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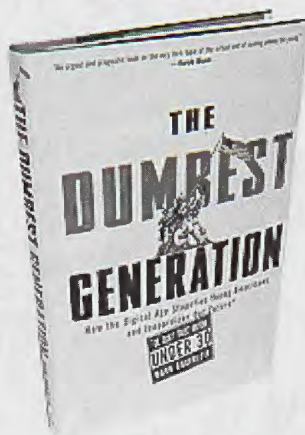
By DAVID ROBINSON
May 13, 2008; Page A15

The Dumbest Generation

By Mark Bauerlein
(Tarcher/Penguin, 264 pages, \$24.95)

It would seem that technology and culture both make the present a good time to be young. The digital tools that are reshaping our economy make more sense to young "digital natives" than to members of older generation, an imbalance of abilities that tips the economic and political scales in favor of young people. Meanwhile, aging boomer parents, rather than pass down a fixed, canonical culture to their kids, encourage a modern-day version of their own rebellion, inviting younger voices to disrupt stodgy cultural continuities.

To Mark Bauerlein, a professor of English at Emory University, the present is a good time to be young only if you don't mind a tendency toward empty-headedness. In "The Dumbest Generation," he argues that cultural and technological forces, far from opening up an exciting new world of learning and thinking, have conspired to create a level of public ignorance so high as to threaten our democracy.




Adults are so busy imagining the ways that technology can improve classroom learning or improve the public debate that they've blinded themselves to the collective dumbing down that is actually taking place. The kids are using their technological advantage to immerse themselves in a trivial, solipsistic, distracting online world at the expense of more enriching activities – like opening a book or writing complete sentences.

Mr. Bauerlein presents a wealth of data to show that young people, with the aid of digital media, are intensely focusing on themselves, their peers and the present moment. YouTube and MySpace, he says, are revealingly named: These and other top Web destinations are "peer to peer" environments in the sense that their juvenile users have populated them with predictably juvenile content. The sites where students spend most of their time "harden adolescent styles and thoughts, amplifying the discourse of the lunchroom and keg party, not spreading the works of the Old Masters."

If the new hours in front of the computer were subtracting from television time, there might be something encouraging to say about the increasingly interactive quality of youthful diversions. The facts, at least as Mr. Bauerlein marshals them, show otherwise: TV viewing is constant. The printed word has paid a price – from 1981 to 2003, the leisure reading of 15- to 17-year-olds fell to seven minutes a day from 18. But the real action has been in multitasking. By 2003, children were cramming an average of 8½ hours of media consumption a day into just 6½ hours – watching TV while surfing the Web, reading while listening to music, composing text messages while watching a

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.
ONLINE

May 13, 2008

BOOKS

movie.

This daily media binge isn't making students smarter. The National Assessment of Educational Progress has pegged 46% of 12th-graders below the "basic" level of proficiency in science, while only 2% are qualified as "advanced." Likewise in the political arena: Participatory Web sites may give young people a "voice," but their command of the facts is shaky. Forty-six percent of high-school seniors say it's "very important" to be an active and informed citizen," but only 26% are rated as proficient in civics. Between 1992 and 2005, the NAEP reported, 12th-grade reading skills dropped dramatically. (As for writing, Naomi Baron, in her recent book, "Always On: Language in an Online and Mobile World," cites the NAEP to note that "only 24% of twelfth-graders are 'capable of composing organized, coherent prose in clear language with correct spelling and grammar.'") Conversation is affected, too. Mr. Bauerlein sums up part of the problem: "The verbal values of adulthood and adolescence clash, and to enter adult conditions, individuals must leave the verbal mores of high school behind. The screen blocks the ascent."

What frustrates Mr. Bauerlein is not these deficits themselves – it's the way a blind celebration of youth, and an ill-informed optimism about technology, have led the public to ignore them. "Over and over," he writes, "commentators stress the mental advance, the learning side over the fun and fantasy side." Steven Johnson, in his best-selling "Everything Bad Is Good for You," describes videogames as "a kind of cognitive workout." Jonathan Fanton of the MacArthur Foundation writes that children have created "communities the size of nations" where they explore "new techniques for personal expression." Such assessments, Mr. Bauerlein argues, are far too charitable.

Mr. Bauerlein contrasts such "evidence-lite enthusiasm" for digital technologies with a weightier learning tradition. He eulogizes New York's City College in the mid-20th century, a book-centered, debate-fostering place where a generation of intellectuals rejected the "sovereignty of youth" in favor of the concerted study of canonical texts and big ideas.

Is there any way of recovering this lost world? Probably not. But the future may be brighter than Mr. Bauerlein allows. No matter how frivolously young people may use digital technology now, a schoolchild's taste for play tells us little about what the next generation of intellectual leaders will do with technology's tools. There are glimmers: The new Amazon book reader may bring the best of predigital life forward into the present, and any number of institutions are (gradually) exploring ways to harness the new communications environment for scholarship, innovation and profit rather than idle enjoyment. In short, the children of future years will learn from their elders how to make the most of digital life just as soon as there are elders in place to offer instruction. The "elders" now don't seem to have a clue.

Mr. Robinson is associate director of Princeton University's Center for Information Technology Policy, a research center for the study of digital technologies and public life.

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL. ONLINE

May 6, 2008

OPINION

The War for the Web

By ANDY KESSLER
May 6, 2008; Page A23

Microsoft was smart to walk away (for now) from its \$44 billion bid for Yahoo. It's never good to overpay. But the software giant – whose stock has flatlined for eight years – was onto the right strategy in looking to the Web for growth.

Can't Microsoft build something on its own? Why the rush to pay billions for Yahoo? The simple (and wrong) answer was that adding Yahoo's 20% Web search market share to Microsoft's 10% meant that it could compete against Google's 60% share. Technology changes too fast for that to make sense except on paper. Programs run anywhere these days – on your desktop computer, on servers in data centers, on your iPod, cellphone, GPS, video game console, digital camera and on and on. It's not just about beating Google at search, it's about tying all these devices together in a new end-to-end computing framework.



Martin Kozlowski

– aka the "cloud."

There, search results can be calculated, companies' payrolls processed, even the complex graphics for video games can be drawn. But it's not cheap. These clouds are multibillion-dollar investments. Google spent \$842 million in the last three months on servers, data centers and fiber optics.

Today, there are several major clouds: Google, Yahoo, Microsoft, Amazon and smaller players IBM and Sun. Can there be more? Sure, but it would require a business model that could not only pay for it, but could rip it out every few years and modernize it. Google's \$20 billion Web advertising

With the Microsoft/Yahoo deal breakdown, everyone assumes Google walks away with the prize. Not so fast. This contest is just starting. For Microsoft or Google or anyone else to win, they need four key elements of an end-to-end strategy:

- *The Cloud.* The desktop computer isn't going away. But as bandwidth speeds increase, more and more computing can be done in the network of computers sitting in data centers

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business gives it the cash flow to do so. Advantage Google.

- *The Edge*. The cloud is nothing without devices, browsers and users to feed it. Book buyers are basically paying for Amazon's data centers. Yahoo is a favorite for finance and sports enthusiasts, who pay for its data centers. Google worked its way into the toolbars of Firefox, and even Microsoft's browser.

And Microsoft? It was stripped of its ability to control Windows desktop real estate during the late '90s Netscape feud. Accused of using its overwhelmingly popular Windows operating system to unfairly dominate other new markets, Microsoft settled the dispute with the Justice Department in 2001.

Now Microsoft scrambles for other advantages. One lies in smart mobile devices, which is the fastest-growing location to launch search requests. Microsoft software runs on about 20% of smart phones in the U.S.

Don't underestimate the value of Microsoft's other market stronghold, its X-Box video game platform. Now you know why Google is scrambling to plant a flag in the cellphone business with its Android technology and bids for wireless spectrum. So far, advantage Microsoft.

- *Speed*. Once you build the cloud, it's all about network operations. Whoever can deliver search results faster, wins. Users only realize this subconsciously, but it's true: Google's dominant share is as much about speed as it is for relevant results. Compare it to Microsoft or Yahoo and you'll see. Google built data centers next to waterfalls so electricity could be cheap enough to help it win the speed war.

* New cloud applications appear every day – backing up files, managing your money, editing photos, running the back end of multiplayer games like World of Warcraft. Now corporate America is evaluating moving its accounting, scheduling, order management and the like into the cloud, and speed will be a top priority. Advantage Google.

- *Platform*. Yahoo's mistake was relying on expensive workers to update Web pages and sell ads, and especially to run Yahoo Finance, Sports, HotJobs and Travel. Google hates using people for these tasks. The company may love programmers and probably customers as well, but it tries to put absolutely no one in between them. Google's genius was to automate all its Web page creation and to have a market set prices for ads.

But even though Google has more than 10,000 employees, the company doesn't have a lock on brain power – especially since its stock is not climbing as fast as it once did, and with young coders setting their eyes on the *next* big startup.

Having a fast cloud is nothing if you keep it closed. The trick is to open it up as a platform for every new business idea to run on, charging appropriate fees as necessary.

Microsoft knows this. I sat through a keynote speech by Bill Gates maybe 15 years ago. Asked why Microsoft makes all the money in the software business, he snapped: We don't make all the money. Actually, we only make money because we are a platform for others to use our software to make money themselves.

Only by opening up system internals to thousands of hungry developers can anyone truly create an

operating system in the cloud. Google has made open announcements but is still quite closed. Advantage Microsoft.

So with the failure of the Yahoo bid, where does that leave Microsoft? The answer is found in Microsoft's mantra: embrace, extend and innovate. Made famous in a 1994 Microsoft executive memo, this mantra has worked again and again: Windows dominated Apple for decades, the Excel spreadsheet bypassed Lotus 1-2-3, and the Internet Explorer browser destroyed Netscape.

Of course, Microsoft could come back and bid again for Yahoo at \$25. But there is a go-it-alone strategy: Embrace the Web search and advertising business. Maybe even do what Craigslist did to newspaper want ads, devaluing search advertising by offering the same thing for free, or really cheap.

The trick is to then extend and innovate. Run code that figures out what users are looking for, not just on servers, but on X-Boxes, Zune music devices and even Apple iPhones. Some of the new markets aren't even twinkles in developers' eyes.

At the moment, neither Google nor Microsoft, or anyone else, has nailed down cloud, edge, speed and platform. All the loosely coupled electronic devices in our pockets need to work together seamlessly with Facebook applications in the cloud. Who will do it? Unclear.

The continuing battle between Microsoft and Google will mean fierce competition – adding features, building data centers, cutting deals and spending money on speed and customer convenience. That's the way to move technology forward. It's great to see Microsoft with some fight left in it. Not only hasn't the Internet yet matured, it's becoming an ever-more high stakes game.

Mr. Kessler, a former hedge fund manager, is the author of "How We Got Here" (Collins, 2005).

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL. ONLINE

May 19, 2008

OPINION

The Next American Frontier

By MICHAEL S. MALONE
May 19, 2008; Page A15

The entire world seems to be heading toward points of inflection. The developing world is embarking on the digital age. The developed world is entering the Internet era. And the United States, once again at the vanguard, is on the verge of becoming the world's first Entrepreneurial Nation.

At the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner delivered a paper to the American Historical Association – the most famous ever by an American historian. In "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," he noted that, according to the most recent U.S. census, so much of the nation had been settled that there was no longer an identifiable western migration. The very notion of a "frontier" was obsolete.



Ryan Inzana

For three centuries the frontier had defined us, tantalized us with the perpetual chance to "light out for the territories" and start our lives over. It was the foundation of those very American notions of "federalism" and "rugged individualism." But Americans had crossed an invisible line in history, entering a new world with a new set of rules.

What Turner couldn't guess was that the unexplored prairie would become the uninvented new product, the unexploited new market and the untried new business plan.



The great new American frontiers proved to be those of business, science and technology. In the course of the 20th century, Americans invented more milestone technologies and inventions, created more wealth and leisure time, and reorganized their institutions more times than any country had ever done before – despite a massive economic depression and two world wars. It all reached a crescendo in the magical year of 1969, with the creation of the Internet, the invention of the

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microprocessor and, most of all, a man walking on the moon.

Along with genetic engineering, we are still busily spinning out the implications of these marvels. Yet it is becoming increasingly apparent that the cultural underpinnings of these activities have changed in some fundamental way.

We still have schools, but a growing number of our children are studying at home or attending private schools – and those in public schools are doing ever more amounts of their class work on the Internet.

We still have companies and corporations, but now they are virtualized, with online work teams handing off assignments to each other 24/7 around the world. Men and women go to work, but the office is increasingly likely to be in the den. In 2005, an Intel survey of its employees found that nearly 20% of its professionals had never met their boss face-to-face. Half of them never expected to. Last summer, when the Media X institute at Stanford extended that survey to IBM, Sun, HP, Microsoft and Cisco, the percentages turned out to be even greater.

Newspapers are dying, networks are dying, and if teenage boys playing GTA 4 and World of Warcraft have any say about it, so is television. More than 200 million people now belong to just two social networks: MySpace and Facebook. And there are more than 80 million videos on YouTube, all put there by the same individual initiative.

The most compelling statistic of all? Half of all new college graduates now believe that self-employment is more secure than a full-time job. Today, 80% of the colleges and universities in the U.S. now offer courses on entrepreneurship; 60% of Gen Y business owners consider themselves to be serial entrepreneurs, according to Inc. magazine. Tellingly, 18 to 24-year-olds are starting companies at a faster rate than 35 to 44-year-olds. And 70% of today's high schoolers intend to start their own companies, according to a Gallup poll.

An upcoming wave of new workers in our society will never work for an established company if they can help it. To them, having a traditional job is one of the biggest career failures they can imagine.

Much of childhood today is spent, not in organized sports or organizations, but in ad hoc teams playing online games such as Half Life, or competing in robotics tournaments, or in constructing and decorating MySpace pages. Without knowing it, we have been training a whole generation of young entrepreneurs.

And who is going to dissuade them? Mom, who is a self-employed consultant working out of the spare bedroom? Or Dad, who is at Starbuck's working on the spreadsheet of his new business plan?

In the past there have been trading states like Venice, commercial regions like the Hanseatic League, and even so-called nations of shopkeepers. But there has never been a nation in which the dominant paradigm is entrepreneurship. Not just self-employment or sole proprietorship, but serial company-building, entire careers built on perpetual change, independence and the endless pursuit of the next opportunity.

Without noticing it, we have once again discovered, and then raced off to settle, a new frontier. Not land, not innovation, but ourselves and a growing control over our own lives and careers.

And why not? Each step in the development of American society has been towards an ever-greater level of independence, freedom and personal liberty. And as the rest of the world catches up to where we were, we've already moved on to the next epoch in the national story.

But liberty exacts its own demands. Entrepreneurial America is likely to become even more innovative than it is today. And that innovation is likely to spread across society, not just as products and inventions, but new ways of living and new types of organizations.

The economy will be much more volatile and much more competitive. In the continuous fervor to create new institutions, it will become increasingly difficult to sustain old ones. New political parties, new social groupings, thousands of new manias and movements and millions of new companies will pop up over the next few decades. Large corporations that don't figure out how to combine permanence with perpetual change will be swept away.

This higher level of anarchy will be exciting, but it will also sometimes be very painful. Entire industries will die almost overnight, laying off thousands, while others will just as suddenly appear, hungry for employees. Continuity and predictability will become the rarest of commodities. And if the entrepreneurial personality honors smart failures, by the same token it has little pity for weakness. That fraction of Americans – 10%, 20% – who still dream of the gold watch or the 30-year pin will suffer the most . . . and unless their needs are somehow met as well, they will remain a perpetually open wound in our society.

Scary, exciting, liberating, frustrating, infinitely ambitious and thoroughly amnesic. If you live in a high-tech community like Silicon Valley or Redmond or Austin, you already live in this world. It's hard to imagine more exciting places to be.

For all of our fears about privacy and security, for all the added pressures that will be created by heightened competition and clashing ambitions, America as an entrepreneurial nation will reward each of us with greater independence – and perhaps even greater happiness – than ever before. It waits out there for each of us. Being good entrepreneurs, it's time to look ahead, develop a good plan, and then bet everything on ourselves.

Mr. Malone's next book is "The Protean Corporation" (Random House). This essay was adapted from a recent speech at Santa Clara University.

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February 25, 2008, 2:36 pm

Net Neutrality Hearing: When Is an Internet Traffic Delay O.K.?

By STEPHEN LABATON

UPDATED

The Federal Communications Commission is considering new rules and enforcement decisions that would force the cable and telephone companies to more clearly disclose to consumers the circumstances in which they might delay some traffic.

At a hearing Monday in Cambridge, Mass., the F.C.C., academics, companies and consumer groups are discussing the issue of whether discrimination is necessary or potentially threatens to undermine the freewheeling nature of the Internet.

The hearing comes in response to the growing number of disputes between broadband providers and file-sharing companies over consumers using peer-to-peer protocol to upload larger video files. Cable companies say that the growing use by consumers of the Internet to get large video files is beginning to clog their networks. Comcast recently disclosed that the heavy use of video sharing applications has forced them to slow down some broadband traffic.

The basics of the hearing are covered in this article just posted to The New York Times Web site.

Here are other comments made at the hearing:

Yochai Benkler, a professor at Harvard Law School, said the current difficulties are a consequence of the lack of meaningful competition among the broadband companies.

"If you have no competition, you have to get into setting standards because abuses follow."

David L. Cohen, an executive vice president of Comcast, began his testimony recognizing that in a room full of critics, Comcast was facing an uphill fight.

"It's a pleasure to be here as a participant and hopefully not the main course for your meal," he said. He said the company "has and always will be committed to giving all of our customers a superior internet experience."

"If our customers want it, the Comcast network will deliver it,"

He emphasized repeatedly that Comcast was not blocking any application and that on a "very limited basis" Comcast was delaying traffic in limited areas when there is heavy traffic."

"Don't let the rhetoric of some of the critics scare you— there is nothing wrong with network management," he said. "Every network is managed."

"We believe we have chosen the least intrusive method to help the vast majority of our high speed internet users to service degradation."

Tom Tauke, an executive vice president at Verizon, said that his company did not face the same problem for now because it had greater capacity. He agreed that there is nothing improper about reasonable network management and said that the industry "has a responsibility to establish sound industry practices for the benefit of customers."

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Comments of the Moment

“The record labels are ridiculous. They wonder why people continue to pirate music—it's because their pricing is exorbitant. Apple tries to offer songs over a mobile network - more convenience for consumers, and likely much more revenue for the record companies--and the first thing they yell is "only if you pay me more"! Sorry, why? Why should a label get more money if I get it only my mobile vs on my computer? Do they not understand the basic elasticity of demand argument?”

— jamesa

[Apple Wants More Mobile Music From Labels](#)

“Why the obsession with putting RIM and the iPhone in the same market? They are NOT -- at least not now. It's like comparing station wagons and sports cars. They're optimized for different people. Enterprises are not going to buy \$400 phones because they have iTunes. Period. Consumers don't care about double-DES security and real-time push from Exchange servers.”

— JimF

[Dreaming of an iPhone Keyboard as Good as a BlackBerry's](#)

“This is totally outrageous. IP addresses are personal information. There is nothing anonymous about them. It is true that google tracks searches but they most definitely do not do that unless you go to their search engine and search. That is proactive. Tracking everything I do online at the ISP level is spying.”

— Jonathan

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11:46 AM

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.
ONLINE

May 19, 2008

PAGE ONE

NET GAIN

**Cities Start Own Efforts
To Speed Up Broadband**By CHRISTOPHER RHOADS
May 19, 2008; Page A1

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn. -- Internet traffic is growing faster than at any time since the boom of the late-1990s. Places like Chattanooga are trying hard not to get stuck in the slow lane.

Some 60 towns and small cities, including Bristol, Va., Barnsville, Minn., and Sallisaw, Okla., have built state-of-the-art fiber networks, capable of speeds many times faster than most existing connections from cable and telecom companies. An additional two dozen municipalities, including Chattanooga, have launched or are considering similar initiatives.

Logged On

Among the 30 leading industrialized countries, the U.S. ranks 11th in broadband-access affordability and 10th in broadband penetration.

Average monthly subscription
price per megabit as of Oct. 2007

Japan	\$3.09
France	3.70
Italy	4.61
U.K.	5.29
Korea	5.96

Percentage of households
with broadband subscriptions


South Korea	93%
Iceland	83
Netherlands	77
Denmark	76
Switzerland	74

U.S. 12.60

U.S. 57

Sources: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development;
the Information Technology and Innovation Foundation

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The

efforts highlight a battle over Internet policy in the U.S. Once the undisputed leader in the technological revolution, the U.S. now lags a growing number of

countries in the speed, cost and availability of high-speed Internet. While cable and telecom companies are spending billions to upgrade their service, they're focusing their efforts mostly on larger U.S. cities for now.

Smaller ones such as Chattanooga say they need to fill the vacuum themselves or risk falling further behind and losing highly-paid jobs. Chattanooga's city-owned electric utility began offering ultrafast Internet service to downtown business customers five years ago. Now it plans to roll out a fiber

network to deliver TV, high-speed Internet and phone service to some 170,000 customers. The city has no choice but to foot the bill itself for a high-speed network -- expected to cost \$230 million -- if it wants to remain competitive in today's global economy, says Harold DePriest, the utility's chief executive officer.

It's a risky bet. Some municipal Internet efforts, including wireless projects known as Wi-Fi, have failed in recent months. EarthLink Inc. confirmed last week it was pulling the plug on its wireless partnership with Philadelphia. A number of towns have abandoned a municipal fiber initiative in Utah, called Utopia, amid financial difficulties.

The latest efforts have aroused intense opposition from private-sector providers. Cable and telecom companies have successfully lobbied 15 state legislatures to pass laws preventing municipalities from entering the broadband business. **Comcast Corp.**, Cox Communications Inc. and other cable and telecom providers have also filed lawsuits against existing projects, arguing they're an improper use of taxpayer money and amount to unfair competition. In Chattanooga, Comcast sued the city's utility late last month in Hamilton County Chancery Court.

"They don't know what they're getting into," says Stacey Briggs, the director of the trade group Tennessee Cable Telecommunications Association, of Chattanooga's plan. She says the utility has underestimated the costs involved, among other things.

Mr. DePriest counters that the suit is just a stall tactic: "So long as they can delay us they can hold on to their customers."

