

COMING MONDAY

■ The Houston doctor who invented the virtual colonoscopy urges Medicare to approve the procedure for its beneficiaries.

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THE NEW WORLD DISORDER

'AGE OF THE UNTHINKABLE'



CHRIS VAN ES

Navigating new era will take an understanding of how systems are interconnected

By JOSHUA COOPER RAMO

WHEN Aharon Farkash was made the head of Israeli military intelligence in the spring of 2002, he was aware of one fact: of the 10 previous occupants of his post, six had retired or been fired before finishing their full terms. The dismissals were no reflection on the men's brilliance or skills as commanders. Rather, it was that the job of heading military intelligence in Israel is perhaps the most difficult intelligence job in the world.

Since the founding of Israel, the country has been poised for instant war. The nation's intelligence services, considered to be among the best in the world, have in fact amassed a history filled with nearly fatal mistakes. Unpleasant surprises have become a part of Israeli national life. Farkash told me, "I was at a conference reviewing Israel's intelligence history and one of the speakers observed that of 30 important strategic moments in Israel's history, intelligence had failed in 28 cases. The general sitting next to me whispered: 'He is only saying that because he doesn't know the details of the other two.'"

So when Farkash became head of Military Intelligence, he decided to spy differently and the lessons he learned — and the success he had — are an important lesson about how the revolutionary power of our age can be understood. Saturday, in the first excerpt from *The Age of the Unthinkable* ("Learning how to navigate 'Age of the Unthinkable,'" Page 9), we saw how our world is exploding in complexity and how this is undoing many of our old ways of thinking, causing our best ideas not only to fail but to backfire: how a war on terror creates more dangerous terrorists or how trying to make the world richer through capitalism makes it more unstable. This is because while our world has gotten more complex, we're still using old ideas to try to manage it. But there are people — and Farkash was one of them —

who do understand how this new order works and have new ideas we can learn from. In trying to understand how we could study them, I decided to spend time with these people. So I left behind my position as a journalist at Time magazine, slipped free of my work as a partner at Kissinger Associates, and studied places as different as Hezbollah neighborhoods in Beirut and the offices of billionaire investors who were making fortunes — and I learned that rebels and revolutionaries have a lot to teach us about how to plan for life for our families, our businesses and our country in the age of the unthinkable.

In particular I discovered four things that revolutionaries do better than we do — and that we must master if we want to thrive in this new world: They look at the world more completely than we do; they obsess about resilience in the face of shock; they work indirectly and attack weak spots instead of strengths; and they spread power as widely as possible. In some ways these may seem counterintuitive, but in practice they work extraordinarily well.

Take, for instance, Farkash. Farkash is a tough and scrappy fighter with a reputation for both combat brilliance and a penetrating skill as a spy. Sharing coffee with him in his office in Tel Aviv was an education in a way of looking at the world that was radically different — and more successful — than our traditional ways of seeing. He taught me how he learned to see like a terrorist in order to attack terrorists. After all, Israel's enemies looked for weak spots to attack Israel and they did this by seeing the country as an interconnected system with inevitable holes. The traditional anti-terror tactics before Farkash involved arresting thousands of Arabs, tearing down houses and spreading Israel's wrath as widely as possible. But that didn't work. In fact, Farkash said of his enemies, "We forced them to evolve." So instead of regarding Israel's enemies simply as an army of angry fanatics and attacking them at many points at once, he learned the secret rules about how they were connected and communicated — and then aimed only at the parts of the network that mattered most. Instead of those old-school tactics that didn't work and only encouraged people to hate Israel more and support terrorism, he switched to the tactic of targeted killing, aiming only at the most essential part of these terror networks. The result: new precision and a sharp drop in attacks.

The reason we have to look at threats like Farkash, as if they are systems, is because threats now are often interconnected.

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PUBLIC HEALTH

Creating needle-exchange programs would be the Christian thing to do

■ Approve legislation to save money and reduce the spread of disease

By WILLIAM MARTIN

THE Texas Legislature is currently considering bills that would allow the establishment of programs to enable injecting drug users to exchange used syringes for sterile ones, as a proven means of reducing the spread of blood-borne diseases. The Senate version of the bill has already passed, by a vote of 23-6. An almost identical bill is under consideration by the House Public Health Committee, where its future is uncertain.

Texas is the only state in the Union that still prohibits the purchase or possession of syringes for purpose of injecting illegal drugs. As the state with the fourth-highest HIV/

AIDS rate in the nation, this is not a lone star of which we can be proud.

Consider the following relevant facts:

■ The sharing of needles by injecting drug users contributes significantly to the spread of blood-borne diseases, most notably HIV/AIDS and hepatitis C.

■ Treatment of these widespread diseases is enormously expensive — more than \$300,000 in lifetime costs for a single case of either disease — much of which is covered by taxpayer funds. Between 2001-2005, Texas Medicaid paid more than \$300 million for the treatment of HIV/AIDS alone.

