

2008

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I have striven all of my life to get to this point. The early days of running errands, the years of low pay, internships, and a couple of moves from newspaper to newspaper. But I was now at the top of my game and probably the pinnacle of my profession. Our newspaper was one of the oldest in the country, national in scope, perhaps even global, and the most important voice of intellectual and political America.

I was sitting in my study in our Georgetown home on this November day in 2008. History was in the making regardless of the outcome. A Presidential election is always supercharged, and it has probably been that way for well over two hundred years of the history of this young old country, no call it an old country and a young empire. Political philosophers had been talking about such an occurrence, or at least part of such an occurrence, for many years. But the reality of an African American man running against a woman for President of the United States was truly a capstone event in the history of the United States of America. Forty-eight hours from now we will know whether Hillary Rodham Clinton or Colin L. Powell will take the oath of office on January 20th as the 44th President of the United States.

After I got over wanting to be an FBI agent and then recognized that I was never going to be Governor of Ohio, I put my good education as an English major with a Political Science minor, investigative instincts, and political junkieism together in one package and went to work for the *Cincinnati Star* newspaper in 1965 as a staff assistant, cub reporter, office boy, or whatever, my boss was the crusading editor, one Tom Gephardt. I soon began covering the political scene of my town, Cincinnati, and got to witness the evolution of local party politics over a generation of change from the mid sixties to the late eighties. For some reason or other, the outside world thought that Cincinnati was a Republican town. Even further, they thought that Cincinnati was "bossed" by some person with a big cigar on "Ninth Street" at "Republican Headquarters." The raw fact of the matter was that Cincinnati was a solid Democratic, liberal, African American, loosely controlled political machine, surrounded by a conservative white majority Republican suburbia with names such as Delhi, Mason, Anderson Township, and Ft. Thomas as the local power brokers.

Our newspaper was acquired in the early eighties by a media conglomerate based in St. Louis. Although they had acquired a number of smaller newspapers during the last few years, it was essentially a broadcasting company run by Hollywood want-to-be's rather than news guys. This created a great opportunity for me and I was quickly promoted out of Cincinnati to Washington to head up the Political Bureau for the entire American News Network Company, the innocuous name that a public relations firm had put on the Missouri Broadcasting Company as they grew nationally.

Washington in the eighties was not terribly exciting as nothing much had happened from a press point-of-view since Watergate and the exposés by the *Washington Post*. The Arab oil embargo and Iranian hostage crisis were past history and hoped to be forgotten issues. Presidential politics and the family or personality of the

President himself were virtually the only thing that the rest of the world cared to hear about from the United States. The Carters were leaving the White House, need I say more. Thus, through the newspaper acquisition I had emerged onto the national scene at a fairly opportune time with the hope of taking my place alongside all of the great newspapermen in history.

Colin Powell arrived on the public scene in early 1991. He was the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the onset of Gulf War I. General Powell was surrounded by a colorful group of subordinates such as General Norman Schwarzkopf and Colonel Mike Turner who was the General's personal briefing officer. However, Powell's cool and confident demeanor singled him out as the public favorite in a relatively popular war where there were clearly "bad guys" and "good guys." Colin Powell had had an interesting career with a steady, plodding path from a schoolboy in the Bronx, average grades, ROTC Officer, not West Point, Vietnam service, a White House intern and Pentagon duties, and then a major part in the rebuilding of the United States Army in the early eighties. Not a meteoric rise to prominence, but a very solid one.

Hillary Rodham was born in 1947 in Chicago. She grew up in a fairly typical Midwestern middle class environment. She was a good student and went to Wellesley College, then to Yale Law School, where she met Bill Clinton, newly returned from Oxford. In that popular autobiographical book which she wrote in 2003, Hillary described Bill as a "Viking" which he certainly turned out to be. That book, by the way, was a stroke of major political genius for Hillary as she both defused issues of her White House years with Bill and softened her image well before any serious move for the Presidency.

I first met both Colin Powell and Hillary Clinton in 1992. They each initially appeared to be somewhat shy and preferred to stay out of public view, definitely to be seen occasionally and seldom heard from. Their constituencies were for the most part derived from then President George H. Bush, in the case of Colin Powell, and candidate Governor Bill Clinton, of course, Hillary's husband. Powell enjoyed popularity in the post-Gulf War environment and suffered none of the frustration of a lackluster economic environment which turned out to be George H. Bush's downfall.