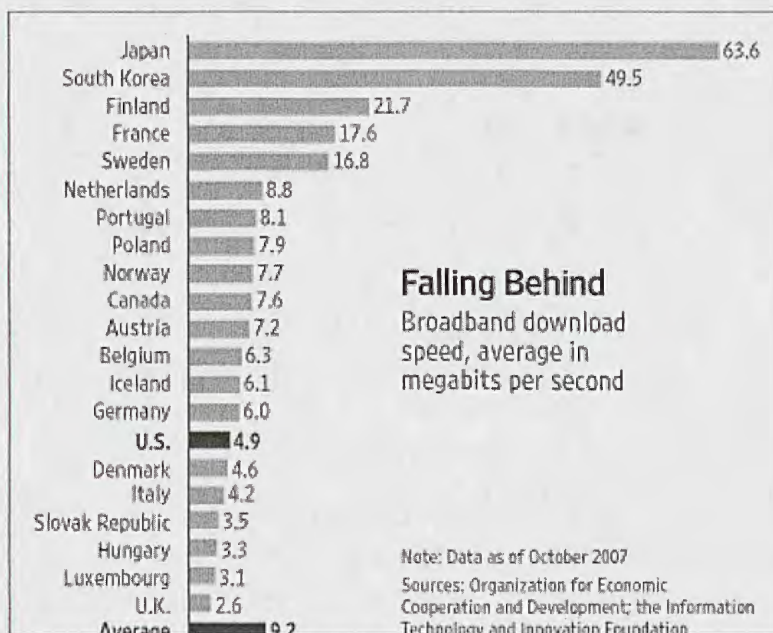
Such disputes take on greater significance as the Internet enters a new phase of explosive growth, much of it driven by user-generated video and images. More network and cable TV shows are also being shown online, and Web-enabled cellphones are bringing the Internet to new users in places like Africa.

According to a recent report by Cisco Systems Inc., total annual Internet traffic will quadruple by 2011, reaching a size of more than 342 exabytes (one exabyte is the equivalent of one trillion books of about 400 pages each).

Global Comparison

In the U.S., where most of the critical infrastructure that led to the creation of the Internet originated, questions persist about how well-positioned the country is today. South Korea, for example, now generates about the same amount of Internet traffic as the U.S., with just one-sixth the population.

In terms of adoption, or the percentage of households using broadband, the U.S. ranks 10th out of the 30 leading industrialized countries that are members of the Organization



of Economic Cooperation and Development, a Paris-based research and policy group. The U.S. was among the leaders in this category at the beginning of the decade. The U.S. fares only slightly better in affordability, ranking 11th most affordable, behind countries such as Italy and Norway.

The U.S. has fallen behind in speed, too. In the same study, conducted by the Information Technology and Innovation Foundation, a nonpartisan think tank, the U.S. ranked 15th in the average advertised download speed, at 4.9 megabits a second. That's slower than the 17.6 megabits a second in France and the 63.6 megabits a second in Japan, which ranks No. 1 in this category. In other words, it takes a little over two minutes to download a movie on iTunes in Japan, compared with almost half an hour in the U.S. The average U.S. download speed is even slower, according to other estimates.



Harold DePriest

Chattanooga's Mr. DePriest compares his agency's plan for high-speed Internet to the rollout of electricity, which came to many parts of Tennessee only in the 1930s as a result of the creation by the federal government of the Tennessee Valley Authority. That was three decades after many businesses and homes in major urban areas like New York were first electrified.

The country's electricity at the time was largely provided by private companies, which denounced any government efforts to get into the business as "socialist" -- echoing the debate over municipal fiber networks today. Against this opposition, many public utilities, including Chattanooga's Electric Power Board, or EPB, were formed to help bring electricity to their towns and surrounding countryside.

Electricity, of course, would later be used for many home appliances that didn't exist at the time, from refrigerators and stereos to televisions and computers. Similarly, bringing fiber to the home is "not about what services are available now in the market, but about things that haven't even been invented yet," says Katie Espeseth, head of the Chattanooga fiber project.

City in Decline

The EPB views the fiber effort as central to the revival of a city long in decline. In 1969, Walter Cronkite announced on the CBS Evening News that Chattanooga had America's dirtiest air. The decline of passenger rail traffic and the local iron industry was followed by massive unemployment, the abandonment of downtown and soaring crime.

Today, after more than a billion dollars of investment, the city's downtown is coming back to life. While some factory buildings remain abandoned, others are being filled by high-tech start-ups, and by a handful of restaurants, coffee shops and galleries that cater to their young employees.

In a converted saddle factory here, Jonathan Bragdon, 38 years old, runs a 40-person company that he says couldn't exist without a lot of affordable Internet bandwidth. Seven of his employees live and work in other cities, including New York and Leeds, England. His business, called Tricycle Inc., transmits high-resolution 3-D simulations of carpeting to interior designers.

More important than download speed for such work is upload speed. Yet, on most connections it often takes longer to upload files to the Internet than it does to download them from the Internet. With Comcast, Mr. Bragdon was getting a download speed of eight megabits a second, but an

upload speed of only one megabit a second.

About two years ago, Tricycle switched to the EPB's fiber network. Mr. Bragdon says that lowered his costs several-fold and gave him the flexibility to upgrade to speeds as fast as 100 megabits a second. "With the rivers and the mountains, young people want to live here," says Mr. Bragdon. "But you need good bandwidth to work here."

A Comcast spokeswoman says the company recently increased its speeds for small businesses to 16 megabits a second in many markets, including in Chattanooga, and upload speeds to two megabits.

Critics of the notion that Internet service in the U.S. is falling behind other countries say gaps stem from cultural and political differences. More than half the citizens of South Korea, for example, live in multitenant buildings of at least 50 units concentrated in large cities, making it easier and cheaper to connect people there, according to a report this month from the Information Technology and Innovation Foundation. In the U.S., by contrast, most people live in single-family homes.

Other countries, such as France, have benefited from increased competition by governments forcing their former telecom monopolies to open their networks to new providers. In the U.S., the regional successors to the former Ma Bell resisted such regulatory efforts, arguing it made little sense for them to invest in their networks if forced to share them with potential competitors.

As a result, in most markets in the U.S. there have been only two broadband providers, one telecom and one cable company. While some countries were aggressively trying to catch up to the U.S. Internet lead, "not much changed in the U.S.," says Susan Crawford, a professor of Internet governance at the Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law in New York.

Change is finally starting to happen, as cable and telecom companies compete more aggressively in each other's traditional businesses. Bills are now making their way through Congress to remove the state barriers to municipalities offering broadband. And the Federal Communications Commission recently revamped its definition of broadband, which had been just 200 kilobits a second, to bring it more up-to-date. It now includes several tiers of speeds, starting at 768 kilobits per second.

Verizon Communications Inc. is in the midst of a \$23 billion project, called FiOS, to bring fiber to the homes of more than half of its 33 million customers in 28 states by 2010. Comcast last month began boosting speeds on its network, and estimates 20% of its customers will have access to faster speeds by the end of the year.

Still, these ultrafast networks are destined only for certain parts of the country, such as major urban areas, at least for the foreseeable future. In large swaths of the U.S., particularly second- and third-tier cities and towns with more dispersed populations, providers consider deploying broadband less profitable.

In downtown Chattanooga, James Busch, a 37-year-old radiologist and medical-software entrepreneur, says when he opened his business, he couldn't find an Internet service that was fast enough. Comcast's plan was too slow and AT&T said it would take three months to build a dedicated higher-speed connection to his business, says Mr. Busch. AT&T says it now offers small businesses a download speed of six megabits a second, and upload of 512 kilobits a second.

Mr. Busch's clinic, located in a strip mall, consists of 10 radiologists who provide remote diagnoses for rural hospitals that can't afford their own radiologists. Transmitting the high-resolution medical

imagery often requires a very fast speed, which he says the EPB network now provides him.

Losing the Advantage

"Information technology means a smaller country with fewer people can now do the same amount of work as a larger country," says Mr. Busch. "If we don't become more efficient, we lose our big-country advantage."

Late last month, the EPB raised \$219 million through municipal bonds, which it says will primarily be used to upgrade its existing electrical system. The upgrade will involve laying a fiber network to create a so-called smart grid, which will allow the utility to remotely monitor and control how power is distributed, says Mr. DePriest. He acknowledges that once the fiber is laid it can be used to deliver TV, Internet and phone service, but says that is a separate venture altogether, and one which will require an additional \$60 million to get off the ground.

In its lawsuit, Comcast argues the grid isn't Chattanooga's primary objective. It says the real goal of last month's bond issue was to bring Internet and other services to residents. If the utility fails to meet payments on the new debt, ratepayers would be stuck with the tab, says Comcast. "We believe the plans constitute a cross subsidy prohibited by Tennessee state law," says a Comcast spokeswoman. "Our intention is to ensure...that Comcast be allowed to compete in a fair environment."

Mr. DePriest remains undeterred. He expects to have most of the smart-grid network completed within three years, serving 80% of the city. "The issue is, does our community control our own fate," says Mr. DePriest. "Or does someone else control it?"

Write to Christopher Rhoads at christopher.rhoads@wsj.com¹

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For my children

A Brief Introduction

later Morley decided to shave off his beard entirely.) And 130 years later can I (beardless) have such a "good hope," at the hour of sunset of a life that occurs together with the going out of the lights of an entire great age and with the swift coming of the incalculable darkness of a new one?

Not like Morley's man.

But: perhaps — which is why I wrote this book.

A Few Acknowledgments

"At the hour of sunset" fewer and fewer friends remain, and they become more and more precious as the years pass. Philip Bell, Bob Ferrell, Don Detwiler, Joanna Shaw Myers: I burdened each of them with the wearisome task of reading a particular chapter of the first drafts of my manuscript. Their comments were invaluable — as was that of yet another old friend, the Norwegian physicist Torger Holtsmark. Then the entire manuscript was read by Jacques Barzun and by my wife, Stephanie, and by my son Paul. Their patient and precise criticisms and reminders were not marginal: they were essential.

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1999–2001

ONE

At the End of an Age



"A civilization disappears with the kind of
man, the type of humanity, that has issued
from it."

Georges Bernanos

Convictions: A personal envoi. • The evolution of “modern.” • Main features of the Modern Age. • Contradictory dualities. • “Post-modern.” • The need to rethink the current idea of “Progress.”



For a long time I have been convinced that we in the West are living near the end of an entire age, the age that began about five hundred years ago. This is a prejudice, in the literal sense of that word: a prejudice, rather than a preoccupation¹ — which is why I must sum up, in the briefest possible manner, its evolution.

I knew, at a very early age, that “the West” was better than “the East” — especially better than Russia and Communism. I had read Spengler: but I believed that the Anglo-American victory over the Third Reich (and over Japan) was, at least in *some* ways, a refutation of the categorical German proposition

1. A prejudice is a (not necessarily advantageous) mental illumination; a preoccupation is a mental burden. (Tocqueville somewhere: “To run counter a common opinion because we believe it to be false, is noble and virtuous; but to despise a prejudice merely because it is inconvenient to ourselves, is nearly as dangerous to morality as to abandon a true principle for the same reason.”)

of the inevitable and imminent Decline of the West. However — Churchill's and Roosevelt's victory had to be shared with Stalin. The result, after 1945, was my early decision to flee from a not yet wholly Sovietized Hungary to the United States, at the age of twenty-two. And twenty-odd years later, at the age of forty-five, I was convinced that the entire Modern Age was crumbling fast. The result was a short book entitled *The Passing of the Modern Age*, published in 1970. During the following thirty years statements about the end of an age appeared in many of the dozen volumes and other essays and articles I was writing, on very different topics. Something drove me to make such statements. I now realize that they almost always appeared in paragraphs at or very near the end of my various books.

But there is a duality in every human life, in every human character. I am neither a cynic nor a categorical pessimist. In my auto-history (it is not really an autobiography) twelve years ago I wrote — and now see: again on its last page: "Because of the goodness of God I have had a happy unhappy life, which is preferable to an unhappy happy one." I wrote too: "So living during the decline of the West — and being much aware of it — is not at all that hopeless and terrible." During the ten years that followed I wrote more books; and since the collapse of Communism (I had seen that coming decades before) I have had the unexpected experience of seeing book after book of mine translated and published and bought by many readers in my native country. But during these past ten years (not *fin-de-siècle*: *fin d'une ère*) — my conviction hardened further, into an unquestioning belief not only that the entire age, and the civilization to

which I have belonged, were passing but that we are living through — if not already beyond — its very end.



I am writing about the so-called Modern Age, a familiar term which is nonetheless rather inaccurate.² For one thing, the Ancient-Medieval-Modern chronological division is not applicable to countries and civilizations beyond the Western world. It was inaccurate when it first arose in the consciousness and in the usage of our ancestors, and it has become ever less accurate since. The word "modern" first appeared in English about four hundred years ago, circa 1580. At first its sense was close to the original Latin *modernus*: "today's," "present." (Shakespeare occasionally used it, meaning "now common.") Gradually the weight of its sense shifted a bit forward, including the meaning of "new" — that is, something different from "old." By the end of the seventeenth century, in English but also in some other Western European languages, another allied meaning became current among learned people, a concept which was one of the results of the emergence of historical consciousness. This was the recognition that there have been three historic ages, the Ancient, the Middle, and now the Modern — whence "medieval," having been in the middle, between the Ancient and the Modern.

There came another shift of consciousness — indeed, of thinking. This was the sense that this modern age might last for

2. In England, "modern history" for a long time meant non-Ancient. In German the Modern Age does not carry that adjective: it is "Neuzeit," literally "New Age." This is also so in a few other languages.

a very long time—indeed, perhaps forever. This was seldom expressed definitely, but there it was: it existed (as it still exists today) in the inability, or perhaps in the unwillingness, of people to contemplate that, like the other ages of mankind, the Modern Age too may or will come to an end. It existed (as it still exists today) in the minds of those who, by and large, equated the Modern Age with an age of increasing Reason—contrasted with the Dark and/or Middle Ages, Ages of Faith. One classic example of this (then not unreasonable) optimism may be found in a passage by Gibbon, who in a stately meandering³ from his majestic theme, the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, wrote around 1776: “It may be safely presumed that no people, unless the face of nature is changed, will relapse into their original barbarism. . . . We may therefore acquiesce in the pleasing conclusion that every age of the world has increased, and still increases, the real wealth, the happiness, the knowledge, and perhaps the virtue, of the human race.”

Gibbon died five years after the French Revolution, in 1794, the year of Terror. He was not spared the sight of barbarism arising in the midst of Western European civilization, coming from the inside. He did not comment on that, for which we cannot blame him; but at this point we ought to give some thought to the words—that is, to the meanings—of barbarian/barbarism; primitive/primitivism; civilization/culture. The meaning of the first goes back to the Greeks; but the last two are products of the Modern Age. For the Greeks “barbarians” were, by and large, people who were not Greeks—that is,

3. Sheridan on Gibbon: “Luminous? I meant voluminous.”

outside and beyond their civilization, a lodgment in space. But *our* usage of “barbarian” or “barbarism” is also—if not mostly—directed to people and behavior and acts in our midst, to people who are “uncivilized” (or, as Russians strangely put it, “uncultured”). Such a meaning is the result not only of experiences but of the emerging historical consciousness at the beginning of the Modern Age, of which an early example is the meaning of “primitive.” This word, appearing in English around 1540, first suggested people who are, as yet, “behind” us: that is, behind, rather than beyond, behind us in time, rather than in space: in other words, “retarded.” This was another example of the then-changing meaning of Progress (a word that a century or so earlier had meant only advance in space, that is, moving forward). After 1600 the word “civilization” had become the antonym of barbarism and of primitivism (“to civilize: to bring out from rudeness, to educate to civility,” *OED* 1601—again an application of a new meaning of “progress”). Much later, during the second half of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a new meaning of “culture” appeared (unlike “civil,” the current meaning of “culture” had been unknown to the Greeks and Romans); being “civilized” and “cultured” began to overlap and become sometimes confused. Certain thinkers (mostly Germans, and later especially American intellectuals) would assert that Culture is of a higher order, more important than Civilization—by now, a very questionable assertion.

During the nineteenth century the employment of “modern” was less current; but the optimistic notion of an increasing and possibly everlasting Modern Age was not. What happened was that the notion, and the idea, of Progress had become

stronger than the notion, and the idea, of an Age of Reason. Of course, this occurred mainly because of the constantly increasing inventions and productions of applied science. We should recognize that therefore the appearance of the Evolutionary theory of humankind was predictable around 1860. Darwin was not a very original thinker; rather, a man of his time. One of the outcomes of his theory was of course the stretching of the origin of mankind back to hundreds of thousands (and by now, to more than one million) years into a "pre-historic" era. This tendency, perhaps not quite consciously, accorded with a view stretching forward to a perennial, perhaps everlasting, future of mankind; indirectly to a perennial, perhaps everlasting, Modern Age. By the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the number of thinkers who, directly or indirectly, began to question this kind of progressive optimism increased. They had their forerunners such as the Neapolitan Vico two centuries earlier; but now there were different writers, such as Nietzsche or Valéry or Spengler, who, in their different ways, tried to remind their readers of the symptoms of decline and of the ultimate fallibility of Western civilization — in the history of which the Modern Age has of course been a part. Finally, during the twentieth century, the appeal of the cult of Reason, of the applications of Progress, and the usage of "modern" itself began to weaken, not only among intellectuals but among more and more people. Toward the end of the century the word "post-modern" appeared, mostly in the abstract realms of literary and art criticism. (To a brief discussion of this belated, confused, and inaccurate designation I must return toward the end of this chapter.)

Meanwhile there exist significant symptoms of an evolving historical consciousness that has no precedents. Because of the achievements of great historians we have acquired a fair amount of knowledge of what had happened — and, perhaps more important, of how people had lived and thought — during the waning of the Ancient and of the Middle Ages. Near the end of the Roman Empire or during the waning of the Middle Ages people knew that some unusual things were happening to them; many of them knew and understood the often worrisome difference of their condition when compared with the lives of their parents or other ancestors; but they seldom thought in terms of the end of an entire age. Yet telling people that we seem to be living near or at the end of an age is no longer something to which they necessarily react with incomprehension or even unexpectedness. Ordinary people, with little knowledge of history, instantly understand when someone, referring to a particular evidence of moral rottenness, says, "It's like the last days of the Roman Empire." This kind of surprisingly widespread (though of course often inaccurate and vague) consciousness of history is a significant symptom. However — every such kind of general historical recognition ought to be sharpened by the understanding of the ending of a very particular age, the one that began about five hundred years ago.



So I must now turn from the evolution (and devolution) of the word "modern" to that of the Modern Age itself. What were its main features?

First of all, it was the *European Age*. There are three sets of reasons for this: geographical, etymological, historical. Until about five hundred years ago the main theater of history was the Mediterranean, and the principal actors were the people along or near its shores, with few important exceptions. With the discovery of the Americas, of the East Indies, of the shape of the globe itself, all this changed. The European age of world history began.

Yet the very adjective, and designation, of "European" was something entirely new at that time, five hundred years ago. The noun "Europe" had existed for a long time, although infrequently used. But "European," designating the inhabitant of a certain continent, was new. (It seems that among the first who invented and used it was Pius II, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, a Renaissance Pope around 1470.) In any event: until about five hundred years ago "Christian" and "European" and "white" were almost synonymous, nearly coterminous. There were few inhabitants of the continent who denied that they were Christians. (Exceptions were the Turks in the Balkans, and a small scattering of Jews.) There were very few Christians living outside Europe, and there were few peoples of the white race beyond it, while there were few non-white inhabitants of Europe.

After 1492 "Europe" expanded in several ways. Entire newly discovered continents (the Americas, Australia), as well as the southern tip of Africa, became settled by whites, and Christianized. The lands conquered or colonized by the settlers soon became parts of the empires of their mother countries; the posts and colonies of the European Powers appeared across the world. Finally, European institutions, customs, industries, laws, inven-

tions, buildings spread over most of the world, involving also peoples who were not conquered by Europeans. But after the two world wars of the twentieth century, during which the peoples of Europe grievously wounded each other and themselves, almost all of this came to an end. There were no more new settlements of Europeans (and of whites) on other continents. (One exception is the state of Israel.) To the contrary: the Europeans gave up their colonial empires, and their colonists left their Asian or African homelands. (As late as 1914 the entire continent of Africa, save for two states, Liberia and Abyssinia, belonged to or was governed by a European colonial empire. Eighty years later there was not a single European — or white-ruled — state on the entire continent.) Yet the Christian churches in Africa, Asia, Oceania seem to have survived the reflux of whites, at least in many places. What also survived — indeed, it spread athwart the globe — was the emulation and the adaptation of institutions, industries, customs, forms of art and of expression, laws that were originally European. But the European Age was over.

It was over, at latest by 1945 (if not already by 1917), when the two Superpowers of the world (meeting in the middle of conquered Europe) were the United States and Russia. There remained no European Power comparable to them, not even Britain. This brings up a terminological question. Was (is) the United States European? Yes and no. Yes: in the sense that its origins and laws and institutions — and for about a century the majority of its inhabitants — were of Anglo-Saxon-Celtic origin. No: since its population is now becoming less and less European. And the United States, too, is affected by the crumbling of the institutions and the ideas of the Modern Age that had

produced it at its beginning. Indeed, probably more so than many of the states and peoples of Europe. The composition of the American people has been changing rapidly and drastically, whence it is foreseeable that sooner or later whites in America may be a minority. Even more important is the condition that the United States of America was a product of the Modern Age, born in the middle of it—indeed, at its high point—with its ideas and institutions having been largely (though not completely) the results of the eighteenth century Enlightenment.



To list the evidences of the ending of the Modern Age would fill an enormous book. Here I must try to sum up—or, better, to suggest—some of them.

The progressive spreading of democracy has marked the history of mankind, certainly during the past two hundred years but in many ways throughout the entire Modern Age. This progress was usually gradual, at times revolutionary, and not always clearly visible on the surface of world events. How long this democratic age will last no one can tell. What “democracy” really means is another difficult question. But there is a larger consideration. We are living through one of the greatest changes in the entire history of mankind, because until relatively recently history was largely (though never exclusively) “made” by minorities, while increasingly it is “made” by majorities. (In reality it is not so much made by majorities as it is made *in the name of* majorities.) At any rate, this has become the age of popular sovereignty (at least for a while). History has moved from the

aristocratic to the democratic era—a passage occurring mostly during the Modern Age, and one that may transcend even the great accepted (Western) scheme of Ancient and Middle and Modern times.