■ Extensive worldwide and long-term experience with

needle-exchange programs has demonstrated conclusively that they reduce the spread of disease without increasing or encouraging drug abuse and, in addition, serve as a bridge to treatment for a substantial proportion of participants.

Supported by repeated scientific research, American medical and public health personnel overwhelmingly support making sterile syringes available to injecting drug users.

Despite the evidence, many politicians, often reflecting the sentiments of their constituents, oppose the establishment or public funding of needle-exchange programs. Conservative Christians have been among the most resistant to these programs.

Though some sincerely question the scientific evidence, please see **NEEDLES**, Page B11



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EDITORIAL

Drawing a line

It appears the state is about to crack down on the vandals responsible for graffiti. This is as it should be. **PAGE B13**

REORDERING AMERICA

Financial crises mere distractions

Charles Krauthammer says President Barack Obama will not be deterred from his real agenda. **PAGE B12**

GOVERNMENT MOTORS

Obama in driver's seat

George Will says the federal foray into the car business will wind up in the ditch. **PAGE B12**

ENERGY

To tax or trade is the question in taking on climate change

Carbon levy is best approach to cut emissions

By GREG EBEL

THE climate change debate has moved beyond the "cause and effect" tug-of-war. We've acknowledged that in North America we're voracious consumers of carbon resources and devour a disproportionate share of the world's energy. If admitting we have a problem is the first step toward recovery, we're headed in the right direction.

But there's hard work ahead — and hard choices to make.

Much is riding on one of our first tough choices: the design and implementation of a policy that reduces carbon dioxide emissions, encourages innovation and conservation, and promotes energy security and economic growth. To tax or to trade — that is the question.

With cap-and-trade, the government or regulator sets a limit on annual carbon-dioxide emissions and then assigns or auctions shares to major emitters. If an entity wants to emit more than its share, it must buy or trade for permits from an entity that is emitting less than its share. A carbon tax is essentially a consumption fee based on how much carbon an activity or fuel creates.

There are informed proponents on both sides, and debate is occurring at all levels of industry and government. The proposed federal budget spurs an even more thoughtful debate. Its proposed cap-and-trade scheme with 100 percent auction of carbon credits acknowledges a fundamental truth about addressing the climate challenge: It comes with a cost.

But a carbon tax — not cap-and-trade — better stimulates

the substantive behavioral shift we need and recognizes the power of energy consumers to instigate change. It's an equitable, straightforward approach that will deliver near-term results across all sectors of our economy and promote market-based innovation as a means for lowering our carbon footprint.

A carbon tax directly and transparently assesses the true costs associated with emissions. It raises the cost and price of goods and services that result in greenhouse gas emissions by adding a fee to fuels that produce emissions. The best carbon tax would be revenue neutral, allowing both businesses and individuals to innovate, invest and deliver lower carbon emissions from their activities and be neutrally affected or, potentially, even better off economically.

The methodology of cap-and-trade is less clear, with market signals masked by the complexity and likelihood of bureaucratic and politically driven allowances. The independent Congressional Budget Office deemed a carbon tax "the most efficient incentive-based option for reducing emissions" and "significantly more efficient" than an inflexible cap.

We all know that taxes work predictably and expeditiously and, while none of us like them, they do stimulate behavioral change — and quickly. Price signals under a carbon tax scenario are immediately felt and give us an incentive to reduce emissions. In British Columbia, Canada, a carbon tax was proposed, approved and implemented in just four short months. It took the cooperation of business and government, but avoided the "centrally planned economy" syndrome inherent with cap-and-trade schemes, which typically take years to launch due to the complicated government



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and regulatory structuring.

Further, the relative simplicity of a carbon tax makes it far less susceptible to manipulation. A report recently released by Friends of the Earth contends cap-and-trade would create a market for environmental derivatives. If you liked what traders and certain Wall Street types did to our financial system with mortgage-backed securities and credit default swaps, then you'll love what they'll do to our environment.

Taxing carbon makes existing low carbon dioxide emitting options more attractive. From natural gas-fired power

plants to cogeneration to hybrid automobiles, there's an advantage in relying on currently in-place, cleaner alternatives, while still developing additional renewable sources.

A carbon tax can be a powerful driver of investment in low-carbon technologies and future infrastructure. Tax revenue can be directed toward research and the pursuit of cleaner energy options, including natural gas. Better yet, the revenue raised could go toward lowering payroll taxes — recent unemployment figures indicate actions to promote job creation are in order and lower payroll

taxes fit that need well.

As a nation, we're learning our carbon-intensive economy comes with a price. Now we must decide how best to pay that price. On the supply side, using domestically abundant, lower carbon emitting fuels like natural gas and increasing our focus on renewable energy sources are wise starting points. On the demand side, nothing spurs action like transparent price signals. For that action to occur, a carbon tax will achieve the best results.