The next eight years are history, not really part of our current scene, although important as the annealing, history, and baggage of Hillary Clinton. During that period, after a brief stay in the Clinton Administration, Colin Powell retired from the military, refused senior posts in public life, and then took a much deserved and long hoped for period of time with his wife and family. An election took place in 2000 which thrust these two back into political life, albeit more of the strange set of circumstances which seems to surround elections. Hillary Clinton had a relatively easy time with her Senatorial election contest in New York State after Rudy Giuliani suffered the public and personal black eye of domestic defeat, divorce that is, not the state of New York City. Colin Powell, on the other hand, was pulled back into public service by George W. Bush as his lead Cabinet member, Secretary of State, announced even before Bush won the highly controversial 2000 election. I sat down with Senator Clinton in early 2001, as part of a group of Washington press corps, eager to see this new lady on the block. Much to our pleasure, amazement to some, she was gentle, thoughtful, quite responsive to our questions, and eager to learn as much from us as we were to find out about her. Mrs.

Clinton did make it clear to us, however, that she was her own person in every respect, owning the past but having learned from it.

Here now in 2008, Colin Powell was an unusually vigorous man for his 71 years of age. His bio was eclectic, part George Washington, another part Jackie Robinson, and then something uniquely, just "Colin Powell." Although in and around controversial military and international events all of his adult life, he was largely untainted by errors in judgment of some around him and served well by his policy to know the defined goal that he wanted to accomplish, have an objective in mind, and the means to accomplish it. Hillary Clinton was 10 years younger, 61 years of age, and a little bit of Abigail Adams, some Katherine Hepburn, and a lot of the unsinkable Molly Brown.

I had gotten to know the two of them fairly well during the past 15 to 20 years and had friends who provided me with some personal data of their early years which helped me to understand their political positions and personalities. Heck, I remember some tales from my friend, Bill Burleigh, about summer camp at Fort Benning, Georgia in 1957 when he was there as part of the ROTC class who thought they were pretty good cadets only to encounter the Pershing Rifle Company from CCNY headed by a junior named Powell who commanded his group of inner-city guys as one of the most well disciplined, precision drill units Burleigh had ever seen. The CCNY Pershing Rifle Drill Team won the competition and this Powell fellow a second in the awards for Outstanding Cadet. Bill Burleigh said Powell should have been number one, but the guy was black and camp was in Fort Benning, Georgia.

I vividly recall Hilary's first step onto the real political stage in 1993 when she was put in charge of the new healthcare and drug initiative by her husband President and the wonderful show of independence when she stood up and said, "call me Hillary Rodham Clinton" with the same assertiveness and confidence of Sidney Poitier in the movie "They Call Me Sirr." The healthcare program or legislative initiative was a disaster and changed Mrs. Clinton from idealistic to realistic, especially when it came to politics and the United States Senate.

I got up to put another log on the fire and as I looked into the embers they took me back to November two years ago, just after the 2006 Congressional elections. A great deal had changed by 2006 in just the two years from 2004 when George W. Bush, with Dick Cheney as his running mate, and most of his Cabinet intact, was resoundingly reelected, carrying both Houses of Congress, even more Republicanly dominated than before, along with them. The year 2004 was a Republican mandate, the early stages of the American Empire. Bush's victory was every bit as overwhelming as was the narrowness of 2000. The dissidence in Iraq had been subdued by early 2004 and commerce in the Middle East began to blossom. The uneasy peace between the Palestinians and their Arab allies in Israel became more stable after the exile of Yasser Arafat and his Hezbollah allies, and the domestic economy was doing just fine after all of that stimulus in 2003 and 2004 with tax cuts and spending. Bush carried practically all of the electoral college losing only New York, California, and Pennsylvania. The two eastern states suffered under taxation and unemployment problems, still carryovers from a few years before, while California was in post-Schwarzenegger stagnation with higher taxes, fewer jobs, and the embarrassment of having slipped from the fifth largest

economy in the world to the seventh, falling behind the Philippines and Indonesia, which they considered to be cheap labor, backyard economies.

