



As he watched the initial reports of the recent explosion, Falihee felt a sense of nostalgia, in its old, true meaning of "the pain of return": "I thought, gee, it's gonna be hard, with the water, all the debris. You tell everything from the scene search, you find fragments of the device. Today you probably have the same procedures, look for the same evidence.

"Anyway, they said it's some sort of explosive, all right. On Channel 2. I wanted to call up the anchorman, but I decided not to. I try to keep my fat Irish mouth out of it.

"One thing I've always hated was when someone said it was a bomb. It was the worst thing, the worst thing they could have said. Every lunatic calls in. There was a series of other calls claiming credit, and in half an hour there was a threat to the Empire State Building. We had to search the Empire State Building years ago, up and down, up and down, see if anything was out of place. You always evacuate, bring in cops and the maintenance people to see what's out of place.

"In the old days, I didn't want my picture in the papers anyway. Didn't need it. The press, I used to chase them. In fact, I used to threaten them. I haven't had my picture taken with the old magnesium flash since I played ball for Manhattan Prep, so it wasn't actually dangerous. But you're nervous enough, when you're right there with something that's alleged to be an infernal machine, without all those flashbulbs going off in your face."

These days, Falihee is untroubled by the infernal machines. Though he is on sabbatical from John Jay for the semester, he will return to teach there in the fall. His attentions are spent reading, "not newspapers, but scientific material and books where the butler did it," and among his three daughters, six grandchildren, and seven great-grandchildren. One grandson is a policeman in Buffalo, and a granddaughter is a pathologist at the Mayo Clinic. Though he walks with the assistance of a cane and seems to spend a fair amount of time visiting doctors, he has few complaints. His wife, Kathleen, died three years ago, but he "does not believe in mourning."

"In this world, you come without wanting to come," he said, "and you leave without wanting to leave. God treated me well. I didn't blow up." □

The Twelve Commandments

by Grover G. Norquist

Haley Barbour, the recently elected Republican National Committee chairman, would like to add a twelfth commandment to Moses' ten and Ronald Reagan's eleventh ("Thou shalt not speak ill of a fellow Republican"). Barbour's twelfth is: "Thou shalt not even think about the 1996 presidential election until after November 8, 1994."

After George Bush threw away his presidency, many conservatives immediately focused on the task of reclaiming the White House in 1996. But the real action for the next two years will be in what Barbour calls the "target-rich environment" of the 1994 elections, when twenty-two Democratic Senate seats will be up for

grabs. More immediately, this year will see a special Senate election in Texas; special House elections in Wisconsin, Mississippi, California, and Ohio; governor's races in New Jersey and Virginia; and state legislative races in New Jersey, Virginia, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Off-year elections can redefine a party. In 1966, two years after the Goldwater debacle, Republicans gained forty-seven seats in the House and four in the Senate, eight governorships, and ten state legislative chambers. Richard Nixon's non-stop campaigning helped win him the party nomination. In 1978, Republicans picked up fifteen House seats, three Senate seats (defeating three nationally important liberals), six governorships, 279 state legislative seats, and the majority in seven chambers. Ronald Reagan learned from the Richard Nixon of 1966.

Each would-be presidential candidate has at least two years to impress the Republican Party with his ability to raise funds, campaign effectively for other candidates, and champion new issues and legislation. That's what Ronald Reagan did when he embraced the Roth-Kemp supply-side revolution after he lost the 1976 Republican nomination. The voters of California helped define the Reagan presidency when they voted in June 1978 to pass the Jarvis-Gann initiative, Proposition 13, which cut their property taxes in half and required a two-thirds vote of the state legislature to raise new taxes.

Presidential candidates follow election results. After the success of Proposition 13, a number of other states put similar initiatives on the ballot. (Idaho's referendum was actually identical to Proposition 13, with "California"

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whited out and "Idaho" typed in.) Such copycat initiatives put tax cuts on the political agenda and every Republican running for president in 1980, except George Bush, endorsed supply-side economics. Jack Kemp today opposes term limits, but after the 1994 election, when eight more states pass term-limits initiatives, adding to the impressive list of fifteen that already have them, Kemp may reconsider.

