

August 15, 2013

Brit historian, Paul Johnson, argues the case for nonintervention in foreign affairs. An international version of Daniel P. Moynihan's idea of "benign neglect". *A superpower with an emergency strike force, big airlift capacity and air superiority is always tempted to intervene in the internal affairs of Third World countries.*

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And Joel Kotkin, while watching the collusion between the likes of Google and Face Book with NSA, suggests ways to limit their powers.

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*Nor does the snooping relate only to national security. If my emails to friends and family arguably constitute a potential threat to national security, that's one thing. The massive monitoring and largely unapproved tapping into our data for profit is quite another.*

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*Even Apple, arguably the most iconic Silicon Valley firm, has been hauled in front of courts for alleged privacy violations. For its part, Consumer Reports recently detailed Facebook's pervasive privacy breaches, including misuse of information as detailed as health conditions, details an insurer could use against you, when someone is going out of town (convenient for burglars), as well as information pertaining to everything from sexual orientation to religious and ethnic affiliation.*

*Despite ritual denials about such invasions of privacy, the new communications moguls have little reason to stop, and lots of financial reasons to continue. As for concerns over privacy, the new oligarchs take something of a blasé attitude. Eric Schmidt, Google's chairman, in 2009 responded to concerns over privacy with this gem: "If you have something that you don't want anyone to know, maybe you shouldn't be doing it in the first place." ...*

*... The new Valley elite are simply the latest to refine and exploit information technology for their own, often enormous, personal benefit. Nothing wrong with making money, to be sure, but this ambition is no different than those of Cornelius Vanderbilt, E.H. Harriman, J.P. Morgan, Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Henry Ford and Thomas Watson. Each innovated in a key industry, established oligarchic control and became fantastically rich.*

*But even by the standards of bygone moguls, the new oligarchs' wealth has not been widely shared. Big Oil and the Big Three automakers created hundreds of thousands of jobs for a wide range of workers. In contrast, the tech oligarchs' contributions to American employment are relatively negligible.*

*Google, for example, employs 50,000 people; Facebook, 4,600; Twitter, less than a thousand, while GM employs 200,000; Ford, 164,000; and Exxon, more than 100,000. Even in the current boom, new job creation has been relatively insipid. From 1959-71, Silicon Valley produced 100,000 tech jobs; by 1990 it generated an additional 150,000 and, in the 1990s boom, another 170,000. After losing more than 108,000 high-tech jobs from 2000-08, there has been a net gain of no more than 20,000 to 30,000 positions since 2007.*

*The geographical area enriched by the oligarchs has also narrowed. ...*

*... These changes will require both Left and Right to change their attitudes. Progressives, for example, have tended to embrace the Valley's population for its generally "liberal" views on social issues and the environment. They have largely ignored the industry's poor record on hiring non-Asian minorities and the lavish, energy-consuming lifestyles of the oligarchs themselves.*

*Some on the left are seeing the light. Britain's left-leaning Guardian newspaper has been in the forefront unveiling the NSA scandals and the complicity in them of the tech giants. Credit belongs to the EU, which, particularly in contrast with our government, has been asking the toughest questions about loss of privacy and the dangers of oligopolistic control. With Barack Obama secure in the White House, some American leftists have also begun to recognize the extreme inequality that has accompanied, and likely been worsened by, the ascendancy of the digital aristocracy.*

*Conservatives, for their part, can only face up to the new "axis of evil" by stepping outside their ideology strictures and instinctive embrace of wealth. The increasingly monopolistic nature of the high-tech community, and its widespread disregard for the privacy of the individual, should concern conservatives, as it would have the framers of the Constitution.*

*What needs to be accepted, by both conservatives and liberals, is that privacy matters, as does the threat posed to democracy by oligarchy. Until people focus on the potential for evil before us and discuss ways to curb abuses, this small and largely irresponsible class, likely in league with government, will usher in not the promised cornucopia but a gilded-age reign of Big Brother.*

Keeping up with IRS' Lois Lerner, [Eliana Johnson](#) tells us how she used personal email for government business.