The Democratic Party was in disarray late in 2004 as they never seemed to be able to rally around John Kerry, their contentious Presidential candidate who won out in the brutal primaries and convention, only to head, even for a short period of time, an exhausted and fractured Party. Hillary Clinton was on the fringe of the 2004 elections, not directly involved in the Presidential Primaries, supportive of Kerry as the nominee, but much more supportive of the young and fairly new breed of Democratic politicians who were then running as virtually first-time candidates in Congressional, State Representative, or Gubernatorial elections. She traversed the country from cities to country fairs, mountains to cornfields, raising money, rallying the young faithful, and forever getting involved in Grass Roots issues. John Kerry suffered a terrible defeat and took any number of these young Congressional hopefuls as well as incumbents down with him.

The state of the world, the global economy, and domestic tranquility were all in pretty good order following the 2004 election and the *pax prosperia Americana* of the second Bush term appeared firmly in place. There were a few changes in the Bush cabinet or cadre, but only one at the top.

As had been widely expected, Colin Powell stepped down, one could hardly say resigned, as Secretary of State in late January, 2005, just after the start of the second Bush Administration term. He had promised his wife, Alma, he would serve out one full term, if the President wished him to do so, but after that, he was going to retire. President Bush nominated Tom Ridge, the Secretary of Homeland Security, as the new Secretary of State and brought a newcomer, Congressman Rob Portman of Ohio, in to succeed Ridge as Homeland Security Secretary. Condoleeza Rice remained Bush's stalwart confidant in the post as National Security Advisor and was running close to a record of tenure in that job. The Republican Party trumpeted its success at the polls when they launched the goals for the 11th Congress which goals were announced by President George W. Bush to thunderous applause at the State of the Union address.

The Bush Administration turned inward to domestic affairs early in that second term. It was somewhat miraculous that they had been able to carry water on both shoulders, international and domestic, during the last few years of their first term. However, the domestic side was in actuality a series of caballed together sunset provision laws aided by the Appellate and Supreme Court decisions, all, driven by a conservative elite bent on expanding these new provisions and making them permanent. Most Americans did not even know the name of the Treasury Secretary and Alan Greenspan was now history.

Practically all of the US military bases in Europe were closed in 2004 and 2005 amid a Defense Department program to reorganize American forces toward a stronger presence in the Middle East and selected strategic bases for rapid deployment to potential trouble spots while being prepared to combat the ever present threat of terrorism. Such a move appeared to be a reduction in the military budget, perhaps even a peace dividend, coming out both winning of the Cold War and the positive results in the Middle East since Gulf War II.

In the seventeenth centuries as empires were "coming and going" in Europe, two patterns of financing these competing empires were in place and evolving. France was an absolute monarchy which taxed the peasants to support the court, pay the army, which ultimately overburdened its populace leading to a great revolution. England, on the other hand, taxed everyone a little bit, then got the right idea of promoting trade, taxing it, building a military and a navy to protect it, and making it more prosperous, created more taxation, creating greater wealth. No revolution. Such was the heritage of the United States.

The eight years of the George W. Bush Presidency, for that matter the past 20 to 25 years, were truly a period of the emergence of the American Empire, whether we said it, liked it, or not. Starting with Ronald Reagan, the "evil empire speech," and the build up of the military, on into George H. Bush, the United States inadvertently found itself alone at the top. As we so well know today, the long Cold War was won through the economic power of the West and, conversely, the inability of the Soviet Union to keep up after its early and fairly exciting boost by Sputnik. It was unlike empires of the past, no visible colonies, no missionaries, and no foreign concessions. But, it was an empire nonetheless, espousing free trade, democracy, and human rights all enforced by the most awesome military might the world had ever seen.

The age old policy of war to expand trade, to protect the economy, to prosper as a nation, the tax to pay for it all along with prospering the people, all appeared to be nicely in place in the early years of the second Bush term, all of which begat the American Empire.

The Primaries were different in the summer of 2008. Both political Parties were now in fact run by an oligarchy consisting of their office holders and financial supporters. These people wanted the big prize, the Presidency, and did not want hard charging, charismatic newcomers to get into their way, certainly not this year. Both parties had dispensed with the binding, winner take all State Primaries as outdated, costly and inefficient ways to nominate mediocre candidates who fought over semantics, and wasted important campaign money. Each party moved swiftly to firm up the one they believed to be their winning candidate. This change in Primary election procedures was as swift and efficient as General Motors moving from a manual transmission to automatic and wondering why they had used a clutch all those years when this new invention was so smooth in moving forward and getting from one place to another.

