

RIDE EM!

PETER FONDA

1940-2019

EASY RIDER

RIGHT INTO HEAVEN, baby!

SKYWRITER  
THE CLOUDS  
ARE YOUR CANVAS!

TOM MORRISON  
1931-2019

WRITE-ON!!

ELITIST PC POLICE !!!

'COLD PURSUIT'

USMAGAZINE.COM / MOVIES  
FEBRUARY 18, 2019, P. 66

HOT TOPIC!

LIAM NEESON

ACTOR! MAN!

Did the mad media PC elitist  
catch you and RUIN your career/  
Livelihood too over BS!!!

#Nate Parker

09-27-2019

GOD'S ANGLE!!!

FARRAH FAWCETT

IS BADASS!!!

MACHO!!

XOXO!

#ABC THURS 5-23-2019

JUSTICE FOR NIA?

# SAY HER NAME

# NIA WILSON

SOURCE: PEOPLE.COM / OAKLAND TRAIN STATION MURDER  
AUGUST 13, 2018, P. 67

WHO SAID THAT ?!!

HE DIED FOR  
A JOKE !!!

LENNY BRUCE

#SNL

WHO SAID THAT!?

JESUS CHRIST SUPERSTAR  
How come you Didn't  
Come When we had  
MASS COMMUNICATION??

TWITTER !!!

# FAKENEWS  
# FACEBOOK

" Feds expose college admission  
cheating scheme "

-THE WEEK.COM

MARCH 22, 2019, below p.3

UPDATE:

THE AMERICAN DREAM  
AIN'T FREE, FOOL!!!

HOT TOPIC

MADAM LORI LOUGHLIN,

WORKING MOM!

WIFE!!!

Good Play to Take a Jury Trial!!!  
FANS LOVES YOU, MADLY!!!

ODDS? :

OJ! ROBERT BLAKE! ALEX BALDWIN

OLDIES! LANA TURNER'S DAUGHTER

ERROL FLYNN, etc,

HYPOCRITES! PHONIES!

1 of



## THROWING STONES!!

Your most Fowl elitist critics know  
DAMN well The "AMERICAN DREAMS" IS  
FOR SALE!!!

## LIFE IS NOT FAIR!

Now with "MASS INCARCERATION IN  
THE HOT TOPICS, those phonies still  
wish PRISON TIME ON YOU; Though  
you're A "FIRST TIMER"; NO prior charg-  
es, and ONLY allegedly spent your  
OWN "MONEY"

DAMN THE MAD MEDIA!

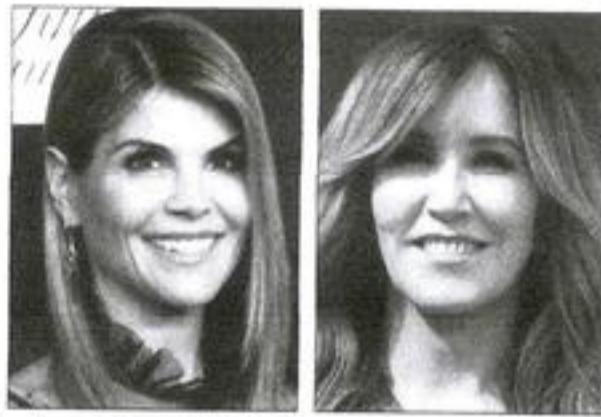
GOOD LUCK!

#JOHN LEGEND  
#KIM KARDASHIAN

## Feds expose college admissions cheating scheme

### What happened

Federal prosecutors this week charged more than two dozen wealthy parents—including Hollywood actresses, financiers, and a Napa Valley vintner—with using bribes, fake test scores, and bogus athletic records to secure their children's admission to Stanford, Yale, and other elite colleges. The parents allegedly funneled \$25 million through a sham college counseling service that paid proctors to secretly correct students' SAT and ACT exam papers and college coaches to recruit students for sports they didn't play. Fifty people in six states—including 33 parents and nine college coaches—have been charged in connection with the scheme. In most cases, the students were not aware of the scam, said Andrew Lelling, U.S. attorney for the District of Massachusetts. "The parents are the prime movers of this fraud."



Loughlin and Huffman: Expensive education

Among those accused are sitcom star Lori Loughlin and her husband, fashion designer Mossimo Giannulli, who allegedly paid \$500,000 to get their daughters on the University of Southern California's crew team, even though they weren't rowers. Felicity Huffman of *Desperate Housewives* allegedly paid \$15,000 to help one of her children cheat on the SAT in 2017. The scheme was organized by William Singer, who ran a phony nonprofit in Newport Beach, Calif.; he has pleaded guilty to racketeering conspiracy and faces up to 20 years in prison. Some students get into college through the "front door," on merit, Singer explained, and others through the "back door," where big donations from parents increase the odds of admittance. "I created a side door—a sure thing."

### What the columnists said

"I am half-horrified and half-entertained by this scandal," said Jason Gay in *The Wall Street Journal*. The delicious details read like a parody of 21st-century privilege: Some kids' faces were allegedly photo-shopped onto the bodies of pole vaulters and water polo players to prove their non-existent athletic prowess. It's yet another example of an entitled American elite that has been "conditioned to get what it wants."

"Though we might be laughing, the joke is probably on us," said Willa Paskin in *Slate.com*. Our society of haves and have-nots is becoming so stratified that even extremely rich moms and dads are "in a panic for their children's future." These parents understand that attending brand-name schools provides entrée into elite circles, the kind that might help a young person move from the 1 percent to the 0.01 percent.

"The real college admissions scandal is what's legal," said Libby Nelson in *Vox.com*. Legacy admissions grease the skids for underperforming children, as do big gifts of cash. Harvard admitted 4.6 percent of all applicants in 2018, but 42 percent of donors' kids got in. President Trump's son-in-law and adviser Jared Kushner was admitted to the school after a \$2.5 million donation from his father. "At least there's a level of transparency" to such transactions, said Maureen Callahan in the *New York Post*. But our cosseted elite can't even play by rules written in their favor. Is it any wonder Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's socialist call "to eat the rich" has found an audience?

## Manafort gets 7 years, bids for Trump pardon

### What happened

Paul Manafort, President Trump's former campaign chairman, got a second prison sentence this week, bringing his term to seven and a half years—by far the longest sentence to date resulting from special counsel Robert Mueller's investigation. Manafort, 69, pleaded guilty to not disclosing high-paying lobbying work in Ukraine, then tampered with two witnesses and lied to investigators after agreeing to cooperate. With more than 20 of Mueller's staff in the Washington, D.C., courtroom, Judge Amy Berman Jackson said, "It is hard to overstate the number of lies and the amount of fraud" involved in Manafort's case. Jackson added 43 months to the nearly four-year sentence ordered last week by a judge in Alexandria, Va., following Manafort's conviction for eight felony counts of bank and tax fraud. "This defendant is not Public Enemy No. 1," Jackson said, "but he's also not a victim."

Just an hour later, a New York grand jury indicted Manafort on 16 counts related to millions of dollars in alleged mortgage fraud, an effort by Manhattan District Attorney Cyrus Vance Jr. to convict Manafort on state charges should Trump pardon his federal crimes. Trump hasn't ruled out a pardon, saying he felt "very badly" for Manafort after last week's sentencing. Manafort opted out on a lighter prison term by voiding his cooperation agreement with the special prosecutor. By contrast, Mueller's office recommended little or no prison time for former Trump national security adviser Michael Flynn, who completed his year-plus of cooperating testimony this week.

### What the columnists said

Manafort's lawyers stood in Jackson's court but spoke directly to Trump, said David Graham in *TheAtlantic.com*. After the hearing, Manafort attorney Kevin Downing called the sentence "callous," adding, "Judge Jackson conceded that there was absolutely no evidence of any Russian collusion in this case." That's a stretch; in fact, she warned that one reason Manafort's case uncovered little may be that he lied to investigators. Manafort keeps "hyping his victimhood" and portraying himself as a loyal soldier to Trump, who has "conspicuously declined to rule out a pardon."

Cue the "complaints that Jackson let Manafort off too easy," said Andrew McCarthy in *NationalReview.com*. "If you feel that way, then Mueller shoulders much of the blame." He capped the possible sentence to coax Manafort into testifying against Trump, a strategy that yielded nothing. Mueller has been "flouting Justice Department charging policies" throughout his probe. This time, it blew up in his face.

Only one question will determine whether Manafort gets a pardon, said Paul Waldman in *WashingtonPost.com*: "Is it good for Trump?" The president certainly wouldn't do something so politically explosive "out of sympathy or compassion." Now that Manafort faces a slew of state charges, it's possible Trump wouldn't be able to rescue him from prison anyway. All a pardon would do, said Brent Budowsky in *TheHill.com*, is create "an epic constitutional crisis" and "guarantee" impeachment hearings.

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09-27-2019

WHO SAID THAT!?

PITY THE FOOL

THERE AIN'T NOTHING  
WRONG WITH A

LITTLE SELF-PITY!!!

# MY LOST BETO

## UPDATE : BETO BEST BET

PREVIOUSLY, I WROTE BETO (TX, CO) WAS  
OUR BEST BET TO BEAT TRUMP (2020)!

TOO MUCH DARN  
APOLOGIZING  
FOR NOTHING !!!

That was before his shameful  
groveling appearance on ABC NEWS.  
COM / THE VIEW, 10:15 AM, EDT, TUES,  
05-14-2019, when there was not-  
hing the ladies ask he wouldn't  
apologize for.

SILLY! NONSENSE!  
Meghan McCain: VANITY FAIR COVER?  
YES!

