ([afsc.org](http://afsc.org)), Iraq Veterans Against the War ([ivaw.org](http://ivaw.org)), Peace Action ([peace-action.org](http://peace-action.org)), War Resisters League ([warresisters.org](http://warresisters.org)), and hundreds of others.

If you want to fight for health care: Healthcare-NOW ([healthcare-now.org](http://healthcare-now.org)), Physicians for a National Health Care Program ([pnhp.org](http://pnhp.org)), California Nurses Association ([cna-nursing.org](http://cna-nursing.org)), Private Health Insurance Must Go Coalition ([phic.org](http://phic.org)), Single Payer New York ([singlepayernewyork.org](http://singlepayernewyork.org)).

If you want to save the environment: Climate Crisis Coalition ([climatecrisiscoalition.org](http://climatecrisiscoalition.org)), 350 (350.org), Greenpeace ([greenpeace.org](http://greenpeace.org)), Earth Policy Institute ([earthpolicy.org](http://earthpolicy.org)), Rainforest Action Network ([ran.org](http://ran.org)), Earth First! ([earthfirst.org](http://earthfirst.org)), Earthjustice ([earthjustice.org](http://earthjustice.org)), Friends of the Earth ([foe.org](http://foe.org)), Natural Resources Defense Council ([nrdc.org](http://nrdc.org)).

If you want economic justice: United for a Fair Economy ([faireconomy.org](http://faireconomy.org)), Too Much ([toomuchonline.org](http://toomuchonline.org)), Jobs with Justice ([jwj.org](http://jwj.org)).

If you want to protect our civil liberties, civil rights and human rights: Center for Constitutional Rights ([ccrjustice.org](http://ccrjustice.org)), ACLU ([aclu.org](http://aclu.org)), National Lawyers Guild ([nlrg.org](http://nlrg.org)), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ([naacp.org](http://naacp.org)), Global Exchange ([globalexchange.org](http://globalexchange.org)), PEN American Center ([pen.org](http://pen.org)), Human Rights Watch ([hrw.org](http://hrw.org)), Defending Dissent Foundation ([defendings dissent.org](http://defendings dissent.org)).

If you want to end torture: Witness Against Torture ([witness-torture.org](http://witness-torture.org)), Amnesty International ([amnestyusa.org](http://amnestyusa.org)), Art Against Torture ([actagainsttorture.org](http://actagainstat torture.org)), The Quaker Initiative to End Torture ([quit-torture-now.org](http://quit-torture-now.org)).

If you want to defend the rights of immigrants: New York Immigration Coalition ([thecity.org](http://thecity.org)), National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights ([nnir.org](http://nnir.org)), PEN American Center ([pen.org](http://pen.org)), New York United for Immigrant Rights ([nyuir.org](http://nyuir.org)), United Students Against Sweatshops ([usas.org](http://usas.org)), Sweatshop Watch ([sweatshopwatch.org](http://sweatshopwatch.org)), Wake Up Wal-Mart ([wakeupnowmart.com](http://wakeupnowmart.com))

If you want to end homelessness and promote affordable housing: National Coalition for the Homeless ([nationalhomeless.org](http://nationalhomeless.org)), National Low Income Housing Coalition ([nlihc.org](http://nlihc.org)), National Law Center

on Homelessness & Poverty ([nchc.org](http://nchc.org)), National Alliance to End Homelessness ([endhomelessness.org](http://endhomelessness.org)), Coalition for the Homeless ([coali onforthehomeless.org](http://coali onforthehomeless.org)), Picture the Homeless ([picturethehomeless.org](http://picturethehomeless.org)), Housing Works ([housingworks.org](http://housingworks.org)), Metropolitan Council on Housing ([metcouncil.net](http://metcouncil.net))

If you want to fight for more democratic media: Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting ([fair.org](http://fair.org)), FreePress ([freepress.org](http://freepress.org)), Democracy Now! ([democracynow.org](http://democracynow.org)), Reporters Without Borders ([rsf.org](http://rsf.org)), Committee to Protect Journalists ([cpj.org](http://cpj.org))

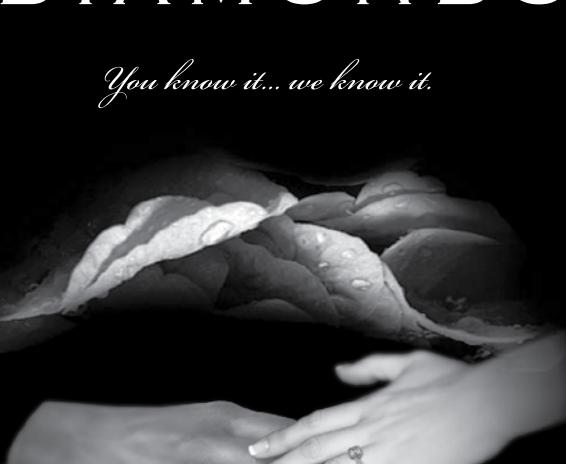
If you want to create a more democratic media: MediaChannel ([mediachannel.org](http://mediachannel.org)), The Independent ([independent.org](http://independent.org)), Common Dreams ([commondreams.org](http://commondreams.org)), AlterNet ([alterm.org](http://alterm.org)), Cultures of Resistance ([culturesofresistance.org](http://culturesofresistance.org)), Indymedia ([indymedia.org](http://indymedia.org)), Video Activist Network ([videoactivist.org](http://videoactivist.org))

If you want to fight for women's rights: National Organization for Women ([now.org](http://now.org)), A.C.L.U. Women's Rights Project ([aclu.org/womensrights](http://aclu.org/womensrights)), H.R.W. Women's Rights ([hrw.org/women](http://hrw.org/women)), Feminist Majority ([fmf.org](http://fmf.org))

If you want to defend LGBTQ rights: FIERCE ([fierce.org](http://fierce.org)), Radical Homoworld ([radicalhomoworldagenda.org](http://radicalhomoworldagenda.org)), Sylvia Rivera Law Project ([srjp.org](http://srjp.org)), AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power ([aup.org](http://aup.org)), Audre Lorde Project ([alp.org](http://alp.org))

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# International

The New York Times

## After Withdrawal Peace Spreads to Conflict Zones Worldwide

Leaders Worldwide Scramble to Follow American Lead

By F. NANSEN

In the wake of the U.S. withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan, government leaders and warlords in conflict zones worldwide seemed to be falling over themselves to pledge peace.

The President of Sudan declared an end to hostilities in Darfur. "We are modern, or at least we live in a modern world, near modern countries like the U.S. And like the U.S., we understand that blood cannot be the path to benefit, whereas peace can be."

In Congo, where 45,000 people continue to die every month, dwarfing the toll in Darfur, reactions were more muted. "If the strongest country on earth can face not getting everything that it wants, I guess we can too," said Laurent Kabila, President of the

Democratic Republic of Congo. "Now that the U.S. is facing its responsibilities in Iraq, what if Americans start doing that here in the Congo? We'd better clean up our act."

In Sri Lanka, Somalia, Columbia, the Kashmir, Chad, and elsewhere, fighters on all sides of the conflicts there pledged to take the U.S. withdrawal to heart. "We cannot continue this way," said one tribal leader in Somalia, who wished to remain anonymous. "The time has come to learn foreign policy just like the Americans."

In Belgium, Walloons and Flemings promised to cooperate. "We've been idiots, like pinheads from outer space," said Filip Dewinter, leader of the secessionist Vlaams Belang. "If America is a real country, so is Belgium. They've shown us how to behave."



FRED WOLFF

## United Nations Unanimously Passes Weapons Ban

By HELEN PREJEAN

NEW YORK — A spontaneous celebration erupted in the U.N. General Assembly after representatives of 192 member states unanimously ratified the Comprehensive Arms Ban Treaty. The treaty outlaws possession, production and trade of military equipment ranging from small arms to nuclear warheads.

"This is watershed moment in the security of people and the security of the planet itself," said U.S. President Barack Obama. "With weapons off the table, we can finally focus on the world's real threats: global poverty, pollution, and climate change."

The Comprehensive Arms Ban Treaty is an initiative of the U.N.'s new Global Security Protocol, which identifies environmental sustainability as its prime directive.

"We cannot have any kind of security unless our planet remains livable," said Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. "The tens of trillions of dollars freed by disarmament makes it easier to focus on the big-picture issues."

The weapons ban includes extensive subsidies for the retooling of arms manufacturers. Hours after the agreement was reached, German weapons giant Heckler & Koch announced its first contract to take advantage of the incentive packages by refitting its P11 assault pistol factory to produce an improved "life straw," an individual water filtration system that greatly reduces waterborne disease. The company's plan will use former weapons brokers to deliver the straws, and they will train former child soldiers to handle the



TELSTAR LOGISTICS

The U.S.'s stockpile of W.M.D.s, which includes arms like the one above, will soon be a relic of the past.

labor-intensive task of local distribution.

Impetus for the C.A.B.T. developed after the 1998 European Union Code of Conduct, which prohibits selling weapons to countries that may use them for external aggression or internal oppression, went largely unheeded. In one contravention of the code, Europe did not cease trade with the United States and Britain despite their unprovoked invasion of Iraq in 2003.

In Britain, massive public protests, including a sit-in that blocked exit from the British Parliament for two weeks, convinced the government to reverse course and uphold the E.U. Code of Conduct, as well as to support passage of the C.A.B.T.

One of the primary focuses of the C.A.B.T. is small arms, which kill one person every minute, 75

percent of them women and children. A survey conducted last May showed fewer than one-tenth of one percent in favor of continuing these deaths. In addition to mandating the immediate cessation of production, the C.A.B.T. includes a buyback program to reposess most of the 640 million small arms already in circulation, and melt them down in small mobile smelters which will recycle the steel into agricultural tools and equipment to be distributed locally.

As for the 20,350 nuclear warheads known to exist, they will be destroyed using monitoring procedures developed under the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. The last country to sign off on the new plan was North Korea, who agreed to dismantle their last warhead simultaneously with that of the U.S. The disarmament will take place in a ceremony organized and

televised by members of the now defunct Olympic Games Committee. The Olympic Games were canceled in December after most member nations realized that contests to see who could do useless things in the name of archaic national boundaries are not helping anyone.

Ailing leader Kim Jong Il made a rare appearance to comment. "Finally, we have rid ourselves of the Olympics. Our best athletes will do useful and strenuous things. And we are very pleased to no longer need bombs to protect ourselves from Americans with more bombs. We can now focus on avoiding the collapse of our planet's ecosystem, and on other pursuits the Great Leader would have applauded. The people of North Korea will enjoy this challenging, bright future immensely."

## Iraqis Around the World Celebrate U.S. Withdrawal, Rebuilding Plan

By F. WUNDERLICH

JORDAN — With the news that U.S. forces were withdrawing from Iraq, nearly five million Iraqi refugees learned that the nightmare that started in 2003 was over. However, most are convinced that going back to a pre-sanctions or even pre-war Iraq is a mere pipe-dream.

All Iraqis wanted the war to be over, but the Iraq that existed before has disappeared from the face of the earth, and no one has any idea how living in the new one

For two million exiles, tempered hope of return to a shattered land.

will feel," said Malik Abdul-Razzaq, a 37-year-old Iraqi refugee now living in Amman, Jordan. Abdul-Razzaq left Baghdad, where he had lived all his life, in early 2006, after being threatened by an "unknown armed group" due to his relationship with a human rights organization.

"Politically what will happen? The country is destroyed, the militias are everywhere," said Abdul-Razzaq, whose feelings of bewilderment were a common theme among refugees.

Of the 4.7 million people that are estimated to have been uprooted since 2003, half of them remain in the country, but far from their towns and cities and separated from family and friends. Approximately two million have spilled into Syria and Jordan, where they have been living in what human rights organization Amnesty International calls "ramshackle camps and struggling to meet basic needs, like food and medicine."

About 200,000 have made it beyond the Middle East, mainly to



Iraqi teens participate in team-building exercises organized by aid workers in a Jordan area refugee camp.

to return to Baghdad. He is one of only 2000 or so Iraqis to have made it to the U.S. "Two of my Air Force colleagues were assassinated. I spent 14 months and all my savings in Syria. Now, I am barely surviving." Despite extensive experience as a technician for the Iraqi Air Force, Saeed has been unable to find a job paying more than minimum wage. He is now dreaming of going back and seeing his wife and two children. "I have no idea what will happen now, but for the first time in many years, I am hopeful."

When Timur Barzani, 47, heard the news, he thought of his children. "Life in Damascus is hard, and my wife and I have had to send our sons to work. My sons now say they will be too embarrassed to go to school, they think they are too old to learn the ABCs. But I think in Najaf we will find many children in the same situation, and they will not be embarrassed," Barzani explained.

Until the U.S. withdrawal, Iraqi refugees usually had only two options. Either they could face the humiliation of living as refugees without rights or hope for a better future, or they could face likely death if they returned to their shattered country. The common feeling among Iraqi refugees today is of hope for their country, for their friends and relatives, and for their lives.

They know that the social fabric of the country has been destroyed by the war and the occupation, and that the challenges are huge. But as Abdul-Razzaq says, "The withdrawal is only the first step. At least now, we Iraqis will be free to choose our own future."

Iraqi journalists for The New York Times contributed reporting from Damacus, Amman, and Stockholm.

## Times Reporter to Embed with Peace Groups

By DARLA ZIMBALIST

Recent studies have shown that embedded reporters lose perspective and objectivity. Thrust into high-tension situations of dangerous conflict, and surrounded by a corps of strong personalities devoted to a single objective, journalists almost inevitably write subjectively and sympathetically of situations that are best addressed analytically.

Yet there are other subjects that might be better served by a more sympathetic approach—like the cause of those who work to correct injustices done by our country abroad. Yet The Times' coverage of protesters has often been anything but sympathetic. This paper has belittled the movement, marked its participants as wingnuts, and all in all written as if it were beholden to those against

whom the protests were aimed.

Veteran Times reporter John Hess noted that during his 24 years of service at the paper he "never saw a foreign intervention that the Times did not support, never saw a fare increase or a rent increase or a utility rate increase that it did not endorse, never saw it take the side of labor in a strike or lockout, or advocate a raise for underpaid workers." When anti-war protesters are covered, the Times has regularly undercounted the numbers and glossed over violent acts by riot police. It has never given the demonstrators editorial support.

After returning stateside from 16 weeks embedded with the 101st Airborne division in Iraq, this reporter decided to right this imbalance herself, beginning with some of the most interesting anti-war protest groups: Iraq Veterans

Against the War, who stage simulated military operations in American cities in order to "make the truth of this war visible"; United for Peace and Justice, a coalition of 1400 peace groups nationwide; and CODEPINK, a group singled out by former President Bush as

To right a longstanding bias, a focus on those fighting for change

setting a "dangerous, radical agenda" for American politics.

Beginning next week, embedded reports from this movement will be featured every week in this space. You, like The Times, will come to see these organizations in an entirely different light.

## What the Future Holds for Afghanistan

By EMIL LEDERER

A 400-page plan, written by Afghani leaders under U.N. supervision, outlines the final stages of U.S. and NATO withdrawal, and details a rebuilding effort on a scale not seen since World War Two.

Core to the plan is the presence of the U.N. peacekeeping and humanitarian forces in order to guarantee the quality of life of all citizens through assurances of peace, a means to earn a living, and basic food and health care. "Afghani warlords and the Taliban use access to resources as a source of power. When these resources are readily available, their authority will be neutralized or minimized," the report states.

The plan focuses heavily on rebuilding schools and retraining teachers who have not taught since the Soviet-backed regime

is not planning to go back either. "I've lost most of my family and I don't think I'd be able to find my friends. As promising as people say it now is, I can't see myself starting all over again."

Harun Saeed, 45, is planning

to return to Bagdad. He is one of only 2000 or so Iraqis to have made it to the U.S. "Two of my Air Force colleagues were assassinated. I spent 14 months and all my savings in Syria. Now, I am barely surviving." Despite extensive experience as a technician for the Iraqi Air Force, Saeed has been unable to find a job paying more than minimum wage. He is now dreaming of going back and seeing his wife and two children. "I have no idea what will happen now, but for the first time in many years, I am hopeful."

Afghani leaders are hopeful that future powerful states will finally attend to the lessons learned by previous imperial powers, including Britain, Russia, and now the U.S. Mikhail Gorbachev, in a recently-published book on the collapse of the Soviet Union, has revealed that he warned President George W. Bush against attempting to occupy Afghanistan. Mr. Bush's response: "Hey, Gorby, lighten up. The Taliban and the Mujahedeen may have brought you down, but it was we who provided the funding. They're in our pocket and they know it."

"I wonder what he thinks now that U.S. missiles are bringing down U.S. drones, and the U.S. had to nationalize banks because Americans wanted control of the means of production and not just blank checks for the financiers," Mr. Gorbachev said.

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## Global Problem Turned Into Global Solution

From Page A1

level rise has been overblown. And one thing I'm sure of, is that nationalizing private industry is just another name for theft."

"The private oil interests have been involved in theft for decades," responded Deputy Under Secretary of the E.P.A. Gavin Newsom. "They've stolen our air, our oceans, our health, and our land. They've proven they can't run their business without massive theft."

"If we're going to give corporations the same rights as people,"

**'They've stolen our air, our oceans, our health, and our land. They've proven they can't run their business without massive theft.'**

said House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, "then we need to hold them accountable like people. When parents abuse their children, the government takes over. When oil companies abuse the planet, the government needs to take over too."