While no one wanted to return to the machine dominated nominating mechanism of the early nineteen hundreds, the system of the multi-state primaries of the past several decades was outdated. Actual Party membership, the structure of wards, captains, and the discipline which they formerly brought, were also things of the past. The new cities in the country, which were now the major population centers, knew of political parties only in the affiliation of candidates, not by precinct meetings or paying dues to a Party organization.

Each of the nominees, with the advice and support of their Central Committee, selected their Vice Presidential running mates. Here both parties also made some history; although ostensibly balancing their tickets. Colin Powell and the Republicans selected Elizabeth Dole as the Vice Presidential nominee and Hillary Clinton and the Democrats

selected the new Governor of Washington, Bill Gates. Thus, all four of the candidates were powerful, well-known, interesting people.

I thought back to the debates. Just a few short weeks ago, I had had the enormous privilege of hosting or moderating the 2008 Presidential debates. Even more importantly, or more exciting, the Joint Election Committee on Fairness and Standards, in its embryo stage, accepted the new and unique format which the American News Network Company had proposed. We had the same three debates as in past years, similar time on Sunday evenings, but the participants were altogether different and it worked out quite well. The first debate was October 5th at North Carolina State University in Chapel Hill; the second was at the University of Cincinnati; and the third at Cal Poly in San Luis Obispo, California. All important institutions of higher learning, but each in medium-sized cities.

At NC State, the questioners were Dr. Howard Tomb, the new President of Duke; Kathy Smith, the Chairman of the Political Science Department at Wake Forest, and Brigadier General James E. Mace, the Commandant at the Citadel.

The second debate at the University of Cincinnati had the Reverend Michael Graham, President of Xavier University, Nancy Zimpher, the President of the University of Cincinnati, and Dr. George Rieveschl, the Chairman of the Board of NKU.

At Cal Poly, we had Dr. Woody Brock, Chairman of the Economics Department at Stanford; Richardson R. Lynn, the Dean of the Law School at Pepperdine; and my brother, Dr. James Sena, the Chairman of the Business School at the California Institute of Technology.

We had selected these nine men and women, the persons to present questions and discussion with the candidates, as well-rounded, well-educated, important leaders in their respective communities, all of whom were relatively non-partisan and had not participated in the past in Party politics per se. We hoped them to be representatives of the American people with challenging questions.

On the night of the first debate, as has always been the custom, each candidate had three minutes to address the audience on a campaign statement of principles. Colin Powell went first. "I have never run in an election before," Powell spoke, "I have been a soldier most of my life, more recently a diplomat, and have had the honor of serving many Presidents, starting with John Kennedy, and then ending a few years ago in my post as Secretary of State under George W. Bush. I had planned to spend the remainder of my days serving my country in retirement. During my career, I participated in making policy, I've trained myself and I have trained men and women, I have received and followed orders, and I have given them. I am a leader. I know how to delegate and I know how to select men and women who know more than I do to help me in achieving a common goal. But I am very goal-oriented. I wasn't ready to retire, not really, although a few months off the job felt pretty good, so when my fellow Americans asked me to take on this job of running for President, I happily accepted the challenge. My opponent is an outstanding woman whom I have known well for the past 18 years. I'm not as experienced or familiar at campaigning as is she, but I do look forward to debating the many difficult issues which face our country, hope that these few hours which we will spend before you will illustrate our policies, some similarities, and then the differences. Thank you."

I then introduced the Democratic candidate, "Ladies and gentlemen, permit me to welcome and introduce Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton." Mrs. Clinton glanced toward Powell, smiled at him, and then nodded to me, and then looked into the television camera, "Thank you, Bill, for hosting and moderating these debates. I'm looking forward to the challenge and hope that our audience will be able to see the differences in the policies which we espouse while recognizing the deep affection that Secretary Powell and I have for one another and our long time working with one another. I have an unusual background, to say the least, which my Party and I believe qualifies me to be President in the outcome of this historic election. I was actually born a Republican, or at least to a very Republican father, but during the sixties, as I began to see the needs of so many average Americans and the manner in which they were not being met, I moved to the place where it was happening, the forward thinking Democratic Party. I speak to you tonight as a concerned American, troubled by the warrior foreign policy of the current and tired Bush Administration and equally or more troubled by the domestic problems of lack of jobs and continued inequality. My presidency, if the American public gives us the opportunity, will provide opportunity and justice at home and friendship, not fear, abroad."