END GAME!

POP GOES HIS CAMPAIGN!!!

#MICHAEL BLOOMBERG

09-27-2019

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*“A man is God’s marvelous creation, crowned with glory and honor, and because of this you can’t quite hem him in. You can put him in...prison, but somehow his mind {imagination} will break out through the bars to scratch across the pages of history.”*

*-Martin Luther King, Jr.*

# MY VISION

UPDATE

PRESIDENT  
BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA  
"THE FIRST [SO-CALLED] BLACK  
PRESIDENT'S" LEGACY!  
2008-2016 AD, AND AFRICAN-  
AMERICANS...

I NOW MUST EXPLICITLY, EMPHATICALLY  
INFORM YOU [UNIVERSE], IN MY NEW VISION:  
PRESIDENT BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA, 44th, AKA  
"I AM NOT THE BLACK PRESIDENT" !!!!!

AS FOLLOWS:

President Obama shall be go down  
IN HISTORY AS THE ULTRA-WORST PRESIDENT FOR  
BLACK-AMERICANS comparable only to  
IMPEACHED, albeit, UNELECTED Andrew Johnson,  
1861-65, and Rutherford B. Hayes, 1877-  
81.

BY CONTRAST, PRESIDENT OBAMA IS TOO  
FOR BEHIND ULYSSES S. GRANT (R) 1869-77,

Lyndon Baines Johnson (D), 1963-69),  
and Jimmy (James Earl) Carter (D) 1977-  
81.

## THE HEART OF THE MATTER!!!

Rep. (D, CA.) Max Zanic Waters would  
make a highly credible and wise per-  
sonal OBSERVER (WITNESS) IN SUPPORT  
OF THIS BRILLIANT ILLUMINATING OBJECTIVE  
PRESIDENT THESIS. SEE: HER 2012 CON-  
VERSATION WITH PBS.ORG / TAVIS SMILEY  
SHOW...

## OPEN INQUIRY !!?

Moreover, what moved Civil Right  
- S Icon Rev. Jessie L. Jackson, Sr., who  
was caught ON TOO HOT LIVE MIC ON FOX  
.COM IN 2008, exclaiming:

"I'd like to cut that  
Nigger dick off" ...!!!

WHAT DOES HE KNOW  
AND WHEN DID HE KNOW IT??

What does he know! And why was he Publicly Censured and Silenced [even by his own Name-Sake, Jr. - SON!!!]??

President Obama, as part a Hollywood hidden Agenda, Recruited Fatherless Innocent Black Boys and Girls, UNWillingly, and to the whole "BLACK CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT" to the elite gay's Agenda!

Additionally, The Black Community priceless "VOTES" for gay's RIGHTS!

President Obama was Actually The "FIRST GAY President" : "I am not the Black President."

THE GIFT  
THAT NEVER  
STOP GIVING!!!



He gave us: Democratic Primary  
2019 Candidate Mayor PETE BETTIGIEG -  
GREG ...

"Despite being a small city-mayor, Bettigieg had an elite path out of South Bend that left him well connected, and he enjoyed warmth from the last Democratic White House long before throwing his hat into the ring. In late 2016 New Yorker interview, President Obama dropped his name, seemingly out of the blue, as a rising star - Bettigieg ran for D.N.C. chair the following year - and former White Advisor David Axelrod enthusiastically blurbbed his memoir."

- [VOGUE.COM/SMALLTOWNHERO](http://VOGUE.COM/SMALLTOWNHERO)  
JUNE 2019, P. 106

PAINT IT PAINT BLACK!!!

ON JUNE 27, 2015, President Obama honored the elite gays w/ Painting the - his White House "Light-up:

"RAINBOW COLORS"

A Panelist ON PBS.ORG / WASHINGTON WEEK MAY 13, 2016, 7: P.M. CDT...  
Candidly asked:

Why does Obama do these things for the Gay community. Does he owe a favor or [Some] really believe in it...

\$ You don't need a weatherman  
to know which way  
the wind is blowing \$!!!

SEE MORE PBS.ORG Programming:  
AMERICAN MASTERS INVENTING  
DAVID GEFEN

A MUSIC / MOVIE / ENTERTAINMENT INDUST-

RY MOGUL and Billionaire.

Mr. Geffen, is proudly gay, gay Activ-  
ist!

ON Film he boasted, as elitist are  
prone to do, how former President Bill  
Clinton Failed to keep his Promises to  
Advance the Gay Cause [Agenda]!

However, President Obama would  
do so!

FOLLOW THE MONEY!!!

AS I previously wrote, when  
President Obama left office Hollywood  
Made him a Very Rich Man [Hundreds  
of millions of Dollars]...

And further he hangs-out on  
Private Islands with @ ELLEN, and  
Friends, etc.

AIN'T THAT SHAME!!!

"I am NOT the Black President"!

That's correct, Mr. President -  
you are DAMN NOT!!!

-6-

-7-

# OBAMA'S FAREWELL SPEECH | JAN. 10, 2017

transition and I am proud to have him in a key leadership role in my administration," Trump said in a statement. "He has been incredibly successful, in both business and now politics."

While not mentioning that he is his son-in-law, Trump described Kushner as "a widely respected businessman and real estate developer was instrumental in formulating and executing the strategy behind President-elect Trump's historic victory in November." Calling the appointment an "honor," Kushner said in a statement he is "energized by the shared passion of the President-elect and the American people."

Aides said the husband of Ivanka Trump is working to wrap up his own business affairs in preparation for a move to Washington. Kushner "is spending a lot of money on lawyers and compliance lawyers and has a real interest in bringing what has been tremendous business acumen and political instincts during the campaign into the White House as a senior adviser to his father-in-law the president," incoming presidential counselor Kellyanne Conway told USA TODAY.

While federal law prevents public officials from appointing relatives "to a civilian position in the agency in which he is serving or over which he exercises jurisdiction," Trump officials said that prohibition does not apply to presidents.

Said Conway: "The president has the right to appoint who he wants if you look at the law." Kushner will not take a salary, Trump said, but he will be a White House employee; that means he is subject to federal conflict of interest laws.

Jamie Gorelick, an attorney representing Kushner, said he is "committed to complying with federal ethics laws, and we have been consulting with the Office of Government Ethics regarding the steps he would take." While the details of his White House appointment are still being worked out, Gorelick said Trump's son-in-law would resign from Kushner Companies and divest his "substantial assets" in compliance with federal law.

"He would recuse from particular matters that would have a direct and predictable effect on his remaining financial interests," said Gorelick, a deputy attorney general for President Clinton who is now partner at the WilmerHale law firm and chairman of its Regulatory and Government Affairs Department. "He would also abide by federal rules requiring impartiality in particular matters involving specific parties."

Kushner, who turns 36 years old this week, has served as a close adviser to Trump, both before and after his victory.

When Trump visited the White House two days after the election to meet with President Obama, Kushner accompanied him and spoke with outgoing White House chief of staff Denis McDonough.

Relatives have worked in previous presidential administrations.

President Woodrow Wilson's first secretary of the Treasury, William Gibbs McAdoo, became his son-in-law during that administration. John Eisenhower, son of President Dwight Eisenhower, worked for a top White House aide. Perhaps most famously, President John Kennedy made brother Robert Kennedy his attorney general. In 1967, however, Congress passed a law banning employment of relatives: "A public official may not appoint, employ, promote, advance, or advocate for appointment, employment, promotion, or advancement, in or to a civilian position in the agency in which he is serving or over which he exercises jurisdiction or control any individual who is a relative of the public official."

Trump aides cited legal rulings saying Congress cannot apply that law to executive branch appointments, including a case involving Hillary Clinton's work as chair of a health care task force created by President Bill Clinton. Members of a judicial panel in that case pointed out that, whole a section of the law did cited "executive agency" as well as the Cabinet, "we doubt that Congress intended to include the White House or the Executive Office of the President." Richard Painter, a chief White House ethics lawyer for President George W. Bush, said that on its face the law applies to all officials, including presidents. But Painter, a law professor at the University of Minnesota, also said that "a good argument could be made the other way."

In his brief appearances before reporters on Monday, Trump declined to answer questions about Russia and the election, but he did predict that the Senate will confirm all of his Cabinet nominees. "Confirmation is going great," the president-elect told reporters at Trump Tower. "They're all at the highest level."

Asked specifically about Attorney General nominee Jeff Sessions, Trump said: "No, I think he's going to do great. High quality man."

Trump also indicated he would use a news conference scheduled for Wednesday to discuss plans for his business interests, Trump said: "It's very very easy to do."

The president-elect also declined to answer questions about the intelligence report that Russia interfered in last year's election by hacking Democratic campaign officials. "We'll talk about that at another time," he said.

Trump spoke briefly with reporters after meeting with a key figure in his forthcoming presidency — Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-Ky. — who also had little to say afterward.

"The president-elect and I had a good meeting about the Senate's agenda, which of course includes confirming the Cabinet appointments, (and) getting further down the road towards repealing and replacing Obamacare," McConnell told reporters at Trump Tower.

He added: "We simply talked about the Senate agenda and how we're ready to get going once he gets down there." McConnell ignored questions about the intelligence report that Russia interfered in last year's election by hacking Democratic campaign officials, but he did respond to queries about ethics reviews of Trump Cabinet nominees.

"Everybody will be properly vetted as they have been in the past, and I'm hopeful that we'll get up to six or seven — particularly national security team in place — on Day One," McConnell said.

Trump will be sworn in as the nation's 45th president on Jan. 20.