Arco C.E.O. Rex W. Tillerson was philosophical. "We fought this long and hard. We did everything we could do. But do we want more blood in the streets? Or do we want to move on?"

"You can't fight the street," said Mr. Newsom. "The people are going to do what the people are going to do. And the oil companies are just going to have live with it."

By J. FINISTERRA

BAGHDAD — Secretary of Defense Scott Ritter was joined by Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri Al-Maliki and representatives of the former "Coalition of the Willing" in Baghdad this afternoon for the groundbreaking of a monument to the last to die during the allies' occupation of Iraq.

An enormous granite obelisk to the Iraqi dead, 300 feet high, will stand in Firdos Square, where coalition troops famously attempted to topple a 40-foot-tall statue of Iraqi tyrant Saddam Hussein in April 2003. A 15-foot-high obelisk will stand nearby, honoring the coalition casualties.

The difference in size between the two obelisks will represent the different numbers of casualties. For the Iraqi dead, the most conservative estimate of 93,067 was chosen to avoid the coalition monument being absurdly small or the Iraqi monument prohibitively large.

On the side of the allies, the last to die was Corporal William Whitman, age 28, of Quinnesec, Michigan. Just as fighting began to wane, he took up an exposed position while on a foot patrol and was struck by a sniper's bullet. He died instantly, the 4,314th American casualty of the war. In retaliation, a U.S. attack helicopter fired rockets into a nearby apartment building, killing the sniper and six Iraqi civilians. Moments later, U.S. soldiers received word that they were to cease fire immediately and prepare to return home.

Mr. Al-Maliki commemorated Ahmed Yahya, a 5-year-old boy who was inside the building the sniper had fired from. Rescue workers dug him out of the rubble from the rocket blast. The boy survived overnight but suc-

cumbed early the next morning to internal injuries, and was either the 93,067th, the 755,265th or the 1,233,657th Iraqi civilian casualty of the war. (No accurate records were kept, and estimates from different sources conflict wildly.)

"Ahmed's life coincided with the absolute worst episode in the his-

An American representative tells the Iraqis that some Americans tried to polite applause.

tory of the Middle East," Mr. Maliki said of the boy, who was born just after the Iraq War started. "May his life and death represent the importance of never again seeing such catastrophe rain on our heads, whether for false pretences or even real ones."

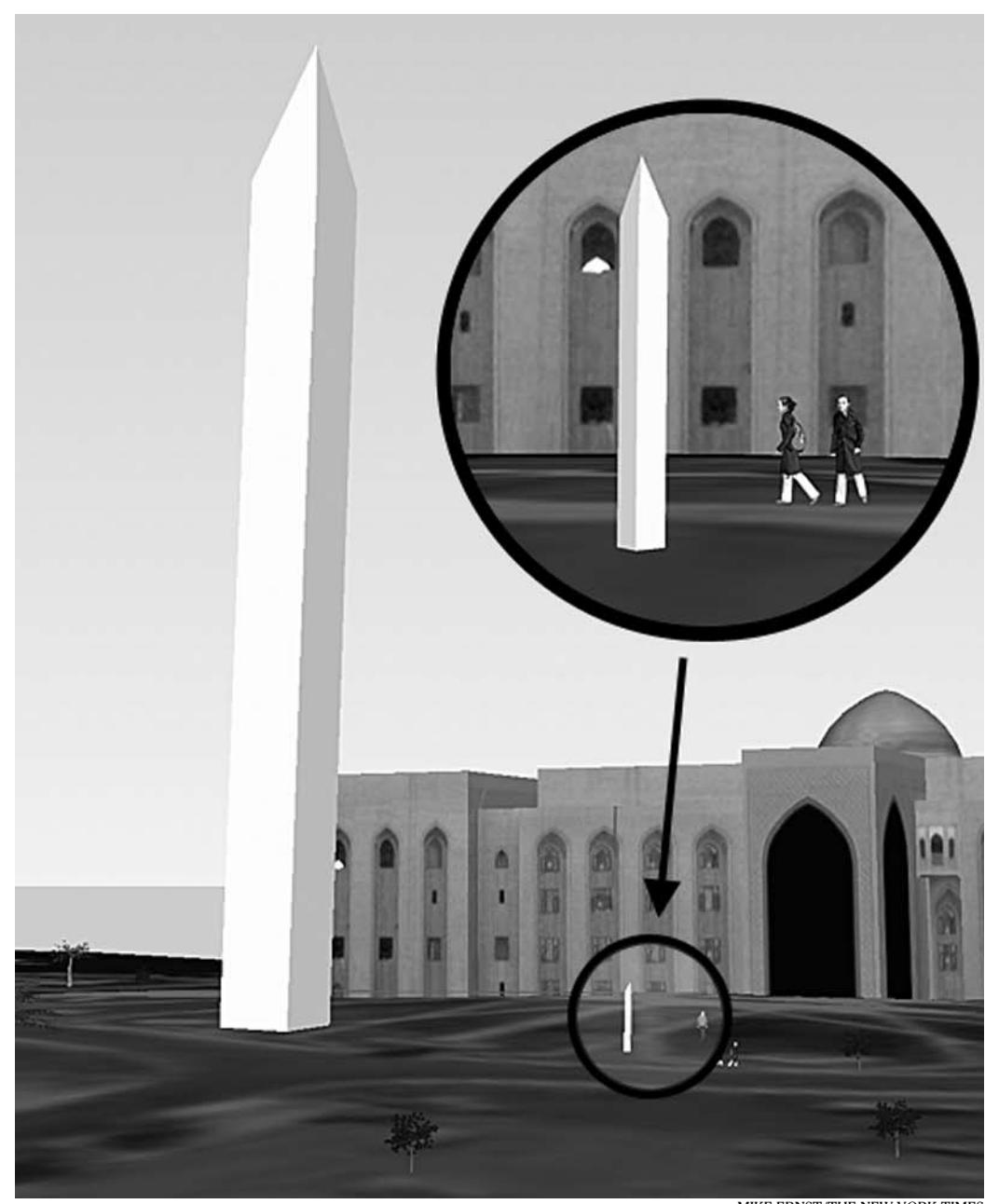
"I stand before you as a representative of the American people to tell you that some of us tried," Mr. Ritter told an audience of mainly Iraqi veterans and their families. "We may have failed to stop this in time, but at least we did try. It only remains for us, the heirs of our victims' legacy, to have the courage and the character to make sure it never happens again."

Ritter's statements were met with polite applause.

### ONLINE EXCLUSIVE TIMES 3D INTERACTIVE MODEL

To explore the interactive, full-color, virtual monument in a digital 3D architectural rendering, featuring zooming and panning capabilities, see:

[nytimes.com/world/virtual/~3D.html](http://nytimes.com/world/virtual/~3D.html)



MIKE ERNST/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The last American and Iraqi to die during the war will be commemorated by obelisks in downtown Baghdad.

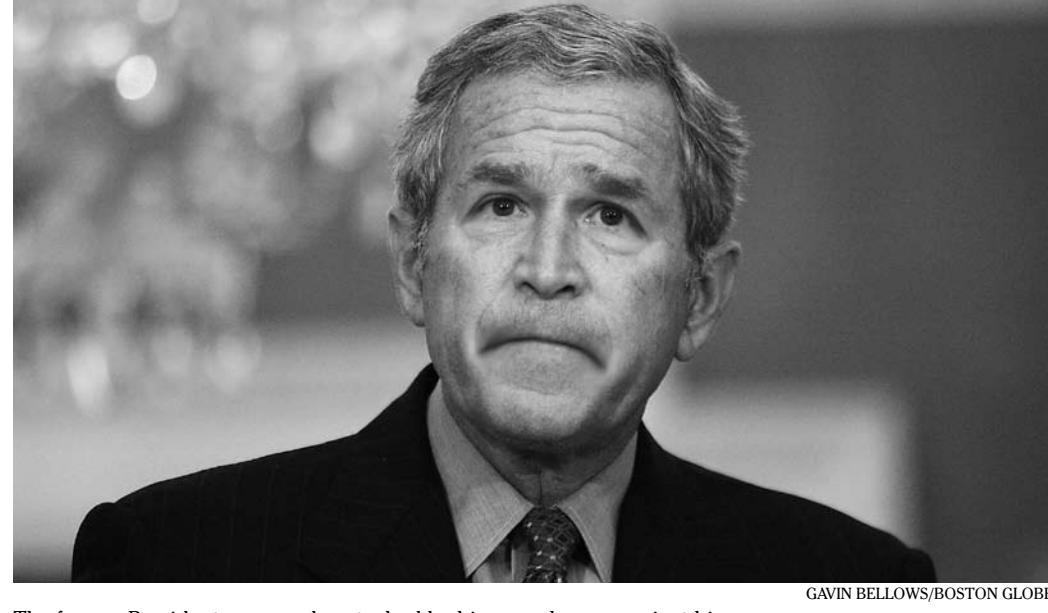
## Court Indicts Bush on High Treason Charge

By BART GARZON

WASHINGTON (AP) — George W. Bush, the 43rd President of the United States, was indicted Monday on charges of high treason. The charges, filed by Attorney General Russ Feingold late in the evening, allege that Mr. Bush, knowing full well that Iraq possessed no weapons of mass destruction, falsified information in order to pursue the disastrous Iraq War. (See "U.S. Knew No W.M.D.s in Iraq," on Page A1.)

Federal District Judge Michael Ratner denied Mr. Bush's request to represent himself. Ratner is the former president of the Center for Constitutional Rights.

High treason is usually defined as participation in a war against



GAVIN BELLWOS/BOSTON GLOBE  
The former President appeared perturbed by his own charges against him.

million Iraqis, for essentially insane ends," said Vincent Bugliosi, a former federal prosecutor whom Feingold named lead special prosecutor in the case. "In effect, the Iraq War amounted to a war against America," added Bugliosi, who is also the author of the book, *The Prosecution of George Bush for Murder*.

Although the treason indictment came as no surprise to most observers, what was completely unexpected was the party who brought it.

"The case is highly unusual in a number of ways," said Bugliosi, "not the least of which is that the defendant is actually accusing himself."

In a press conference held close to midnight yesterday at his Crawford, Texas ranch, former President Bush cited his renewed Christian faith as the catalyst for this unprecedented action. "Last month, I had a conversation with

Jesus Christ. A new conversation. And I've been very blessed to have been born again, again. This time, for real," Mr. Bush read in a prepared statement to half a dozen stunned reporters.

"It's taken a lot of soul searching, or more like deep-soul diving. I think is the term. But now I see that it was wrong to lead our nation to war under false pretenses.

Millions have suffered for my sins, and I see now that it is only fitting that I should suffer as well."

Mr. Bush's self-accusation seems largely to have been plagiarized from years of accusations made against him in the press. It refers to his "political propaganda campaign to sell the war to the American people," and describes how he and his team attempted to make the "W.M.D. threat and the Iraqi connection to terrorism appear certain, whereas in fact we knew there wasn't one at all."

"The death and economic col-

lapse that resulted has been completely devastating to our nation and, most of all, to me," read Mr. Bush's indictment. "I want to make amends, and it is for this reason that I am requesting that I be indicted for high treason. I thank the court for allowing me to right my grave wrongs. Bring it on!"

Some analysts suggest that Mr. Bush's self-indictment is part of a strategy to avoid the death penalty. Although treason carries a potential death sentence, Mr. Bush and his team of attorneys are seeking a triple life sentence without possibility of parole.

"We don't want to be too cynical about Mr. Bush's motives," said a spokesperson for AfterDowning-Street.org, one of the main groups that had been pursuing Mr. Bush's indictment. "But even if it doesn't get moved to the I.C.C., requesting his own conviction is so unusual it could move some jurors, or even help with an insanity plea."

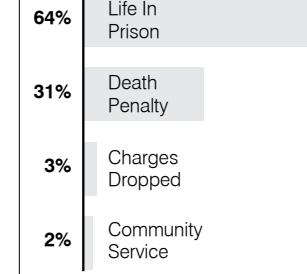
A friend of Mr. Bush, speaking on condition of anonymity, revealed that Mr. Bush would attempt to move the case to the International Criminal Court, which does not have a death penalty, and was quietly pressing Secretary of State Naomi Klein to bring the U.S. under the court's jurisdiction. In 2002, then-Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld rejected the I.C.C.'s jurisdiction, saying it was "unaccountable to the American people."

Mr. Bush maintained his characteristically jovial manner throughout the proceedings. "I could be executed, but what good would that do anybody? Especially me. I think the nation would rather I spend a good long while considering what happened — not only the tragic end of hundreds of thousands of lives, but the end of American capitalism, that I liked, I sincerely liked," Mr. Bush said. (See also "An Exclusive Interview With George W. Bush," on Page A9.)

The treason charge does not address compensation for the hundreds of thousands of Iraqis killed in the war. It is expected that surviving family members of fallen American soldiers will file thousands of civil lawsuits alleging wrongful death.

### What's Fair?

Americans favor life in prison over death penalty.



Source: New York Times/CBS News poll

## With War Over, Troops Return

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"Now that the war's over, we're going to get to go back to developing exciting new weapon systems, instead of just trotting out the ones that are proven to work," said a visibly excited Robert Stevens, Lockheed C.E.O., before a reporter informed him of the Senate moratorium on new weapons systems development.

"Oh," said Stevens, looking

A general learns his difficult history lessons late.

flushed, and quickly excused himself.

General David Petraeus had a distinctly ashen look as he attempted to put a good face on the situation. "I've been trying to make sense of all this, and I have to say that in perspective, we did pretty well," Petraeus told reporters.

"It turns out that in 1917, the British made exactly the same mistakes we did," Petraeus noted. "They told the Iraqis they had come 'not as conquerors but as liberators, to free you from generations of tyranny.' Like us, they were surprised the Iraqis didn't feel quite the same. The insurgency against the British started in Fallujah too, and like us, the British Prime Minister warned against leaving Iraq on the grounds that there would be civil war."

Petraeus smiled wearily. "I guess it's never too late to learn."

A number of mothers contributed reporting.

**A move to avoid the death penalty brings its own risks.**

one's own country; attempting to overthrow its government; spying on its military, its diplomats, or its secret services for a hostile and foreign power; or attempting to kill its head of state.

"In this case, high treason has been interpreted to include pursuing an illegal and devastating war that has cost hundreds of billions of dollars and the lives of over 4,000 Americans and perhaps a

Ari Fleischer contributed reporting.

## Rice: Troops Never Faced Annihilation Risk



ROB 7812/AP

A lone helmet lies in the desert near Atrush, Iraq, a monument to absence.

From Page A1

believes that it was former President Bush's trial for high treason that spurred the revelations.

"There's nothing to hide anymore," said Ms. Rice. "We are relieved to finally be able to tell you, the troops who fought for us, that we love our soldiers and we always have. We would never have put you in such obvious harm's way."

A sheepish former secretary expresses respect and concern for the troops.

Ms. Rice also confirmed Secretary of Defense Scott Ritter's revelation that he had provided the C.I.A. with documentation in the 1990s, when he was a U.N. weapons inspector, that Iraq lacked biological or nuclear weapons programs. "We were then already far more than 99 percent certain that Hussein had zero W.M.D.s and that if he did, he would not be able to use them against us."

## War Brides (and Husbands) Find Their Place in a New Iraq

By LEN G. WILKINS

BASRA — Following service in Iraq and an honorable discharge last April, Lieutenant Samantha Blaine returned to Iraq to start a small construction company.

She is far from alone. The growth of the postwar economy in Iraq has proven so tempting that dozens of members of the U.S. military chose to remain in Iraq. Thus a region long associated with its citizens fleeing abroad has seen unprecedented volumes of immigration.

Seven years ago, Ms. Blaine had no experience with safety engineering or building codes but was sent to Basra to assist in the rebuilding of the Iraqi infrastructure. Today, her private contracting company is benefiting from a local building boom.

"For the first year of our business, most of the work was government contracts," said Blaine, "but after the major infrastructure work was done and the Iraqi economy began to rebound, there was a surge in demand for new housing."

Ms. Blaine met her husband,

Ibrahim Khan, when he was hired to work as her translator during the war. It is a role he continues to serve as Ms. Blaine's Arabic improves.

Ms. Blaine claims that it hasn't been hard to adjust to life in Iraq. "I expected to have to deal with a lot of sexism. But until the invasion, this was a modern, secular society."

Sergeant Rahim Rafiqi has also benefited from the new construction, opening an insurance agency that caters to the construction industry. Prior to joining the military, Mr. Rafiqi had worked at his father's small insurance company. "I was able to get backing for what some would have seen as a risky investment, but we were in the black pretty quickly," says Mr. Rafiqi.

According to the recent émigrés, the cultural adjustments that are necessary to move from the United States to Iraq are more than worth enduring to be a part of the new Iraq. "Getting sent to Iraq was the best thing to happen to me," said Ms. Blaine. "I'm finally living the American Dream."

# National

The New York Times

## Crumbling Infrastructure Brings Opportunities

BY CHARLES HOCHMANSK

As the \$1.6 trillion Infrastructure Modernization Bill moves through Congress, a wide swath of public advocacy groups is assuring that the focus of rebuilding remains on proven, sustainable technologies that can move the country away from its dependency on fossil fuels.

The American Society of Civil Engineers has estimated that \$1.6 trillion is needed to bring the nation's infrastructure up to the level enjoyed by other industrialized nations.

"The U.S. used to have the most advanced public transportation system in the world by far," said Transportation Department head Earl Blumenauer. "Now, of course, it's pretty much the worst, at least in the developed world. Our love affair with the automobile has got to stop."