Off-year elections can be just as crucial in determining which issues hurt as which issues help. Just as Democratic victories in November of 1989 in New Jersey and Virginia traumatized pro-life Republicans victimized by flip-flop candidates, victories in the gubernatorial and state legislative races in those two states this November could squelch talk that the party needs to adopt a pro-choice platform to salvage its coalition.

The GOP is not lacking in innovative policies around which to build a platform. Massachusetts Governor William Weld argues for low taxes, free markets, and "tolerance" on abortion and homosexuality. Jack Kemp promotes economic growth through lower taxes. Pat Buchanan would have the Republican Party abandon free trade and limit immigration. Bob Dole leads the deficit hawks and guards against union power grabs.

A debate over policy will be useful for Republicans—provided they remember Ronald Reagan's Eleventh Commandment. What Haley Barbour is looking for is a way of airing those differences that does not focus on 1996. That is, he is looking for an alternative to fratricide. The GOP could do worse than have its leaders compete on the basis of who can help elect the most congressmen, senators, and state legislators in 1993 and 1994—just as armies promote the officers who capture the most enemy territory. Whither the party? Let the market decide.

Two House Republicans, Newt Gingrich and Dick Arme, have pioneered party-building both personally and by creating new institutions to help other candidates. As a backbencher in 1986, Arme campaigned for twelve candidates, in 1990 for fifteen, and in 1992 for twenty. In 1992 Arme contributed more than \$80,000 of his own

campaign funds to support Republican challengers. Some were long-shots. Many won. Arme created PIPAC (Policy Innovation Political Action Committee) to support Republican candidates through contributions and also through the production of a brilliant vote guide that provides challengers with information on their opponents' voting records—and suggestions on "spinning" these votes. In 1992 he created a fax program to send information on key votes in Congress to Republican challengers. The National Republican Congressional Committee plans to build on Arme's efforts.

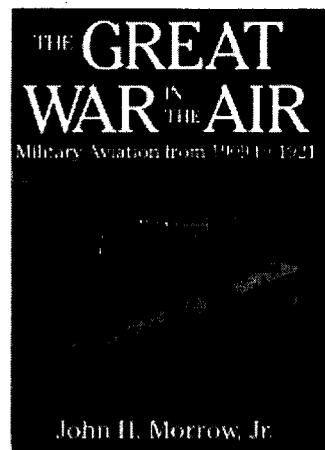
Gingrich inherited GOPAC from Pete du Pont in 1986. In 1992 alone, GOPAC raised \$1.7 million for Republican House challengers, contributed another \$100,000 directly to state legislative candidates, and trained more than 2,800 candidates and activists in forty-two seminars across the country. GOPAC also pioneered a conference-call training program that included Gingrich-led briefings for House candidates every Thursday night of the campaign.

In his home state of Georgia, Gingrich gets much of the credit for building the coalition that elected Paul

Coverdell. In 1988, he led efforts that brought sixty new locally elected Republicans into office. And in 1992, Gingrich turned the tables on a Democratic attempt to gerrymand him out of office. He personally raised \$150,000 for Republican House candidates in Georgia, leading to a three-seat pickup in the state—one-third of the Republican net gain in 1992. Thanks in large part to GOPAC, Republicans in Georgia also gained a total of twenty-two seats in the state legislature.

Republicans hold more seats in the House and Senate today than they did in 1978, when Jack Kemp, Bill Steiger, and Bill Roth led the fight to cut the capital gains tax and slash income tax rates. Now Haley Barbour is asking where the next Roth-Kemp will come from.

School choice might be that breakthrough issue. Only Bill Bennett went out to campaign for Linda Cross, the pro-school choice candidate for Wisconsin Education Commissioner. Cross narrowly lost on April 6 in a race that received national coverage. The state's Republican governor, Tommy



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A Land of Individualists

by Jonas Bernstein

Thompson, pushed through the choice legislation with Democratic legislator Polly Williams that gives 1,000 poor Milwaukee students a choice between public and non-religious private schools. Thompson is pushing to double the number to 2,000. John Engler of Michigan and Fife Symington of Arizona are pushing education choice in their states. Massachusetts' Weld has won public-school choice (once anathema to liberals, now their fall-back position to stop full choice), and is fighting to expand it. Activists pushing school choice initiatives in Oregon, California, and other states will be speaking directly to potential candidates ex-Education Secretary Lamar Alexander and South Carolina Governor Carroll Campbell—who have failed to lead on this critical issue.