This spread of democracy was the vision of Alexis de Tocqueville; it is present throughout his writings, most clearly in the second volume of *Democracy in America*, where his very method of description was to summarily juxtapose and contrast how society, politics, arts, and even more, mores and manners, formed differently in aristocratic ages before the developing democratic times. And within this very large vision there was a historically more limited one: Tocqueville’s recognition, more than a century ago, that this had been and still was a gradual process: with aristocracy declining and democracy rising, the existence of *some* kind of aristocratic order was still necessary to maintain some of the freedoms of otherwise increasingly democratic societies. (That was the main reason for his—of course not unlimited—respect for Victorian England, or even his appreciation of American lawyers whom he once described as an American aristocracy of sorts.) Nearly 175 years later, at the end of the Modern Age, much of this is past. Still the Modern Age *was* marked by the coexistence of aristocracy and democracy, something which has now come to an end.

“Aristocracy” ought not to be categorically defined as the rule of kings and/or noblemen. “Democracy” also means something more than the rule of “the people,” more, indeed, than mere popular sovereignty. But especially in Europe, between the highest and the lowest classes (or between the rulers and the ruled) there was another, rather particular, class in the

middle: the so-called bourgeois class or classes, whose origins and first influences go back well beyond the beginning of the Modern Age and whose rise marked much of it, together with its achievements. This is not the place to discourse upon either the origins or the meaning of the words "bourgeois" and "bourgeoisie," except that perhaps in most European languages they were linked to the rise and importance of cities. Nor is this the place to expatiate upon the often obscured difference between "bourgeois" and "middle-class." It should be sufficient to observe that by the end of the twentieth century the very term "middle-class" had lost much (if not all) of its meaning because of its tremendous inflationary growth, perhaps especially in the United States but also in other nations where a governing upper class, whether in politics or in society, has practically ceased to exist. Like "modern," "middle-class" is no longer a reasonably accurate category.⁴ At the same time, "bourgeois" remains, in retrospect, a historical reality. The existence of a bourgeoisie, especially in Western Europe, and in the English-speaking countries, was not only a sociological phenomenon (or a simple one: since the bourgeois emulated and intermingled with the remaining aristocracies in many ways). It was marked by recognizable forms of behavior and of ideas. We ought to honor its achievements — not only constitutional government and its attempts to balance equality with liberty, but the fact that most of

⁴ At the other end of the social scale, especially in the United States, the category of a "working-class" as *distinct* from "middle-class" has also largely ceased to exist. What has not ceased to exist is a proletariat of sorts — often a largely non-working one. (As Jesus said: "The poor you will have always with you.") And we now have the New Poor.

the great minds and the greatest artistic creations of the past five hundred years were the products of people of bourgeois origins and of bourgeois status. Which is why it is at least possible and, in my opinion, reasonable to give the Modern Age (or at least its two centuries before 1914) a telling qualifier or adjective: the Bourgeois Age.



The Bourgeois Age was the Age of the State; the Age of Money; the Age of Industry; the Age of the Cities; the Age of Privacy; the Age of the Family; the Age of Schooling; the Age of the Book; the Age of Representation; the Age of Science; and the age of an evolving historical consciousness. Except for the last two, all of these primacies are now fading and declining fast.

The modern state was a product of the Modern Age. Its establishment occurred together with the ideal of civilization: a progress from barbarism. It was a response to, or a result of, the warfare of diverse aristocracies during the fifteenth century, and of the even more injurious religious wars of the sixteenth. The result was the strong, centralized, and sovereign state in most of Western Europe and England, established by absolute or near-absolute monarchs whose rule was especially appreciated by the bourgeois classes, since it provided for their relative safety. Thus royal and centralized absolutism was, especially in its beginnings, an anti-aristocratic, and anti-feudal — to some extent even a democratic — phenomenon. Gradually the democratic element, in this case the bourgeoisie, turned against royal as

well as aristocratic power—in England in the seventeenth century, in France in the second half of the eighteenth. Meanwhile—as Tocqueville was the first to point out—the power and the authority of the sovereign and centralized state kept growing, irrespective of whether its sovereignty was represented by a monarch or by a bourgeois government. And due to increasing democracy, in the twentieth century the authority of the state grew further, intending to ensure the material welfare of most of its inhabitants. The existence of “totalitarian” dictatorships in the twentieth century obscured this issue. Their opponents justly feared the limitless and often brutal power of the Total State. Yet Hitler and Mussolini were unopposed by the great majority of their subjects: in sum, they were representatives of popular sovereignty. Hitler himself said that the state was an outdated concept: he was the leader of a people, of a *Volk*, which, in his words, had its primacy over the State. By the second half of the twentieth century, the near-universal principle of government was that of popular sovereignty rather than that of the state; indeed, the power and authority of the state, and respect for it, began to decline. The most evident example of this is Russia, where after the fall of the Soviet Union the problem was no longer the overwhelming power of the state but, to the contrary, its weakness. Elsewhere, too, the break-up of entire states has begun, of which the “privatization” of some of its former functions and services, or the formation of such supra-national institutions as the European Union, are but superficial—and perhaps even transitory—appearances, together with the evident lessening of the authority of the state. Popular resentment against “government” merely masks the essence of

this phenomenon from which the United States is not at all exempt. An example of this is the increase of criminality, some of the symptoms of which suggest a new kind of feudalism. Another more telling example is that while the opponents of “big government” are the very people who support every expenditure and establishment of “defense” (as if the armed forces were not part of “government”), successive administrations of the United States have been both unable and unwilling to protect the very frontiers of the American state, through which millions of illegal migrants are pouring in.

Money, in one form or another, has always existed; and money has its history, like everything else; and the Modern Age has been the age of money—increasingly so, perhaps reaching its peak around 1900. During the Middle Ages there were some material assets, often land, that money could not buy; but by 1900 there was hardly any material thing that money could not buy, while paper money was exchangeable for its equivalent in silver or gold. But during the twentieth century the value of money diminished fast. One symptom (and cause) of this was inflation. When there is more and more of something, its value becomes less and less; and democracy is probably inseparable from inflation. Therefore the cyclical rise and fall in the value of money has largely ceased to exist. That the inflation of words led to the inflation of money is an important phenomenon, because the value of every material thing is not only *conditioned* (as a few economists have at long last become constrained to admit) but *entirely determined* by what people think it is; and people think in words. The inflation of money went apace with the rise of a general, and historically unprecedented, prosperity; but this

prosperity had little to do with what is still called "capitalism," the latter meaning the preservation and the husbanding of money, rather than the spending of it. By the end of the twentieth century the inflation of stocks and of other financial instruments became even more rapid than the inflation of money — at the bottom of which phenomenon another development exists, which is the increasingly abstract character of money — due, in part, to the increasing reliance on entirely electronic transactions and on their records. Credit cards are but a superficial, though astonishingly widespread, example of this development in a world where income is more important than capital, quick profits more than accumulation of assets, and potentiality more than actuality — that is, creditability more than actual ownership. What has been happening with money is, of course, but part and parcel of a much more profound development: the increasing intrusion of mind into matter. That this happens at a time when philosophies of materialism are still predominant only reflects the mental confusion of our times. In any event, the end of the Modern Age is also the end of the Age of Money — at least as our ancestors used to know it.

The Modern Age was, by and large, marked by an increase in the numbers of people; and by an increase of the production of goods and of their availability. This was of course the result of progress in industry and in agriculture.⁵ We now live in a me-

5. And of course of trade. Trade was what had led to another characteristic of the Modern Age, to the predominance of sea power. The internal combustion engine changed all of that; during World War II, for example, the decisive importance of land power returned, at least in the European theater of war.

chanical age; but we must recognize that the Age of Industry was remarkably short-lived. It was less than 130 years ago (in 1874) that the majority of people in England were employed in industrial work, not in agricultural production. The people of the United States followed this pattern. But by 1956 the majority of the American population were no longer engaged in any kind of material production, either agricultural or industrial. They were employed in administration and in services. This proportion has grown fast ever since, and in all "advanced" states of the world. (It may be said that the age of democracy has, in reality, devolved into the age of bureaucracy: but not only in "government"; also in every kind of so-called "private" institution.) Of course industry, world-wide, has now been able to produce more and more goods (with varying qualities of durability), employing fewer and fewer people in their mass production. Consider, too, that advertisement and transportation of these goods now cost more (and involve more people) than their production; or that there are entire countries (and some states of the American Union) whose main "industry" is the attraction and management of tourists. It may be said that the production of consumption has become more important than the production of goods.⁶ While in the past a respected industrialist was someone who was successful in creating production, now he is someone who creates consumption.⁷ What is

6. Evelyn Waugh: "In a democracy men do not seek authority so that they may impose a policy. They seek a policy so that they may impose authority."

7. Perhaps this corresponds to the evolution (or devolution) of republican democracy. The word "democracy" did not appear either in the Declaration of Independence or in the Constitution of the United States. How-

even more telling is that the perception of and the—temporary—use of goods has often become more important than their actual possession.

The Modern Age was the age of the town. The word “bourgeois” is connected to the word for “city” in about every European language (whence the derivation of the word “citizen”—inaccurately, since the latter categorizes the relationship of an individual not to a city but to a state). Bourgeois civilization was largely, though not exclusively, urban. The adjectives “urban” and “urbane” acquired added meanings during the Modern Age. After that the great rise of European and American cities took place. By 1850 London and Paris had more than one million inhabitants each; by 1900 there were more such cities in Europe and three in the United States. This was in part the result of industrialism, whereby millions of men and women left the countryside to find a new life and new work (though often a dreadfully dark and miserable one) in the cities. But there was more than that: the civilization and the culture and the amenities of city life attracted men and women of many kinds. After 1950 the decline of the cities set in. Nearly every great European and American city began to lose population. Within a few decades three dozen or more cities in Asia, Africa, and South America surpassed them in size and in numbers. The once urbane populations had begun to move out of the cities, into the suburbs. These, originally planned to function as

ever, by 1828 elections had become popularity contests. This was not what many of the Founders wished to see, but there it was. But then, less than one hundred years later there came a much more lamentable phase: the devolution of *popularity contests* into *publicity contests*.

bridges between city and country living, began to spread and devour both city and countryside. One reason for this was the ubiquity of the personal automobile. Another was the growth of new populations, to whom the civilized proximities and the cultural offerings of cities meant little or nothing. By the end of the twentieth century the association of urbanity with city-living disappeared: the presence of an urbane middle-class within the cities lost its influence and importance.

The Modern Age discovered the virtues—and pleasures—of privacy. Life in the Middle Ages—both in and outside the dwellings of people—was public, in more than one way. Privacy was not an ideal, it was not cherished. Soon after the beginning of the Modern Age there came a change. The most evident material sign of this was the new ideal of the bourgeois house or “apartment” (the latter word is telling: it meant the separation of working and public places apart from private chambers, whether in the palaces of kings or in the houses of the bourgeois). The very word “home” acquired a new meaning. Among other things, the respect for privacy distinguished a civilized society from barbarians or primitive people. This recognition of interiority affected our very language (and our very thinking); the increasing recognition of imagination (arising from the inside) rather than of “inspiration” (occurring from the outside). Thereafter the increasing emphasis on political and legal rights of the “individual” seemed to affirm the rights to privacy, at least implicitly. But the idea of the private—and thereby autonomous—“individual” was a fiction.⁹ In a mass democratic society (perhaps especially in the United States) the desire for privacy was much weaker than the desire for respectability, usually

Migration
cheap & easy
done for a new
modern country.
"My thousand years."

within a particular community. Compared with the wish for public recognition, the cultivation of private behavior, of private appearances, of private opinions remained confused, occasional, and feeble. The phrase "peer pressure," lately applied to otherwise undisciplined juveniles, has been extant among people well beyond their youth: for the weakness of the ideal of privacy is almost always a sign of insufficient maturity.

The modern cult of privacy had, at first sight, a common ground with the cult of what is still called "individualism" (a questionable term); but at closer sight this connection is deceiving. Privacy had more to do with the developing bourgeois cult of the family. During the Middle Ages children were sent out to work, often for others. During the early Modern Age children returned to the family (or, more accurately, they were kept within the family for a longer time). There were many exceptions to this, especially among certain aristocracies, where children were often extruded from their families, a custom continuing into the eighteenth century. But the tendency to protect and educate children (note the original meaning of "educate": bring up, guide forth) was another new bourgeois habit, eventually spreading up and down, to the nobility as well as to the working classes. Children were no longer treated as little adults or caricatures of adults; there arose, instead, the bourgeois cult of the child — a cult inseparable from the cult of the home, of coziness, of interiority, of privacy.

As the nineteenth century progressed, these bourgeois ideals concerning the protection and the education of children were adopted by various governments. More important: so far as family life went, toward the end of that century for the first

time large numbers of married women, including mothers, no longer had to work in the fields or in factories — because of the wages and the industrial employment of their husbands. A working man could afford an apartment or a cottage or even a small house for his family, where his wife would keep house and govern her children; she no longer needed to rise at dawn to go to work elsewhere during the day. Like the entire Industrial Age, this development was short-lived. During the twentieth century came many changes, including the availability of divorce, and of abortion. Yet on many levels, these were consequences rather than causes. As happens before or near the end of a great age, the mutations of institutions, societies, mores, and manners involved the very relations of the sexes. The ideal of the family woman, wife and mother and homemaker, began to fade. Many women, restrained for a long time by certain social customs and habits, became eager to prove their abilities in various kinds of employment: a justifiable aspiration. Yet — especially in the United States — the desire of a woman to be employed somewhere in the so-called "marketplace" was often not the result of financial necessity but, rather, of a new kind of impulse: the life of a housewife — especially in the suburbs — proved to be lonely and boring. Women thought (or, rather, convinced themselves) that they were reacting against the age-old and often senseless categories and assertions of male authority; yet their dissatisfaction often arose not because of the oppressive strength but because of the weakness of males. The rising tide of divorces and abortions, the acceptance of sexual liberties, including pre-marital (and at times post-marital) habits of frequent copulation and other forms of cohabitation, the

increasing numbers of unmarried women and single mothers, the dropping birth rate — thus the decline of the so-called “nuclear” family — were, especially after 1955, grave symptoms suggesting vast social changes. They included the perhaps seldom wholly conscious, but more and more evident, tendency of many young women to desire any kind of male companionship, even of a strong and brutal kind, if need be at the cost of their self-respect. In sum, the professional recognition as well as the legal protection of women had risen, while the respect for them had declined. Some of this was due to the twentieth-century cult of youth — which was especially widespread in America during the last phase of its urban and bourgeois period. However, it is not difficult to see that beneath the cult of youth there lurks the fear of death and even the fear of growing up: the fear of having to assume the responsibilities of maturity. The increasing “freedoms” granted to young people in the twentieth century were, in some ways, a return to the practice before the Modern Age, the treatment (or non-treatment) of children as if they were smaller versions of adults. The *education* (in the original sense of that word) of children toward maturity was another bourgeois ideal fading away.

The age of institutional schooling was another feature of the Modern Age. There were universities in the Middle Ages but few (or no) schools of general learning. By the seventeenth century schooling became extended to younger and younger ages, eventually including children of the poor. By the nineteenth century the ideal of general and public education, increasingly involving the responsibility of governments, became sacrosanct. Still, much of the training and the proper education

of children remained the responsibility of parents in the home. During the twentieth century this changed. Like so many other things, the role of the schools became inflated and extended, diminishing the earlier responsibilities of parents. In the United States the principal and practical function of the schools often became custodial (especially when both parents were working away from home), though this was seldom acknowledged. After 1960 at least one-fourth of the population of the United States spent more than one-fourth of their entire lifetime in schools, from ages two to twenty-two. As on so many other levels and ways of mass democracy, inflation had set in, diminishing drastically the content and the quality of learning: more and more young people, after twenty years in schools, could not read or write without difficulty. Schools were overcrowded, including colleges and universities. In this increasingly bureaucratized world little more than the possession of various diplomas mattered. Since admission to certain schools — rather than the consequently almost automatic acquisition of degrees — depended on increasingly competitive examinations, the word “meritocracy” was coined, meaning that the rise and positions to be acquired in society depended on the category of the degree and on the category of the college or university wherefrom one graduated. In reality the term “meritocracy” was misleading. As in so many other spheres of life, the rules that governed the practices and functions of schools and universities were bureaucratic rather than meritocratic. It is bureaucracy, not meritocracy, that categorizes the employment of people by their academic degrees. The number and the variation of degrees awarded by higher institutions grew to a fantastic, and

nonsensical, extent. Besides being custodial, the purpose of institutional education was now the granting of degrees to provide instant employment.

The inflation of "education" had much to do with the decline of reading (and of its declining requirement in the curricula of the schools). This was another sign of the end of the Modern Age, which was also the Age of the Book. The invention of the printing of books coincided with the beginning of the Modern Age; it was both consequence and cause of many of its achievements. At first it was the availability of books, rather than of schools, that led to an increase of readers — until, by the nineteenth century, men and women who could not read became a small minority among the populations of the Western world. Around the same time the flood of reading matter, including newspapers, rose even higher than the ever-rising flood of books: with the rise of universal literacy (due to the extension of schooling) there was now a new reservoir of potential readers to be tapped. But the inflation of printed matter unavoidably reduced its quality; and there were other influences at hand. The reproduction of more and more pictures in newspapers, magazines, and books; the advent of moving pictures and, finally, of television led to a condition in which — again, not unlike the Middle Ages — the routine imagination of large masses of people became pictorial rather than verbal. Together with the extent of their readership, the influence of books was receding — together, too, with the decline of people's attention span, or with their capacity to concentrate, indeed, to listen. With the increasing propagation of "information" and of "communication" the habits of reading further declined.

I now come to the most difficult of these necessarily generalized and inaccurate summaries of devolution: that of art, which in the Modern Age was inseparable from the ideals not only of beauty but of representation. Much of the art of the Middle Ages was symbolic, and idealized. The Renaissance of course discovered humanism, the beauty of the human body, and the complexity of human nature; and it had begun with an emulation of Greek and Roman art which was marked by "mimesis," or in another word: "re-presentation." A deep shift in consciousness at the end of the eighteenth century then affected art, first of all poetry and painting. This was the conscious recognition of imagination, beyond the older idea of inspiration (an early recognition of the inseparability of the observer from what he observes). During the nineteenth century literature and architecture were increasingly influenced, if not altogether inspired and formed, by historicity. Meanwhile realism and naturalism in poetry and painting were more and more affected by the artist's comprehension of the limitations of "objectivity" — that is, of the entire separation of the observer (and of course of the artist) from his subject. "Impressionism," thus, was no more the mere result of the invention of photography than impressionist music was the result of the invention of the phonograph.

After the early nineteenth century the artist was no longer seen as an artisan, meaning a craftsman, but rather as a person of unusual, indeed, superior sensitivity. By the early twentieth century — even before the catastrophe of World War I — what was oddly, and belatedly, called "modern art" meant a drastic and brutal departure from the traditions and the achievements of the Modern Age. This is no place to expatiate upon, or even

to illustrate, this reactionary argument; instead I shall only cite the words of the English poet Philip Larkin: "It seems to me undeniable that up to this century literature used language in the way we all use it, painting represented what anyone with normal vision sees, and music was an affair of nice noises rather than nasty ones. The innovation of 'modernism' in the arts consisted of doing the opposite. I don't know why, I'm not a historian. You have to distinguish between things that seemed odd when they were new but are now quite familiar, such as Ibsen or Wagner, and things that seemed crazy when they were new and seem crazy now, like *Finnegans Wake* and Pound and Picasso." "Crazy" — and ugly: because the ending of the ideals of representation was also marked by an increasing tendency in letters, buildings, music, painting, poetry, to ugliness.



This Jeremiad has its conditions, and limitations. One of them involves the distinction between the passing of the Modern Age and the Decline of the West. Of course almost all of the symptoms of the ending of the Modern (or European; or Bourgeois) Age have been most evident within the so-called Western world. But because of the continued influence of Western habits and institutions and practices all over the globe, not a few differences between the customs of the Western and the non-Western world are now sometimes hardly more than differences in timing. The contrast between a bloodless West and the power of the more primitive peoples of the globe (not to speak of Spengler's Europe/Russia antithesis) may or may not be deepening. We

are of course only at the beginning of the first "global" civilization — and only on certain transitory and superficial levels. In any event: the near future, the beginning of an age that will succeed the Modern Age, shows many signs of spreading wider than the Western world.

Another limitation is even more evident. This is a chronological limitation of my Jeremiad, which I must defend, at least to some extent. In almost all of the abovementioned spheres of life the rapid dissolution and the malfunctioning of the institutions and ideals of the Modern Age gathered speed during the twentieth century, and especially during its second half. Is this not too shortsighted a view? Their sources and beginnings and symptoms had appeared earlier; but then those were not what I am writing about. It is hardly arguable that in this, as also in many other respects, the twentieth century was a transitional century (as was a century at the end of the Middle Ages, from about 1450 to 1550) — in every sense, the twentieth was also a short century, lasting from 1914 to 1989, seventy-five years. After that, the collapse of Communism (and of the Russian Empire) did not lead to a conservative reaction: the symptoms of dissolution continued — indeed, many of them gathered speed during the last decade of the chronological twentieth century (no *fin-de-siècle* then). No, history is not a mechanical clock: the pendulum never swings back. But human events and minds change, though slowly; something different, something new is beginning.

A third limitation consists in the condition that the mutation of characteristics and institutions and habits is especially (though not at all exclusively) evident in the United States and

done for a new
modern canon.
"My house is a house."

in the industrially or technically most "advanced" countries of the Western world. This should not be surprising: after all, the American historical handicap (as well as the once American advantage) was due to the condition that the institutions of the United States were born in the very middle of the Modern Age, in the century of the so-called Enlightenment, whereby the people of the United States have been less immune to the shortcomings of modernity than other peoples whose mental and physical make-up carries some living memories of older epochs, of an older and different past.⁸ After 1989 an unprecedented situation arose: the United States was the only Superpower in the world. Does this connote the Apogee of the Modern Age (the age that had given birth to the United States of America)? Not at all.