Brice Terra is a spokesperson for Rebuild Sustainably, a group that formed when the funding bill was initiated, and that now counts nearly 400,000 members. The group has helped keep public pressure on senators to aim high in crafting the rebuilding bill. "We must minimize environmental impact with dense yet fully liveable

**Finally, a long-needed move away from the automobile.**

cities, convert rural suburbs back to farmland, and provide access to services rather than just sheer mobility," said Mr. Terra.

Under pressure from their constituents, lawmakers on both sides of the aisle are pushing for a version of the bill that frees the U.S. from dependence on fossil fuels.

"We don't want a patch that just preserves business as usual," said Rahm Emanuel, Representative of Illinois, who has been leading the push for sustainable rebuilding in the Senate. "Rather, true convenience must be our top priority."

"What we've realized is that we need to move away from the automobile," said Senator Richard Shelby, Republican of Alabama. "We need to transition the United States to a more convenient, livable, economical, and enjoyable way of life."

Mr. Blumenauer cited as instrumental to the bill's passage the widespread public outrage which began in reaction to \$10 gasoline prices and was quickly channeled by groups like Rebuild Sustainably. "When gas hit \$3.50 back in March 2008, people drove 11 billion miles less per month than they had the year before," said Blumenauer. "When it hit \$10, people realized that the problem wasn't high gas prices — the problem was gas. Fortunately, we Americans have always had the imagination and will to meet challenges."

"Once we make our own country more livable," says Mr. Blumenauer, "we can begin exporting the best practices of affordable transit and sustainable planning to developing nations."



DANI BORA/WORLD PICTURE NEWS

A tragic Minneapolis bridge collapse claimed lives, but not as many as an unhealthy national lifestyle.

### LIGHT RAIL AND BUSES

One key to the Infrastructure Modernization Bill will be light rail in cities, as well as high-occupancy overland vehicles — i.e. buses — operating at higher speeds in segregated lanes and roadways.

"We can dig out some of our old streetcar tracks, which are now buried in asphalt, but new buses are also a good solution, and much less expensive," Mr. Blumenauer noted.

In 1922 there were fourteen thousand miles of streetcar track in American cities, according to Colleen Burgess, a representative of the Surface Transportation Board. "Berlin had the most extensive network in Europe, but that was smaller than 22 American cities. Today, we've got next to nothing. But we've got to look forward."

### NATIONAL RAIL

One major element of the D.O.T. plan is the reconstruction of a national rail network for people and goods, and the elimination of most long distance trucking. "The rails are there," said Ms. Burgess. "They spider across all of North America. They need maintenance, and in some cases expansion, but they're basically there."

"We have a passenger railroad system that the Bulgarians would be ashamed of," noted rail advocate James Howard Kunstler. "Restoring passenger rail service would put tens of thousands of people to work at all levels, decongest airports, and revive central cities. And nothing needs to be reinvented — the infrastructure is already out there."

Senator Emanuel noted that current airline subsidies would be rechanneled into Amtrak, especially into high-speed rail connections already common in Europe, Japan, and China.

### BIKE INFRASTRUCTURE

The Urban Bicycling Expansion Program began with the D.O.T.'s Bicycle Commuters Group in late 2007. The program's funding is now on a par with that of a newly-shrunken Federal Aviation Administration.

"In 1990 we got the Americans with Disabilities Act, with provisions for 'full and equal enjoyment,'" said Mr. Blumenauer. "Now there are ramps, elevators, and other accommodations. There's no reason a few simple rules can't permit the full and equal enjoyment of public roadways by bicyclists."

"It's something my predecessors at D.O.T. didn't take very seriously," said program head Leah Shahum, former Executive Director of the San Francisco Bicycle Coalition. "But bicyclists across the country have shown us it can work."

The first task will be to enact "complete streets" legislation, with safe lanes for bicyclists, bicycle parking areas, and bike racks on city buses and light rail, so that cyclists can commute longer distances.

Even more ambitious will be the development of commuter bicycle lending programs in all major cities. For an annual fee of around \$40, users will be able to check out three-speed bicycles from entirely automated stations. The programs will be modeled after those in Paris and Barcelona, which already have hundreds of stations and thousands of public bicycles in circulation.

Blumenauer noted that the benefits of expanded bike use are likely to impact another typically American problem: that of obesity. "Bicycles are also an investment in the infrastructure of the human body," he said.

### ZONING

One key element of the D.O.T.'s plan to get people out of their cars will occur solely on paper. "We need more mixed-use zoning; more medium-scale, high-density development; incentives for businesses to locate near residential areas and for individuals to work close to home; and better public education about the health benefits of being active," Mr. Blumenauer said. He said that the Transportation Department will be working with the Department of Housing and Urban Development to draw up guidelines that focus on access, rather than mobility.

"As we rebuild the national infrastructure,"

said Housing head Rene Oswin, "building tighter communities needs to be at the forefront. When the places we live, work, and shop are closer together, quality of life improves dramatically."

"A suburbanite who commutes for an hour and drives to the store for a cup of sugar is going to have a lower quality of life than one who walks or bikes to work and buys food at a farmer's market," noted Oswin. "Big box stores, malls, and peripheral office parks have been a catastrophe for our national happiness."

The building guidelines, soon to be written into legislation, also include prescriptions for solar, wind, and geothermal energy, and grey water systems. Details are available on the H.U.D. website.

### AIR

In response to the government's comprehensive Climate Control and Infrastructure Modification Act, the Federal Aviation Administration is considering two different proposals to phase out air travel.

The first calls for the nationalization of airlines, and the transition of many airports wholly or in part into transit hubs for rail and bus services. The other, more market-based plan, mandates the elimination of billions of dollars of federal subsidies for airlines.

In the first plan, the price of travel would remain the same, but there would be far fewer trips available. In the second, only the relatively wealthy could afford to fly.

"We advocate the second plan, of course," said United C.E.O. Glenn F. Tilton.

"Even if flights become a luxury," said Transportation head Blumenauer, "it won't be a catastrophe for most people. An average family can afford to spend some much-needed downtime on a comfortable train between New York and Los Angeles. As for business customers who choose to fly, they will have to pay the true cost of their habits to society."

## Big Boxes Appeal Eviction from Low-Income Neighborhoods

### Chains Drain Money: H.U.D. Spokesperson

By CARL SCARPA

BENTONVILLE, AR — Wal-Mart, Costco, Sam's Club, K-Mart, and Target are challenging the Economic Independence Act, passed this February, which requires "big box" stores to phase out outlets in or near low-income neighborhoods, and help nurture local businesses to replace them.

"We in the big box community are committed to ensuring our investors' rights, in accordance with the U.S. Constitution," said Wal-Mart C.E.O. Lee Scott. "We will definitely fight this with all the resources at our disposal, which are, by the way, considerable."

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Rene Oswin vowed to defend the legislation.

**'We have nothing to lose but our chains'**

"You know something's wrong when the earnings of poor folks end up in the pockets of Wal-Mart shareholders in Manhattan," said Oswin. "This act has finally put a stop the flow of money out of these communities. To backtrack now would be disastrous." Oswin predicted the big-box realtors' challenge would fail.

The act prescribes a two-stage withdrawal process for the stores from lower-income neighborhoods, which are defined as neighborhoods with a median household income under \$30,000. In the first two-year phase, the stores will become wholesalers, able to sell only to smaller local businesses at heavily discounted prices. The local businesses can buy from whichever supplier they want. By the end of a second eight-year phase, the stores will be completely dissolved.

"We have nothing to lose but our chains," said Marlo Lewis of Big Boxes Out, a citizens' group that was instrumental in pushing for the Economic Independence Act, and which is now promoting a second act, the Full Economic Independence Act, to eliminate all chains with more than ten outlets from lower-income neighborhoods, along a similar ten-year timeline.



DYSTOPOS/AP  
A 24-hour Wal-Mart Supercenter in Detroit is just one of many expected to close.

## Progressive Movement Can Take Credit for New Direction By Leaders

From Page A1

of groups such as Healthcare-NOW, United Students Against Sweatshops, Housing Works, the A.C.L.U., and others for helping advance progressive causes such as universal health care, worker rights, civil liberties, and economic justice.

"There's no question that in all areas, mass movements made the difference. Without them we wouldn't be close to a national health program, a wind and solar bill, a plan to guarantee fair and equal funding for public education, or the banking oversight bill, expected to pass next month in both houses."

"I never anticipated the rapid advances made in the past six months," Dr. Wellmon said, "but the public has shown a fierce desire for change. It's a virtuous cycle: with the breaking of market manacles, human and financial resources are becoming available to support even more real changes in all areas of American life."

See Interactive Graphic at nytimes.com

## From November to Now: How progressives really won Washington

### NOVEMBER 4, 2008

Presidential Election. Electrified by the outcome, activists begin organizing online around specific policy targets. Over next weeks, advocacy groups report tenfold increase in membership.

2008

### JANUARY 2009

Congressional representatives report record number of phone calls on C.E.O. salary cap and other economic reforms.



### MARCH 2009

First massive public demonstrations for withdrawal from Iraq, for infrastructure, health, and education reform, and for nationalizing big oil.



### MAY-JUNE 2009

Demonstrations, organizing lead to more legislative victories. For the first time in decades, U.S. approaches other developed nations in key happiness indicators.

2009

### DECEMBER 9-12, 2008

First major conference of progressive advocacy movements in Atlanta. Publication of first Nationwide Progressive Working Group guidelines on ending the war, reforming health care and education, and humanizing the economy.

### FEBRUARY 2009

Progressives achieve first major legislative victory, with passage of the Economic Independence Act, excluding big box stores from lower-income neighborhoods.

### APRIL 16, 2009

Following progressive legislative victories in several key areas, President makes "Yes we really can" speech.

**FOCUS ON YOUR HEALTH**

# National Health Insurance Act Passes

By S. ALLENDE

H.R. 676, the United States National Health Insurance Act, also known as "expanded and improved Medicare for all," has moved through Congress, and is expected to be signed into law shortly. The legislation provides publicly funded health insurance, with a free choice of health care providers, for every United States citizen and permanent resident.

After the bill passed, Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi declared, "We can now proudly say that the United States has caught up with the rest of the developed world in granting all our citizens access to high-quality, comprehensive medical care."

Prior to the bill's passage, the U.S. health care system was widely regarded to be in a state of severe crisis. Over 46 million Americans have been without health insurance and another 50 million have been under-insured. Despite spending more money per capita on health care than any other nation, the U.S. has lagged behind many countries in such key health-related categories as life expectancy, infant mortality, and preventable deaths. The Institute of Medicine estimates that in recent years approximately 22,000 people have died annually in the U.S. due to a lack of health insurance. Furthermore, nearly one million Americans, many who have private health insurance plans, have filed for bankruptcy each year because they have been unable to pay medical bills. In recent polls, a clear majority of Americans have said they believe government should guarantee health care for all U.S. residents.

Despite growing popular support for a single-payer system, Pelosi acknowledged that Congress would not have voted for this bill without the dedicated grassroots organizing of national groups like Healthcare-NOW and Physicians for a National Health Program, regional groups like the California Nurses Association and the New York-based Private Health Insurance Must Go Coalition, and over 450 union organizations across the country that had endorsed H.R. 676. Pelosi said that many formerly undecided congressional representatives were also swayed by seeing Michael Moore's film, "Sicko," and by the cogent arguments presented in a 2008 pocket-sized book, "10 Excellent Reasons for National Health Care," edited by Mary E. O'Brien and Martha Livingston, that was given to every member of Congress.

Under the private insurance system that has been in place until now, 30 percent of health insurance premiums have gone toward administrative costs, including advertising, profits, and executive salaries. This compares with a 3 percent cost for administering Medicare. Moving from the private health insurance system to single-payer is expected to save \$350 billion dollars each year, enough to fund health care for those who are currently uninsured or underinsured. Under H.R. 676, the expanded Medicare for All system will be paid for through a 3.3 percent payroll tax on employers and employees, a stock transfer tax, an income tax surcharge on the top 5 percent of taxpayers, and by



Doctors operate on a patient who previously would have been denied care.

reversing the Bush tax cuts on the wealthiest Americans. According to the Congressional Budget Office, most U.S. residents — including those who previously received employer-based coverage — will pay less for this new public health insurance than they did for their private insurance, since there will no longer be any premium, copay, or deductible charges.

Eliminating private insurance companies, including HMOs, and moving to a publicly administered system will be no simple task. The private health-care industry is enormous, employing over 14 mil-

lion people and costing 2.3 trillion dollars in 2007.

"The transition to a single-payer system will be our biggest challenge for the next 3 years, and a significant struggle even after this bill is signed," said John Conyers, Democrat of Michigan, who introduced and fought for the legislation. "But with the support of the American people, I have no doubt that we will reach our goal." In order to make the transition easier for industry workers, H.R. 676 gives former employees of private health insurers first priority for the public-sector jobs that will need to be created to run the new program.

Many Republicans in Congress remain opposed to the new plan, arguing that quality care is best provided by private industry and free markets. Former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich released a statement saying: "Only market competition can bring choice and lower prices. To see the opposite trend is to be obtuse and shortsighted." During the House floor debate, some cited claims about long waits for treatment under a similar single-payer system of medical care in Canada; these claims have been discredited by

most independent researchers. The medical services industry is promising to challenge the new bill. In an e-mail to investors, Kaiser chief George Halvorson wrote: "I remain exclusively committed as always to our investors and we plan on using every resource to protect our interests, against which this measure is obviously aimed." Cigna C.E.O. H. Edward Hanway issued a similar statement: "HMOs have been in business for decades. Now Washington insiders want to take away our profits, our investments, and our property. That is unacceptable, and we will fight tooth and nail to insure our rights under our nation's Constitution."

"There has been a long-accepted myth, which is now thankfully receding, that if it's private, it must be more efficient," said Secretary of Health and Human Services, former Oregon Governor Dr. John Kitzhaber. "Yet our private, largely for-profit system was bloated, redundant, inefficient, and much more expensive than the better-performing national health care models of many other countries. Plus, many Americans were growing increasingly frustrated with private insurers acting as gatekeepers interfering in doctor-patient decisions, and with receiving denial letters from insurance bureaucrats sitting in cubicles far removed from their medical diagnoses. The single-payer system we will be implementing under H.R. 676 will be a vast improvement over the previous, dysfunctional health care model. And it will pay for itself by eliminating the waste and duplication of the private health insurance industry."

When reached, a member of the Coordinating Committee of the Private Health Insurance Must Go Coalition noted that the momentum for a single-payer health care system grew after the October 2008 Wall Street bailout: "After the bailout, the American people saw more clearly than ever that our social needs were not always going to be met by private industry or the so-called 'free market.' There were no more valid excuses for inaction. If government was able to provide a safety net to Wall

Street, it was capable of providing the American people with some real health-care security. After all, it's not only the financial industry that has been affected by the economic downturn. It's about time that the U.S. has joined the rest of the planet in recognizing that health care access is both a necessity and a human right. During these difficult times, a single-payer system should help to ease the financial strain that people are feeling and might even help stimulate the overall economy."

Unlike the response from company executives, reaction to the passage of H.R. 676 among insurance industry employees has been largely positive. Sarah Schwartz, a Cigna medical records specialist in Ohio, said: "I'll get retraining. They need people who do what I do. I'll get different forms and procedures, that's all. Plus this new system will be much better for the patients, so that feels good." When asked about other changes the new law will bring, Schwartz told the Times about her aging mother who, at 71, continues to work at a full-time office job. "She almost got laid off last year, which meant my dad wouldn't have been able to see a doctor for his heart problems anymore, since he was covered under her plan. For our family, this bill passed just in time."

"Health care should be like water — a right for everyone. Anything less is barbaric," said a spokesperson for Physicians for a National Health Program, an organization that has advocated for health care reform since 1987.

In recent years, a majority of physicians had grown tired of the growing, confusing, and sometimes disruptive role of the private insurance companies, with a 2008 poll showing 59 percent of doctors supporting a single-payer system. At an American Medical Association banquet last night, a spontaneous standing ovation occurred when doctors learned of the bill's success. A.M.A. President Nancy Nielsen, M.D. said in her speech: "We're trained to save lives. We're trained to practice medicine. Finally, we can do what we entered this field to do — practice with the interest of patients at heart."

## Strategist: GOP Has Ensured America Safe From Liberalism

By E. LUDENDORFF

Republican party strategist Frank Luntz said today that despite the election of Barack Obama, America is still "safe from liberalism."

"Safe from liberalism?" chuckled a Democratic party strategist who wished to remain anonymous. "That's absurd; we won the election!"

But Luntz insisted. "Sure, the Democrats now have more power. That's a fact. But what can they really achieve in the next four years? Our gains are now permanent, or nearly," he said, referring to disgraced GOP lobbyist Jack Abramoff's declaration that "the job of all revolutions is to make their gains permanent."

Luntz noted that the trillion dollars of bailout spending was only the latest example of how the GOP has made the implementation of future progressive measures extremely difficult.

"Bill Clinton entered office with all kinds of ideas about national health care and so on. But then he had to face the reality that we had made it impossible. He then got on with our program, and that's when we saw cuts to welfare and a loosening of environmental regulations. The same thing will happen this time around, you'll see," said Luntz, before adding, with a chuckle, "unless by some miracle the left can get organized."

When asked whether two consecutive Obama terms would make a difference, Luntz croaked

with disdain, "He'd need about five terms to unravel the advances we've made. Maybe more."

