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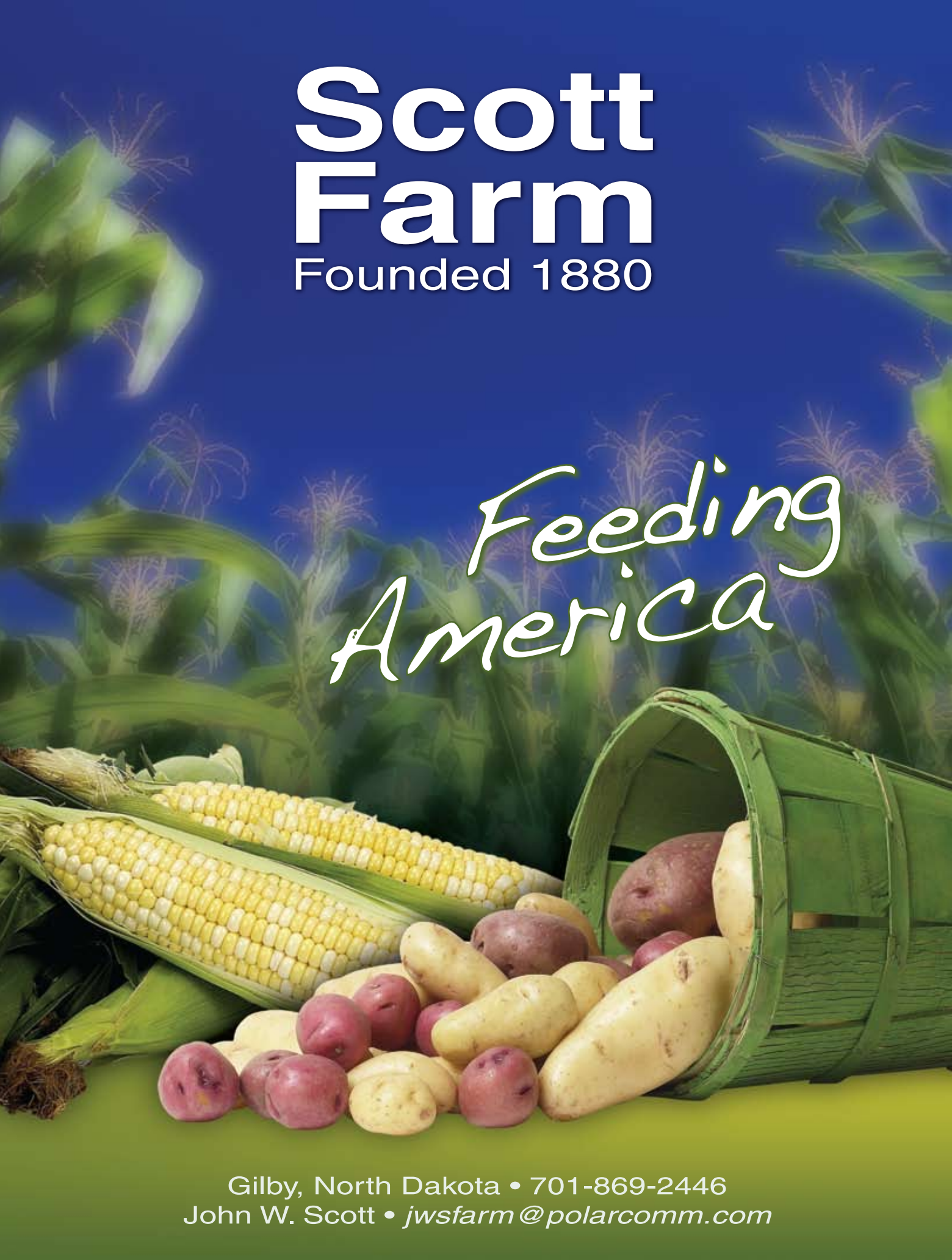

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Vol. 24, No. 18 September 1, 2008

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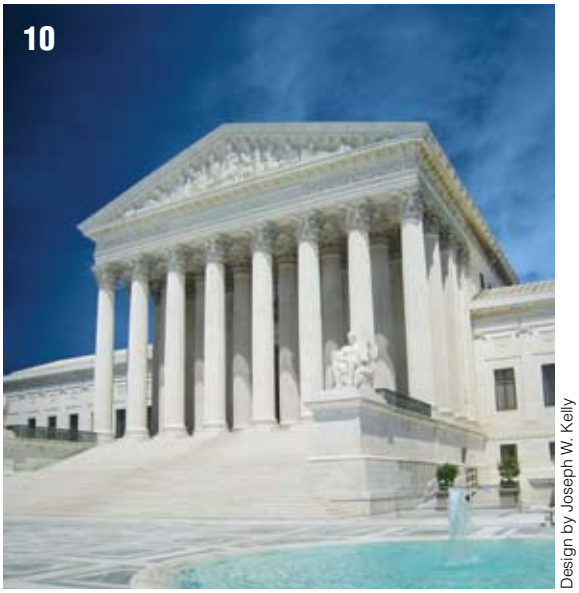

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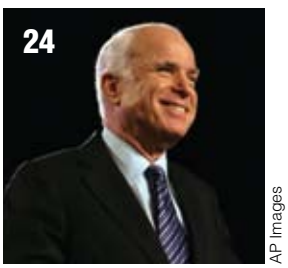

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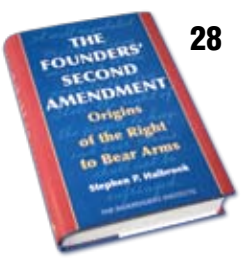

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There's More to the Story

After reading "Did We Get Lied Into War?" (July 7 issue), I should hope TNA readers who want more information on this topic do more than read the Senate Intelligence Committee's complete report on the topic.

For proof of the Bush administration's manipulations, Ron Paul recommended that Rudy Giuliani read *Hubris* by Michael Isikoff and David Corn. This book makes it perfectly clear that Bush, Cheney, and company would do whatever was necessary, including deliberate deception, to sell us on the Iraq War.

Former Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill said on *60 Minutes* that the hot topic of Bush's first Security Council meeting was what it would take to get a war going with Iraq. This was only 10 days into Bush's presidency, months before 9/11 and immediately following campaigning on a no-nation-building, non-interventionist foreign policy.

There's no doubt in my mind we were lied into war.

Pat Sellers
Glenmoore, Pennsylvania

You recently published an article entitled "Did We Get Lied Into War?", which gave the findings of a report issued by the Democratic majority of a Senate committee. The article included a number of references to intelligence reports that supported the claims the administration made before the invasion. The real question is not whether such reports existed, but whether they were in any way credible.

Let us start with the background of the events just before the invasion. I watched Colin Powell say to the United Nations about the imaginary weapons of mass destruction: "We know they exist, and we know where they are." It is now clear that this was a blatant lie.

The aftermath of the invasion was a finding that Iraq had no such weapons, nor even the capacity to make them. This led to the fallback position: "All the intelligence agencies, even the French and the Russians, thought that Iraq had such weapons." These words came from a member of Tony Blair's government on television. I quote him exactly. Here is another lie.

I have a book entitled *Le Ministre* by Bruno LeMaire, published by Bernard Grasset, Paris, in 2004. (I know of no English translation.) The author was a member of the French Foreign Ministry during the events leading up to the invasion of Iraq. He describes the roles of all the French intelligence agencies that participated in the review of the available information of the existence in Iraq of any weapons of mass destruction. The information showed that there simply was no firm evidence. The British and American reports were rejected by the French, the Belgians, and the Germans as mere suspicion. Gerhard Schroeder, the former German chancellor, went so far as to say on television: "Unter meiner Fuhrung wird Deutschland keine militarische abenteurer beteilen." ("Under my leadership Germany will share in no military adventure.")

Remember that the French and the Germans did join with us in Afghanistan, yet refused to join an attack on Iraq.

Bear in mind also that one of the first questions about an intelligence report is whether it is confirmed by other sources. At least that was true in the CIA when I worked there as a young man.

Last fall Alan Greenspan said of the invasion of Iraq: "It was all about oil." Subsequently no bid contracts between the Iraqi government and big Western oil companies have proved him right. So it was all a lie. The intelligence reports were, shall we say, made to order.

But now that the real mission, the oil contracts, has been accomplished, perhaps we can bring the troops home.

Juan Ryan
New Providence, New Jersey

Don't Reinforce Fallacy

The picture you had printed on page 12 of the July 7 edition — entitled "Why So High?" and about the cost of fuel — is in a *pristine* area of Alaska and plays into the vocal dissent of the liberal, greenie, leftist elements that are hindering our national survival.

The actual area for drilling is not in a pristine area. It is in a remote and barren environment close to the sea. This is *important*!

Julius Erickson
Vancleave, Mississippi

Send your letters to: The New American, P.O. Box 8040, Appleton, WI 54912. Or e-mail: editorial@thenewamerican.com. Due to volume received, not all letters can be answered. Letters may be edited for space and clarity.

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Gun Rights on Trial

It may seem strange that some pro-gun and some anti-gun groups are both viewing favorably the Supreme Court's gun-rights decision in *District of Columbia v. Heller*. Our legal expert will tell you who should be happy, who should not be, and why. (September 1, 2008, 48pp) **TNA080901**

Behind the Olympic News

By hosting the Olympic Games, the pinnacle of sports, China is attempting to improve its brutal image in the eyes of the world. But events are proving that China's "new face" is purely cosmetic. (August 18, 2008, 48pp) **TNA080818**

Restraining Orders Out of Control

Imagine that laws exist in the United States whereby someone could go to a secret court hearing, simply testify that they are "in fear" of you, and you would lose your right to own guns, lose your house, and lose your children. They do! Read this issue to find out more. (August 4, 2008, 48pp) **TNA080804**

Apples to Oranges?

A comparison between the Democrat and Republican presidential aspirants may seem like comparing apples to oranges, but there is more to these candidates than meets the eye. Get the facts inside. (July 21, 2008, 48pp) **TNA080721**

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Russia Invades, Bombs Georgia


Russian troops heading for the Georgian border and South Ossetia
AP Images

While Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin was in Beijing schmoozing with world leaders during the opening ceremonies of the Olympics on August 8, Russian troops, tanks, and bombers were launching a surprise attack on neighboring Georgia. A former Soviet republic, Georgia gained nominal independence in 1991 with the formal dissolution of the USSR. It then joined the Russian-controlled Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). However, Russia has kept Georgia's provinces of Abkhazia and South Ossetia in turmoil ever since by backing — militarily, diplomatically, and economically — breakaway separatist forces in those areas.

A major reason for Russia's intrigues in the region is its concern over Georgia's challenge to Moscow's former monopoly over the development and transport of the vast oil and gas deposits from the Caspian Sea region. The completion of the 1,000-mile long Baku Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) oil pipeline in 2005 and the natural-gas South Caucasus Pipeline (SCP) in 2006 along the same route through Georgia have provided a transit route outside of Russian control for gas and oil to international markets from Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan.

The *Telegraph* of Britain and other news sources reported on August 11 that Russian jets had fired over 50 missiles at the BTC pipeline, but apparently none had scored a direct hit.

Severe Restriction on Home Schooling in California Averted

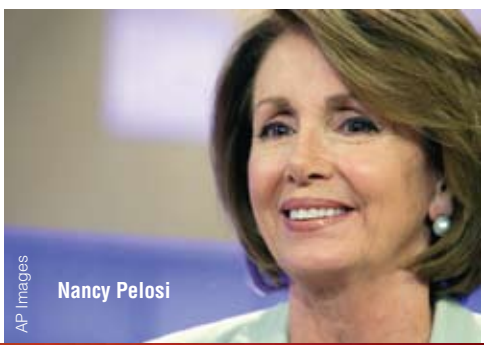
A California appeals court on August 8 reversed its earlier decision placing severe restrictions on home schooling in California. If allowed to stand, the earlier decision would have virtually eliminated home schooling in California.

The new opinion, entitled *Jonathan L. v. The Superior Court of Los Angeles County*, ruled that state law does permit home schooling as a type of "private school," and overruled a February 28 opinion stating the opposite view. About 15 pro-family and home-school advocacy organizations participated in the effort to get the court to reverse itself. This decision clears the way for families to educate their children in accord with their own consciences, rather than expose them to the sexualized and politically correct environment in the public schools.

The original case arose in a difficult family situation, where the parents were accused of abuse and neglect of their children, and a juvenile court had ordered that the children attend a government school as part of a state dependency proceeding. The appeals court, in its August 8 decision, also ruled that the state had a compelling interest in preventing abuse of children, which could override parents' right to direct the upbringing of their children.

According to Pelosi, Impeachment Proceedings Are "Off the Table"

When California Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi became House Speaker with the election of a Democratic majority in 2006, hopes ran high in some quarters that the feisty grandmother of seven would lead an investigation into the Bush administration's actions involving the United States in the Iraq War. The evidence accumulated against the Bush administration — that intelligence linking Saddam Hussein's government with al-Qaeda, alleging that Iraq possessed "weapons of mass destruction," and warning that Iraq was well on its way to acquiring nukes, may have been cherry-picked or even fabricated — cried out for serious investigation, at very least. Yet once in office, Pelosi and her colleagues backed away from investigating the charges and soon announced that impeachment was "off the table."


Nancy Pelosi
AP Images

In a recent article in *Time* magazine, "10 Questions for Nancy Pelosi," in which the congresswoman answered readers' queries, Nancy Shipes of Woodstown, New Jersey, asked Pelosi why she had ruled out impeachment proceedings against the president.

Her response? "I took it off the table a long time ago. You can't talk about impeachment unless you have the facts, and you can't have the facts unless you have cooperation from the Administration. I think the Republicans would like nothing better than for us to focus on impeachment and take our eye off the ball of a progressive economic agenda."

In other words, impeachment requires the gathering of evidence from a cooperative executive branch, and since the Bush administration refuses to cooperate, there's nothing further Congress can do about it. This stunning admission is tantamount to saying that Congress cannot impeach the president without his permission. From the standpoint of Congresswoman Pelosi, the president and his tight-lipped minions are superior in authority to the U.S. Congress, a notion that would have the Founders turning in their graves.

Olympic Committee Vaults Over Censorship Controversy

"There has been no deal with China to censor the Internet," stated International Olympic Committee spokeswoman Giselle Davies according to Associated Press. The controversy began, AP reported on July 31, "when Kevan Gosper, the press commission head of the IOC, said he was surprised to learn that Web sites for Amnesty International along with others … would be blocked to reporters," and also said he suspected that "an agreement has been reached" with China "by very senior people in the IOC."

When the IOC began taking heat for this supposed collusion, committee president Jacques Rogge stepped in and apparently convinced Gosper otherwise in an August 1 meeting. AP quoted Gosper on August 1 as saying he was now "absolutely satisfied" that there were no arrangements "in respect to censorship for the international press to report on the games."

Gosper may be satisfied, but the August 1 AP story also attributed to him the following statements: "We have always had an understanding, and we haven't necessarily talked about it, that any sovereign government will block pornographic sites and what they might consider subversive, or sites which are contrary to the national interest. I would suggest also that we are not working in a democratic society, we're working in a communist society. This is China, and they are proud to be a communist society. So it will be different."

It will be very different indeed because China's leaders consider websites about human rights, Tibet, Tiananmen Square, and Falun Gong to be, using Gosper's terms, "subversive" and "contrary to the national interest." One therefore wonders how Gosper would defend the IOC's decision to grant the honor of hosting a celebration of free athletic competition to a society that, he acknowledges, is not only non-democratic but also "proud" of its communist tyranny.

Whether or not the IOC made a deal to ignore China's Internet censorship is rather irrelevant, as merely agreeing to hold the Olympics in Beijing lends tacit approval to a totalitarian regime infamous for its "Great Firewall" of Internet control. "Olympic historian David Wallechinsky has criticized the IOC for giving the games to China," AP noted on July 30. "There is so much money being made that the IOC has just turned a blind eye," Wallechinsky was quoted as saying. "You know, the Communist Party wants to control everything."

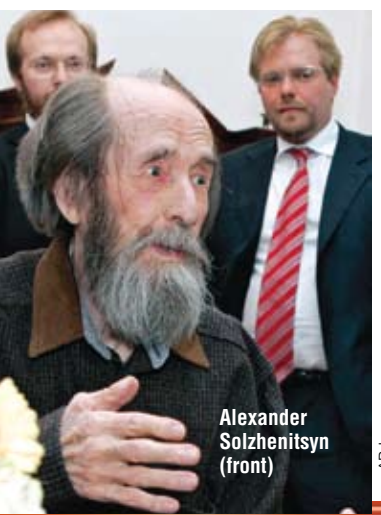

Giselle Davies

AP Images

Solzhenitsyn Passes Away

On August 3, the world lost Nobel Prize laureate Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the conscience of the Cold War. Convicted in 1945 of criticizing Joseph Stalin's regime, Solzhenitsyn spent years in a Soviet prison camp, nearly succumbing to disease and other hardships. After his release, Solzhenitsyn began publishing materials describing the horrors of the Soviet prison camps, or gulags. His most famous book, *The Gulag Archipelago*, led to his being awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1970.

Solzhenitsyn's work was received favorably by a Khrushchev regime eager to distance itself from the excesses of Stalinism, but after Khrushchev's death, Solzhenitsyn was blacklisted and finally expelled from the Soviet Union, his Soviet citizenship revoked. He eventually reached the United States, where he labored tirelessly to raise awareness of Soviet communist atrocities. Unlike many contemporary left-wing apologists for the Soviet government, Solzhenitsyn rejected the view that Soviet communism was merely an outgrowth of the old Czarist autocracy. Communism was a pestilential evil independent of cultural heritage, Solzhenitsyn maintained, and would lead to the same results — a police state, pogroms, and poverty — wherever it took root.


Alexander Solzhenitsyn (front)

AP Images

Nor was Solzhenitsyn unstinting in his condemnation of the West. He saw Western cultural decadence and secularism as dangers equal to Marxism; the United States he upbraided in a Harvard commencement address in 1978 for a "decline in courage" and a "lack of manliness."

In June 1975, in a speech at the Washington Hilton that was later entered into the *Congressional Record*, Solzhenitsyn made the following remarkable statement:

> There also exists another alliance — at first glance a strange one, a surprising one — but if you think about it, in fact, one which is well-grounded and easy to understand. This is the alliance between our Communist leaders and your capitalists. This alliance is not new. The very famous Armand Hammer, who is flourishing here today, laid the basis for this when he made the first exploratory trip into Russia, still in Lenin's time, in the very first years of the Revolution.
>
> And if today the Soviet Union has powerful military and police forces — in a country which is by contemporary standards poor — they are used to crush our movement for freedom in the Soviet Union — and we have western capital to thank for this also.

Solzhenitsyn returned to his native land in the 1990s. ■

AP Images

President Expresses Concern About Lack of Freedom in China

"America stands in firm opposition to China's detention of political dissidents, human-rights advocates, and religious activists."

In Thailand one day before he arrived in Beijing for the opening of the Olympic Games, President **George W. Bush** *at least said what needs to be said about China's abominable human-rights policy.*

Saving Mortgage Giants Deemed Unconstitutional

"Congress has given the Bush White House yet another chance to operate outside the Constitution. Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson now has the go-ahead for his two-part plan to salvage Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, the government-sponsored mortgage companies."

Brookings Institution scholar **Martin Mayer** *sees no constitutional authorization for bailing out the financially troubled mortgage companies.*

Al Gore's Energy Plan Sharply Criticized

"It would be like creating another Japan. Or fighting World War II all over again."

Adopting what Al Gore claims would be affordable and renewable electric power would cost $5 trillion according to U.S. News & World Report *columnist* **James Pethokoukis**.