And then there is Christianity. Its churches have been emptying. Yet something like this has happened before, and often. (One example: perhaps never in the two thousand years of the Holy See was a Pope as bereft of prestige and power as Pius VI was two hundred years ago, in 1799.) Is Christianity disappearing? I do not think so.



And now: the Contra-Jeremiad. A list of the *enduring* achievements of the Modern Age. Enduring; and lasting; and

8. But consider, too, the reciprocal influences of institutions and character. Contrary to accepted views, character influences institutions as much, if not more, than the reverse: and the *character* of most of the American people two hundred years ago was still predominantly Anglo-Celtic, that is, at least to some extent, pre-Enlightenment.

matters still in progress. We are healthier than ever before. (To be more precise: less affected by pain and by contagious illness.) Infant mortality has become minimal. Our life-span has become longer and longer. (Again, most of this progress had taken place in the past 130 years.) Large masses of people are now able to live in conditions of comfort available only to the richest or most powerful of our great-grandparents. Large masses of people drive their own automobiles. Large masses can afford to travel to faraway continents and places in a matter of hours, with enough money to spend. Institutional slavery has largely ceased to exist. Almost every state proclaims itself a democracy, attempting to provide a minimum of welfare to all of its inhabitants. Men have been propelled to the moon and back; they have landed there twice.

We cannot crank our lives backward. We must also know that there were (and are) no Golden Ages of history. The evidences of decay all around us do not mean that there was any ideal period at any time during the Modern Age. In certain fields of life and art and thought: perhaps. In others: certainly not. Yes, it would be pleasant to meet Rembrandt or Bach or Montesquieu or Washington—or perhaps even to live in the age of Edward VII: but only with plenty of money at our disposal, and in at least near-perfect health. Such are illusions amid a then-extant reality of pain and discomfort and illness and other, less tangible but surely prevalent disillusionments.

Moreover, history and life consist of the coexistence of continuity and change. Nothing vanishes entirely. The institutions, the standards, the customs, the habits, the mental inclinations of the Modern Age still exist around us. So does the respect for

many of its creative achievements — political, social, but, even more, artistic. (One of them is polyphonic music, which was a unique European creation sometime during the beginning of the era.) The respect for older things has now acquired a tinge of nostalgia — almost certainly part and parcel of the uneasiness with “Progress.” During the past forty years the meanings of the adjectives “old” and “old-fashioned” — especially in the United States — have changed from “antiquated” or “outdated” to suggest some things that are reliable, solid, enduring, desirable. This has little to do with “conservatism” or “traditionalism.” “Conservatives,” especially in the United States, are some of the most strident proponents of “Progress”; their views of the present and the future are not merely shortsighted but laden with a bellowing optimism that is imbecile rather than naive. Nor is the respect for old things simply traditionalist, since a blind obedience to traditional customs marks the mentality and the habits of the most primitive peoples of mankind.

In any event, there is every reason to believe that the respect for (and even the occasional emulation and adaptation of) some of the creations of the Modern Age (surely its achievements in art) will continue and grow. The time will come (if it is not already at hand) when people will look back and respect and admire (perhaps with a sigh, but no matter) — indeed, that they will recognize — the past five hundred years as one of the two greatest eras in the history of mankind, the other having been the “classical” one, Greece and Rome. But here is a difference — and a significant one. The last time something like this happened was five or six hundred years ago, involving but a

small minority of people, which is not what is happening now. At that time men began to look back at the achievements and the letters and the art of Greece and Rome, idealizing them, and emulating them. (All art begins with emulation.) That was the Renaissance, a re-birth: the word is telling. It marked the beginning of modern historical consciousness — although that was imperfect and incomplete, because of its almost unrestricted idealization of the Classical Age, of the ancients. Its admirers dismissed the entire Middle Ages, their still then present and their recent past (even though the idea and the term “Middle Ages” did not yet exist). They took their inspiration from *two* ages away, farther back. This is not happening now. Something else is: our respect and admiration for the age that is now past but which existed immediately before our times and which in many ways is still close to us and extant within us. And this is a symptom of the evolution of our historical consciousness which may be acquiring novel forms and which is not weakening.



There are other results of this coexistence of continuity and change — unplanned and unforeseen ones. They are the unexpected consequences of changes in the nature of institutions and in that of accepted ideas — wherein we may detect the, often paradoxical, appearances of dualities.

Again it was Tocqueville who wrote about the inevitable fallibility of all human institutions: when people tend to stretch

or carry their original and particular features to extremes, these become the very opposites of their original intentions.

Here are a few examples.

At the end of the Modern Age constitutions and courts have extended lawfulness to private acts of all kinds (sometimes to the extent of obscenity) — at a time when fewer and fewer people appreciate or are able to cultivate privacy.

Large masses of people are able to acquire residences they legally “own” — when, in reality, they merely rent them (since they will almost never pay for them in full; nor do they expect to stay in them for more than a few years). Permanence of residence, which is one basis of civilization, is no longer an ideal. Many conditions, including taxation, work against it.

The egalitarian notion of democracy, meaning the lessening of class differences, exists at the same time that many people are uncomfortable with a classless society in which they are unable to identify themselves and in which they depend on paltry and temporary associations.

Legal, or even social, distinctions of race are diminishing, and the rights and privileges of formerly restricted races are institutionalized and extended — at the same time that the fear and hostility of races among people may be growing.

We have already seen that the sums spent on education have become enormous, and that the time young peo-

ple spend in school amounts to twenty or more years — at the same time that their knowledge of the world is deficient, together with their ability to read and write and to express themselves well.

“Liberals,” who, earlier in the Modern Age, had advocated limiting the powers of the state, have throughout the twentieth century advocated government intervention in many fields, including a guarantee to welfare of many kinds. “Conservatives,” who had once stood for the defense of traditions, have become chief advocates of technology and of militarization and even of populism, all in the name of “Progress.”

The power and function of government, its interventions and regulations in more and more spheres of life, have grown — at the same time that the selective indignation of people about such extensions of “government” goes apace with the decline of the authority and respect for the state.

The progressive applications of medicine and surgery and therapy are astounding — at the same time that more and more people are dependent on medicine and on medications throughout their adult lives. Here is one of the greatest, and perhaps deepest, changes toward the end of the Modern Age. In the past most human illnesses came from the outside: from injuries or infections of many kinds. By the twentieth century most illnesses came from the inside of the human being. We may know their pathogenesis (their symptoms and their development) but seldom their etiology (their

origin). This means that many of our ailments are, at least to some extent, psychosomatic (just as all of our perceptions are, at least to some extent, extrasensory) — another illustration of the increasing intrusion of mind into matter.

The long-awaited equality of women has been legalized and established and, in many ways, guaranteed — at the same time that the relations, including the most intimate ones, between men and women have become complicated and even brutalized. Many women have gained their “independence” at the cost of increasing loneliness.

The incredible access to “information,” again at the end of the Modern Age, obscures the condition that, at the same time, much of that “information” is meaningless; and when many of the purveyors of “information” make it dependent or, worse, subordinate to “entertainment.” The ability of great masses to see and visit distant parts of the globe has increased exponentially, not only through pictorial and other “communications” but by the increasing and cheapening opportunities of travel — at the same time that the knowledge of people about other peoples is less substantial and more superficial than before.

The fantastic development of communications at the end of the Modern Age makes it possible for almost everyone to see or speak to people across the world in an instant — at the same time that real communications, meaning the talking and listening of people to each

other, including parents and children, husbands and wives, even lovers, has become rarer and rarer — in sum: when personal communications are breaking down. At the end of the Modern Age the position and the power of the United States is unique; the only Superpower in the world, having achieved such a status through much goodwill and of course good fortune — at the same time that the respect of many people (including many Americans themselves) for the present standards of American civilization and of American popular “culture” decline.



Such a list of paradoxical dualities may be endless. But now we arrive at the greatest and gravest duality — indeed, the greatest and gravest problem looming before us at the end of the Modern Age.

Recall Gibbon's sentence of more than two hundred years ago: barbarism and its catastrophes are now inconceivable “unless the face of nature is changed.” Now, for the first time in the history of mankind, dangers and catastrophes of nature are potentially (indeed, here and there actually) threatening nature and humanity together. These dangers are man-made. They include not only horribly destructive atomic and biological weapons but many effects on the nature and on the atmosphere of the globe by the increasing presence and intrusion of the results of applied science. So at the end of the Modern

Age the control and the limitation and even the prohibition of some of the applications of science—including genetic engineering—becomes a, sometimes global, necessity. At the same time there exists no international or supra-national (and in most cases not even a national) authority that would enforce such measures.

In view of this prospect the confusion and the split-mindedness characteristic near or at the end of an age appears. Most “conservatives,” votaries of what is still wrongly called “capitalism” and of technical progress, deny the need to preserve or conserve. Most “liberals” still cling to outdated dogmas of the so-called Enlightenment, unwilling to question the validity of “Science.” This kind of schizophrenia is evident, too, among the Greens or environmentalists—otherwise an interesting and promising appearance of a movement that, for the first time in modern history, prefers the conservation of Nature to the inroads of Finance and Science—since the same “Greens” who militate in favor of laws and authority to halt the ravages against nature at the same time militate against laws and authorities that still claim to protect families and forbid abortions. The very word “environmentalism” is inaccurate and even misleading, as if mankind were one thing and its “environment” another. Instead of recognizing their unavoidable coexistence, many environmentalists are also anti-humanists, wishing to exclude all human traces from their cult of wilderness and wildness. They are unwilling to recognize how one of the finest achievements of the Modern Age—in its art, in its habitations, indeed in its civilization—was the gradual formation of landscapes, from which a human presence is not, indeed cannot be,

excluded, since the ideal landscape suggests a harmony between the land and the signs of a habitation therein.

Still, after all, the existence of Greens and of environmentalists is a promising symptom—despite their still present split-mindedness of being anti-conservative and conservative at the same time. At the end of the Modern Age, for the first time in two hundred years, more and more people, in more and more fields of life, have begun to question the still present and now outdated idea of “Progress”—an idea which, in its present form, appeared at the beginning of the Modern Age: an ideal as well as an idea that has now begun to lose at least some of its appeal.



Some time during the past quarter of the twentieth century the word “post-modern” appeared: another symptom of the uneasy sense (rather than a clear recognition) that we are living through (or, rather, facing) the end of an age. The prefix “post-” in itself is telling. There is some sense of historical consciousness in it (as for example in “post-Communist” or “post-impressionist” or “post-liberal”), the prefix “post-” being historical (and spatial), unlike “anti-,” which is fixed and mathematical: “post-modern” is not necessarily “anti-modern.” Yet the meaning (as different from the sense) of “post-modern” has been and remains inadequate, and worse than imprecise: it is vague, to the extent of being unhistorical. This is not the place to describe or analyze the various offshoots (often hardly more than excrescences) of “post-modernism,” such as Structuralism, Deconstructionism, the search for “mentalités,” and of their

intellectual spokesmen. Yes, behind the employment of the "post-modern" category we can detect the uneasy and long overdue recognition that such fixed categories as Objectivism, Scientism, Realism, Naturalism are now passé—they belonged to a bourgeois world and its era. So often the apostles and acolytes of post-modernism are but another, updated twentieth-century version of "post-," indeed, of *anti*-bourgeois: they are confused excrescences of "modernism." But much of the Modern, or Bourgeois, era had well preceded the twentieth or even the nineteenth century, that apogee of the bourgeois age. Besides, most academics and "post-modernist" intellectuals still shy away from abandoning their faith in the Enlightenment, in the Age of Reason—even though the Age of Reason was inseparable from the rise of the bourgeoisie, and even though most of its spokesmen were bourgeois. And wasn't romanticism, in many ways a reaction to the unalloyed faith in Reason, also part of the Modern Age? "Post-modernism" is anti-rationalist or anti-positivist: but what else is new? The powerful recognition that the acts and the thoughts and the wishes of people, together with their expressions, were and are circumscribed by their historical conditions (whereby "facts" are neither absolute, nor timeless) was pronounced by Burke, two centuries before the convoluted propositions of Parisian or American intellectuals.

There is a difference between "post-modern" intellectualism and "post-modern" art. We have seen that the Modern Age—as we still use that approximate term—began about five hundred years ago; that "modern," too, as the antonym of "ancient" emerged, at least in English, about four hundred years

ago. Yet the widespread usage and application of the adjective to life and art, such as "modern woman," "modern design," "modern architecture," "modern art," and so on, appeared mostly in the 1895–1925 period. So: what is "post-modern"? A reaction to the twentieth century? Or to the nineteenth? Or to the eighteenth, seventeenth, sixteenth? A reaction to, or a step ahead from—Picasso? Or Meissonier? Or Poussin? One form of art to which "post-modern" may be applicable is music: but, again, only in a narrow chronological sense. By "modern music" we customarily designate the period beginning from Wagner (or, even better, from Debussy), ending with Poulenc, Ibert, Honegger, Webern, Duruflé—the period recognizably 1880–1950. Is "post-modern" music therefore a reaction to, or a step ahead from not only, say, Strauss but also Gershwin? If so, then only orchestral compositions after about 1950 are "post-modern." In popular music, "modern" was the high period of jazz, approximately 1914–1950, after which "post-modern" is rock, an electronic application of primitivism and barbarism. In architecture "modern," after about 1895, amounted to anti- or non-historical, or to anti- or non-traditional.⁹ And "post-modern" architecture either does not exist or it is hardly more than a reaction against Bauhaus and Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier—but often only in bits of ornamentation and a few other smallish details. As in a few scattered examples in other arts, a reaction to the brutal senselessness of "modern"

9. The main mark of most nineteenth-century architecture was its eclectic borrowing of historical styles. In a (largely Spenglerian) sense this marked the decline of artistic (or "cultural") vitality. In another sense it was also the mark of a spreading historical consciousness.

architecture has produced either further exaggerations of formlessness or little more than the partial application of a few historical or traditional esthetic styles here and there. If "post-modern" architecture and art are nothing more than reactions to post-1895 modernism, the term is inadequate and imprecise.

Another belated, confused, and imprecise word is the current political-sociological term of "modernization." If it means anything it is a confused and feeble substitute word for something like Americanization.

Yes, we are at—we are living through—the end of an age. The best of the "post-modern" thinkers and intellectuals may sense this but that is all. What Sheridan said in the House of Commons more than two hundred years ago about another Member's speech applied to them perfectly: "[He] said things that were both true and new; but unfortunately what was true was not new, and what was new was not true." If "post-modern" has any proper meaning at all, it should mean an advance to a new and rising sense of historicity. It ought to amount to a recognition—no matter how weak, incomplete, and sporadic—that the end of the Modern Age carries within it an oceanic, though as yet hardly conscious, rise of a new meaning of history, of a historical consciousness.



We are at the end of an age: but how few people *know* this! The *sense* of this has begun to appear in the hearts of many; but it has not yet swum up to the surface of their consciousness.

This will happen, even though there exist many obstacles

to it—among them, enormous but corroding institutions. As these lines are being written, something is happening in the United States that has had no precedent. A great division among the American people has begun—gradually, slowly—to take shape: not between Republicans and Democrats, and not between "conservatives" and "liberals," but between people who are still unthinking believers in technology and in economic determinism and people who are not. The non-believers may or may not be conscious or convinced traditionalists: but they are men and women who have begun not only to question but, here and there, to oppose publicly the increasing pouring of cement over the land, the increasing inflation of automobile traffic of every kind, the increasing acceptance of noisome machinery ruling their lives. Compared with this division the present "debates" about taxes and rates and political campaigns are nothing but ephemeral froth blowing here and there on little waves, atop the great oceanic tides of history.¹⁰ That the present proponents of unending technological "progress" call themselves

10. The current Secretary of the United States Treasury declared that "money" should be "returned" to "the people" so that they could buy "bigger cars and bigger houses." He, and his government, not only are proponents of the "production" of more and more "energy" (instead of its conservation); they are also Cosmocrats, thrusting more and more American rockets and stations into "space." Yet it is at least possible that—just as in the case of the scientists' effort to find the smallest basic particle of the universe (about which see Chapter 3)—our exploration of "space" may be nearing its end. One indication of this is the growing indifference of people to that pursuit. This was already evident more than thirty years ago when the reaction of people to the first American walkers on the moon did not at all compare with the enthusiasm with which they had reacted to Lindbergh's flight across the Atlantic two generations earlier.

At the End of an Age

“conservatives” is but another example of the degeneration of political and social language.

However—this book is not a political or social pamphlet. Its theme is simple. It has to do with conscious thinking. We have arrived at a stage of history when we must begin thinking about thinking itself. This is something as different from philosophy as it is from psycho-analysis. At the end of an age we must engage in a radical rethinking

of “Progress,”

of history,

of “Science,”

of the limitations of our knowledge,

of our place in the universe.

These are the successive chapters of this book.

TWO

The Presence of Historical Thinking



INSIDE



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LIVING

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... Saturday, July 7, 2007 · Features Editor Becky Holt 660-1856 or (800) 427-3124 · Page 1C



This file image from video released by Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign shows Clinton selecting a jukebox song on a Web video that spoofs the final scene of the popular HBO mobster series "The Sopranos." The campaign estimates several million have now watched it.

Postlude of book

Video runs Race '08

Amateurs, candidates vie for Web hits with clips that seek to entertain as much as educate

By Jocelyn Noveck
The Associated Press

NEW YORK

Given all that's at stake in the 2008 presidential race, it's a bit terrifying to realize that by one measure, a major role is being played by an aspiring model/actress/fashion designer/former beauty pageant contestant named Amber.

That's Amber Lee Ettinger, aka Obama Girl, whose racy Web video "I Got A Crush On Obama" has gotten well over 2 million hits in the three weeks it's been online, making it one of the most-watched political videos this season.

Some of us have gotten so used to our daily fix of Web videos, it's hard to remember that back in 2004, when President Bush spoke of "the Internet," there WAS no YouTube.

Three years later, people are calling this the "YouTube Election" — in which anyone with a minicam or even a mere cell phone can conceivably impact the outcome. "Some of the best, the most innovative stuff is gonna come from some voter out there, who changes the entire



YouTube Election

In 2004, YouTube and other mass video-sharing sites didn't exist. Now, online video is playing a crucial role in the 2008 presidential race, where anyone with a camera or a cell phone can capture a global audience. Campaigns are doing their best to compete.



Crush on Obama Obama Girl is fond of Barack Obama. His campaign says "no comment" to candidate's image with humor.
Clinton 'Sopranos' This campaign video attempts to soften the candidate's image with humor.
'I feel pretty' Edwards priming for a TV appearance makes for an embarrassing video.
Giuliani in drag Made for a good comedy sketch in 2000. He may now wonder if it was a good idea.

www.youtube.com/watch
www.youtube.com/watch
www.youtube.com/watch
www.youtube.com/watch

Facebook profiles, candidates' own online communities, text-messaging networks. On Sen. Barack Obama's site, you can download ringtones with snippets of his speeches set to a rock or hip-hop motif.

But Web video is the big battlefield. Here's a brief guide to some must-see viewing — some candidate-approved, and some candidate-definitely-did-NOT-approve:

GOING HI-TECH: Web video has given one candidate, Hillary Rodham Clinton, a crucial chance to try to warm up her image. "Let's chat," she urged voters when she opened her campaign online. She's made fun of her questionable singing skills, since others were doing so anyway. And in her "Sopranos" spoof, her campaign sought to catch the wave of a pop-culture phenomenon, mimicking that famous diner ending (some would say non-ending) and even scoring a cameo from the character Johnny Sack.

No matter that the video had nothing to do with any issues. Half a million people viewed it on

See VIDEO, 2C

complexion of the race," says Joe Trippi, former campaign manager for Howard Dean in 2004, now adviser to the John Edwards campaign.

And that's a scary thing for campaigns, which are used to controlling their own message, enforcing it from the top down. On the

new playing field, "you lose the ability to manage what you want to say," says Democratic strategist Chris Lehane, a former Clinton White House staffer.

So what's a campaign manager to do? Fight back, with all the technology available: MySpace and



Everybody's a clown

Youngsters will be swinging from the ceiling and tumbling through the tent with Circus Smirkus in town for its annual summer tour. The Greensboro-based circus for young people is performing today and Sunday at the Champlain Valley Exposition in Essex Junction.

Show times are 2 and 7 p.m. today; 1 and 6 p.m. Sunday.
Information: www.circussmirkus.org



Circus Smirkus

Courtesy photo

Downhill delight

At Bolton Valley Resort, check out the lift service to mountain bike trails. Some details:

10: Trails cut in the woods for mountain biking

60: Kilometers of downhill trails

More than 100: Features cut into the trails, including cliff drops, bridges and teeter-totters

5: Weekends this summer and fall the lift service is available for biking

\$30: Per day; \$55: for two consecutive days; \$180: season's pass

Dates: Today and Sunday; Aug. 4 and 5; Sept. 1-3; Sept. 29 and 30; Oct. 6 and 7

Hours: 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

Information: www.boltonvalley.com



Free Press file photo



Anais Mitchell

Free Press file photo

Ear candy

Anais Mitchell, a Vermont-based singer-songwriter, will perform at 7 p.m., in a UVM pine grove, at the university's first Film and Music on a Summer Night series. Mitchell's concert will be followed by a 9 p.m. showing of "Singin' in the Rain." The double bill is free. The pine grove is between the UVM Recital Hall and Patrick Gym.

VSO in Stowe

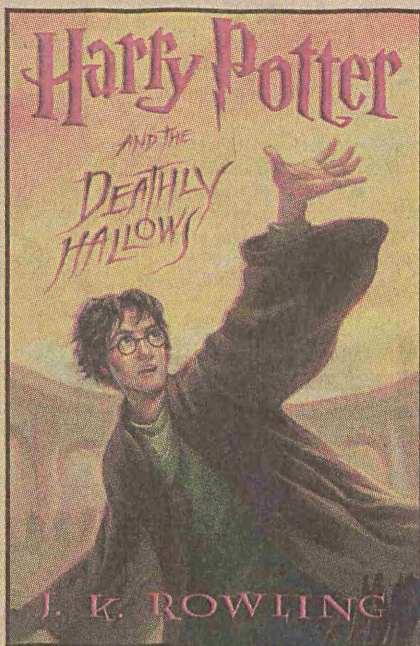
Music in the Meadow, a Sunday evening concert series at Trapp Family Lodge in Stowe, presents the Vermont Symphony Orchestra with guest conductor Andrew Massey.