*Embattled Internal Revenue Service official Lois Lerner sent official documents from her government e-mail address to a personal account, according to House Oversight Committee chairman Darrell Issa and his colleague, Ohio congressman Jim Jordan.*

*"This raises some serious questions concerning your use of a non-official e-mail account to conduct official business," the GOP lawmakers wrote in a [letter](#) to Lerner demanding all documents from her non-official account for the period between January 2008 and the present. "Additional documents related to the Committee's investigation may exist in these non-official accounts over which you have some control, and the lack of access to this information prevents the Committee from fully assessing your actions," they explained. Issa and Jordan are requesting that Lerner produce the documents by August 27.*

*The use of personal e-mail accounts to conduct government work also has the potential to impede federal-records requests by the public because personal accounts are not archived by the government. Controversy erupted, for example, over former EPA administrator Lisa Jackson's use of a government account under the name Richard Windsor which, like a personal account, would not be captured by records requests relating to Jackson. ...*

Independent Institute catches Bono making some sense.

*... Just recently drawing upon his Christian faith (and possibly the economics influence of Professor Ayittey?), in a speech at Georgetown University, Bono altered his economic and political views and declared that only capitalism can end poverty.*

*"Aid is just a stopgap," he said. "Commerce [and] entrepreneurial capitalism take more people out of poverty than aid. We need Africa to become an economic powerhouse." ...*

James Pethokoukis agrees with Bono.

Lots of attention being paid to this quote from U2's Bono:

*"Aid is just a stopgap," he said. "Commerce [and] entrepreneurial capitalism take more people out of poverty than aid. We need Africa to become an economic powerhouse."*

*The above chart is from Gapminder and shows China's per capita income growth since 1800 vs. that of the US and the UK. What happened to China toward the end of the 20th century? Well, it started doing what the America and Britain began doing some 200 years earlier. China started embracing what Bono calls entrepreneurial capitalism. Or as economist Deirdre McCloskey puts it:*

*"The Big Economic Story of our times has not been the Great Recession of 2007–2009, unpleasant though it was. ... The Big Economic Story of our own times is that the Chinese in 1978 and then the Indians in 1991 adopted liberal ideas in the economy, and came to attribute a dignity and a liberty to the bourgeoisie formerly denied. And then China and India exploded in economic growth. ... And contrary to the usual declarations of the economists since Adam Smith or Karl Marx, the Biggest Economic Story was not caused by trade or investment or exploitation. It was caused by ideas. The idea of bourgeois dignity and liberty led to a rise of real income per head in 2010 prices from about \$3 a day in 1800 worldwide to over \$100 in places that have accepted the Bourgeois Deal and its creative destruction."*

It's August, so we have to deal with those who think the bombing of Hiroshima was a mistake. Michael Barone has it this year.

*I couldn't disagree more strongly with my Washington Examiner colleague Timothy Carney when he argues that we should not have dropped the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. My reading of the history of World War II has convinced me that Japan would not have surrendered if the bombs had not been dropped; even after that some in the military tried to prevent the Emperor from surrendering. American military leaders predicted that an invasion of Japan would have produced 1 million Americans killed or wounded. The Japanese had fought fiercely in Okinawa in the spring of 1945; 100,000 Americans and Japanese died in this one small island.*

*It's worth reading this 1981 New Republic article by literary scholar and World War II infantryman Paul Fussell, who was scheduled to fight in Japan. So was the late Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who had enlisted in the Navy in 1945. "Was going to be sent to Japan," he once told me. "Would have died!" ...*

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## Jewish World Review

### [A Case For Masterly Inactivity?](#)

by Paul Johnson

A superpower with an emergency strike force, big airlift capacity and air superiority is always tempted to intervene in the internal affairs of Third World countries.

It looks so simple, especially for the U.S., which has a hyperactive media, noisy democratic institutions that clamor for "human rights" and a long tradition of intervention for humanitarian reasons. The Third World, especially the Muslim world, abounds in messy government crises in which mobs try to take control, troops open fire and people get killed. Congress and the media instantly call for a U.S. response, and the President finds his finger hovering over the action button.

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Eisenhower's record of nonintervention is worth studying, as I've been doing in the course of writing a short biography of him. Ike recognized that getting involved in a military adventure was very easy, especially if you had the resources. But getting uninvolved was quite another matter and entailed the very real risk of humiliation and defeat. He therefore concluded it was best to say no—and did so.

Still, one doesn't need to be a general, let alone one as shrewd and sophisticated as Ike, to see that further military involvement in the Muslim world would be foolish.