## Obama offers optimism -- and warnings -- in farewell address

Chicago (CNN) Popular but politically humbled, President Barack Obama said goodbye to the nation Tuesday night, declaring during his farewell address that he hasn't abandoned his vision of progressive change but warning that it now comes with a new set of caveats.

His voice at moments catching with emotion, Obama recounted a presidency that saw setbacks as well as successes. Admitting candidly that political discourse has soured under his watch, Obama demanded that Americans renew efforts at reconciliation. "It falls to each of us to be those anxious, jealous guardians of our democracy," the President said. "To embrace the joyous task we've been given to continually try to improve this great nation of ours."

Obama also stressed solidarity despite a presidency sometimes at odds with Congress. "Democracy does not require uniformity," Obama said. "Our founders quarreled and compromised, and expected us to do the same. But they knew that democracy does require a basic sense of solidarity -- the idea that for all our outward differences, we are all in this together; that we rise or fall as one." In a concession that, for now, his brand of progressive politics is stalled in Washington, Obama admitted "for every two steps forward, it often feels we take one step back." He implored his backers to be vigilant in protecting basic American values he warned could come under siege.

"Democracy can buckle when we give in to fear," he said. "So just as we, as citizens, must remain vigilant against external aggression, we must guard against a weakening of the values that make us who we are."

And he warned against turning inward, telling Democrats that only by involving themselves in a real political discourse could they hope to renew the hopeful vision he brought to the White House eight years ago. "After eight years as your President, I still believe that," he went on. "And it's not just my belief. It's the beating heart of our American idea -- our bold experiment in self-government."

Capstone

Obama's speech is the capstone of a months-long farewell tour, manifested in extended magazine interviews, lengthy television sit-downs, and the White House's own efforts to document the President's waning administration. Through it all, Obama has sought to highlight the achievements of his presidency using statistics showing the country better off now than eight years ago. As he spoke before a rowdy crowd of supporters, Obama was interrupted often with screams of "I Love you Obama." When a protester holding a "Pardon All of Us" sign, chants of "four more years" drowned out the shouts.

Obama sought to corral his crowd, listing the accomplishments of the last eight years ranging from health care to marriage equality, all while insisting that his work isn't finished.

He recognized his successor Donald Trump, saying he was committed to a peaceful transition of power. But he warned that going forward Democrats shouldn't fall in line with their commander-in-chief.

Obama, who has addressed race with varying degrees of force during his time in office, used his farewell to insist Americans work harder to understand each other's struggles. After presiding over eight years that saw race relations enter a fraught new era, Obama demanded that differences be identified and reconciled.

"Brown kids will represent a larger share of America's workforce" in the years ahead, Obama proclaimed, calling for better rules that will help the children of immigrants succeed.

He warned that "laws alone won't be enough" in resolving persistent differences between Americans.

"Hearts must change," he said.

He called on African-Americans and minorities to view with empathy "the middle-aged white man who from the outside may seem like he's got all the advantages, but who's seen his world upended by economic, cultural, and technological change."

And he urged whites to regard the protests of minorities as a fight "not demanding special treatment, but the equal treatment our Founders promised."

"Regardless of the station we occupy, we have to try harder," Obama said. "To start with the premise that each of our fellow citizens loves this country just as much as we do; that they value hard work and family like we do; that their children are just as curious and hopeful and worthy of love as our own." Capitalize on goodwill

In coming to Chicago, Obama hoped to capitalize on a well of goodwill that's expanded in the final year of his tenure. He discarded the staid Oval Office or East Room for his last formal set of remarks, choosing instead the city where his political rise began and where he declared victory in 2008 and 2012.

Inside a vast convention hall packed with more than 20,000 of his most ardent

supporters and former staffers, the mood was wistful. Ahead of his address, aides described the normally unsentimental commander in chief as nostalgic.

Over the past several weeks, Obama has offered a rational view of Trump's election and rarely let on to any apprehension about his future as an ex-president. First lady Michelle Obama has articulated a more candid view in a scaled-back version of her own farewell. She sat for an hour-long interview with Oprah Winfrey, frankly admitting that Democrats were now "feeling what not having hope feels like."

And she became emotional during her final set of formal remarks at the White House Friday, her voice quaking and eyes welling with tears as she told a crowd of educators: "I hope I made you proud."

During his speech Tuesday, Obama voice quaked when describing his wife's service. "You took on a role you didn't ask for and made it your own with grace and grit and style and good humor," he said. "You made the White House a place that belongs to everybody."

Planning for months

The President had been planning his speech for months, aides said, formulating the broad themes while on vacation over the holidays in Hawaii and developing drafts starting last week.

He told aides months ago that he preferred to deliver his farewell address in his hometown, a first for a departing President. George W. Bush, unpopular and facing a financial crisis, delivered his final prime-time address in the White House East Room to a crowd of 200 supporters and aides.

Bill Clinton, Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter all used the Oval Office -- a setting Obama has long spurned for formal remarks. George H.W. Bush traveled outside of Washington to West Point for a departing address after failing to secure a second term, though he didn't actually bill it as a farewell. The tradition extends back to George Washington, who issued warnings against unchecked power and partisan entrenchment in a written address to the nation in 1796. Like major addresses in the past, Obama wrote his speech himself, dictating passages to his chief speechwriter Cody Keenan who puts the President's words into print. Obama returned the drafts with heavy annotations, writing his changes in a tightly compressed scrawl on the margins.

The President and Keenan went through at least four drafts of the farewell speech, an official told CNN Tuesday. The broad themes of the speech came together while the President was in Hawaii and he started reading a first draft on the long flight home last Sunday.

Aside from Keenan, several familiar names from the past were involved in the drafting, including former speechwriter Jon Favreau and former senior adviser David Axelrod. When he returns to Washington in the early morning hours of Wednesday, it will be

Obama's 1,293rd -- and final -- flight aboard Air Force One. He'll use the presidential aircraft on Inauguration Day to depart Washington. But with only a former president aboard, it's known simply as a "Special Air Mission."

**Navy, Trump planning biggest fleet expansion to deter Russian, Chinese threats**

BATH, Maine -- With President-elect Donald Trump demanding more ships, the Navy is proposing the biggest shipbuilding boom since the end of the Cold War to meet threats from a resurgent Russia and saber-rattling China.

The Navy's 355-ship proposal released last month is even larger than what the Republican Trump had promoted on the campaign trail, providing a potential boost to shipyards that have struggled because budget caps that have limited money funding for ships.

At Maine's Bath Iron Works, workers worried about the future want to build more ships but wonder where the billions of dollars will come from.

"Whether Congress and the government can actually fund it, is a whole other ball game," said Rich Nolan, president of the shipyard's largest union.

Boosting shipbuilding to meet the Navy's 355-ship goal could require an additional \$5 billion to \$5.5 billion in annual spending in the Navy's 30-year projection, according to an estimate by naval analyst Ronald O'Rourke at the Congressional Research Service.

The Navy's revised Force Structure Assessment calls for adding another 47 ships including an aircraft carrier built in Virginia, 16 large surface warships built in Maine and Mississippi, and 18 attack submarines built in Connecticut, Rhode Island and Virginia. It also calls for more amphibious assault ships, expeditionary transfer docks and support ships.

In addition to being good for national security, a larger fleet would be better for both the sailors, who'd enjoy shorter deployments, and for the ships, which would have more down time for maintenance, said Matthew Paxton, president of the Shipbuilders Council of America, which represents most of the major Navy shipbuilders.

"Russia and China are going to continue to build up their navies," he said. "The complexities aren't going to get any easier. The Navy, more than any of the services, is our forward presence. We're going to need this Navy."

Many defense analysts agree that military capabilities have been degraded in recent years, especially when it comes to warships, aircraft and tanks.

The key is finding a way to increase Navy shipbuilding to achieve defense and economic gains "in a fiscally responsible way that does not pass the bill along to our children," said independent Sen. Angus King

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## Text of Barack Obama speech on race, 3/18/08

March 18th, 2008 by JILL MILLER ZIMON

From the Union Leader:

“A More Perfect Union”

Remarks of Senator Barack Obama

Constitution Center

Tuesday, March 18th, 2008

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

As Prepared for Delivery

“We the people, in order to form a more perfect union.”

Two hundred and twenty one years ago, in a hall that still stands across the street, a group of men gathered and, with these simple words, launched America's improbable experiment in democracy. Farmers and scholars; statesmen and patriots who had traveled across an ocean to escape tyranny and persecution finally made real their declaration of independence at a Philadelphia convention that lasted through the spring of 1787.

The document they produced was eventually signed but ultimately unfinished. It was stained by this nation's original sin of slavery, a question that divided the colonies and brought the convention to a stalemate until the founders chose to allow the slave trade to continue for at least twenty more years, and to leave any final resolution to future generations.

Of course, the answer to the slavery question was already embedded within our Constitution – a Constitution that had at its very core the ideal of equal citizenship under the law; a Constitution that promised its people liberty, and justice, and a union that could be and should be perfected over time.

And yet words on a parchment would not be enough to deliver slaves from bondage, or provide men and women of every color and creed their full rights and obligations as citizens of the United States. What would be needed were Americans in successive generations who were willing to do their part – through protests and struggle, on the streets and in the courts, through a civil war and civil disobedience and always at great risk - to narrow that gap between the promise of our ideals and the reality of their time.

JO -

This was one of the tasks we set forth at the beginning of this campaign – to continue the long march of those who came before us, a march for a more just, more equal, more free, more caring and more prosperous America. I chose to run for the presidency at this moment in history because I believe deeply that we cannot solve the challenges of our time unless we solve them together – unless we perfect our union by understanding that we may have different stories, but we hold common hopes; that we may not look the same and we may not have come from the same place, but we all want to move in the same direction – towards a better future for of children and our grandchildren.