Indicted Alaska Senator's House Hardly a Palace

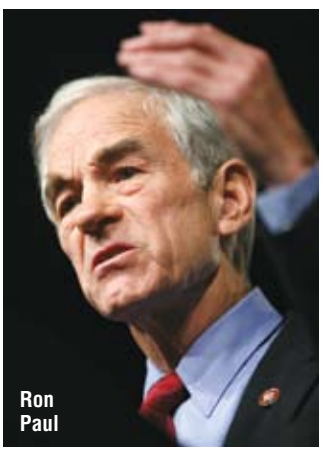
"If that work is worth $250,000, then he got ripped off. I've been in that house. It's comfortable, but it's not lined with gold."

An Alaska neighbor of Senator Ted Stevens, **Julie Pederson**, *doubts that the amount noted in the charges against the veteran Alaskan lawmaker could have been spent renovating the modest home.*

His Approach Hasn't Yet Caught On in Washington

"One problem with politicians in Washington is that when problems they create come to a head, they typically feel this irresistible urge to *do* something, rather than to *un-do* something."

Congressman **Ron Paul** *hasn't been tagged with the title "Dr. No" without reason.*



AP Images

Establishment of Muslim Holiday Ignites Furor

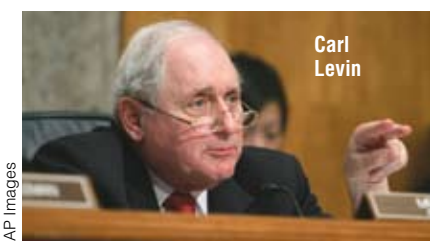
"You had no right to drop Labor Day. Muslim employees must integrate Labor Day into their lives if they are going to live in America."

When a Tennessee Tyson Foods plant manager announced a Muslim holy day would be substituted for Labor Day as one of the plant's eight paid holidays, angry area residents sent protests such as this one from an **unnamed person**. *The decision was later reversed, but only for one year.*

Sports Columnist Puts China's Olympics in Proper Perspective

"In this totalitarian state, the government can pretty much do what it wishes, and so anything, or anyone, deemed expendable was demolished or relocated."

Writing from Beijing, Boston Globe *sports columnist* **Bob Ryan** *said what most political columnists refuse to acknowledge about China's Olympics.*



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Iraq Should Use Its Own Money to Rebuild

"We should not be paying for Iraqi projects while Iraqi oil revenues continue to pile up in the bank."

When he learned that Iraq's government expected a $79 billion budget surplus, Senator **Carl Levin** *(D-Mich.) lashed out at U.S. rebuilding plans.* ■

— Compiled by John F. McManus

GUN RIGHTS ON TRIAL

The Supreme Court ruling in *District of Columbia v. Heller* struck down a prohibition against handguns but also allowed for more regulation of guns.

by Edwin Vieira, Jr.

A homeowner suddenly confronted by a knife-wielding intruder reaches desperately for a handgun with which to defend himself. But the firearm lies disassembled and unloaded in a drawer, useless. Before the homeowner can reassemble and load his pistol, and confront his attacker, the assailant strikes, and strikes again — with fatal results.

The real cause of the homeowner's death in this scenario? That he had the misfortune to reside in the District of Columbia. For besides banning most semiautomatic pistols (the type of firearm that most knowledgeable Americans prefer for personal self-defense), the District requires that all registered handguns possessed by its civilian residents remain unloaded and either disassembled or fitted with a trigger lock unless there is a "reasonably perceived threat of immediate harm to the person."

Precisely how, except as a club, is an individual supposed to use a handgun that is *unloaded and disassembled or trigger-locked* to protect himself from *immediate* harm? The District leaves that to speculation. But the District's attorney general has explained that "we are trying to balance the right to have a handgun for use of self-defense in the home, with protecting our citizens."

One might have thought that having "a handgun for use of self-defense in the home," *fully loaded and ready to fire at a moment's notice*, *is* one very good way of "protecting our citizens." Apparently the District's officials imagine otherwise, and they intend to enforce their fantasies on the city's crime-plagued residents, even if the consequence is those citizens' otherwise preventable deaths or severe bodily injuries at the hands of homicidal criminals.

To be clear, the above scenario pertains to what could happen in Washington, D.C., today … or tomorrow. Amazingly, this is the selfsame District of Columbia that on June 26 *lost* the landmark Second-Amendment case *District of Columbia v. Heller* in the U.S. Supreme Court. But perhaps not so surprisingly, after all. Though *Heller* struck down the then-existing D.C. *prohibition* against handguns, it also allowed for the *regulation* of guns. D.C.'s post-*Heller* regulations still make it virtually impossible for a law-abiding citizen to have a gun ready for immediate self-defense in his home, and Dick Heller — the named party in *District of Columbia v. Heller* — and two other plaintiffs have already filed a complaint to this effect in U.S. District Court.

Could *Heller* allow gun regulation to the point that the regulation could become a prohibition for all practical purposes? What effect will it have, if any, on existing or future gun laws in other jurisdictions throughout the country?

Debating the Decision

Exactly what *Heller* means seems to be an open question. "Anti-gun politicians can no longer deny that the Second Amendment guarantees a fundamental right," exults the National Rifle Association's

Edwin Vieira, Jr. is an attorney and author who concentrates on issues of constitutional law. He has won three cases in the Supreme Court of the United States.

AP Images

Dick Heller (left), an armed security guard, sued the District of Columbia for violating his Second Amendment right to keep a handgun in his home for self-defense. He won the case, but the District of Columbia, upon losing, kept its laws so restrictive that he is suing again.

One of the most egregious statements in the majority opinion by Justice Antonin Scalia is that the Second Amendment protects "the people's" private possession of only those "Arms" "of the kind in common use at the time," and which are not "dangerous and unusual weapons" that have been "prohibit[ed]" by law.

chief lobbyist, Chris Cox. Nonetheless, Paul Helmke, president of the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence, promises that "our campaign to enact sensible gun laws will be undiminished by the Supreme Court's decision in the *Heller* case." And the National Association for Gun Rights warns that *Heller* "is far from a victory for gun owners. It is already being used successfully to infringe upon the rights of gun owners across the country."

Unfortunately, the actual language of *Heller* makes clear that it is far from a major victory for gun owners. As we will show, the majority opinion by Justice Antonin Scalia in *Heller* is the legal equivalent of a squib load.

In firearms parlance, a "squib load" denotes a cartridge that ignites, but does not generate the pressure normally obtained with its particular content of primer, powder, and bullet. As a result, the bullet will not hit the target. Far worse, it may simply lodge in the barrel, creating a hazardous obstruction if not removed before another round is fired.

Certainly *Heller* did not hit what patriots hoped would be its target: a thoroughgoing and correct construction of the Second Amendment. *Heller* holds only that the District's "ban on handgun possession in the home violates the Second Amendment, as does its prohibition against rendering any lawful firearm in the home operable for the purpose of immediate self-defense." Yet, notwithstanding *Heller*, the District continues to require that registered handguns remain unloaded, and either disassembled or disabled by a trigger lock, until, in all probability, it would be too late to use them for self-defense. Apparently the District's officials intend to argue that these requirements remain valid under *Heller* because they do not actually prohibit "rendering any lawful firearm in the home operable for the purpose of self-defense" — they simply inhibit the process so thoroughly that, in many cases, the firearm's owner will suffer death or severe injury, rather than succeed in defending himself. After all, "the right of the people to keep and bear Arms" does not explicitly include a right to "keep and bear Arms" that are *fully functional at all times*, does it?

Scalia Weighs In

To compound the problem, various extraneous, ill-considered, and dangerous statements in Justice Scalia's opinion actually undercut the protections the Second Amendment guarantees, providing proponents of "gun control" with rhetorical ammunition, not simply to resist enforcement of the amendment against statutes already on the books (as the District of Columbia is doing), but even to promote further restrictions on "the right of the people to keep and bear Arms."

One of the most egregious of such statements in Justice Scalia's opinion is that the Second Amendment protects "the people's" private possession of only those "Arms" "of the kind in common use at the time," and which are not "dangerous and unusual weapons" that have been "prohibit[ed]" by law. Thus, the amendment would supposedly not guarantee common Americans' acquisition of fully automatic firearms. But why should this be so?

The Second Amendment provides: "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed." Self-evidently, whatever that "right" may entail, it must conduce to maintenance of "a well regulated Militia."

In *pre*-constitutional times, the militia included every able-bodied, adult, free man in every colony; and today, because of the legal emancipation of women, must include them, too. In the *pre*-constitutional period, the firearms of militiamen and of regular soldiers were usually of the self-same type (generally smoothbore muskets); and militiamen often brought to the field *technologically superior* arms (rifled muskets). Which is why the militia could serve alongside of, and where necessary oppose, regular infantry and cavalry. Certainly, that era knew no prohibitions of militiamen's possession of any type of firearms the regular army used.

Today, both in the United States and throughout the world, fully automatic firearms are "in common use" by soldiers in standing armies to which the militia are to serve as adjuncts, counterweights, or opponents, as the situation demands. Thus, a practical construction of the Second Amendment demands that militiamen possess such firearms — and therefore that "the people" in general possess them, because militiamen and "the people" are one and the same.

Yet Justice Scalia considered this possibility "startling," because "it would mean that the National Firearms Act's restrictions on machineguns … might be unconstitutional." Why, though, is the conclusion that some statute is unconstitutional a reason for misinterpreting the Second Amendment so as to ensure that the statute will not be struck down?

Justice Scalia took note of the possible "object[ion]" that "if weapons that are most useful in military service — M-16 rifles and the like — may be banned, then the Second Amendment right is completely detached from the [militia] clause. But … the conception of the militia at the time of the Second Amendment's ratification was the body of all citizens capable of military service, who would bring the sorts of lawful weapons that they possessed at home to militia duty. It may well be true today

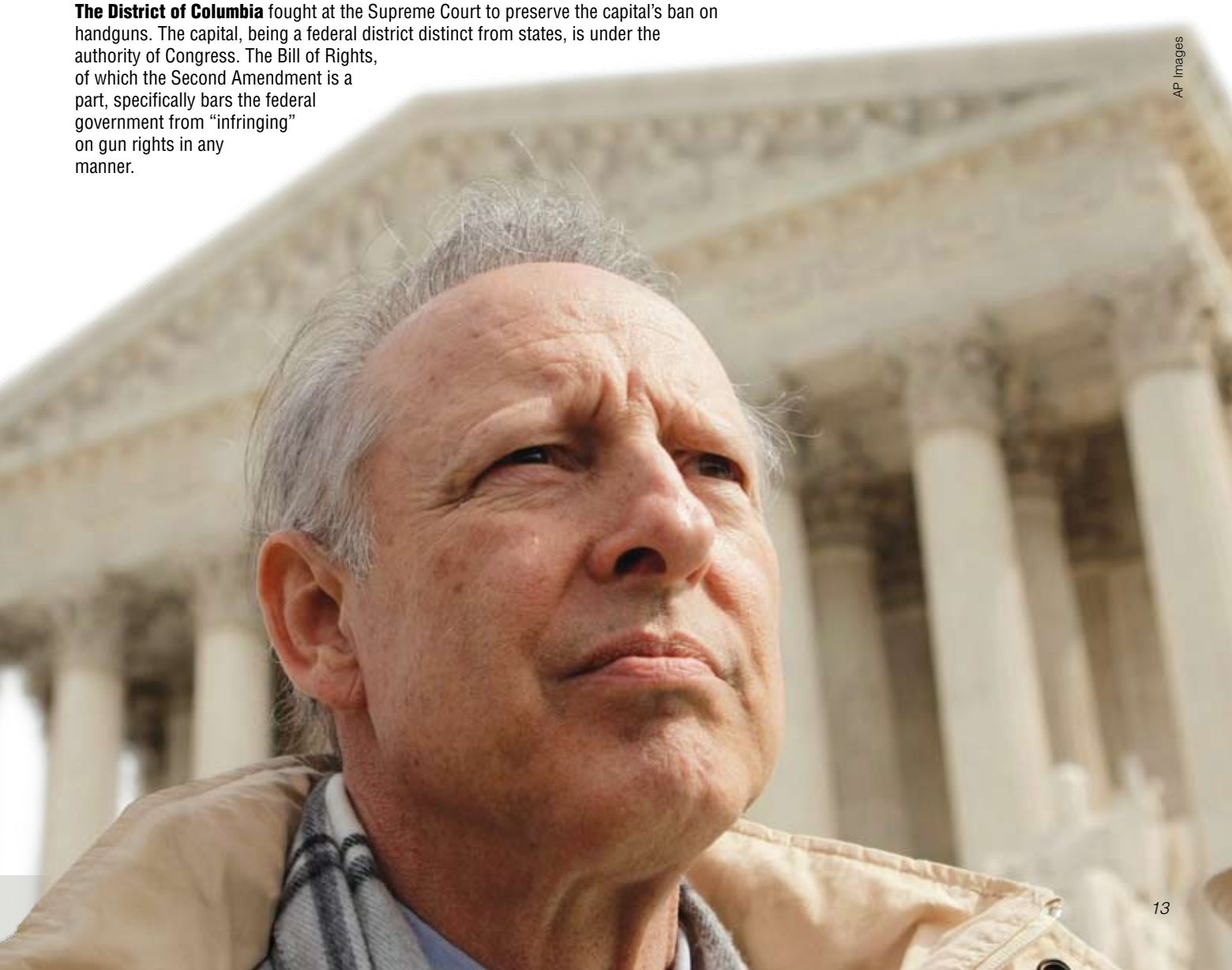
that a militia, to be as effective as militias in the 18th century, would require sophisticated arms that are highly unusual in society at large.... But the fact that modern developments have limited the degree of fit between the [militia] clause and the protected right cannot change our interpretation of the right."

Unless "modern developments" entail actual amendments to the Constitution, they cannot change the content of a constitutionally protected right. And what "modern developments" did Justice Scalia have in mind? That "the Militia of the several States" are no longer organized, armed, and disciplined? That they hardly exist at all in most states? (Today's National Guard is not a constitutional "Militia" but a component of the Armed Forces.) But why are the state militias now mostly nonexistent? The fault belongs, first, to the constitutionally challenged politicians in Congress and the state legislatures and, second, to the voters themselves, who elect office holders who do not abide by the Constitution. This sorry state of affairs cannot be attributed to the concept of "a well regulated Militia," or to anything else in the Constitution, which explicitly affirms the necessity of "a well regulated Militia."

Don't today's patriots want their militia "to be as effective as militias in the 18th century"? Isn't "the security of a free State" just as valuable — and even more in danger now than it was then? So, shouldn't modern militiamen have access to "sophisticated arms"? And would such firearms be "highly unusual in society at large" if militiamen possessed them — inasmuch as the militia consist of almost all of the adult population of the country? The only reason "sophisticated arms" are "highly unusual" and not "in common use at th[is] time" is that rogue public officials have made them so by not recognizing who constitutes the militia, not properly arming the militia (or allowing militiamen to arm themselves), enacting unconstitutional statutes such as the National Firearms Act, and writing judicial opinions such as Justice Scalia's in *Heller*. Public officials' derelictions of their own constitutional duties cannot be made the basis for limiting individuals' constitutionally guaranteed rights, however.

Or for destroying those rights entirely. For on the theory that firearms that are "highly unusual" and not "in common use at th[is] time" can be banned, rogue public officials could make *any* type of

The District of Columbia fought at the Supreme Court to preserve the capital's ban on handguns. The capital, being a federal district distinct from states, is under the authority of Congress. The Bill of Rights, of which the Second Amendment is a part, specifically bars the federal government from "infringing" on gun rights in any manner.



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firearm "highly unusual" simply by banning private possession of it, and then using the effect of the ban as a reason for saying the Second Amendment does not apply! Just as they have removed fully automatic firearms from the possibility of "common use" by the National Firearms Act and other statutes. So, on the basis of the loose language in *Heller*, Americans can expect, not only that fully automatic firearms such as M-16s will continue to be banned from "common use," but also that political hucksters will attempt to revive the Clinton-era prohibitions of semi-automatic "assault weapons" that merely resemble M-16s, and of high-capacity magazines; then to enact new restrictions on highly accurate, long-range "sniper rifles" in .338 Lapua, .50 BMG, and other supposedly "unusual" calibers; and even to impose draconian regulations on possession of many types of ammunition, so that the firearms chambered for such rounds will be rendered effectively useless.

Limiting the Law

Yet another counterproductive statement in Justice Scalia's majority opinion is that "the right secured by the Second Amendment is not unlimited." Scalia states: "Nothing in our opinion should be taken to cast doubt on longstanding prohibitions on the possession of firearms by felons and the mentally ill, or laws forbidding the carrying of firearms in sensitive places such as schools and government buildings, or laws imposing conditions and qualifications on the commercial sale of arms." Also: "We identify these presumptively lawful regulatory measures only as examples; our list does not purport to be exhaustive."

But why are these "regulatory measures" "presumptively lawful"? Statutes that arguably infringe on what the court calls "fundamental rights," such as the rights included in the First Amendment, are presumptively *un*constitutional. Are Second Amendment rights not of constitutional stature equal to those in the First Amendment, even though the Constitution recognizes *only* "the right of the people to keep and bear Arms" as "necessary to the security of a free State"?

Justice Scalia further muddied these waters by "declining to establish a level of scrutiny for evaluating Second Amend-

Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia has long been held up by constitutionalists as the gold standard for justices. He befuddled and disappointed his adherents when he said, essentially, that the Second Amendment right simply cannot be unlimited; otherwise, machine guns would be legal. He is now guilty of the sophistry that he has said he detests in others.

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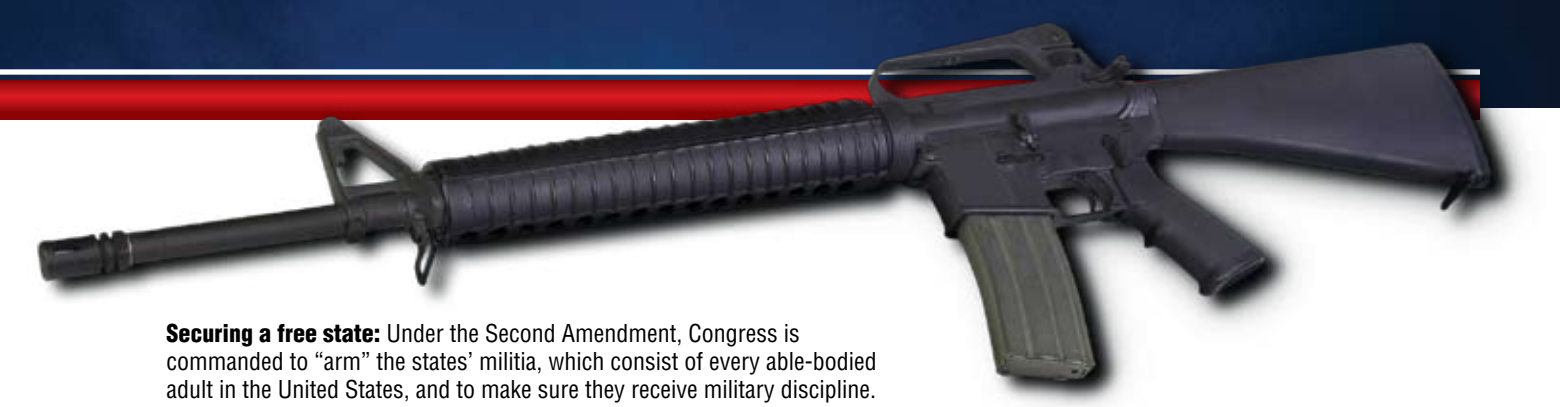

Securing a free state: Under the Second Amendment, Congress is commanded to "arm" the states' militia, which consist of every able-bodied adult in the United States, and to make sure they receive military discipline.

ment restrictions" in general, holding only that no governmental interest could justify infringing specifically on "the right of law-abiding, responsible citizens to use arms in defense of hearth and home." What *other* restrictions might be justified, though, he left for later cases to consider. Thus, having explicitly treated some "gun-control" measures as "presumptively lawful," and approved of who-knows-how-many others by implication, Justice Scalia encouraged "gun controllers" to defend the panoply of modern "gun-control" legislation, and to enact new legislation of the same ilk. How far in the wrong direction this process might go is anyone's guess.

