VOL. CLVIV . . No. 54.631 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 4, 2009 **FREE**

Nation Sets Its Sights on Tation Sets Its Sights on Building Sane Economy IRAQ WAR ENDS

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

"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

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

"The building blocks of post-World War II American middleclass 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

Continued on Page A10

The spate of reform initiatives

undertaken by the Administration

and both houses of Congress can

be attributed directly to grass-

roots advocacy, according to a

comprehensive study due out this

"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 In-

stitute 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 institute's report shows

a three-fold increase in the inci-

dence of letters, phone calls, fax-

es, and email received by congres-

sional offices, 88 percent of which

were from people who identified

themselves as new members of

particular activist organizations.

See nytimes-se.com for more

the White House and Congress."

Popular Pressure Ushers

Study Cites Movements for Massive Shift in DC

By SAMUEL FIELDEN

Recent Progressive Tilt

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

caused such chaos and misery.

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, throwaway 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 EV1," said Jake Cluber, the owner of Cluber Chevrolet in

Continued on Page A10

The report includes extensive in-

terviews with House and Senate staff, who speak of "unimaginable

change," a "dramatic policy shift,"

and "a new era of accountability"

"Not since the Great Depression

has the interaction between popu-

lar movements and public leaders

been so robust," said Jorge La-

zaro, head of the U.S. Government

Accountability Office. Lazaro cit-

ed, in particular, the Wagner Act,

also known as the National Labor

Relations Act of 1935, which rec-

ognized the right of workers to

organize and bargain collectively

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

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.

policy. PAGE B1

"Roosevelt showed no interest

with their employers.

into law."

since the elections.

Recruiters Train for New Life

As a ban is imposed on recruiting minors, ex-recruiters nationwide look for new work. The Times follows one on his job-hunt odyssey through Manhattan and surrounding areas.

BY BARRY GLOAD, PAGE A12



Last to Die

Two proportional monuments – one to the Iraqi dead, 300 feet high, and one to the American dead, 15 feet high — are unveiled in Baghdad, and a five-year-old boy whose lifespan coincided with that of the Iraq War is remembered.

BY J. FINISTERRA, PAGE A5

USA Patriot Act Repealed

Eight years later, a shamefaced Congress quietly repeals the much-maligned USA Patriot Act, unanimously... or almost.

BY SYBIL LUDINGTON, PAGE A8

Evangelicals Open Homes to Refugees

Up to a million Iraqi exiles nearly half of the total - will find sanctuary in Christian homes across the U.S., vows the National Association of Evangelicals. Other denominations are expected to follow.

BY W. WILBERFORCE, PAGE A7

Public Relations Industry Starts to Shut Down

The public relations industry has been criticized for misleading the American people, corrupting politicians, and even helping to start wars. Now, it's beginning the process of shutting down for

BY LOUIS BECK, PAGE A10

U.S. Army helicopters begin moving troops and equipment from Saddam Hussein's former Baghdad palace. Ex-Secretary Apologizes for W.M.D. Scare

COURTESY ARMY.MIL

300,000 Troops Never Faced Risk of Instant Obliteration

By FRANK LARIMORE

Ex-Secretary of State Condoleeza Rice reassured soldiers that the Bush Administration had known well before the invasion that Saddam Hussein lacked weapons of mass destruction.

"Now that all of you brave servicemen and women are returning, it's important to us to reassure vou, and the American people, that we were certain Hussein had no W.M.D.s and that he would never launch a first strike against the U.S.," Ms. Rice told a group of wounded soldiers at a Veterans' Administration hospital yesterday.

"I want you to know that if we had had the slightest suspicion that Saddam could use W.M.D.s against you, we never would have sent hundreds of thousands of you to be sitting ducks on the Iraqi border for several months.

Mr. Rice was referring to the fact that by August 2002, eight months before the ground invasion, the US had over 100,000 troops stationed in countries throughout the Gulf, a number that grew to over 300,000 shortly before the 2003 attack on Baghdad. Most of these were within range of the Scud missiles used by Mr. Hussein in the 1991 Gulf War, that could easily have been fitted with chemical or biological weapons if they had existed.

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 a 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 preemptive 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

Continued on Page A5

Troops to Return *Immediately*

es. Tonight, strong leftward winds. Tomorrow, a new day. Weather map throughout.

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 Grummon started up.

Continued on Page A5

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.

While unusual, this is not the first time the government has chosen to take control of large corporations. From 1942 to 1944, U.S. car factories were retooled in order to produce tanks for the war effort. And Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac were both created as "government sponsored enterprises" with a significant amount of government oversight.

"We can do what needs to be done," said Senator Charles Schumer, Democrat of New York. "Our planet's survival is at stake. Plus, public pressure hasn't given us much of a choice."

Not everyone felt the move was a good idea. "The climate crisis may or may not be real," declared Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison, Republican of Texas. "I'm an agnostic and I'm staying that way. But sea

Continued on Page A5

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 else-

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

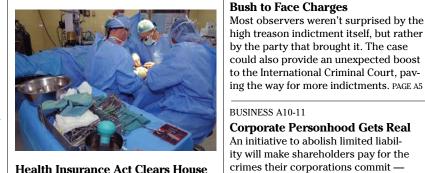
NATIONAL A6-9

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

Such direct actions helped push courts and legislatures to adopt 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



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



for the close of the Guantánamo facility.

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

even if they only own one or two shares

in a mutual fund. PAGE A11

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

interests. PAGE A7

movements that made them have

The Plains report, due out next month, cites the work of groups associated with United for Peace and Justice, an umbrella for antiwar 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

Continued on Page A6



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



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.

A Baboon Troop's Experience A particularly peaceful baboon troop may have lessons to teach us. PAGE A13

More Inside The Times. PAGE A2 ➤





THE NEW YORK TIMES SATURDAY, JULY 4, 2009 THE NEW YORK TIMES SATURDAY, JULY 4, 2009





DIAMONDS

Your purchase of a diamond between now

and 2026 will help fund the creation, fitting,

and maintenance of a prosthetic for an African

whose hand was lost in one of that continent's

brutal conflicts over diamonds.

De Beers From her fingers, to his.

INTERNATIONAL place in a democracy for secret programs costing billions of **Peace Spreads to War Zones** dollars annually, and announces Around the world, leaders and that all "black budget" items will warlords in conflict zones are either be eliminated or made taking the U.S. example to heart. public. Assuring transparency "We finally see what civilization remains a challenge. PAGE A7

INSIDE THE TIMES: July 4th, 2009

can mean," said one rebel in a

country that wished to remain

anonymous. "Now we know it's

what we want." PAGE A4

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

The popular recruiting game is being beaten into a digital plowshare. "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 centerpiece 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

Voting Machine Standards Implemented

The Election Assistance Commission, the federal agency that oversees voting, is mandating a uniform national format, a verifiable and anonymous paper trail, and stronger software security measures. The new standards must be fully implemented at least six months before the congressional elections of 2010.

Equality of Marriage Bill Passes Senate

With broad popular support. the "Equality of Marriage" bill is expected to pass the Senate and move to the House later this week. The new legislation will allow anyone to marry the person he or she loves — or needs the insurance of. PAGE B18

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

NEW YORK

returns from it. PAGE A10

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.

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.

CORRECTIONS: FOR THE RECORD

"Special Interests" The Times has in the past used

The state of America's infra-

structure, crumbling after years

of neglect, is in for a \$1.6 trillion

overhaul. But it won't simply pay

reign of the automobile will begin

for new highways. Instead, the

to be brought to a close. PAGE A6

End of the Secret Programs

Under pressure from Congress,

the Pentagon admits there is no

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

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.

THE NEW YORK TIMES New York, N.Y., U.S.A. This special edition of The New York Times co

om a future in which we are accomplishing what w sible - but only if millions of us demand it, and finally orce our government to do its job. It certainly won't be easy. Even now, corporate heir agendas passed. The energy giants are demand-ng "clean coal," nuclear power and offshore drilling. Military contractors are pushing the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. H.M.O.s and insurance companies moting bogus "reforms" so they can forestall sal health care. And they're not about to take

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 opening to pass policies that can benefit 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

1.) The Challenge

portunities" that "meet advertis-Advertising The Times acknowledges that ers' demands." As the effect of 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-

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

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 Iragis 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 ecord 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.

