Dan Rather Reports

Episode Number: 207

Episode Title: Race To The White House - Talking Politics At Princeton University

Description: Live from Princeton University in Princeton, New Jersey, Dan Rather hosts a town hall meeting looking at the race to the White House that's still 20 months away, but in full swing for more than a dozen candidates.

TEASE:

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)

TONIGHT THE PRICE OF THE PRESIDENCY, TO BE A PLAYER IN THIS GAME YOU NEED MONEY, LOTS OF MONEY.

BILL HOGAN, SENIOR FELLOW AT THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY We define a candidate as being serious, not by how much money they can raise. Not by what ideas they have what their record in public service might have been it's all about money.

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)

THE ELECTION IS 20 MONTHS AWAY.

HOGAN

We're looking easily at the first billion dollar presidential election in history, easily. So at one point does the public look at this and say, 'this is too much our White House is for sale, our president is for sale.'

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)
A SPECIAL TOWN HALL TONIGHT ON DAN RATHER REPORTS.

ANNOUNCER

THIS IS DAN RATHER REPORTS "RACE TO THE WHITE HOUSE." TALKING POLITICS AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, FROM PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, DAN RATHER.

DAN RATHER (ON CAMERA)

THANK YOU, THANK YOU. THANK YOU, THANK YOU VERY MUCH THANK YOU. THANK YOU VERY MUCH. THANK YOU, THANK YOU WELL, THANK YOU. THANK YOU VERY MUCH, UM GOOD EVENING AND WELCOME EVERYONE HERE IN THE HALL AND WELCOME EVERYONE AT HOME. WE'RE DELIGHTED TO BE THE GUESTS OF THE GREAT WOODROW WILSON

SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS HERE AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY. AND TO BROADCAST FROM THE BEAUTIFUL RICHARDSON AUDITORIUM HERE ON CAMPUS. WE COME TO YOU TONIGHT FROM NEW JERSEY WHERE A DEBATE IS UNDER WAY ABOUT JUST WHEN NEXT FEBRUARY, THIS STATE WILL HOLD IT'S PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES AND WHATEVER THE ULTIMATE DATE, IT WILL BE A BIG CHANGE FROM FOUR YEARS AGO—WHEN THE PRIMARIES WERE HELD IN JUNE, THAT'S THE LAST TIME LONG AFTER THE NOMINATIONS HAD BEEN SEWN UP. THE CURRENT DEBATE HIGHLIGHTS THE FACT THAT THE ELECTORAL CALENDAR, THE ELECTORAL CALENDAR IS BECOMING EVER MORE FRONT LOADED, AS STATES OTHER THEN IOWA AND NEW HAMPSHIRE SEEK TO PLAY A GREATER ROLL IN SELECTING PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.

TONIGHT, WERE GOING TO HAVE THE FIRST OF WHAT WE PLAN TO BE AN ONGOING CONVERSATION WITH YOU, THE ELECTORATE, ABOUT THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN. AND THE WAY WE AMERICANS GO ABOUT ELECTING OUR PRESIDENTS. WE'LL BE HEARING FROM THOSE OF YOU IN OUR AUDIENCE TONIGHT—HERE AT THE RICHARDSON AUDITORIUM—AND FOR THOSE OF YOU WATCHING AT HOME, AND WANNA GET IN ON THE CONVERSATION, YOU CAN SEND IN YOUR QUESTIONS BY EMAILING US AT TOWNHALL@HD.NET TOWNHALL@HD.NET. AND WE'LL HAVE A CHANCE TO ADDRESS YOUR QUESTIONS LATER IN THE HOUR, THOSE OF YOU WHO EMAIL US.