The concert, which begins at 7:30 p.m. Sunday, will conclude with a performance of Tchaikovsky's "1812 Overture." The evening's entertainment will end with a fireworks display. Tickets are available at Stowe Visitors Center on Main Street in Stowe, or at the gate. Gates open at 5:30 p.m. for picnics.

Get a jump on next week

The Craftsbury Chamber Players will perform at 8 p.m. Wednesday at UVM Recital Hall. The program includes music by Bach and Vivaldi. A free mini-concert for children will be held at 4:30 p.m. Wednesday, (800) 639-3433.

— Compiled by Sally Pollak



Scholastic/The Associated Press

Countdown to 'Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows': 14 DAYS

Can't wait for Book Seven? Don't forget to look here every day until the book arrives for exciting details on what to expect in the final book of the series.

Also, do you have theories, memories, favorites to share? We want to hear from you. Send them to mrcrawfor@bfp.burlingtonfreepress.com, subject line: Harry Potter. Include your name, age, hometown and daytime phone number.

TODAY'S TIP: J.K. Rowling has clarified that Dumbledore is definitely dead. However, recent quotes from Rowling have led readers to believe that Dumbledore's demise is more complex than just death itself. The "gleam of triumph" in Dumbledore's eye, when he was told that Voldemort restored his body using Harry's blood at the end of "Goblet of Fire," is said to remain "still enormously significant" in regards to Book Seven. (Source: www.chiff.com/a/harry-potter-book-7-predictions.htm)

— Maggie Hibma

VIDEO: Candidates flood Web

Continued from Page 1C

the Clinton site the first day, another half million the next day, and so many on YouTube and other sites that the campaign estimates several million have now watched it. Not to mention the inevitable spoofs that this spoof has spawned.

"The word 'viral' is over-used, but here it's apt," says Peter Daou, Internet director for the Clinton campaign. "We're trying to use online video in all different ways. This is new for all of us." Some of those ways: HillCasts, Hillary TV and the HillCam, with constant video of the candidate traveling across Iowa this week.

The "Sopranos" video was aimed at showing Clinton has a sense of humor. She probably didn't find it so humorous when the Orwellian "Hillary 1984" video came out earlier this year, a mashup of a classic Apple ad, depicting Clinton as a Big Brother-type figure. The ad, produced by a renegade employee of a company hired to design Obama's Web site, has now been seen by a whopping 4 million or so on YouTube.

GOING LOW-TECH: When the Edwards campaign was doing a fundraising push ahead of the candidate's 54th birthday this month, they offered his mother's pecan pie recipe to donors. Trippi and deputy campaign manager Jonathan Prince decided to try the recipe. They baked it, burned it, and uploaded their amateur video — with a cameo from Elizabeth Edwards seeking donations — to YouTube. "We brought in close to \$300,000," says Trippi. "All we spent was a couple of bucks for the milk and eggs."

On a more serious note, the campaign was able to quickly capitalize on a recent talk-show confrontation between Mrs. Edwards and conservative author Ann Coulter, immediately posting the video and using it in a new fundraising push.

OOPS: Here's a low-tech video Edwards would rather forget. Most if not all people fix their hair before going on TV — but this old footage shows him primping for two minutes, and is deviously set to "I Feel Pretty" from "West Side Story." Combined with stories about expensive haircuts, for some it likely plays into characterizations of Edwards as the "Breck" candidate.

OOPS AGAIN: GOP hopeful John McCain channeled



JIM COLE, The Associated Press
Democratic presidential hopeful Sen. Barack Obama of Illinois has seen his popularity as the "hip" candidate rise due to his exposure on the Internet.

his inner Beach Boy when, asked at a gathering in South Carolina about possible military action against Iran, he replied with a takeoff on the 1965 hit "Barbara Ann": "Bomb, Bomb Iran..."

Criticized after the amateur video surfaced, McCain responded: "Lighten up and get a life." The director of his e-campaign, Christian Ferry, says spontaneity is one of the Arizona senator's hallmarks, and that he'll continue to respond in an unscripted manner — and to produce his own sometimes quirky content. "Put on your shades and hop on board," McCain's announcement video urges viewers. Supporters are invited to join the McCain Space community on his Web site.

IT WAS FUNNY AT THE TIME: New York mayors love to display their comic skills at the annual Inner Circle dinner. In 2000, Rudy Giuliani outdid himself, appearing in full drag in a taped skit, even letting himself be kissed on the (heavily padded) chest by Donald Trump. Now that Giuliani's running for the Republican nomination, YouTube users are circulating it with glee. Another amusing Web moment: Giuliani was speaking about abortion at a New Hampshire debate when a lightning strike briefly interfered with the sound system. The former mayor's 43 videos on his YouTube channel, though, stick to the serious stuff.

THAT GIRL: She frolics in a bikini, red underwear or a tight Obama T-shirt, lip-synching words like "You're into border security — let's break this border between you and me." Though salacious, the Obama Girl video

is more G-rated ways of getting attention — like text messaging and its new ringtone feature. "It's just another way that people can feel connected to the campaign," says spokeswoman Jen Psaki. (Jon Stewart has a different take: "Finally, a way for political candidates to annoy you when you're at a restaurant or a movie theater!" he quipped on his "Daily Show.")

Obama, whose fundraising success has wowed observers, is also getting more Internet buzz than his rivals. Nielsen added up mentions in Web logs and discussion groups and found Obama had nearly 46 percent of Democratic chatter compared to Clinton's 32 percent. (Overall, Democrats were ahead of Republicans.) And it seems the Obama-produced videos have been hooking viewers: visitors to his site stay an average of six minutes, 21 seconds.

SELF-DEPRECATING: Trying to be funny can be a risky business for a candidate, who needs to maintain a sense of gravitas as well. But New Mexico Gov. Bill Richardson has earned points from humorists — and a few points in the polls — with his clever, self-deprecating "job interview" ads spotlighting his long resume.

AW, SHUCKS: For those desiring a romantic recap of how Republican candidate Mitt Romney and his wife, Ann, got together, turn to "Mitt TV," his own video trove on his Web site. Under the "Fun" channel, the former Massachusetts governor and his wife tell the Fox host Greta Van Susteren how they met as children (he was a Cub scout, she was riding a horse).

JUST WEIRD: OK, we'll bite: Why is Democrat Mike Gravel staring at us like that? A bizarre YouTube clip shows the former Alaska senator staring silently into the camera for more than a minute, then throwing a large rock into a pond and walking away.

Another one has him building a fire, which we stare at for seven minutes. That prompted one YouTube user to quip that Gravel's "state of the union address would be an hour of silence, followed by him taking off his right shoe."

On the Web

- **Obama Girl:**
www.youtube.com/watch?v=wKsoXHYICqU
- **Hillary 1984:**
www.youtube.com/watch?v=6h3G-IMZxjo
- **"I Feel Pretty":**
www.youtube.com/watch?v=2AE847UXu3Q
- **"Bomb Iran":**
www.youtube.com/watch?v=hAzBxFaio1l
- **Giuliani in drag:**
www.youtube.com/watch?v=4lrE6FMpai8
- **Clinton Sopranos:**
www.youtube.com/watch?v=BfKRjvAYuOc
- **Bill Richardson job interview:**
www.youtube.com/watch?v=tjOul5qWnlc
- **Mike Gravel throws a rock:** www.youtube.com/watch?v=OrZdAB4Vj8
- **John Edwards pecan pie:** www.youtube.com/watch?v=DghdSX_l2ow
- **Mitt TV:** www.mittromney.com

is unlikely to hurt the candidate and might help: "It contributes to the image of him being the hip candidate, the fresh face," says Daniel Kurtzman, editor of About.com's political humor Web site.

To Kurtzman, the video captures an essential truth about the medium: With a less attractive model and a slightly worse song, and "maybe 10 people would have seen it."

Obama's campaign is try-

Today's Calendar

Battle of Hubbardton Revolutionary War Encampment, 230th anniversary, today and Sunday, Hubbardton Battlefield State Historic Site. Commemorate the only Revolutionary War battle fought in Vermont. Activities for the whole family. Reenactors, tactical military demonstrations, drilling lessons, guided camp and battlefield tours, court martials, camp life activities, Mistress Davenport's Schoolroom, and a history scavenger hunt. Music, shopping on sutler's row, and on Saturday a guided candlelight camp tour at 7 p.m. with memorial service at 8 p.m. Food stand both days. Adults, \$5; free for children younger than 15. www.historicvermont.org/hubbardton, 273-2282.

Peasant Market, 9 a.m., St. Stephen, on the green, Middlebury. Baked goods, crafts, antiques; used clothing, books, toys and games, sporting goods, jewelry. www.ststephensmiddle.org. 462-3043.

Williston Farmers' Market 9 a.m., village green in Williston. Through Oct. 13. www.willistonfarmersmarket.com. 872-7728.

Capital City Farmers' Market, 9 a.m.-1 p.m., 60 State St., Montpelier. 685-4360.

Outdoor Flea Market, 9 a.m.-3 p.m., All Saints Church, South Burlington. 878-9137, 862-9750.

UVM Engineering Display, 9 a.m.-4 p.m., University Mall, Community Space, South Burlington. Poster presentations and exhibits displayed from

the UVM College of Engineering and Mathematical Sciences, with 26 teams, 12 counselors and three directors to view and discuss exhibits. 863-1066, Ext. 11.

Gamblers Anonymous, 10 a.m., Turning Point Center, Burlington. 861-3150.

Open House and Tour, 10 a.m., Burlington Cohousing, Burlington. www.bcoho.org 863-8755.

International Day of Healing 10 a.m.-1 p.m. Rosemary Altea Healing and Educational Foundation Healing Center, Ira. \$10. 1-5 p.m. bring a picnic lunch and at 2, receive free healing for people or pets on a leash or in a cage. Local best selling author, healer and spiritual medium Rosemary Altea. www.rosemaryaltea.com and www.rahef.org. 867-4070.

Hans Christian Anderson's "The Snow Queen," 11 a.m. today and 11 a.m. and 1 and 3 p.m. Sunday, St. Michael's College, Colchester. Presented by Playhouse Junior, Children's Theater. Performed by St. Michael's Playhouse performance interns. www.saintmichaelsplayhouse.com. 654-2281.

Grassroots Arts for Senior Citizens, 1:30-2:30 p.m., Presto Music Store, South Burlington. Creativity through live music, theater and readings of short stories. Registration. www.prestomusic.net. 658-0030.

— More calendar online, www.burlingtonfreepress.com

Religion Notes

World Healing Service with Sound Healer Zachiach Blackburn, 4-7 p.m. Sunday, Unity Church of Vermont, Essex Junction. Workshop teaching meditative techniques for harmony and balance, followed by healing prayers and ceremonies with mediators worldwide. Potluck dinner. 288-9265.

"Is Religion Good for the World?" 7 p.m. Tuesday, Wyndham Burlington. Rabbi Manis Friedman. \$10; \$18 couple. 863-1222, 658-7612.

"Summer Reflection Series," 11:15 a.m., Thursday with Mass followed by lunch and topic presentation at 1 p.m., St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte. The Rev. Michael Deforge, "Perfect Love Casts Out Fear." Wednesdays July 25-Aug. 22, The Rev. Stan Deresinski. July 25, "The Imitation of Christ." Aug. 1, "Eucharist, the Way of Thanksgiving." Aug. 8, "12 Steps for Everyone." Aug. 15, "The Power of Forgiveness." Aug.

22, "Reclaiming Your Spiritual Life." Reservations: 928-3362.

Centering Prayer Group, 6:30-8:30 p.m. Thursday, Mount St. Mary, Burlington. Presented by the Institute for Spiritual Development. Donation. 846-7084.

World Healing Ceremony, 4-7 p.m. July 15, Center of Light, Ascutey. Ceremonial gathering drums will be used in services. Sound healer Zachiach Blackburn. Potluck supper. Bring a dish to share. 674-9585.

Directed Retreat Week, 7 p.m. July 15 to 10 a.m. July 21, Lumen Christi Retreat House, Benson. Presented by the Institute for Spiritual Development. \$330. Registration: 846-7084.

Religion Notes appears Saturdays in the Living section. To be included, send information to Donna Myers, The Burlington Free Press, P.O. Box 10, Burlington, Vt. 05402; fax: 660-1802; e-mail: calendar@bfp.burlingtonfreepress.com; or call 865-0940.

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LE VIE EN ROSE PG-13 1:00, 3:45, 6:30, 9:15
PARIS, JE T'AIME 1:10, 9:25
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PIRATES 3 PG-13 1:15, 8:30
RATATOUILLE G 12:10, 2:35, 5:00, 7:30, 10:00
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RATATOUILLE PG 12:20, 1:30, 4:20, 6:30, 7:10, 9:40
1408 PG-13 7:20, 9:50
LIVE FREE OR DIE HARD PG-13 12:40, 3:40, 6:40, 9:35
EVAN ALMIGHTY PG-13 12:25, 2:40, 4:50, 7:00, 9:20
FANTASTIC FOUR 2 PG 1:00, 6:55
NANCY DREW PG 4:40
OCEAN'S 13 PG-13 3:30, 9:10
SURF'S UP PG 12:30, 2:35
KNOCKED UP R 3:45, 6:45, 9:40
PIRATES 3 PG-13 2:50, 9:00
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Transformers PG-13 12:15, 1:45, 3:20, 4:50, 6:30, 8:00, 9:30
Live Free or Die Hard PG-13 12:40, 3:35, 6:40, 9:35
Knocked Up R 3:45, 6:45, 9:30
License to Wed PG-13 1:10, 3:50, 6:55, 9:25
1408 PG-13 3:40, 9:15
Evan Almighty PG 12:00, 2:20, 4:40, 7:05, 9:20
Ratatoouille G 12:55, 3:30, 6:30, 9:05
Surf's Up PG 1:30
Fantastic Four 2 PG-13 1:20, 7:00

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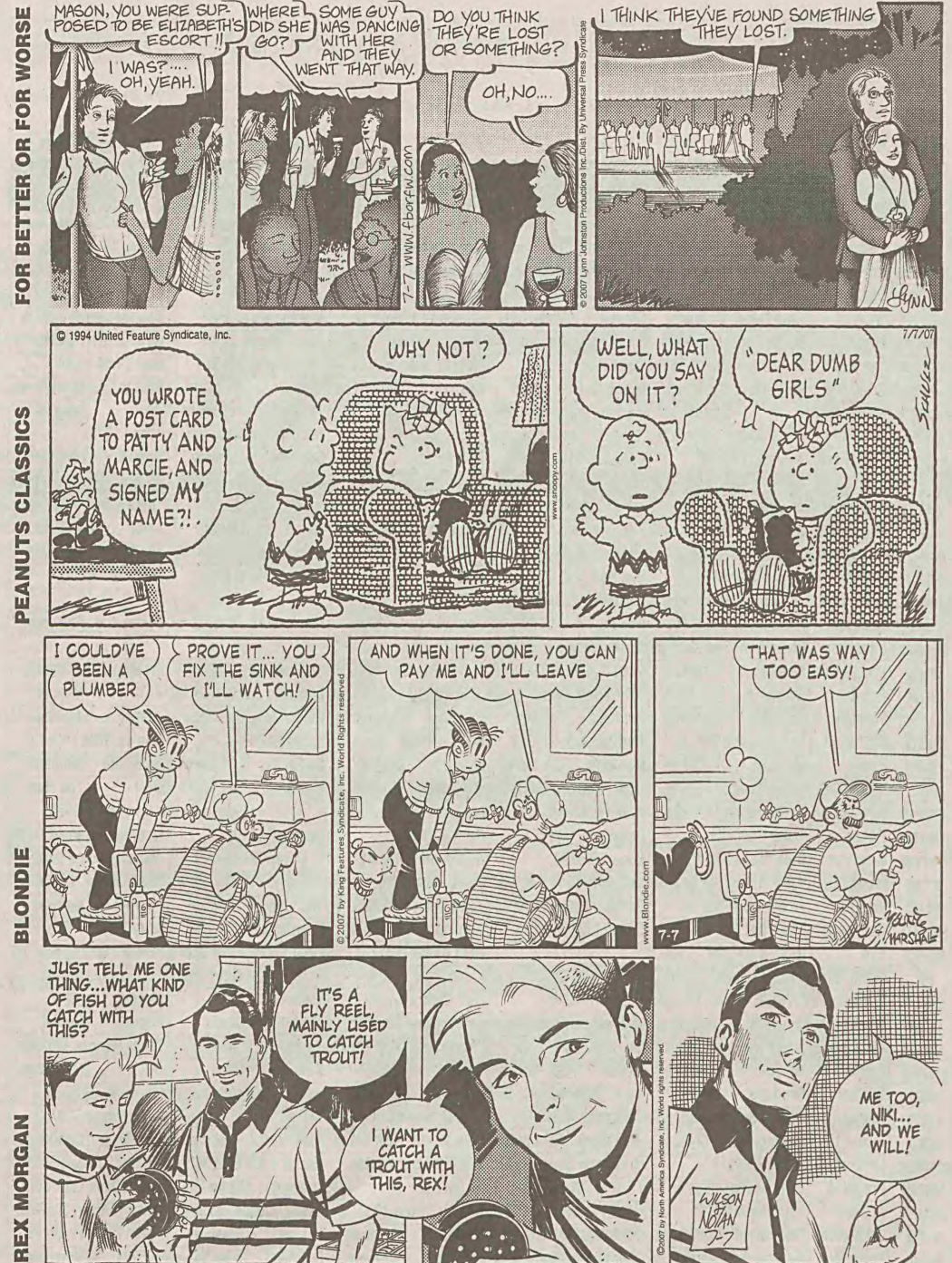
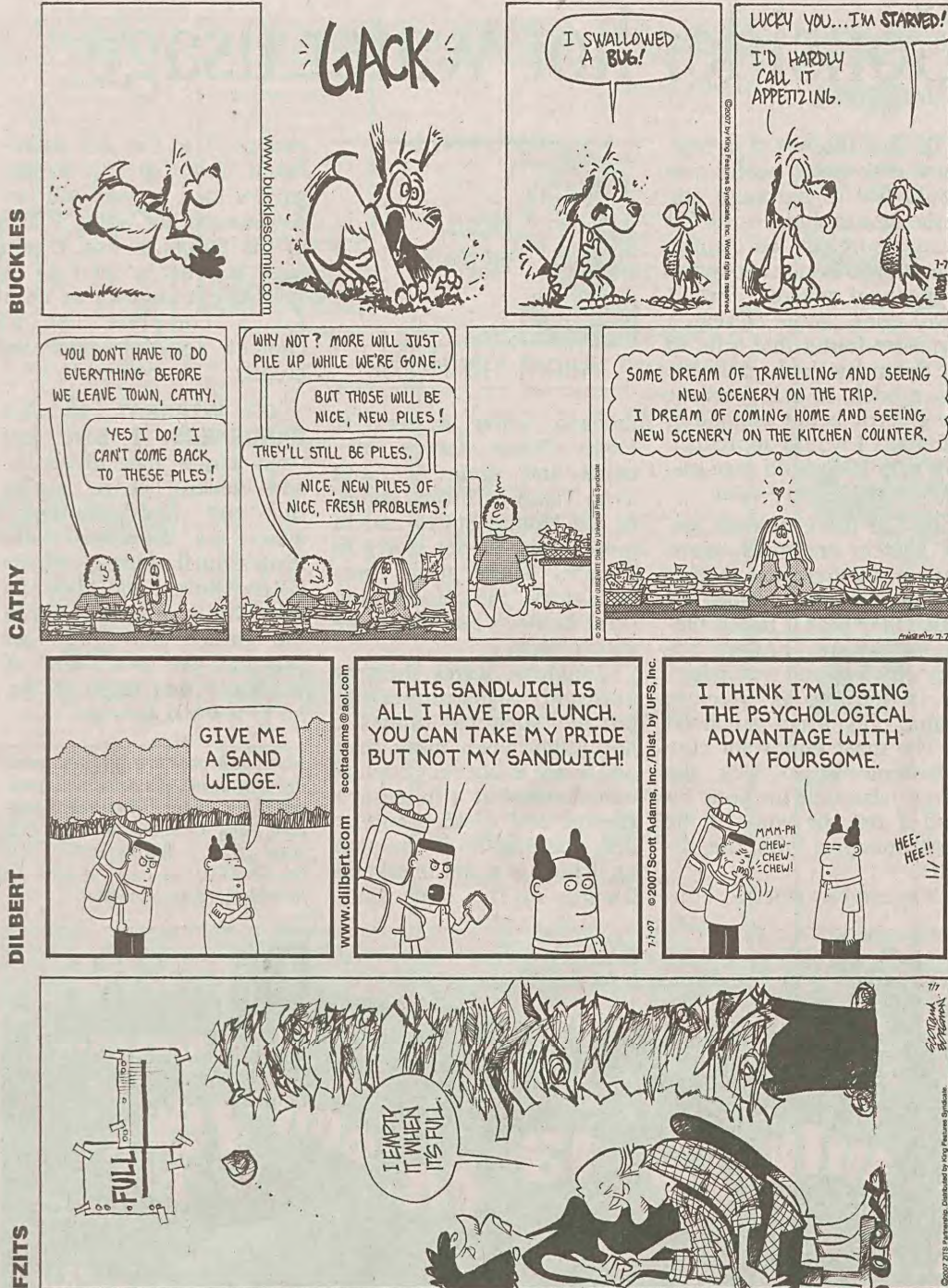
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Boy's behavior was not abuse

Dear Annie: My sister and brother-in-law revealed some information to me this weekend. It is disturbing, and I don't like the way they are handling it.

It seems my 8-year-old niece, "Amy," was playing with a boy and girl next door. The boy, who is also 8, talked Amy into pulling her pants down. Although my sister and her husband didn't go into it, I gather a similar incident happened another time with a different boy.

Amy's parents are concerned about their daughter's well-being, but are unwilling to take Amy to a counselor who may be bound by law to report any kind of abuse such as this. Their current solution is to not let Amy be with any males except her father and grandfather, both of whom are trustworthy.

I didn't say anything at the time, but now I believe I should have insisted they take her to counseling. The boys who victimized Amy need help as much as she does. Pushing the incident into the closet will not do any of these children any good.