Errors and Comments. comments@nytimes-se com

Public Editor omsbuddy@nytimes-se.com

Following are just a few of the many, many groups your own, and we can begin to make the news in this If you want to end the war in Iraq and prevent new org), a coalition of that includes CODEPINK (code pink4peace.org), Iraq Veterans Against the War (ivaorg), Peace Action (peace-action.org), War Resisters League (warresisters.org), and hundreds of others. If you want to fight for health care: Healthcare NOW (healthcare-now.org), Physicians for a National Health Care Program (pnhp.org), California Nurses Association (calnurse.org), Private Health Insurance Association (calnurse.org), Private Health Insurance Must Go Coalition (phimg.org), Single Payer New York If you want to save the environment: Climate Crisis Coalition (climatecrisiscoalition.org), 350 (350.org), Greenpeace (greenpeace.org), Earth Policy Institute (earth-policy.org), Rainforest Action Network (ran.org), Earth First! (earthfirst.org), Earthjustice (earth-justice.org), Priends of the Earth (foe.org), Natural Resources Defense Council (Inrdc.org)

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

ghts and human rights: Center for Constitutional ghts (ccrjustice.org), ACLU (aclu.org), National awyers Guild (nlg.org), National Association for th red People (naacp.org), Global If you want to end torture: Witness Against (amnestyusa.org), Act Against Torture (actagainst torture.org). The Quaker Initiative to End Torture

If you want to defend the rights of immigrants lational Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (nnirr.org), Desis Rising Up and Moving (drumnation. org), New York United for Immigrant Rights (nyunited-forimmigrantrights.blogspot.com)

If you want to help eliminate worker exploitation: United Students Against Sweatshops (usas.org), Sweatshop Watch (sweatshopwatch.org), Wake Up Wal-Mart (wakeupwalmart.com) Wal-Mart (wakeupwalmart.com)
If you want to end homelessness and promote
affordable housing: National Coalition for the Home
less (nationalhomeless.org), National Low Income
Housing Coalition (nlihc.org), National Law Center

racynow.org), Reporters Without Borders (rsf.org) If you want to create a more democratic media If you want to **fight for women's rights**: National rganization For Women (now.org), A.C.L.U. Women's ights Project (aclu.org/womensrights), H.R.W. 'omen's Rights (hrw.org/women), Feminist Majority (feminist.org). If you want to **defend LGBTQ rights**: FIERCE (fiercenyc.org), Radical Homosexual Agenda (radical-homosexualagenda.org), Sylvia Rivera Law Project (srlp.org). AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (actupny.org), Audre Lorde Project (alp.org)

IMPORTANT Urgent Recall Information

Ladybugs for pest control. A ladybug can eat up to 50 pests every day, without harming plants - making this little insect as effective as any pesticide. Now shipping to all of our farmers.

2.) The Solution

MONSANTO 🕃 Food · Health · Hope™

Comply with HR 2566, the new organic food mandate, which prohibits

pesticides and rewards local production

These vehicles have been found to be dangerous. If you own a vehicle that looks like this, please bring it to a dealership 1. Made of metal 3. Uses combustion mechanism to convert fuel into smoke, freeing energy At least 43,000 highway Widespread asthma, cancer, deaths per year and other illnesses tied to Military deaths to keep oi prices low Consumers should stop using these recalled vehicles immediately and contact dealers to receive an EPA-sponsored electric retrofit, or redeem their vehicle for a 10-year unlimited train and public transit pass, along with a coupon for a hybrid bicycle of their choice (under \$2000). CALL 1-202-366-4000 www.AllCarRecall.gov

We at **Exxon** are committed to meeting the new Congressional guidelines for socially, economically, & environmentally

responsible energy.

That's why we applaud the end of the war in Iraq.

The invasion of

Iraq was supposed to mean

access to oil without the costly interfer-

ence of national sovereignty, and lower prices

at the pump for you and your family. Projections

and reality differed, but now we've learned:

PEACE can also be lucrative.



Times have changed. Oil fields have reverted back to a newly independent Iraq, and Congress has mandated "Fair Trade," in which most profits go not to brokers, stockholders, and a small management circle, but flow directly to those who produce. Exxon is excited about helping do things better — not just because it's the law, but because Exxon has always been about innovation. It's also an opportunity to turn over a new leaf. As Exxon finds itself under federal oversight, we are more than happy to use our profits to develop sustainable, decentralized energy production. This will help fight further climate change, and prevent costly new wars over energy in the future. After all, if everyone can turn the sun or wind into power, what's there to fight about?

Peace. An idea the world can profit from.



International

The New Hork Times

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

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 come to learn foreign policy just like the Americans."

In the 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

By F. WUNDERLICH

JORDAN — With the news that

U.S. forces were withdrawing from

Iraq, nearly five million Iraqi refu-

gees 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-

"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

shattered land.

exiles, tempered

hope of return to a

will feel," said Malik Abdul-Razzaq,

a 37-year-old Iraqi refugee now liv-

ing in Amman, Jordan. Abdul-Raz-

zag left Baghdad, where he had

lived all his life, in early 2006, after

being threatened by an "unknown

armed group" due to his relation-

ship with a human rights organiza-

The country is destroyed, the mi-

litias are everywhere," said Abdul-

Razzaq, whose feelings of bewil-

derment were a common theme

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. Approxi-

mately two million have spilled

into Svria and Jordan, where they

have been living in what human

rights organization Amnesty Inter-

national calls "ramshackle camps

and struggling to meet basic

needs, like food and medicine."

among refugees.

"Politically what will happen?

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

> In Belgium, Walloons and Flems 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

Democratic Republic of Congo.

responsibilities in Iraq, what if

Americans start doing that here in

the Congo? We'd better clean up

"Now that the U.S. is facing its



After Withdrawal Peace Spreads United Nations Unanimously Passes Weapons Ban

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 nucle-

"This is watershed moment in the security of people and the security of the planet itself," said J.S. President Barack Obama. 'With weapons off the table, we

tive 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 deliv-



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.

duct, 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 repossess most of the 640 million small arms already in circulation, and melt

head simultaneously with that of the U.S. The disarmament will take

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

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,

Last to Die in Battle Remembered, American and Iraqi

BAGHDAD — Secretary of Defense Scott Ritter was joined by Iragi 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

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.

or the Iraqi monument prohibi-

On the side of the allies, the

tions the same rights as people, The difference in size between the two obelisks will represent the different numbers of casual-'They've stolen our ties. For the Iraqi dead, the most air, our oceans, our conservative estimate of 93.067 was chosen to avoid the coalition health, and our land. monument being absurdly small

ness without massive last to die was Corporal William Whitman, age 28, of Quinnesec, Michigan. Just as fighting began to wane, he took up an exposed posisaid House Speaker Nancy Pelosi tion while on a foot patrol and was "then we need to hold them acstruck by a sniper's bullet. He died countable like people. When instantly, the 4,314th American caparents abuse their children, the sualty of the war. In retaliation, a government takes over. When oil U.S. attack helicopter fired rockets companies abuse the planet, the into a nearby apartment building, government needs to take over killing the sniper and six Iraqi civilians. Moments later, U.S. soldiers Arco C.E.O. Rex W. Tillerson was received word that they were to

cease fire immediately and prelong and hard. We did everything pare to return home we could do. But do we want more Mr. Al-Maliki commemorated blood in the streets? Or do we Ahmed Yahya, a 5-year-old boy who was inside the building "You can't fight the street," said the sniper had fired from. Res-Mr. Newsom. "The people are gocue workers dug him out of the ing to do what the people are gorubble from the rocket blast. The ing to do. And the oil companies

boy survived overnight but suc

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 Iragis 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

NII

With War Over,

Troops Return

"Now that the war's over, we're

oing to get to go back to devel-

ping exciting new weapon sys-

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

A friend of Mr. Bush, speak-

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

as participation in a war against

A move to avoid the death penalty brings

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.