What if the left were able to build a popular movement demanding progressive change? "That's the wild card we've got to deal with. If the public pressure is there, it's true, liberal change might be achieved. But I'm not banking on it."

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, while agreeing with Luntz on the obstacles to progressive change, offered a more hopeful take on the future. "I'd ask you to remember John F. Kennedy's inaugural speech. After urging us to strive together to create world peace, and to eradicate disease and poverty, Kennedy concluded his speech: 'All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.' Now that's a program."

"I do believe," Pelosi continued, "that we have what it takes to succeed in restoring a humane and ecological way of life within our lifetime. And while we may not see this realized within Obama's term as president, nor even within two terms, I do believe that given a couple of decades of committed struggle, we can and will repair the damage that previous administrations have done to our country."

"So," she said with a smile, "let us begin."

## All Public Universities To Be Free

By MARY K. RAWLINGS

A bill to eliminate tuition at public universities is making its way through Congress and is expected to pass within days.

As tuition has climbed in past decades, federal aid programs have been unable to keep up. The current bill, inspired by the City University of New York's 1970s-era free-tuition policies for New York residents, is intended to help level the playing field.

"The United States has become a nation of educational haves and have-nots," said Adolph Reed, Jr., Professor of Political Science at the New School for Social Research. "Tuition costs are skyrocketing while real incomes have remained stagnant."

One trend the bill will correct is the flocking of university graduates to jobs paying salaries needed to reimburse debts. "Are schools a selection mechanism for Wall Street?" asked Professor Howard Gardner. Some speculate that high tuition has helped fuel the drive to enormous profits that has proven so dangerous to society.

Students have responded positively. "I'm really worried," said Patricia Kathen, a high school senior in Edgewater, New Jersey. "I thought this meant I could get in more easily. But admissions policies won't change, and my grades kind of blow."

"At least if I do get in, I'll be able to afford it," she added.

## Pentagon Ends Secret Budget

By TREVOR LENPAG

WASHINGTON — The Pentagon announced today that it would eliminate more than \$60 billion worth of secret programs that have taken over an increasing share of the defense budget over the last 30 years.

"There is no place, in a democracy, for massive programs hidden out of sight of the public eye," said Pentagon spokesperson Jackson Burke. "The Founding Fathers understood that sunlight is the best disinfectant, which is why they wrote the receipts and expenditures clause into the Constitution."

Burke was referring to Article I Section 9 of the U.S. Constitution, which states that Congress must publish a full accounting of government expenditures. The Pentagon's black budget has long been controversial for its apparent violation of Article I Section 9.

"We have carefully reviewed all of the programs contained in the black budget," said Mr. Burke. "Some of them we have made public, and we have canceled the remainder." Canceled programs include the C.I.A.'s controversial "extraordinary rendition" program and the N.S.A.'s domestic surveillance program.

Asked about the national security consequence of eliminating classified programs, Burke said, "Democracies can only function properly when there is maximum transparency. Sacrificing our democracy in the name of national security is the ultimate threat to the principles that this country was founded on."

# American Evangelical Churches Announce New Policy of Sanctuary for Iraqi Refugees

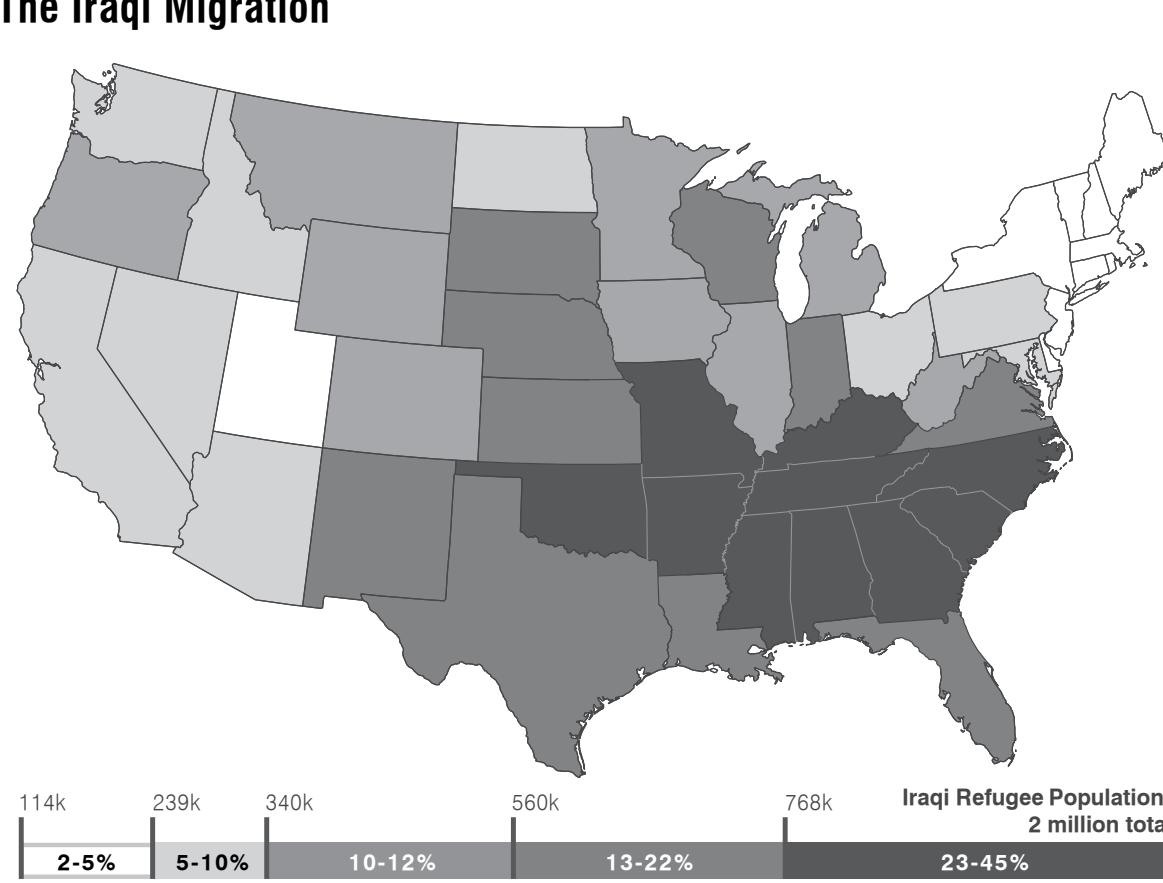
By W. WILBERFORCE

ELLIS ISLAND — In a scripture-laced address yesterday afternoon, Reverend Rich Cizik Vice President for Governmental Affairs for the National Association of Evangelicals, announced a sweeping new initiative to house displaced Iraqi refugees of all faiths in the largest church facilities in the U.S., and among parishes. The campaign, called "Operation Redemption," is expected to kick off a wave of similar programs among other religious denominations.

"Do not forget to entertain strangers," said Rev. Cizik, citing the Bible verse Hebrews 13:2 to a crowd of several hundred, "for by so doing some people have entertained angels without knowing it." Flanked by pastors from some of the nation's largest evangelical congregations, Cizik laid out details of the ambitious plans to reporters during a ceremony at the base

**Following a Biblical command to hospitality**

### The Iraqi Migration



withdrawal.

"Needless to say, we were shocked and surprised, but pleasantly so," said António Guterres, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. "The international community has long been frustrated by the U.S. government's unwillingness to accept a greater portion of refugees from this conflict of its own making. We hope this unprecedented commitment by one of America's largest church groups will speed up the healing process that is desperately needed to sustain peace."

Details of the initiative were outlined by Reverend Cizik, who said the Association would be committing over \$700 million towards the campaign. The organization has asked members to increase the share of income they regularly give as "tithings" to the church from 10 percent to 15 percent to cover the costs of feeding, housing, and providing services to an estimated one million newly arrived Iraqi immigrants.

A number of large congregations have signed up under a "sister-city" framework in which they will feed, house, and provide job support and English classes for up to 1,000 families from a given Iraqi city. Left-leaning churches first forged sister-city relationships with towns, cities, and churches in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala, during the brutal Central American civil wars of the 1980s that pushed millions of political and economic refugees to relocate to the United States. This is the first known example of Evangelical churches adopting the model.

"Our church is going to have a lot of families from Karbala," said Melanie Snuckles, 17, of Bayside, Queens. "I didn't really know where that was until our pastor showed us all on a map, but I think it's going to be pretty cool. I already have a pen pal, a girl my age. Her name is Nour, and she lives with her family in Damascus. They're going to stay at our church recreation center until we find them an apartment."

of Ellis Island, off lower Manhattan. Cizik was joined by the pastor of a large Jersey City Iraqi Chaldean Christian congregation, Rabbi David M. Posner of New York's Temple Emanu-El, and Imam Mohammad Shamsi Ali, leader of the Islamic Cultural Center, New York's largest mosque.

"The Federal government has moved with painful sloth to succor the two million Iraqis cast into exile because of our warfare," said Cizik, as he showed a graph displaying the distribution of Iraqi refugees throughout the Middle East. "Peace will let many return, yet the road to rebuild is a long one. It is for all these reasons that we announce a coordinated policy of sanctuary and asylum for Iraqi families of all faiths desiring to relocate to

gave a brief address via telecast applauding the Association's commitment, and thanking them for doing what she called "God's work."

Although the Iraqi refugee crisis has been dramatically underreported, including by the Times, it is called the largest refugee crisis in the world according to Refugees International, and is at least four times larger than that which resulted in

the Palestinian diaspora in 1948. Beyond the more than two million Iraqis who fled to neighboring countries following the U.S. invasion in March of 2003, another 2.5 million have been displaced within Iraq.

The National Association of Evangelicals is the first major U.S. religious association to announce such a sweeping policy of material assistance for Iraqi refugees following the announcement of the U.S.

## Biofuels Ban Act Signed Into Law, Seeks to Ease Food Shortage

By WILLIAM PETTY

**WASHINGTON** — In a dizzying about-face, the White House announced that the president will be signing the Ban Biofuels Act tomorrow.

The controversial legislation was pushed through Congress by newly elected Democrats uncharacteristically willing to stand up to big agribusiness, bolstered by intense public pressure in part due to the efforts of international organizations like Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace and the Rainforest Action Network.

The shift was cheered by environmental activists as well as average Americans worn down by the steep rise in food prices. "Vegetable oil and corn are for feeding people, not cars," said Elizabeth Johnson, a hospital worker and mother of three, at yesterday's demonstration outside Capitol Hill. "There was only so much more we could keep paying."

Six nationwide protests over the last four months had prepared the terrain for the bill's success, according to Andrew Kohut of the Pew Research Center, who said that national polls indicate a sharp decrease in public approval of biofuels and increased concern about global warming. "The public sees the use of biofuels as profoundly irresponsible both environmentally and socially," Kohut said.

He added that recent investigative reporting on the effects of biofuels, including one piece in the New York Times and several on C.N.N., had been key in sparking public outrage. "Television and print journalism haven't done this type of reporting for years," Kohut said. "We found that when people weren't barraged with disinformation, they developed a much sharper analysis of the situation."



Acres of corn now to be used for feeding people, rather than being converted to car and truck fuel.

In addition to turning off the tap on plant-based petrol, the Ban Biofuels Act sets out an ambitious plan of shifting over \$10 billion in annual direct and indirect subsidies from oil companies to the construction of wind farms in rural areas of Texas, Kansas and Wyoming.

"One of the great things about the act is that it mandates the building of transmission lines, which has been a big infrastructural hurdle to getting renewable energy on track in the United States,"

said House Speaker Nancy Pelosi at a press conference yesterday. In acknowledging her failure in the past to support alternative fuels in a meaningful way, Pelosi credited activists for her increased understanding of the need for renewable energy.

Delivering yet another jolt to Republicans, House Democrats tacked onto the act a mandatory transition of cropland from chemical-intensive "conventional" farming to chemical-free organic cultivation on all acreage that re-

ceives subsidy payments from the federal government. "We've been getting a lot of heat from our constituents on this issue," explained Rep. Daniel Seals, Democrat of Illinois. "We had to do something and now was the time."

Top executives from Cargill and Archer Daniels Midland rushed to the Capitol late last night for an emergency closed-door session with the vice president. According to an aide who attended the meeting, negotiations quickly unraveled when congressional lead-

ers sent a memo announcing they would refuse all future campaign contributions from the powerful firms.

Today the stock of both corporations registered their sharpest single-day drop on record at the Dow. Neither company would return calls for comment.

International response has been mixed. "I must admit, no one saw this coming," said a World Bank official who spoke on condition of anonymity. "We've all known there were big problems with our subsidies for biofuel crops in developing countries, especially as they encroached on other crops, and on native ecosystems. We were examining that. We just never expected to be pushed on it by U.S. officials."

Analysts at the World Bank predict that the legislation will have a ripple effect, eventually easing pressure on the remaining rainforests.

### Food riots highlight a need for real solutions

"If the demand for biofuels drops, then there's far less incentive to clear-cut native forests," explained a spokesperson from Friends of the Earth Indonesia, also known as Walhi. "This is what the people in the rainforest have been fighting for years."

The spokesperson added that the struggle would not be over until similar controls are implemented by governments around the globe. "Ecological destruction is a systemic problem, it's not just one company or one place. The only way we'll have real justice is if those who prosper from exploitation have nowhere else to go, and have to go somewhere else."

## TORTURE, RENDITION "NOT SUCH GOOD IDEAS AFTER ALL"

By DIEGO TAVERA

**WASHINGTON** — In response to 36 million handwritten letters, the president made a formal apology today to Canadian citizen and extraordinary rendition victim Maher Arar and presented him with the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Mr. Arar was a software engineer changing planes at J.F.K. Airport on his way home to Canada from a family vacation when he was detained, kept from counsel, and sent to Syria for a year of torture and interrogation.

The letters in support of Mr. Arar were part of a campaign organized by a coalition of human rights groups including Witness Against Torture, Amnesty International, the Center for Constitutional Rights, and MoveOn.org. His case has come to represent some of the worst excesses of the previous administration's national security policies.

The context for the apology is the White House's new Truth and Prosecution Program, which has exposed and reversed policy on secret C.I.A. interrogation and torture centers worldwide, warrantless wiretapping, illegal infiltration of activist meetings (and Quaker quilting bees), and extraordinary rendition, the extrajudicial transfer of suspected terrorists to countries known to torture prisoners.

The program works to assist the Attorney General's criminal prosecutions of former Bush administration officials for their role in torture policy and taking the country to war under false pretenses.

In a prepared statement, White House Press Secretary Samantha Bee said, "We will not condone torture, nor outsource torture. Maher Arar can never regain that year of his life, when our country sent him to be tortured in Syria, but the Medal of Freedom at least recognizes his heroic fight to assure that what happened to him will never again happen to anyone else." Bee also noted that the U.S. is matching Canada's \$10 million compensation to Mr. Arar for his ordeal, "but in real money."

In a tearful interview on ABC's daytime talk show "The View" earlier this week, former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, currently awaiting trial, told Elisabeth Hasselbeck that he hoped the world would not remember him as the man who brought torture out of the dungeon and into the Executive branch. "Maybe the whole torture thing wasn't such a good idea after all," he said. "I just hope people also remember my way with words, and peer through that to the essence, where I am also a, at least some kind of, father."

### What do you think?

Send your feedback, or leave comments online at our website: [nytimes-se.com](http://nytimes-se.com)

## Congress Returns Civics to High School Curriculum

Part of Broader Agenda to Restore United States Constitution

By JOSEPH BRISTELLO

**WASHINGTON** — Wild applause broke out at the Parent Teacher Association national offices early this morning when several congressional spokespersons announced a funding appropriation to return the subject of civics to high school curricula nationwide.

The initiative is emblematic of the new bipartisan agenda to restore the United States Constitution to its pre-Bush-era status. In a joint statement, Senators Harry Reid, Democrat of Nevada, and Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky, proclaimed that the initiative proves the two parties can work together on an issue of tremendous national importance.

The announcement came following a coordinated series of school strikes organized by parents outraged over a recent study by the National Opinion Research Center. The findings revealed a profound ignorance of government structure and citizens' rights by graduating high school seniors.

Some of the false, but widely held, opinions and beliefs high-

lighted in this cross-country study included: the legislative and judicial branches of government are subordinate to the executive branch; the president has the power to interpret treaties; the president is not bound by law; the vice president is independent of all three branches of government; torture is not a punishment and therefore cannot be considered "cruel and unusual"; in matters of national security, no warrants need be acquired by law enforcement.

The study noted that many students' political consciousness dated back only three years — in other words, their awareness of constitutional rights had been entirely formed during the Bush administration.

The study also found that students were growing incapable of differentiating between living figures, historical figures, and corporate-licensed figures such as cartoon characters and Internet avatars.

The revived civics courses will teach students about the structure and function of each branch of government; the theory of checks and balances; theories of the role of government; and of the role of the public in government; and constitutional law.



In an American History classroom in San Antonio, Texas, students learn about the Bill of Rights.

ture and function of each branch of government; the theory of checks and balances; theories of the role of government; and of the role of the public in government; and constitutional law.

"We have so much work in front

of us," said Los Angeles area high school teacher Roberta Morales. "Trying to instill in students a sense of citizenship and the public good and undo so many self-centered individualistic messages will take tremendous effort."

## Labor Dept. Launches Job Creation Program

By ROBERT OWEN

**WASHINGTON** — The Department of Labor is scrambling to propose new standards that will affect every American worker. "This job report is a blueprint for job creation and economic stability," said Secretary of Labor David Bonior, who worked closely with unions like the S.E.I.U. and UNITE in crafting the standards.