For example, during the *pre*-constitutional period, "felony" denoted crimes punishable by forfeiture of all goods, with death usually superadded — and this, one would think, remains the *constitutional* definition, which cannot be changed except by amendment of the Constitution. Yet today "felony" in various statutes typically means a crime that entails some penalty far less drastic, usually imprisonment for more than one year. If legislators can change this definition at will, tomorrow could "felony" denote a crime punishable by imprisonment for more than a month, or a week, or a day? Could Congress and state legislatures label even traffic violations or littering "felonies," so as to impose forfeiture of firearms rights on violators? Could anyone who violates *any* law or ordinance be disarmed as a consequence of the verbal trick of having the violation called a "felony"?

For another example, nowhere in the Constitution does the term "sensitive" appear as the basis for any power over the private possession of firearms. Yet many contemporary "gun-free-schools" statutes — which Justice Scalia apparently approves — prohibit most private possession of firearms within 1,000 feet of a school. Yet if 1,000 feet is valid, why could legislators not expand the forbidden zones to 10,000 or 100,000 feet? Why could they not create so many broad "gun-free zones" circumscribing "sensitive places" that no one might possess a firearm except within his own home (if he could get it there in the first instance by somehow avoiding all the neighboring "sensitive places")?

Finally, if enough complex and onerous statutes or ordinances are enacted with respect to "the commercial sale of arms" — curtailing the number of dealers, raising prices, and limiting supplies in the guise of "business regulations" — how will "the people" ever be properly armed?

One Positive Point

The saving grace in *Heller* is that the unconstitutional verbiage in Justice Scalia's majority opinion constitutes what lawyers call *dicta* — expressions extraneous to the issue presented to the court for decision, and therefore without legal force as "precedent." *Heller* did not involve the possession of an M-16, or who might be disqualified from possessing firearms, or "gun-free zones," or any statutes providing for "gun control" other than a few in the District of Columbia. Nonetheless, anti-gun legislators, politicians, special-interest groups, and media in every bastion of "gun-control" irrationality and fanaticism are already attempting to exploit the bare language, whatever its lack of legal effect, in new plots to disarm "the people."

So what good is *Heller* in the grand scheme of things? It protects only a narrow right for an individual to possess a handgun at home for purposes of self-defense. And it leaves open a wide hole for old *and new* regulations, which will aim at inhibition, constriction, and ultimately effective prohibition of even the right *Heller* recognizes.

Most importantly, *Heller* poorly serves the core purpose of the Second Amendment. In isolation, an individual's right to possess firearms for the purpose of self-defense in his own home can only minimally deter rogue public officials from attempting to impose a police state on this country. Without thoroughgoing organization, sufficient arms, and legal authority for collective action, Americans cannot expect to deter, let alone to resist, large-scale *para*-militarized police forces and other instruments of oppression. Because the militia are the constitutional institutions that provide all three — *and always under control of "the people"* — the Second Amendment declares them to be "*necessary* to the security of a free State." The most perceptive "gun controllers" — all of whom, in the final analysis, intend to impose something other than "a free State" upon common Americans — know this, and therefore bend their every effort to prevent true *constitutional* militia from functioning in this country.

The only solution to these problems is to recognize that the vital center of "the right of the people to keep and bear Arms" is the concept of "a well regulated Militia" *just as that concept was understood in pre-constitutional times and incorporated in the Constitution, and must be implemented today*. That, however, will take cases other than *Heller*, litigated in a far different, constitutionally correct manner — or, far better yet, legislation to revitalize the militia state by state. ■

RECREATING RIOTS

A group known as Recreate '68 is planning demonstrations during the Democratic National Convention that could recreate the chaos of the 1968 convention in Chicago.

by William F. Jasper

1968. For nostalgic, aging radicals, that year is fondly remembered as the zenith of their glory days, when their demonstrations against the Vietnam War and the American "system" reached a fever pitch, culminating in the televised violence and riots at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. For most other Americans old enough to remember that time 40 years ago, it is marked as one of the darkest in American history, a year of riots, revolution, murder, and mayhem. The assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr. (in April) and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (in June) were flash points punctuating a months-long series of deadly race riots, student riots, and violent demonstrations: Detroit (43 killed, 1,189 injured, over 7,000 arrested); Newark (23 killed, 725 injured, 1,500 arrested); Washington, D.C. (12 killed, 1,097 injured, over 6,100 arrested, more than 1,200 buildings burned); and additional death, destruction, and tumult in more than 120 other cities and dozens of college campuses.

Far from being spontaneous affairs, testimony and evidence presented in various government hearings showed that time after time these conflagrations had been lit by organizers of the Moscow-directed Communist Party USA, the Beijing-directed Progressive Labor Party, and the Trotskyite communist, Havana-aligned Socialist Workers Party, usually operating through front groups such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The leaders of these "student" groups were not students at all, but professional revolutionaries in their 30s, 40s, and 50s. Many had attended courses in riot-making and revolution in Communist China, Russia, North Vietnam, Cuba, and Czechoslovakia. For them, the "nonviolent" label was purely a cover.

Sol Stern was one of three dozen radicals who joined SDS leader Tom Hayden on a trip to the Czech city of Bratislava to meet with communist leaders after the deadly Newark riots. Stern later wrote that the other SDS leaders understood the Newark riots and the violent Columbia University demonstrations were part of "Hayden's grand project to 'bring the [Vietnam] war back home.' The whole point was to provoke a confrontation" with the police.

"For Hayden and the various violence-prone SDS factions," noted Stern, "Columbia was a dress rehearsal for the biggest showdown of all — the Chicago Democratic Convention. Hayden and Rennie Davis, his closest ally at Bratislava, set up shop in Chicago and spent four months planning a massive confrontation with the 'war machine,' otherwise known as the Chicago Police Department."

With large swaths of American cities in ashes and ruin, Tom Hayden drew an illustration of a Molotov cocktail — the weapon most utilized to effect the devastation — for the cover of the *New York Review of Books*. And he wrote in favor of "organized violence," in which the "conscious guerilla" would "carry the torch … to white neighborhoods and downtown business districts" — and "shoot to kill." Just before the convention, Abbie Hoffman, co-founder with Jerry Rubin of the Yippies, published a call to action in the July 7, 1968 issue of the counter-culture magazine *The Realist* in which he said, "We will burn Chicago to the ground!"

The Instigators

It is part of the liberal myth that the violence that erupted in Chicago in August 1968 resulted from actions by a brutal and overzealous police force against rambunc-

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tious — but mostly peaceful — demonstrators. Chicago Mayor Richard Daley is scorned for turning the city into an "armed camp" with thousands of police officers and National Guard and Army troops. However, in view of the widespread deadly violence in the preceding months and the efforts to disrupt the Republican National Convention in Miami a few weeks before — as well as the open threats from the likes of Hayden and Hoffman — Chicago city officials decided to err on the side of caution.

The show of force undoubtedly saved many lives. The 100,000 demonstrators Hayden and company had hoped for never materialized. According to other activists and leaders of various groups, they stayed away for two reasons: they disagreed with the SDS-Yippie push for more violent confrontation; and they were frightened off by the announced large police presence. So the 10,000-plus "students" who did show up in Chicago tended to be the more aggressive *provocateurs*. And provoke they did: attempting to break through police lines, surrounding and attacking isolated groups of police officers, smashing police car windows, defying orders to disperse illegal marches. Eyewitness accounts — by spectators, convention delegates, news reporters, as well as police officers — reported many instances of demonstrators hurling missiles at police, including rocks, bottles, golf balls studded with nails, wooden spears, flaming rags and sticks, firecrackers, beer cans filled with urine or caustic chemicals, and plastic baggies filled with feces.

Around 200 police officers were injured and more than 80 police cars were damaged or destroyed. Slightly more than 100 demonstrators were reported injured. Considering the times and the circumstances, the police reacted with remarkable restraint. But you wouldn't know that from most of the media accounts. Many of the reporters there clearly sided with the demonstrators and some TV camera crews actually helped stage events, ignoring the volleys of missiles being thrown at police and only showing the "brutal" police reaction against the "peaceful" protesters. However bad the cropped newsreel footage may have cast the police, the final tally is this: no one was killed, no police officer fired his weapon (though some would have been justified in doing so), injuries were minimal (compared to riots of the period), and Chicago was not "burned to the ground" (as the riot leaders had threatened, and as they had proven capable of doing in other cities).

Recreating 1968

Will the August 24-27 Democratic National Convention in Denver see a repeat of the violence and mayhem that marked the party's infamous Chicago convention 40 years ago? Denver officials and DNC organizers have certainly been considering that possibility. Recreate '68, an umbrella organization representing diverse groups that are planning demonstrations during the convention, has given cause for concern, announcing that it would make the Chicago chaos of '68 look small by comparison.

Recreate '68 spokesman Glenn Spagnuolo, who has become the regular face and voice of radical demonstrations in Colorado in recent years, has several times issued threats that ring ominous. In March, when Recreate '68 lost out in a lottery drawing for a permit to use the Civic Center as its staging ground for protests, Spagnuolo promised a massive conflict that could turn violent. "We're having our protest at Civic Center," the *Denver Post* reported "a livid Glenn Spagnuolo" as saying, upon learning that he would not receive the permit. "We're not going to give up Civic Center park to the Democrats," he continued. "They are creating a very dangerous situation."

"When things blow up because the police have to enforce a permit that the Democrats got, don't blame us for that," Spagnuolo warned. "Blame the Democrats for trying to silence dissent in the city of Denver." The Recreate '68 organizers say they are expecting 25,000 to 50,000 demonstrators to pour into Denver. And according to Spagnuolo, "If the cops try to stop us, we'll see what happens."

Stung by public criticism of these provocative threats, Recreate '68 leaders point to their "statement of non-violence and principles," which proclaims: "We are resolved that our group will not instigate violence against human beings as a means to end this system of violence and injustice." However, its member organizations and many of those organizations' individual members have long histories of making similar statements, while instigating violence.

In this, as in so many other things, is the Recreate '68 network merely copying the tactics of their heroes, the radicals of '68? Prior to the 1968 Chicago riots, David Dellinger, leader of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (otherwise known as Mobe or NMC), stated: "Our demonstrations shall

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Chicago police form lines across Michigan Avenue on August 28, 1968, to stop thousands of agitators trying to disrupt the Democratic National Convention.

be entirely peaceful.... We are not seeking a confrontation." That, of course, was a lie. Several months earlier he had led the violent confrontation at the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. Dellinger, who had made several trips to consult with communist leaders in Cuba, North Vietnam, and Czechoslovakia, and who described himself as a "non-Soviet communist," saw the "Pentagon siege" as practice for Chicago.

In the November 1967 issue of the pro-communist *Liberation* magazine, which he founded and edited, Dellinger included an article referring to the attack on the Pentagon as a "tactical event to be analyzed and criticized as one possible model for future physical confrontation." It observed that "there will be more occasions for physical confrontations and they ought to be much better planned than the Pentagon was. Can we do better at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago?" By "better" he clearly did *not* mean more peaceful.

The Gang Is All Here

And who are some of the other "peaceful" groups in the Recreate '68 coalition? Unconventional Denver (UD) is a local coordinating group for a national network of anarchists that is planning to disrupt the convention. "We're going to physically stand in the way of what's going to happen," says Tim Simons, one of the UD organizers. "The anarchists who are interested in confronting the Democratic National Convention are interested in doing more than just marching," according to Simons. "We're interested in disrupting the spectacle of the DNC."

Then there is the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement-Denver (RAIMD), a Maoist group whose website freely admits: "One of the videos on the DVD that we distribute encourages people to 'hate Amerikkka, it's the right thing to do.'" A poster on the site features a sea of red fists surrounding an outline map of United States that is filled in with Stars and Stripes of the American flag. The poster proclaims "Death to Amerika!"

Of course, any attempted recreation of Chicago '68 would be incomplete without the SDS — the badly misnamed Students for a Democratic Society. Not to worry, the fractious, communist-directed organization, which dissolved in 1969, has been resurrected, with some of the SDS old guard serving as mentors to the new generation of revolutionaries. Like many of the other organizations gearing up for Denver, the new SDS plans to follow up their activities in Colorado with similar demonstrations at the Republican National Convention in St. Paul during the first week of September.

In its "Call to Action," the SDS says "we are calling on SDS chapters to both endorse and participate in the direct action strategies for disrupting the DNC layed [sic] forward by Unconventional Action, DNC Disruption, Recreate '68, and Tent State." For the uninitiated, when the SDS and similar folk (like the groups it mentions) use the term "direct action" it usually means illegal — and often violent — activity. The SDS "call to action" continues: "We are calling on SDS chapters to embrace a diversity of tactics.... Those participating in direct action to shut down the DNC will be free to shape their actions as they see fit, using the tactics they consider appropriate."

The coded text is SDS' way of telling its cadres to be flexible and to use "whatever works" — legal or illegal, violent or peaceful — depending on the circumstances. As to be expected, some of the demonstrators are a little nervous about the talk of "direct action" and the inflammatory rhetoric coming from the SDS/Recreate '68. Some may be concerned because they are genuinely committed to nonviolence. Others, however, are cagily distancing themselves from the publicly bellicose elements to avoid scaring off peaceful demonstrators, to avoid identifying themselves in advance to law enforcement, and to avoid providing statements that could later be used in court to prove premeditation and conspiracy.

On June 9, the *Denver Post* reported: "Activists who plan to protest at the Democratic National Convention this summer are splitting with the umbrella organization, Recreate '68, because of concerns

over its rhetoric and tactics." The breakaway groups formed a new coalition called Alliance for Real Democracy, which, the *Post* reported, "is a network of local and national groups, including Code Pink, United for Peace and Justice, the American Friends Service Committee, the Green Party of Colorado,... and Students for Peace and Justice." However, it is worth noting that the same *Post* story reported that "some of the activist groups will also continue to work with Re-create 68."

That is all *very convenient*, of course. First, publicly establish deniability of association, then (wink, wink) continue working with those you've "disassociated" from. That is almost certainly the case with so-called nonviolent groups such as Code Pink and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) mentioned above. Both groups have long histories of involvement in violent demonstrations.

Code Pink's co-founders, Medea Benjamin and Jodie Evans, are prime examples of *faux* nonviolent activists who have been playing both sides of the street for years. Both women are actively leading Code Pink's anti-DNC and anti-RNC activities. Benjamin, a hard-core Castroite, who spent several years in Communist Cuba training under Fidel's watchful secret police, the DGI, was one of the street managers of the notoriously violent and tumultuous "Battle for Seattle" protests against the World Trade Organization in 1999. Many of the protesters who marched there were peaceable, but the direct action professionals of the Ruckus Society easily manipulated them and used them for cannon fodder, leading to hundreds of injuries, hundreds of arrests, and millions of dollars in property damage. Both Benjamin and Evans are longtime close associates of the notorious Ruckus Society anarchists. Evans sits on the board of trustees of the anarchist Rain Forest Action Network with Ruckus Society founder Mike Roselle.

The Code Pink website not too subtly salutes its infamous anarchist comrades with frequent web page references to "Raising a Ruckus" and "ruckus-raising" activities. In 2006, Benjamin and Evans joined up with fellow Code Pinkster Cindy Sheehan for a journey to Venezuela to schmooze with one of their favorite ruckus-raisers (after Fidel Castro, that is): Hugo Chavez. The three "peace ladies" apparently had no trouble obtaining an audience with El Presidente in Caracas; a photo of the trio (widely available on the Internet) enjoying the warm embrace of none other than the huggable Hugo himself documents one of their "Hanoi Jane" Kodak moments from the trip. Comrade Chavez, of course, smashes political opponents and protesters in Venezuela with an iron fist, but that doesn't seem to bother the Code Pink leaders.

One of the so-called peaceful groups in the Recreate '68 coalition is the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement-Denver, whose website freely admits: "One of the videos on the DVD that we distribute encourages people to 'hate Amerikkka, it's the right thing to do.'"

The American Friends Service Committee's public disassociation from Recreate '68 is, likewise, suspect. For the better part of three-quarters of a century the AFSC has supported violent and radical causes — both at home and abroad. Most striking has been its consistent support for communist dictatorships, from Mao Zedong's China and Ho Chi Minh's North Vietnam, to Castro's Cuba, the Sandinistas' Nicaragua, and Mugabe's Zimbabwe. The AFSC played a central role in the '68 Chicago riots, providing its office at 407 S. Dearborn as a command post for the SDS leaders and David Dellinger's Mobe. Then, as now, the AFSC activists worked closely with the radical attorneys of the ACLU and the National Lawyers Guild (NLG, cited as "the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party" by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1950), providing tactical, logistical, and

"Chicago 7" defendants hold a news conference during their trial for conspiracy to riot at the 1968 Democratic National Convention. From left, standing are: Abbie Hoffman, John Froines, Lee Weiner, Dave Dellinger, Rennie Davis, and Tom Hayden. Seated are Jerry Rubin and Nancy Kurshan. (The latter was not a defendant.)

Whether or not the Chicago rioters of '68 intended it, the effect of their actions was to further erode the personal freedoms of all Americans. Exploiting the riots, the media and political elites pushed through legislation that transferred vast new police powers to the federal government.

legal support to the mayhem makers. The ACLU and NLG, naturally, are providing legal counsel to the current protest organizers in Denver and St. Paul.

Whether due to political correctness or intimidation by the ACLU/NLG lawyers, most of Denver's public officials appear to be bending over backward to accommodate the demonstrators' rights of assembly and expression — even though many of those same demonstrators have long public records of denying those same rights to other fellow Americans. Case in point: Recreate '68's Glenn Spagnuolo, a veteran activist of Act Up, the militant (and often violent) homosexual "direct action" organization. For the past several years, he has been one of the chief instigators of the Denver demonstrations aimed at stopping the annual Columbus Day Parade sponsored by Italian-American heritage groups. Spagnuolo and his fellow activists are not satisfied with the right to publicly denounce Christopher Columbus, the United States, Christianity, and Western Civilization. Instead, they have insisted on going a step further, breaking through police lines and physically blocking the parade with their bodies and barricades — to prevent other Americans from exercising the very rights they demand for themselves.

Spagnuolo and his anti-Columbus agitators have been upping the ante each year, forcing the police to make more arrests in order for the Columbus Day parade to continue. At an April 2005 rally, Spagnuolo told the crowd, "Don't sit back and wait for an invitation to the revolution. Riot about something real." It's actions like these, together with calls for riot and revolution, and the expected influx of thousands of like-minded individuals into the Denver area that have officials like Denver City Councilman Charlie Brown concerned.

"Why would anyone want to re-create what happened in Chicago in 1968?" Brown asks. Good question, one that more people should be asking. Brown continued: "There were people hurt and injured — and these people want to make it look 'like a small get-together.' That's a serious threat to our city." That much should be obvious, but it may also present a larger threat to the entire country.

Newscom

Glenn Spagnuolo of Recreate '68 shown in 2004 leading one of the many demonstrations he has been involved with in Denver.

Why Riot?

Whether or not the Chicago rioters of '68 intended it, the effect of their actions was to further empower the government they claimed to oppose, and to further erode the personal freedoms of all Americans. Exploiting the Chicago riots and the string of similar rampages across the country in the preceding months, the media and political elites pushed through legislation that transferred vast new police powers to the federal government. One of the most important results along those lines was the Gun Control Act of 1968. Another was the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act that, among other things, created the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, the main federal agency that has been involved in nationalizing our local police departments over the past four decades.