The former President appeared perturbed by his own charges against him. million Iraqis, for essentially in- Jesus Christ. A new conversation. lapse that resulted has been coma 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

Although the treason indictment came as no surprise to most unexpected was the party who

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

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 been born again, again. This time. for real," Mr. Bush read in a prepared statement to half a dozen stunned reporters.

ing, or more like deep-soul diving, tion to war under false pretenses. Millions have suffered for my sins, that I should suffer as well."

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 colmonth. I had a conversation with

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 in-"It's taken a lot of soul searchdicted for high treason. I thank the court for allowing me to right my

I think is the term. But now I see grave wrongs. Bring it on!" that it was wrong to lead our na-Some analysts suggest that Mr. Bush's self-indictment is part of a strategy to avoid the death and I see now that it is only fitting penalty. Although treason carries a potential death sentence, Mr. Mr. Bush's self-accusation 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 could move some jurors, or even

> > help with an insanity plea."

ing 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

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 "Ar Exclusive Interview With George W. Bush," on Page A9.)

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. Penalty Charges Dropped Community 2%

ns, instead of just trotting out the ones that are proven to work," said a visibly excited Robert Stevens. Lockheed C.E.O., before a eporter informed him of the Senmoratorium on new weapons systems development.

"Oh," said Stevens, looking

A general learns his difficult history lessons late.

flushed, and quickly excused him-

a distinctly ashen look as he atempted 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 Iragis 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 Falluiah 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

Times Reporter to Embed with Peace Groups

whom the protests were aimed.

Times has regularly undercounted

violent acts by riot police. It has

the numbers and glossed over

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 moveit were beholden to those against

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 antiwar protesters are covered, the

> 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 antiwar protest groups: Iraq Veterans in an entirely different light.

lated military operations in American cities in order to "make the truth of this war visible"; United of 1400 peace groups nationwide: and CODEPINK, a group singled out by former President Bush as

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

gees are not allowed to work and bombs], my parents have been

Amira al-Fadl, 31, now living away from my sisters." Al-Fadl is

in Stockholm, says that "since doubtful that she will return, "To

Europe. In most cases, Iraqi refu- Askari Mosque was destroyed by elry, and I still needed to borrow

locked in their neighborhood,

the Samarra bombing in Febru- leave, I had to peddle my house, holm, can't keep tears of joy from

ary 2006 [when a dome of the Almy furniture and the family jew-coming down her cheeks. But she

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 By EMIL LEDERER

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

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

will be neutralized or minimized.



"I've lost most of my family and I

was toppled by U.S.-backed Mujahedeen in 1992. "An abundance of research has shown that individuals worldwide who are literate are less likely to address problems with non-diplomatic means" the report states, adding that this is also true for U.S. political leaders. One Taliban official, who was in a minority opposing the plans,

explained that his group was be-

ing supported by Baptist groups

in the U.S. which "understand the

need for men to rule women and

the legitimacy of martyrdom as a

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

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,"

Rice: Troops Never Faced Annihilation Risk



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

believes that it was former President Bush's trial for high treasor

that spurred the revelations. "There's nothing to hide anymore," said Ms. Rice. "We are relieved to finally be able 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

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 pro grams, "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 raq 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 fraq has proven so tempting that dozens of members of the U.S. nilitary 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 ocal building boom.

"For the first year of our business, most of the work was govbut after the major infrastructure work was done and the Iraqi economy began to rebound, there was a surge in demand for new hous-

to work as her translator during the war. It is a role he continues to serve as Ms. Blaine's Arabic im-Ms. Blaine claims that it hasn't

Ibrahim Khan, when he was hired

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

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.

According to the recent émigrés, the cultural adjustments that are necessary to move from the Unitworth 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.

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 labor-intensive task of local distrisustainability as its prime direc-Impetus for the C.A.B.T. devel-"We cannot have any kind of seoped after the 1998 European curity unless our planet remains Union Code of Conduct, which livable," said Secretary-General prohibits selling weapons to Ban Ki-moon. "The tens of trillions countries that may use them for of dollars freed by disarmament external aggression or internal opmakes it easier to focus on the bigpression, went largely unheeded picture issues." In one contravention of the code, The weapons ban includes ex-Europe did not cease trade with tensive subsidiies for the retoolthe United States and Britain deing of arms manufacturers. Hours spite their unprovoked invasion of after the agreement was reached, German weapons giant Heckler & Britain, massive public Koch announced its first contract protests, including a sit-in that to take advantage of the incen-

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

blocked exit from the British Parliament for two weeks, convinced the government to reverse course and uphold the E.U. Code of Con-

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 war-

Ailing leader Kim Jong Il made

of only 2000 or so Iraqis to have

made it to the U.S. "Two of my

sinated. I spent 14 months and

all my savings in Syria. Now, I am

barely surviving." Despite exten-

sive 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

When Timur Barzani, 47, heard

he 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

am hopeful.

Court Indicts Bush on High **Treason Charge** By BART GARZON WASHINGTON (AP) — George

philosophical. "We fought this

are just going to have live with it."

want to move on?"

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

"The private oil interests have

been involved in theft for de-

cades," responded Deputy Un-

der 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 mas-

"If we're going to give corpora-

They've proven they

can't run their busi-

theft.'

just another name for theft."

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

old to learn the ABCs. But I think in Naiaf we will find many children its own risks. in the same situation, and they will not be embarrassed," Barzani ex-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 leath if they returned to their shattered country. The common eeling 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 county has been destroyed by the war and the occupation. and that the challenges are huge. But as Abdul-Razzag says, "The withdrawal is only the first step. At least now, we Iragis will be free

Iragi journalists for The New York Times contributed reporting from

Damacas, Amman, and Stockholm

Afghani leaders are hopeful that

future powerful states will finally

don't think I'd be able to find my to choose our own future." friends. As promising as people sav it now is, I can't see myself

What the Future Holds for Afghanistan

\$10,000. I'm sleeping on a rela-

tive's couch, but I'm not sure what

Levla Jarrah, 33, also in Stock-

I have to go back to."

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



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

National

The New York Times

Crumbling Infrastructure Brings Opportunities

BY CHARLES HOCHMANKS

As the \$1.6 trillion Infrastructure 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 fu-

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

"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 constituencies, lawmakers on both sides of the aisle are pushing for a version of the bill that frees the U.S. from dependence on fossil

"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."

Progressive



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

"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 light rail, so that cyclists can commute longer nothing. But we've got to look forward."

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.

the Bulgarians would be ashamed of," noted rail advocate James Howard Kunstler. "Restoring also an investment in the infrastructure of the hupassenger rail service would put tens of thousands of people to work at all levels, deconges airports, and revive central cities. And nothing **ZONING** needs to be reinvented — the infrastructure is

especially into high-speed rail connections already common in Europe, Japan, and China.

BIKE INFRASTRUCTURE The Urban Bicycling Expansion Program bein 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 Disabili- said Housing head Rene Oswin, "building tighter ties 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 road-

"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

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 expand-American problem: that of obesity, "Bicycles are

One key element of the D.O.T.'s plan to get people out of their cars will occur solely on pa-Senator Emanuel noted that current airline per. "We need more mixed-use zoning; more subsidies would be rechanneled into Amtrak, 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 gan with the D.O.T.'s Bicycle Commuters Group 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,"

communities needs to be at the forefront. When

the places we live, work, and shop are closer to-

gether, 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 of 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

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

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

The first calls for the nationalization of airlines. 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 Develop-

ment Secretary Rene Oswin

rowed 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 reatailers' challenge would fail.

The act prescribes a twostage 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 eightvear 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 lets from lower-income neighborhoods, along a similar ten-vear timeline.