Should I tell my sister this, or should I let them handle it? Amy is home schooled and an only child, so she doesn't have many playmates. Any suggestions? — Concerned Auntie

Dear Concerned: An 8-year-old boy who convinces an 8-year-old girl to pull down her pants is not guilty of abuse. This type of "playing house" between children is quite common, and although it should be



ANNIE'S MAILBOX

discouraged, it only necessitates counseling if Amy were somehow traumatized by the event. Instead of keeping her away from all boys, Amy's parents should calmly teach her not to allow others to view or touch those parts of her body covered by a swimsuit, and to be able to say "no" when asked to do anything that makes her uncomfortable. She also should be taught to report this behavior to her parents, who, hopefully, will not overreact when they call the boy's parents and ask them to speak to their son.

Dear Annie: Six years ago, my husband, "Bill," had to retire early due to a bad back. He continues to struggle with finding enough to do with his time. He gardens, does odd jobs, reads, and volunteers now and then. We travel a little bit, but many activities depend on his back being well. He always has more free time than he can stand. Many of my friends say the same about their retired husbands.

What do other retired men do with their time? I am in women's groups, quilting bees, guilds, etc., and am busy nearly every day. Bill doesn't drink, and most men's clubs revolve around bars. Any suggestions? — Bill's Busy Wife

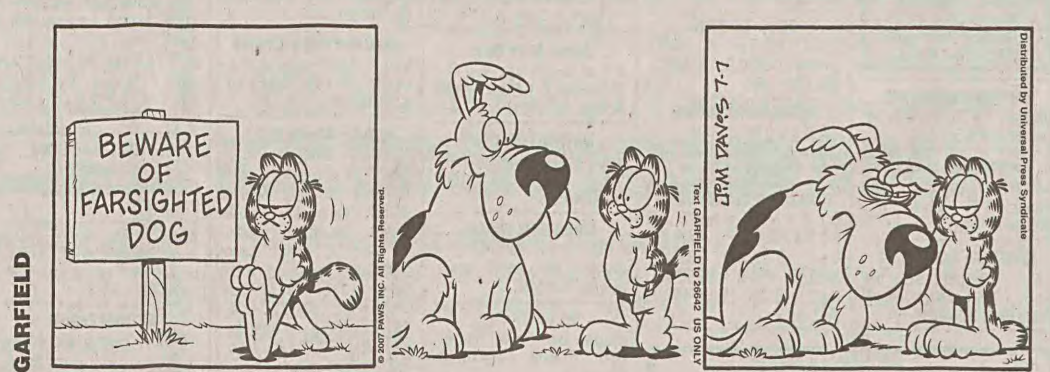
Dear Busy Wife: Bill should look into teaching at a local school or park district program. He no doubt has expertise that others can benefit from. He also can join a health club and talk to a trainer about strengthening his back and keeping in shape. He can get involved in online discussion groups or start his own blog about retirement. (If you don't have a computer, check your local library.) Readers? Any other suggestions?

Dear Annie: You printed a letter from "Niece," who said family members were upset after traveling long distances and spending money to stay at a fancy hotel for a "mock" wedding. You thought the bridal couple didn't intentionally mislead anyone. Wrong.

A 40-year-old man who e-mails wedding invitations, forgets the license and doesn't tell anyone that it isn't a real ceremony is simply having a party. He should have told his guests the truth. Maybe if the relatives had known, they wouldn't have been upset. Either way, the groom's mother should stop making excuses for her adult son and learn to keep a secret. What a way to start married life! — D.

Dear D.: We agree it was an inauspicious beginning. Thanks for writing.

Annie's Mailbox is written by Kathy Mitchell and Marcy Sugar, veteran editors of the Ann Landers column. Please e-mail your questions to anniesmailbox@comcast.net, or write to: Annie's Mailbox, care of Creators Syndicate, 5777 W. Century Blvd., Suite 700, Los Angeles, Calif. 90045.



By Holiday Mathis Gannett News Service

ARIES (March 21-April 19). All moments aren't created equal. Heightened experiences linger in the mind longer than normal experiences. A wave of artistry washes over you. Use it to create a shared, theatrical moment.

TAURUS (April 20-May 20). You've fallen under someone's spell. You're vulnerable to their suggestion. There's nothing wrong with letting down your guard, as long as you realize you're doing it.

GEMINI (May 21-June 21). You're driven to possess the elusive. This requires you to be clever, and that's what makes it fun. If you couldn't easily have it, you wouldn't want it. Your imagination works double time to figure out a way.

CANCER (June 22-July 22). Love gravitates to those with open minds and optimistic outlooks. To enhance your own love life, be receptive to new experiences and ditch a pessimistic point of view.

LEO (July 23-Aug. 22). People with outstanding character have no problem assuming responsibility. They're the people you want around you now. You expect a

Horoscope

lot, which is good, because you'll get what you expect.

VIRGO (Aug. 23-Sept. 22). Many of your valuable contributions to a relationship have gone unacknowledged — until now. When people make a fuss over you, don't just allow it; enjoy it!

LIBRA (Sept. 23-Oct. 23). When the things you want still seem out of your hands, remember: Power is just directed energy. Take time to yourself to refocus and rejuvenate. Then try again tonight for what you want.

SCORPIO (Oct. 24-Nov. 21). Your hold on your own tongue may slip. Don't be too hard on yourself. When you see a thing cocked at an arrogant angle, it's only human to want to shoot it down.

SAGITTARIUS (Nov. 22-Dec. 21). For you, home is a feeling rather than a place. You could land somewhere you've never been before and feel as comfortable as you do on the threshold of your own front door.

CAPRICORN (Dec. 22-Jan. 19). What is valuable isn't always costly. When you desire wisdom, you're able to find it by reading

or watching inspiring individuals — for free. It's like they're talking just to you.

AQUARIUS (Jan. 20-Feb. 18). Your natural spontaneity is so attractive, especially to Sagittarius and Leo people. You continue to create excitement by doing whatever strikes your fancy at the moment.

PISCES (Feb. 19-March 20). It's not an indulgence to do what makes your soul sing — it's a necessity. Explore to your heart's content now. You may find your groove by cooking, playing games or writing.

TODAY'S BIRTHDAY (July 7). Start your magical year off by letting go of a draining belief, person or responsibility. There's no time to waste! A life-changing business opportunity at the end of this month requires you to move quickly. Finances keep getting better. Love and travel open up worlds to you this winter. Scorpio and Pisces people are enthusiastic supporters. Your lucky numbers are: 9, 20, 44, 11 and 16.

Write the astrologer, Holiday Mathis, at Creators Syndicate, 5777 West Century Blvd., Suite 700, Los Angeles, Calif. 90045 or at the Web site www.creators.com.

JULY 7, 2007

SATURDAY EVENING

	6:30	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30
BROADCAST											
3 WCAX	News 939	Ent. Tonight 2007	Cold Case 1755	48 Hours Mystery 1991	48 Hours Mystery 1378	News 2378	Late Night				
5 WPTZ	NBC News	Stargate SG-1 54804	Live Earth: The Concerts for a Climate in Crisis (Live) 487295	News (N)	Sat. Night						
22 WVMY	Raymond	Will 75200	Will 98741	*** "Monsters, Inc." (2001) 47194	Home Videos 39129	Sex & City	Sex & City				
27 WVBI	Diagnosis	** "Slouch City" (1994)	Ralph Waite 63991	Lonesome Dove 17399	BodogFight 61303						
33 VPT	Welk	Time Goes	Mulberry	Served	Vicar-Dilly	Jeeves-Wooster 629755	Austin City 62842	Soundstage 333115			
39 WGMU	Paid 61736	Stone Underciv 18620	** "Frozen Impact" (2003) 38484	Smallville 17991	Girls 95281	Paid 48736					
44 WFFF	Baseball	Seinfeld (N)	Cops (N)	Cops	Most Wanted 252007	The Shield 255194	Mad TV 789587				
57 WCPE	Art 76688	Art 26129	Antiques	Monarch-Glen 32200	Keep Up	Time Goes	Wait God	BBC World	MontyPyth		
2 CBFT	Match 467246	Houde 397	** "Six Jours, sept nuits" (1998) 1945	253200	Soccer: Costa Rica vs. Scotland 107397						
6 CBMT	CFL Pre	CFL Football Toronto Argonauts at Hamilton Tiger-Cats	253200								
12 CFCF	Food Fash	W-FIVE 12842	Cold Squad 98262	TBA 18026	Comedy	Comedy	News (N)	News (N)			
CABLE											
AMC	(5:00) ** "U.S. Marshals" 970113	*** "The Dirty Dozen" (1967, War) Lee Marvin. Premiere. 51058656	"Dirty Doz." 27412804								
A&E	Sell 554842	Sell 550026	Flip This House 347129	Flip This House 254465	Match	Match	Amer. Justice 761945				
ANPL	More or Dog	** "Shiloh" (1997) Michael Moriarty. 5999194	King Cobra 9407668	Wild Kingdom 9400755	** "Shiloh" 5671755						
BBCA	Norton	Doctor Who (N)	Hex "Noir"	Hex	Graham Norton	Hex "Noir"					
BRAVO	(5:00) Live Earth: The Concerts for a Climate in Crisis (Live) 4839620										
CMT	Hee Haw	Hee Haw 3860741	Hee Haw 1860561	Hee Haw 7460705	Hee Haw 4210282	Foxworthy	Foxworthy				
CNBC	Paid Prog.	Live Earth: The Concerts for a Climate in Crisis (Live) 9738823									
CNN	Lou Dobbs	Week at War 892649	Investigations 801397	Larry King Live 881533	Saturday Night 884620	Investigations 218823					
COM	Scrubs (N)	Scrubs (N)	*** "Bad Santa" (2003) 8155823	Larry the Cable Guy 6609674	Mencia						
COURT	Forensic	Forensic	Forensic	Forensic	Evidence	Evidence	Justice	Justice			
DISC	MythBust	MythBusters 263113	MythBusters 249533	Super Comet: After the Impact 242620	Man vs. Wild 670649						
DISN	Even	Montana	Life Derek	Emperor Dragon	So Raven	Life Derek	Suite Life	Montana			
EI	Worst Talk	News Weekend 642007	*** "Four Weddings and a Funeral" 655571	Sat. Night Live 641378	Best	The Hum					
ESPN	SportsCtr.	Horse Racing 701303	Arena Football: TBA at Desperados 555533	SportsCenter (Live) 466533							
ESPN2	Poker	Poker 5660723	Poker 3660543	Rock 9260787	Baseball 6010264	Strongest Man 1251282					
EWTV	Angela	Daily Mass 9356674	Edge 9269194	Bookmark	Rosary	Fr Corapi 9355945	Journey Home 5636200				
FAM	Harry Pitr	*** "Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets" (2002, Fantasy) Daniel Radcliffe. 906858	"Beetlejuice" 870668								
FNC	Watch	Fox Report 6997397	Gerardo Large 6079945	John Kasich 6966281	The Line-Up 6996668	Journal	Beltway				
FOOD	Challenge	Iron Chef Am. 9587858	Emeril Live 9490378	Amusement 9403842	Unwrapped 9586129	Iron Chef Am. 5991552					
FSNE	Eye	Boxing (Taped) 180842	Best Damn 195129	Final Score	Final Score	PRIDE Fighting 186026					
FX	(5:00) "Friday Night Lights" 2741262	* "The Hot Chick" (2002) Anna Faris 5053910	* "The New Guy" (2002) DJ Qualls. 8139484								
GOLF	European PGA Golf: Smurfit European Open 7888620	Golf Central 934216	Masters 9357303	Masters 5718858							
GSN	Weak Link	Greed 8320533	50 Greatest Game Shows of All Time 8340397	Chain	Chain	Secret	Secret				
HALL	** "The Outsider" (2002, Romance) Tim Daly. 7477736	"Avenging Angel" (2007) Kevin Sorbo. 3642649	Texas Ranger 4452858								
HGTV	Remix	24 Hour House	To Sell	My Kitchen	Color	Divine	Dime	Get It	Challenge		
HIST	Brothers	Brothers 4793553	*** "Braveheart" (1995, Historical Drama) Mel Gibson, Sophie Marceau. Premiere. 3396571								
LIFE	Baby	"When Secrets Kill" (1997, Drama) 869571	** "Gracie's Choice" (2004) 791571	Army Wives 865755							
MTV	Sweet 16	Making-Band 774804	Real World	Real World	Real World	Real World	Challenge	Challenge			
MSNBC	Unfinished	Mission 6993571	Murder by Sea 6979991	MSNBC Investigates	Vampire Kill 6992842	Murder by Sea 2583303					
NESN	Pregame	MLB Baseball Boston Red Sox at Detroit Tigers. (Live) 567281	Innings	Extra Inn	SportsDesk	Outdoors					
HGEO	Animal	Explorer 4674571	Deadly Dozen 4650991	Deadly Dozen 4670755	Deadly Dozen 4673842	Deadly Dozen 3057858					
NICK	OddParent	OddParent	OddParent	Nicktoon	Nicktoon	Nicktoon	Videos	Fresh Pr.	Fresh Pr.	Fresh Pr.	
NOG	Fresh Pr.	Laguna	Laguna	Degrassi	Best Years 8316533	Nowhere	Degrassi	Best Years 7505194	Nowhere		
OXY	"Advent-Babysit" 9491007	** "Love Don't Cost a Thing" (2003) Nick Cannon. 9981533	"Love Don't Cost a Thing" 9902026								
SCIFI	Final	** "Final Destination 2" (2003) 2490649	"Death Valley: Revenge" 6981736	"Legion" 3529718							
SOAP	Children	Young 9265378	Young 9274026	Young 9264649	Young 5618804						
SPEED	NASCAR	Test Drive	Ferrari	Victory-Design 1399823	Victory-Design 5644769	Victory-Design 2494246	Unique Whips 4679991				
SPIKE	Cntdown	*** "Enter the Dragon" (1973) Bruce Lee. 156991	*** "House of Flying Daggers" (2004) Andy Lau 890823								
TBN	Finkd Sch	Ridge Hour 4395277	In Touch-Dr 7349197	Hour of Power 7444741	Billy Graham 5745718	Theater	Travel Rd				
TBS	"Father of the Bride Part II" 897194	King	King	King	King	King	"Best in Show" 976281				
TCM	** "Big House, U.S.A." 4804129	*** "Topper" (1937) Cary Grant. 8153465	** "Road Show" (1941) 6607216	There Go							
TDIS	Rangers	Yin Yang	Jackie	Rangers	Mummy	Rangers	Get Ed	Yin Yang	Digimon	Robot	Star Racer
TLC	Flip 287194	Flip That House 582026	Property Ladder 664674	Flip 857842	Flip 299939	Real Estate 581397	Property Ladder 982262	24X24	Gordon 5840465		
TNT	NASCAR, TNT 321823	Green	NASCAR Racing Nextel Cup - Pepsi 400. (Live) 73375910	Flavor of Love 647552	Flavor of Love 151945						
TOON	Pokemon	Naruto	Naruto	Naruto	Naruto	Naruto	Naruto	Futurama	Shin Chan		
TRAV	Nat. Park	Wonders West 9267736	World Poker Tour 9270200	5 Takes Latin 9266007	Poker Tour 9880755						
TVL	(00) *** "The Negotiator" (1998) Kevin Spacey 2763484	Griffith	Griffith	Griffith	Griffith	Griffith					
USA	How Lose	Burn Notice 983945	Law/Ord SVU 896465	Law/Ord SVU 989129	Law/Ord SVU 982216	Law Order: CI 203991					
VH1	Fab Life	Animals, Crap 648281	40 Dumbest Celeb Quotes Ever 731945	Flavor of Love 647552	Flavor of Love 151945						
WPXI	Will 5587	Raymond	Raymond	Idol Rewind 90620	Idol Rewind 10484	News at Ten 13571	Sex & City	Will 30303			
PREMIUM											
HBO	** "The Transporter 2" 857216	*** "The Devil Wears Prada" (2006) 627397	Assume	Boxing 468991							
MAX	*** "Nighthawks" R 6317823	(15) ** "Poseidon" (2006) PG-13 97206804	** "Miami Vice" (2006) Colin Farrell. 5453026								
SHOW	(15) "The Weather Man" 36898179	Meadowlands 803755	Boxing Showtime Championship. (TV) (Live) 888668								
TMC	** "Dreamland" (2006) 169484	** "Four Brothers" (2005) 708705	** "Saw II" (2005) 6358303	Amityville							

Consider hot water usage

Q: I am interested in buying a new water heater and would like to purchase one of the new tankless ones, but I must purchase an electric one, as gas is not an option because of where I live. I have done some research and have found that a lot of the companies only make the gas model. Is this because the electric is not as good or efficient? I would appreciate any help you could give me. Thank you. — via e-mail

A: Gas-fired tankless water heaters are much more popular than electric models and deliver more water because they heat it faster. On-demand water heaters are very efficient and very popular in Europe, as water is heated only when you need it. The most important consideration is to buy the proper size unit for your intended use, or you will be very unhappy with the results.

You can buy electrical on-



Henri de Marne

ABOUT THE HOUSE

demand water heaters at Home Depot, Lowes, Menards and some Ace and True Value hardware stores in the United States and in most Home Depot stores in Canada. These stores may not carry the model you want in stock but should be able to order it.

Tankless water heaters need to be sized properly to provide adequate domestic hot water when more than one usage is in effect, such as two showers at a time, or a shower and clothes and/or dish washing. So if you plan on using hot water in several fixtures at the same time,

you need to buy an on-demand unit that can handle such a load or you will not get enough hot water at any of the points of use. If you have Internet access, go to www.boschhotwater.com for a complete list of choices, locations and tax credits.

OF INTEREST TO ALL GARDENERS: I have just tried a new pair of garden and general work gloves that are truly fantastic! They are Kimberly-Clark Professional Purple Nitrile GRIP Gloves and they do grip! We have used them in the garden and for other projects. We love them! If you can't find these gloves, go to www.kcdiy.com.

Henri de Marne is a Vermont housing consultant. His column is syndicated by United Features Syndicate. Send questions to him at P.O. Box 559, Waitsfield, Vt. 05673-0559, or by e-mail at henridemarne@gmavt.net.

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20 mile radius of
Wincocks.
Tues - Fri 8a - 5p
Saturday 8a - 12p
Rathe's Salvage
(802) 655-0651

ANSWER MACHINE

Digital, AT&T, #1710.
Call (802) 878-6674.

ANTENNA MAST

34 ft. Triangular steel
frame. VG condition.
899-4917, eve.

ANTIQUE GOLF BAG

Fair shape narrow
bag, 2 clubs, cool!
Steve (802) 955-3029

FREE WOODEN SKIDS

Burlington Free Press
A LOCAL CUSTOM

802-660-1880

ADVERTISING GUIDELINES

Please check your advertisement the first day it runs. We wish to correct any error before the second insertion as we will not be responsible for any adjustments in charges beyond the first appearance of the ad. Any credits for errors will be determined according to the impact the error had on the

ad content. In the interest of maintaining our standards of accuracy and good taste, we reserve the right to refuse, cancel or edit advertising at any time.

Burlington Free Press
A LOCAL CUSTOM

Absolutely Free

BEAUTIFUL CATS

Two bonded brothers, must stay together...to a safe and loving home. Cats are charcoal and white with unique markings, 4 yrs. old, all up-to-date shots...indoor cats, but would love to go outside. Sadly must give up, because of daughter's allergies. Call DOLLY @ 802-864-9000.

BED-QUEEN

MATTRESS & BOX SPRG. GOOD SHAPE. 802-578-1139.

BOOKCASE WOOD

15'x30'x30". 2 shelves. You pick up. Call 310-9151.

BUILDING MATERIALS

CLEAN, UNUSED SCRAPS OF PARTICLE BOARD, SUITABLE FOR SHEDS. Call (802) 999-4580, daytime.

FREE CAT

spayed female Call Peggale at (802) 363-0484

FREE DOG

standard poodle, male, good with animals and children, call (802) 868-5351

FREE HAY

You cut, bale & haul 3 acres in Charlotte, clover 324-6110.

Absolutely Free

CELL PHONE - AT&T

Bag 3010/3015 with car pwr adapter. 802-864-8241.

COUCH

Fair condition, good for camp or dorm. (802) 872-9928

COUCH, pink rose print.

Must see. Very cozy. (802) 524-7237

COUCH, usable,

3 cushions. (802) 985-8711

DESK WOODEN

18'x40'x30". 3 shelves. 1 draw. You pick up. 310-9151.

DOORSTOP DOG

Small/Black/Concrete. Very cute. Spaniel? 802-864-8241.

DRESSER WOOD

Adoption

ADOPTION
Happily married couple, will give your new born a life filled with love, happiness & security. Expenses paid. Please call Colleen & Chris 1-800-810-4521

ADOPTION
Loving family dreams of sharing warm happy home with new-born. Call Christine and Greg at 1-800-588-8990.

LOVING AFFECTIONATE COUPLE promises baby happy home, education, secure future. Allowable expenses paid. Tricia and John 1-800-890-0341

Garage Sales

ALL SAINTS CHURCH FLEA MARKET
Sat. 7/7, 9-3 p.m.
1250 Spear St., So. Burl.
Bake sale, Crafts

BOLTON
Route 22, Saturday July 14, 9-5. Huge Multi-Family, Don't Miss This One. Furniture, toys, household, clothes, monitors, more.

BURLINGTON
Edgemoor Drive, off North Ave, near DMV, Sat. & Sun. 9-5.

BURLINGTON July 6-8. 8am-3pm. Antiques, bed, collectibles, furniture, games, grill and much more, 108 Saratoga Ave.

BURLINGTON 60 Lopes Ave. Sat. 7/7, 8-3, appliances, furniture, toys, misc. items.

BURLINGTON 147 South Cove Rd, Saturday July 7, 8am-3pm. Moving Sale: furniture, tools, household items, books.

BURLINGTON Spectacular Sale! Antiques, art, collectibles, furniture, household goods, lighting, baby items. Something for everybody! 192 Crescent Rd. Sat. 7/7, 10-3, Sun. 10-3. No early birds!

COLCHESTER/MILTON multi family yard sale, July 6-7, 8th, intersection Gray Junction, Jasper mine and Watkins rd. 9-5. No early birds please

COLCHESTER Saturday July 7th from 8am-2pm. Riding mower, TVs, misc. items. 298 Nice Way near Sam Mazza's.