The more immediate political effect of the Chicago DNC riots was to boost Richard Nixon, running on a "law and order" campaign, into the White House in one of the closest presidential races in U.S. history. Although Democratic candidate Hubert Humphrey, then Lyndon Johnson's vice president, lost the election, the riots may have helped him, as well, rather than hurt him, as conventional wisdom has held. Humphrey, a lifelong socialist activist, was (unbeknownst to most Americans) a member of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society/League for Industrial Democracy, the organization that created, sponsored, and financed the SDS. However, in comparison to the rioting radicals in the streets, Humphrey looked relatively conservative.

If violent demonstrations occur this year outside the conventions, it should have a similar effect: making John McCain and even Barack Obama look good compared to the anti-establishment rabble-rousers in the streets. ■

Delegate Dilemmas and Duties

Although today's complex nominating process for delegates to the party conventions is not what the Founders envisioned, delegates still have a duty to uphold the Constitution.

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Learning the ropes: Much of candidate Barack Obama's success during the primary season is a result of his ability to appeal to a very broad swathe of the American voting public. The modern presidential nominating system favors candidates like Obama, with the ability to pose as all things to all people, while ensuring that more principled, focused candidates get the electoral heave-ho.

by Charles Scaliger

As the recently concluded primary season reminded us, America's quadrennial presidential nominating process, from the earliest primaries to the national party conventions, has become little more than a political sporting event of mind-numbing complexity. So Byzantine has America's procedure for nominating presidential candidates become that Barack Obama arguably won his party's presumptive nomination this time around by mastering the intricacies of every state's process for selecting delegates, and then exploiting their strengths (and weaknesses) to his advantage. This in striking contrast to his rival Hillary Clinton who, despite her undeniable aptitude for high-stakes politics, was unable to grasp all the ramifications of state-by-state electoral arcana.

Charles Scaliger is a teacher and freelance writer.

The modern nominating process for delegates to the two major party conventions, who in turn choose the Republican and Democratic presidential candidates, is impossible to comprehend in its entirety. At last reckoning, fewer than one-third of all states now elect delegates who are completely "unbound," that is, who may vote at the convention for whomever they please, irrespective of the sentiments of the majority of primary voters in their state. Several small-population states, like Alaska, Nevada, and Montana, as well as a few large ones, like both New York and Pennsylvania, elect delegates who are technically unbound. However, the great majority of states now require their candidates to be either completely bound by primary results or, more commonly, to be bound technically for a stipulated number of ballots at the convention.

In practice, however, even delegates from "unbound" environments may find themselves squeezed out of the nominating process by the local party machine, as Ron Paul delegates recently found out when the Nevada Republican Convention was adjourned by party leadership to forestall "Paulites" from taking control of the nominating process. Moreover, as masses of Democrats have only recently learned, the states only partly control their party's nominating process; "superdelegates," whose purpose is to ensure continued insider control over presidential nominees (in case the party base should ever contemplate a serious revolt), play a deciding role in the nominating process, and are quite capable of overriding the will of the voters and state delegations alike.

Parties and Principles

Because of the stakes and the manufactured political drama surrounding the bipartisan nomination process, it is easy to forget, as many Americans apparently

Although today's presidential nomination system is rigged to produce candidates unencumbered by allegiances to causes like limited government, it remains the moral obligation of unbound delegates to vote for a candidate who will uphold his constitutional oath of office.

have, that our so-called "two-party system," with all its flummery, complexity, and tawdry drama, has absolutely nothing to do with constitutional government per se. Indeed, in the opinion of many (though not all) of America's Founders, political parties and the spirit that animated them were dangerous to liberty.

Warning of "the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally," George Washington, in his "Farewell Address," believed political parties to be one of the greatest dangers to popular government:

> The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension … is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.... [Political partisanship] serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-rounded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passion.

In spite of such concerns, the so-called "two-party system" that has come to characterize the American political landscape took shape during the first half of the 19th century, with the Whigs and Democrats competing for supremacy. The former gave way to the Republicans just before the outbreak of the Civil War, and control of the White House has oscillated between candidates from these two parties ever since, the occasional Ross Perot or Ralph Nader notwithstanding.

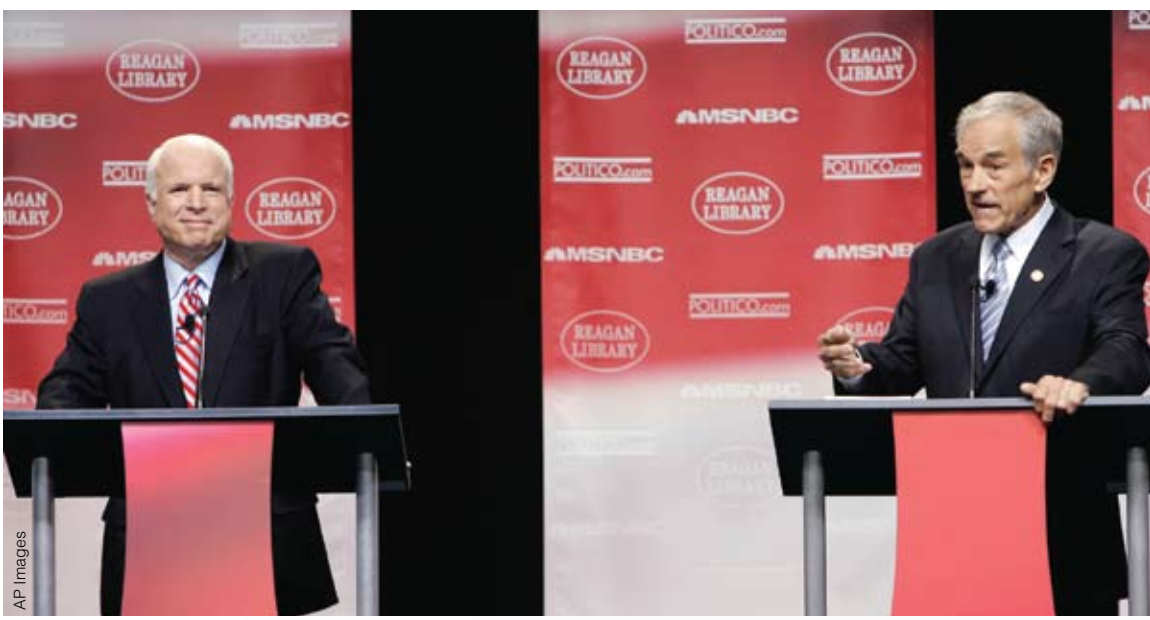
More striking, however, has been the transformation of what was once a fairly subdued nominating and electing process into the three-ring display of democratic excess — the modern primaries and national conventions — that we see today.

Following the presidency of George Washington, American presidential candidates were nominated by informal gatherings of congressmen known as presidential nominating caucuses. In 1831, however, the Anti-Masonic Party held in Boston the first-ever convention to determine a single presidential candidate. The National Republican Party (no relation to the modern Republican Party) and the Democratic Party quickly did the same, and the nomination-by-convention system was born.

The selection of presidential candidates in the party convention system was originally designed only to simplify the candidate selection process, not to render presidential elections more democratic. Not until the onset of the so-called "Progressive movement" of the late 19th century, with its push for more democratic government, did a few states, mostly in the West, begin to adopt primary elections as a means of selecting delegates to national conventions.

Well into the 20th century, delegates to Republican and Democratic national conventions often enjoyed considerable autonomy, since many states still held neither caucuses nor primaries that could "bind" delegates as is so frequently the case today. Horse-trading and shady deals in proverbial smoke-filled rooms certainly occurred, but until a few decades ago, the nomination of presidential candidates was still detached from the whims of the popular majority.

All of that changed in 1968, the year of the chaotic Democratic National Convention in Chicago, when violent demon-



AP Images

Study in contrasts: In spite of Ron Paul's (right) dynamic campaign that attracted legions of energetic supporters and set fundraising records, the principled constitutionalist and proponent of limited government could not overcome the broad-based, mass appeal of John McCain's carefully crafted big-government, pro-war campaign.

strators fought pitched battles with Chicago police to show their disapproval of the undemocratic nominating process. In the wake of 1968, the Democratic Party opted to adopt the primary election with delegates bound by majority vote as its preferred method of selecting a presidential nominee, and the Republican Party followed suit four years later.

As a consequence, the problem of controlling the selection of presidential candidates has shifted from the convention floor to the court of public opinion. The outcomes of national party conventions before the 1960s were far from foregone conclusions, with independent-minded delegates shifting loyalties or refusing to bow to pressure from party bosses — circumstances often difficult for America's would-be kingmakers to control. As late as 1964, a still comparatively free nominating process pushed conservative Barry Goldwater to the fore at the Republican National Convention, in spite of bitter opposition by self-styled "moderate" Republicans led by the likes of Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. and Nelson Rockefeller. Goldwater delegates literally took control of the convention and pushed Rockefeller aside. Although Goldwater lost the general election to Lyndon Johnson, his elevation to the Republican nomination was a reminder of what can happen when convention delegates are given more or less free rein to vote their consciences.

The direct (and no doubt intentional) outcome of the modern primary system is the disappearance of outspoken, principled candidates, and their replacement with bland, fickle politicians, devoid of discernible convictions, whose platforms have come to resemble each other even across party lines. This is because, as the primary election process has become more "democratic," so too has been the requirement that a candidate, in order to be successful, be all things to as broad a segment of the electorate as possible.

Where a Ron Paul might have had an impact in a convention full of fed-up, independent-minded delegates a couple of generations ago (as not only Goldwater but also Senator Robert Taft managed to do), candidates like Dr. Paul who run principled campaigns in our day inevitably run afoul of the electoral reality of the mushy middle. Manipulation of public opinion in the era of modern media has proven a simple task, in comparison with manipulating a roomful of informed, decisive presidential delegates; the majority of the electorate need only be persuaded to vote for a candidate who "can win" across a broad spectrum of the popular vote, and the deal is done.

AP Images

Standing tall: Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater was the Republican Party's nominee for the 1964 presidential election, beating out establishment favorite Nelson Rockefeller. Goldwater, an uncompromising conservative and champion of limited government, was the last presidential candidate to successfully defy the powers that be by capturing the nomination of a major party.

Delegate Duties

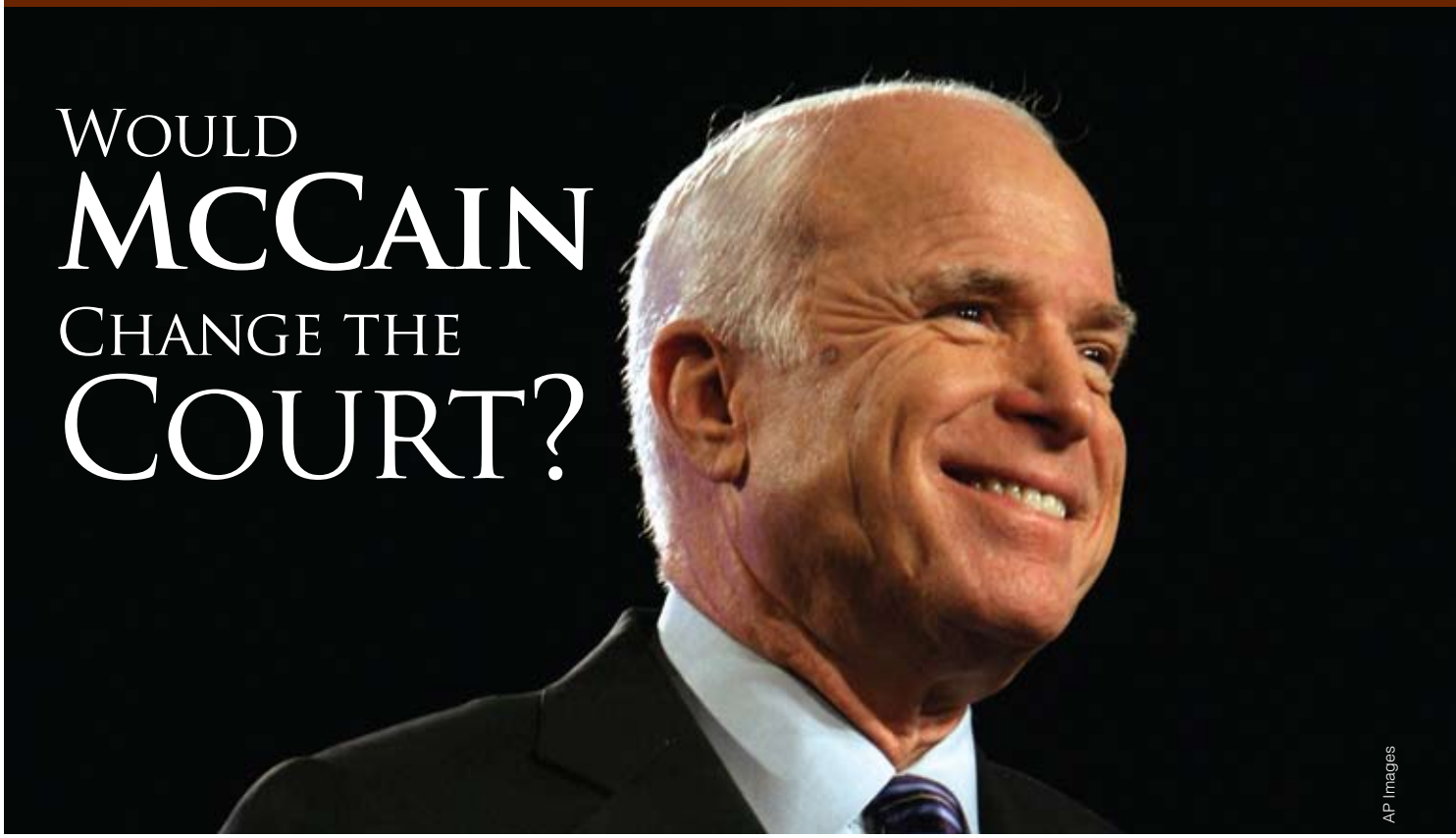
Although today's presidential nomination system is rigged to produce candidates unencumbered by allegiances to minority causes like limited government under the U.S. Constitution, it remains the moral obligation of unbound delegates to vote for a candidate who will uphold his constitutional oath of office. Delegates bound by state rules to vote for the majoritarian candidate ought, if reason and principle are to prevail, to decline to vote for a candidate with no allegiance to the Constitution. In practice, this would mean refusing to serve as a delegate anywhere that party loyalty, rather than constitutional principle, is held paramount.

One area where delegates, both pledged and unpledged, can have a huge impact is in the formulation of national party platforms. Although in practice, presidential candidates (and presidents) often ignore them, platforms can be a powerful tool to raise awareness of important issues among the voting public and to provide a standard by which informed constituents may hold elected officials' proverbial feet to the fire. Since federal elected officials, including the president and vice-president, owe their highest allegiance to the U.S. Constitution, no plank espousing an unconstitutional government program has any place in a proper party platform.

The hard truth is that the modern American presidential nominating system is held hostage by interests who want the president to be a controlled asset. Because primary elections based on majority popular vote all but guarantee the elevation of pure political chameleons rather than principled statesmen to the White House, expending undue energy or hope in electing a constitutionalist president of either major party is almost certain to end in disappointment and disillusionment. The game is rigged, and the power players hold all the chips.

Fortunately, not every election is tainted. The election of representatives to the House, by and large, was and is — unlike the election of a president — intended by the framers of the Constitution to be dependent on the popular will. Because such elections are local, and their outcomes can be changed by narrow constituencies, genuine constitutionalists and principled conservatives, like the aforementioned Ron Paul and others, can and do still get elected to the House. It is therefore with the House of Representatives and not with the White House that the battle to restore principled constitutional leadership in Washington must begin. ■

Would McCain Change the Court?



AP Images

Over the last century, most Republican-appointed Supreme Court justices have not worked to end judicial activism. Would McCain buck the trend with his appointees?

by Gregory A. Hession, J.D.

What effect would a John McCain presidency have on the Supreme Court? That question is perhaps even more important this election year, since three or four Supreme Court justices are likely to retire during the next presidential term.

Would McCain nominate judges who would change the present ideological mix of the court and move it in the conservative direction? Would he nominate judges who vote to overturn precedents such as the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision that legalized abortion nationwide? McCain says that this is exactly what he would do. "John McCain believes *Roe v. Wade* is a flawed decision that must be overturned," his campaign website says, "and as president he will nominate judges who understand that courts should not be in the business of legislating from the bench."

McCain supporters are agog about making sure that no more Stephen Breyers and Ruth Bader Ginsburgs are appointed to the court (overlooking, or not knowing, the fact that McCain voted for both nominations), and are adamant that only a vote for McCain will save us from that fate. This includes even conservative-minded Americans who disagree with McCain's positions on other issues such as immigration "reform" (he supports amnesty for illegal aliens though he does not call it that), but who believe that, as a *Republican*, he would at least nominate conservative judges.

However, contrary to the conventional wisdom, the historical record shows that most Republican-appointed Supreme Court justices over the last century have abandoned the restraints on government power set forth in the Constitution. Moreover, McCain's own positions and pronouncements do not give a lot of hope that he would break this pattern, his campaign rhetoric to the contrary notwithstanding.

Looking Back

Before considering further the kind of justices McCain might nominate as president, let's first survey the historical record of past and present GOP-nominated Supreme Court justices. For those of us who have always heard that Republicans nominate conservative justices, this record should surprise — even shock.

Republican President Herbert Hoover appointed Charles Evans Hughes as chief justice of the Supreme Court in 1930. This despite the fact that long before this appointment Justice Hughes had opined: "We are under a Constitution, but the Constitution is what the judges say it is, and the judiciary is the safeguard of our liberty and of our property under the Constitution." Such relativistic language, placing no authority in the actual words of the Constitution, but only in "what the judges say it is," is the essence of legal positivism — the legal theory that has led to the worst excesses of judicial tyranny in the last century.

Hughes' record as governor of New York prior to being appointed chief justice, demonstrated his long-held belief in government control of many of aspects of life. For example, he advocated that the government set mandated freight rates

for railroads, a harbinger that he was an opponent of the free market. As chief justice, Hughes affirmed most of Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt's extra-constitutional New Deal legislation.

Chief Justice Hughes was assisted in supporting the vast expansion of federal power under FDR by two fellow GOP-appointed justices — Harlan Fiske Stone (nominated by Calvin Coolidge) and Benjamin Cardozo (nominated by Hoover).

Republican President Dwight Eisenhower nominated a string of statist jurists to the High Court during the 1950s — including Earl Warren as chief justice of the United States in 1953. Eisenhower said at the time that he wanted a "conservative" justice and that Warren "represents the kind of political, economic, and social thinking that I believe we need on the Supreme Court." Warren, however, turned out to be one of the most activist chief justices in our history.

Under Earl Warren, the court decided *Brown v. Board of Education*, which used federal power to eliminate discrimination in education by unconstitutionally usurping the power of the states. *Brown* established a great government lie out of whole cloth — that education is a compelling federal government interest, rather than a family and community interest.

The Warren Court found a "right of privacy" lurking somewhere in the emanations and shadows of the Constitution, in a 1965 case called *Griswold v. Connecticut*, upon which the ghastly *Roe v. Wade* abortion case was later based. It also ruled on several cases that outlawed religion in local public life, ostensibly in order not to offend the First Amendment. This was despite the fact that the First Amendment prohibited only the U.S. Congress — not state or local governmental entities — from establishing a religion, and despite the fact that this prohibition was intended to protect the free exercise of religion, not to eradicate religion from the public square. The irony of these decisions is that the Supreme Court itself opens in a prayer ("God save the United States and this honorable Court").