Currently there are repeated demands for the U.S. to arm the Syrian rebels. But we don't know who these rebels are. More than a score of distinct groups have been listed—most have terrorist connections, close or remote, and some are terrorists. There is also absolutely no guarantee

that once arms reach Syria they'll be delivered to any particular group. Or, if they reach a group certified as "nonterrorist," that they'll remain in responsible hands.

The only safe conclusion is to assume that any weapons the West sends to Syria will end up, sooner or later, partly or wholly, in the hands of terrorists. We should concentrate our efforts on preventing Russia, China and Iran from further arming the Assad government.

We should also try to avoid any involvement in Egypt, something easier said than done, as the Egyptian armed forces are heavily subsidized by the U.S. government. It is probably right to continue the subsidy for the moment, but the U.S. shouldn't increase it, nor should the U.S. try to direct the Egyptian army in what it should do.

The fact is, throughout the Middle East we are operating from a position of ignorance. We cannot, with any precision, identify the truly democratic forces or even be certain they exist. Nor do we know if any of them are immune to terrorist penetration. We are at a loss as to which personalities or organizations we ought to back—or, in deed, if any are reliable. Hence, our best policy is to stay our hand—what Benja min Disraeli called "masterly inactivity."

Patience is key. If one thing is certain, it's that the coming of democracy to the Muslim world is going to take a very long time.

## **New Geography** **Entrepreneurs Turn Oligarchs**

by Joel Kotkin

For a generation, most Americans, whatever their politics, have largely admired Silicon Valley as an exemplar of enlightened free-market capitalism. Yet, increasingly, the one-time folk heroes are beginning to appear more like a digital version of President George W. Bush's "axis of evil." In terms of threats to freedom and privacy, we now may have more to fear from techies in Palo Alto than the infinitely less-competent retro-Reds in North Korea.

Once, we saw the potential unsurpassed human liberation available through information technology. However, Silicon Valley, as shown in the NSA scandal, increasingly has become intimately tied to the surveillance state. Technology has enabled powerful firms – including Verizon, Apple, Facebook, Microsoft and Google – to channel everyone's email and cellphone calls to the national security apparatus.

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Nor does the snooping relate only to national security. If my emails to friends and family arguably constitute a potential threat to national security, that's one thing. The massive monitoring and largely unapproved tapping into our data for profit is quite another.

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Huffington Post. Even the innocent-seeming Gmail service is used to collect and sell information; Google's crew in Palo Alto may know more about the casual user than most of us suspect.

Even Apple, arguably the most iconic Silicon Valley firm, has been hauled in front of courts for alleged privacy violations. For its part, Consumer Reports recently detailed Facebook's pervasive privacy breaches, including misuse of information as detailed as health conditions, details an insurer could use against you, when someone is going out of town (convenient for burglars), as well as information pertaining to everything from sexual orientation to religious and ethnic affiliation.

Despite ritual denials about such invasions of privacy, the new communications moguls have little reason to stop, and lots of financial reasons to continue. As for concerns over privacy, the new oligarchs take something of a blasé attitude. Eric Schmidt, Google's chairman, in 2009 responded to concerns over privacy with this gem: "If you have something that you don't want anyone to know, maybe you shouldn't be doing it in the first place."

### **First came the engineers**

These autocratic sentiments have evolved over time. Initially, Silicon Valley was dominated by engineers whose primary obsession was using information technology to make the physical world work better. Many of them from Midwestern schools, that early workforce came to the Santa Clara Valley for the same suburban, middle-class lifestyle that earlier brought millions to the aerospace hubs of the Los Angeles Basin and Long Island. They may have been nerds, but not a class apart.

The early Valley deserved our admiration for taking new technologies – semiconductors, in particular – and applying them to practical concerns ranging from machine tools to spacecraft and defense. The Internet itself was not invented by swashbuckling entrepreneurs but evolved from the Pentagon's Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency – DARPA. Eric Schmidt and Mark Zuckerberg did not pay to build the Internet; the taxpayers did.

The new Valley elite are simply the latest to refine and exploit information technology for their own, often enormous, personal benefit. Nothing wrong with making money, to be sure, but this ambition is no different than those of Cornelius Vanderbilt, E.H. Harriman, J.P. Morgan, Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Henry Ford and Thomas Watson. Each innovated in a key industry, established oligarchic control and became fantastically rich.

But even by the standards of bygone moguls, the new oligarchs' wealth has not been widely shared. Big Oil and the Big Three automakers created hundreds of thousands of jobs for a wide range of workers. In contrast, the tech oligarchs' contributions to American employment are relatively negligible.