THIS PROCESS OF ELECTING A PRESIDENT IS NOT ONLY STARTING EARLIER THEN EVER THIS YEAR. IT'S ALSO EXPECTED TO INVOLVE MORE MONEY THEN EVER BEFORE. WE'RE TALKING FOLKS ABOUT A PROBABLY TWO BILLION DOLLAR ELECTION CAMPAIGN. TO GIVE US A STARTING POINT FOR OUR CONVERSATION TONIGHT, LET'S TAKE A LOOK AT WHAT ONE EXPERT OBSERVER, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, AND MONEY HAS TO SAY.

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)

WE SPENT SEVERAL DAYS LAST WEEK TRAILING A HANDFUL OF PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFULS AS THEY CHRIS CROSS THE COUNTRY MAKING DOZENS OF PUBLIC APPEARANCES, POSING FOR PICTURES.

CHRIS DODD, PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

You got it?

GIRL

Yes. Thank you very much.

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)

SITTING FOR A HAIRCUT.

BILL RICHARDSON, PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

Does it look good?

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)

GETTING OUT THEIR MESSAGE.

JOE BIDEN, PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

The next president can literally, hear me, literally change the world.

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)

MEANWHILE, BACK IN WASHINGTON DC, BILL HOGAN IS WATCHING THEIR EVERY MOVE. NOT FOR WHAT THEY SAY, BUT FOR WHAT THEY SPEND AND COLLECT. HOGAN IS A SENIOR FELLOW AT THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY, AND HIS SPECIALTY IS FOLLOWING PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS AND CASH.

BILL HOGAN, SENIOR FELLOW AT THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY If you take any presidential candidate you see their rally in the afternoon. It might be on your local TV station or for down the road a little bit it's a big event on national television and we get you know 20 seconds of the candidate speaking or, thousand people in the auditorium or out in a corn field.

BARACK OBAMA, PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE (IN SPEECH)
I stand before you today to announce my candidacy for president of the United States of America.

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)

BUT THE REAL MESSAGE THAT THESE CANDIDATES NEED TO DELIVER COMES OUT AFTER THE CAMERAS ARE GONE. AND MOST PEOPLE ARE SETTLING IN FOR THE NIGHT. THAT MESSAGE IS SAYING, SHOW ME THE MONEY.

HOGAN

Then what we don't see is that very same evening the candidate dinner for donors order closed door event, no cameras allowed, no reporters allowed, where the candidate is going about the real business of his or her campaign.

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)
MORE THEN EVER AT THIS STAGE OF THE CAMPAIGN, MONEY HAS
BECOME THE MAIN EVENT.

HOGAN

Historically, the candidate who raises the most money in the process before the first primary always is more likely to be the nominee then the others.

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)

SO THEY ARE OUT THERE EARLIER THEN USUAL AND ALREADY ARE RAISING UNPRECEDENTED AMOUNTS. FORECASTERS SAY IT WILL TAKE AN ESTIMATED 100 MILLION DOLLARS JUST TO MAKE IT TO THE PRIMARIES. THAT MEANS TO BE IN IT, A CANDIDATE NEEDS TO RAISE CLOSE TO 300 THOUSAND DOLLARS A DAY EVERY DAY FOR THE NEXT ELEVEN MONTHS.

HOGAN

Well, what's different is it's a lot earlier, it's much bigger money then we've ever seen in a presidential election. And we have candidates forsaking the public financing system almost across the board or at least major candidates. That's never really happened before.

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)

HOGAN IS WORKING ON THE 2008 EDITION OF THE CENTERS BUYING OF THE PRESIDENT. HE SAYS THIS CAMPAIGN HAS ALSO CREATED A FRENZY OF PEOPLE VYING FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO BE TOP DOG IN A WINNING CAMPAIGN.

HOGAN

In the old days candidates got on the telephone, they went to meetings they raised money mostly themselves. Now it's like an industry where they need legions of fundraisers. I mean, uh they give fundraisers titles depending on how much money they can raise in bundles, how many small contributions they can put together for the campaign.

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)

FOR THOSE WHO SUCCEED IN THE END THE HOPE IS THAT THEY WILL BE REMEMBERED FOR THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS AND THEIR HARD WORK. AND REWARDED.