This belief comes from my unyielding faith in the decency and generosity of the American people. But it also comes from my own American story.

I am the son of a black man from Kenya and a white woman from Kansas. I was raised with the help of a white grandfather who survived a Depression to serve in Patton's Army during World War II and a white grandmother who worked on a bomber assembly line at Fort Leavenworth while he was overseas. I've gone to some of the best schools in America and lived in one of the world's poorest nations. I am married to a black American who carries within her the blood of slaves and slaveowners – an inheritance we pass on to our two precious daughters. I have brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins, of every race and every hue, scattered across three continents, and for as long as I live, I will never forget that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible.

It's a story that hasn't made me the most conventional candidate. But it is a story that has seared into my genetic makeup the idea that this nation is more than the sum of its parts – that out of many, we are truly one.

Throughout the first year of this campaign, against all predictions to the contrary, we saw how hungry the American people were for this message of unity. Despite the temptation to view my candidacy through a purely racial lens, we won commanding victories in states with some of the whitest populations in the country. In South Carolina, where the Confederate Flag still flies, we built a powerful coalition of African Americans and white Americans.

This is not to say that race has not been an issue in the campaign. At various stages in the campaign, some commentators have deemed me either "too black" or "not black enough." We saw racial tensions bubble to the surface during the week before the South Carolina primary. The press has scoured every exit poll for the latest evidence of racial polarization, not just in terms of white and black, but black and brown as well.

And yet, it has only been in the last couple of weeks that the discussion of race in this campaign has taken a particularly divisive turn.

On one end of the spectrum, we've heard the implication that my candidacy is somehow an exercise in affirmative action; that it's based solely on the desire of wide-eyed liberals to purchase racial reconciliation on the cheap. On the other end, we've heard my former

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pastor, Reverend Jeremiah Wright, use incendiary language to express views that have the potential not only to widen the racial divide, but views that denigrate both the greatness and the goodness of our nation; that rightly offend white and black alike.

I have already condemned, in unequivocal terms, the statements of Reverend Wright that have caused such controversy. For some, nagging questions remain. Did I know him to be an occasionally fierce critic of American domestic and foreign policy? Of course. Did I ever hear him make remarks that could be considered controversial while I sat in church? Yes. Did I strongly disagree with many of his political views? Absolutely – just as I'm sure many of you have heard remarks from your pastors, priests, or rabbis with which you strongly disagreed.

But the remarks that have caused this recent firestorm weren't simply controversial. They weren't simply a religious leader's effort to speak out against perceived injustice. Instead, they expressed a profoundly distorted view of this country – a view that sees white racism as endemic, and that elevates what is wrong with America above all that we know is right with America; a view that sees the conflicts in the Middle East as rooted primarily in the actions of stalwart allies like Israel, instead of emanating from the perverse and hateful ideologies of radical Islam.

As such, Reverend Wright's comments were not only wrong but divisive, divisive at a time when we need unity; racially charged at a time when we need to come together to solve a set of monumental problems – two wars, a terrorist threat, a falling economy, a chronic health care crisis and potentially devastating climate change; problems that are neither black or white or Latino or Asian, but rather problems that confront us all.

Given my background, my politics, and my professed values and ideals, there will no doubt be those for whom my statements of condemnation are not enough. Why associate myself with Reverend Wright in the first place, they may ask? Why not join another church? And I confess that if all that I knew of Reverend Wright were the snippets of those sermons that have run in an endless loop on the television and You Tube, or if Trinity United Church of Christ conformed to the caricatures being peddled by some commentators, there is no doubt that I would react in much the same way

But the truth is, that isn't all that I know of the man. The man I met more than twenty years ago is a man who helped introduce me to my Christian faith, a man who spoke to me about our obligations to love one another; to care for the sick and lift up the poor. He is a man who served his country as a U.S. Marine; who has studied and lectured at some of the finest universities and seminaries in the country, and who for over thirty years led a church that serves the community by doing God's work here on Earth – by housing the homeless, ministering to the needy, providing day care services and scholarships and prison ministries, and reaching out to those suffering from HIV/AIDS.

In my first book, "Dreams From My Father," I described the experience of my first service at Trinity:

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“People began to shout, to rise from their seats and clap and cry out, a forceful wind carrying the reverend’s voice up into the rafters...And in that single note – hope! – I heard something else; at the foot of that cross, inside the thousands of churches across the city, I imagined the stories of ordinary black people merging with the stories of David and Goliath, Moses and Pharaoh, the Christians in the lion’s den, Ezekiel’s field of dry bones. Those stories – of survival, and freedom, and hope – became our story, my story; the blood that had spilled was our blood, the tears our tears; until this black church, on this bright day, seemed once more a vessel carrying the story of a people into future generations and into a larger world. Our trials and triumphs became at once unique and universal, black and more than black; in chronicling our journey, the stories and songs gave us a means to reclaim memories that we didn’t need to feel shame about...memories that all people might study and cherish – and with which we could start to rebuild.”

That has been my experience at Trinity. Like other predominantly black churches across the country, Trinity embodies the black community in its entirety – the doctor and the welfare mom, the model student and the former gang-banger. Like other black churches, Trinity’s services are full of raucous laughter and sometimes bawdy humor. They are full of dancing, clapping, screaming and shouting that may seem jarring to the untrained ear. The church contains in full the kindness and cruelty, the fierce intelligence and the shocking ignorance, the struggles and successes, the love and yes, the bitterness and bias that make up the black experience in America.

And this helps explain, perhaps, my relationship with Reverend Wright. As imperfect as he may be, he has been like family to me. He strengthened my faith, officiated my wedding, and baptized my children. Not once in my conversations with him have I heard him talk about any ethnic group in derogatory terms, or treat whites with whom he interacted with anything but courtesy and respect. He contains within him the contradictions – the good and the bad – of the community that he has served diligently for so many years.

I can no more disown him than I can disown the black community. I can no more disown him than I can my white grandmother – a woman who helped raise me, a woman who sacrificed again and again for me, a woman who loves me as much as she loves anything in this world, but a woman who once confessed her fear of black men who passed by her on the street, and who on more than one occasion has uttered racial or ethnic stereotypes that made me cringe.

These people are a part of me. And they are a part of America, this country that I love.

Some will see this as an attempt to justify or excuse comments that are simply inexcusable. I can assure you it is not. I suppose the politically safe thing would be to move on from this episode and just hope that it fades into the woodwork. We can dismiss Reverend Wright as a crank or a demagogue, just as some have dismissed Geraldine Ferraro, in the aftermath of her recent statements, as harboring some deep-seated racial bias.

But race is an issue that I believe this nation cannot afford to ignore right now. We would be making the same mistake that Reverend Wright made in his offending sermons about America – to simplify and stereotype and amplify the negative to the point that it distorts reality.

The fact is that the comments that have been made and the issues that have surfaced over the last few weeks reflect the complexities of race in this country that we've never really worked through – a part of our union that we have yet to perfect. And if we walk away now, if we simply retreat into our respective corners, we will never be able to come together and solve challenges like health care, or education, or the need to find good jobs for every American.

Understanding this reality requires a reminder of how we arrived at this point. As William Faulkner once wrote, "The past isn't dead and buried. In fact, it isn't even past." We do not need to recite here the history of racial injustice in this country. But we do need to remind ourselves that so many of the disparities that exist in the African-American community today can be directly traced to inequalities passed on from an earlier generation that suffered under the brutal legacy of slavery and Jim Crow.

Segregated schools were, and are, inferior schools; we still haven't fixed them, fifty years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the inferior education they provided, then and now, helps explain the pervasive achievement gap between today's black and white students.

Legalized discrimination - where blacks were prevented, often through violence, from owning property, or loans were not granted to African-American business owners, or black homeowners could not access FHA mortgages, or blacks were excluded from unions, or the police force, or fire departments – meant that black families could not amass any meaningful wealth to bequeath to future generations. That history helps explain the wealth and income gap between black and white, and the concentrated pockets of poverty that persists in so many of today's urban and rural communities.

A lack of economic opportunity among black men, and the shame and frustration that came from not being able to provide for one's family, contributed to the erosion of black families – a problem that welfare policies for many years may have worsened. And the lack of basic services in so many urban black neighborhoods – parks for kids to play in, police walking the beat, regular garbage pick-up and building code enforcement – all helped create a cycle of violence, blight and neglect that continue to haunt us.

This is the reality in which Reverend Wright and other African-Americans of his generation grew up. They came of age in the late fifties and early sixties, a time when segregation was still the law of the land and opportunity was systematically constricted. What's remarkable is not how many failed in the face of discrimination, but rather how many men and women overcame the odds; how many were able to make a way out of no way for those like me who would come after them.

But for all those who scratched and clawed their way to get a piece of the American Dream, there were many who didn't make it – those who were ultimately defeated, in one way or another, by discrimination. That legacy of defeat was passed on to future generations – those young men and increasingly young women who we see standing on street corners or languishing in our prisons, without hope or prospects for the future. Even for those blacks who did make it, questions of race, and racism, continue to define their worldview in fundamental ways. For the men and women of Reverend Wright's generation, the memories of humiliation and doubt and fear have not gone away; nor has the anger and the bitterness of those years. That anger may not get expressed in public, in front of white co-workers or white friends. But it does find voice in the barbershop or around the kitchen table. At times, that anger is exploited by politicians, to gin up votes along racial lines, or to make up for a politician's own failings.