After a few very broad questions, "easy grounders or pop-ups," at the first debate, which was to be on omnibus domestic issues, the first zinger was thrown out. Kathy Smith of Wake Forest, posed her question in a fairly easy but multifaceted manner. It was Powell's turn to go first. "Mr. Powell, during the past 10 to 15 years, both Democrat and Republican presidents have continued to oppose legalizing drugs. Today we have 3 million men in prison, 1 million of whom are there on various drug convictions, two-thirds of whom are African-Americans, mostly teenagers, at a cost to state prisons systems of an annual \$10 billion, that's just to keep them in prison, with the majority of the police in most large cities the court systems in those cities spending the majority of their time arresting, convicting, and incarcerating these drug offenders or vendors. I ask you, when is enough enough; we have lost at least one generation of young men, black or African-American young men in particular, and there is no sign of winning this thing called the War on Drugs. Do you believe we can, as a nation, take steps to legalize drugs or find some other way to solve this problem other than the current policy which has obviously not worked."

Powell responded, "You have sure set forth one of our most difficult domestic problems. I do believe that we have not succeeded in the War on Drugs, the cost of the prisons is enormous and the effectiveness of them is, in every respect, slight at best and mostly deplorable; the fact that this problem so terribly effects young African-Americans is retching to me, but I do not believe that legalizing drugs, at least in that sense of those words, is the way to solve the problem preying on the poorest segment of our people. The problem is international, it is both organized crime and street crime. Law enforcement, both at home and abroad, international cooperation, remain essential. We are a nation who respects the 'rule of law;' we cannot legalize crime or debilitate our youth as a matter of convenience. We've got to do more and do it better."

I then turned to Hillary Clinton and said, "Senator Clinton, do you care to state your position on this issue as set forth by Dr. Smith?"

"Well, Bill, as Kathy stated, this is one of the most difficult issues facing our society. My heart breaks for everyone who has been so terribly effected by addiction and incarceration; I'd like to go a step further than Mr. Powell, however, and, while agreeing with his wanting to 'study the problem once again,' I feel that we have to move swiftly or we are going to continue to lose generation after generation to this insidious problem. I feel that we must take steps to decriminalize drugs, begin the process of legalizing those drugs which are in effect just cigarettes, something, that is cigarettes, which I also oppose, but it's part of the landscape or something or another which we seem to continue to have as acceptable, although at a terrible cost, and then re-direct our police efforts to the truly criminal aspects of the drug problem, hard stuff, associated crimes that are gang motivated, some things so degrading to women, and the like. Let's take steps to swiftly eliminate the monies spent on the prisons and move it toward education, and that is schools, to prepare our youth for jobs, along with an education on not smoking anything."

There were any number of other questions that evening on the domestic economy, social issues, education, and the like, but the headline in all of the newspapers the next morning was "Hillary proposes legalizing marijuana." Not unsurprising, she gained three points in the polls a couple of days after. It seemed that those so adamant against legalizing, were not in Hillary's camp, and she picked up many who thought the war on drugs was a joke and the money spent on prisons a waste. By the way, she didn't actually say "legalize marijuana," it just sounded that way.

The second debate, on October 7th, which took place at the University of Cincinnati, was on the economy. During the past few years, the various tax laws enacted during the first Bush term were made permanent as the Sunset Provisions were eliminated early in the second term. After a rather robust economic recovery in 2004 and the first part of 2005, the overall domestic economy leveled off at slightly positive with a lesser budget deficit than originally projected as a result of a decent economic environment, but it was jobless recovery and unemployment remained persistently high at 6.5% to 7% and very prickly in its underlying data. The jobless were young men and women, with a higher percentage in the large cities, more black than white, and, of course, a much higher percentage in the undereducated and under skilled.

The third debate was to focus on foreign policy and held, as I previously mentioned, at the California Institute of Technology. Before going into the debate itself, I would like to recall a few of the major changes in global politics during just the past couple of years. When we entered the new century the United States was alone at the top, say the solo super power on the globe. But new alignments occurred just a year ago, in 2007, which now look much like another tri-polar power structure, but not the one which was anticipated as the multi-power structure in the 1980's and early '90s. With the virtual demise of NATO and the continued westernization of Russia, France and Germany aligned themselves in a loose trade and security pact with Russia to eliminate any semblance of border pressure between the three of them and ostensibly taking on the responsibility of peacekeeper in their sphere of influence, which they thought to be practically all of Europe and the western portion of Asia. Russia provided the military might and natural resources, France and Germany provided technology, financing, and social respectability. Not unsurprisingly, but moving more swiftly than any of the

foreign policy experts in either the United States or Europe had anticipated, China moved swiftly, just a few months after the Euro-Russian Treaty, to establish her hegemony in eastern Asia and the western Pacific by aligning in a mutual protection and special trade treaty with Indonesia, several of the south Asian countries, and, most surprisingly, Japan. It seemed as if the enormous investment that Japanese banks, multinational companies, and individual investors had made in China during the past decade ameliorated long held fears.