Google, for example, employs 50,000 people; Facebook, 4,600; Twitter, less than a thousand, while GM employs 200,000; Ford, 164,000; and Exxon, more than 100,000. Even in the current boom, new job creation has been relatively insipid. From 1959-71, Silicon Valley produced 100,000 tech jobs; by 1990 it generated an additional 150,000 and, in the 1990s boom, another 170,000. After losing more than 108,000 high-tech jobs from 2000-08, there has been a net gain of no more than 20,000 to 30,000 positions since 2007.

The geographical area enriched by the oligarchs has also narrowed. In previous Silicon Valley booms, outlying areas such as Sacramento and Oakland also benefited; not so much this time. Nor is the population expanding much, as one would expect from an economic boom. Although the massive outflow of domestic migrants over past decade – more than 20,000 annually – has slowed, still, more domestic migrants are leaving than coming. Part of this has to do with having the nation's highest housing prices relative to income, more than twice that of competitor regions like Austin, Texas, Raleigh, N.C., or Salt Lake City.

Rather than a place of aspiration, the Valley increasingly resembles an extremely expensive gated community, with prices set impossibly high particularly for all but the most affluent new entrants.

### **What Needs to Be Done?**

Americans need to wake up to the reality of this new, and increasingly ambitious, ruling class. “The sovereigns of cyberspace,” like the all-powerful Skynet computer system in the “Terminator” series, are only recently focused on politics, and have concentrated largely in the Democratic Party (where the price of admission tends to be cheaper than in the old-money-dominated GOP). And it's not just money they are throwing at the game, but also the skillful political use of technology, as amply demonstrated in President Obama's re-election.

Like the moguls of the early 20th century, who bought and sold senators like so many cabbages, the new elite constitute a basic threat to democracy. They dominate their industries with market shares that would make the old moguls blush. Google, for example, controls some 80 percent of search, while Google and Apple provide the operating system software for almost 90 percent of smartphones. Similarly, more than half of Americans, and 60 percent of Europeans, use Facebook, making it easily the world's dominant social media site. In contrast, the world's top 10 oil companies account for barely 40 percent of the world's oil production.

Like the Gilded Age moguls, the tech oligarchs also personally dominate their companies. Sergey Brin, Larry Page and Eric Schmidt, for example, control roughly two-thirds of the voting stock in Google. Brin and Page each is worth more \$20 billion. Larry Ellison, the founder of Oracle, owns just under 23 percent of his company; worth \$41 billion, Forbes ranked him the country's third-richest person. Bill Gates, the richest, is worth a cool \$66 billion and still controls 7 percent of his firm. Newcomer Mark Zuckerberg's 29.3 percent stake in Facebook was worth \$16 billion as of July 25, according to Bloomberg.

This combination of market and ownership concentration needs to be curbed. Taking a page from the Progressive Era, author and historian Michael Lind suggests that companies like Google, given their enormous market share, should be regulated like utilities. Others, within the European Union and elsewhere, look to apply antitrust legislation, once used to break up Standard Oil. One innovative approach, as Jaron Lanier suggests in his new book, “Who Owns the Future,” includes forcing companies to pay for the privilege of using your data, thereby “spreading the wealth” from a few hegemony to the wider populace.

### **Threat is bipartisan**

These changes will require both Left and Right to change their attitudes. Progressives, for example, have tended to embrace the Valley's population for its generally “liberal” views on



social issues and the environment. They have largely ignored the industry's poor record on hiring non-Asian minorities and the lavish, energy-consuming lifestyles of the oligarchs themselves.

Some on the left are seeing the light. Britain's left-leaning Guardian newspaper has been in the forefront unveiling the NSA scandals and the complicity in them of the tech giants. Credit belongs to the EU, which, particularly in contrast with our government, has been asking the toughest questions about loss of privacy and the dangers of oligopolistic control. With Barack Obama secure in the White House, some American leftists have also begun to recognize the extreme inequality that has accompanied, and likely been worsened by, the ascendancy of the digital aristocracy.

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## The Corner

### [IRS's Lerner Used Personal E-mail to Conduct Official Business, Investigators Say](#)

by Eliana Johnson

Embattled Internal Revenue Service official Lois Lerner sent official documents from her government e-mail address to a personal account, according to House Oversight Committee chairman Darrell Issa and his colleague, Ohio congressman Jim Jordan.