And occasionally it finds voice in the church on Sunday morning, in the pulpit and in the pews. The fact that so many people are surprised to hear that anger in some of Reverend Wright's sermons simply reminds us of the old truism that the most segregated hour in American life occurs on Sunday morning. That anger is not always productive; indeed, all too often it distracts attention from solving real problems; it keeps us from squarely facing our own complicity in our condition, and prevents the African-American community from forging the alliances it needs to bring about real change. But the anger is real; it is powerful; and to simply wish it away, to condemn it without understanding its roots, only serves to widen the chasm of misunderstanding that exists between the races.

In fact, a similar anger exists within segments of the white community. Most working- and middle-class white Americans don't feel that they have been particularly privileged by their race. Their experience is the immigrant experience – as far as they're concerned, no one's handed them anything, they've built it from scratch. They've worked hard all their lives, many times only to see their jobs shipped overseas or their pension dumped after a lifetime of labor. They are anxious about their futures, and feel their dreams slipping away; in an era of stagnant wages and global competition, opportunity comes to be seen as a zero sum game, in which your dreams come at my expense. So when they are told to bus their children to a school across town; when they hear that an African American is getting an advantage in landing a good job or a spot in a good college because of an injustice that they themselves never committed; when they're told that their fears about crime in urban neighborhoods are somehow prejudiced, resentment builds over time.

Like the anger within the black community, these resentments aren't always expressed in polite company. But they have helped shape the political landscape for at least a generation. Anger over welfare and affirmative action helped forge the Reagan Coalition. Politicians routinely exploited fears of crime for their own electoral ends. Talk show hosts and conservative commentators built entire careers unmasking bogus claims of racism while dismissing legitimate discussions of racial injustice and inequality as mere political correctness or reverse racism.

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Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the middle class squeeze – a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobbyists and special interests; economic policies that favor the few over the many. And yet, to wish away the resentments of white Americans, to label them as misguided or even racist, without recognizing they are grounded in legitimate concerns – this too widens the racial divide, and blocks the path to understanding.

This is where we are right now. It's a racial stalemate we've been stuck in for years. Contrary to the claims of some of my critics, black and white, I have never been so naïve as to believe that we can get beyond our racial divisions in a single election cycle, or with a single candidacy – particularly a candidacy as imperfect as my own.

But I have asserted a firm conviction – a conviction rooted in my faith in God and my faith in the American people – that working together we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union.

For the African-American community, that path means embracing the burdens of our past without becoming victims of our past. It means continuing to insist on a full measure of justice in every aspect of American life. But it also means binding our particular grievances – for better health care, and better schools, and better jobs - to the larger aspirations of all Americans — the white woman struggling to break the glass ceiling, the white man whose been laid off, the immigrant trying to feed his family. And it means taking full responsibility for own lives – by demanding more from our fathers, and spending more time with our children, and reading to them, and teaching them that while they may face challenges and discrimination in their own lives, they must never succumb to despair or cynicism; they must always believe that they can write their own destiny.

Ironically, this quintessentially American – and yes, conservative – notion of self-help found frequent expression in Reverend Wright's sermons. But what my former pastor too often failed to understand is that embarking on a program of self-help also requires a belief that society can change.

The profound mistake of Reverend Wright's sermons is not that he spoke about racism in our society. It's that he spoke as if our society was static; as if no progress has been made; as if this country – a country that has made it possible for one of his own members to run for the highest office in the land and build a coalition of white and black; Latino and Asian, rich and poor, young and old — is still irrevocably bound to a tragic past. But what we know — what we have seen – is that America can change. That is true genius of this nation. What we have already achieved gives us hope – the audacity to hope – for what we can and must achieve tomorrow.

In the white community, the path to a more perfect union means acknowledging that what ails the African-American community does not just exist in the minds of black people;

that the legacy of discrimination - and current incidents of discrimination, while less overt than in the past - are real and must be addressed. Not just with words, but with deeds - by investing in our schools and our communities; by enforcing our civil rights laws and ensuring fairness in our criminal justice system; by providing this generation with ladders of opportunity that were unavailable for previous generations. It requires all Americans to realize that your dreams do not have to come at the expense of my dreams; that investing in the health, welfare, and education of black and brown and white children will ultimately help all of America prosper.

In the end, then, what is called for is nothing more, and nothing less, than what all the world's great religions demand - that we do unto others as we would have them do unto us. Let us be our brother's keeper, Scripture tells us. Let us be our sister's keeper. Let us find that common stake we all have in one another, and let our politics reflect that spirit as well.

For we have a choice in this country. We can accept a politics that breeds division, and conflict, and cynicism. We can tackle race only as spectacle - as we did in the OJ trial - or in the wake of tragedy, as we did in the aftermath of Katrina - or as fodder for the nightly news. We can play Reverend Wright's sermons on every channel, every day and talk about them from now until the election, and make the only question in this campaign whether or not the American people think that I somehow believe or sympathize with his most offensive words. We can pounce on some gaffe by a Hillary supporter as evidence that she's playing the race card, or we can speculate on whether white men will all flock to John McCain in the general election regardless of his policies.

We can do that.

But if we do, I can tell you that in the next election, we'll be talking about some other distraction. And then another one. And then another one. And nothing will change.

That is one option. Or, at this moment, in this election, we can come together and say, "Not this time." This time we want to talk about the crumbling schools that are stealing the future of black children and white children and Asian children and Hispanic children and Native American children. This time we want to reject the cynicism that tells us that these kids can't learn; that those kids who don't look like us are somebody else's problem. The children of America are not those kids, they are our kids, and we will not let them fall behind in a 21st century economy. Not this time.

This time we want to talk about how the lines in the Emergency Room are filled with whites and blacks and Hispanics who do not have health care; who don't have the power on their own to overcome the special interests in Washington, but who can take them on if we do it together.

This time we want to talk about the shuttered mills that once provided a decent life for men and women of every race, and the homes for sale that once belonged to Americans from every religion, every region, every walk of life. This time we want to talk about the

fact that the real problem is not that someone who doesn't look like you might take your job; it's that the corporation you work for will ship it overseas for nothing more than a profit.

This time we want to talk about the men and women of every color and creed who serve together, and fight together, and bleed together under the same proud flag. We want to talk about how to bring them home from a war that never should've been authorized and never should've been waged, and we want to talk about how we'll show our patriotism by caring for them, and their families, and giving them the benefits they have earned.

I would not be running for President if I didn't believe with all my heart that this is what the vast majority of Americans want for this country. This union may never be perfect, but generation after generation has shown that it can always be perfected. And today, whenever I find myself feeling doubtful or cynical about this possibility, what gives me the most hope is the next generation – the young people whose attitudes and beliefs and openness to change have already made history in this election.

There is one story in particular that I'd like to leave you with today – a story I told when I had the great honor of speaking on Dr. King's birthday at his home church, Ebenezer Baptist, in Atlanta.

There is a young, twenty-three year old white woman named Ashley Baia who organized for our campaign in Florence, South Carolina. She had been working to organize a mostly African-American community since the beginning of this campaign, and one day she was at a roundtable discussion where everyone went around telling their story and why they were there.

And Ashley said that when she was nine years old, her mother got cancer. And because she had to miss days of work, she was let go and lost her health care. They had to file for bankruptcy, and that's when Ashley decided that she had to do something to help her mom.

She knew that food was one of their most expensive costs, and so Ashley convinced her mother that what she really liked and really wanted to eat more than anything else was mustard and relish sandwiches. Because that was the cheapest way to eat.

She did this for a year until her mom got better, and she told everyone at the roundtable that the reason she joined our campaign was so that she could help the millions of other children in the country who want and need to help their parents too.

Now Ashley might have made a different choice. Perhaps somebody told her along the way that the source of her mother's problems were blacks who were on welfare and too lazy to work, or Hispanics who were coming into the country illegally. But she didn't. She sought out allies in her fight against injustice.

Anyway, Ashley finishes her story and then goes around the room and asks everyone else why they're supporting the campaign. They all have different stories and reasons. Many bring up a specific issue. And finally they come to this elderly black man who's been sitting there quietly the entire time. And Ashley asks him why he's there. And he does not bring up a specific issue. He does not say health care or the economy. He does not say education or the war. He does not say that he was there because of Barack Obama. He simply says to everyone in the room, "I am here because of Ashley."

"I'm here because of Ashley." By itself, that single moment of recognition between that young white girl and that old black man is not enough. It is not enough to give health care to the sick, or jobs to the jobless, or education to our children.

But it is where we start. It is where our union grows stronger. And as so many generations have come to realize over the course of the two hundred and twenty one years since a band of patriots signed that document in Philadelphia, that is where the perfection begins.

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# A Conversation

— With —

# President Obama

A day after the election, the commander in chief reflects on the outcome, his own legacy and the path forward

BY JANN S. WENNER

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Y FINAL INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT OBAMA IN THE White House had been scheduled for the day after the presidential election. I had hoped to look back on what he had achieved over eight years and the issues that mattered the most to him and to the readers of *ROLLING STONE*, hear his advice for Hillary and about the road ahead. It was to be the "exit interview," his tenth cover for *ROLLING STONE*, our fourth interview together. Before flying down to Washington, D.C., on the morning after the staggering election results, I called and offered to postpone.