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

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Movement Can Take Credit for New Direction By Leaders From Page A1

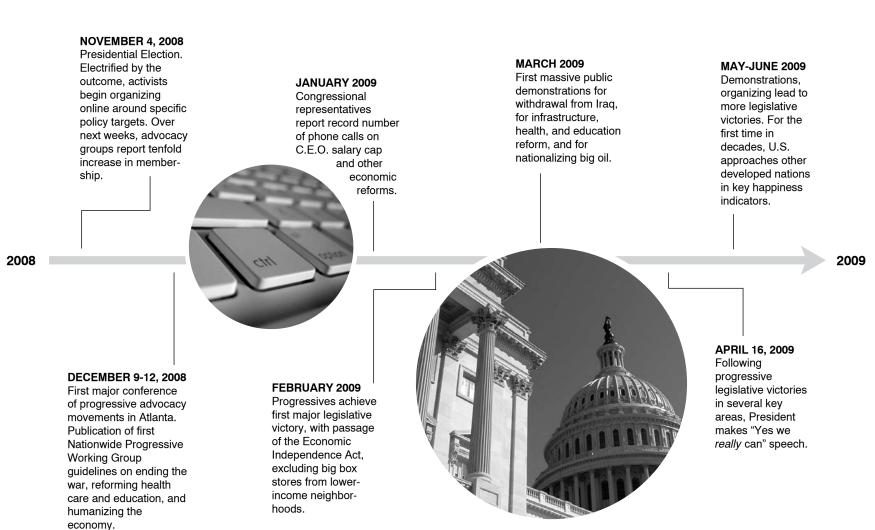
of groups such as Healthcare-NOW, United Students Against Sweatshops, Housing Works, the A.C.L.U., and others for helping advance progressive causes such as universal health care, worker rights, civil liberties, and econom-

"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

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



FOCUS ON YOUR HEALTH

National Health Insurance Act Passes

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 medi-

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 vear 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 swaved 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

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 Medicare. Moving from the private health insurance system to singlepayer 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 an income tax surcharge on the

given to every member of Con-

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

profits, our investments, and our

property. That is unacceptable,

and we will fight tooth and nail

to insure our rights under our na-

"There has been a long-accepted

myth, which is now thankfully re-

ceding, 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, re-

dundant, inefficient, and much

more expensive than the better-

performing national health care

Plus, many Americans were grow-

ing increasingly frustrated with

private insurers acting as gate-

keepers interfering in doctor-pa-

tient decisions, and with receiv-

ing denial letters from insurance

bureaucrats sitting in cubicles far

removed from their medical diag-

noses. 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

and duplication of the private

When reached, a member of the

Private Health Insurance Must Go

Coalition noted that the momen-

system grew after the October

2008 Wall Street bailout: "After

saw more clearly than ever that

going to be met by private indus-

try or the so-called 'free market.'

for itself by eliminating the waste

health insurance industry.

models of many other countries.

tion's Constitution."

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

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-

reversing the Bush tax cuts on the

wealthiest Americans. According

to the Congressional Budget Of-

fice, most U.S. residents - includ-

ing 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,

lion people and costing 2.3 trillion

dollars in 2007. "The transition to a single-paye system will be our biggest challenge for the next 3 years, and a significant struggle even after this bill is signed," said John Convers. 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

top 5 percent of taxpayers, and by claims have been discredited by

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 busi-

A basic human right is at long last assured with help from activist

Many Republicans in Congress remain opposed to the new plan, 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

The Iraqi Migration

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 ne cessity and a human right. During these difficult times, a single-payer system should help to ease the fi nancial strain that people are feel ness for decades. Now Washinging and might even help stimulate ton insiders want to take away our the overall economy."

Unlike the response from com-

pany 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 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 cov ered under her plan. For our fam-

ilv. this bill passed just in time." "Health care should be like water 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

physicians had grown tired of the growing, confusing, and sometimes disruptive role of the private poll showing 59 percent of doctors supporting a single-payer system. At an American Medical Associatum for a single-payer health care tion banquet last night, a spontaneous standing ovation occurred the bailout, the American people when doctors learned of the bill's success. A.M.A. President Nancy our social needs were not always Nielsen, M.D. said in her speech: "We're trained to save lives. We're trained to practice medicine. Fi-There were no more valid excuses nally, we can do what we entered for inaction. If government was this field to do — practice with the able to provide a safety net to Wall interest of patients at heart."

Strategist: GOP Has Ensured America Safe From Liberalism

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

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

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 o disgraced GOP lobbvist .lack 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 regupen 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

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 or 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 o eradicate disease and poverty, ennedy concluded his speech 'All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thou sand 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 pro-

"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 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

All Public **Universities** To Be Free WASHINGTON — The Pentagon

By MARY K. RAWLINGS

universities is making its way through Congress and is expected

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

nation of educational haves and ave-nots," said Adolph Reed r., Professor of Political Science at the New School for Social Research. "Tuition costs are skyrocketing while real incomes have reined stagnant. One trend the bill will correct is

so dangerous to society.

to afford it," she added.

By TREVOR LENPAG

pass within days

"The United States has become

he 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

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

Pentagon Ends Secret Budget

announced today that it would eliminate more than \$60 billion worth of secret programs that have taken over an increasing share of the de fense budget over the last 30 years. "There is no place, in a democ-

racy, for massive programs hidden out of sight of the public eye," said entagon spokesperson Jackson Burke. "The Founding Fathers understood that sunlight is the best disinfectant, which is why they wrote the receipts and expendiures 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 public, and we have canceled the remainder." Canceled programs "extraordinary rendition" program and the N.S.A.'s domestic surveil-

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."

"Needless to say, we were shocked and

surprised, but pleasantly so," said António

Guterres, United Nations High Commis-

sioner 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

American Evangelical Churches Announce New Policy of Sanctuary for Iraqi Refugees

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 parisiners. The campaign, called "Operation Redemption," is expected to kick off a wave of similar programs among other religious denomi-

nations

"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 evangelic congregations. Cizik laid out details of the ambitious plans to reporters during a ceremony at the base

Following a Biblical command to hospitality

of Ellis Island, off lower Manhattan. Cizik was joined by the pastor of a large Jersey City Iraqi Chaldean Christian congrega tion, 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 families of all faiths desiring to relocate to

Iraqi Refugee Population* 2 million total

gave a brief address via telecast applaud-"God's work."

* United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimate

the more than two million Iragis who fled ing by the Times, it is called the largest

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

23-45%

the Palestinian diaspora in 1948. Beyond

THE NEW YORK TIMES

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

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 sistercity 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.

providing services to an estimated one

"Our church is going to have a lot of families from Karbala," said Melanie Snickles, 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 apart-

the homeland. Before the question and answer period, the press corps was treated to a performance by the Boys Choir of Harlem, who sang "Amazing Grace" and "Go Down Mo-

5-10%

ses" while holding the American and Iraqi flags side by side, with a model of a single white dove in the middle. Angelina Jolie, refugee crisis in the world according to policy of sanctuary and asylum for Iraqi a goodwill ambassador to the United Na-Refugees International, and is at least four of material assistance for Iraqi refugees tions High Commissioner on Refugees, times larger than that which resulted in following the announcement of the U.S.

ing the Association's commitment, and thanking them for doing what she called Although the Iraq refugee crisis has been dramatically underreported, includ-

should not determine where you

end up in life." Hundreds of grass-

roots campaigns throughout the

state, including The Ohio Coali-

tion For Equity and Adequacy of

School Funding, took the cue from

Mr. Strickland's statement and

spent the last two years working

"Finally, this is a real step to-

wards the equality our Constitu-

tion recommends," says Amanda

Fullerton, of Columbus. Ms. Ful-

lerton, a mother of two, voted for

Mr. Strickland because of his long

history of support for educational

reform, but was soon disappoint-

ed by the governor's inaction in

the proposed bill in the Ohio

Senate. Ms. Fullerton decided to

occupy the Governor's office to

felt the bill was. Over two hundred

nothers 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

nonstrate how important she

office. When she first heard about

ard to hold him to it.

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

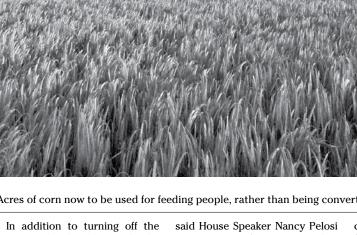
WASHINGTON — In a dizzying about-face, the White House announced that the president will be signing the Ban Biofuels Act tomorrow.