By reducing the work week by five hours, to 35 hours per week, Bonior anticipates a 12 percent increase in new hires, particularly in the burgeoning sustainable energy sector. But new jobs aren't the only benefit. Coupled with the mandatory six-week paid vacations each year, worker health and satisfaction among U.S. workers will be on a par with those in Western Europe, according to Bonior.

Other new employment laws currently being developed will guarantee workers rights to equal protection when in dispute with employers. This includes giving workers full freedom to unionize unimpeded by employers.

lessons of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan is that military success is not sufficient to win," he noted.

Unlike its predecessor, America's Diplomat has been pronounced suitable for children of any age by the Entertainment Software Rating Board.

*America's Diplomat* is available online: [americasdiplomat.com](http://americasdiplomat.com)

## USA Patriot Act Repealed

By SYBIL LUDINGTON

Eight years after being enacted, and three years after being reauthorized, the controversial USA Patriot Act was repealed by Congress by a vote of 99 to 1 in the Senate and 520 to 18 in the House.

No fanfare greeted the repeal in either house. Absent were the 40-minute speeches and foam-core charts predicting Armageddon. The act was repealed with a simple vote cast late in the day by a Congress ashamed of what it had done and what the Act had meant for Americans.

In related news, Congress yesterday repealed the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act and agreed to

An obvious error, quietly buried.

permanently shelve the Violent Radicalization and Homegrown Terrorism Prevention Act. "These acts were worded in such a way that they could be interpreted to equate political dissent with terrorism. In any case none of these bills did a thing to protect Americans," said Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi.

Most past supporters of the act refused comment, but Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ) explained his lone vote to retain the Act: "I wish I could say I was as principled as Russ Feingold [the only Senator who opposed the Patriot Act in 2001], but the truth is that I had too much wine at lunch, hit the wrong button, and then was too inebriated to notice. I hope my constituents, who overwhelmingly wanted me to vote for the bill's repeal, will forgive me."

## Popular "America's Army" Video Game, Recruiting Tool Cancelled

New Game Will Recruit Young Diplomats

By WILFRED SASSOON

**WASHINGTON** — The Department of Defense announced yesterday the cancellation of its highly successful and popular "America's Army" online game and recruitment tool. The program has already been converted into a new game, operated by the State Department, entitled "America's Diplomat." State Department spokesperson Donald Densmold called this "a pretty good step towards nurturing a generation committed to the principles of diplomacy and peaceful negotiation."

America's Army was an online game designed by the Army to attract young recruits via simulated combat missions, many of which were modeled on actual battles in the Middle East.

During its use as a recruitment tool, America's Army consistently ranked among the top 20 Internet-based games. First launched in July of 2002 at a cost of \$10 million dollars, America's Army's annual support budget was estimated at \$1.5 million.

The cancellation of the game comes as part of the elimination of the Army's entire \$583 million recruiting budget.

Early versions of the game were only moderately successful with young people, but the more subtle game is expected to inspire longer-term dedication. "I've never experienced such an exciting simulation of international negotiations," Greg Hauser, 14, told the press. Hauser is president of the Eastern High School debate club.

The State Department has high hopes for America's Diplomat, given its predecessor's highly successful history. In 2005, 40 percent of all recruits surveyed had played America's Army game prior to enlisting. As the game's popularity grew, and after dozens of new releases, the America's Army brand expanded to include console and cell-phone games, T-shirts, and the Real Heroes program, a section of the America's Army website that highlighted actual soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan, and even recruited them as action figures.

The avowed purpose of America's Diplomat is to encourage young people to consider careers in the diplomatic corps, and to present non-military alternatives in a positive light. Where the ability to aggressively attack and kill opponents spelled success in America's Army, America's Diplomat stresses situations that demand negotiation, dialogue and peaceful outcomes.

Reactions from gamers have been intense as those attempting to access the America's Army website have been redirected to the new America's Diplomat site.

Lenny Purvill, a 16-year-old player, noted an initial disappointment in finding his favorite online game replaced. "I liked to pretend I was in the army going on missions in Iraq. And blowing stuff up was fun," he told the press. Purvill, who has been playing the game since he was 13, had been considering signing up when he turned 18.

His initial disappointment, however, was replaced by fascination as he facilitated a peaceful negotiations between Sunni and Shiite militiamen. "It was like, are they gonna shoot each other? No! They're not! 'Cause I'm helping them settle

their differences with diplomacy. It's so awesome," he said.

Purvill also said he excitedly anticipates the expansion of the game in the coming months. This is expected to include new mission updates such as "United Nations," "Peace Corps," "Swords to Plowshares" and "Gandhi's HungerStrike!"

Densmold acknowledged that

the game represents a major shift in focus. "The next generation of government game-playing kids may not be able to kill very well, but they'll be able to practice diplomacy. That's what our national security calls for."

Defense Secretary Scott Ritter acknowledged that national security could benefit from the new game. "One of the most important



In the discontinued "America's Army" video game/recruiting tool, players stormed villages.

## High-Speed Internet Hits Fast Track to Appalachia



WILLIAM KNOXCRUFF

High-speed lines connect rural counties across the U.S. with the rest of the world at no cost to the user.

By B. VANNEVAR

WASHINGTON — The Internet Freedom Preservation Act has passed both houses of Congress, thanks in part to overwhelming and well-organized support of millions of Internet users. The act will ensure "net neutrality" — i.e., that all users have equal access to the Internet and that large corporations like Time Warner, AT&T, Comcast, and Verizon can no longer act as gatekeepers, determining which sites go fast and which slow.

The act also includes provisions to eliminate billions of dollars in subsidies and tax breaks for telecommunication corporations, and to use the proceeds to build a fiber-optic network providing free high-speed Internet service to even the most remote towns throughout the United States. This new network is expected to bring the U.S. up to speed with countries like Japan, France, and Korea, which have had extensive fiber-

optic networks for years. The improved access for all communities is expected to help narrow education and socioeconomic gaps.

In the late 1970s, the Supreme Court ruled that companies providing communication services shouldn't interfere with smaller users. Two years ago, that decision was reversed and the largest telecommunications companies effectively became the gatekeepers of the Internet. The Internet Freedom Preservation Act guarantees that these companies can no longer decide which Web sites on their networks go fast or slow and which won't load at all.

"This law is a huge step forward for not only technology, but for the sharing of ideas," said free speech advocate Lawrence Lessig, who is head of the new Network Communications Bureau, which will be charged with protecting the network against all surveillance including that of other government agencies.

## Pharmaceutical Law Revised to End Corruption

By JASON BREMARA

Revisions in the Physician Payments Sunshine Act (S.2029) will now make it a Class D federal felony for physicians to accept more than \$25 annually in gifts or other rewards from pharmaceutical companies or biological product and medical device manufacturers.

The revised bill, introduced last fall by Senators Chuck Grassley, Republican of Iowa, and Herb Kohl, Democrat of Wisconsin, requires full disclosure of gifts, through a Department of Health and Human Services online system, by both companies and individual physicians, and it revokes caps on non-disclosure penalties for companies.

The legislation targets offending individual physicians, hospitals, schools, and other medical institutions that deal directly with patients. It also makes it a federal offense for medical industries to circumvent customary gift-giving practices through third parties, such as lawyers and insurance companies, or via "educational" events.

It reverses earlier legislation that would have preempted more stringent physician sunshine laws passed by the states. The previous version of the law limited penalties to \$10,000 for non-disclosure, and \$100,000 for companies that "knowingly" fail to disclose gifts to physicians. The new bill establishes a lower limit for fines, but not an upper limit, and requires that that penalties take into ac-



CAVUTTO/THE NEW YORK TIMES

count histories of gift-giving, product specifics and histories, overall corporate revenue, and other variables, before appropriate fines can be assessed.

Patients' rights and medical ethics groups, like the New England Medical Ethics Commission in Boston, are exultant. "It's not like the A.M.A. or [pharmaceutical trade association] PhRMA were ever going to comply with their

own stated standards," says Patty Williams, Director of Communications for the commission. Williams is referring to the American Medical Association's 1991 guidelines on gifts to physicians from industry, which stemmed a tide of blatant gift-giving in the 1980s, but have been criticized for allowing new byways for abuse: free lunches and dinners, travel and honoraria, and the hemorrhaging of

complimentary pens, coffee mugs, and other product-related paraphernalia into doctors' offices.

"What we really need is a sea change in the medical profession wherein physicians realize that it isn't O.K. to get gifts or fill our offices with advertisements for products. It demeans patient care," says Mount Sinai School of Medicine professor Dr. Joseph Ross. While programs like the Pre-

A series of tiny bribes corrupts a profession.

scription Project, which scrutinize pharmaceutical company information and sales practices, have been in place for several years in states like Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, their effect is limited by the willingness of doctors to abide by ethical standards.

"This will definitely make it a lot harder for us to get our products to customers," says Sampson Browning, spokesperson for Eli Lilly, which anticipates large losses of revenue due to the new legislation.

"I haven't paid for lunch since last February, and I think I ate at home that day," says Dr. Bruce Arbogast, Director of Pine Grove Medical Center in Chicago. "Do the math. Do you think I can afford to say no when the drug reps knock on my door?" From now on, doctors will have to, or risk up to ten years imprisonment.

## Bush Resumes Golf Game

By JAMES BRAID

WASHINGTON (AFP) — Former U.S. President George W. Bush returned to the fairway this week, after previously giving up the game out of respect for the families of U.S. soldiers killed in the conflict in Iraq in 2003.

"I saw him polishing his clubs last week," stated a White House security agent, who wished to remain anonymous. "Of course, we all assumed he was just sneaking out to play like he usually does."

In an interview with Yahoo! News and Politico in 2003, Bush resolved to refrain from his leisure pursuit out of solidarity with the families of soldiers in Iraq. "I think playing golf during a war just sends the wrong signal," he said.

"I don't want some mom whose son may have recently died to see the Commander-in-Chief playing golf."

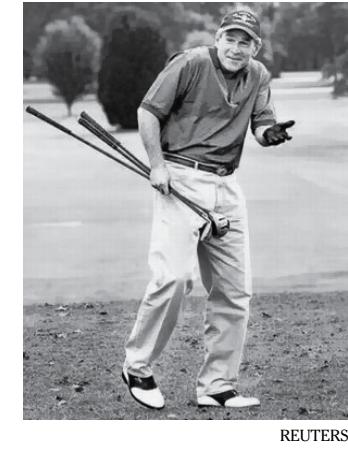
The U.S. President claims to have renounced the game during the August 19, 2003 bombing of the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad, in which Sergio Vieira de Mello, the world body's top official in Iraq, was killed.

"I remember when de Mello got killed in Baghdad as a result of these murderers who were taking this good man's life." The tragedy forced Bush off the fairway at the 12th hole, and home to his ranch

in Crawford, Texas.

Meticulous records kept by CBS News, however, trace the President's last official round of golf to October 13, 2003.

One source close to the President's caddy claimed that Bush's dismal score at that last game did, in fact, come out of solidarity with



REUTERS

## An Exclusive Interview with Former President Bush

**Former President George W. Bush** gave his first post-indictment interview yesterday to **Scott Pelley** of 60 Minutes. The interview, conducted at Bush's Crawford, Texas ranch is scheduled to air Sunday evening. 60 Minutes has provided the Times with excerpts of their discussion.

**Pelley:** It's been several months since you left the White House, and although you've condemned the war in Iraq, and your own role in leading us to it, you've also made clear you have some business you'd like to finish. What do you have planned for the next year?

**BUSH:** First, Scott, let me tell you where I'm at. I've had more time to look at the big picture since I left office. Abu Ghraib was a mistake. Using posturing language like "mission accomplished" and "bring it on" was a mistake. Troop levels may have been a mistake. Getting us in there in the first place was obviously a big mistake. I think history is going to look back and see a lot of ways we could have done things better, no question about it, all the way from day one to day now.

But the reason I bring all this up is mainly that I don't want people out there blaming the folks in the military for what's happened in Iraq. If regular American people need a scapegoat, well they can look no

further. I'm your scapegoat, right here, made to order. Me.

Of course that doesn't stop me from picking up firewood! (Laughs.)

**Pelley:** Mr. President, what are your plans now, besides being a scapegoat?

**BUSH:** Well, just because I'm not in that Oval Office, doesn't mean I can just sit down. I started out with a plan, and my obligation to this country is to fill out that plan, fulfill it.

**Pelley:** So you will be...

**BUSH:** I'm going to pursue Osama Bin Laden.

**Pelley:** I'm sorry?

**BUSH:** I'm going on my own search for Osama bin Laden to bring a killer to justice. I have set up a \$500,000 reward, of my own money, for tips. Laura helped me set up a toll-free hot line to field those tips.

Near the beginning of my terms, my nation was attacked by Saudi Arabian terrorists. So I started a hunt for Osama bin Laden and the Taliban in Afghanistan. We got the Taliban, we didn't get the main man. Then, Iraq.

I'm going to finish the job. It's not just the good thing to do, it's the need to do it. And that's what I'm going to do.

**Pelley:** Why didn't you do this during your terms as President?

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## Education Department Plans National Tax Base for Schools

Takes Cue from Ohio and 23 Other States

By M.M. BETHUNE

Twenty-three states have announced plans to fund primary and secondary education on a statewide tax basis instead of per county, following the lead of a landmark decision in Ohio.

Ohio's S.B. 320 follows the Ohio Supreme Court ruling that funding schools from local property taxes and private initiatives does not comply with the Ohio Constitution's guarantee of a "thorough and efficient" public education system. The new statewide system means that resources are more equitably distributed, with inner-city schools receiving the same amount as suburban ones.

The Ohio decision began with Governor Ted Strickland's 2006 campaign promise to assure that "where you grow up in Ohio

should not determine where you end up in life." Hundreds of grassroots campaigns throughout the state, including The Ohio Coalition for Equity and Adequacy of School Funding, took the cue from Mr. Strickland's statement and spent the last two years working hard to hold him to it.

"Finally, this is a real step towards the equality our Constitution recommends," says Amanda Fullerton, of Columbus. Ms. Fullerton, a mother of two, voted for Mr. Strickland because of his long history of support for educational reform, but was soon disappointed by the governor's inaction in office. When she first heard about the proposed bill in the Ohio Senate, Ms. Fullerton decided to occupy the Governor's office to demonstrate how important she felt the bill was. Over two hundred mothers soon joined her, camping out for six days. Many observers feel that actions like the mothers' played a key role in convincing Governor Strickland to push hard for the bill.

Following the announcements of twenty-three states that they would be voting on similar bills, the U.S. Department of Education said it would be developing a plan for a national tax base for schools, to finally assure that as in most other developed countries, a child's opportunities to learn will not depend on his or her birthplace.

## Prison Industry Looks Within

By ELIZABETH FRY

An experimental new program spearheaded by the Department of Justice and the Department of Corrections will place federal and state lawmakers, criminal court prosecutors and judges, wardens, and guards in five randomly-chosen prisons for a period of three days per year.

The National Prison Rehabilitation Program aims to give those in the prison-industrial complex

Giving those with power a chance to reflect.



JOHN HOWARD

head Tom Hayden. The conference-like structure will feature keynote speakers and breakout discussions. "Once we get some of these players together in these facilities, I think it's pretty certain that great things will happen."

"It's part sentence, part all-expenses-paid meditation retreat," said Department of Corrections

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**BUSH:** Well, "personally" is an awfully big word here, Scott. A business organization has a lot of members, we have a lot of resources. Over the last eight years, private-sector fighting organizations have developed in a way I am amazed to see.

So obviously I'm not going to do it alone. But I'm going to have the time and also the resources, and the freedom, to do what I want to do.

But what's important is that we made mistakes, and one thing when you make mistakes is you can't undo them. And now I'm not undoing them, I'm doing the only right thing for right now.

**Pelley:** Sir, forgive me, but many people will say that you're not equipped for this. Your health — this isn't a one-man job.

**BUSH:** A lot of people thought I wasn't equipped to be President either. (Laughs.) But really, once I make up my mind, I need to follow through and give it my best shot.

See this, Scott? This is the same rifle we issue to our Marine marksmen. I've been training with this for the past 6 months here on the ranch. I'm ready for this. We can shoot some cans later, if you need any proof. (Laughs.)

**Pelley:** Pardon me, sir, but I

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Maybe you can think of it as a second career, or a retirement, but I'm going to have more time on my hands. And what I will do is shoulder this burden, and do this work that has not been done, myself. I will spend whatever time needs to be spent to hunt that killer, I will find him, and I will bring him to justice.

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# Business

The New York Times

## Public Relations Industry Forecasts a Series of Massive Layoffs

By LOUIS BECK

SACRAMENTO (AP) — Public relations firms across the country predict massive layoffs in the coming months due to recent legislation outlawing the firms' most lucrative practices.

The new regulations carefully scrutinize government contracts with for-profit public relations companies, and apply much higher standards to public relations work overall. The new rules would have forbidden the creation of the National Smokers Alliance, a front group formed by Philip Morris with the help of P.R. giant Burson Marsteller, which presents itself as a grassroots group opposed to smoke-free laws.

The regulations would also have rendered impossible the notorious "Kuwaiti incubators" episode of 1992, in which P.R. giant Hill & Knowlton worked with the U.S. and Kuwaiti governments to gal-

An industry that helped launch wars begins to shut down.

vitalize public opinion in favor of the Persian Gulf War. Among other things, the firm helped stage a press conference in which a 15-year-old girl named Nayirah claimed to have witnessed Iraqi soldiers flinging Kuwaiti babies to the ground from their incubators. Nayirah was later revealed to have been performing on behalf of her father, the Kuwaiti Ambassador to the U.S. The "Kuwaiti incubator" hoax was considered decisive in turning popular opinion toward war against Iraq.