This had to be one of the worst days of Obama's political life, and he hadn't had a moment to reflect on it, to be angry or to accept it. ¶ But his office called back; Obama wanted to go ahead with the interview as planned. It was a dull, cloudy day, and the White House was nearly empty when I arrived. It had been a long and unhappy night, and now only a skeleton staff remained. It felt like a funeral. ¶ The last time I had interviewed the president, in 2012, it was a lazy afternoon. I had gone over our time limit by a half-hour, and on leaving the Oval Office, I ran into Hillary Clinton, the secretary of state, sitting by the desk of the president's assistant, waiting to come in. This time it was her ghost. ¶ *ROLLING STONE* has had a wonderful relationship with Obama over the years. I first met him at the beginning of his 2008 campaign,

**LAST LOOK**  
"I couldn't be prouder of the work that we've done."







when he came up to my office for dinner. We backed him when he was up and when he was down. He viewed *ROLLING STONE* readers as part of his base. A year ago, we went to Alaska with him and toured the melting glaciers. With extraordinary pride, we watched him ride the wave of history.

I had many more questions for him than time allowed: Why had no one responsible for the Wall Street frauds, which cost millions of people their homes, their savings, their jobs, been sent to jail? Likewise, why did the people who misled America into the Iraq War also go scot-free? Would the rise of Donald Trump have been possible had any of them been held accountable? What was his sense of accomplishment in preserving so many millions of acres of national lands? And what did it take to finally put climate change at the top of his agenda...

Alas.

Obama greeted me outside his office and walked me in. He was tired. He skipped the usual small talk, took off his jacket, sat in his customary chair and said, "Let's do this." He spoke slowly and with precision, staying true to his essential nature: controlled, analytical and cool. There are many things a sitting president cannot say, but this was his carefully reasoned message on a difficult and historic day.

*I have to start with last night and ask you how you're feeling about the election of Donald Trump. Could you believe what you were seeing? Were you blown away like the rest of us? And how are you feeling now?*

Well, I'm disappointed, partly because I think Hillary Clinton would be a very fine president. As I said on the campaign trail, a lot of the work we've done is only partially complete. And we need some continuity in order for us to maximize its benefits.

*Did you ever think this was possible? Did this result ever occur to you?*

I will tell you, New Hampshire, 2008, I had just won Iowa and had this whirlwind tour of New Hampshire, huge rallies, huge crowds, and our internal pollster had us up by 10. And around 7:30, as I'm putting on my clothes to deliver my victory speech, I get a knock on the door by David Plouffe, David Axelrod and Robert Gibbs. And they've got sheepish looks on their faces [*chuckles*]. And they say, "Barack, we have some interesting news for you. We don't think we're gonna win this thing."

That's the thing about democracy. That's the thing about voting. It doesn't mean polls are irrelevant, but there is always a

human variable involved in this. So I think the odds of Donald Trump winning were always around 20 percent. That [doesn't] seem like a lot, but one out of five is not that unusual. It's not a miracle.

*But aren't you feeling chagrined, pissed off, upset, dismayed?*

Well, I...no. You know, I don't feel dismayed, because, number one, I couldn't be prouder of the work that we've done over the last eight years. When I turn over the keys to the federal government to the next president of the United States, I can say without any equivocation that the country is a lot better off: The economy is stronger, the federal government works better, and our standing in the world is higher. And so I can take great pride in the work we've

“There's no benefit that's derived from pulling into a fetal position. We go out there, and we work. And over time things get better.”

done. I can take great satisfaction in the people we've helped.

I don't want to sugarcoat it. There are consequences to elections. It means that the next Supreme Court justice is going to be somebody who doesn't reflect my understanding of the Constitution. It means that the work we've done internationally and domestically on climate is going to be threatened. It means that the Affordable Care Act, which has provided 20 million people with health insurance, is going to be modified in ways that some people are going to be hurt by. I think it doesn't take us all the way back to the status quo, because, despite the rhetoric, the Republicans are going to conclude that simply throwing millions of people off the rolls with no health insurance isn't smart politics. But probably the main reason that I don't feel dismayed, but do feel disappoint-

ed, is the incredible young people who have worked in my administration, worked on our campaigns. If you look at the data from the election, if it were just young people who were voting, Hillary would have gotten 500 electoral votes. So we have helped, I think, shape a generation to think about being inclusive, being fair, caring about the environment. And they will have growing influence year by year, which means that America over time will continue to get better.

*You think it's still a progressive country?*

I think that nothing is determined, but that the number of people who have a strong belief in a fair, just, equal, inclusive America is the majority and is growing.

And part of the challenge, though, that we do have, and this is something that I've been chewing on for a while now, is that there is a cohort of working-class white voters that voted for me in sizable numbers, but that we've had trouble getting to vote for Democrats in midterm elections. In this election, [they] turned out in huge numbers for Trump. And I think that part of it has to do with our inability, our failure, to reach those voters effectively. Part of it is Fox News in every bar and restaurant in big chunks of the country, but part of it is also Democrats not working at a grassroots level, being in there, showing up, making arguments. That part of the critique of the Democratic Party is accurate. We spend a lot of time focused on international policy and national policy and less time being on the ground. And when we're on the ground, we do well. This is why I won Iowa.

*But how did the Democrats miss the white working class in such great numbers, who clearly had these big economic issues? They have lost their jobs in industrial states....*

It's not quite that simple, because this is not simply an economic issue. This is a cultural issue. And a communications issue. It is true that a lot of manufacturing has left or transformed itself because of automation. But during the course of my presidency, we added manufacturing jobs at historic rates, and think about it: In Michigan—

*But, I mean—*

Hold on. Let me finish. If you look at Michigan, which I won, not just in 2008 but in 2012, by a wide margin, we paid a lot of attention to manufacturing jobs, which is why the auto industry is on double shifts in plants that used to be shut down. If you look at minimum-wage laws or family-leave policy or the investments that we made in community colleges or, for that matter, the Affordable Care Act, these



**THE EXIT INTERVIEW**

Wenner visits with the president in the Oval Office the day after the election. "Aside from any particular issue, the president needs to recognize that this is not about you," Obama says of Trump. "This is about this precious thing that we've inherited and that we want to pass on."

are all big investments for working families, white, black and Hispanic. The challenge we had is not that we've neglected these communities from a policy perspective. That is, I think, an incorrect interpretation. You start reading folks saying, "Oh, you know, working-class families have been neglected," or "Working-class white families have not been paid attention to by Democrats." Actually, they have. What is true, though, is that whatever policy prescriptions that we've been proposing don't reach, are not heard, by the folks in these communities. And what they do hear is Obama or Hillary are trying to take away their guns or they disrespect you.

One of the challenges that we've been talking about now is the way social media and the Internet have changed what people receive as news. I was just talking to my political director, David Simas. He was looking at his Facebook page and some links from high school friends of his, some of whom were now passing around crazy stuff about, you know, Obama has banned the Pledge of Allegiance.

I think it is really important for us, as progressives - set aside the Democratic Party as an institution, but just any-

body who wants to see a more progressive America - to think about how we are operating on the ground and showing up everywhere and fighting for the support of folks and giving them a concrete sense of what it is that we think will make their lives better, rather than depending on coming up with the right technocratic policies and sharing that with the *New York Times* editorial board. If we are not on the ground, and people are not hearing and seeing us face-to-face, then we'll keep on losing, even though I genuinely believe that the Republican prescriptions are not going to be as helpful to these folks.

*So what do you think is the future of the Democratic Party? A month ago, everybody was convinced that the GOP was in its final death throes; now you've got three branches of government in the hands of one party. You've got voter suppression, which is guaranteed to continue, you've got redistricting, all these things. Where's the Democratic Party going? This seems to be a hard-right turn.*

Well, but there's not a hard-right turn. Take a look at, take a look at—

*If you control three branches of government and you've got the Supreme Court...*

If you survey the American people, including Trump voters, they're in favor of a higher minimum wage. They're in favor, in large numbers, of decriminalizing marijuana. They, I think, are, increasingly and with shocking speed, accepting of the need to treat the LGBT community with respect. They are hugely suspicious of Wall Street, hugely suspicious of the Establishment. Part of what Trump did, as well as Bernie, was run against that Establishment. Now the irony, of course, is that one would think Trump would be considered part of that Establishment and not a genuine outsider like Bernie was. So this doesn't seem to be a moment in which there is a huge turn to the right.

What is true is that the ability of Republicans to win state elections, congressional elections and Senate elections is going to be a challenge for Democrats for a while, unless they can change perceptions about the Democratic Party and progressive causes in these rural or predominantly white areas, particularly in the Midwest. It's going to be harder to do in the South for a lot of historical reasons.

With respect to the presidency, the Democrats still, actually, are in a better place and will continue to be in a better place than Republicans. This was always gonna be hard, be-

cause people get weary of one party after eight years. It's only happened once in modern history where we had that kind of clear transfer of power - or at least in the last 40, 50 years. I don't think that voter-suppression laws are gonna be the norm or gonna be the main problem that we have to deal with. We are not gonna be in a situation in which Democrats can't win in any of these areas, but we're gonna have to reorganize ourselves more effectively. Look, in North Carolina, a state I won once by one point and a state I lost once by one point, a Democratic governor [appears to have] won in North Carolina despite Trump winning North Carolina. And part of the reason he won was North Carolinians were tired of a hard-right agenda by the sitting Republican governor, and these biased laws that had been passed directed at the LGBT community that people thought went too far. But part of the reason Roy Cooper, that North Carolina governor-elect, won is because he was on the ground in those communities and he was working hard.

So, do Democrats have to re-examine how they approach things? Do progressives have to re-examine how they approach things? Absolutely. When I sat here and

PREVIOUS SPREAD AND THIS PAGE: PETE SOUZA/THE WHITE HOUSE, 2

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talked to Bernie Sanders, one of the things that he and I both agreed on was that we have to reinvigorate the DNC so that it's not viewed as a Washington entity but rather that it is a grassroots organization that is out all across the country and making a common cause with working people.