Another Eisenhower appointee, William Brennan, was also a tremendously influential Supreme Court justice, writing nearly 1,400 opinions during his 35 years on the court. He joined the majority in most of the cases that expanded federal power, and that dictated what was permitted or not permitted in civil life. He consistently imposed his own radical political views upon families, communities, and states, rather than being restrained by the limits of the Constitution.

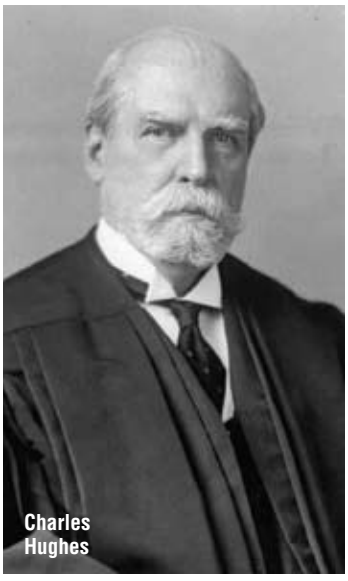
Republican President Richard Nixon appointed Harry Blackmun to the Supreme Court in 1970, who voted conservatively in his first years there. Then, in 1973, he wrote the infamous *Roe v. Wade* decision, which nullified all state anti-abortion laws in a single stroke and led to the unrestrained murder of tens of millions of babies.

Republican President Gerald Ford appointed Justice John Paul Stevens to the court in 1975. Stevens, the judge who is always seen with a bow tie, has now been on the bench for 33 years, and during that time he has become one of the most liberal justices ever to sit on that institution.

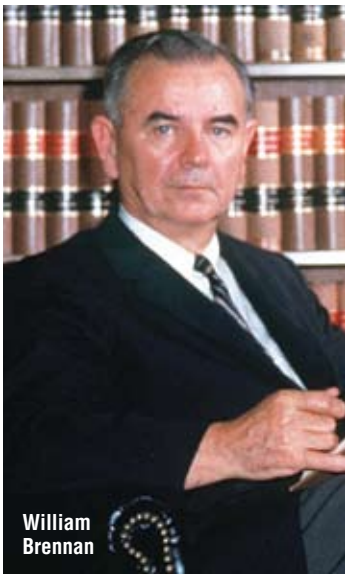
Republican super-hero Ronald Reagan appointed Sandra Day O'Connor and Anthony Kennedy to the Supreme Court in 1981 and 1988 respectively. Both voted to strike down state restrictions on abortion (*Planned Parenthood v. Casey*) and state anti-sodomy laws (*Lawrence v. Texas*), and to uphold the McCain-Feingold campaign finance (anti-free-speech) law. Also, both have gone on record favoring the use of international law to interpret our Constitution. Recently, Kennedy wrote the opinion that ruled that the death penalty was unconstitutional for a man who raped an eight-year-old child, citing "evolving standards of decency" in the United States (*Kennedy v. Louisiana*).

This writer's review of the records of all Supreme Court justices appointed by Republican presidents in the last 100 years shows that, by a large margin, they have been liberals and statists, rather than conservatives or conservative libertarians.

Republican President George H.W. Bush nominated David Souter to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1990. Souter was touted as a "home run for conservatism" by his home-state Republican senator, John Sununu of New Hampshire. Once approved, Souter did side with conservatives for a couple of years, but then flipped like a light switch, voting against abortion restrictions, against state laws prohibiting sodomy, against private property, and for gun regulation. Illustrating the fleeting nature of political alignments, the then-National Orga-


Charles Hughes


Earl Warren


William Brennan

AP Images

Would McCain's judicial nominees at least be better than those Barack Obama would choose? The evidence suggests that that's far from certain. Those persons who urge us to vote for McCain for the sake of getting better Supreme Court nominees should hearken to history.

nization for Women president, Molly Yard, testified at Souter's confirmation hearing that he would "end … freedom for women in this country." Souter has since become a darling of the radical feminists.

Republican presidents have appointed justices to the Supreme Court who generally do not reflect the official positions of the Republican Party, namely limited government, personal responsibility, lower taxes, respect for life, etc. The Republican-appointed justices mentioned above are just the beginning of a long list of such appointees who have rejected the basic philosophy of the GOP. This writer's review of the records of all Supreme Court justices appointed by Republican presidents in the last 100 years shows that, by a large margin, they have been liberals and statists, rather than conservatives or conservative libertarians.

By 1992, at the beginning of the Clinton presidency, eight of the nine Supreme Court justices were Republican appointees. Yet, the court continued its destructive pattern of trampling on property rights, disrespecting the right to life, expanding state power, disregarding family and local autonomy, and (in general) imposing unconstitutional rulings. There was little attempt to restrain the unconstitutional excesses of the president or Congress.

While "liberal" jurists, once appointed, tend to stay liberal jurists, freedom-minded conservatives often seem to "grow" in office. They learn to reflexively default to the power of the state in cases involving property rights, while becoming excessively libertine in cases involving individual rights. They rarely look to the actual language of the Constitution to inform their decisions, and they increasingly rely on international law as their foundation. Moreover, they almost never restrain their intervention to only those issues and powers granted to the Supreme Court under the Constitution.

What Would McCain Do?

If John McCain is elected president, what kind of Supreme Court justices would he likely nominate? Would he break the pattern of past Republican presidents and nominate judges who respect the Constitution?

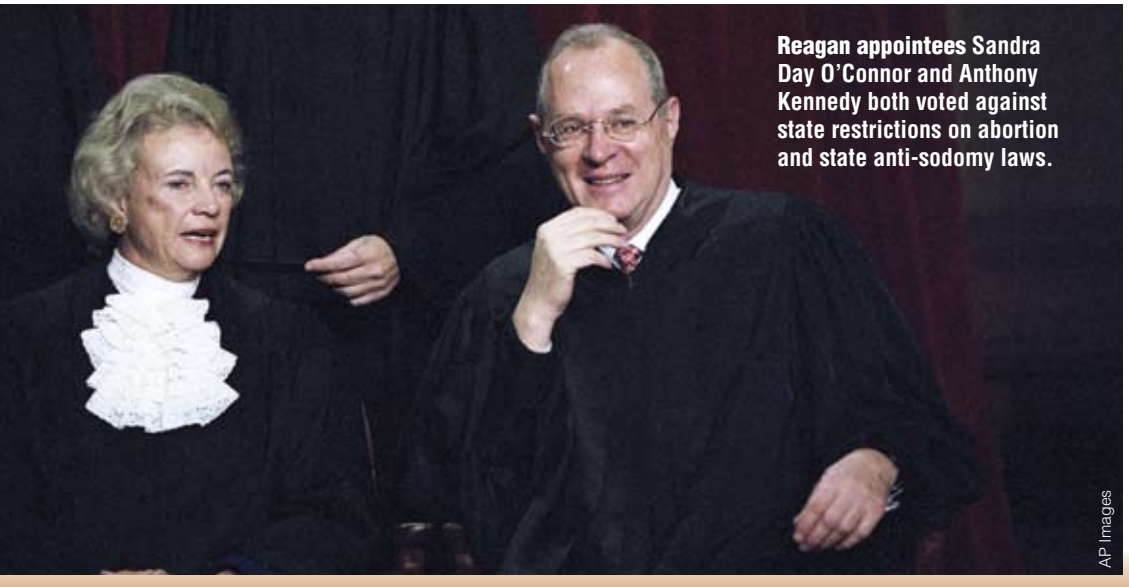
McCain's campaign website says that "Chief Justice John Roberts and Justice Samuel Alito will serve as the model for John McCain's judicial nominees." But what kind of model do they provide? Would justices fitting this mode operate within the restraints of the Constitution? Would they vote to overturn *Roe v. Wade* if given the opportunity?

Roberts and Alito are President George W. Bush's last two Supreme Court appointments, and not enough time has passed to tell whether they will impress or disappoint their conservative patrons. However, their testimonies during their respective confirmation hearings were revealing. Roberts said during his confirmation hearings that *Roe v. Wade* is "settled as a precedent of the court, entitled to respect under principles of *stare decisis* [Latin for 'stand by a decision']." Alito said he would approach the issue of *Roe* the way he would "every legal issue I approach as a judge, and that is to approach it with an open mind." An open mind is not an admirable quality when life is at stake.

Nor has McCain himself been consistent on the issue of *Roe*. In 1999, he told the *San Francisco Chronicle* that "certainly in the short term, or even the long term, I would not support repeal of *Roe vs. Wade*, which would then force women in America to [undergo] illegal and dangerous operations." That statement, of course, contradicts what he has said on other occasions, as well as what he has done by voting to approve two virulently pro-*Roe* justices, Ginsburg and Breyer.

McCain's campaign website says that his judicial nominees "will be faithful in all things to the Constitution and understand that there are clear limits to judicial and federal power." However, McCain's voting record in the Senate often demonstrates the opposite.

McCain was one of the main sponsors of the McCain-Feingold legislation that restricts political free speech during elections under the banner of campaign finance reform. In the name of fighting terrorism, he has also supported the Patriot Act, the Military Commissions Act, and President Bush's warrantless electronic searches, all of which ignore the Constitution's limitations on police and surveillance powers. During the current Congress (to date), Senator McCain has scored an anemic



Reagan appointees Sandra Day O'Connor and Anthony Kennedy both voted against state restrictions on abortion and state anti-sodomy laws.

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The current Supreme Court: Seated in the front row are (from left) Anthony M. Kennedy, John Paul Stevens, Chief Justice John G. Roberts, Antonin Scalia, and David Souter. Standing in the top row are (from left) Stephen Breyer, Clarence Thomas, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, and Samuel Alito, Jr.

AP Images

40 percent in THE NEW AMERICAN's "Freedom Index," which rates all members of the House and Senate on key votes based on the Constitution.

In light of this record, how realistic is it to expect that John McCain would appoint conservatives to the bench?

Do We Want "Conservative" Justices?

Do constitutionalists really want "conservatives" on the bench? Maybe not. That depends on the definition of "conservative." That definition has become badly muddied, and the current meaning may denote a person who favors fossilization of the present status of overarching federal power, as against family, church, and community self-government. In today's parlance, a conservative judge often supports the *status quo*, even when the *status quo* is immoral, unconstitutional, or even blatantly tyrannical.

By contrast, the recently reposed Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn stated in his 1978 Harvard University commencement address, "A society with no other scale but the legal one is not quite worthy of man either. A society which is based on the letter of the law and never reaches any higher is taking very scarce advantage of the high level of human possibilities. The letter of the law is too cold and formal to have a beneficial influence on society. Whenever the tissue of life is woven of legalistic relations, there is an atmosphere of moral mediocrity, paralyzing man's noblest impulses." Simply stated, the law must reflect true moral righteousness, rather than just embrace precedent for the sake of settled law.

Strange incongruities arise when attempting to define "conservative" jurisprudence. Do conservatives believe in security to the detriment of individual liberty? What about economic liberty, family liberty, and educational liberty? These issues have divided coalitions in ways which defy neatly organized categories.

Those members of the court referred to as "liberals" have little respect for property and gun rights, yet sometimes protect individual rights more fully than the so-called conservatives. However, liberal justices often impose "rights" not found in the Constitution — such as a "right" to abortion or sodomy — that conflict with community and family standards. Then again, so-called conservative justices have done the same. Nixon Supreme Court appointee Harry Blackmun, recall, wrote the *Roe v. Wade* decision.

The Republican-dominated court will not defend the First Amendment-protected free-speech rights of pro-life demonstrators in front of abortion clinics, or the free-speech rights of citizens who wish to speak out against candidates near election time. "Law and order conservatives" don't much like the Fourth Amendment, which requires a warrant before entering to find drugs or to take allegedly abused children. Liberals hate prayer in schools, falsely claiming that it violates the First Amendment establishment of religion clause.

These examples show the difficulty in categorizing the actions of the court as liberal or conservative. Few of today's justices base their decisions on the clear language of the Constitution. Each side has its favored portions and interpretations of the document, and each side tends to ignore the parts which do not fit into its world view.

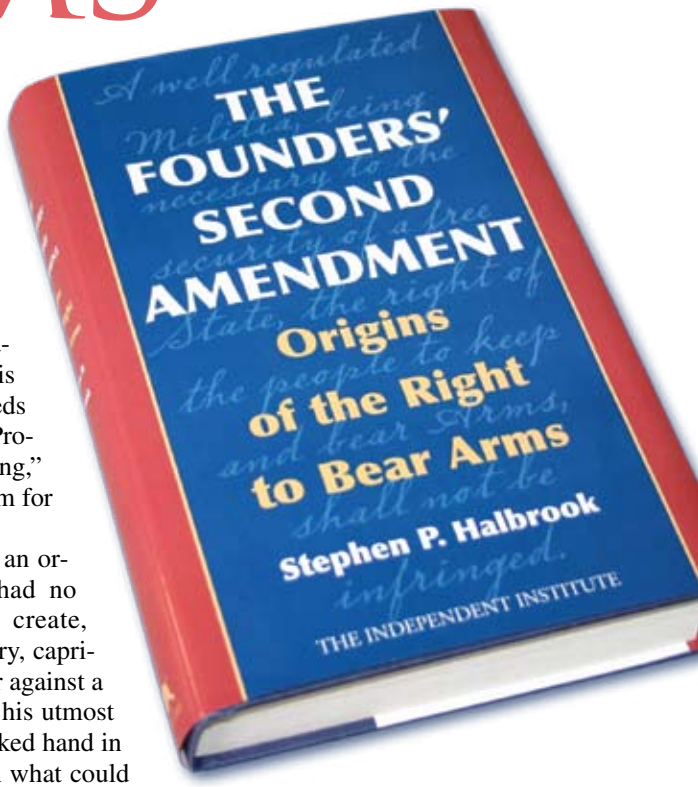
The Supreme Court has now become a super-legislature, in some ways more powerful than Congress or the president. The court can and does legislate from the bench with impunity, and can also invalidate the laws that Congress passes. Under the theory of legal positivism, the court views the Constitution as an evolving document that can and must be reinterpreted to fit the changing needs of society and our more "enlightened" understanding, and the court manipulates the law accordingly.

Would John McCain nominate justices who reject legal positivism and international relativism, and support a strict construction of the Constitution based on the intent of the Founders? Not likely. Would McCain's judicial nominees at least be better than those Barack Obama would choose? The evidence examined above suggests that that's far from certain.

Those persons who acknowledge McCain's lack of fealty to the Constitution, yet urge us to vote for him for the sake of getting better Supreme Court nominees, should hearken to history. ■

The Founders on Firearms

Stephen Halbrook's new book on the right to bear arms is an excellent resource that explains the meaning, application, and reason behind the Second Amendment.



by Kurt Williamsen

***The Founders' Second Amendment: Origins of the Right to Bear Arms*,** by Stephen P. Halbrook, Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2008, 425 pages, hardcover. To order, see the inside back cover.

Lynn Moses, of Idaho, was incarcerated in prison on August 6, 2008, for violating the EPA's Clean Water Act. He was found guilty of "discharging" "pollutants" into one of the "waters of the United States" and "pollut(ing) a spawning area for Yellowstone Cutthroat trout." He is scheduled to spend 18 months in prison.

Did Moses dump fuel oil or pesticides into a trout stream to earn such a harsh sentence? Nope. He *removed* gravel and debris from a *dry* streambed — something, by the way, that he was mandated to do! You see, Moses built a subdivision by Teton Creek, a creek that because of irrigation diversions holds water less than two months of the year. To get a building permit, his county required him to modify the stream bed by removing gravel bars and downed trees to prevent future flooding of the proposed subdivision. The Army Corps of Engineers came to a planning meeting for the subdivision, but didn't stay because they said they had no jurisdiction over "intermittent" streams.

Then he was charged with violating the Clean Water Act and was found guilty because the activist judge wouldn't let the jury consider any information about the original agreement of the subdivision or any interaction that Moses had with federal officials that validated his position. (See the article "Feds to Imprison Idaho Man for Protecting Homes From Flooding," online at thenewamerican.com for a more detailed story.)

In Moses' case, the EPA, an organization that Congress had no constitutional authority to create, applied the law in an arbitrary, capricious, and vindictive manner against a U.S. citizen who was doing his utmost to follow the law, and it worked hand in hand with a federal judge in what could only be called a travesty of justice. Imagine if such abuses became commonplace; imagine that it was you or a family member who was going to prison, leaving, like Moses, who is a single parent, your 17-year-old daughter with friends.

The Founding Fathers of this country designed the Constitution and the Bill of Rights specifically to forestall just such an abuse of federal power by strictly limiting federal authority and by retaining the ultimate instruments of popular self-government — militia. Such is the historical lesson at the heart of Stephen P. Halbrook's book *The Founders' Second Amendment: Origins of the Right to Bear Arms*.

The book is a study of the period from 1768 to 1826, as it says on the book's flyleaf, "from the last years of British rule and the American Revolution through the adoption of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and the passing of the Founders' generation." It not only uses the words and actions of the "Founders' generation" to show why the Second Amendment came about, but to explain the meaning of the amendment and to make clear to whom the amendment applies and the level of importance the Founders attached to this "right."

The book opens with one of the few assertions that Halbrook makes that rests largely on opinion: the widely accepted and now-famous cause for the Revolutionary War — taxation without representation — was probably not really the cause of the war. He contends that prior to the war period the colonies had made peace with England over unpopular tax-and-trade policies and would have again after this time of dissent against such taxes as the "Revenue Act, which imposed customs duties on imported glass, lead, paints, paper, and tea." But British General Thomas Gage, with blessings from England, sent British troops to Boston and then committed the

unpardonable act in the eyes of the colonists: attempting to disarm the populace. *This action*, according to Halbrook, led the populace to war.

Such an assertion is arguable on its face, and it would likely be contended by a range of scholars, including constitutional law expert Edwin Vieira, who wrote a book about the history of the militia before, during, and after this time period entitled *Constitutional "Homeland Security": The Nation in Arms*. Vieira told THE NEW AMERICAN about Halbrook's claim, "In fact, what Gage attempted in the way of 'gun control' in 1774 and 1775 was only the 'last straw.' More of a truly precipitating event was the Gaspee Affair in 1772." In the Gaspee Affair, England aimed to arrest and bring to trial *in England* colonists believed to have boarded and then burned a British customs ship that had run aground off Rhode Island. This greatly alarmed the colonists. To Halbrook's credit, he doesn't label the British attempt to disarm the populace as the only reason for war, just the main reason.

As proof, Halbrook covers several years of give and take between the British and the colonists, while additionally building his central case — that the Second Amendment means that citizens are to be able to retain and carry firearms for all legal uses and that the "right to keep and bear arms" is an individual right, one that the federal government cannot "infringe" on *in any way*. In fact, until 1903, the Militia Act, signed by President George Washington, required that white males 18 to 45 years old provide themselves "with a good musket or firelock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints, and a knapsack." The Constitution so restrains the government that it cannot even add red tape to the process of getting a firearm because this would make firearm ownership more onerous and be an infringement.

He marshals prodigious evidence from during that period, including documents from when the colonies created charters for self-government during the war, such as declarations of rights that defended citizens' rights to own, carry, and use arms. And then he carries through with documents from the debates during the drafting of the Constitution, documents from state ratifying conventions and personal correspondence by participants in the aforementioned, and articles in newspapers. He also gives the same treatment to the Bill of Rights.

His research is so thoroughly done that one can say with a certainty that anyone who says that the Second Amendment doesn't protect an individual's right to firearm ownership, or says that the federal government may restrict this right, may justifiably be called either ignorant or a liar. In fact, the depth of Halbrook's research is both his greatest asset and his greatest flaw. As the book moves forward, there are so many similar sentiments about the Second Amendment backing an "individual right" perspective that occasionally the sheer redundancy makes one's interest drag.