ESSEX CTR
Tile, Grout, Glass, Clothes, Tools, Collectables, Books, Luggage, Lamps, Saddle, Brass Headboard, Much More! Sat. 9-3, Sunday 9-1, 4 Perry Drive.

ESSEX JCT.
Annual Neighborhood Sale at
BRICKYARD CONDOS!
Off Rt. 15, Sugar Tree Lane. Saturday, 7/7, 9-4 pm.

ESSEX JUNCTION 38 Pleasant St. Sat. & Sun. 9-1. Antiques, plus size women's clothes, toys, glassware, wicker pram, furs, oriental rug. Other sales on street!

FAIRFAX 67 Clarks Rd. Sat. & Sun. July 7-8. 8am-4pm. Furniture, dishes, wood chipper, stove, culverts, clothes and lots of misc. household goods. Off of 104.

FAIRFAX 30 Swamp Rd. July 6-15 9am-5pm. Rain or Shine, bird and bat houses, fenders, tools, wishing wells, toys, tools and jewelry, collectors knives and new items.

JERICHO, MOVING SALE! 12 Cobble Rd 7/7 & 7/8 9am-3pm. High Quality furniture, yard power tools, Sony 27" & 32" TVs. Antiques, items and collectibles. Exit 11 to Gov. Peck Rd. look for signs. 802-899-5421.

GIGANTIC GARAGE SALE 18 Chris Emily Lane
MILTON
Saturday 7/7 & Sunday 7/8 from 10am-3pm. Bunk beds, various furniture, electronics, TV's, toys, and much, much more!

DIRECTIONS: Route 7 North, left at Milton Vet Hospital, house on left.

RICHMOND
Cleaning out! Toys, books, camping gear, lots more. 9-4, 7/7. 105 Snipe Island Rd.

Richmond
1091 Southview Drive
Saturday July 7th & Sunday July 8th 10-4p
CRAFTERS
DELIGHT yard sale.

Famous Annual Southview Yard Sale in Richmond! Remember us? Please visit us again! silk flowers, stirofoam forms, fabrics, come on bolts, many satin picture frames, scrap-booking items, more. Vintage and antique list: costume jewelry, oak table and rocker, 2 Ethan Allen dressers w/ bookcase tops; buttons, mahog nesting tables, wing chair, oriental rugs, many sizes (all real, my personal collection) exercise and Pilates machines and more.

RICHMOND 167 West Main St. Moving! Lots of stuff. Priced to sell! Furniture and collectibles. Saturday, 7/7 9-1pm.

SAINT ALBANS 190 Bushy rd. Fri. Sat. Sun 7/6, 7/7 & 7/8, 9-5. 40 year music collection, guitars, fiddles, mandolins, banjos, other items

SHELBOURNE Fri 7/6, 1-4pm & Sat. 7/8, 9am-12n. Furniture, fax machine, laser printer, paper goods, wall decor items, high quality throughout, turn onto Longmeadow by Marco's right onto Deer Run.

SOUTH BURLINGTON large yard sale, 1860 Shelburne rd. Sat 7/14 10-7, furniture, mattresses, table chairs misc items, lots of other stuff

SOUTH BURLINGTON Toys, books, many other items. 9-3 Saturday 7/7 20 Oak Hill Dr. (off Laurel Hill Dr.)

SOUTH HERO 23 Fox Crossing. 8-4pm Sat. & Sun. 3.5 miles down South St. Turn right onto Fox Crossing, bear right to end.

WILLISTON Sat-Sun July 7-8, 9am-2pm. Furniture, books, everyday items, toys, games clothes for 12. Priced to go. 511 Redmond Rd.

Garage Sales

SWANTON, MOVING SALE Starting 7/7 and on throughout the week
Great furniture, beds, and more!
692 Maquam Shore Rd.
Everything must go!

Legal Notices

PUBLIC NOTICE

The City of South Burlington Charter Review Committee will meet on July 19, 2007 at 6:30 PM in City Hall, 575 Dorset Street, South Burlington, Vermont, 05403. The Committee will continue its review of the current city charter and meet with Steve Jeffrey, Executive Director of VLCT. The public is invited to attend and participate.

Chuck Hafter
City Manager

Lost & Found

CAMERA FOUND:
at fireworks by waterfront. Call to identify. (802) 884-7612

FOUND:
a small red dog collar. Call (802) 868-7201

FOUND: Camera found on waterfront after fireworks. (802) 324-2346

FOUND DOG
female, black lab mix, in Burlington on 7/5 call (802) 985-2248

FOUND DOG
Female rottie mix, in Burlington on 7/3. (802) 985-2248

FOUND KEYS 3 U.S. PO Box keys, Sunday 7/1 at the Essex Ambulance Station. (802) 879-7298

FOUND LAUNDRY BASKET outside Banknorth, 7/5 describe contents, call (610) 299-2862

FOUND SILVER CLIP ON EARRING with red stones on Pine St. 7/5 call (802) 865-7222

LOST BLACK CAT Fort Ethan Allen Thursday June 28. Reward! Needs medical attention. Call (802) 655-1490 or (802) 863-4504

LOST CAT-FH June 29, backside of Stonehedge Townhouses, along bike path, near Szyanski Park, S. Burlington. Male, gray & white long hair, named Lizzy. Strictly indoors cat, front 2 claws decorated. Please call Robin at work (802) 658-0250, Amy's cell 363-7990, Beau's cell 310-2901.

LOST
Lost Cat - Small gray tiger cat with a white spot near her tail. She also has white paws, a white chest, a white nose. Last seen on June 30 in Jericho East. She's only 10 months old and is very friendly and not used to wandering far. Please call Frank - 316-0957 or Page - 899-1098

★RING★
Princess cut Diamond engagement ring with emerald side stones. Saturday, 6/30 at North Beach in shallow water near Umiak Rentals.

REWARD!
Call (802) 985-8340.

PERSONALS
BLUE OYSTER CULT Tickets w/ Joan Jett. on 9/11. FRONT ROW! \$75 (802) 863-1292.

LOOKING FOR JOHN WAYNE FERLAND Born October 12 or 13, 1949 in Troy, NY. Has six siblings. Anyone with information, local contact Lucille Nadeau (802) 655-0129 or Nancy (360) 829-1955.

NEW ENGLAND COUNTRY MUSIC FESTIVAL TICKETS (2)
with notch above tour at Gillette Stadium Foxborough Mass 7/28, \$189 each
call (802) 527-1735

RED SOX TICKETS 2 for Tues, Aug. 14, 7:05 pm. vs. Tampa Bay. Good seats, sec 12, row 13. \$198/booth. Call (802) 878-7257 or (802) 373-6371.

TICKETS.
Fed Cup Tennis Tickets. 7/14 & 7/15 in Stowe. 4 tickets each day. (401) 300-6782

TIMESHARE 2 bedroom, just in time to plan a winter vacation. Like Tiki Resort, 15 minutes from Disney World, waterpark tennis courts \$8,500 (802) 372-4568

EMPLOYMENT
• Employment
• Employment Part-Time
• Employment Wanted
• Childcare Wanted
• Training
• Business Opportunities

ASSISTANT STORE MANAGER
RETAIL HOCKEY SHOP
So. Burlington. Hockey knowledge a must. Retail experience preferred.

Please send resume: kssoc@comcast.net
or mail:
KSSC
PO Box 1037
St. Albans, VT 05478

CLEAN OUT!!
SELL YOUR STUFF!
(802) 660-1824

Employment

CARPENTERS
Experienced carpenters and carpenters helpers needed. Competitive Wages and Benefits.
Please call 802-878-2663
EOE

Employment

ADoption
Place your ad in the personals section.
(802) 660-1824

Employment

Security
Respect. Responsibility. Rewards.
Join AT Systems, one of America's largest and fastest growing cash logistics companies, and you'll also receive:
• Competitive Wages
• Excellent Benefits (full time employees)
• FT/PT Opportunities

TRAIN TO BE AN Armored Driver/Messenger Burlington Location
\$1,000 Hiring Bonus
(Terms and conditions apply)
• Must possess HS Diploma or GED
• Valid driver's license • Be at least 21 years old
• Background checks will be conducted

Apply in person at:
102 Kimball Ave, Unit 14,
South Burlington, VT 05403
or call 802-864-3742 for info
EOE • Drug Free Workplace

Send resume to:
Human Resources Department
The Burlington Free Press
191 College Street, PO Box 10
Burlington, VT 05402-0010
E-mail: bhart@bfp.burlingtonfreepress.com
Fax: 802-651-4804

Field Service Representative
Join our TEAM today!
The Burlington Free Press is looking for a Field Service Representative to work in our morning operation. Hours are 3:00am to 11:00am and include weekends and holidays (5-day work week). Work in a fun, fast-paced environment, providing excellent service to our subscribers. You'll be responsible for the delivery of routes, communication with carriers, showing routes to new carrier prospects, redelivering newspapers to customers who were missed earlier in the morning, installing delivery tubes and other customer service duties as required. Opportunities exist in Chittenden County.

We're looking for someone who wants to grow with our company. You need a solid work ethic, you must be positive and you must enjoy interacting with people and customers everyday you come to work. We offer the opportunity for quick advancement for the right person.

We offer a competitive starting wage, plus mileage reimbursement and full benefits, including 401 (K). Reliable, insured vehicle and valid driver's license required.

Apply to: The Burlington Free Press
C/O Human Resources Department
191 College Street, PO Box 10
Burlington, VT 05401
E-mail: bhart@bfp.burlingtonfreepress.com
Fax: 802-651-4804

Equal Opportunity Employer

AMERICAN CRUISE LINES
Exciting Employment Opportunity!
Stewards, Deckhands, Dishwashers
Join the American Cruise Lines team! We are seeking friendly, outgoing, hard-working crewmembers to live/work aboard our luxury

49-100 passenger cruise ships.
Earn \$700-\$900/week.
Training, room & board provided.
Excellent opportunity to work and travel.
Apply immediately:
Email: careers@americancruiselines.com
Phone: 800-366-6740
Fax: 203-453-0417
americancruiselines.com
(Click Employment Link)

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Equal Opportunity Employer

Director of Food Service
Harwood Union School District is seeking a self-motivated food enthusiast who can provide vision as well as manage a food program as well as act as a consultant for a school district. The candidate will need to be able to develop and execute a budget, manage and supervise an experienced staff, create nutritional menus for breakfast and lunch and most importantly share your appreciation and knowledge of food with students, staff and the community.

Culinary arts degree or prior management in food industry necessary. Competitive wages and excellent benefits offered.

Please send cover letter, three letters of reference and a resume to:
Duane Pierson, Principal
Harwood Union
458 VT RTE 100
South Duxbury, VT 05660.

DEADLINE: July 24, 2007
EOE

Employment

Carpenter's Helpers needed, framing experience a plus. All jobs are in Essex. Pay depends on experience. Call Julie 802-862-6500.

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ADoption
Place your ad in the personals section.
(802) 660-1824

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Respect. Responsibility. Rewards.
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• Excellent Benefits (full time employees)
• FT/PT Opportunities

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Exciting Employment Opportunity!
Stewards, Deckhands, Dishwashers
Join the American Cruise Lines team! We are seeking friendly, outgoing, hard-working crewmembers to live/work aboard our luxury

49-100 passenger cruise ships.
Earn \$700-\$900/week.
Training, room & board provided.
Excellent opportunity to work and travel.
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Employment

CARPENTER
NEEDED

Skilled, productive, career minded, individual needed, for permanent employment with high quality stable company, excellent working conditions & benefits.

Northwest Construction, Inc.
Call (802) 862-6545

Community
Support Outreach
Clinician

Work in a unique program to break the cycle of homelessness. Provide outreach and case management services with an inter-agency team. Experience with mental illness highly desirable. Bachelor's degree and 1-2 years of experience or comparable combination of education and experience. A valid driver's license and reliable vehicle is a must. Forward cover letter and resume to paul@howardcenter.org or call Paul Lenderi, 802-488-6210.

CONSTRUCTION RUN
PERSON NEEDED

Early morning person. Construction exper. a plus. Willing to fill in as construction laborer necessary. Send resume: PCI 15 Line Rock Rd. S Burlington 05403

Customer Help

College
Students
& Others

\$15.00 Base Appointment
No experience nec, conditions apply, all ages 17+, sales only. Call 802-860-7100

SHELBOURNE
SUPERMARKET

DELI
F/T help desired for our busy display kitchen. Previous experience required. A love of food prep & previous restaurant experience helpful. Must enjoy working w/ and pleasing customers. We offer a very pleasant team working environment. Benefits available. Please send resume to: Shelburne Supermarket, Attn: Deli, POB 578, Shelburne, VT 05482

FLOOR PERSON
WANTED

Start working today! FT/PT positions in the Burlington area. For early evening shifts, Mon-Fri. No weekend shifts. Need License & vehicle.

Call for interview (802) 863-3063

Want to make a meaningful
difference in your community?

Women's Rape Crisis Center is seeking two new positions:

Volunteer Coordinator / Educator
(Part-time, 20 hr/wk)

Position will support our education/outreach and volunteer management programs. Strong verbal communication skills required. Experience with public speaking and working with community, youth, and volunteers strongly preferred. Competitive salary with benefits.

Men's Educator
(Part-time, 20 hr/wk)

Men's Educator will give violence prevention & positive masculinity workshops to college men and male youth, and will help with male-specific outreach events in the community. Experience working with college men and male youth strongly preferred. Competitive salary with benefits.

Send resume by July 20th:
WRCC PO Box 32, Burlington VT 05402
Attn: Cathleen Wilson
No emails please. Men and people from diverse communities encouraged to apply.

WE WORK SO OTHER PEOPLE CAN PLAY.
BUT WE HAVE FUN DOING IT.

WE'RE GROWING IN BURLINGTON.

And we need energetic, fun people who want to be part of our work hard, play hard team. If you'd like to join Vermont's most dynamic Community Management & Consulting companies, we want to talk to you. We currently have openings for:

CUSTOMER SERVICE TECHNICIAN

■ Basic Handyman skills ■ Basic Computer Skills ■ Can do attitude
■ The ability to work in a dynamic team environment

TPW Management provides benefits:
Paid vacation and holidays
Medical, Dental, and Eye Care Insurance
3% Company contribution to your Simple IRA

Send resume and job history to:
103 Little Eagle Bay,
Burlington, VT 05408
(802) 658-3053
www.tpwmangement.com
[TPW Management is an EOE.]

Licensed Nursing Assistants

Full & Part time evening LNA's. Experience based wages. Apply to get the wage you deserve. Enjoy some of the benefits of a smaller facility. Excellent staffing ratios, Family oriented work place & Team work.

Green Mountain Nursing Home
475 Ethan Allen Avenue, Colchester, VT 05446 (Fort Ethan Allen)
Phone: 802-655-1025 • Fax: 802-655-1962
Email: gmnh05446 msn.com

Employment

Drivers Wanted:
Barre location

Haz-Mat Hauler seeks full time Transport Drivers to transport petroleum products year round. Solid training program, a professional environment w/uniforms, set schedule. Competitive wages and benefits. Must have a valid Class A with 2 years of tractor/trailer experience with Tank and Haz-Mat endorsements. To apply please contact Dot Moreau @ 207-642-4120 or submit your resume to moreauassociates@yahoo.com

DRIVERS

Wanted for immediate openings in Burlington and White River Junction. FT Cargo routes, DOT physical and pre-employment drug screen required.

Current and former IC's encouraged to apply. Please go to: PrioritySameDay.com to apply or call an application 802-862-2828

Save time and place
your ad at:

burlingtonfreepress.com

Open 24/7!

Executive
Housekeeper

Experienced housekeeper needed to manage housekeeping and laundry operations for busy all-suites hotel. Must be highly organized and possess solid communication skills.

Send resume Attn: General Manager, Hawthorn Suites Hotel, 401 Dorset St., South Burlington, VT 05403

Experienced
Veterinary Technician
& Veterinary
Assistant

Ark has 2 openings! Vet techs take full advantage of their technical training! Assistants support our techs & vets, serve clients, & maintain the hospital. We provide top salaries, pet care, paid vacation, health insurance, & 401K

Send your letter of interest and resume to arkresumes@gmail.com or Ark Veterinary Hospital, 5070 Shelburne Rd #5, Shelburne, VT 05482 or fax to 802-985-5297

GENERAL
MAINTENANCE

Engineering department needs general maintenance person. Experience preferred. Hawthorn Suites Hotel, 401 Dorset Street. Apply in person

HOUSECLEANERS

We need good people. Full-time, no nights, transportation & training. Paid holidays/vacations. 802-652-2403

MIRABELLES

Breakfast, lunch, & prep cook, with strong culinary background, with strong culinary foundation. Apply at: 198 Main Street, Burlington, VT 05401

MOTEL ROOM CLEANER-
FT/PT. Flexible hours,
up to \$10.00 per with
experience. Front Desk
Position also available. Apply:
(802) 863-3421.

★ PAINTER ★

Interior / exterior experience. Transportation. Great pay. Year round. (802) 658-7944

PROPERTY MANAGER

Wanted for 59 Unit Condominium in So. Burlington. For details see www.indiancreekcondos.org/property manager.pdf

Employment

Haulers/
Distributors

The Burlington Free Press is looking for individuals to haul bulk paper to drop locations and stores in Chittenden County. You must be available early morning hours, 7 days a week and have an insured cargo van or vehicle that can haul bulk bundles of our product.

For more info call: (802) 316-9455

LNA's - Full-Time
Evenings. Come Join
our Team! We are
looking for hard working,
dedicated, caring staff
to join our team. Stop
by for an application
and an interview. We
are proud of our facility,
and look forward to
sharing this pride with
you. Please contact
Melanie Longden, RN,
for further information.
Starr Farm Nursing
Center
98 Starr Farm Road
Burlington, VT 05408
(802) 658-6717 - P
(802) 658-6432 - F
EOE
LOCAL DRIVERS, OLD
DOMINION FREIGHT
LINE, INC. is seeking
qualified drivers. Candidates
should be at least
22 years of age with a
minimum of 12 months
driving experience. Applicants
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License with HAZMAT
endorsements. Old
Dominion Freight Line is
an Equal Opportunity
Employer.

Contact Jack Helgott at
802-865-5934 or Jack.
Helgott@odfi.com
Old Dominion Freight
Line, 513 Avenue D,
Williston, VT 05495

LPNs & LNAs

Private Duty
25 mins. north
of Burlington
Sat. & Sun.
8:30am - 3:30pm
\$24.62/LPN
\$16.00/LNA
Call 893-6368

MEDICAL
RECEPTIONIST

For busy Medical
Office. Strong communication
skills needed. Duties incl.
answering phones, scheduling
appts., & charge entry.
Resumes to:
Office Manager,
368 Dorset St.,
Stet S Burlington,
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Employment PT

Pillsbury Manor
Weekend Nurses
Aides Positions
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7 am - 3:30 pm.
great benefits.
Call Katie at
802-863-7897
ext. 213

**CLEAN OUT!!
(802) 660-1824**
PRESCHOOL/TODDLER
ASSISTANT TEACHERS
Kids and Fitness of
Essex is currently
searching for high-
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4.6 FT. SMALL/DORM
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HOOD: 60" custom
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See Kenmore Power
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White, excellent condi-
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Kitty "Country" from
Kids Town. \$40. Call
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Good cond. \$75. Call
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GLIDER/OTTOMAN
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Seldom used \$25.
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swim pants for the
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Dresses, Shirts,
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Blue/White like new.
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SHINGLES. Dipped sand
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25-30 square feet per
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HOOD: 60" custom
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less hood w/dbl lights
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DOOR
Broco, 36X80, solid 6
panel with trim, still
boxed, right hinge,
\$100
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"L" SHAPED BRICKS
WANTED
4 bricks make up
each layer around an
8" chimney tile. About
12" long, 6" wide, 3"
high, 4" thick. Need
80. Call Charlie at
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NEW CERAMIC TILES.
12 x 12, sand color,
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wood, approx. 120 ft.
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36" W, white vinyl, deco-
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6ft wide 80in tall. \$75.
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New display counter top
refrigerator, \$495.
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\$450.
Fridg'less 18.2 cubic
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bay sink, \$750.
2 bay sink, \$275.
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Drawer letter full sus-
pension \$40. Call
(802) 879-1841.

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BALANCER
Model GSP9700.
\$10,000.
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Femme parts. Great
condition, with stands.
Moving, must sell.
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PAPER CUTTER,
HYDRAULIC
MODEL HB305
30.5 inch Challenge cut-
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Works fine. Must be
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on July 12th. Priced to
sell at \$500.00. Firm.
Call Steve at (802) 443-
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hard drive, CD burner, 15
inch, keyboard and
mouse, OS10.3, \$450.
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550 megahertz, 30 gig
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19 IN. SCREEN CRT
Works great. Only
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Incl. instruction man-
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Iron, 30" x 48" x 30".
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Black wood rack/adju-
stable, 2x4's. \$30.
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★ WOOD STOVE ★
Vermont Castings
Remodeled, \$450.
Remodeling \$450.
Moveable Slate Hearth.
\$100. (802) 658-0616

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BED, RACE CAR
(Twin), \$100.
(802) 655-1795
Ask for Adam.

BEDROOM SET
CHEERYWOOD, bed, 2
dressers, nightstand,
all dovetailed.
Mattress/Bog, brand
new! Still boxed, will
separate.
COSTS \$4,000
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SACRIFICE \$1,550
Call (802) 893-0666.

BED SET
mattress, box spring
and frame. Brand
new, still in plastic,
never been slept on.
COST \$500
SELL \$285
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COUCH/DUAL RE-CLINER
light colored, firming
price \$750. Asking
\$400. Call (802) 343-
8717, daytime.

BAKERS RACK
Green metal/dark
wood. \$25.00/best of-
fer. 878-3460.

A Brand New top of the
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Foam Mattress. 8 in
thick, box, set costs
\$1,500
Still in plastic, can
separate.
Call (802) 893-3666

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queen, 24" high,
New \$750! Asking \$60!
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AIR MATTRESS, queen,
with air pump, excellent
condition, \$300.
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ARMORE BY HARDEN
Solid cherry en-
tertainment center - easily
converts to other stor-
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Asking price \$600.
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wood. \$25.00/best of-
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BAR STOOLS (2) excel-
lent condition, oak finish,
all wood, \$15 each
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BAR STOOLS
(2) 39", like new.
\$75/pair.
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BED
Full, twin, queen or
king mattress and box
spring. Open 7 days.
\$50/ea. set 238-9378.