*What's your plan going to be going forward with this?*

You know, I'm gonna sleep for a couple of weeks when I get out of here, take my wife on a well-deserved vacation. And I'll spend time in my first year out of office writing a book, and I'm gonna be organizing my presidential center, which is gonna be focused on precisely this issue of how do we train and empower the next generation of leadership. How do we rethink our storytelling, the messaging and the use of technology and digital media, so that we can make a persuasive case across the country? And not just in San Francisco or Manhattan but everywhere, about why climate change matters or why issues of economic inequality have to be addressed. So I will continue to be very active, and Michelle is going to continue to be very active – and [on] the very thing that brought us here, which is our belief that when you work with people on the ground at a grassroots level, change happens. When people feel disconnected from the institutions of government, they can swing back and forth in all sorts of ways.

*Let me ask you about climate change. Trump says he's going to pull out of the Paris Agreements. Is that possible?*

Well, historically what happens is that when you have an international agreement, it carries over into the next administration. There were agreements that President Bush made that I respected, because as president of the United States, it was important for me to project a sense of continuity in the U.S. government. There is no doubt that the Republican Party has taken a very hard-line position with respect to climate change. And so some of the progress that we have made, it is going to be tempting for them to roll back.

The good news is that a lot of these initiatives that we've taken work, and don't just work in terms of reducing emissions, they work from an economic perspective. And so over the course of my eight years, when we doubled clean-energy production or we cut [auto emissions] in half, that wasn't just a matter of regulations that can suddenly be erased; that had to do with investors and businesses and utilities and consumers all organizing themselves, figuring out that, you know what, being smart on energy is good for the planet and it's good for my pocketbook. So I think that the ques-

tion for Donald Trump, for the Republicans in Congress [is]: Are they going to want to roll back hundreds of thousands of jobs in the solar industry that have been created? Are they suggesting that somehow the Big Three automakers retool to make more gas-guzzling cars, even though consumers are really happy saving money on gas? When it comes to power plants, contrary to the rhetoric, it hasn't been my regulations that killed coal. More than anything, it's actually been natural gas that's been a lot cheaper, so it hasn't been economical to build new coal mines.

*I understand all that, but you have nearly all of the science saying we are past the tipping point, and you've got the Koch brothers financing an absolutely ob-*

“The most important constraint on any president is the American people, an informed citizenry that is active and engaged.”

*structionist Congress. That's not going to change. Their ideology seems to be set on the subject. The money that's bought these votes is set on the subject...*

Yeah, listen. If you want to persuade me that everything is going to be terrible, then we can talk ourselves into that. Or we can act. It is what it is. There's been an election. There's going to be a Trump presidency, and Republicans are going to control Congress. And the question is gonna be, for those like you and I, who care about these issues, do we figure out how to continue to make progress in this environment until we have a chance for the next election. And will we have mobilized ourselves and persuaded enough people that we can get back on a path that we think is going to be helpful for families, helpful for the environment, helpful for our safety and security and rule of law and civil rights and social rights?

And one of the things that I have been telling my younger staff, who in some cases have only known politics through my presidency, is history doesn't travel in a straight line. And it zigs and it zags and sometimes you take two steps forward and then you take a step back. You are absolutely right when it comes to us needing to feel an urgency about climate change, but what I've always said was, for us to get to where we need to go on climate, we got to have the American people [and] public opinion on our side. They've got to feel a sense of urgency about it, and that requires us persuading and winning their votes so that we can implement these policies. And we've made significant progress relative to where we were eight years ago – [but] nowhere near where we need to go. The Paris Agreement envisions us hitting targets a decade from now. I'm confident that America can still hit those targets. And it may be that more of those targets are met on the back end because there are different policies coming out of the Trump administration on this. But I think that we can still achieve what needs to be achieved.

There's no benefit that's derived from pulling into a fetal position. We go out there, and we work. And we slog through challenges, and over time things get better.

*Let me ask about immigration reform. Where do we go? What's the path forward on immigration?*

Well, look, there are those in the Republican Party who recognize that regardless of how this election played itself out, over time, alienating a big chunk of the Latino voters, the Asian voters, is gonna be a problem. And that gives [Republicans] some self-interest in solving this in a sensible way. It's going to be important for Democrats and immigration-rights activists to recognize that for the majority of the American people, borders mean something. And so there has to be, what I've said before, both rule of law *and* values that stay true to our immigrant roots. Those things don't have to be contradictory, but there have been times where in our big-heartedness around immigration, we haven't adequately addressed how do we get the orderly and lawful part of it down. And we tend to dismiss people's concerns about making sure that immigration is lawful and orderly. And what that means, I think, is that there will still be an opportunity at some point to do comprehensive immigration reform.

I don't think it's gonna happen over the next two years or maybe even not over the next four years, but what we can do is make smart changes, building on what we've already done around the legal-immigration



system. What we can do is to work along the borders in a cooperative way with Mexico so that the pressure of what are now mostly Central American immigrants into our country is handled in a humane way. And what we can do, and I will share this with President-elect Trump when I see him, is continue to make smart investments in countries like Honduras and El Salvador and Guatemala that can help them deliver some sense of well-being for their people.

*You can now buy marijuana legally on the entire West Coast. So why are we still waging the War on Drugs? It is a colossal failure. Why are we still dancing around the subject and making marijuana equivalent to a Schedule I drug?*

Look, I've been very clear about my belief that we should try to discourage substance abuse. And I am not somebody who believes that legalization is a panacea. But I do believe that treating this as a public-health issue, the same way we do with cigarettes or alcohol, is the much smarter way to deal with it. Typically how these classifications are changed are not done by presidential edict but are done either legislatively or through the DEA. As you might imagine, the DEA, whose job it is historically to enforce drug laws, is not always

#### THE CLIMATE FIGHT

"There is no doubt that the Republican Party has taken a very hard-line position with respect to climate change," Obama says.

going to be on the cutting edge about these issues.

*[Laughs] What about you? Are you gonna get on the cutting edge?*

Look, I am now very much in lame-duck status. And I will have the opportunity as a private citizen to describe where I think we need to go. But in light of these referenda passing, including in California, I've already said, and as I think I mentioned on Bill Maher's show, where he asked me about the same issue, that it is untenable over the long term for the Justice Department or the DEA to be enforcing a patchwork of laws, where something that's legal in one state could get you a 20-year prison sentence in another. So this is a debate that is now ripe, much in the same way that we ended up making progress on same-sex marriage. There's something to this whole states-being-laboratories-of-democracy and an evolutionary approach. You now have about a fifth of the country where this is legal.

*You got up there and said legalize same-sex marriage, and you pushed it right over the edge....*

Well, you know, no. I don't think that's how it works. If you will recall, what happened was, first, very systematically, I changed laws around hospital visitation for people who were same-sex partners. I then assigned the Pentagon to do a study on getting rid of "don't ask, don't tell," which then got the buy-in of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and we were then able to [repeal] "don't ask, don't tell." We then filed a brief on Proposition 8 out in California. And then, after a lot of groundwork was laid, then I took a position.

*So we're in the groundwork stage?*

One of the things that I think it's important for progressives to do when we're in a reflective mode after an election like this is, we can't have it both ways. We can't say, "Why aren't you reaching out to the folks who voted against us? And by the way, why aren't you maximizing getting 100 percent for the things that those of us, you know, who are already progressive and living on the coasts think should be done right away?" The point is that politics in a big, diverse country like this requires us to move the ball forward not in one long Hail Mary to the end zone, but to, you know, systematically make progress.

*So how do you think we go about stitching the country back together?*

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Well, the most important thing that I'm focused on is how we create a common set of facts. That sounds kind of abstract. Another way of saying it is, how do we create a common story about where we are. The biggest challenge that I think we have right now in terms of this divide is that the country receives information from completely different sources. And it's getting worse. The whole movement away from curated journalism to Facebook pages, in which an article on climate change by a Nobel Prize-winning scientist looks pretty much as credible as an article written by a guy in his underwear in a basement, or worse. Or something written by the Koch brothers. People are no longer talking to each other; they're just occupying their different spheres. And in an Internet era where we still value a free press and we don't want censorship of the Internet, that's a hard problem to solve. I think it's one that requires those who are controlling these media to think carefully about their responsibilities, and [whether there] are ways to create a better conversation. It requires better civics education among our kids so that we can sort through what's true and what's not. It's gonna require those of us who are interested in progressive causes figuring out how do we attract more eyeballs and make it more interesting and more entertaining and more persuasive.

*Maybe the news business and the newspaper industry, which is being destroyed by Facebook, needs a subsidy so we can maintain a free press?*

The challenge is, the technology is moving so fast that it's less an issue of traditional media losing money. *The New York Times* is still making money. NPR is doing well. Yeah, it's a nonprofit, but it has a growing audience. The problem is segmentation. We were talking about the issue of a divided country. Good journalism continues to this day. There's great work done in *ROLLING STONE*. The challenge is people are getting a hundred different visions of the world from a hundred different outlets or a thousand different outlets, and that is ramping up divisions. It's making people exaggerate or say what's most controversial or peddling in the most vicious of insults or lies, because that attracts eyeballs. And if we are gonna solve that, it's not going to be simply an issue of subsidizing or propping up traditional media; it's going to be figuring out how do we organize in a virtual world the same way we organize in the physical world. We have to come up with new models.