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 vesterday'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 investiga tive 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.

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 standing of the need for renewable rural areas of Texas, Kansas and

"One of the great things about the act is that it mandates the building of transmission lines, which has been a big infrastructurergy on track in the United States,"

constitutional rights had been

entirely formed during the Bush

The study also found that stu-

dents were growing incapable

cartoon characters and Internet

teach students about the struc-

New Game

Will Recruit Young

Diplomats

By WILFRED SASSOON

WASHINGTON — The Depart-

ment of Defense announced

vesterday 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 De-

partment, entitled "America's Dip-

lomat." State Department spokes-

person Donald Demsfold called

nurturing a generation committed

to the principles of diplomacy and

America's Army was an online

game designed by the Army to at-

tract young recruits via simulated

combat missions, many of which

were modeled on actual battle-

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

The cancellation of the game

comes as part of the elimination

of the Army's entire \$583 million

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 expe-

rienced such an exciting simula-

tion of international negotiations,

Greg Hauser, 14, told the press.

High School debate club.

Hauser is president of the Eastern

peaceful negotiation."

fields in the Middle East.

\$1.5 million

recruiting budget.

this "a pretty good step towards

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 under-

Delivering vet another jolt to Republicans, House Democrats tacked onto the act a mandatory transition of cropland from al hurdle to getting renewable en- 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-

RENDITION would refuse all future campaign **'NOT SUCH** contributions from the powerful

Today the stock of both corpo-**GOOD IDEAS** rations registered their sharpest single-day drop on record at the **AFTER ALL"** 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 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.

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

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 Walhí. "This is what the people in the rainforest have been fighting for for years."

The spokesperson added that the struggle would not be over until similar controls are imple mented 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,

> 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 vear 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 as-

By DIEGO TAVERA

WASHINGTON — In response to

36 million handwritten letters, the

president made a formal apology

today to Canadian citizen and ex-

traordinary rendition victim Ma-

her Arar and presented him with

the Presidential Medal of Free-

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

The letters in support of Mr.

Arar were part of a campaign or-

ganized by a coalition of human

rights groups including Witness

Against Torture, Amnesty Inter-

national, the Center for Constitu-

tional Rights, and MoveOn.org.

His case has come to represent

some of the worst excesses of the

previous administration's national

The context for the apology is

he White House's new Truth and

Prosecution Program, which has

exposed and reversed policy on

secret C.I.A. interrogation and tor-

ture centers worldwide, warrant-

less wiretapping, illegal infiltration

of activist meetings (and Quaker

quilting bees), and extraordinary

endition, the extrajudicial trans-

fer of suspected terrorists to coun-

ries known to torture prisoners.

The program works to assist the

and interrogation

security policies.

Hasselbeck that he hoped the world would not remember him as he man who brought torture out of the dungeon and into the Executive branch. "Maybe the whole torture thing wasn't such a good 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."

and have to go somewhere else." Labor Dept. Launches Job Creation

currently being developed will protection when in dispute with employers. This includes giving unimpeded by employers.

High-Speed Internet Hits Fast Track to Appalachia



of the world at no cost to the user.

Revisions in the Physician Pay-

ments Sunshine Act (S.2029) will

now make it a Class D federal fel-

ony for physicians to accept more

than \$25 annually in gifts or other

rewards from pharmaceutical

companies or biological product

and medical device manufactur-

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 sys-

tem, by both companies and indi-

vidual physicians, and it revokes

individual physicians, hospitals,

schools, and other medical in-

stitutions that deal directly with

patients. It also makes it a federal

offense for medical industries to

practices through third parties

such as lawyers and insurance

companies, or via "educational"

It reverses earlier legislation

that would have preempted more

stringent physician sunshine laws

passed by the states. The previous

version of the law limited penal-

ties to \$10,000 for non-disclosure,

and \$100.000 for companies that

"knowingly" fail to disclose gifts

to physicians. The new bill estab-

lishes a lower limit for fines, but

not an upper limit, and requires

that that penalties take into ac-

for companies

events.

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

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, optic networks for years. The improved access for all communities is expected to help narrow educa-

In the late 1970s, the Supreme 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

change in the medical profes-

sion 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.

tion and socioeconomic gaps.

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

equitably distributed, with innercity schools receiving the same amount as suburban ones. The Ohio decision began with Governor Ted Strickland's 2006 campaign promise to assure hat "where you grow up in Ohio

Takes Cue from Ohio

and 23 Other States

Twenty-three states have an-

nounced plans to fund primary

and secondary education on a

statewide tax basis instead of per

ounty, following the lead of a

Ohio's S.B. 320 follows the Ohio

Supreme Court ruling that fund-

ng schools from local property

taxes and private initiatives does

not comply with the Ohio Consti-

tution's guarantee of a "thorough

and efficient" public education

system. The new statewide system

means that resources are more

ndmark decision in Ohio.



and other product-related paraphernalia into doctors' offices. "What we really need is a sea

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 birth-

Education Department Plans

National Tax Base for Schools

Prison Industry Looks Within By ELIZABETH FRY

An experimental new program

pearheaded by the Department scription Project, which scrutinize f Justice and the Department of pharmaceutical company informa-Corrections will place federal and tion and sales practices, have been state lawmakers, criminal court in place for several years in states prosecutors and judges, wardens like Massachusetts and Pennsyland guards in five randomly-chovania, their effect is limited by the sen prisons for a period of three days per year. The National Prison Rehabilita

> tion Program aims to give those the prison-industrial complex

> > Giving those with power chance to reflect.

demn, and the time and space to discuss ideas for reform. It leverages empathy to reduce the incarceration rate in the U.S., the highest in the world by far "It's part sentence, part all-ex-

penses-paid meditation retreat," said Department of Corrections



ence-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.

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 out to play like he usually does."

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.

the Commander-in-Chief playing The U.S. President claims to have renounced the game during the August 19, 2003 bombing of the

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

having a hard time.... At some point, I think he was just like, 'I've been out here for, like, six hours. I was sure I was gonna win at

12th hole, and home to his ranch Laden.

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 dis-

> 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 fulfill it. also made clear you have some business vou'd like to finish. What do you have planned for the next

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 **PELLEY:** Why didn't you do this

PELLEY: Mr. President, what are vour 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

BUSH: I'm going to pursue Osa-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 Near the beginning of my terms

hunt for Osama bin Laden and the Taliban in Afghanistan. We got the Taliban, we didn't get the main man. Then, Iraq.

need to do it thing. And that's what

scapegoat, well they can look no during your terms as President?

he's our enemy. Make no mistake, he's our enemy, and he's not down. And we have not really pursued

not really all there is, and you evensources. Over the last eight years private-sector fighting organiza-We did remove Osama bin Ladtions have developed in a way I am en's enemy, Saddam Hussein, I'm 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, which is finish the search for resources that I never had as presi can't undo them. And now I'm not dent. When you're commander in chief there are laws, there's limita

PELLEY: Sir, forgive me, but many people will say that you're freedom, frankly, even in jail. not equipped for this. Your health **BUSH:** A lot of people thought I wasn't equipped to be President

one to bring closure for the Amerieither. (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 just the good thing to do, it's the for the past 6 months here on the der this burden, and do this worl ranch. I'm ready for this. We can that has not been done, myself.

second career, or a retirement, but I'm going to have more time on my will spend whatever time needs to be spent to hunt that killer, I will find **PELLEY:** Pardon me, sir, but I him, and I will bring him to justice.

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 Teach-

er Association national offices early this morning when several congressional spokespeople 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. ing 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.

USA Patriot

Act Repealed

By SYBIL LUDINGTON

Eight years after being enacted,

and three years after being reau-

thorized, the controversial USA

Patriot Act was repealed by Con-

gress by a vote of 99 to 1 in the

Senate and 520 to 18 in the House.

either house. Absent were the 40-

minute speeches and foam-core

charts predicting Armageddon.