HOGAN

We really don't have an election anymore we have an auction and what's for sale? I mean, these are interesting questions to ask. Every incoming president rewards big donors with ambassadorships and other honorary appointments like that. There are all kinds of policy issues. There's a big donor rewarded with a place on a federal advisory panel that might have something to do with say approving new drugs or environmental regulations. All of these questions about what's for sale—you know is government for sale, is the white house for sale? And I think a lot of Americans suspect that it is.

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)

HOGAN SAYS TODAY IS A WHOLE NEW BALL GAME, WITH MANY OPPORTUNITIES FOR MOVERS AND SHAKERS TO GAME THE SYSTEM. AND GAIN POLITICAL ACCESS. LOST IN ALL OF THIS IS WHAT THE CANDIDATES ARE REALLY ABOUT.

HOGAN

We define a candidate as being serious or not by how much money they can raise. Not by what ideals they have, what there record in public service might have been, it's all about money.

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)

HOGAN SAYS NO ONE WANTS TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST METHODS THAT ARE WORKING SO WELL TO FILL CANDIDATES' CAMPAIGN COFFERS.

HOGAN

This election I think will bring new subterfuges and new shams, new ways to get around the law, because the flood gates are open. I mean, they really are. There's a lot of money that wants in to the process, there's a lot of candidates whose arms are open. And if the money can't come in one way, can't come in the process one way, it will find another way in.

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)

AND FOR THOSE WITH NEARLY EMPTY POCKETS, THE GAME IS PRETTY MUCH OVER, ALREADY ONE CANDIDATE, GOVERNOR TOM VILSAC OF IOWA HAS DROPPED OUT. HE DIDN'T HAVE ENOUGH MONEY TO STAY IN THE RACE. HOGAN SAYS IT'S A SIGN OF A SYSTEM REACHING IT'S BREAKING POINT AND AN EARLY INDICATION OF WHAT IS TO COME.

HOGAN

We're looking easily at the first billion dollar presidential election in history, easily. So at one point does the public look at this and say, 'this is too much our White House is for sale, our president is for sale.' The money flows in for a reason and the reason is not good government.

DAN RATHER (ON CAMERA)

BACK LIVE NOW ON THE CAMPUS OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY. I CAN'T IMAGINE A BETTER PERSON TO HAVE WITH US ON A DISCUSSION OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS THAN THE MAN SITTING NEXT TO ME. MY GOOD FRIEND AND TIME MAGAZINE SENIOR WRITER AND AUTHOR, AS ANONYMOUS OF THE POLITICAL BEST-SELLER, 'PRIMARY COLORS,' LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, PLEASE WELCOME ME IN JOINING JOE KLEIN ONE OF THE GREAT POLITICAL REPORTERS OF HIS GENERATION, JOE. (CROWD CHEERING)

JOE KLEIN, TIME MAGAZINE SENIOR WRITER AND AUTHOR Let me just say it's, uh it's great to be back sitting and talking about politics with you Dan and it's great to be here at Princeton University.

RATHER

Well, let's get down to business.

KLEIN

Even if it's in high definition. (laughs)

RATHER

Well, especially in high def (laughter). But, Joe welcome. You spend a lot of time on the campaign trail because writing the kind of material you do for Time magazine you have to be out there amongst it. Any fresh insights on what's going on out there?

KLEIN

Well, this cold that I have, I got it out on the campaign trail out wondering around Iowa with Barack Obama a few weeks ago, so let me apologize in advance for any coughing and sniffling that I'll be doing during the next hour. To answer your question, it really is something different, I mean this is, God help me, my ninth presidential campaign and sometimes the American people are focused and interested in the election and serious about it and other times it's a distant cloud on the horizon. This time they are dead serious. Uh, they know, I mean when you see the polling results and see that 70% of the people think that the country is going in the wrong direction—they know that there are things wrong. And to my—somewhat to my dismay—I don't think the candidates have quite caught up to that yet. And so when Mr. Hogan says that in the past, um money has been one of the things that confers credibility on a candidate—I have to say this, that we journalists tend to decide who are credible and um, being the beasts that we are we tend to give disproportionate weight to the things we can count: money, poll ratings, endorsements.

