

drugs and saw no meaning to life until God grabbed him twelve years ago." Not to mention the saved and brave souls battling against poverty and anti-poverty governmental bureaucracies: "Payne was wearing a red tie with drawings of happy children on it, but most of the children he is responsible for are not smiling."

How does this mélange connect with compassionate conservatism? Well, the Big Idea is that if you gave lots of government anti-poverty money to religiously motivated community organizations and allowed them to

continue to push salvation, you would theoretically begin to win the war on poverty. This approach should be contrasted with Al Gore's watered-down, have-it-both-ways notion of giving funds to faith-based institutions, but simultaneously making sure they don't proselytize.

As any admirer of the Salvation Army knows, there is a germ of truth to this notion that, while religion may be the opiate of the masses, faith works wonders in individual cases. It is a provocative issue—especially for liberals sensitive about the religious issues involved, but who should be impressed that there are some conservatives who genuinely care about eradicating poverty and are hard-headed about only funding programs that work.

Too bad, then, that *Compassionate Conservatism* is such a slapdash book. But then, come to think of it, Dubya is a pretty slapdash messenger
WALTER SHAPIRO, a contributing editor for *The Washington Monthly*, is a political columnist for *USA Today*.

Missile Millionaires

By Andrew Cockburn

"HE'S GOING TO DO IT," said the navy captain, clutching his companion excitedly. "He's going to do it!" It was the evening of March 23, 1983. In the officers' club at Fort Myer, just across

Key Bridge from the District of Columbia, the usual motley assortment of active and retired military and attendant defense contractors and lobbyists were watching President Reagan deliver an address to the nation. His initial remarks in support of his 1984 defense budget request had provoked a scattering of derisive cat-calls from around

the room. But now he was moving on to the theme that would make this speech famous: a proposal to develop a missile defense system in space.

Finally, the old actor on the TV screen called "on the scientific community

of this country, who gave us nuclear weapons... to give us the means of rendering these weapons impotent and obsolete." Ronald Reagan had just fired the official starting gun for that amalgam of fraud and inanity known to history as Star Wars.

"He's done it. He's done it. I'm rich, I'm rich, I'm rich," bellowed the captain in a state of near hysterical exultation, running from the bar in search of a phone.

I have never been able to think about Star Wars without recalling this scene at the launch of the great boondoggle. I don't know what happened to the navy captain, but a lot of people made a lot of money out of the enterprise, and in fact are still doing so. Sixty billion dollars didn't get spent just on *New York Times* op-ed articles and snappy one-liners from John Pike. It is a pity therefore that Frances FitzGerald eschews the question of money, who wanted it and who got it, in her weighty history of missile defense.

Instead, we get a mixture of Reagan psycho-history, familiar to readers of Garry Wills' brilliant *Reagan's America: Innocents at Home*, as well as some useful history, subsumed in many pages on Star Wars as it affected arms control policy in the Reagan years. Her account relies heavily on the memoirs of major office-holders at the Reagan court, which may explain why we learn a lot about policy and very little about pork, a subject that statesmen and liberal intellectuals tend to find too undignified for serious discussion. The Lockheed Corporation

WAY OUT THERE IN THE BLUE:

Reagan, Star Wars, and the End of the Cold War

by Frances FitzGerald

Simon & Schuster, \$30.00

Battle Front CALIFORNIA

Tobacco War

Inside the California Battles

by STANTON A. GLANTZ and EDITH D. BALBACH

"*Tobacco War* gives a view into the abrasive reality of fighting and winning against the tobacco industry. It shows how the tobacco industry works behind the scenes...to subvert public health and how courageous action by public health advocates beat them back."

—C. Everett Koop, former Surgeon General of the United States
\$19.95 paperback, \$50.00 hardcover

California in the New Millennium

The Changing Social and Political Landscape

by MARK BALDASSARE

"Baldassare has provided an indispensable baseline not only for the complex and ever-mutable place called California, but, very possibly, for the nation as a whole—about who we are, where we are, and where we may be going."

—Peter Schrag, author of *Paradise Lost*

\$27.50 hardcover

At bookstores or order (800) 822-6657

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

www.ucpress.edu

gets a paltry two mentions in the index, while TRW, briefly described as a company "with a substantial financial stake in space-based lasers," gets just one. Boeing, Raytheon, and other attendees at the trough pass without notice. It is not considered polite to mention the "military industrial complex" these days, however loudly it advertises its presence and influence.

Ironically, FitzGerald herself supplies crucial evidence that confirms the decisive role of the uniformed branch of the complex in bringing us Star Wars. Many people have been cited as the midwives of Reagan's vision—the physicists Edward Teller and Lowell Wood; the rascally former defense intelligence agency chief Danny Graham; but FitzGerald convincingly suggests that the idea came from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, particularly Admiral David Watkins, chief of naval operations. The Chiefs no more believed in an umbrella of lasers in outer space zapping Red nukes as they came over the North Pole than any other rational person, but they knew a threat to the defense budget when they saw one.