Symington has signed a property rights protection bill that puts teeth into the takings clause of the Constitution. Local property-rights groups now number more than five hundred around the nation. Symington or another governor could become the leader and spokesman for property rights nationally.

The victims rights' movement and its sister movement to imprison repeat offenders without reduced sentences will have a measure on the 1993 ballot in Washington and maybe a dozen more states in 1994. Leadership on this crime issue is up for grabs. The 1993 and 1994 initiatives promoting victims' rights and longer incarceration periods will help write the 1996 platform on crime.

Though it too has as yet no leader, a challenge to the environmental lobby will take as much courage and is as important politically as Ronald Reagan's 1970 challenge to the welfare lobby. And the perennial taxpayer movement is similarly without its Jarvis or Reagan. California, Oregon, Arizona, and other states will likely have initiatives on the ballot to repeat the success of Colorado voters in requiring a vote of the people to raise taxes. Pete Wilson is rumored to be willing to support such a measure in California, not a bad way to revive his flagging prospects.

The men who deserve to lead the GOP in 1996 will be those who realize that the party's future will be charted this year and next; and that the 1994 elections offer a chance to end the Clinton era after two years, not four. □

I stood in front of the Intourist Hotel near Red Square, waiting for Olga. She was down from St. Petersburg for the day to pick up her visa for Britain, which she visits once a year. With her hard currency salaries at two joint ventures, Olga can be called part of the "nouveau riche" (a class which, according to a recent national survey published in *Moscow News*, 13 percent of the respondents "proposed jailing").

"Maybe this time I'll stay in England," Olga had told me on the phone the previous day, in a weary voice. Olga had been in the hospital for three weeks in February with some kind of monster flu. (Indeed, the authorities in St. Petersburg not long ago expressed alarm over the sharp rise in infectious diseases there.) "I have all the things I want here, materially. But life is getting more and more difficult. I'm tired."

Six o'clock came and went, and no Olga. After half an hour, I started to worry. After an unsuccessful search around Red Square, I returned to the entrance of the Intourist. Moments later—by this time I was frantic—she emerged from the pedestrian underpass, waving (and dressed to kill, as usual). "I was waiting here and a young man came up to me, totally drunk," she explained. "He asked me to go to a bar with him; I told him I was waiting for my husband. He said, 'No problem; I'll kill him,' and showed me a gun. Since you were due to show up any minute, I decided to take him for a walk. Aren't I a good friend?" After listening to his tales of banditry for

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half an hour, Olga left him staggering near GUM, on the other side of Red Square.

Such episodes are becoming normal in the Wild East, which is why many of its best and brightest want to get out. They all list the same reasons, in the same weary voice: the rampant inflation; the bleak daily landscape (sidewalks lined with people trying to resell pathetic trifles bought in state stores, destitute babushkas continually crossing themselves as they beg for rubles); and the growing army of drunken Lumpen of the kind described above. And, perhaps most of all, the uncertainty. Political, social, economic.

"I can't let my teen-age daughter out of the house at night anymore," Masha told me on the metro on the way home from "Jazzland," one of the few entertainment spots in Moscow not frequented by mafiosi. "It's impossible to be happy here. We have a national shock, a national stress, and I don't want to live under it." Masha—who, as a magazine editor, has a prestige job with a low (ruble) salary—is trying to emigrate to Western Europe. Her worries are also political. She's not like the pensioners who think it was better under Brezhnev; in fact, she worries that, in reaction to the current chaos, a return to totalitarianism is imminent. Masha says that some of the things she wrote during glasnost displeased the KGB, and is convinced she's still under threat. "The security services are exactly the same people today," she said. "But it's even worse, because now they're not under anyone's control."

The list of those who've had enough