The evidence proves that there is absolutely no question that the Second Amendment means that the federal government may not make any rules restricting firearms ownership. What is less clear to readers is to what extent, if any, that states may restrict firearms ownership.

For instance, on the side of those who argue that the state may put restrictions on gun ownership, one could point to the fact that the Federalists (those people who were for passing the Constitution without a bill of rights) pointed out repeatedly that no bill of rights was needed because any power not positively given by the Constitution to the federal government fell under the auspices of the states. This is further reinforced by the Federalists' oft-repeated argument that any rights and powers that might be listed in a bill of rights as belonging to the people or the states would merely be a tiny subset of all the rights and powers that they actually held. So, because the Constitution does not forbid the states from enacting gun-control measures, it retains that power. In a similar vein, as Halbrook shows, the First Amendment forbids Congress from making any laws establishing or forbidding religion, but several states at the time that the Constitution was ratified had state-sponsored religions.

Also backing this view is the fact that several states had as part of their state measures laws that would restrict firearm ownership to those who were free men and that would disarm those who posed a "real danger of public injury."

The main argument in opposition to those views is that the Bill of Rights listed both state powers and some personal inalienable "rights." In the Constitution the word "rights" is only associated with individual freedoms, not state rights. By ratifying the Bill of Rights, then, state laws restricting gun ownership would be null and void. (The laws against slaves owning firearms wouldn't be applicable because slaves were considered property, not people.) As Halbrook puts it, "It would not make sense to say that 'the people have a right' to do something only if the state authorizes it."

But all the preceding arguments about state powers ignore the historical context in which the Second Amendment was derived. As Vieira states: "Whether the other parts of the Bill of Rights applies to the States, the Second Amendment surely does, because: The Militia are (as the original body of the Constitution makes clear) 'the Militia *of the several States*'; the key principle of all the pre-constitutional Militia throughout the Colonies and independent States for about 150 years was that every able-bodied free man was required to possess his own firearm in his own home at all times; the Constitution presumes that the Militia will continue in existence just as they were in the late 1700s; the Constitution even orders Congress 'to provide for organizing, *arming*, and disciplining the Militia' — so that no government at any level, may disarm the Militia. Essentially all 'gun control' of the modern variety is unconstitutional."

Though Halbrook's material doesn't definitively answer the question about state powers over firearms, the book is an excellent resource for anyone who wants to form a knowledgeable opinion on the meaning, application, and reason behind the Second Amendment. ■

Overcoming His Handicap

After Tim Bird graduated from Boyceville High School in Wisconsin in 1986, he worked on his parents' family farm. Though Tim has Down syndrome, the farm provided ample opportunities for him to do fulfilling, productive work. However, when his parents, Bob and Lynda Bird, decided to sell the farm, Tim felt somewhat useless and was eager to take on a new challenge.

Fortunately, Tim's sister-in-law, Jolene Bird, who teaches at Tiffany Creek Elementary School in Boyceville, thought there might be a spot for Tim at the school, and she mentioned this to a coworker, Joan Klassen, who told the *Dunn County News* (Wisconsin) her first impression. "I realized I could do something about this young man I was hearing about, who had always been needed and was now at a loss about feeling useful," she said. "As I listened, I began to think I could give Tim small jobs in my classroom, busy work that would help me and give him a sense of contribution."

However, Tim's contribution grew into something beyond what some may have anticipated.

On the surface, Tim's position seems mostly about "chores." As he told the newspaper: "I have many jobs here, and I like it better than farming. I have friends, and I help them. I pass out papers and make copies for the teachers. I like to run the stopwatch for testing. And I wash chalkboards."

But driven by his natural sense of commitment and concern for others, Tim has developed an important sideline that goes far beyond papers, pencils, and chalkboards — being a positive influence and friend to all. "It is my job to help if somebody is having a hard time," he told the reporter, indicating the spot where he stepped in to console a child having a bad day. "Today a kid was crying about something. I have to take care of that. I made him feel better; this is a part of my job."

The school has assigned space for Tim to use as an office, in what has been described as "a generous corner of a classroom," stocked with all the usual office supplies. A visitor entering his office space is greeted with a sign identifying its occupant: "Mr. Tim."

Both teachers and students at Tiffany Creek Elementary School appreciate Tim's presence. Joan Klassen explained: "I look forward to the days Tim comes to school. He is a big help to the school day." But she was sure to add: "I believe, though, that the students' comments about Tim say it all best."

One fifth-grade student, Megan Bird, wrote this testimonial: "I think it's such an honor to have Tim in the classroom with us. He is the coolest, sweetest, most awesome guy around."

Gallant Graduate

At the conclusion of the 2007-2008 academic year, three graduating seniors at Madeira High School in Ohio were in a virtual three-way tie for having the highest grade point average. But Andrew Stoffel, with a 4.548 GPA, was .019 (19 thousandths of a point!) ahead of his two nearest competitors, Victoria "Tori" Neuman and Ashley Paluta.

Andrew believed that his two classmates were equally hardworking, deserving students, and that his infinitesimal advantage over the others could be chalked up to the fact that his schedule had been a bit easier. So he approached Madeira principal Chris Mate and asked if all three could be named valedictorians.

"Andy did come to see me and felt like both the other two kids had taken the same kind of rigorous schedule that he had taken, and they were always in his classes," Mate told the *Cincinnati Enquirer*. "He felt like it was a quirk of the system here or there that they didn't end up valedictorian."

"He felt like he wanted to be inclusive and include them as valedictorians. It was out of his generous heart that he wanted to make that gesture, and we felt that that was a great thing to do."

As Andrew explained his decision to the newspaper: "Mostly, it's just been technicalities that have separated us. I kind of thought I've had the easiest schedule this year of the three of us, because I had a study hall. I've had a study hall all four years."

The graduate's noble decision earned him heartfelt thanks from his classmates and their families. Tori said: "There was a lot of screaming, hugging and jumping up and down." Tori's mother, Robin Stevenson, recalled her reaction to Andrew's actions: "I thought, 'Isn't that a mark of his character?' "

The Paluta family was also lavish with their praise. Ashley said, "I was very excited. [My parents] were very happy, and they said I should buy Andy a very special graduation present."

All three valedictorians are continuing their educational careers — Tori is going to Oberlin College, Ashley to Michigan State University, and Andrew to Georgetown University.

Three-year-old Saves Mom

About a year ago, Jessica Eaves of Guthrie, Oklahoma, learned that she had vasovagal syncope, a condition that can cause unexpected fainting due to a sudden drop in blood pressure. She was concerned, not so much for herself, but for her three-year-old daughter, Madelyn, and her younger son, Jack.

Back when Jessica was pregnant with Jack, she fainted and Madelyn had pressed the green "send" button on her cellphone, which called the last person Jessica had called. That person called for help.

The experience inspired Jessica to go a step further, and she taught Madelyn a little song to help her remember "911 Green."

Back on May 27, Jessica, who was three months' pregnant at the time, again fainted and this time little Madelyn picked up her mother's BlackBerry and punched in "911 Green"! Madelyn gave the dispatcher information describing her house and cars parked outside, allowing the EMTs to quickly locate the home.

While appearing as a guest on CBS's *Early Show*, Jessica told substitute coanchor Jeff Glor: "I really think all parents should realize — teach your kids to call 911 in case of an emergency. It helps not only you but it helps your kids, too." ■

— Warren Mass

KAL Flight 007 Remembered

AP Images

A view of Korean Airlines plane number HL7442 on the runway in Hawaii in 1982. This same 747 flew as KAL Flight 007 on September 1, 1983. The most prominent passenger on the flight was U.S. Rep. Larry McDonald, who was such a strident foe of the communists that a Soviet defector revealed that the KGB had assigned an intelligence desk to monitor him exclusively.

On September 1, 1983, a Soviet fighter jet fired on Korean Airlines Flight 007. We try to resolve the controversy over what happened next by examining all available information.

by Warren Mass

It has been 25 years since Korean Airlines Flight 007, carrying 269 passengers and crew, including Congressman Larry McDonald of Georgia, was fired on by a Soviet fighter jet off the coast of Siberia. At the time, McDonald was chairman of the John Birch Society (a subsidiary of which publishes THE NEW AMERICAN).

Although several speakers eulogized McDonald at a Washington, D.C., memorial service 10 days following the September 1, 1983 attack, the words most remembered by both this magazine's editor, Gary Benoit, and this writer were delivered by the late Senator Jesse Helms, who passed away on July 4. Senator Helms, along with Senator Steve Symms of Idaho and Representative Carroll Hubbard, Jr. of Kentucky, were headed for the same conference in Seoul, South Korea, as was Congressman McDonald, but on a different plane (KAL 015). Both planes, flying on schedules just minutes apart, stopped at Anchorage, Alaska, for refueling, and passengers from each could deplane and stretch their legs. McDonald decided to stay onboard, but Senator Helms opted to visit the terminal, where he mingled with passengers from the doomed KAL 007. During the layover, Helms met two little girls who were passengers on McDonald's plane, Noel Anne Grenfell, five, and her sister Stacy Marie, three. The senator spoke about the encounter to the 4,000 people gathered at the McDonald memorial service, and often again in the years that followed:

> I'll never forget that night when that plane was just beside ours at Anchorage airport with two little girls and their parents. I taught them, among other things, to say I love you in deaf [sign] language, and the last thing they did when they turned the corner was stick up their little hands and tell me they loved me.

Few who heard the story forgot it, and there was not a dry eye in the house that sultry Washington afternoon.

President Ronald Reagan made a strongly worded speech on national television on September 5, 1983, during which he called the attack a "crime against humanity" that had "absolutely no justification, either legal or moral." He used the word "massacre" six times to describe the attack against a civilian airliner, and boldly proclaimed: "This attack was not just against ourselves or the Republic of Korea. This was the Soviet Union against the world and the moral precepts which guide human relations among people everywhere."

But the actions of the Reagan administration fell far short of the president's flamboyant rhetoric. Our government offered no meaningful resistance to the Soviet harassment of U.S. search-and-rescue efforts in the Sea of Japan as Soviet ships interfered with U.S. and Japanese naval vessels and helicopters attempting to find and recover KAL 007 and its black box.

More meaningfully, Reagan failed to follow through on his tough talk by employing any of the means possible to punish the Soviets, such as trade sanctions. In fact, over time, his administration in-

Larry McDonald

That one or more Soviet fighter jets shot down a civilian airliner is an easily established fact. However, key details about exactly what happened to the plane and its passengers clash with the official conclusion that the stricken airliner plummeted into the sea killing all aboard.

creased trade with the Soviet Union. Already on September 1, 1984, the Associated Press reported: "Secretary of State George Shultz says the Soviet Union's shooting down of a South Korean airliner one year ago … should not preclude improvement of relations."

That one or more Soviet fighter jets were responsible for shooting down a civilian airliner and that one of the passengers on that plane was a U.S. congressman and that the official U.S. response to the incident was pathetically weak are easily established facts. However, key details about exactly what happened to the plane and its passengers clash with the official conclusion that the stricken airliner plummeted into the sea killing all aboard.

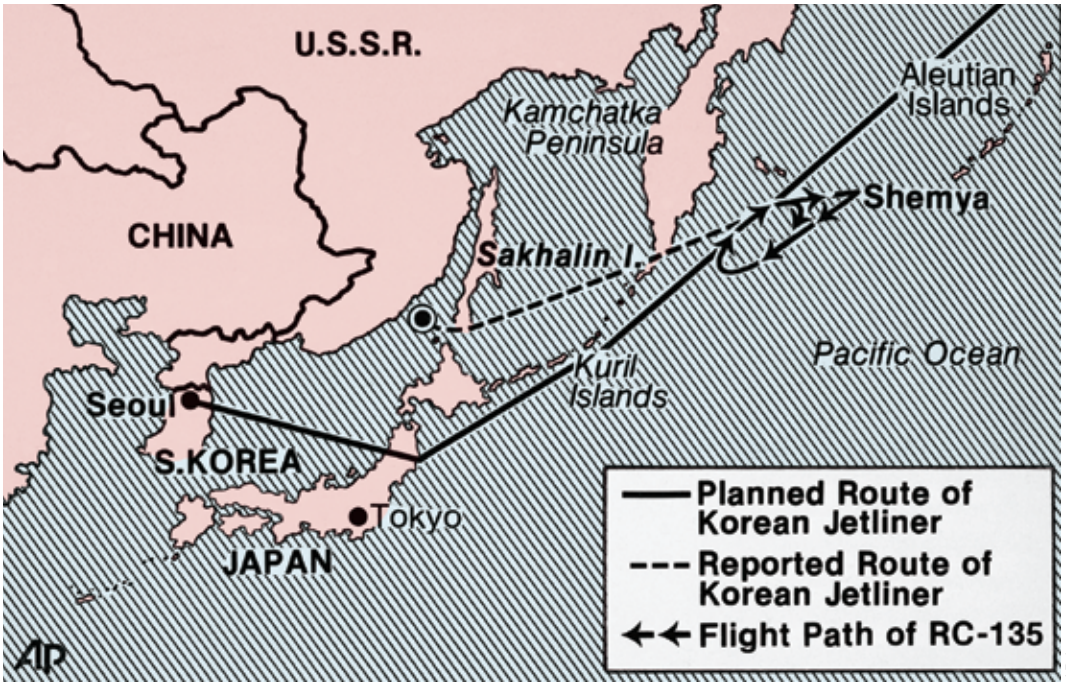
What Really Happened?

Because the attack against KAL 007 took place just after it had exited Soviet airspace and the plane went down in Soviet territory, most of what we know comes from three sources: first, highly suspect early reports from the Soviets; second, radio transmissions to and from the Soviet fighter jets and their ground commanders (handed over by the Russian Federation years later); and, third, transmissions from the airliner's flight crew to Tokyo air traffic controllers. Radar tracking by Japanese stations also provided key information.

As mentioned earlier, KAL 007 was one of two Korean Airlines planes en route to Seoul, Korea, after both stopped at Anchorage for refueling. The aircraft's flight plan called for it to fly southwest from Anchorage to Japan, flying over the Pacific east of the Soviet Kamchatka Peninsula and Kuril Islands, then across the Sea of Japan to South Korea. The flight's designated corridor, Romeo 20, passed just 17½ miles from Soviet airspace off the Kamchatka coast. However, for reasons still unexplained, the plane gradually, but steadily, deviated from its planned course until it crossed the Kamchatka Peninsula, home to the Soviet's Far East Fleet Inter-Continental Ballistic Nuclear Submarine Base. The timing for straying into this area could not have been worse. It was but a few short hours before the time that Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, Soviet Chief of General Staff, had set for the test firing of the SS-25, an illegal (according to SALT II agreements) mobile Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM). The Kamchatka Peninsula was the designated target area for the missile. Though the incursion sent Soviet air defenses on high alert and fighters were scrambled, the situation calmed down as KAL 007 crossed the peninsula and reentered international airspace over the Sea of Okhotsk.

Continuing on a southwestward course, KAL 007 reentered Soviet airspace over Sakhalin Island, and fighters were scrambled with orders to "destroy the target." An exchange of communications between General Valeri Kamensky, the Commander of the Soviet Far East District Air Defense Forces, and his subordinate, General Anatoli Kornukov, commander of Sokol Air Base, revealed a difference of opinion about how much verification was required before destroying the aircraft. A monitored radio transmission recorded Kamensky as stating: "We must find out, maybe it is some civilian craft or God knows who." General Kornukov defiantly replied: "What civilian? [It] has flown over Kamchatka! It [came] from the ocean without identification. I am giving the order to attack if it crosses the State border."

An article in the *New York Times* of December 9, 1996, quoted Major Gennadi Osipovich, the pilot of the SU-15 Interceptor that fired on the plane: "From the flashing lights and the configuration of the windows, he recognized the aircraft as a civilian type of plane.... 'I saw two rows of windows and knew that this was a Boeing,' he said. 'I knew this was a civilian plane. But for me this meant nothing. It is easy to turn a civilian type of plane into one for military use.' "



AP Images

The planned route of KAL 007 is shown with a solid line, the actual path with a dashed line. The arrowheads depict the path of the U.S. RC-135 surveillance plane operating in the area, which the Soviets claimed they confused with the much larger and differently shaped 747.

AP Images

President Reagan shakes hands with Senator Jesse Helms in June 1983, months before the downing of KAL 007. Reagan condemned the attack, but his actions did not back up his rhetoric. Helms persisted in attempting to find out the truth.

During one exchange, General Kornukov expressed frustration with the amount of time Major Osipovich was taking to get into attack position: "Oh, [obscenities] how long does it take him to get into attack position, he is already getting out into neutral waters. Engage afterburner immediately. Bring in the MiG 23 as well.... While you are wasting time it will fly right out [of Soviet airspace]."

Major Osipovich reported starkly at one point in the transcript: "The target is destroyed."

As it happened, however, Osipovich was wrong; the "target" had not been destroyed. Subsequent radio transmissions from KAL 007 indicated that while the crew had problems in controlling the altitude of the plane (it had climbed on its own) and that the cabin had depressurized, First Officer Son had reported to the plane's Captain Chun: "Engines normal, sir." Captain Chun then turned off the plane's autopilot and took manual control of the plane, stabilizing it at 35,000 feet, its original altitude. He also contacted controllers at Tokyo, requested that they "give instructions," and reported he was "descending to one zero thousand [10,000 feet]."

According to the transcripts, there was no further transmission from KAL 007, a factor that has been widely interpreted (or misinterpreted) to mean that the airliner either exploded or crashed into the sea at that point. But the plane was tracked on radar for more than 10 minutes after the last recorded transcript, and was picked up on radar flying at 16,424 feet four minutes after the attack. Eight minutes later, radar showed that the plane was still at 1,000 feet, indicating that the rate of descent had slowed — not what one would expect if the plane had plummeted into the sea as claimed. The pilot's request for "instructions" also indicates that he still had control over the aircraft, or else such a request would have been pointless.

When Soviet General Kornukov was informed that the plane had changed course to the north he was incredulous: "Well, I understand [that the plane turned north], I do not understand the result, why is the target flying? Missiles were fired. Why is the target flying? [obscenities] Well, what is happening?" Of course, the fact that the plane changed direction suggests not only that the pilot was able to steer the aircraft but that he was going to attempt an emergency landing.

Kornukov then ordered that a MIG 23 be brought in to finish the job. However, due to KAL 007's descent and heavy cloud cover, they could not locate the plane. The Soviet interceptors, low on fuel, returned to their base without having sighted the plane. The Soviets' radar told them, however, that the plane had descended to 16,424 feet and was flying a spiral pattern over Moneron Island, in the Tartar Strait 24 miles west of Sakhalin Island.

Finally, 12 minutes after the attack, KAL 007 disappeared from radar, after dipping below the 1,000-foot level near Moneron Island. The Soviets immediately dispatched squadrons of KGB Border Guard boats, rescue helicopters, and even civilian trawlers to Moneron Island.

In the United States, the news broadcasts the evening of the disappearance of KAL 007 reported that the missing aircraft had landed safely on Sakhalin Island. But by the following morning those initial reports were forgotten, and the news was that the plane had been destroyed.

Putting the Pieces Together

For several reasons (not the least of which was that he had been invited by Rep. McDonald to travel with him on KAL 007 and that he also had that touching encounter with the two little girls from the plane), Senator Jesse Helms always took a strong interest in the mysterious fate of this airliner. During the two-year period following the tragedy, Helms proposed eight specific sanctions against the Soviets to punish them for that heinous act, but both Congress and the Reagan White House worked to defeat those sanctions. In 1991, Senator Helms, as Minority Leader of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, issued a report that noted: "KAL 007 probably ditched successfully, there may have been survivors, the Soviets have been lying massively, and diplomatic efforts need to be made to return the possible survivors."