Ever since the later years of Jimmy Carter's presidency, the military and their industrial partners had been enjoying an unparalleled era of prosperity by promoting the specter of Soviet military and especially nuclear superiority. Among other surrenders, Carter had

cravenly accepted the proposition that U.S. land-based missiles were under threat from an enemy first strike, agreeing to concrete over half of Nevada so that the MX missile could have a mobile home. But this had not been enough to buy the allegiance of the military, who had correctly foreseen that Reagan promised still richer rewards.

By the spring of 1983, however, the public was beginning to get the idea that all this talk from their masters about nuclear war might be serious. The nuclear freeze movement had spread like wildfire across the country. Half a million people marched through New York in protest. The Mormon Church and the Nevada Cattlemen's Association had emphatically vetoed the mobile MX. The Chiefs were worried by the freeze movement, and, more specifically, having sold the mobile MX as vital to our nation's survival, they needed a way to explain that maybe the MX could be stationary and still keep the republic secure. A defensive system to protect U.S. missile fields was advertised as a way to render nuclear weapons "obsolete" and thus lull the citizenry back to sleep.

Later on, when it appeared that Defense Secretary Weinberger and the functionaries actually running the Strategic Defense Initiative program might be getting ideas above their station and grabbing too large a chunk of the budget they were sharply reined in

by the military high command. The program had served its purpose and could be relegated to a position of lower priority in the chow-line for tax dollars.

In the meantime of course the arms controllers and defense intellectuals had a wonderful time debating the issue, and FitzGerald dutifully takes us through the arcane battles over START and INF that so preoccupied people in those days. The Russians naturally played their part in the game. For years, Gorbachev dutifully echoed the line of his own military lobby by treating SDI seriously. By the time he woke up and told Reagan to go ahead and waste his money if he felt like it, it didn't matter; the Soviet leader was well on the way to reforming the Soviet Union out of existence, and the Cold War was practically over.

If proof was needed that missile defense had more-deep-rooted foundations than simply the addled imagination of Ronald Reagan or the technical fantasies of Edward Teller, current newspaper headlines supply it. Ronald Reagan is long gone, but the SDI lobby lives on, potent enough to extract a possible further \$60 billion from our pockets on the grounds that we might some day be menaced by (starving) North Koreans, or (starving) Iraqis, or Iranians, or anyone. It doesn't really matter. Someone will get rich.

ANDREW COCKBURN's most recent book is *Out of the Ashes: The Resurrection of Saddam Hussein*.

FOLLOW IN FAMOUS FOOTSTEPS...

The Washington Monthly is seeking applicants for Fall/Winter internships. These internships involve all aspects of magazine production, including editing, layout, and design. Past interns have gone on to careers at *The New York Times*, *The Washington Journal*, *The New York Observer*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Post*, *World Report*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, *The New Republic*, *Slate*, *Esquire*, *Rolling Stone*, the Department of Justice, and the White House. Send your cover letter, resumé, and writing samples to: Tara Mansour, *The Washington Monthly*, 1611 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20009. Phone: 202/332-8413, or e-mail to tara@washingtomonthly.com.

...INTERNSHIP AT THE MONTHLY

The pulse of the world from the heart of the nation.

Don't miss a thing. Subscribe to *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*. And be privy to astute analysis of the policies, issues, debates and developments that make the world's pulse race.

You get the inside word. Straight talk from the political pundits. In-depth coverage of the powers that be in Congress, the White House and abroad. Brilliant observations of the day's most significant political events. A roundup of rare, resourceful commentary on the Administration's every move.

This special weekly edition of *The Post* is read widely with the same high regard as our daily paper. It's full of exclusive reports and expert opinion to help uncover the big-picture implications of today's agenda. It's written by individuals who are uniquely qualified to interpret Washington affairs with remarkable insight. Investigative reporters like Bob Woodward. Observers like Jim Hoagland and Robert Samuelson. Plus guest authorities in every field.

Week in and week out, *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition* keeps you abreast of our ever-swirling political scene. You get...

Capital Politics. Penetrating assessments of the government's most controversial matters from the Pulitzer Prize-winning dean of American political analysts, David Broder.

The Political Pulse. Puts your finger on the significance of shifts and



Editorials. Trenchant views from our eye-opening op-ed page and the amusing visual observation of Herblock, the three time Pulitzer Prize-winning editorial cartoonist.

The Government Pulse. Stay on top of new directions in law, health care, defense and the environment. For example: AIDS prevention campaigns and federal funding. Global warming's price tag. The potential for postwar terrorism. The perils of mandatory retirement. And more.

Book World. The most important new books are subjected to candid, stimulating reviews by well-known scholars, opinion leaders and best-selling authors themselves.