But this time just speaking for myself, but also I hope speaking for you as well, I want to add a fourth determinate of credibility. Since we do face such serious problems in the country for me a candidate won't have credibility unless he or she tells me something I don't want to hear. Unless he or she asks something of me and of us directly, because if they don't ask anything of us there not telling us the truth. And so therefore we shouldn't give them our votes

DAN RATHER (ON CAMERA)

WELL, JOE, LET'S PAUSE AND TAKE A LOOK AT A COUPLE OF MAPS, TO PUT THIS IN SOME PERSPECTIVE, FIRST 2004. VERY FEW STATES WERE INVOLVED BEFORE FEBRUARY. NOW TAKE A LOOK AT THE MAP FOR FEBRUARY OF NEXT YEAR, 2008. LOTS OF STATES HAVE MOVED THEIR PRIMARIES AHEAD BY MONTHS. WHAT DOES THIS, ALONG WITH THE STAGGERING SUMS OF MONEY INVOLVED, MEAN FOR OUR NEXT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN? THAT'S SOMETHING FOLKS SHOULD BE CONSIDERING. NOW JOE, LET'S CUT TO THE QUICK ABOUT A COUPLE OF THINGS THAT PEOPLE ARE TALKING ABOUT BUZZING ABOUT—AL GORE: PROBABILITY TO GET IN, POSSIBILITY TO GET IN, OR NOT PROBABLE?

KLEIN

Well, I think that if he does get in it will be late and uh that's a pretty wise strategy this time cause it's going to last so long. What's going to happen over the next six months in this campaign is the candidates are going to diminish before our eyes as they go from week to week uh to candidate forums that are funded by the various special interest on the Republican side and the Democratic side, and uh and they loose stature by always saying yes.

RATHER

Newt Gingrich—possibility to get in?

KLEIN

Same thing—by next fall the intent the really intense campaign is going to begin and uh and that will be the time when people start paying attention. Important thing about this money race and about this year and when you look back to 2004—this next year is going to be a year for the insiders—for people who decide whether or not there going to contribute their 23 hundred dollars and raise it for the other people. Um, in 2004, Howard Dean came storming into Iowa with more money than anybody else. And then we had an election and the people in Iowa, in those three weeks decided they didn't like the guy so much. And so there's a basic rule of money in politics, which is, the more interested the public is, the less important money is, so once again it goes back to you and how involved you're going to be.

DAN RATHER (ON CAMERA)

NOW WERE GONNA TAKE A SHORT BREAK AND WHEN WE COME BACK WE'LL BE BRINGING ALL OF YOU INTO THE CONVERSATION. AS WE TAKE QUESTIONS FROM OUR AUDIENCE HERE IN NEW JERSEY AND DON'T FORGET YOU CAN ALSO EMAIL YOUR QUESTION IN FROM HOME.

ANNOUNCER

WELCOME BACK TO DAN RATHER REPORTS "RACE TO THE WHITE HOUSE" TALKING POLITICS AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY. HERE AGAIN IS YOUR HOST, DAN RATHER.

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)

AND BACK LIVE HERE IN NEW JERSEY TO TALK ABOUT HOW WE ELECT OUR PRESIDENTS A YEAR BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY PRIMARY AND THE HEART OF THE WHOLE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY SEASON. AND NOW IT'S TIME TO HEAR FROM ALL OF YOU AS WE TAKE QUESTIONS FIRST FROM OUR AUDIENCE HERE IN RICHARDSON AUDITORIUM.