"This raises some serious questions concerning your use of a non-official e-mail account to conduct official business," the GOP lawmakers wrote in a [letter](#) to Lerner demanding all documents from her non-official account for the period between January 2008 and the present. "Additional documents related to the Committee's investigation may exist in these non-official accounts over which you have some control, and the lack of access to this information prevents the Committee from fully assessing your actions," they explained. Issa and Jordan are requesting that Lerner produce the documents by August 27.

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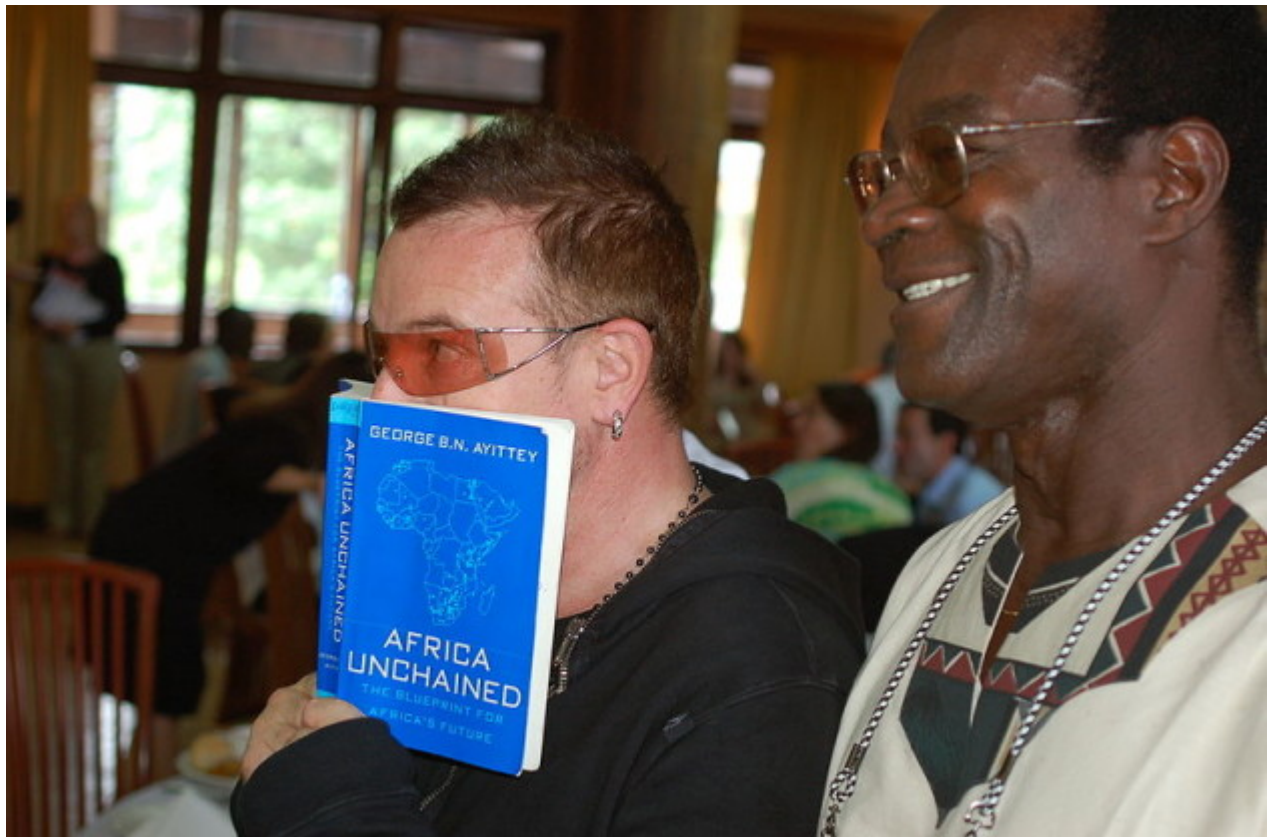
Lerner, the former director of the IRS's Exempt Organizations unit, was placed on administrative leave in late May after refusing to resign her post. She invoked her Fifth Amendment rights in testimony before the Oversight Committee and has yet to speak at length about her knowledge of the IRS's targeting of tea-party groups. E-mail correspondence recently unearthed by the House Ways and Means Committee shows Lerner exchanging messages with an FEC attorney about two conservative groups; one tax-law expert told National Review Online that the information she disclosed about one group constitutes a felony.