Thus, while none of these alliances or power blocks had the global military reach of the United States, some lines had been drawn and big powers were established where such did not exist just a few years ago.

The first question on foreign affairs and policy came from Woody Brock of Stanford. "During the past eight years the Bush Administration has pursued a rather aggressive foreign policy which appears to be policemen of the world and, to some degree, nation builder, both of which are in conflict with campaign promises or positions taken by Mr. Bush in both 2000 and 2004. How do each of you, Senator Clinton and Secretary Powell, agree or disagree with these policies and what do you propose to change if you are elected President."

The first to respond, in the proscribed order, was Hillary Clinton: "Well, Woody, as I repeatedly said during the past several months of campaigning and for the past several years from the floor of the Senate, I disagree greatly with the rhetoric and foreign policy of the Bush Administration and plan to bring our relationship with other nations, both large and small, into one of civility and sovereignty. That is, encouraging, no, demanding, that the basic human rights for all peoples be protected while respecting national sovereignty.

"I do not believe that we or any nation have the right to dictate so called "regime change" for our perceived convenience or self-protection. We must not be so reluctant to trust liberty so as to enslave ourselves behind barricades.

"I will take us back to the United Nations and withdraw our armies of occupation. I will support the peacekeepers at the UN at a much lesser cost and what I perceive to be a much greater value. I fear that our foreign policy, no call it foreign adventures, may risk losing our democracy and freedom at home."

Colin Powell then picked up the question. His usual smile turned serious as he began his response. "Here we have some fundamental differences! It appears to me that each of the nations on earth are probably dealing with a foreign policy of perceived enlightened self-interest. A lot of it has to do with economics, but a good bit is culture and education. It is probably not a bad foreign policy. But such a policy is difficult when bigger nations try to impose their will upon smaller ones even if they think such things are enlightened. Terrorists entering the scene appear to throw any thought of progress or enlightenment for mankind back into the dark ages.

"I was 'on board' on September 11th; it was a turning point in global politics, an ugly turning point. I did wish then and do wish now that the United Nations could be effective. It has enormous good will and does great work but it has not been able to deal with rogue states and tyrants who abuse their own people and enslave their neighbors. As

we became involved in peacekeeping in Lebanon back in the 70's, I remember remarking that 'America was sticking our hand into a 1,000 year old hornets nest and assuming that our mere presence would pacify,' but even today after all of our seemingly insurmountable obstacles, I remain committed to the goal of freedom for all peoples as difficult and stinging as that goal may appear to be. I believe that we must be able to trust one another well enough, individuals as well as nations, to abide by our laws and, yes, to trust enough to police our societies.”

Back in April or May, when it was obvious that these two outstanding albeit unique individuals were going to be in a contest for the Presidency, I was fairly certain of my preference and the manner in which I would frame my editorial opinion the weekend before the election. But tonight, I was in a real quandary. I began pecking away on my old Remington typewriter.

"The Founding Fathers would never have believed two days hence, but they would have been enormously proud of the country they struggled to found. Their Constitution, Bill of Rights, and vision, built upon by nine subsequent generations, has created a truly unique nation. Free, diverse, full of hopes and dreams. George Washington rejected the empire, refused the crown, and cautioned against foreign entanglement. From those beginnings through today, each of the men who have entered the White House have been part of that fabric. The White House, as our colleague of many decades ago, Edward R. Murrow, said is like an alchemist. 'Often heroic or great men enter and become small while other times unknown or little known have grown to great.' In this historic Presidential election of Clinton versus Powell, there will be no loser; the American people and our evolving and ever-growing Democracy with its freedom for all men will be the winner."

I stopped typing, looked out the window at the new snowfall, and mused. I don't know how to finish. For the first time in my life, I don't know who I will actually vote for and for the first time in my career, what I will recommend to our Editorial Board in the morning.

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