On December 10, 1991, just five days after Senator Helms had written to President Boris Yeltsin of the newly established Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic concerning the whereabouts of U.S. servicemen who were POWs or MIAs, he sent a second letter to Yeltsin concerning KAL 007. Helms wrote: "One of the greatest tragedies of the Cold War was the shoot-down of the Korean Airlines flight KAL-007 by the Armed Forces of what was then the Soviet Union on September 1, 1983.... The KAL-007 tragedy was one of the most tense incidences of the entire Cold War. However, now that relations between our two nations have improved substantially, I believe that it is time to resolve the mysteries surrounding this event."

Senator Helms attached a list of questions

A striped Soviet mini-sub rests on the deck of a larger vessel off Sakhalin Island on September 27, 1983. The Soviets aggressively kept U.S. and Japanese search vessels out of the area.

to his letter, some of which indicated that he believed that the passengers had survived the crash or landing. These included:

1. From Soviet reports of the incident, please provide:
   a) A list of the names of any living passengers and crew members from the airplane;
   b) A list of missing passengers and crew;
   c) A list of dead passengers and crew;
   d) A list and explanation of what happened to the bodies of any dead passengers and crew;

Helms also asked: "Please provide detailed information on the fate of U.S. Congressman Larry McDonald."

Finally, pressing the point even more bluntly, Helms asked:

1. How many KAL-007 family members and crew are being held in Soviet camps?
2. Please provide a detailed list of the camps containing live passengers and crew, together with a map showing their location.

Why did Senator Helms choose this particular time to make this request of Yeltsin? For one thing, the old Soviet Union was in the process of reinventing itself as the Russian Federation and other republics. This was seen as a period of "thaw" in U.S.-Russian relations and Senator Helms thought that Yeltsin might be more cooperative than his predecessors. However, he had also received information that led him to question not only the details of the attack, but the post-attack fate of the passengers and crew.

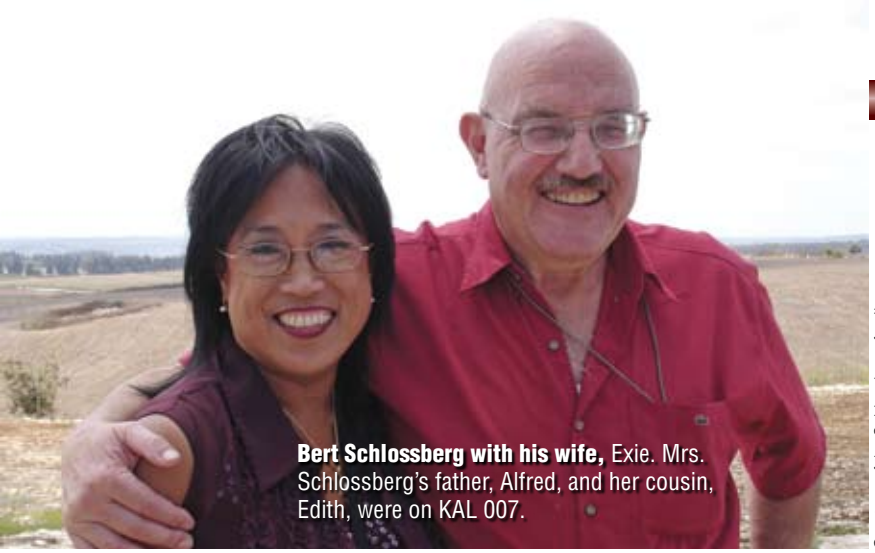
A major source of that information had been Avraham Shifrin, a former major in the Soviet army and criminal investigator in the Krasnador area of the Crimea, who was employed at the Soviet Ministry of Weapons before becoming a slave-labor prisoner. Shifrin is best known for his 1980 book *The First Guidebook to Prisons and Concentration Camps of the Soviet Union*. Shifrin, who passed away in 1998, immigrated to Israel, where he established the Research Centre for Prisons, Psych-Prisons, and Forced Labor Concentration Camps of the USSR. His contacts included not only former prisoners inside and outside the Soviet Union but even officials within the Soviet government. As he explained during an interview when on an extensive speaking tour in the United States sponsored by the John Birch Society in 1983-84, "Because I was the chief legal adviser in the [Soviet] Ministry of War Equipment, I have many contacts. When I was in prison, my friends became important in the war industry."

In 1991, Shifrin issued a press release saying his investigation into the fate of the KAL 007 passengers indicated that many, including Larry McDonald, were secretly kidnapped and held by the Soviet Union.

The New American recently contacted a former associate of Shifrin in Israel, Bert Schlossberg (the author of *Rescue 007: The Untold Story of KAL 007 and Its Survivors*), to find out what he had learned about Flight 007. Schlossberg immigrated to Israel about 20 years ago and settled in a small community north of Jerusalem just opposite the hill where Avraham Shifrin worked. He got to know Shifrin quite well and became privy to the information that was coming to him, mainly by people who had left the Soviet Union. He became director of an organization formed in 2001, the International Committee for the Rescue of KAL 007 Survivors, Inc., whose mission is "to uncover and disseminate the truth about the KAL 007 incident and to effect the rescue and return home of its survivors." When we reached Schlossberg in Jerusalem by phone, he was so eager to share his knowledge of KAL Flight 007 with us that we have space for only a small part of that interview:

The New American: *You are the son-in-law of one of the passengers of Korean Air Lines Flight 007. Was your interest in discovering the truth about the incident at first mainly a personal one?*

Bert Schlossberg: My wife's father and cousin, Alfredo Cruz and Edith Cruz, were passengers on the plane. All the years since it happened, until I met Avraham Shifrin, I had accepted, pretty much like everybody else did, that they were all dead. The hardest thing was to accept that they were alive, or might be alive and in a bad situation. I asked for some kind of evidence. He put me in touch with a former military man, an immigrant to Israel that had worked at the radar station just opposite Sakhalin Island, across the Tartar Straits on the Siberian eastern coast. He worked in an underground headquarters (HQ 1848). It was a radar installation. And he told me the story of what they had seen on their radar scopes. They had tracked KAL 007 before it was hit and after it was hit and



Bert Schlossberg with his wife, Exie. Mrs. Schlossberg's father, Alfred, and her cousin, Edith, were on KAL 007.

Courtesy of the Schlossberg family

In the United States, the news broadcasts the evening of the disappearance of KAL 007 reported that the missing aircraft had landed safely on Sakhalin Island. But by the following morning, those initial reports were forgotten, and the news was that the plane had been destroyed.

they said that it descended very gradually to a point that was 1,000 feet above the surface of the sea and then disappeared from their radar scope because of the curvature of the Earth. Because the original announcement that it disappeared from the radar screen, everybody assumed that was because it exploded but he said "no" it was not that — it was because they couldn't track it. That began my quest — as did the work of Avraham Shifrin, whose work was conveyed to Jesse Helms, and to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. And Jesse said the CIA could verify the materials and they did verify the most important part of what Avraham Shifrin was receiving — that the plane had landed and landed on the water.

TNA: *What resulted from Shifrin's report to Senator Helms?*

Schlossberg: Because the report was positive, and because it indicated that there was a probability of survivors, that encouraged Jesse Helms to write to Boris Yeltsin. We've got a letter (under "Documents") on our website [www.rescue007.org/] from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Minority Staff Director under Helms, Rear Admiral Bud Nance, confirming that Jesse Helms wrote that letter on December 10, 1991 to Boris Yeltsin because of the information coming from Israel. [Note: The New American has reviewed the letter to Avraham Shifrin from Rear Admiral Nance, which said, in part: "The letter [to Boris Yeltsin] inquiring about the fate of KAL-007 is a direct result of your information."]

TNA: *Did Senator Helms' letter to Yeltsin produce any tangible results?*

Schlossberg: Boris Yeltsin came forth with … the real-time Russian military communications, during shoot-down, after shoot-down.... The work of the International Committee for the Rescue of KAL 007 Survivors is based mainly or largely on these Russian military communications.... And basically, the picture that the committee was able to get from the tapes and coordinate with the military documents, was that the plane was rocketed, and the two missiles were set off by the interceptor pilot, Gennadi Osipovich, one rocket was a heat-seeking missile and it missed.... The pilot said he took off the left wing, well the plane can't fly without a left wing. But what the cockpit voice recorder shows — you see it on the transcript — the co-pilot [of KAL 007] reported twice back after the fact, "All engines normal, Sir." Plus the broadcast was made on a high-frequency radio and the high-frequency radio [antenna] was on the tip of the left wing — so that left wing was intact. The plane could be flown. The plane rose — because the crossover cable of the elevator was destroyed — then Captain Chun got control, took it out of auto-pilot and began to descend and level out at 5,000 meters.... This was not on the [black box] tape that the Russians returned and that's probably the reason why they did not return the whole tape, just a minute and 44 seconds of it.

Helms also asked in that letter for the locations of the camps where the passengers were kept, he asked for the fate of Larry McDonald, he asked for all the Russian

Soviet Navy Captain V.V. Ivanov (left) is assisted by Soviet sailors in spreading out pieces of KAL 007 on December 21, 1983. The Soviets turned over some debris to a joint U.S.-Japanese delegation in Nevelsk, Sakhalin Island, but the very small quantity was inconsistent with the crash of a plane as large as a Boeing 747.

AP Images

Reports of KAL 007 passengers still being held in Russia are disturbing. While we cannot confirm them, neither can we dismiss them. As long as the possibility remains that any passengers have survived, no means should be spared to account for their whereabouts.

military communications, the radio tracks, etc., and Yeltsin would reply to everything except about the passengers.

TNA: *Some reports have come out about sightings of Flight 007 passengers from people in prison camps. Have you received similar information?*

Schlossberg: We have.... Right after the shoot-down, there was a Russian pastor who was in a Soviet prison, and there were a whole bunch of Westerners who came into that prison the same week as the shoot-down, dressed in civilian clothes. After awhile they put on regular prison clothes. This pastor came to the United States, and actually we got in touch with him through a mission organization that had contact with this pastor in Russia. He wanted to tell his story why he believed they were the KAL 007 people, the Westerners. I might say, the report that came in to Avraham was that the passengers were taken off the plane by the patrol boats and they were brought to Sakhalin and at Sakhalin they were separated into groups. The children were brought over to the mainland and the children were basically distributed for adoption. When contacted, the Russian pastor refused to speak about the matter because he feared for the safety of his family still in Russia.

Larry McDonald has the most tracking. It's still not on the level of hard evidence, but credible evidence, meaning it is something that has got to be checked on by somebody who has the means to follow it through. According to our reports, McDonald wound up in Lubyanka [KGB prison] and was interrogated by Vladimir Kryuchkov, the head of the First Chief Directorate of the KGB. He was taken to Lefortovo KGB prison, also in Moscow, and then taken to Sukhanova, to a dascha [summer house], where he was interrogated under drugs, and the report from there was that he no longer had an identity, they robbed him of his ability to know who he was. Eventually he was taken to Karaganda, which is a transit prison, in Kazakhstan. Of course at that time, Kazakhstan was part of the Soviet Union. And that was the last tracking of him, at a prison north of Karaganda, called Temir Tau.

These reports are from people at the time in the Soviet Union, but there are other reports that we received. These are reports from people who are family members of the passengers, directed to us discreetly. One woman got a phone call, and she recognized immediately the voice of her husband who had been a passenger on the plane, and then the conversation was cut off.... These are the types of things that we have. And it is still going on, we're still getting information and contacts.

TNA: *In recent years there has been a great deal of reporting about the new Russia and how it is not like the old Soviet Union. Do you think a lot of this is a myth — that if the Russian Federation truly were as democratic and as free as they're pretending to be that these prisons would be open and that they'd voluntarily be releasing these people on their own?*

Schlossberg: The KGB may not be there under the same name, but other people operate the same way. Avraham Shifrin made this comment to me: "Of course they're there, of course, the KGB still exists, forget about the name. What you do look at is the benefit, they're on the benefit role, the same people that were on the KGB are under a new name getting the same benefits, the same personnel."

Seeking Resolution

Such reports of KAL Flight 007 passengers still being held in Russia are, of course, disturbing. But given the amount of intelligence that is available from the Russian government and our own, we do not presently have the means to confirm them. Neither, however, do we have any reason to dismiss them, and as long as the possibility remains that any passengers have survived, no means should be spared to account for their whereabouts. ■

The late Robert W. Lee researched KAL 007 extensively for TNA. Go to: www.thenewamerican.com to read his last comprehensive article on the subject.

AP Images

One year later: A group of people who wanted the memory of KAL 007 to live on erected cardboard tombstones in Lafayette Square, across the street from the White House, on August 31, 1984. Organizers also held a memorial march and demonstration.

Two for the Road

Troy Howard, of Denver, North Carolina, may be 71, but the fact that he was a U.S. Marine in his youth is still evident. When his wife, Becky, woke him up at 3 a.m. on June 9 after hearing glass break — which he couldn't hear because as a Marine, a grenade blast damaged his hearing — he grabbed his double-barrel shotgun and got ready to counterattack. As his wife hid in a closet and locked the door, he stood behind the bedroom door and waited for the intruder to try to enter the room. He told the *Charlotte Observer*, "I didn't know how many people were out there. But I wasn't going to let them come in and kill me and my wife. I was standing like a Marine ready to charge."

When an intruder pushed the bedroom door open, Howard slammed the door back shut, and he then pressed the business-end of the shotgun against the bedroom door and fired both barrels, leaving smoking black holes where the barrels had rested. He knew he only had the two loads handy for the shotgun, so he waited in the bedroom for the intruder's next move. After about 30 minutes, he decided to check out the house. The intruder was gone. Howard then called the police.

The police located a blood trail, and they searched the neighborhood until 1:30 p.m., but they didn't locate the intruder.

An investigation into the break-in led police to issue a warrant for 16-year-old Tyler Hice, who, it turns out, was already scheduled to go to court for an April break-in. Hice turned himself into police.

As for Howard, his house is now more fortified; he installed an alarm system and a cordless phone in his bedroom; and he will likely keep extra ammo handy for future incidents.

Little Wind Resistance

In the week of July 1, Tony Gamonal was working on his computer in his West Valley City, Utah, home when he heard noises outside. He looked out and saw two people trying to break in through a downstairs window. He yelled at them, and they fled.

According to kutv.com, "Tony grabbed his shotgun and tried to cut the couple off by going through the garage door." A police officer was right across the street, and he gave chase to the suspects as well. The officer chased them one way, while Gamonal again tried to head them off. His maneuver worked, and he caught one of the two burglars — a woman. The other burglar, a man, got away. It was not until after Gamonal caught the woman that he realized he was only wearing boxer shorts.

The incident was the second time his home was targeted in two weeks. The first time the thieves struck, they nabbed over $8,000 worth of goods. Someone also sprayed graffiti on his fence. Gamonal is fed up and plans to defend his home vigorously from now on.

Protecting Their Castles

In the month of July, Jackson, Mississippi, saw two homeowners who shot burglars saved from potential charges by the so-called "castle doctrine," which allows someone to use deadly force to protect his property. In the most recent case, on July 17, a tenant of a south Jackson apartment left his residence to go to the store. According to the *Clarion Ledger*, "As he walked to his car, he saw three men sitting inside a parked Oldsmobile." While the tenant was away, his neighbors heard suspicious noises and called the tenant's girlfriend, who then alerted him.

When the tenant got home, he noticed that the three men were no longer in their vehicle and that his front door had been kicked in. "The resident," reported WLBT Channel 3, "then approached his home and yelled for anyone inside to come out." The three burglars tried to flee out a patio door, and the man opened fire, hitting one of the burglars in the arm and neck, but not stopping his flight.

The police, who were already in the immediate vicinity working a sting operation to try to catch a serial burglar, got to the scene quickly, but the two uninjured men escaped into a nearby wooded area. A man suspected of being the wounded burglar was found hiding in a drainage culvert. It is believed the same three burglars had broken into a second apartment earlier that day.

In a second instance, 71-year-old Edwin Chinn shot 34-year-old Ricky Braggs after Braggs broke into Chinn's house through a kitchen window. Chinn shot Braggs in the arm and stomach. "Braggs ran about two blocks before collapsing behind a house," the *Clarion Ledger* reported.

Chinn has faced down an intruder in his house before, but on the prior occasion, about two years ago, it was the intruder who did the shooting. Chinn was shot in the back before he got a few licks in with a club and ended the encounter.

Braggs has multiple convictions for burglary. He was last released from prison September 8, 2007. Both wounded suspects are expected to live.

Second Guessing

On an early July night, right after Leonie Burgos, 5′4″ and 110 pounds, was dropped off at her home by a friend at about 3:30 a.m., she saw a young athletic man begin scaling the tall wooden fence surrounding her house, intent on entering the yard. She ran into her house, grabbed her pistol, and then went back outside to see if he was in the yard (mistake number one — she should have been calling the police about the trespasser, while guarding the doorway).

The man surprised Burgos and tackled her from behind. She struggled with him and pointed the gun at his face to get the man to flee, even as he covered her nose and mouth with his hand and cut off her breath (mistake number two — a gun should only be drawn for self-defense if you feel there is a possible life-threatening situation; when the man physically attacked and validated the danger, she should have begun shooting and not risked having her own gun used against her).

When the man didn't let up the attack, she pulled the trigger three times, causing the man to flee. According to kxan.com (Austin, Texas), "Thirty minutes later, a man went to the emergency room … with a gunshot wound to the face." Twenty-year-old Christopher Benavides was arrested. He told police that he was only trying to steal Burgos' cellphone. At the time of his arrest, Benavides already had two outstanding warrants for his arrest. ■

— Kurt Williamsen

Virtue is a choice. Make it a habit.