Ebel is president and CEO of Spectra Energy Corp.

NEEDLES: Program would save lives

CONTINUED FROM PAGE B10
dence supporting various forms of needle exchange, the major opposing argument continues to be, "It sends the wrong message."

Before we accept that rationale, we need to think about the message we currently send: "We know a way to dramatically cut your chances of contracting a deadly disease, then spreading it to others, including your unborn children. It would also dramatically cut the amount of money society is going to have to spend on you and those you infect. But because we believe what you are doing is illegal, immoral and sinful, we are not going to do what we know works. You are social lepers and, as upright, moral, sincerely religious people, we prefer that you and others in your social orbit die."

Less than a decade ago, this was the attitude most churches manifested toward people afflicted with HIV/AIDS. If people were determined to engage in sinful behavior, they should expect to reap the full terrible harvest of their actions. God might be merciful toward sinners, but we were not.

Then, in 2002, Franklin Graham hosted Prescription for Hope, a global conference attended by more than 800 Christians from many countries and denominations. PBS Frontline pointed to that gathering as the moment at which Christians got involved in confronting HIV/AIDS. Soon afterward, Rick (author of *The Purpose Driven Life*) and Kay Warren launched a major HIV/AIDS initiative. Today, many other churches, large and small, minister to people stricken with this disease. These ministries do not screen the people they serve to make sure they were infected through no fault of their own. They meet them at the point of their need and offer what help they can.

Suppose we worked in such a ministry and were confronted by a person who had contracted the virus from a contaminated needle. While we may rightly decry drug addiction and find injecting drug use abhorrent, what defense could we offer if that person said, "You knew that, by using a sterile syringe, I could lessen my chance of getting this disease, and yet you refused to support programs that would make those available to me. What kind of neighbor are you?"

How can we justify saying it is permissible, even laudable, to help people after they have contracted HIV/AIDS, but wrong to approve of measures that significantly reduce their chances of contracting that disease? Jesus had nothing to say about needles, but we do know how he treated social outcasts and sinners, and he had a great deal to say about people who let prim concern with their own righteousness interfere with offering needed assistance to those in peril.

Needle-exchange programs save money, demonstrate compassion, preserve lives, and offer a helping hand to people in desperate need. These are criteria for public policy that thoughtful religious people can support with a clear conscience.

Martin is the Harry and Hazel Chavanne Senior Fellow in Religion and Public Policy at the James A. Baker III Institute at Rice University. For more on this issue, see "Needle Exchange Programs: Sending the Right Message," at <http://www.bakerinstitute.org/programs/drug-policy>.

OPEN GOVERNMENT

Let's shine a light on stem-cell debate

Rider banning research no way to handle issue

By STATE REP. ELLEN COHEN

EARLY in the session, I wrote about my disappointment with the State Board of Education and its debate over "strengths and weaknesses" of scientific theory. Unfortunately, this body continues to attract the kind of attention that I believe does an incredible disservice to the state of Texas and to my district. However, I believe that the Texas Senate has adopted a measure that does far worse.

Sen. Steve Ogden from Bryan is the chair of the Senate Finance Committee. Last week, Ogden inserted language into the Senate version of the budget that reads, "No funds appropriated under this act shall be used in conjunction with or to support research which involves the destruction of a human embryo."

Much like the "strengths versus weaknesses" debate revolves around the teaching of evolution, this budget rider by Ogden is a direct attempt to ban embryonic stem cell research. With the large amount of attention that our education board has attracted, the lack of attention this issue has generated is interesting. Ogden, as chair of the Senate budget writing committee, is not someone to be trifled with during the legislative session. He wields a powerful role in crafting the state budget.

While I can respectfully disagree with the senator on policy, I do not think that this process is in the public's best interest. "When a government makes financial decisions in the dark, hidden from the inquiring eyes of citizens, great harm can take root."

This quote by Gov. Rick Perry earlier in the week regarding transparency in state spending sums up the feelings of many who want to hear this issue discussed.

According to Harvey Kronberg of The Quorum Report, Democratic and Republican members of the Senate were given 15 minutes to review riders before adopting the Finance Committee's report. Patricia Kilday Hart of Texas Monthly, who closely follows Senate Finance proceedings, expressed her frustration at the proceedings when she noted that in the brief discussion of the rider, Chairman Ogden said, "Members, we have been discussing this privately."

Ogden later responded to criticism in the Dallas Morning News, stating, "There is a significant moral concern amongst many Texans that a human embryo really meets every scientific definition of human life that's out there and that we shouldn't be using human embryos for scientific experiments." While I may hold a different opinion, I would always give the senator an opportunity to make his case. I believe he does so quite well in Senate Bill 1695 rather than the rider he proposes in the budget that ends the debate without cross examining a single witness or taking input from the public.