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WOOD STOVE
beautiful detail work
on this antique round
stove, mixture of
black, mica, and ce-
ramic finishes, ready
for restoration. Will
warn you heart to
view as well as your
home. \$400
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Bronze H.W. Circ.
Cost \$250, 2 do-
mes/solar. \$50.00, firm.
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Gas Stove
Vermont Castings,
w/ fan, 20,000 BTU, ex-
cellent condition, re-
built. Asking \$350.
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COUCH
1 year old beautiful
large olive green
couch with khaki p-
iping. 100" W x 41" D x
39" H. Clean and gen-
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Young Muslims

Technology appeals to the 'youth bulge'

By Steven Brooke

According to the U.N., in 2005 more than 54 percent of Egypt's population was younger than 24. The numbers are similar for almost every other Muslim country, including Iran. Many of the world's most sophisticated strategic thinkers, including the venerable Samuel Huntington, have pointed to this "youth bulge" as a key indicator of the potential turmoil and disruption stemming from the Middle East in the coming years. Does demography equate to radicalism in the Middle East?

In "Children of Jihad," Jared Cohen counters that Middle Eastern demographic trends herald potentially positive changes in relations between the United States and the Muslim world. A significant factor, according to Mr. Cohen, is that youth in the region are con-

nected — to each other and the outside world — as never before.

The boom in satellite television (Bedouin families in the middle of the desert with 1,000 channels at hand) is just the beginning. Ubiquitous mobile phones and the accompanying text-messaging, widespread Internet cafes, blogs and the newer voice-over-IP technologies of companies like Skype have made communications faster, cheaper and easier.

With these accessories at hand, the youth of the region are eager for opportunities to reach out and understand other cultures. Technology has equipped today's young people to flourish in intercultural exchanges where their parents may have floundered. This, according to Mr. Cohen, "should make all of us very hopeful."

The basis for these observations is simple. Mr. Cohen just traveled to Iran, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq to see what

would happen when he met as many young people as he could. What he found was surprising: Underground parties in Iran, complete with bathtub booze, souped-up cars and preening

POLITICAL BOOKS

CHILDREN OF JIHAD: A YOUNG AMERICAN'S TRAVELS AMONG THE YOUTH OF THE MIDDLE EAST

By Jared Cohen
Gotham, \$25,
288 pages

teenagers; Hezbollah members whose chilling rhetoric during the day is nowhere to be found in Beirut nightclubs; and Syrian sisters who proudly strut around in jeans and tight T-shirts, ignoring the scowls of their elders.

Yesterday's meeting for Turkey was to test that suspicion.

air base to be used for more than a decade to protect these

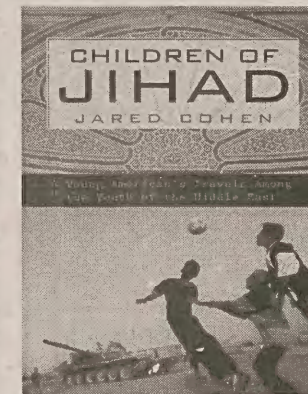
leadership have begun signaling that they want more than a functioning democracy — they want a federal, autonomous region and status as become co-partners in the constitution.

Turkey's EU accession talks mean little to the Kurds in the region. They deny admitting any constructive change in Turkey and continue parroting about the old mistakes. Kurds are con-

then, will react. The dance will start soon, and it will ultimately determine whether Turkey remains allied with the United States, or whether it embarks on new adventures. Kurds have played their card; now we must wait to see Turkey's next move.

Tulin Daloglu is a freelance writer.

Underlying many of Mr. Cohen's anecdotes and encounters is an ongoing sense of passive resistance by the youth of the Middle East against systems they feel make little accommodation



for their dreams and desires.

But the narrative is not only parties and pretty girls. In Iran, Mr. Cohen's plans are derailed until he can find a way to give his government minder the slip. In Syria he is invited to dinner by a not-so-

subtle intelligence official who just wants to convey the message that he is being watched. In Lebanon, Mr. Cohen and a dodgy "body-guard" have to outrun the Lebanese army to get into the now notorious Ain al Hilweh refugee camp to interview Palestinian militants.

And in an astonishing passage about his time in Iraq, Mr. Cohen describes how his carelessness almost got him killed. Yet despite mishaps and run-ins with unsavory characters, like a surly taxi driver with a bin Laden sticker on the dash, Mr. Cohen's optimism permeates the book.

At points one can even be forgiven for thinking that Mr. Cohen's optimism might be running away with him. The theory driving this book is essentially that the spread of easy and cheap communication will translate into greater openness, political liberalization and a desire for peace and coexistence.

Yet will technology prove more salient than other historically accurate determinants of behavior, such as ideology or even culture? While the emphasis on technological development may indeed be accurate (anec-

dotes from my own research in Egypt support aspects of Mr. Cohen's thesis), the optimism must be set against the growing number of terrorist groups that use the same technology to foster their own goals of bloodshed and mayhem.

Violent protests in response to the Danish cartoons organized and spread quickly over text messaging. Sophisticated, professional Web sites offer glitzy videos of attacks on U.S. troops in Iraq set to music more akin to all-night dance parties.

This is no accident. The producers of these macabre videos have recognized that the best way to lure a youth into their orbit might be through techno music and cutting-edge graphics rather than stale diatribes from an out-of-touch sheikh. The jihadists know their target audience, and to this point they have expended far more time and energy in attracting these youth than the United States has. If nothing else, Mr. Cohen's work gives us insight into what this critical audience is really like.

Steven Brooke is a research associate at the Nixon Center.

THE ENERGY SHE'LL NEED

Most Americans agree energy security is a top national priority, because they want to ensure their families' quality of life now and into the future. So why do some in Congress want to raise taxes on the development of oil and natural gas resources?

**Stable tax policies
encourage energy
development**

History shows that changing the rules by raising energy taxes has serious consequences. After Congress levied a "windfall profits" tax in the 1980s, its own non-partisan Congressional Research Service determined this tax diverted \$79 billion from domestic energy investment, reduced U.S. oil production by as much as 1.26 billion barrels and increased oil imports.

The U.S. Department of Energy estimates America will need 28 percent more oil and natural gas by 2030. And to make sure future generations will have it, we need stable tax policies that encourage the development of critical energy resources and continued economic growth. Benefiting Americans today – and especially tomorrow.

EnergyTomorrow.org

THE *people* OF AMERICA'S
OIL AND NATURAL GAS INDUSTRY

recent media

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

By John McCaslin

Tribal warfare

Terry McAuliffe left Washington yesterday, bound for Iowa — again.

"I'm always in Iowa, I'm living in Iowa," the chairman of Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton's presidential campaign tells Inside the Beltway. "And I'll be in Iowa from here on out: 35 more days."

Until the Jan. 3 Iowa Caucus, that is, the first major contest of the 2008 presidential election, Mr. McAuliffe remains "upbeat" about Mrs. Clinton's chances for what would be her first primary victory over her closest Democratic rival, Illinois Sen. Barack Obama, whose candidacy is suddenly further illuminated by the star power of Oprah Winfrey. Whatever support in Iowa Mrs. Clinton can't muster for herself, the New York senator will rely on her husband, former President Clinton, to counter Miss Winfrey's challenge.

Then there's the continuing presence in the Hawkeye of Mr. McAuliffe, no stranger to stumping, having spent several years as chairman of Democratic National Committee.

Meanwhile, the state parties in Iowa are ready to stumping, having spent several years as chairman of Democratic National Committee.

Oprah factor

Given that Oprah Winfrey ranks as among the most in-



fluential women in the country, how will her support of Illinois Sen. Barack Obama likely affect the January 3 Iowa Caucus?

"Because of her crossover appeal with white females, Oprah Winfrey's support for Barack Obama has the potential to affect the outcome," says Duke University political science professor Paula McClain.

"Her audience base is far more white female than black female, and her campaigning for Obama will at least make some white women, who might not have been inclined to vote for a black candidate, look closer at Obama," says the professor of political science, public policy and African and African-American studies.

And Miss Winfrey won't be going home after Iowa, as she intends to appeal to women on behalf of Mr. Obama in other states, including

suspects placed under arrest. Anything you say can and will be used against you."

"It's a different campaign," Mr. Graff said yesterday, "in that every single moment of these candidates' campaigns are taped and recorded, and the juiciest parts are then turned around and broadcast to the entire world. We had the case just this past week of the John McCain video — recorded at a private event, in a private home — where a lady asked him how are we going to stop this [expletive], referring to Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton."

"It's now reached the point where reporters from The Washington Post are carrying video cameras with them, as are reporters from the New York Times," adds Mr. Graff, as the traditional media is trying to keep up with the growing popularity of Internet-based journalism.

On a more positive note, candidates themselves are realizing the tremendous power of the Web. The Internet has even changed the debating format. Consider last night's Republican YouTube debate.

"I argue in the book that the Republicans badly need to understand this new online campaigning, and that their participation in the debate is a sign they're coming around," Mr. Graff told Inside the Beltway yesterday.

Macaca moments

"Smile, you're on YouTube." Or so reads the headline above the Washingtonian article adapted from Garrett M. Graff's just-released book, "The First Campaign: Globalization, the Web, and the Race for the White House."

As the editor at large of the magazine writes: "The lesson of the new campaign is similar to the Miranda warning offered in the United States to

Television talk-show host and Hollywood mogul Oprah Winfrey recently endorsed Sen. Barack Obama, Illinois Democrat, for the 2008 presidential race.

Avenue Q

There was a standing ovation at Tuesday night's opening of "Avenue Q" at the National Theatre.

A word of caution, however: Don't bring children along to this easily R-rated Sesame Street-style performance that includes puppet characters who, living as neighbors on Avenue Q, struggle to search for the elusive purpose of life.

Not to worry, or so the motley cast finally concludes. After all, nothing lasts forever, they sing, including — to the overwhelming approval of the raucous audience — the reign of George W. Bush.

• John McCaslin can be reached at 202/636-3284 or jmccaslin@washingtontimes.com

Susan

Susan, This is an idea/issue in our world on how the media affects/has affected politics & the national discourse.

Westlaw

NewsRoom

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Issue 384

Freedom of speech. (excerpts from 'Freedom of Speech: Is America at High Tide'
published in The American Enterprise)
West, Thomas G.

The government still censors freedom of speech through the Federal Elections Campaign Act in 1971, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fair Housing Act. The right of Americans to criticize their government without fear of penalty continues to be curtailed.

It is widely believed that there is more freedom of speech and of the press in America today than at any time past. On the liberal side, Cass Sunstein writes, "Freedom of expression in America is now approaching a system of unregulated private markets." Liberal law professor Archibald Cox refers to America's "continual expansion of individual freedom of expression." Conservative scholar Walter Berns agrees: "Legally we enjoy a greater liberty than ever before in our history." I believe these views are incorrect. If we take "freedom of speech" in its true sense, there is substantially less of it in contemporary America than when our nation was founded.

The Founders defined freedom of speech as the right of a citizen or organization to state whatever they wish without fear of punishment by government, as long as the statement doesn't unjustly harm some other individual or the community. James Wilson, a leader of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, stated the general view: "What is meant by the liberty of the press is that there should be no antecedent restraints upon it; but that every author is responsible when he attacks the security or welfare of the government, or the safety, character, and property of the individual."

When it came to curbing abuses of free speech, the Founders relied primarily on the rule of law, so as to avoid government excesses. They opposed licensing the press, following the principles of the great English jurist William Blackstone, who wrote that freedom of the press meant above all that government could "not subject the press to the restrictive power of a licenser." In the absence of prior restraint on the press through licensing, government could correct abuses only by subsequent prosecution, with a trial by jury where private citizens, not government officials, would determine the verdict.

The Founders, then, believed that freedom of speech should rest on three pillars: There must be complete freedom for noninjurious speech. There must be no prior

restraint on speech through licensing or censorship. And injurious speech must be punished through the due process of law. Unfortunately, all three pillars have been seriously eroded by recent government action.

The most important government intrusion on free speech came with the passage of the Federal Elections Campaign Act in 1971. The act currently bans private citizens and groups who cooperate or consult with a candidate for Congress from spending more than a fixed amount of money (\$1,000 for individuals, \$5,000 for groups) on his or her behalf. The act does leave a candidate's supporters free to publish on other topics, so long as they don't engage in "express advocacy." Some courts, however, have held that any discussion of public policy issues prominent in a campaign is "express advocacy" even if a candidate's name is not mentioned, and this has scared many groups out of trying to help candidates for fear of the high legal bills and potential fines they will face if they are accused of violating the act. The law does, however, exempt newspaper owners from its provisions. These owners may spend whatever amount they wish publishing arguments in support of candidates with whom they consult or cooperate. (Is it a coincidence that large newspapers tend to support incumbents or Democrats?)

The Founders would have opposed the Campaign Act because it penalizes open discussion of issues at election time. As John Adams wrote, "Our chief magistrates and senators etc. are (elected) by the people. How are their characters and conduct to be known to their constituents but by the press? If the press is to be stopped and the people kept in ignorance, we had much better have the first magistrate and senators hereditary." Open discussion of "men and measures" is the single most important aspect of free speech. Otherwise, Alexander Hamilton wrote, "there was no other way to preserve liberty, and bring down a tyrannical faction."

Another restriction on free speech comes from limitations placed on employers involved in union elections. In a 1969 case, the Supreme Court ruled that employers can give their workers predictions about the effects of unionization "on the basis of objective fact," but that if the employer expresses his "belief, even though sincere, that unionization will or may result in the closing of the plant," then he is making an illegal "threat of reprisal or force," and if the union loses the election the government will overturn the result. Meanwhile, union organizers are permitted to say anything they please about the employer.

CIVIL RIGHTS LAW

Restrictions on free speech have become a standard element in the enforcement of civil rights law. Courts have ruled that "harassment" is a federal crime under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Courts have held that a "hostile environment" of harassment exists if, for instance, an employer puts religious articles in the company newsletter, or some employee argues that "women make bad doctors because they are unreliable when they menstruate." A federal circuit court has ruled that while the Act "does not require an employer to fire all 'Archie Bunkers'" in its ranks, the law does require that prompt action be taken "to prevent such bigots from expressing their opinion in a way that abuses or offends their co-workers." As legal scholar Eugene Volokh comments, "Said about almost any other variety of opinion, this statement . . . would be a civil libertarian's nightmare. Imagine a law requiring that an employer take prompt action to prevent communists from expressing their opinions in a way that abuses or offends their co-workers."

The federal Fair Housing Act also punishes deliberative political speech. When two neighborhood activists in Berkeley, California, argued in newsletters and public petitions that the site chosen for a new homeless shelter (next to two liquor stores and a nightclub) was "grossly imprudent," the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development launched an investigation against them. The couple was threatened with fines of \$50,000 plus additional damages, with HUD offering to drop the charges if the couple agreed "never to write or speak on housing issues again." After the facts were made public and a public uproar resulted, HUD dropped its lawsuit. But less publicized government harassment continues against others. HUD has routinely held cities liable for political statements made against group homes by city residents - a form of indirect censorship. The result, according to journalist Heather MacDonald, is that "in every city in which HUD has pursued investigations against individuals and community groups, opposition to planned social-service facilities has been severely chilled - just as intended."

The second pillar of free speech erected by the Founders - bans on prior restraint of speech - has been seriously eroded over the past 75 years. Most Americans get their news today from organizations whose activities could be blocked literally at any time by government regulators.

In seventeenth-century England there were two forms of prior restraint. The first required printers to submit individual articles to government censors. The second mandated that printers obtain a license to publish from the Stationers' Company, the "monopoly body of printers" that, according to historian Frederick Siebert, was expected "to keep a tight rein on member printers in return for the grant of a royal charter." The Stationers, a quasi-governmental agency, was authorized to smash the presses of printers who didn't have licenses.

Britain repealed all licensing requirements by 1694, but freedom-loving Englishmen and Americans learned from this history how odious prior restraints on the press can be. The Founders agreed with Blackstone's argument that prior restraints on publication "subject all freedom of sentiment to the prejudices of one man, and make him the arbitrary and infallible judge of all controverted points in learning, religion, and government."

COMMUNICATIONS ACT

There are ominous parallels between the methods of the Stationers' Company and those of the Federal Communications Commission in the United States. The right to broadcast in America, like the right to publish in old England, is under the ultimate control of the government, and is revocable at any time. Under the Communications Act of 1934, stations receive licenses to broadcast only when the FCC judges it to be "in the public interest, convenience, or necessity." The FCC has never defined what the term "public interest" means. It prefers to use a case-by-case approach that has become known as "regulation by raised eyebrow" - brandishing threats of hearings or delays at license-renewal time for stations that fail to go along with FCC wishes. The Commission has consistently favored broadcasters who share the views of government officials. Oddball or politically dissident stations have often been driven off the air.

The FCC's first large-scale act of censorship occurred in the late 1930s. The Yankee

radio network in New England consistently editorialized against President Franklin Roosevelt. The FCC asked the Yankee network to provide details about its programming, and the network quickly ceased its anti-FDR editorials. While the FCC renewed the licenses of the Yankee stations, the agency warned that, as part of the "public interest" requirement, radio stations "cannot be devoted to the support of principles (the broadcaster) happens to regard most favorably."

The FCC soon made exclusion of "partisan" content a requirement for all broadcasters. Stations swiftly understood that, under the agency's rules, broadcasting a "fireside chat" by President Roosevelt was considered "nonpartisan," while broadcasting a critique of his proposed legislation was deemed to be unacceptable partisan speech.

In 1949 the FCC codified its rules on political content by establishing the "Fairness Doctrine," which declared that stations had to balance any political opinions uttered on the air with opposing points of view. Most broadcasters responded by filling the airwaves with blandly liberal news shows stripped of anything that might offend a federal regulator. But by the early 1960s, a number of conservative radio and television stations had appeared, which the Kennedy administration tried to suppress. As President Kennedy's assistant secretary of commerce, Phil Ruder, later explained, "Our massive strategy was to use the Fairness Doctrine to challenge and harass right-wing broadcasters and hope that the challenges would be so costly to them that they would be inhibited and decide it was too expensive to continue."

FAIRNESS DOCTRINE

The government shut down, among others, WLTB-TV in Jackson, Mississippi, a station strongly critical of federal civil rights policies of the 1960s. The station would introduce its nightly NBC news broadcast with an invitation to stay tuned for the real news after the biased East Coast liberal news was over. The government retaliated by revoking WLTB's license.

In a more famous case, the conservative Red Lion radio station was challenged in a Fairness Doctrine complaint secretly financed by the Democratic National Committee. In a 1969 decision, the Supreme Court ruled that the Constitution permitted the FCC to order Red Lion to give free air time to liberals who disagreed with its conservative broadcast content. The Court ruled, in other words, that the federal government could dictate the content of a station's broadcasting. Attempts by conservatives to fight back during the 1960s by getting the Fairness Doctrine applied in reverse to liberal broadcasters all failed.

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas once observed that "the regime of federal supervision under the Fairness Doctrine" causes broadcasters to echo "the dominant political voice that emerges after every election." For example, under pressure from the Nixon Administration, broadcasters downplayed the importance of antiwar demonstrations and ignored Watergate until it became a national scandal. It wasn't until 1987, when the FCC finally abolished the Fairness Doctrine, that this particular cloud lifted. Had the Doctrine not been laid to rest at that time during the Reagan administration, it is unlikely today's national political talk radio shows, among other content, could ever have taken to the airwaves without fear of government reprisals. Indeed, in 1993, Democrats in Congress tried to revive the

Fairness Doctrine as a means of reining in Rush Limbaugh and other talk hosts, but the broadcasters defended themselves by mobilizing a public backlash.

The end of the Fairness Doctrine, however, doesn't mean that the broadcast media are now free. Broadcasters are still careful not to offend regulators. The beauty of licensing as a means of (sic) is that only a few rare examples of overt punishment are needed. As Nixon administration official Clay Whitehead once said, "The value of the sword of Damocles is that it hangs, not falls."

The third pillar of the Founders' scheme for protecting free speech was due process of law, relying on trial by jury to prevent abuses of speech freedom that could be injurious to individuals or the larger community. This pillar too is now crumbling. The one area where speech has become freer in the modern era is in the relaxation of libel, sedition, and obscenity laws. But these apparent liberalizations are in fact contractions of freedom. As one member of our founding generation once wrote, "Every man has a right to use of the press (as) he has to the use of his arms." But he who commits libel "abuses his privilege, as unquestionably as if he were to plunge his sword into the bosom of a fellow citizen." When a person's honor is stolen by malicious speech; when parents find it hard to teach their children personal responsibility because of pervasive obscenity; when those who would overthrow democracy are allowed to proceed without fear of punishment - in these cases freedom suffers to the point where it could one day perish.

LIBEL LAWS

Take the case of libel. In 1983, Hustler published a satire in which Rev. Jerry Falwell was portrayed as describing a drunken incestuous relationship with his mother. "I think I have never been as angry as I was at that moment," says Falwell, describing his reaction on first seeing the article. "In all of my life I had never believed that human beings could do something like this." In a formal deposition, Hustler publisher Larry Flynt admitted he was trying to "assassinate" the integrity of Jerry Falwell. Yet the Supreme Court ruled that no actionable injury had taken place.

Besides weakening libel laws, courts have also redefined free speech as "freedom of expression." Constitutionally protected "speech" now includes nude dancing, almost all pornography, vulgarities spoken in public and worn on clothing, personal insults, flag burning, and more. This replacement of "speech" with "expression" means that the critical distinction between saying something and doing something has broken down. It also means that the distinction between speech that communicates thought and speech that expresses mere emotion is lost. In the famous "f - - the draft" case, the Supreme Court endorsed the view that, in Justice Harlan's words, "One man's vulgarity is another man's lyric."

It is true, then, that licentious speech now enjoys unprecedented protection. But expanded toleration for character assassination, vulgarities on bumper stickers, sex in the movies, and flag burning can hardly compensate Americans for greater censorship via government regulation. In too many areas, the ability of Americans to criticize government bureaus without fear of penalty or harassment has been dangerously restricted. And that is the kind of free speech that matters most.

Mr. Thomas G. West is professor of politics at the university of Dallas. From

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