The act was repealed with a sim-

ple vote cast late in the day by a

Congress ashamed of what it had

done and what the Act had meant

terday repealed the Animal Enter-

prise Terrorism Act and agreed to

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 ter-

rorism. In any case none of these

bills did a thing to protect Ameri-

cans," said Speaker of the House

Most past supporters of the act

refused comment, but Senator Jon

Kyl (R-AR) 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 inebri-

ated to notice. I hope my constitu-

ents, who overwhelmingly wanted

me to vote for the bill's repeal, will

An obvious error,

quietly buried.

Nancy Pelosi.

In related news, Congress yes-

No fanfare greeted the repeal in

Some of the false, but widely held, opinions and beliefs highlighted in this cross-country study

corporate-licensed figures such as checks and balances; theories of "Trying to instill in students a

Program By ROBERT OWEN

By reducing the work week by ions each year, worker health and idea after all," he said. "I just hope

WASHINGTON — The Depart-

five hours, to 35 hours per week, Bonior anticipates a 12 percent increase in new hires, particularly in the burgeoning sustainable enwill be on a par with those in West-

nent of Labor is scrambling to propose new standards that will affect every American worker "This job report is a blueprint for ob 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.

satisfaction among U.S. workers

Other new employment laws guarantee workers rights to equal workers full freedom to unionize

sure 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

What do you think? Send your feedback, or leave comments online at our website

ergy sector. But new jobs aren't the only benefit. Coupled with the mandatory six-week paid vaca-

ern Europe, according to Bonior.

learn about the Bill of Rights. of differentiating between living ture and function of each branch of us," said Los Angeles area high figures, historical figures, and of government; the theory of school teacher Roberta Morales.

It's so awesome," he said.

sense of citizenry and the public good and undo so many self-centered individualistic messages will

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

sion updates such as "United Nations," "Peace Corps," "Swords to leases, the America's Army brand Plowshares" and "Gandhi's Hun-

Demsfold acknowledged that

Purvill also said he excitedly

anticipates the expansion of the

game in the coming months. This

security calls for."

Defense Secretary Scott Ritter game. "One of the most important



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 enforce-The study noted that many students' political consciousness dated back only three years — in

In an American History classroom in San Antonio, Texas, students

the role of government; and of the role of the public in government: The revived civics courses will and constitutional law.

hopes for America's Diplomat.

cessful history. In 2005, 40 percent

of all recruits surveyed had played

America's Army game prior to en-

listing. As the game's popularity

grew, and after dozens of new re-

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 recre-

The avowed purpose of Amer-

ica'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 abil-

ity to aggressively attack and kill

opponents spelled success in

America's Army, America's Dip-

lomat stresses situations that de-

mand negotiation, dialogue and

Reactions from gamers have

been intense as those attempt-

ing to access the America's Army

website have been redirected to

Lenny Purvill, a 16-year-old

ent 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

His initial disappointment, how-

ever, was replaced by fascination

as he facilitated a peaceful negotia-

tions between Sunni and Shiite mi-

litiamen. "It was like, are they gon-

na shoot each other? No! They're

not! 'Cause I'm helping them settle

signing up when he turned 18.

player, noted an initial disappoint-

the new America's Diplomat site.

peaceful outcomes.

ated them as action figures.

given its predecessor's highly suc-

"We have so much work in front

gerStrike!'

is expected to include new mis-

the game represents a major shift 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

acknowledged that national security could benefit from the new

in focus. "The next generation of ghanistan is that military success is not sufficient to win." he noted. Diplomat has been pronounced suitable for children of any age by the Entertainment Software Rating

America's Diplomat is available online: americasdiplomat.com

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

caps on non-disclosure penalties The legislation targets offending circumvent customary gift-giving

Pharmaceutical Law Revised to End Corruption

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

Patients' rights and medical ethics groups, like the New England Medical Ethics Commission in Boston, are exultant, "It's not like ever going to comply with their

in Crawford, Texas.

trade association] PhRMA were es and dinners, travel and honoraria, and the hemorrhaging of

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 the A.M.A. or [pharmaceutical new byways for abuse: free lunch-

Medical Center in Chicago. "Do the math. Do you think I can afford to say no when the drug reps

willingness of doctors to abide by ethical standards. "This will definitely make it lot harder for us to get our prod-

ucts to customers," says Sampson Browning, spokesperson for Eli Lilly, which anticipates large losses of revenue due to the new "I haven't paid for lunch since last February, and I think I ate at

knock on my door?" From now on,

doctors will have to, or risk up to

ten years imprisonment

the experience of those they conhome that day," says Dr. Bruce Arbogast, Director of Pine Grove

head Tom Hayden. The confer-

Bush Resumes Golf Game

WASHINGTON (AFP) — Former

security agent, who wished to remain anonymous. "Of course, we all assumed he was just sneaking In an interview with Yahoo! News

"I don't want some mom whose son may have recently died to see

United Nations headquarters in

troops stationed in Iraq. "It's like they're having a hard time, he was

Bush assured The Times that the game will not interfere with his forced Bush off the fairway at the continued search for Osama bin

An Exclusive Interview with Former President Bush **Bush** gave his first post-indictment interview vesterday to Scott Pellev

dent's last official round of golf to One source close to the President's caddy claimed that Bush's dismal score at that last game did,

Meticulous records kept by CBS

News, however, trace the Presi-



the 2nd hole. When is this gonna

further. I'm your scapegoat, right here, made to order. Me. Of course that doesn't stop me

from picking up firewood! (Laugh-

out with a plan, and my obligation to this country is to fill out that plan.

PELLEY: So you will be. ma Bin Lader

up a \$500,000 reward, of my own money, for tips. Laura helped me set up a toll-free hot line to field my nation was attacked by Saudi Arabian terrorists. So I started a

I'm going to finish the job. It's not

shoot some cans later, if you need any proof. (Laughs.)

tually see that.

proud of our servicemen and wom-

when you make mistakes is you

undoing them, I'm doing the only

right thing for right now.

- this isn't a one-man job.

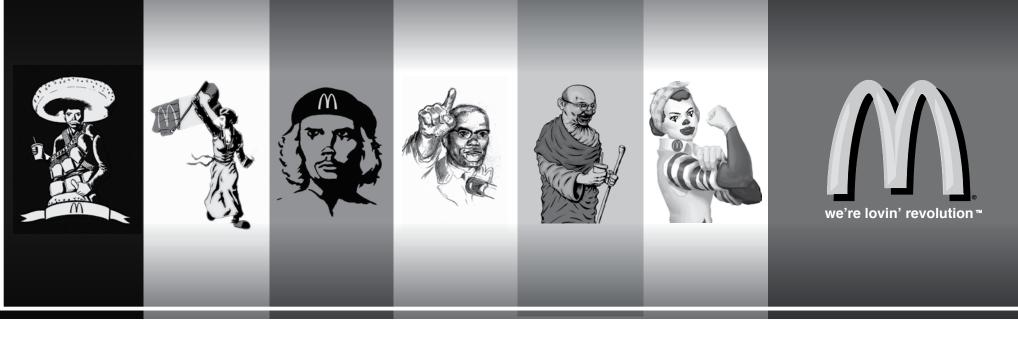
back then. And now here I am.

personally going to hunt Osama bin Laden. I mean, jail. **BUSH:** Well, "personally" is an him. I wouldn't say that I didn't do awfully big word here, Scott. A anything. But sometimes what you business organization has a lot want to do, or think you might do, is of members, we have a lot of re

en who did that. Maybe I wouldn't do that today, but that's what I did But what's important is that we made mistakes, and one thing

> tions and diplomacy you have to work within. Now I'll have more The presidency isn't a popularity sions. But I was the president when this war happened. I want to be the

> > Maybe you can think of it as a





High-speed lines connect rural counties across the U.S. with the rest

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.

vanize 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. Navirah 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

"It's unfortunate that our hard work is being discussed under these circumstances," said Cyn-

war against Iraq.