*What kind of private moments have you had that define your last eight years?*

Oh, well, you know there have been well-known moments like me walking across the colonnade and hearing the chants of "USA" after we had gotten bin Laden, or being up on the Truman Balcony with my young staff after we got the Affordable Care Act passed. There have been times just sitting in the Treaty Room reading let-

35, 37, something like that. He's our deputy chief of staff for policy. He engineered the Paris Agreement, the [Hydrofluorocarbons] Agreement, the Aviation Agreement, may have helped save the planet, and he's just doing it while he's got two babies at home, and could not be a better person. And there are people like him across this administration. What I will take away from this experience is them: seeing how they work together, seeing the commitments they have made toward the issues that we care about.

*Do you think Michelle should run for office?*

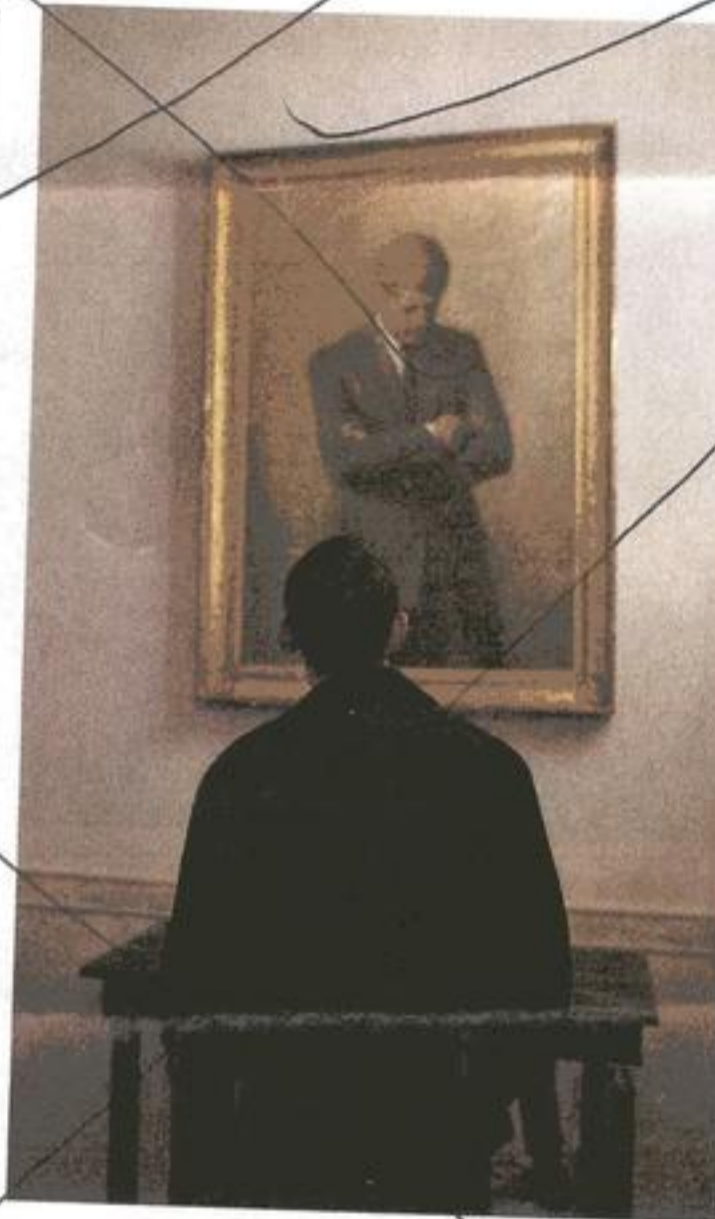
Michelle will never run for office. She is as talented a person as I know. You can see the incredible resonance she has with the American people. But I joke that she's too sensible to want to be in politics.

*What advice do you have for Trump?*

Well, I'll have a chance to talk to him tomorrow, and I think the main thing that I will say to him is, number one, however you campaigned, once you're in this office, you are part of a legacy dating back to those first Revolutionaries. And this amazing experiment in democracy has to be tended. So aside from any particular issue, the president needs to recognize that this is not about *you*. This is not about your power, your position or the perks, the Marine band. This is about this precious thing that we've inherited and that we want to pass on. And for me at least, that means you surround yourself with really good people, that you spend time learning and understanding what these issues are because they really actually have an impact on people. They're not games that we're playing. And that to the best of your ability, you're making the decisions that you think are right for the American people - even when they're not popular, even when they're not expedient. And the satisfaction you get from that is that when you leave this place, you can feel like you've been true to this immense privilege and responsibility that's been given to you.

*Do you think the weight of history will constrain him to some extent?*

I think sitting behind that desk is sobering, and that it will have an impact on him as it has on every president. But I think the most important constraint on any president is the American people themselves, of an informed citizenry that is active and participating and engaged. And that is going to be something that I will, in my own modest ways, continue to try to encourage for the rest of my life.



**POWER OF THE PRESIDENCY**

Obama viewing a White House portrait of JFK. "Once you're in this office, you are part of a legacy dating back to those first Revolutionaries," he says. "And this amazing experiment in democracy has to be tended."

ters from people who have a story to tell, a veteran who's not getting services they need [and] a young DREAM Act kid who describes how he's now gotten a degree and has gone back and is teaching in the school where he went, that move you deeply.

But I think the thing that I will miss the most about this place, the thing that can get me sentimental - and I try not to get too nostalgic, because I still got a bunch of work to do - it's the team we built here. The number of young people in this place who are just amazing. Somebody like a Brian Deese. Nobody outside of the White House necessarily knows Brian, must be

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# THE PRIMAL MATING GAME

"COME ON...  
YOU CAN GET A  
DATE AN EASIER WAY  
THAN THIS."

AFTER WATCHING  
THE BACHELORETTE FOR  
THE FIRST TIME

MELISSA McCARTHY

- US WEEKLY. COM / LOOSE TALK  
AUGUST 19, 2019, P. 8 (SIC)

A LOVER'S Q. !!!

HOW ELSE CAN "MR. JOE BLOW" GET  
A DATE WITH BEAUTIFUL MOVIE/TV  
STAR JANUARY JONES...

AND SUPER-SUPREME LOVELY/MODEL  
GIGI HADID, AND HER LOVELY "MOD  
SQUAD" IRL!!!

DREAM ON!

SOURCE: US MAGAZINE. COM/  
LOOSE TALK  
AUGUST 19, 2019, P. 8

8-19-2019

SCREAM OUT TOO LOUD!!!

To: IVANKA TRUMP

Recently, you humanly and empathetic-  
ally spoke-out to point-out the contin-  
ual GENOCIDE (mass murder) fight-  
to Blacks and folks of colors!!!

§ BAD MOON ON THE RISE §

Chi-Rag [Chicago] New Mayor  
called your "VOICE" on behalf of us -  
The voiceless. A "DISTRACTION",  
is but how the gay and Black exist-  
ist feel about us!!!

KEEP ON PUSHING!

PLEASE KEEP THE UNIVERSAL  
EYE ON US: "DISTRACTION"!!!



" I'm trying to keep  
my head down, not  
listen to the noise and  
just work really hard  
to make a positive  
impact in the lives  
of many people."

ON how she's responding  
to criticism of her father  
Donald's presidency.

IVAKA TRUMP

SOURCE: USMAGAZINE / LOOSE TALK  
JULY 3, 2017, P. 10

## A FAN QUESTION

Brandi Carlile  
Raises the Game

Happy to hear you express what many of us are thinking and feeling ["Brandi Carlile" RS 1326], you're right that we need to raise each other up and to extend a helping hand. I hope you'll take advantage of all these opportunities available to you to live your best and most authentic life. Rock on, girl!

- Diana Laskovich, Via the Internet  
Rolling Stone.com/LETTERS  
CORRESPONDENCE  
APRIL 2019 (ISSUE 1326), P. 13

Brandi Carlile's  
Righteous Fight

How the singer-songwriter  
is helping children from war  
zone.

BY JONATHAN BERNSTEIN

ACTIVISM

Brandi Carlile's Fight  
for Peace and Love

How the acclaimed  
Singer-Songwriter  
and her wife put ideals into action

- ROLLINGSTONE.COM / THE MIX  
MAY 2019 (ISSUE 1327), P. 36

LUCKY STARS  
Brandi Carlile Pays homage  
to the rock legend [ELTON  
JOHN] in riotous fashion  
inspired by some of his  
iconic looks.

- BY BERNIE TAURIN  
HARPER'S BAZAAR JUNE/JULY 2019, P.P.  
138-141 (4-PICS)

## FANATIC

I am a True Fan of Brandi  
Carlile Since 2012.

But I am Restlessly Wondering  
Whether Ms. Carlile were as Famous  
Now as Before Coming out  
[GAY]!

XOXO!

B- 09-27-2019

ESQUIRE.COM

ESP. EXAMPLE ISSUE: APRIL 2019  
WITH SAMUEL L. JACKSON - COVER...

A LOVER'S QUESTION?

Has this magazine in the hands  
of the newly Editor IN Chief Jay Field-  
EN been Turned Around?

Ostensibly, Mr. Fielden has Argued.  
the magazine pages of ALL Female  
IMAGES.

MOANFULLY, certainly is GONE its  
"YEARS SEXEST WOMAN" issue!!!  
???

Is it Now a GAY Magazine?

I'm SO Confused as to Be  
Undecided whether or not to Renew  
MY over 20-year's subscription.

AFTERTHOUGHTS!

ESQUIRE made a OFFER I couldn't  
REFUSE!

2-years sub. at \$6.00?

Heck Yea!!!

LOL