Congressional investigators have not yet called Lerner back to testify; she is demanding immunity in exchange for her testimony.

### Independent Institute

#### [Bono: "Capitalism takes more people out of poverty than aid"](#)

by David J. Theroux



Our Research Fellow [George Ayittey met the Irish rock star Bono](#) in July 2007 during a TED conference. [Professor Ayittey](#) was speaking and in knowing that Bono would be in the audience, he explains that "I made a special effort to rip into the foreign aid establishment.... Later, Bono said he liked my speech but did not agree with me that foreign aid is not effective in ending poverty. So I gave him a copy of my book, [Africa Unchained: The Blueprint for Development](#)."

Bono (nee Paul David Hewson) is the lead singer in the rock group U2, one of the most successful rock groups in history. Bono also became a major proponent of greatly expanded U.S. foreign aid and other government programs (including debt cancellation) to alleviate the dire plight in the world of HIV/AIDS, malaria, abject poverty, and other issues.

Bono has further been [Co-Founder and Managing Director with the venture capital firm, Elevation Partners](#), and [he may well be the world's wealthiest musician](#) after his investment in the Facebook IPO, which made over \$1.5 billion for the firm.

Bono is also a Christian (see [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#)). He is an admirer of the work of C.S. Lewis and used Lewis's book [The Screwtape Letters](#) in a music video for the song "[Hold Me, Thrill Me, Kiss Me, Kill Me.](#)" the theme song for the film, *Batman Forever*. More recently, he has indicated in an interview with Jim Daly at Focus on the Family that Lewis might inspire the next U2 album:

Bono: It's very annoying following this Person of Christ around [chuckling], because He's very demanding of your life.

Daly: It's very hard.

Bono: And it's hopeless ... trying to keep up with it.

Daly: In fact, Bono, C. S. Lewis has a great quote which I love: "When a man is getting better, he understands more and more clearly the evil that's left in him. When a man is getting worse, he understands his own badness less and less." That is powerful, isn't it?

Bono: Yeah, it might ... that could turn up on the next U2 album, but I won't give him or you any credit.

Just recently drawing upon his Christian faith (and possibly the economics influence of Professor Ayittey?), in a speech at Georgetown University, Bono altered his economic and political views and declared that only capitalism can end poverty.

"Aid is just a stopgap," he said. "Commerce [and] entrepreneurial capitalism take more people out of poverty than aid. We need Africa to become an economic powerhouse."



Bono encouraged students to think of what they can do to support those in Africa and other developing nations that are in need of justice and comfort.

He compared the effort to how St. Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, made his commitment to serve others.

“That’s what I’m hoping happens here at Georgetown with you,” he said. “Because when you truly accept that those children in some far off place in the global village have the same value as you in God’s eyes or even in just your eyes, then your life is forever changed, you see something that you can’t un-see.”

C.S. Lewis well understood [the fallacy and indeed evil of statism](#) in addressing the pains and suffering of our world, and we welcome Bono’s new insights into the matter. And Professor Ayittey’s incisive work can also be found in the Independent Institute book, [Making Poor Nations Rich: Entrepreneurship and the Process of Economic Development](#), edited by Benjamin Powell.



American.com

## [This chart shows what Bono is talking about](#)

by James Pethokoukis



[Lots of attention being paid to this quote from U2's Bono:](#)

“Aid is just a stopgap,” he said. “Commerce [and] entrepreneurial capitalism take more people out of poverty than aid. We need Africa to become an economic powerhouse.”

The above chart is from [Gapminder](#) and shows China's per capita income growth since 1800 vs. that of the US and the UK. What happened to China toward the end of the 20th century? Well, it started doing what the America and Britain began doing some 200 years earlier. China started embracing what Bono calls entrepreneurial capitalism. [Or as economist Deirdre McCloskey puts it:](#)

The Big Economic Story of our times has not been the Great Recession of 2007–2009, unpleasant though it was. ... The Big Economic Story of our own times is that the Chinese in 1978 and then the Indians in 1991 adopted liberal ideas in the economy, and came to attribute a dignity and a liberty to the bourgeoisie formerly denied. And then China and India exploded in

economic growth. ... And contrary to the usual declarations of the economists since Adam Smith or Karl Marx, the Biggest Economic Story was not caused by trade or investment or exploitation. It was caused by ideas. The idea of bourgeois dignity and liberty led to a rise of real income per head in 2010 prices from about \$3 a day in 1800 worldwide to over \$100 in places that have accepted the Bourgeois Deal and its creative destruction.