"It's unfortunate that our hard work is being discussed under these circumstances," said Cynthia Knowlton, granddaughter of



Hill & Knowlton's New York office after layoffs were announced yesterday. Cutbacks have rippled through giants across the industry.

Hill & Knowlton founder David J. Knowlton III and a spokesperson for the company.

While most industries suffered during the Iraq War, the P.R. industry remained buoyant. As overall consumer spending decreased, government spending increased, and the coffers of some private firms expanded. Of the 40 percent of Iraq War spending that went to private military contractors since the 2003 invasion, a full 10 per-

cent is rumored to have gone to P.R. firms. Campaigns like "Army Strong" and "Be All You Can Be" were created by private firms, and companies are even alleged to have been paid hefty sums to guarantee returning veterans prominent placement on television programs such as "Wife Swap," "Trading Spaces," and "Punk'd."

One P.R. firm, MediaLink Worldwide, plans to cut its media commentator funding, a substantial

portion of its budget. "We are forced to cut back, and that does mean letting excellent and qualified candidates in all fields go," company spokesperson Fred Donahue said in an official statement. Saatchi & Saatchi, one of the largest ad firms in the world, fired over 300 employees in its Word-of-Mouth Division. Leo Burnett in Chicago is expected to release all part-time staff later this week.

It's a vast network of influence,

all crumbling down around the feet of culture producers.

"P.R. companies have been doing whatever it takes to maximize their profit," contended media activist Ben Jefferson at a hearing which shortly preceded the passage of the new regulations. "The mystical power of the consumer isn't going to change that — whereas the actual power of the citizen is. That's where legislation comes in."

## Plan Encourages Steady Growth, Will Boost Bottom 95%

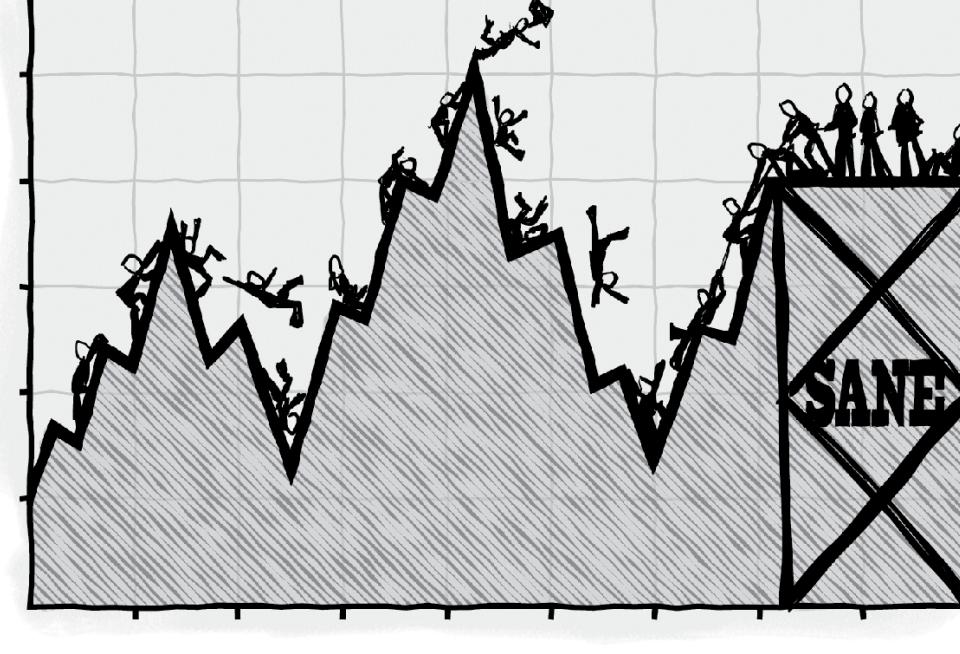
From Page A1

posed the proposals before overwhelming public support helped change her mind. "This bill brings a level of sanity and restraint back to the system that allowed companies like Enron, Bear Stearns, Fannie Mae, and Freddie Mac to fleece Americans for all they were worth."

Merrill Lynch C.E.O. John Thain disputed Ms. Pelosi's account. "High C.E.O. salaries, sophisticated financial instruments, and the freedom to speculate freely have for the past thirty years been instrumental in driving us to achieve the highest shareholder returns in the world outside of Russia. Shareholders have been very grateful for those returns. We mustn't look at one rash of foreclosures, or one system collapse, and forget the decade of high returns that enabled a new wave of prosperity for a certain number of people."

Treasury Secretary Krugman cited the pressure applied by progressive activist groups as instrumental in the S.A.N.E. Act's success despite overwhelming counterpressure from financial industry lobbyists, who have been working overtime in anticipation of the likely passage of the "Ban on Lobbying" bill, which prohibits lobbying on behalf of private individuals or corporations earning more than \$1 million annually.

"We've got popular pressure to thank for letting us make the market serve humans once again," Mr. Krugman said. He also stressed that even passage of the S.A.N.E. bill would be meaningless without passage of the "Ban on Lobbying" bill. Only by banning lobbying, Mr. Krugman added, would it be possible to assure that the changes mandated by the S.A.N.E. Act are not rolled back through the influence of big corporations.



### DETAILS OF S.A.N.E. ACT

**CAPS WAGES.** Caps salaries, in part to reduce the incentive of C.E.O.s to speculate wildly with investors' funds.

**BUSTS TRUSTS.** Breaks up financial conglomerates and reinstates the 1933 Glass-Steagall Act keeping investment banks and commercial banks separate, in order to reduce speculation.

**TAXES SPECULATION.** Spearheads an international 1 percent tax on financial transactions, to slow speculation and reduce market volatility.

**STABILIZES MORTGAGES.** Keeps Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, which were formed to boost home ownership, under government management, and imposes a moratorium on foreclosures.

**INVESTS IN HOUSING.** Reinvests in public housing and renews rent control, until the "ownership society" becomes real.

**PRICES FOR TRUE COST.** Establishes a "true cost" pricing system to ensure that prices reflect the true cost to society of products, services, and practices.

**TAXES INHERITANCE.**

Establishes a 100 percent tax

on inheritance for fortunes over \$500,000. These revenues will enable a quicker implementation of universal health care, affordable housing, guaranteed college education, and other measures considered standard in almost every other developed country.

**SETS EMERGENCY TAX.** Provides for an emergency surtax on the wealthy in case of future

financial meltdowns, to further discourage the sort of reckless speculation that fueled the latest banking crisis.

**LIMITS DERIVATIVES.** Regulates and streamlines the market in abstract financial instruments, especially those derivatives and derivatives of derivatives which serve no social purpose whatsoever.

## Harvard Will Shut Business School Doors

By JOHN LEVERETT

Harvard University Business School will be closing its doors following an unprecedented drop-off in applications this fall. The school will be renamed the Harvard University School of Integrity, and students will receive Masters in Integrity and Compassion, or M.I.C.s.

"We believe that the recent increase in visibility of progressive movements and ideals, coupled with the demotion of free-market capitalism as a viable belief system, has led students away from training in accumulation for its own sake and into fields where they can advance peace and justice," said Harvard spokesperson Susan Morrison.

It became apparent in early 2009 that enrollment in fields like marketing, advertising, corporate communications, and management dropped 44 percent, while enrollments in fields like social work, journalism, and community organizing were up 53 percent in the same period.

"We're not sure if it's an anomaly or an indicator of a long term trend, but there's definitely a change," said Morrison.

Morrison said the new Integrity School is contacting campuses around the world to encourage graduating seniors to apply. "We see as our job to help students tap into their desire for integrity and compassion, rather than their greed. That's what they need, and that's what our society needs."

## "TRUE COST" PRICING SET

From Page A1

Pelham Bay, New York, referring to General Motors' EV1, an electric car it developed in 1996, before scrapping it shortly after. GM was required to reintroduce the EV1 last month by the Clean Car Act.

"Ever since it came back, the EV1 is five times more popular than the next car down," Cluber said. "I hope we never have to sell a combustion engine again."

Three months after a 90 percent "True Cost" tax on bottled water went into effect, the high premium has already prevented many tons of plastic waste, according to Environmental Protection Agency Deputy Under Secretary Gavin Newsom. "When we banned plastic shopping bags in San Francisco in 2006, it reduced waste enormously. The recent tax on plastic water bottles has prevented even more needless environmental damage, including many tons of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from the transportation of water," said Mr. Newsom in a press conference. "Imagine transporting water across oceans. What were we thinking?"

"It's great to see this extended to the whole spectrum of products with which we're destroying our world," Mr. Newsom added.

Treasury Secretary Paul Krugman believes the "True Cost" system will serve not only as an incentive to manufacture certain products instead of others, but will help to make people aware of the effects of their behavior.

"We complain about high gas prices," said Melissa Schwarzwald, spokeswoman for the Sierra Club, pressure from whose members was instrumental in getting the tax implemented. "But how much does it really cost, to our health, to the planet's health, and to the health of the country we destroyed in the interest of a steady supply? We're cut off from what we're really doing, and that's the whole problem."

## New Wage Cap Will Stabilize Economy

From Page A1

to take in massive dividends, often at the cost of the company's, and the country's, stability."

The first time the U.S. implemented a maximum wage was in 1942, when President Roosevelt said that "no American citizen ought to have an income, after he has paid his taxes, of more than \$25,000 a year," the equivalent of \$315,000 today.

Some version of a maximum wage law was in effect until 1980. Before 1964, income over \$400,000 in today's dollars faced a 91 percent federal tax rate, and the top-bracket tax rate never dipped below 70%. Under Reagan, the top tax rate slid down to 28 percent — a shift that is now understood to have been one of the prime contributors to the mortgage meltdown and other market failures.

The current minimum wage is \$5.85 (\$12,168 annually) making the new maximum wage \$182,520/year. Any amount over that will be taxed at a rate of 100 percent.

The Center on Executive Compen-

sation is an industry-backed group based in Washington whose goal is to tell corporate America's side of the executive pay story. Richard Florsch, the center's chairman and the chief human resources officer at McDonald's, defended high salaries. Most companies, he said, are "dedicated to a very strong executive compensation program with very strong principles around pay for performance."

In the two days since Mr. Florsch made these comments to a reporter, the Center on Executive Compensation has dissolved. A statement on their website now reads: "We have decided that in light of recent changes in economic policy, and the failure of hedge fund managers and banks to prevent massive losses despite their astronomical pay, our Center has lost its relevance." The statement also acknowledges the problems caused by Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac executives falsifying profits of \$9 billion so their firms would appear attractive to investors and then, instead of being fired, receiv-

ing retirement packages upwards of \$10 million.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi celebrated the bill's passage with an impassioned speech. "The struggle on behalf of human dignity continues. We need investment in productive enterprises and public services. The era is over of C.E.O.s who receive millions in bonuses as their employees go without health care and the company fails."

In her speech, Ms. Pelosi extensively quoted Treasury Undersecretary E. Merrick Dodds, who stated, shortly after passage of the first maximum wage under Roosevelt: "The modern period has been one in which a new impulse towards regulation has gathered strength as a result of our experience of the evils to which unlimited freedom of contract gives rise in a post-industrial society characterized by extreme inequalities of wealth and bargaining power and by sudden oscillations between booms and depressions."

Don Cortland contributed reporting.

We did it first.

Now we're bringing it back...

Back in 1996, we developed an electric car called the EV1. People loved it, and wanted to buy it. But changes in legislation meant it made no sense in our business model, and three years later, it was gone.

Today, changes in legislation have made the return of the EV1 possible. It was the best back then, and it's the best today.

Because we have to.<sup>TM</sup>

Target launch: Late 2009. Vehicle features and performance capabilities established and certain. © 2009 GM Corp. All rights reserved.

# Senate Gets Tough On “Limited Liability” to Rein in, Humanize Corporations

By CARLTON DONALLY

Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona, has launched a bold new “tough on crime” initiative that would imprison or fine shareholders for corporate crimes committed in their name. Punishment would depend on the severity of the crime and the number of shares owned.

Mr. McCain outlined his unique two-tiered punishment program, which would punish corporations for legal infractions according to their severity. Mr. McCain explained that there would be two “suits” of punishment, for levels of crime roughly corresponding to misdemeanors and felonies.

In one “suite” — for “misdemeanors” like bilking taxpayers of seven-figure dollar amounts, overcharging consumers, attempting monopolies, and contributing to simple human troubles like asthma and brief bouts of homelessness — punishment would take the form of short- or long-term share confiscation. Dividends of confiscated shares would pay for remedial action, where possible, as well as public-good programs like health care.

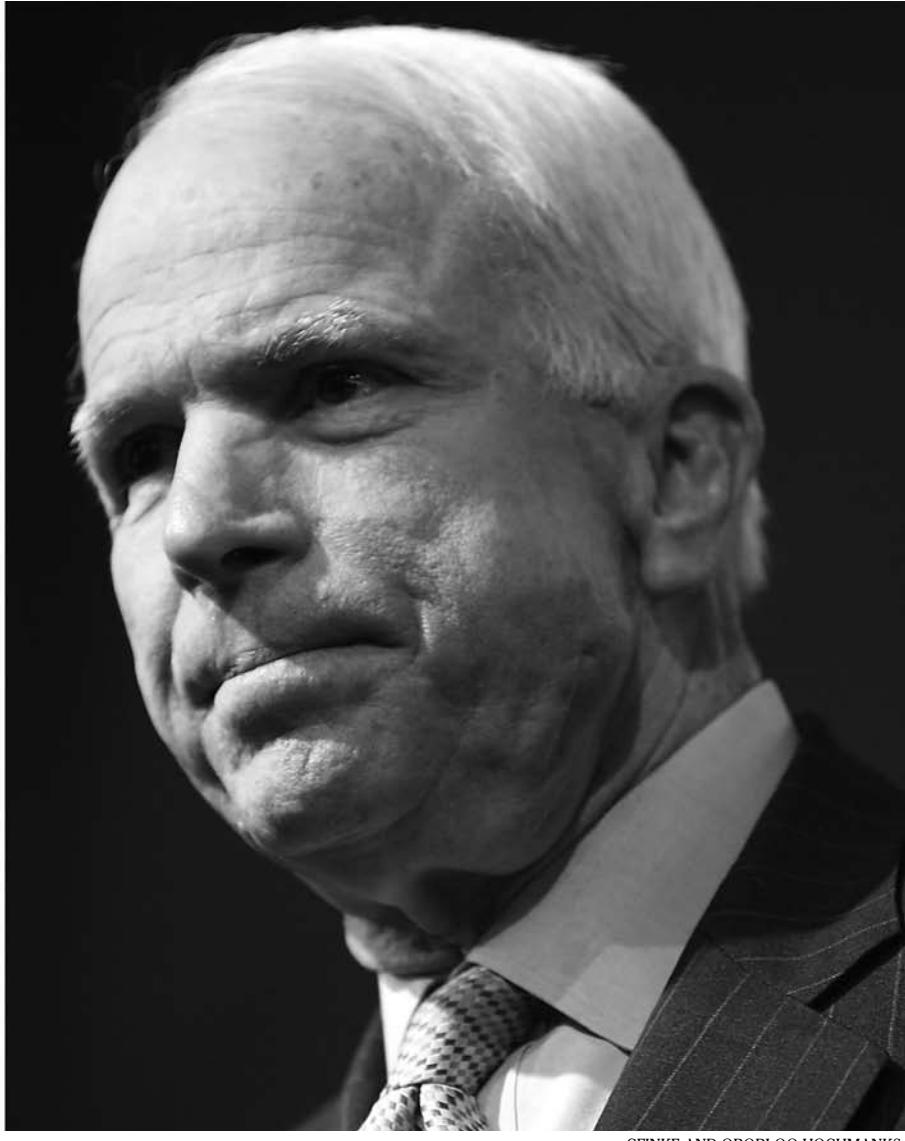
“I know a number of people whose companies were players in the Savings and Loan scandal,” Mr. McCain said, “and they’re prepared to face the consequences. Remedies for serious problems are never easy, especially when they hit at the root.”

The second punishment “suite,” for “felonies” — spreading diseases, committing homicide or manslaughter, contributing to national disasters in the U.S. or abroad, large-scale bilking of taxpayers, etc. — would involve direct punishment of the shareholders in question.

Mr. McCain used Union Carbide’s 1984 Bhopal massacre, in which thousands of Indian villagers were killed by lethal gas, as an example of a crime that would be classified as a felony. While retroactive prosecutions based on new laws are usually not permissible, in such extreme cases they would be, as they were in the Nuremberg prosecutions of 1945.

In the Union Carbide example, Mr. McCain noted that each death would cost the company a “negligent homicide” charge, for approximately twenty years of incarceration each. Twenty years multiplied by 2000 equals 40,000 years in prison, with aggravating factors such as a demonstrated lack of remorse or compassion tripling the total.

This penalty would be divided among Union Carbide shareholders, each of whom could expect to



CFINKE AND OBORLOO HOCHMANS

Left: An old prison being remodeled for white-collar criminals. Right: John McCain reclaims “maverick” status with strict new sentencing to put corporate criminals behind bars.

spend from a few weeks to several years in prison, depending on the size of investment. A minimum penalty could be set by a judge — so that an investor with even a fraction of a share would be liable for, say, two weeks in jail. This would apply even to those who had invested via mutual funds, without knowing the precise direction of their investments.