Virtue • the moral excellence evident in my life as I consistently do what is right

The Energy Blame Game

Item: *According to CBS News for July 31: "Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid said work on an energy bill was 'over until the fall,' all but ensuring that Congress will leave for the summer without addressing the issue of high gas prices. Speaking to reporters on Thursday afternoon, Reid said he was finished trying to negotiate a deal on a bill to crack down on speculation in energy markets, which had been the main legislative vehicle in the gas prices debate."*

Item: *The* New York Times *reported on July 18, "House Republicans on Thursday blocked a Democratic effort to pressure energy companies into drilling for oil on lands they already leased from the federal government, calling the legislation a sham."*

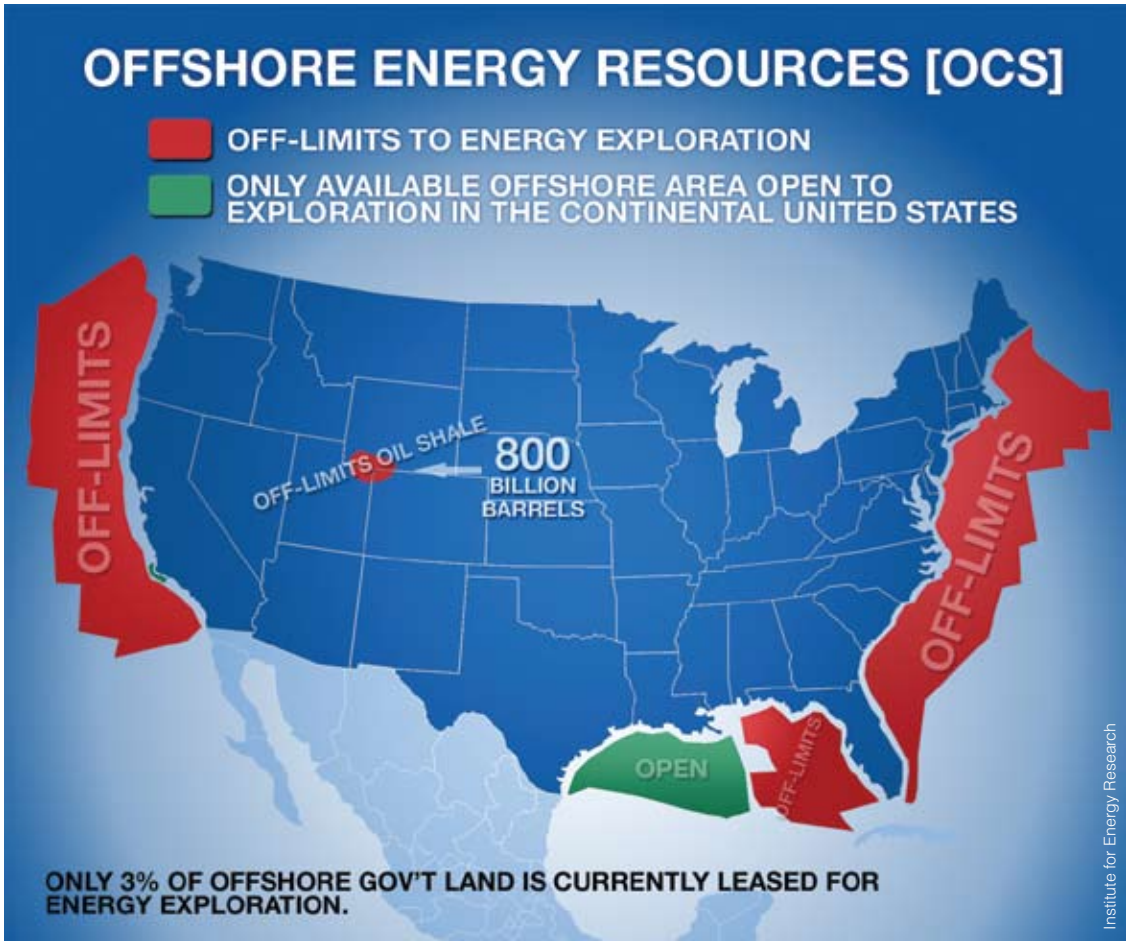
Item: *The* Wall Street Journal *reported on July 31: "Congressional Republicans stymied Democratic efforts to push forward their energy agenda ahead of the summer recess, instead calling for more domestic petroleum production. The political gridlock makes it increasingly likely that lawmakers will be heading home without having passed any legislation that would ostensibly lower crude or gasoline prices.*

"Republicans are trying to use a swell of public support for increased petroleum exploration and Democratic opposition to lifting a decades-old drilling moratorium as an election-year strategy.... House Republicans blocked a bill giving the commodity-futures regulator more power to rein in regulation in energy and agriculture markets, a step Democrats insisted was necessary to help tackle energy prices. And the Senate failed to end a partisan standoff over another antispeculation bill."

Correction: Gasoline prices have been spiking and the American public wants action — now! A Zogby poll this summer indicated that a whopping 74 percent of respondents favor drilling for more natural gas and oil domestically. Yet, when the Democratic leadership in the Congress refused even to allow a vote on the drilling issue, because it was recognized that the vote would have passed, this was widely labeled as a partisan "standoff." This is not a partisan standoff; it is Democratic leaders handcuffing the political process.

The Democrat leaders in Congress attacked industry profits and "speculators," while tossing in disingenuous ecological considerations and a few pie-in-the-sky notions that would purportedly initiate future fonts of energy. Before adjourning, the Congress took up measures, as noted by the AP, "to make energy price gouging a federal crime, to curb oil market speculation, to extend tax credits for wind and solar energy projects, to tax the windfall profits of the largest oil companies, to subject the OPEC oil cartel to U.S. antitrust laws, to release oil from the government emergency stockpile and to spur nuclear energy development and the use of coal as a motor fuel.... All have gone nowhere."

To be sure, the assault on speculators is not purely a "partisan" matter: both Barack Obama and John McCain have blamed these supposed evildoers for raising the costs of energy, although Democratic leaders are more practiced at this scolding. Of course, as even the *Washington Post* recognized in a small fit of candor, a "speculator" in energy who believes prices will rise, can only buy oil futures contracts if someone who thinks they will fall is willing to sell.



While the Democratic leaders of Congress were obstructing more drilling, George Mason University economist Walter Williams was puncturing some myths:

> Congressional attacks on speculation do not alter the oil market's fundamental demand and supply conditions. The long-term price of oil would be lowered if Congress permitted exploration for the estimated billions upon billions of barrels of domestically available oil, not to mention the estimated trillion-plus barrels of shale oil in Wyoming, Colorado and Utah. Some politicians pooh-pooh calls for drilling, saying it would take five or 10 years to recover the oil. I guarantee you we would begin to see a reduction in today's prices even if it took five to 10 years for us to get the first barrel.
>
> Put yourself in the place of a member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries knowing there would be a greater supply of U.S. oil in five or 10 years, maybe driving oil prices down to, say, $40 a barrel. What will you want to do now while oil is $130 a barrel? You would want to sell as much oil now and OPEC's collective efforts to do so would put downward pressures on current oil prices.
>
> Right now the U.S. Congress is OPEC's staunchest ally.

With the United States enjoying such a bounty of energy resources, how have we found ourselves over the barrel? In part, this has happened because so-called environmentalists in concert with regulators have stopped development of oil offshore, imposed restrictions on refineries, and made it next to impossible to construct new nuclear plants. (Never mind that France, for example, has managed to supply almost 80 percent of its electricity needs through nuclear power, and is an exporter of electricity.)

Consider the estimated crude oil and natural gas within the United States, defined here as undiscovered technically recoverable resources. Beneath federal lands and coastal waters, according to federal government estimates, there are about 116.4 billion barrels of crude oil. As noted by the American Petroleum Institute (API), these areas have enough oil to power "more than 65 million cars for 60 years, but the bulk of these resources have been placed off-limits to development."

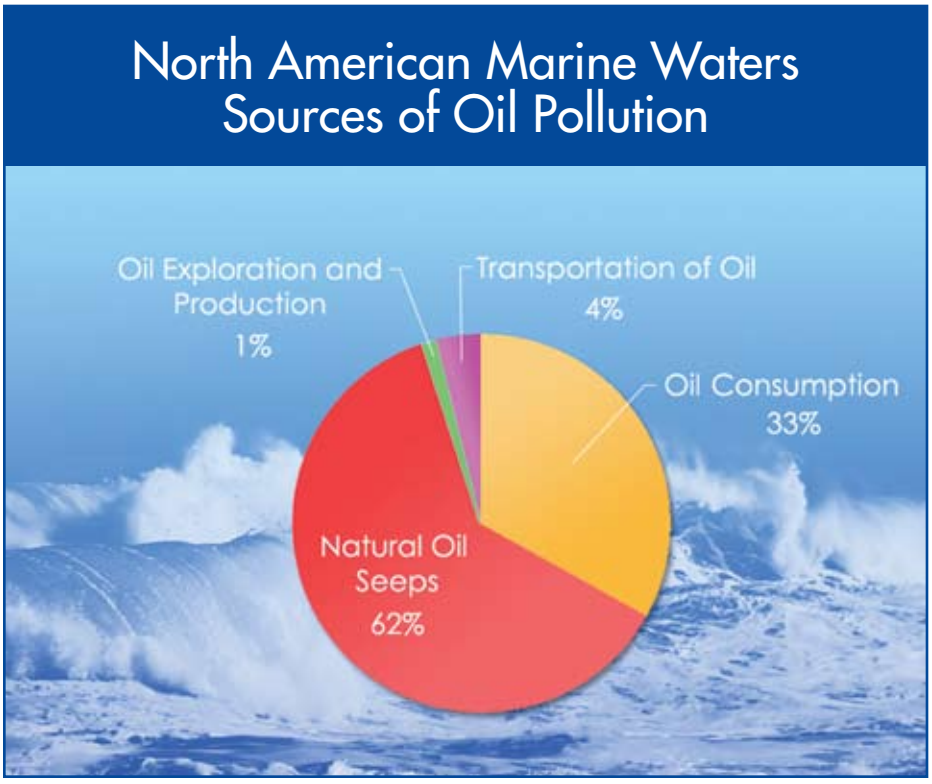
Similarly, more than 85 percent of U.S. coastal waters off the lower 48 states are off-limits to oil and natural-gas exploration. There is, says API, "enough natural gas in those waters to heat 60 million homes for another 160 years."

Rather than encouraging production, Congress has been more inclined to punish the producers with more taxes on their "windfall." When demagogic lawmakers did this before, according to a study by the Congressional Research Service, the windfall-profits tax between 1980 and 1988 "reduced domestic oil production from between 3 and 6 percent, and increased oil imports from between 8 and 16 percent."

In other words, the wise men in Washington know what they are doing and are doing it anyway. Because of the imposition of such counterproductive policies, in just 25 years the United States has gone from producing almost 60 percent of our petroleum needs domestically to today's situation, where it has been driven down to about 25 percent.

Meanwhile, what about all those selfish profits that the media love to report because the totals seem so outlandish? Some perspective is in order. According to official filings of this year's earnings by industry, the oil and natural-gas industry earned 7.4 cents for every dollar of sales. This compares to 7.6 cents for all U.S. manufacturing, and 8.6 cents for all manufacturing, less the suffering auto industry. The comparable figure for the beverage and tobacco-product sector is 17.8 cents. Strangely, we don't hear much about the robber barons of Big Soda Pop.

How much does government skim off the top from those who actually produce energy? According to the U.S. Energy Information Administration, American oil and natural-gas companies have tax expenses of 40.7 percent (as a share of



Institute for Energy Research

their net income before income taxes), compared to 22.1 percent for American manufacturing industries.

The anxieties generated by the green lobby about supposed price-gougers raping the Earth don't tell the whole story. Consider who holds the oil reserves these days, as opposed to four decades ago: only about 6 percent of the oil reserves around the world are held by investor-owned oil companies, with about 80 percent being held by foreign governments. Nigeria and Kazakhstan, for example, are less likely to be susceptible to eco-propaganda than domestic firms.

Frustrated columnist Charles Krauthammer writes:

> The net environmental effect of [Speaker Nancy] Pelosi's no-drilling willfulness is *negative*. [Emphasis in original]. Outsourcing U.S. oil production does nothing to lessen worldwide environmental despoliation. It simply exports it to more corrupt, less efficient, more unstable parts of the world — thereby increasing net planetary damage.
>
> Democrats want no oil from the American OCS [Outer Continental Shelf] or ANWR [Arctic National Wildlife Refuge]. But of course they do want more oil. From OPEC. From where Americans don't vote. From places Democratic legislators can't see....
>
> The other panacea, yesterday's rage, is biofuels: We can't drill our way out of the crisis, it seems, but we can greenly grow our way out.... Here in the United States, one out of every three ears of corn is stuffed into a gas tank (by way of ethanol), causing not just food shortages abroad and high prices at home but intensive increases in farming, with all of the attendant environmental problems (soil erosion, insecticide pollution, water consumption, etc.).
>
> This to prevent drilling on an area in the Arctic one-sixth the size of Dulles Airport that leaves undisturbed a refuge one-third the size of Britain.

Yet another ruse that has been employed to obstruct more drilling is to blame companies for sitting on non-producing leased lands. Why would firms pass up making money, if it were economically justified, even as they lost control of the leased land? The companies pay to get the leases; pay to hold the leases; spend their capital to do the exploration; and pay huge amounts of taxes on income. Yet, the legislative leaders in Washington want to add extra penalties. As Representative Michele Bachmann (R-Minn.) commented: "In the real world, forcing companies to "use" their leases immediately or lose them means making exploration more cost-prohibitive. It will ensure that less exploration will take place. It's akin to forcing a pharmaceutical company to develop a cure for cancer in some arbitrary number of years or else lose the ability to seek the cure."

Keep this in mind about leased land when you hear that companies should have to "use it or lose it." API President and CEO Red Cavaney explained to members of Congress: "A lease is simply a block on a map. When a company buys a lease, it does not buy oil and natural gas; it buys the right to explore whether there is oil and natural gas on that block. If every lease had oil and natural gas, we wouldn't need to explore. One could simply pay for a lease, punch a hole in the ground and start pumping oil."

Cavaney continued: "The proposal to deny new leases to companies with so-called 'idle' leases exposes a serious flaw in how the fundamentals of our industry are understood. If enacted, it would keep locked up underground even more of America's vast energy resources and seriously harm our ability to produce sufficient energy to meet the continued steady demand. At the same time, more oil and natural gas imports would result, and American jobs would go overseas."

Congressional leaders continue to point fingers at every imaginary villain they can conjure up in order to deflect the blame that they so richly deserve. That was one of the main reasons they skedaddled out of Washington, hoping to do so before the voters figure out what is happening. ■

— William P. Hoar

BY JOHN F. MCMANUS

Deficit Grows Ever Larger

On July 28, White House Budget Director Jim Nussle announced that the expected deficit for Fiscal Year 2009 (it begins October 1, 2008) would be a whopping $482 billion. A record for red ink, the figure shatters the previous deficit of $413 billion set in 2004.

But as has become customary in Washington, publishing debt figures does not mean that the whole story has been told. The costs of the military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan are not part of the projected $482 billion shortfall. Also not considered among the government's plans for next year are such items as another costly stimulus package, the enormous drain expected when Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson gets around to bailing out Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae, and near-certain declines in tax revenue resulting from the ongoing economic slowdown.

Nor does the deficit include the money the government siphons out of the Social Security and Medicare trust funds to pay for *other* government programs, leaving the so-called trust funds filled with IOUs to cover future obligations.

Stimulus checks totaling $150 billion have already been sent to the American people. The money for this program came from one of two sources: printing or borrowing. Printing it is inflation that impacts even more drastically the already sinking value of the dollar. Borrowing it — largely from China — puts our nation in two nooses: 1) the need to pay interest and 2) giving China added influence over decision making in our nation. China, to whom we are already heavily indebted, let us recall, has never abandoned its published determination to "defeat the United States."

Budget Director Nussle, a former Iowa congressman, who originally showed promise that he would be a fiscal conservative, claimed that the projected deficit is "manageable." He insisted that if the figure were placed alongside the country's economic output, it would not look so bad. But his office also predicted that annual growth in the nation's gross domestic product would shrink to 1.6 percent, down from the 2.7 percent figure announced just last February. In other words, the recession that no one in the Bush administration wants to admit exists is deepening.

Senator Kent Conrad (D-N.D.) commented, "If we gave Olympic medals for fiscal irresponsibility, President Bush would take the gold, the silver and the bronze, because he's got the three highest deficits ever: 2009 would be the gold, 2004 the silver, and 2008 the bronze." Fellow Democrats delight in claiming that the final years of the Clinton administration produced surpluses, a false claim because the practice of seizing Social Security revenue deceitfully kept the bottom lines in those years in the black instead of in the red. However, it is true that the National Debt has grown faster during Bush's presidency than it did during Clinton's.

The admitted National Debt as of the first week of August totaled $9,589,448,295,381 ($9.5 trillion). With the U.S. population at 304 million, this means that every citizen's share of this enormous debt equals $31,495. No wonder a baby cries at birth! The National Debt, ever escalating, climbs at approximately $1.88 billion per day.

All taxpayers are responsible for interest on the $9.5 trillion debt. This annual cost reached $430 billion in fiscal 2007, for interest alone! In other words, if we had no national debt, there would be either no or a very small annual deficit. Breaking down the debt further, it comes to $1,400 for every man, woman, and child on Earth (not just taxpayers in America).

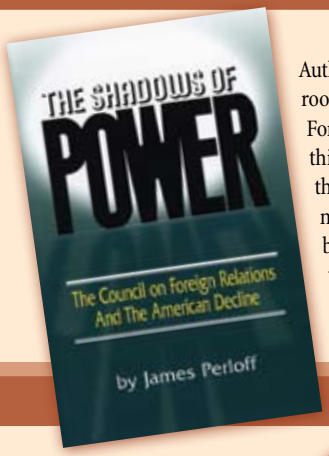
When considering the National Debt, however, unfunded obligations must be added to the admitted total. This swells the figure to somewhere between $50 trillion and $100 trillion. Paying it off will either be accomplished by severely impacting the American dream, or losing the independence of our nation and the freedom enjoyed by all Americans. The goose that laid the golden egg is threatened as never before.

Ah, but our leaders still give away tens of billions each year in a variety of foreign aid programs. Such good fiscal management! They spend gobs of money for unconstitutional programs such as federal involvement in education, medicine, housing, energy, etc.

If the Constitution our leaders solemnly swear to abide by were fully enforced, the federal government would be 20 percent its size and 20 percent its cost. Retiring the National Debt could be accomplished and the future would look a great deal brighter. Sad to say, the economic mess we're in hasn't yet hit home to enough Americans to expect them to force change in Washington. But there's a lot of angst across the land as jobs have been lost, money becomes less valuable, costs continue to rise, and the future looks increasingly grim. We truly hope that the public awakening needed to inject sanity to the way the nation is being run will come soon. ■

FEATURED PRODUCTS

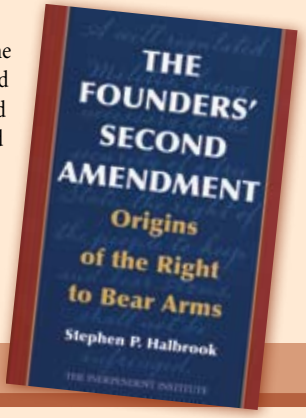
The Shadows of Power



Author James Perloff exposes the subversive roots and global designs of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). Passed off as a think-tank, this group is the "power behind the throne," with hundreds of top government officials drawn from its ranks. The book traces CFR activity from the Wilson to Reagan administrations. (2008 ed, 272pp, pb, **$10.95**) **SOP**

The Founders' Second Amendment

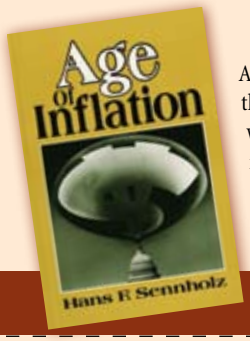
The first book-length account of the origins of the Second Amendment of the Bill of Rights, based on the Founders' own statements as revealed in newspapers, correspondence, debates, and resolutions. A comprehensive analysis of the arguments behind the drafting and adoption of the Second Amendment and the intentions of the men who created it. (2008, 448pp, hb, **$24.95**) **BKFSA**



Take Your Money Back

How would repealing the federal income tax affect you? This powerful video answers that question and also suggests avenues of action. It is being reproduced and distributed with the permission of Executive Producer Aaron Zelman. (2008, 10min, **1/$2.50; 2-4/$1.75 ea; 5-10/$1.50 ea; 11-20/$1.25 ea; 21-50/$1.00 ea; 51-75/$.90 ea; 76-100/$0.80 ea; 101-500/$0.75 ea; 501+/$0.70 ea**) **DVDTYMB**

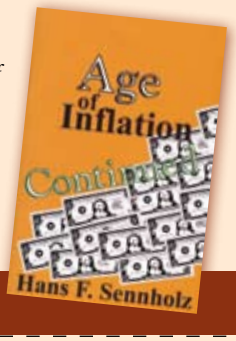
Age of Inflation



As government printing presses and central banks throughout the world inundate the marketplace with ever-expanding supplies of money and credit, the tragic consequences are becoming much easier to see. (1979 ed, 207pp, pb, **$7.95**) **BKAI**

Age of Inflation Continued

In this update to his bestseller *Age of Inflation*, Hans Sennholz shows the real consequences of our nation's economic and monetary policies. (2006, 45pp, pb, **$2.95**) **BKAIC**



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"'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world...."

– *George Washington (1796)*

"Commerce with all nations, alliance with none, should be our motto."

– *Thomas Jefferson (1799)*

"I deem (one of) the essential principles of our government (to be) peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none...."

– *Thomas Jefferson (1801)*