## Examiner

### [Bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the right thing to do](#)

by Michael Barone

I couldn't disagree more strongly with my Washington Examiner colleague [Timothy Carney](#) when he argues that we should not have dropped the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. My reading of the history of World War II has convinced me that Japan would not have surrendered if the bombs had not been dropped; even after that some in the military tried to prevent the Emperor from surrendering. American military leaders predicted that an invasion of Japan would have produced 1 million Americans killed or wounded. The Japanese had fought fiercely in Okinawa in the spring of 1945; 100,000 Americans and Japanese died in this one small island.

It's worth reading this 1981 [New Republic](#) article by literary scholar and World War II infantryman Paul Fussell, who was scheduled to fight in Japan. So was the late Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who had enlisted in the Navy in 1945. "Was going to be sent to Japan," he once told me. "Would have died!"

Tim argues that it's never acceptable to attack civilians. I disagree. In modern war against an evil regime attacks on civilians are regrettably necessary and indeed civilian deaths cannot be avoided. Civilian deaths are unfortunate, even tragic; but so are the deaths of those who have volunteered or have been conscripted into the military. Many, many more deaths, of Japanese as well as Americans, would have occurred if the atomic bombs had not been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

I have been to Hiroshima and have contemplated the horrifying impact of the atomic bomb there. Recently I've been reading Rana Mitter's [China's War With Japan 1937-1945](#), which describes how fiercely the Japanese fought and the horrors they inflicted on literally millions of civilians. In visiting East Asia I have contemplated with horror the human and physical destruction that would ensue if war resulted from China's disputes with Japan and other nations over islets in the East and South China Seas or from an attack by North Korea on South Korea. War is indeed hell.

One more thought on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I have long thought that the horror which contemplation of those bombings naturally inspires may have served to inoculate world leaders against using nuclear weapons again. Would nuclear tests or demonstration explosions have had the same effect if Harry Truman had decided not to order the bombs dropped on Japan? Maybe not. In which case the explosion of two (puny, by today's standards) nuclear weapons that ended a war may have prevented the explosion of other nuclear weapons in the last 68 years.



## Hiroshima Today





**Detroit Today (After 60 years of rule by the left)**





Gary Varvel  
THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR  
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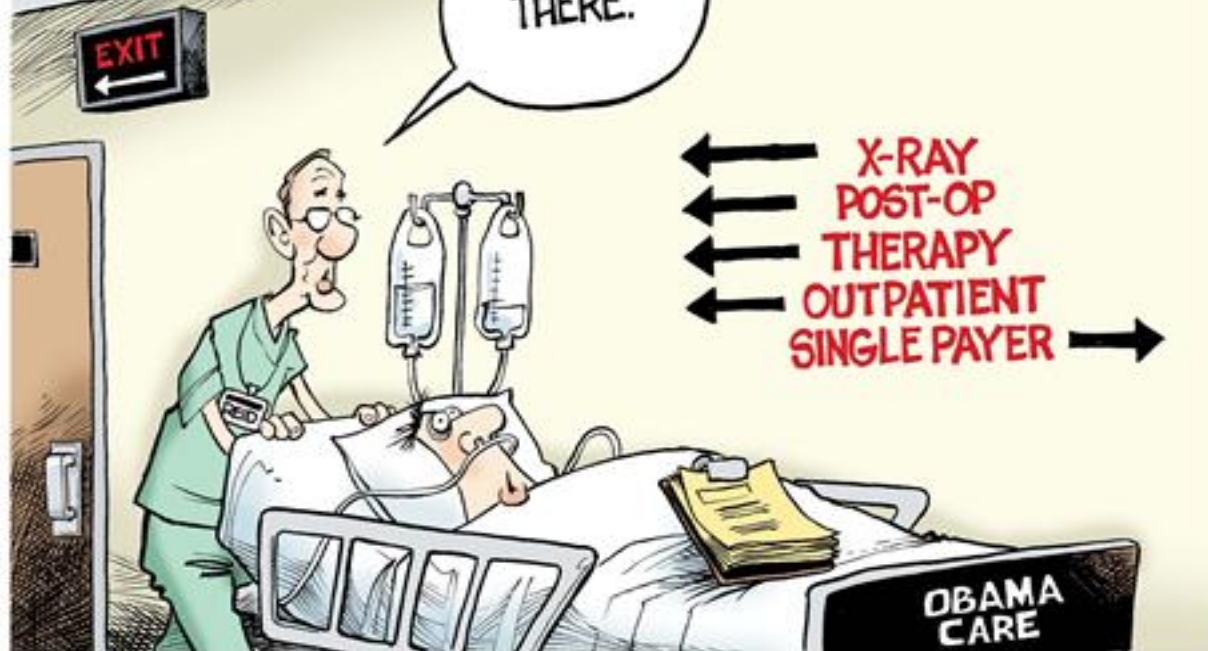
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THE MISSING PIECES UNTIL  
AFTER THE NEXT ELECTION.