Mr. McCain said that while “tough on crime” policy has been shown to be useless with humans, it would work with corporations. “Corporations are just machines, not like teenage kids. They can be forced to act as if they knew right from wrong.”

“Corporate behavior has become a very loud cry for ‘tough love,’ ” the governor said. “We’ve got to adapt to a changing world, and sometimes that means changing laws.”

“Fines are not punishment, they do not build character,” Mr. McCain said. “What’s a ten-million-

dollar fine to a giant corporation? Fines seldom if ever affect the pocketbooks of shareholders or managers, those who make the decisions or power the machine. Hitting pockets and people directly is a different thing.”

Mr. McCain admitted that several major problems remain to be solved. The death penalty, for example, while often merited in corporate crime cases, had no obvious application — “We can’t talk about ‘little deaths’ here,” said Mr. McCain, making an obscure bilingual pun better left unexplained.

Also, the issue of global markets poses some problems, Mr. McCain said. “These penalties will eventually have to be agreed on by a global governing body like the W.T.O., not only here at home in Arizona or the U.S. Otherwise we may create a better market here, but the changes will be irrelevant in the bigger picture. And influencing such a powerful and state-independent body as the W.T.O. is

a very involved process.”

The ultimate aim of the program, Mr. McCain said, is to help corporations achieve their long-term goals. “Corporations have spent the last century and a half trying to obtain all the legal rights of people,” Mr. McCain said. “They’re now technically persons, but they’re not really human. We owe it to them — and to our species — to help them finish their quest.”

Mr. McCain went on to explain that corporations still, even today, lack one distinguishing human characteristic: a conscience. “Corporations were invented to keep investors innocent of crimes committed with the help of their money, accidentally or not. But now that corporations have become legally almost human, they have to be taught that their actions have consequences.”

Mr. McCain called corporate efforts to obtain the legal rights of humans “compassionate greed,” and said that it was “not entirely

about getting richer.”

“You’d have to be very cynical to think that corporations, when they won protection as ‘persons’ under the ‘Freed Slave’ Amendment, were thinking only of their own wealth,” Mr. McCain said. He was referring to the 14th Amendment, which had been designed to protect the rights of freed slaves, and which was used in 1866 to establish corporations as “natural persons” under the law.

“It’s clear that corporations just admire humans and what we have. We should be good hosts and help them however we can. Right now, that means making them responsible and responsive.”

While most experts scoff at the idea that corporations could actually become human beings, most agree that punishing corporations for the crimes they commit will at the very least have a positive effect on the world. “If each shareholder is personally responsible for corporate crimes, then you’ve

got real controls — and without regulation!” said Mr. McCain.

Mr. McCain dismissed concerns that personal liability for corporate crimes might discourage individual investors from taking a risk. “People love to gamble,” he said, “and this will make it all very real.”

For those who do not thrive on such risks, Mr. McCain suggested that the mutual fund industry would easily adopt new decision-making processes, just as it has in the past. “The prime mechanism of regulation will be shareholder judgement. If investment in one company is likely to land you in jail, you’ll invest in another instead. Mutual fund companies will find it an exciting challenge to obtain and keep investor confidence. It will reinvigorate the industry, and in fact the whole concept of investment.”

*Chad Woolin contributed reporting.*



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SATURDAY, JULY 4, 2009

# New York

The New York Times

## Army Recruiter Goes from Marketing the Military to Marketing Himself

By BARRY GLOAD

**M**ANHATTAN — “I have plans, and I have backup plans,” explained retired Staff Sgt. Joe Pascanic, a former recruiter for the U.S. Army. “That’s one thing I learned in the military. Always have your Plan B, and your Plan C.”

“Plan D is called Unconditional Surrender, a.k.a. filing for Unemployment Insurance. We’re not gonna need to go there.”

Pascanic, 36, of Rahway, New Jersey, was looking for a new job in the civilian sector. The Times spent a day with him as he took the train from this blue-collar town into New York City to pound the fresh post-war pavement.

Pascanic is a medium-tall man, with blonde short hair and brown eyes, trim and nattily dressed in a professional, well-pressed, blue pinstriped suit. He thanked me for my compliments on his “civvies,” and said, “I’m very happy to be wearing them.”

He appeared lost in thought for a moment, and then shook off the reverie with a gruff statement.

“I have to say, however I felt about the war, I’m glad I don’t have that job anymore,” Pascanic admitted as we waited on the New Jersey Transit platform. “That was serious pressure.”

Indeed, while many antiwar activists denounced military recruiters as liars during the war, this time Pascanic was telling the truth. The Army’s strict and harsh quota system for recruiters made it one of the highest-stress jobs in America. As the war grew more bloody and news of “stop-loss” and other involuntary extensions of soldiers’ combat tours made it harder to get new recruits, rates of suicide, drug and alcohol abuse, divorce, and stress-related illnesses such as ulcers skyrocketed amongst Army recruiters.

“I used to say, the only more stressful positions are the ones they put you in at Abu Ghraib, those and the only more stressful occupation was the U.S. in Iraq.” Pascanic laughs a little, gives me a self-conscious glance, and says, “That was an after-work, at-the-bar kind of line, of course.”

“I did get a lot of skills from it, though. Besides the working under pressure, I learned so much about marketing. It’s hard to fill your quota when that means getting kids to sign up to go fight in a shooting war. Trust me.”

“I mean right after September 11th, it was no problem, the product sold itself, so to speak. To go fight in Afghanistan, where the bad guys were, the ones who attacked us. I didn’t have to do any pitching, the kids came right to me in droves to sign up. The product made its own sauce. Just add water.”



RE-ALITY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Former recruiter, Staff Sgt. Joe Pascanic, pages through job listings before an interview at a used car lot in Elizabeth, New Jersey.

As we got off the train and made our way on foot into the city, Pascanic warmed to the subject of his skills. He repeated some of his key advantages a few times, apparently rehearsing out loud the lines for his first job interview, at a medium-sized advertising firm in midtown Manhattan not far from Penn Station.

“Now obviously I had to develop massive marketing skills in my old job. Sometimes it was just in terms of what to focus on. So I want them to sign up to fight in

and marched to the elevator.

Coming out forty-five minutes later, Pascanic seemed shaken. “They heard my pitch, but they’re really looking for guys with M.B.A.s from Ivy League colleges. They said they’d keep my resume on file. I think they were impressed with my recruitment rate, but I don’t know. I don’t think I should wait around for that phone call.”

We took a taxi down to Chelsea for our next stop, a real-estate firm where Pascanic was hoping to use his work experience to sell co-op apartments. He recovered his confidence and talked himself up as we rode. “I’ve sold people trips to Iraq! We’re talking about desert and urban guerrilla warfare. And they signed! Of course you have to promise them competitive job training, money for education, maybe insinuate they probably won’t ever go to a combat zone, or that they’ll all get assigned to be military journalists or photographers or whatever they’re interested in that sounds safer. But you’re also selling an adventure, a chance to be all you can be, be an army of one, be army strong. It’s a complicated mix of practical bread-and-butter promises and an appeal to the beautiful spirit in all of these kids, their desire to help, to protect, to be a real part of America. It’s tough, but you know what?

You’re selling the American Dream. And that’s what I’d like to do as a real estate agent. Sell the American Dream of home ownership.”

And how did he feel about the fates of the people he’d convinced to sign up with misleading promises? Pascanic did not argue the facts — that veterans’ training yields them a lower rate of employment than their civilian peers, not higher; that only a small percentage of veterans ever qualify for the education funding due to hidden restrictions and costs; that military contracts include a catch-all disclaimer to nullify obligations the recruiter has promised.

“Let’s talk about this when I get out from this next interview. I’m not debating! I’m not denying! But I gotta make sure I’m at that front desk on time.” He grinned and jumped out of the taxi, jogging into the company’s front office.

Twenty-five minutes later, Pascanic came back out on the street, frowning. “They gave me a good listen, but they seemed a little offended. I wasn’t trying to compare selling open-ended trips to a war to selling studios to wealthy N.Y.U. students. But I might have come across that way. They didn’t think we’d be a good match.”

Pascanic slowed his pace, then stopped,

and asked if I’d mind if we went into the church we were passing. As we sat in the pews of the huge, solemn hall, he said, “About your question . . . yeah, sometimes I do think about my job and what I promised the kids, and what ended up happening to them.” He pointed at the ceiling and said, “And I wonder what He would think.”

“But I don’t know, you know, this is America, we’re all selling something, right? The President sold the country a war, wholesale; I just did the same thing at the retail level. But what am I gonna do now?” He looked around him at the relative sanctuary of the church. “Maybe I’ll get a job here. Maybe I’m not meant for the private sector. Maybe I can sell salvation. You know, I’d much rather sell Heaven and Hell than Iraq and Afghanistan. Because these products have stood the test of time. People still believe in them. And you know what? They’re for after you die, you don’t actually die in them. I can feel better selling that. How do you apply to be a priest?”

At that moment, Pascanic’s cell phone rang, piercing the silence. His ringtone, Bon Jovi’s In and Out of Love, played for several maximum-volume bars before he patted down his pockets, found, and answered the phone. At that moment, he snapped to attention and darted out of the church.

It was Chris Sorrentino calling. Sorrentino, 24, was one of Pascanic’s first recruits to go to Iraq, instead of Afghanistan as he’d expected, in 2003. He lost his right arm in an I.E.D. explosion five months into his deployment. Pascanic and Sorrentino had kept in touch.

Sorrentino was calling to offer Pascanic a sales job at his family’s used-car lot in Elizabeth, New Jersey.

This reporter, who felt solidarity with Pascanic because The Times, too, had helped to sell the war to the nation, paid for a car service to drive him to the lot. After a few minutes of friendly Jersey-boy small talk, vulgar ribbing and tasteless jokes, Pascanic had nailed the job. Since he was already wearing a dapper suit, Sorrentino’s father, Bill, put the former recruiter out on the lot immediately. Pascanic thanked me for the ride and said goodbye, studying the specs of the car inventory and rehearsing a new pitch under his breath as he marched off to the sales floor.

I asked Sorrentino if he bore any grudges against Pascanic for misrepresenting the reality of the war that had cost him his arm. Sorrentino hesitated, he frowned, shook his head, and answered “Well, I mean... yeah, I wish... but — hey, hey, hey ... the war’s over.”

## New York Bike Path System Expanded Dramatically

### Miles of Segregated Bicycle Lanes Will Be Paved by 2010

By MEDE SIVRAC

**N**EW YORK — Officials from the Department of Transportation today opened the 9th Avenue bike lane, which now extends the entire length of Manhattan. The festivities were then moved to 2nd Avenue, where ground was broken on a similar path to extend the full length of the island.

Over the next two years, every other avenue will also receive a full bike lane, blocked off from traffic, while every fifth crosstown street will be opened exclusively to bicyclists and pedestrians beginning next month.

Mark Blair, a transit worker from Queens, was busy re-timing traffic lights

for bicycle speed. “Riding your bike up or down the avenue, the traffic lights are going to change in sync,” explained Blair. “You ride 10-15 miles per hour, and you’ll be hitting all greens.”

“Now that our country is taking its rightful place among the world’s developed nations,” said Mayor Bloomberg, “it is time for our greatest city to take its place among the world’s great cities.”

Bloomberg recently visited Paris to examine its popular public bicycle rental program. Although he initially expressed doubts as to whether it could work, public pressure has helped convince him it can, and national legislation is the deal. (For more on the new transportation initiatives, also see “Crumbling Infrastructure Brings Opportunities,” Page A6.)

Blair, watching the dedication from a cherry picker above 9th Avenue commented, “From cesspool to world city, it’s just fantastic. I love this place.”



PATTON CHUNG

## University to Rescue Iraqi Scholars

By AMAL MAAMLAJI

The New School University in New York announced yesterday the launch of the New University In Exile, a program to provide small grants and visas to scholars from Iraq. The program is inspired by the University In Exile, a New School program that rescued over one hundred Jewish scholars from Nazi Germany beginning in 1933.

“As in World War II, scholarship today faces one particular crisis that dwarfs all others,” said New School President Bob Kerrey. “In Iraq today, almost four hundred scholars have been assassinated, and most others have been sent into permanent exile. Iraq’s universities, libraries, museums, and archeological sites have for the most part been completely destroyed. The scale of devastation places it among the worst tragedies in all history.”

The New School will make available small grants to scholars, facilitate visas, and provide shared office space with New School faculty members.

Mr. Kerrey acknowledged that the pro-

gram faced significant challenges. “The situation for Iraqi scholars today is even worse than for Jewish scholars in 1933, but it’s our doing this time, and so the available funding is a whole lot less. It’s psychologically easier to help people when one’s tax dollars aren’t instrumental in killing them, which is probably also why there’s more concern for the victims of Darfur than of the much larger crises in Iraq or the Congo.” But we’ve got to do what we can.

“While the academic riches of Iraq will never be restored, and its archaeological sites, museums, and libraries will remain a mere memory, the academic community must attempt to in some small measure make amends for what our country has done, and do what it can to save the scholarly heritage of a nation,” Mr. Kerrey said.

The New School hopes to be joined in the effort by other universities anxious to live up to their stated ethical aims.

See also “Hope for Iraqi Refugees?”

Page A13.

## City Council Votes to Beat Swords Into Plowshares

### R.O.T.C. Funding Reallocated to Organic Gardens for Youth

By ED SHARSNEK

**N**EW YORK — The New York City Council is scheduled to vote later this week on a measure that may finally close the doors on the City’s Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps, following complaints by parents and teachers, and a recent spate of student walkouts.

Critics contend that the training corps, whose official mandate is educational, is a recruiting arm of the U.S. Army. They note that the J.R.O.T.C. provides no non-military training, and that the firearm training offered by 90 percent of the J.R.O.T.C. programs undermines the no-weapons policies widely promoted on high school

campuses.

At Jesuit-run Xavier High School in Manhattan, 33 percent of students belong to the J.R.O.T.C. “It’s the only gang the Fathers let us join,” bubbled Senior Cadet Leader Bernard Goetz Jr. “But it’s plenty good for me.”

Not all the Jesuits support the program. Father Jon Sobrino, who supervises the school’s ethics curriculum, said that the J.R.O.T.C. obedience training seemed to stunt some students’ reasoning skills. “Lock-and-load” is not a recognized ethical philosophy,” Sobrino said.

With the end of the war in Iraq, concerns voiced for months at Parent Teacher Association meetings around the five boroughs received renewed urgency. “We are asking Secretary of Defense Scott Ritter to shift these funds into training programs in nonviolence and communication,” Queens Borough P.T.A. head Estelle Chavez said.

The City Council vote follows outrage by area principals over Mayor Bloomberg’s proposal to cut \$180 million from the Department of Education’s budget in the current fiscal year, and \$324 million in the following year, cuts which will most likely affect after school programs, arts programming, and programs for children with special needs.

One group of critics has been working with Schools Chancellor Joel I. Klein to redirect the \$2 million J.R.O.T.C. budget to Urban Green, an after-school program that promotes environmental leadership for youth by creating organic gardens in vacant lots. Klein’s office issued a memo yesterday acknowledging the effort. “Our office feels that the J.R.O.T.C. budget might best be redirected to what we might call Victory Gardens, in celebration of a new direction for our country and for our nation’s youth.”

After pausing a moment Kelly added, “You know, everyone on the force, we’re all just glad we’re here to help celebrate peace this time.”

The spontaneous street celebrations were the manner in which many first heard about the withdrawal. In Manhattan, as thousands thronged the city streets with Commissioner Kelly, only a few tuned in radios or checked news sites on the Internet. “I’ve just gotten overwhelmed by all the bad news, and I’m tired of learning that so much of what we were told was lies,” Linda Negrobi, 42, told The New York Times in Washington Square Park, which was full of revelers.

“At some point or other, I just stopped watching the news.”

Juan Villarosa, 18, agreed. “My brother was killed in combat last year in a war that never should have happened. You don’t turn to Wolf Blitzer for answers in that situation,” he said. The crowd at the uptown sandwich shop bubbled with conversation about America’s new direction.

“People are saying hello to each other in the street. I just had lunch with a group of total strangers where we just talked about what’s going on right now,” said Carrie Moore, a photographer’s assistant living in midtown. “It’s like this huge stress has been lifted.”

Makeshift signs were visible in office windows, among them: “Sleep with me”; “The end of our lives” with the V crossed out; and, simply, “YES.”

The street celebrations were unusual in the preponderance of business suits and professional attire. One celebrant, Farrah LaRue, 72, speculated on the somber hues.

“This is an issue that affected us all, on a daily basis, for seven years,” she said, pausing from a hopscotch game she was playing with her 7-year-old neighbor. “Not just the anti-war people, not just young people, not even just Democrats,” she said. “All of America is here today. I think it’s wonderful.”



HERALDPOST

J.R.O.T.C. members-turned-gardeners, planting eggplant for the fall semester.

## Streets Come Alive as Relief and Exuberance Greet End of Conflicts

By SCHUYLER FRANK

Thousands are already taking to the streets of Manhattan, mainly around Times Square, to celebrate the announced end to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Police are responding by organizing water distribution centers and places to rest.

“We’re all guaranteed the right to peacefully assemble,” said New York City Police Commissioner Raymond W. Kelly. “Today, we’re going to try responding the way police do in many other developed nations.” In the past, New York City police have usually responded to demonstrations with forces in riot gear.