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

the 2003 invasion, a full 10 per-mentator funding, a substantial

placement on television programs such as "Wife Swap," "Trading Spaces," and "Punk'd." One P.R. firm, MediaLink Worldprivate military contractors since wide, plans to cut its media com-

cent is rumored to have gone to portion of its budget. "We are P.R. firms. Campaigns like "Army forced to cut back, and that does Strong" and "Be All You Can Be" mean letting excellent and qualified candidates in all fields go," were created by private firms, and companies are even alleged to have company spokesperson Fred been paid hefty sums to guaran-Donahue said in an official statetee returning veterans prominent

ment. Saatchi & Saatchi, one of the largest ad firms in the world, fired over 300 employees in its Wordof-Mouth Division. Leo Burnett in Chicago is expected to release all part-time staff later this week.

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 con-- whereas the actual power of the citizen is. That's where legislation

"TRUE COST" **PRICING SET**

Harvard Will

Shut Business

School Doors

By JOHN LEVERETT

Harvard University Business

School will be closing its doors

ollowing an unprecedented drop-

off in applications this fall. The

school will be renamed the Har-

vard University School of Integrity,

and students will receive Masters

in Integrity and Compassion, or

"We believe that the recent in-

crease in visibility of progressive

movements and ideals, coupled

with the demotion of free-market

capitalism as a viable belief sys-

tem, has led students away from

training in accumulation for its

own sake and into fields where

they can advance peace and jus-

tice," said Harvard spokesperson

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

"We're not sure if it's an anom-

ly or an indicator of a long term

rend, but there's definitely a

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."

Susan Morrison.

the same period.

change," said Morrison

M.I.C.s.

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 ast 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 CO2 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.'

Plan Encourages Steady Growth, Will Boost Bottom 95%

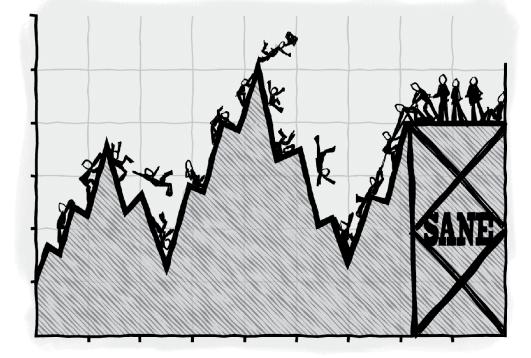
posed the proposals before overwhelming public support helped change her mind. "This bill brings a level of sanity and restraint back to the system that allowed companies like Enron. Bear Stearns. Fannie Mae, and Freddie Mac to fleece Americans for all they were

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.

Merrill Lynch C.E.O. John Thain

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

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

TAXES SPECULATION. Spearheads an international 1 per cent tax on financial transactions, to slow speculation and reduce

STABILIZES MORTGAGES.

market volatility

Keeps Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, which were formed to boost home ownership, under govern-

ment management, and imposes a

moratorium on foreclosures.

society" becomes real.

Establishes a "true cost" pricing system to ensure that prices reflect the true cost to society of products. services, and practices. TAXES INHERITANCE.

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

PRICES FOR TRUE COST.

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

> considered standard in almost every other developed country. SETS EMERGENCY TAX. Provides for an emergency surtax

education, and other measures

on the wealthy in case of future

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

financial meltdowns, to further

discourage the sort of reckless

speculation that fueled the latest

New Wage Cap Will Stabilize Economy

From Page A1

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

The first time the U.S. implement ed 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-

based in Washington whose goal is to tell corporate America's side of the executive pay story. Richard Floersch, 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. Floersch 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

sation is an industry-backed group 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 postindustrial society characterized by extreme inequalities of wealth and bargaining power and by sudden oscillations between booms and

then, instead of being fired, receiv- Don Cortland contributed reporting.



Senate Gets Tough On "Limited Liability" to Rein in, Humanize Corporations

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 "suites" 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

Left: An old prison being remodeled for white-collar criminals. Right: John McCain reclaims "mayerick" 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

"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.'

dollar fine to a giant corporation? Fines seldom if ever affect the pocketbooks of shareholders or managers, those who make the derations achieve their long-term cisions or power the machine. Hit-

"Fines are not punishment, they do not build character," Mr. Mc-Cain said. "What's a ten-milliona very involved process.' The ultimate aim of the program, Mr. McCain said, is to help corpo-

ting pockets and people directly is 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 influ-

encing such a powerful and state-

be taught that their actions have consequences." Mr. McCain called corporate efforts to obtain the legal rights of humans "compassionate greed,"

that corporations still, even today

lack one distinguishing human

characteristic: a conscience. "Cor-

porations were invented to keep

investors innocent of crimes com-

mitted with the help of their mon-

ey, accidentally or not. But now

that corporations have become le-

gally almost human, they have to

about getting richer." "You'd have to be very cynical to think that corporations, when

they won protection as 'persons' goals. "Corporations have spent under the 'Freed Slave' Amendthe last century and a half trying ment, were thinking only of their to obtain all the legal rights of own wealth," Mr. McCain said. He people," Mr. McCain said. "They're was referring to the 14th Amendnow technically persons, but ment, which had been designed to protect the rights of freed slaves, they're not really human. We owe it to them - and to our species and which was used in 1886 to esto help them finish their quest." tablish corporations as "natural Mr. McCain went on to explain 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 actu-

agree that punishing corporations the very least have a positive effect on the world. "If each share holder 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 For those who do not thrive on

such risks, Mr. McCain suggested that the mutual fund industry would easily adopt new decisionthe 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 ob-It will reinvigorate the industry, for the crimes they commit will at and in fact the whole concept of

Chad Woolin contributed reporting



independent body as the W.T.O. is and said that it was "not entirely

The more we look at the world the more we understand that some things really matter.

Not only our choice of President, but how we make sure that he, like all our elected officials, does what we elected him to do.

It's not over yet.



New York

The New York Times

Army Recruiter Goes from Marketing the Military to Marketing Himself

MANHATTAN — "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, wellpressed, blue pinstriped suit. He thanked me for my compliments on his "civvies," and said, "I'm very happy to be wearing

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.'

nounced 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 "stoploss" 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, l 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.

Miles of Segregated Bicycle

Lanes Will Be Paved by 2010

By MEDE SIVRAC

NEW YORK — Officials from the Depart-

ment of Transportation today opened the

9th Avenue bike lane, which now extends

the entire length of Manhattan. The fes-

tivities were then moved to 2nd Avenue,

where ground was broken on a similar

path to extend the full length of the is-

avenue will also receive a full bike lane,

blocked off from traffic, while every fifth

sively to bicyclists and pedestrians begin-

ning next month.



Indeed, while many antiwar activists de- 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 and marched to the elevator. 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

'I've sold people trips to Iraq!'

Afghanistan? Now I happen to know from Military History class that the British and the Russians both lost in Afghanistan. Empires get bled to death in that place. Now that's very interesting information, but is it helpful on the job? No, actually it's counterproductive. So that doesn't go in the patter. See? It's not just what you say. It's what you don't say.

And how did he feel about his chances at this job interview? As we entered the sleek lobby, he adjusted his cuffs and said "Hey, maybe my military service got me beautiful spirit in all of these kids, their that way. They didn't think we'd be a good here to the target. But now I have to dedesire to help, to protect, to be a real part liver the payload." He spun on his heels of America. It's tough, but you know what?

New York Bike Path System Expanded Dramatically

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

"Now that our country is taking its right-

ful place among the world's developed

nations," said Mayor Bloomberg, "it is

time for our greatest city to take its place

Bloomberg recently visited Paris to ex-

amine its popular public bicycle rental

program. Although he initially expressed

doubts as to whether it could work, pub-

lic pressure has helped convince him it

deal. (For more on the new transportation

initiatives, also see "Crumbling Infrastruc-

Blair, watching the dedication from a

cherry picker above 9th Avenue com-

among the world's great cities."

be hitting all greens.