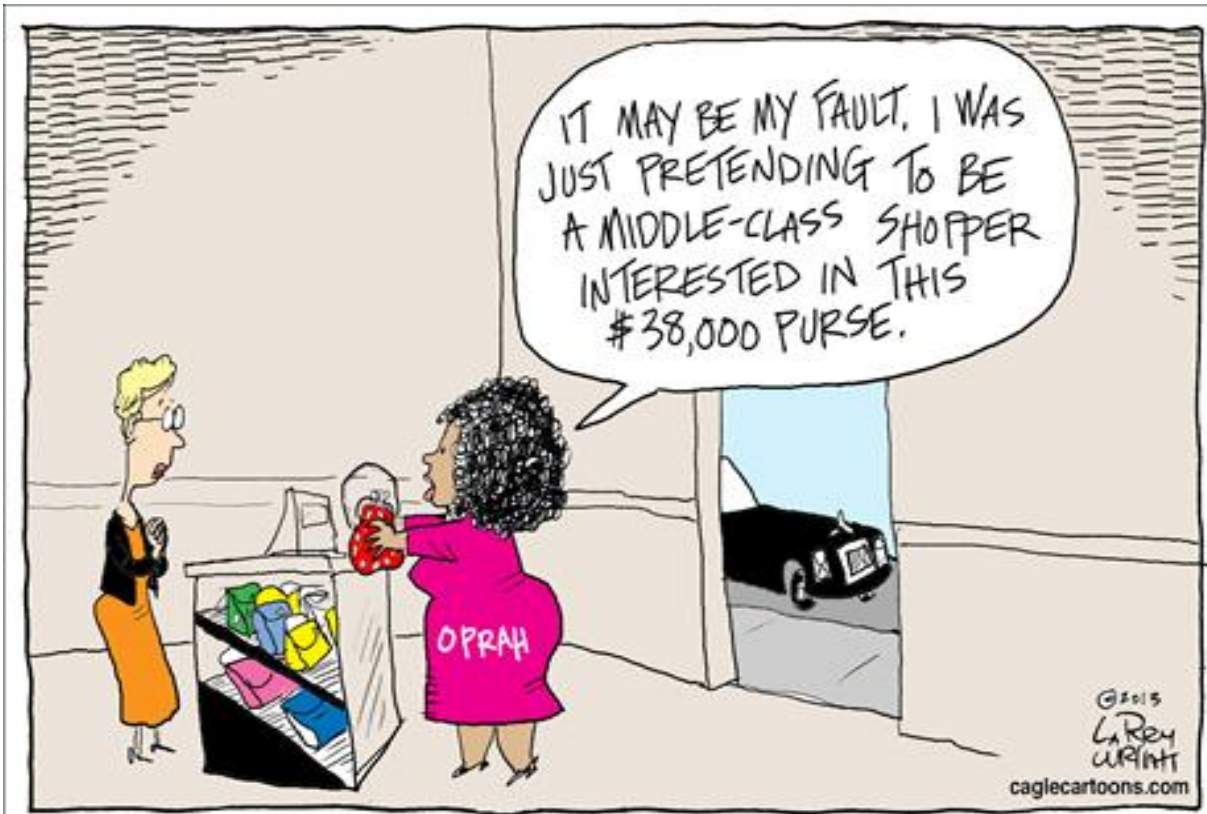


garyvarvel.com

Lisa @ 2013 8-14 DMS by Health Policy Writers Group

ALMOST  
THERE.





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RACE.RACE  
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DISGRACE