After pausing a moment Kelly added, “You know, everyone on the force, we’re all just glad we’re here to help celebrate peace this time.”

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# The New York Times

Founded in 2009  
Each of the people represented by the names to the right, some of which you may recognize, was instrumental in conceiving, creating, distributing and otherwise manifesting this special edition of The New York Times.

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JUDE SHINBIN, writer and researcher  
J.K. MALONE, writer and researcher  
MARCUS S. DRIGGS, writer and researcher  
FRANK LARIMORE, writer and researcher  
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**THOMAS J. FRIEDMAN**

## The End of the Experts?



The sudden outbreak of peace in Iraq has made me realize, among other things, one incontestable fact: I have no business holding a pen, at least with intent to write.

I know, you're thinking I'm going too far. I haven't always been wrong about everything. I recently made some sense on global warming and what we needed to do about it, for instance.

But to have been so completely and fundamentally wrong about so huge a disaster as what we have done to Iraq — and ourselves — is outrageous enough to prove that people like me have no business posing as wise men, and, more importantly, that The New York Times has no business continuing to provide me with a national platform.

In any case, I have made a decision: as of today, I will no longer write in this or any other newspaper. I will immediately desist from writing any more books about how it's time for everyone to climb on board the globalization high-speed monorail to the future. I will keep my opinions to myself. (My wife suggested that I try not to even form opinions, but I think she might have another agenda.)

Baffled? I don't blame you. So I'll cite some facts to support my decision — a practice, I must admit, I have too seldom followed.

Let's start with the invasion itself. I was pretty much all for it. Mind you, I was not one of the pundits, reporters, or public figures who said that Saddam Hussein was a threat to the United States. I knew better — but I said it didn't matter!

Back in February of 2003, I wrote in this space: "Saddam does not threaten us today. He can be deterred. Taking him out is a war of choice — but it's a legitimate choice." In other words, we should invade a sovereign state and replace its government in order to remake the world more to our liking.

Now the simple fact is, an unprovoked attack on a sovereign state is a war crime, even when linked to grand ideas of the future of mankind. In fact, that's exactly what Hitler did, for exactly the same reasons. The Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal called it the "the supreme international crime, differing only from other war crimes in that it contains within itself the accumulated evil of the whole."

What was I thinking? And more importantly, why didn't anyone stop me?

## We Apologize

The momentous occasion of the end of the war in Iraq also marks a time for reflection at The Times. As many of our readers have pointed out for years, this newspaper played no small part in making the case for the war in the first place, and in supporting the costly and deadly U.S. occupation of Iraq for five years — long after public opinion had turned against it.

We have in the past acknowledged botched reporting. In May 2006, we published an editors' note acknowledging no fewer than nine articles that uncritically repeated erroneous claims about W.M.D.s by anonymous officials.

Those admissions, we realize, didn't go nearly far enough. Notably, we failed to single out the instrumental role that Times reporter Judith Miller played in bringing unfounded W.M.D. allegations to a national audience.

Miller's prominent stories hyping purported Iraqi weapons go back to 1998, and were full of dramatic but unverified claims and unreliable sources. "All of Iraq is one large storage facility" for W.M.D.s, she credulously quoted one source (September 8, 2002). Miller systematically played down skepticism and conflicting evidence, both of which were readily available to any reporter. In so doing Miller lent crucial support to the Bush administration's agenda. It took Miller's involvement in the vengeful leak of a C.I.A. officer's name before we finally let her go — with a hefty severance package.

Even after this episode, we continued publishing articles based on claims by anonymous officials advancing unverified claims — this time, against Iran.

As for our opinion pages, what we passed off as "debates"

But wait, it gets worse. Having expressed how acceptable it was to commit Hitler's signature crime, I then applauded the invasion of Iraq as an "audacious roll of the dice." It should have occurred to me that this gamble would be unspeakably painful for an untold number of Iraqis who had done nothing to us — in other words, any of them.

Soon, when it became obvious that my pipe dreams for a peaceful and democratic subject nation were just that, I decided to say it was too soon to tell how things would turn out in Iraq, but that we would definitely know in six months to a year. I said this pretty much every six months for five years. And The Times just kept giving me more and more column-inches.

I'm not trying to beat myself up here. I've done that plenty already, believe me — and my wife has done the rest! But I have one question: why are newspapers like The New York Times letting people like me make fools of themselves, mislead the American people, and, worst of all, give their wives a lifetime of ammunition?

To err is human, but to print, reprint, and re-print error-mad humans like me is a criminally moronic editorial policy.

Nor, of course, is it only me. Just consider who populates the opinion pages of America's top newspapers. Bill Kristol, who was actually hired by The Times long after being proven wrong on Iraq. Charles Krauthammer. Robert Novak. Mona Charen. Fred Barnes. The list goes on and on of officially-approved wise men (and a woman or two) who never once doubted that Iraq had vast stockpiles of W.M.D.s. And that's just in newspapers.

We were all wrong again and again — and the consequences were devastating. Can anyone tell me why any of us should ever be asked, let alone paid, for our opinions ever again? Or, for that matter, why Richard Perle or Paul Wolfowitz should be allowed behind any sort of desk whatsoever as long as they live?

Peace in Iraq will undoubtedly have many far-reaching consequences. As promised, I'm not going to speculate publicly about what they might be.

Except one. As of today, I'm putting down my pen, to take up a screwdriver. I am going to retrain as an engineer and spend the rest of my life working to build non-carbon-based energy technologies. And I'm going to spend a lot of time washing my hands.

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Except one. As of today, I'm putting down my pen, to take up a screwdriver. I am going to retrain as an engineer and spend the rest of my life working to build non-carbon-based energy technologies. And I'm going to spend a lot of time washing my hands.

Beginning today, you will see a giant overhaul of our paper, from the front page to this page, as, belatedly shaming our responsibilities as the newspaper of record, we make a practice of hiring writers who get it right.

## Hope for Iraqi Refugees?

One of the many terrible consequences of the Iraq war has been the displacement of millions of Iraqis since the Iraq War began in March 2003. According to the most recent statistics from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, more than two million Iraqis have fled to neighboring Syria, Jordan, Turkey and Lebanon, as well as Australia and Europe, and another 2.5 million or more have been displaced within the country, most of them between 2006 and 2008.

These numbers are staggering. If a similar proportion of the U.S. population were displaced, that would mean 30 million refugee Americans.

The Iraqi refugee crisis is the worst in the history of the Middle East. The number of refugees surpasses the number of Palestinians displaced in 1948 by a factor of at least four. And while in 1948 the international community and the United Nations established entities to provide refugees with the bare minimum of education and aid, the response to the Iraqi refugee problem has been seriously inadequate on all levels. Many women have been forced into prostitution, and many children have no educational opportunities.

Among the displaced are most of the doctors, teachers, nurses, and educated professionals who formed the basic fabric of Iraqi society and are an integral building block of any reconstruction effort. Iraq's recovery, which will take a few decades at best, will be impossible without the return of these citizens.

The Bush administration ignored this disaster, as to acknowledge it would have been an admission of its role in

creating it. The number of Iraqis so far granted asylum in the U.S. is still less than that accepted by Soderlajie, a village in Sweden, as reported recently in the Washington Post.

A recent program initiated by the American Embassy in Baghdad offers up to 5,000 U.S. visas per year to Iraqi translators and other occupation collaborators. But high-ranking U.S. officials do not believe that this allowance can cover even direct employees of the American Embassy itself, let alone of other occupation entities such as Halliburton, Bechtel, and the U.S. Armed Forces.

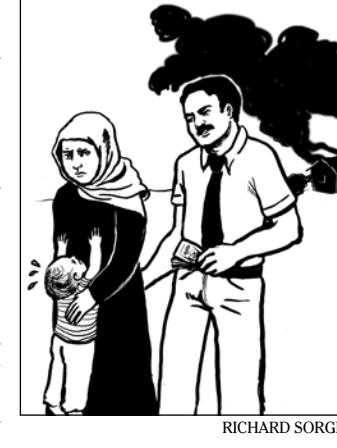
Now that the war is over, no one can afford to neglect Iraqi refugees, and a serious and comprehensive plan to resettle them must be a priority for the new administration. The Evangelicals' generosity is terrific (see "Evangelical Churches Announce Policy of Sanctuary for Iraqi Refugees," Page A7), but what is really needed is a major policy change.

See the fine print on page A2 for a few ways to do that.

## From the Editors

Two years ago, who would have dared to imagine we'd elect, as President of the United States, an African-American community organizer?

Six months ago, who would have predicted we'd enact universal health care, reform our education system, establish a maximum wage and "true cost" tax, and start taking steps to make our cities more livable — or that we'd so swiftly end the war in Iraq, and try for treason the leaders who took us there?



RICHARD SORGE

Yet we've done all that. Although we demanded change of Barack Obama, we understood that only we could bring about that change. And that's why it happened.

Of course even with all these victories, we can't let up for a second, and we can't get tired. But if there's one thing we've learned in the past two years, it's that the most restful, energizing thing we can do is fight for a better world.

See the fine print on page A2 for a few ways to do that.

## Lobbyists Are Citizens Too

You won't read many stories critical of the recently-passed "Ban on Lobbying" bill, H.R. 27865, whether in this newspaper or any other media outlet. Lobbyists have been treated as pariahs by the press, by both candidates in the latest elections, and in popular culture. They have been called "the root of the problem" in Washington, and much worse. The newly proposed ban on capital punishment even has a temporary exemption clause — for lobbyists!

As a lobbyist I vehemently object to this treatment.

Let me remind you of something. We are people. We are citizens. All U.S. citizens are guaranteed the right to petition the government for redress of grievances; nowhere in our founding documents does it say those citizens can't be well paid to do so.

We have worked closely with most politicians — including both Barack Obama and John McCain. What lobbyists do is figure out how to sway politicians to vote on legislation in a way that favors the interest they represent. They educate and inform members of Congress on issues that will come before them for a vote. Much of the information provided to elected officials by lobbyists cannot be found in any library or newspaper, nor in any way whatsoever... except from the lobbyists themselves. This is what makes us indispensable.

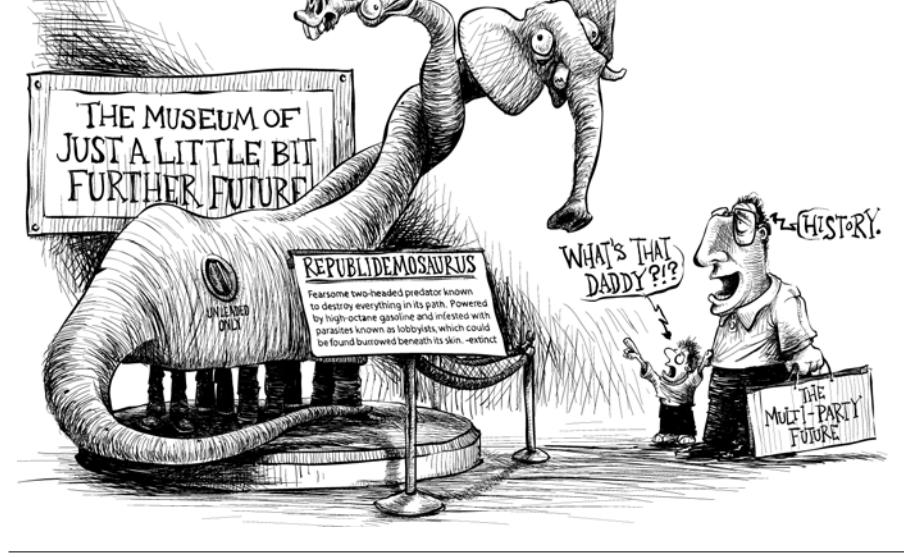
It is indeed true that our services are only available to those who can afford them, and it's true that on any issue, both sides can't always afford the same things. But that's exactly where the problem lies. The problem isn't lobbyists, it's a lack of sufficient money in Washington.

For example, the top five spenders among mortgage bankers and brokers invested more than \$31 million on lobbying and campaign contributions during the past election cycle. With the help of us lobbyists, the financial services industry successfully stopped the government from regulating the frenzy of borrowing and buying during the housing boom,

But we lobbyists would be more than willing to work for whomsoever could afford us. That is why Congress needs to grant first-time homeowners, indigenous peoples, the urban poor, recent immigrants, working-class families, and other embattled groups enough funding to compete for our services against those with opposite interests.

We lobbyists have been willing to comply with the rules and laws that Congress adopts. For example, the Fair Elections Now Act (S.1285), which mandated that candidates for Senate run on public funding only, made our role nearly irrelevant in those races. We fought against that legislation with all the influence we had, but we lost, and we accepted our loss. We did not attempt a coup.

If Congress passes the "Ban on Lobbying" bill, we will likewise comply with it, though not without a fight. Because the "Ban on Lobbying" bill is not only unfair, it is wrong-headed.



## A Baboon Study Remembered

While thinking about the recent changes in this country, I recalled an article by Robert M. Sapolsky (in Foreign Affairs, January 2006), who lived for a while among a troop of baboons in the wild, and witnessed a remarkable transformation.

Forest Troop was initially composed of a regular mixture of baboons: gentle ones, mean ones, and a few in-between. One day, a nearby hotel expanded its garbage dump, and another troop of baboons claimed the dump as territory and primary food source. Forest Troop's meaner males (let's call them Clique W) decided they would raid this exciting new resource, even if that meant beating up a number of the newly obese males from the garbage dump troop.

After feasting on the other troop's half-rotten hamburgers for a while, Clique W got what was coming to them and died of food-borne tuberculosis. All that remained in Forest Troop were females and nice males. And even today, at fifteen years after all the original docile males died of old age, Forest Troop remains a gentle culture, much more welcoming to new members, with a lot less fighting and a lot more cooperation, and a lot more playing with each other's hair, even among adult males. And new members quickly learn that things are different in Forest Troop.

Until very recently, we in this country couldn't imagine life without the aggressive baboons who, by hook and by crook (mostly by crook), were dominating our politics. But then one day, those baboons ate out of the garbage dump of a deeply mad foreign policy, and quickly killed themselves off.

We are not baboons, of course. For one thing, no microbes killed off our jerks; rather, we nicer folks did it. For another, the resource-hunting adventures of our own hostile males didn't result in just a few dinged-up fat guys, but rather one million dead and four and a half million refugees.

Another key difference between us and Forest Troop may be that in our case, it wasn't enough to rid ourselves of some of the creep baboons at the top. A lot of the supposedly gentler ones voted for war as well. Rather, right after the elections, and for many months after, we had to keep pushing with all our might to make sure that everyone, at all levels of power, understood that America would now be a culture of peace and generosity.

Fortunately, that's just what we did. And though human nature hasn't changed, nor the nature of politics, we've made our desires so clear that there is now no more room in Forest Troop U.S.A. for the garbage adventuring that dominated our last thirty years.

## Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

Re "Viva Free Trade with Cuba" Page A6, July 2, 2009.

In addition to the benefits from ending the embargo on Cuba listed by your reporter (family visits for some of us, fabulous cigars for all of us, and affordable vacations that include the rental of vintage red Thunderbird convertibles), there is one more that went unmentioned: world-class public health medical schools.

In contrast to the United States, where students have been learning what the biotech, medical engineering, and pharmaceutical companies want them to learn, Cuba's medical schools will be a natural destination for the new crop of medical students who will be the foot soldiers of our country's shift to universal health care.

Your readers may remember that in 1998, following the public health emergencies occasioned by severe hurricanes, Fidel Castro offered free medical education for low-income students from anywhere in the Americas, including the United States. Since then, the Latin American School of Medicine has become the world's largest medical school and has graduated tens of thousands of students.

At a time when the mortality rate in the U.S.

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has been rising, and the average U.S. lifespan declining, the lifting of the Cuba embargo provides an invaluable opportunity to partner with the world expert on training doctors in inexpensive, preventative treatments for common illnesses. Cuba will be the perfect partner for training the doctors who will revolutionize health care in this country.

MEREDITH KOHR

Miami, Fla., July 3, 2009

To the Editor:

Here at the nursing home we've all been glued to the TV set watching the withdrawal from Iraq. For as long as I remember, in all my 93 years, war has been all around me. My grandfather fell as a Rough Rider during the Spanish-American War, my mother and father served in World War I (my mother as a nurse). And I grew up a military brat, moving from base to base. When I met him, my second husband was the most active American Legion Post director you'd ever meet!

So I feel slightly lost in this new world of peace. But I'm glad to leave behind the military lingo, uniforms, and sacrifices. Can I get used to it? Can I really attend my great-grandson's graduation without worrying if I'll see him live to 24? Should I go ahead and tell my niece that even though I'm not sure I fully approve, that if I ask, she can tell?

I suppose I'll adjust to this strange new environment.

RUTH PRINCIPES

Summit, N.J., July 2, 2009

**KBR****What is KBR?**

We're a leading engineering, construction and services company, and we work with governments to quickly and efficiently enact policy.

For the past ten years, we've supported military operations in pursuit of precious resources in Iraq.

We've fed, housed, and transported soldiers. We've constructed, operated, and maintained military bases. We've rebuilt pipelines to get oil to American cars in record time.

**So why are we celebrating the outbreak of peace?**

We're a solutions company, and we do what needs to be done.

Today, as government policy changes, KBR's mandate changes with it. Planning municipal roads and power grids. Building hospitals, schools, and municipal buildings. Improving sanitation. Training teachers, social workers, and civil service employees. It's a new world, with a lot to get used to — but after all, we're a solutions company.

Discover the new KBR.

**If you make it law, we'll make it work.**