Stem cell research reaches across party lines and labels. Many Republicans, including my colleagues Rep. Beverly Woolley of Houston, Rep. Charlie Geren of Fort Worth and Rep. Rick Hardcastle of Vernon, are ardent stem cell supporters. Hardcastle, who suffers from multiple sclerosis, makes an articulate case about the importance of this medical research.

I have my own personal reason for supporting stem cell research. Aside from hav-

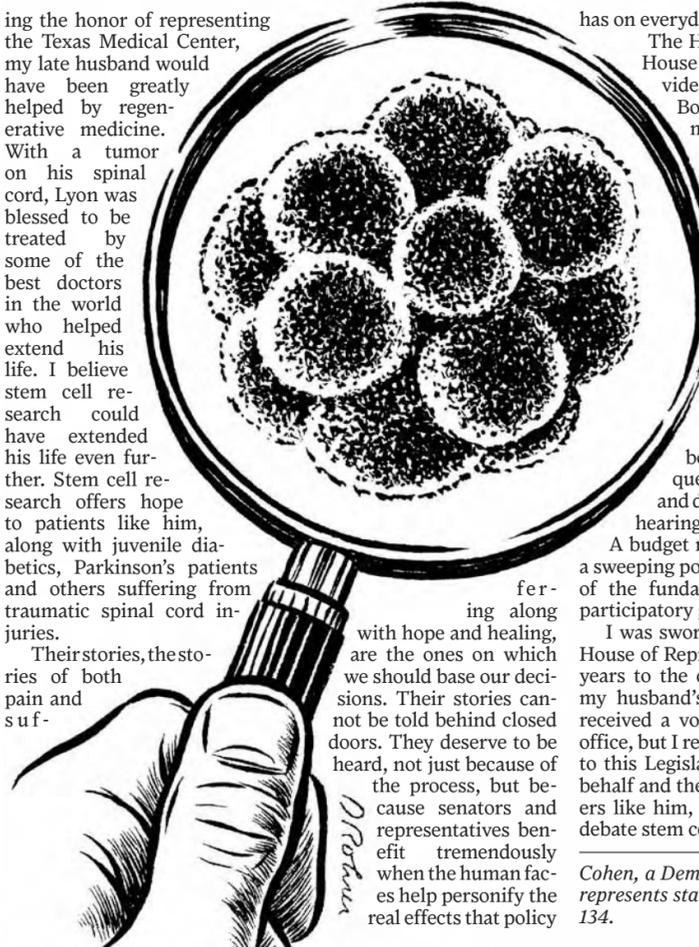
ing the honor of representing the Texas Medical Center, my late husband would have been greatly helped by regenerative medicine.

With a tumor on his spinal cord, Lyon was blessed to be treated by some of the best doctors in the world who helped extend his life. I believe stem cell research could have extended his life even further. Stem cell research offers hope to patients like him, along with juvenile diabetics, Parkinson's patients and others suffering from traumatic spinal cord injuries.

Their stories, the stories of both pain and suffering along with hope and healing, are the ones on which we should base our decisions. Their stories cannot be told behind closed doors. They deserve to be heard, not just because of the process, but because senators and representatives benefit tremendously when the human faces help personify the real effects that policy

has on everyday Texans. The House has passed House Bill 772 that provides for every State Board of Education meeting to be broadcast over the Internet for all to see. I am very glad of the increased accessibility to their deliberations. The debate over stem cell research should be important enough for every member of both chambers to question, research and discuss while also hearing from the public.

A budget rider, inserted as a sweeping policy, robs Texans of the fundamental right of participatory government. I was sworn into the Texas House of Representatives four years to the day and hour of my husband's death. I never received a vote from him for office, but I represent his story to this Legislature. On Lyon's behalf and the millions of others like him, we must openly debate stem cell research.



D. Rotman

NAVIGATE: 'The Age of the Unthinkable'

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connected. We can't contain al-Qaeda terrorists in Iraq and Afghanistan (cells have now been discovered in more than 20 countries) any more than we can contain a sub-prime mortgage meltdown from the rest of the economy. Everything is now connected, for better or

worse. It's this same realization that's led to revolutions in places like the Web (where interconnection makes new products like Google work) or computers (where revolutionaries like Steve Jobs see complete systems of phones, music players and PCs instead of discrete objects.)

If we can master this way of seeing too it's a first step to being more like revolutionaries — and to surviving this new era intact.

This is the second of two excerpts from "The Age of the Unthinkable: Why the new world disorder constantly

surprises us and what we can do about it." Ramo, the author, is managing director and a partner at Kissinger Associates, a strategic advisory firm. Prior to joining Kissinger Associates, he was assistant managing editor of Time magazine and worked in the banking business in China.