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

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 breadand-butter promises and an appeal to 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 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, vou don't actually die in them. I can feel better selling that. How do you apply to

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 the people he'd convinced to sign up with 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 military contracts include a catch-all dis-After a few minutes of friendly Jerseyboy 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

> 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

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

The New York Times

Founded in 2009 Each of the people represented by the name to the right, some of which you may recognize, was creating, distributing, and otherwise manifesting this

special edition of The New

MARCUS S. DRIGGS, writer and research FRANK LARIMORE, writer and researcher MARION K. HUBBERT, writer and resear SAMUEL FIELDEN, writer and researcher F. NANSEN, writer and researcher IELEN PREJEAN, writer and researche F. WUNDERLICH, writer and researcher EMIL LEDERER, writer and researche

BART GARZON, writer and research

CHARLES HOCHMANKS uniter and rese E. LUDENDORFF, writer and researcher S. ALLENDE, writer and researcher MARY K. RAWLINGS, writer and researcher TREVOR LENPAG, writer and researcher W. WILBERFORCE, writer and researche ROBERT OWEN, writer and researcher DIEGO TAVERA, writer and researcher SYBIL LUDINGTON, writer and researche

M.M. BETHUNE, writer and researcher B. VANNEVAR, writer and researcher ELIZABETH FRY, writer and researcher JAMES BRAID, writer and researcher LOUIS BECK, writer and researcher JOHN LEVERETT, writer and researche CARLTON DONALLY, writer and res BARRY GLOAD, writer and researches AMAL MAAMLAJI, writer and researche ED SHARSNEK, writer and researcher

THOMAS J. FRIEDMAN

The End of the Experts?



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

The sudden outbreak of peace in Iraq

has made me realize, among other things,

one incontestable fact: I have no business

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 sel-

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 mat-

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 othits government in order to remake the world more to our

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 Nuremburg 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?

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-reprint error-mad humans like me is a criminally moronic editorial

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 officiallyapproved 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 er words, we should invade a sovereign state and replace 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

We Apologize

The momentous occasion of the end of the war in Iraq on the Iraq war have consistently excluded the views of our readers have pointed out for years, this newspaper first place, and in supporting the costly and deadly U.S. ocish hard to say why. cupation 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

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"

also marks a time for reflection at The Times. As many of people with a track record of being right. Conversely, in January 2008, we boosted Bill Kristol's already considerplayed no small part in making the case for the war in the able national platform by offering him a regular column. It

As early as 1997, Kristol had penned a Weekly Standard cover story, "Saddam Must Go," in which he and contributing editor Robert Kagan called for war against Iraq: "We know it seems unthinkable to propose another ground attack to take Baghdad. But it's time to start thinking the unthinkable." They argued that Saddam Hussein had humiliated the United States by expelling U.S. officials from U.N. weapons inspection teams. The editorial cited unspecified sources about Iraq's chemical and biological weapons capabilities, and concluded with this dark warning: "If you don't like this option, we've got another one for you: continue along the present course and get ready for the day when Saddam has biological and chemical weapons at the tips of missiles aimed at Israel and at American forces in the Gulf. That day may not be far off."

Why did we decide to reward Kristol for having been utterly — and lethally — wrong on Iraq? We can't say for sure, but as of vesterday Mr. Kristol has been terminated as a columnist at The Times. In the same spirit, we also welcome Thomas Friedman's resignation.

Beginning today, you will see a giant overhaul of our paper, from the front page to this page, as, belatedly shouldering 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 creating it. The number has been the displacement of millions of Iraqis since the of Iraqis so far granted Iraq War began in March 2003. According to the most recent asylum in the U.S. is statistics from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, more than two million Iraqis have fled to neigh- cepted by Sodertalje, boring Syria, Jordan, Turkey and Lebanon, as well as Austra- a village in Sweden, as lia and Europe, and another 2.5 million or more have been displaced within the country, most of them between 2006

These numbers are staggering. If a similar proportion of tiated by the American the U.S. population were displaced, that would mean 30 mil- Embassy in Baghdad lion 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 U.S. officials do not 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 ac-

knowledge it would have been an admission of its role in

reported recently in the Washington Post. A recent program inioffers up to 5,000 U.S. visas per year to Iraqi translators and other occupation collaborators. But high-ranking

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.

From the Editors

believe that this allow

ance can cover ever

Two years ago, who would have dared to image 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?

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. hurt bankers and brokers. 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 -

As a lobbyist I vehemently object to this

for lobbvists!

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 bor- Lobbying" bill is not only unfair, it is wrongrowing and buying during the housing boom, headed.

Lobbyists were also successful in preventing Congress from taking steps to help families keep their homes despite an inability to repay their mortgages - which would have



But we lobbyists would be more than willing to work for whomsoever could afford us. That is why Congress needs to grant firsttime 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



A Baboon Study Remembered

in this country, I recalled an article by Robert M. Sapolsky (in Foreign Affairs, January baboons who, by hook and by crook (mostly 2006), who lived for a while among a troop of by crook), were dominating our politics. But baboons in the wild, and witnessed a remark- then one day, those baboons ate out of the able 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 halfrotten hamburgers for a while, Clique W got what was coming to them and died of foodborne 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

couldn't imagine life without the aggressive 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 resourcehunting 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 For-

est 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.

that things are different in Forest Troop.

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.

GIVE FEEDBACK ONLINE

Visit our website to comment on any article in this newspaper, or to write a new one. nytimes-se.com

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.

Miami, Fla., July 3, 2009

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

hope to meet! So I feel slightly lost in this new world of peace. But I'm glad to leave behind the military lingo, uniforms, and sacrafices. Can I get used to it? Can I really attend my greatgrandson'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.

my second husband was the most active

American Legion Post director you'd ever

RUTH PRINCIPE Summit, N.J., July 2, 2009

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

City Council Votes to Beat Swords Into Plowshares

Over the next two years, every other can, and national legislation sealed the

Mark Blair, a transit worker from mented, "From cesspool to world city, it's

crosstown street will be opened excluture Brings Opportunities," Page A6.)

Queens, was busy re-timing traffic lights just fantastic. I love this place."

to Organic Gardens for Youth By ED SHARSNEK

NEW 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 sociation meetings around the five borthat 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. shift these funds into training programs in programs undermines the no-weapons nonviolence and communication," Queens



At Jesuit-run Xavier High School in Man-R.O.T.C. Funding Reallocated hattan, 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 Asoughs received renewed urgency. "We are asking Secretary of Defense Scott Ritter to Borough P.T.A. head Estelle Chavez said.

and state prisoners are veterans. 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 effect after school programs, arts programming, and programs for children One group of critics has been working with Schools Chancellor Joel I. Klein to

had that sort of training, we wouldn't be

Retired General David Petraeus defend-

army can recruit is if we can get them

early. The fact is, it works. Plus, J.R.O.T.C.

students who don't join the army tell us

the leadership training they receive helps

them find work in security and related

Critics argue that those students who

do go on to join the Army fare especially

poorly. According to the Veterans Admin-

istration, veterans earn less than non-vet-

erans; and at least 10 percent of federal

erans: one-third of homeless men are vet-

ed the program. The only way a volunteer

in the huge mess we're in."

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.'

University to Rescue Iraqi Scholars By AMAL MAAMLAJI

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

And how did he feel about the fates of

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

claimer to nullify obligations the recruiter

"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

announced vesterday 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. Irag's universities, libraries. museums, and archeological sites have for the most part been completely destroyed. The scale of devastation places

School faculty members.

it among the worst tragedies in all his-The New School will make available small grants to scholars, facilitate visas, and provide shared office space with New

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

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 Iragi Refugees?" Mr. Kerrey acknowledged that the pro-

Streets Come Alive as Relief and

By SCHUYLER FRANK Thousands are already taking to the streets of Manhattan, mainly around end to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

"We're all guaranteed the right to peaceably 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.

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

that never should have happened. You Times Square, to celebrate the announced don't turn to Wolf Blitzer for answers in that situation," he said. The crowd at Police are responding by organizing water the uptown sandwich shop bubbled with conversation about America's new direc-

Page A13.

"People are saying hello to each other

out: and, simply, "YES,"

windows, among them: "Sleep with me"

"The end of our lives" with the V crossed

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.

Exuberance Greet End of Conflicts

distribution centers and places to rest.

After pausing a moment Kelly added, "You know, everyone on the force, we're

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

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

The street celebrations were unusual in the preponderance of business suits and professional attire. One celebrant, Farsala LaRue, 72, speculated on the somber "This is an issue that affected us all, on



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.