What Americans Think. Enjoy fascinating poll results on timely topics: Presidential approval ratings, civil rights trends, military matters, lifestyle habits and more.

Science Lab. Study the outcome of revealing reports, special research experiments and bold, new discoveries in such fields as psychology, medicine and conversations.

Indeed, The Washington Post National Weekly Edition imparts a wealth of knowledge on politics, government, the economy, international affairs, business and industry. Go ahead. Read it for information. Use it to make decisions.

Save 62% off the cover price!

surges in the parties, voters, ethics, elections, campaigns, referendum, committees, lobbies and policies of America

The Global Pulse. Amazing stories and investigative reports from the diplomatic front. We identify and examine the ripple effects of events as far away as the Persian Gulf to Peru, the Soviet Union to South Africa.

The Economic Pulse. Forecasts and appraisals that probe beneath the surface of such weighty economic matters as energy, credit, the stock market, international finance, banking, labor, trade and more.

Commentary. Lively debate and provocative ideas from George Will, Tom Edsall, Dan Balz and other foremost political thinkers and writers.

(Complete, clip and mail coupon today.)

Save 62%!

NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION
The Washington Post

Subscription Savings Form
 Yes! Start my one-year subscription (52 issues) to *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition* for the introductory rate of only \$39.00. That's a savings of \$39.00 off the basic subscription rate and \$62.40 off the newsstand price.

Payment Enclosed
 Bill me later

Complete and mail to:
The Washington Post National Weekly Edition
 P.O. Box 37167
 Boone, IA 50037-2167

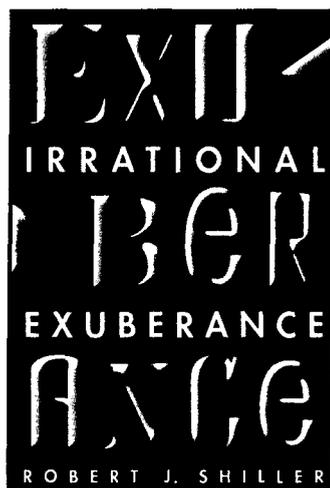
Allow 4-6 weeks for first issue to arrive.

Satisfaction Guaranteed or your money back on all unmailed issues.

JWAM23

Subscribe now and Save 62% off the cover price.

Complete and return the coupon today.



Irrational Exuberance

Robert J. Shiller

In this bold and important new book, Robert J. Shiller, a respected expert on market volatility, offers an unconventional interpretation of recent U.S. stock market highs and shows that Alan Greenspan's term "irrational exuberance" is a good description of the mood behind the market. He warns that poorer performance may be in the offing and tells us how we—as a country and individually—can respond.

"Irrational Exuberance should be compulsory reading for anybody interested in Wall Street or financially exposed to it; at the moment, that would be roughly everybody in the United States. . . ."

—*The Economist*

Cloth \$27.95 ISBN 0-691-05062-7

Disaffected Democracies

WHAT'S TROUBLING THE TRILATERAL COUNTRIES?

EDITED BY
SUSAN J.
PHARR
AND
ROBERT D.
PUTNAM

Disaffected Democracies

What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?

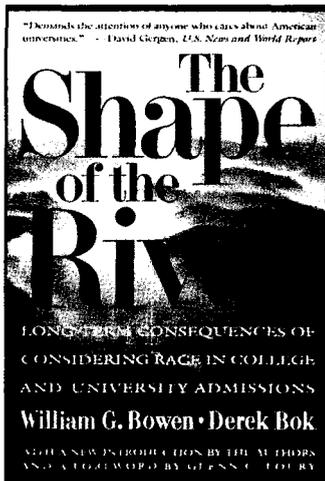
Edited by Susan J. Pharr and Robert D. Putnam

It is a notable irony that, as democracy replaces other forms of governing throughout the world, citizens of the most established and prosperous democracies increasingly report dissatisfaction and frustration with their governments. Here, some of the most influential political scientists at work today examine why this is so.

"This book by leading experts is a major achievement . . . How to restore the people's faith in government will be a major challenge of the next millennium."

—Walter Mondale, former Vice President of the United States

Paper \$19.95 ISBN 0-691-04924-6 Cloth \$65.00 ISBN 0-691-04923-8 Due June



New in paperback

The Shape of the River

Long-Term Consequences of Considering Race in College and University Admissions

William G. Bowen and Derek Bok

With a new introduction by the authors and a foreword by Glenn C. Loury

This is the book that has forever changed the debate on affirmative action in America. It brings a wealth of empirical evidence to bear on how race-sensitive college admissions policies actually work and clearly defines the effects they have had on over 45,000 students of different races.

"A compelling new book . . . The authors prove with facts, not anecdotes, that affirmative action works."—*Los Angeles Times*

Paper \$16.95 ISBN 0-691-05019-8