OUR FIRST QUESTION TONIGHT WILL COME FROM ANNE MARIE SLAUGHTER, DEAN OF THE WOODROW WILSON SCHOOL HERE AT PRINCETON AND RENOWNED SCHOLAR ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. SHE ALSO CO-DIRECTS THE BIPARTISAN PRINCETON PROJECT ON NATIONAL SECURITY—THAT'S A 3 YEAR EFFORT TO CRAFT A SUSTAINABLE US NATIONAL STRATEGY. DEAN?

ANNE MARIE SLAUGHTER, DEAN PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Thank you. It's wonderful to have both of you here. If you look at the headlines, it's all Iraq, all the time. And a number of the candidates are offering plans for what they would do when they're president. Uh, but when they're president it's going to be 2009 -- should we be focusing on their current Iraq strategy or should we be asking questions about what they'd do in the broader Middle East two years out?

DAN RATHER (ON CAMERA)

Well, not just the Middle East, I think the answer is all they can reliably speak about is their judgment on today, and maybe tomorrow, not much beyond that. But uh, as a personal opinion, I would say it isn't just the Middle East and in the long sweep of history—it may turn out to be that what happens in Afghanistan, which figures to be the bloodiest this year since 2001, may turn out to be every bit as important maybe more important then Iraq. And so, you know my own suggestion is look for the candidate that takes the long view and is willing to acknowledge that he or she has been wrong somewhere along the line, because it's inevitable that any president is going to be wrong some time or another. Joe?

KLEIN

Well, I think that their immediate plans really don't count for much as you implied in your question, Dean Slaughter and in general, when I'm watching a presidential campaign and looking at the substance of the positions. I'm not looking so much for the specifics, because those things are legislative you know, they're argued out after you get to be president. What I'm looking for is the quality of mind. What I'm looking for is the sensibility. I think that what we've had over the last six years in this country is a fairly radical experiment in foreign policy, where one party tried to tried to promulgate a foreign policy from its extreme fringe, without trying to build a bipartisanship. And I think that what I want to hear from the candidates now is what they see coming next, what they think about larger issues like the Bush strategy of preemption and whether they think that in a global world, where our threats are almost like viruses, Dan—you know terrorism, global warming, real viruses, like AIDS—how they are going to move from the paradigm of state to state and unilateral action to more global sort of action.

RATHER

Next question.

SANDIA DASS, STUDENT AT WOODROW WILSON

Good evening. My name is Sandia Dass and I'm a master student at the Woodrow Wilson School. My question is related to the early primaries. I would like to know what the underlying motivations of the four states, including New Jersey, were to only now move their primaries earlier. What is so distinctive about the 2008 elections that has influence this change in what has been an uncontroversial part of the nomination process?

RATHER

Well, the motivation is that some of the states, particularly some of the larger states, want a larger voice in deciding who the nominees of the party are to be. In New Jersey's case,

for example, last time they didn't hold their primary until June and by June it was long over, so that's the motivation. There's a real question in my mind whether despite the best efforts they can really change the process that much.

KLEIN

Well, it's kind of like campaign finance reform. The more people try to jigger with the system, the less control they have over it. This has been a movement that has been going on now for 20 years now. In 1987, '88 the southern states decided to ban together and have a regional primary that was called "Super Tuesday," hoping to have greater influence on the Democratic party nominee, hoping to have someone from the south. They got Michael Dukakis from Massachusetts—it didn't work. And so what we're looking at now is essentially a national primary follow, you know, following these three states in January and what I suspect that's going to do—although, I will no doubt be proven wrong—is that it's going to cause the candidates focus on raising money like they never have before to try and play in all those states in the national primary, but at the same time it is absolutely going to increase the importance of Iowa.

RATHER

Next question, please.

TOM BROWN, STUDENT AT WOODROW WILSON

Hi, I'm Tom Brown. I'm a senior in the Wilson School and your answer actually leads right into my question: do you think that a national primary would be a good thing and do you believe that the states have any way of working together to ban to try to prevent the kind of jockeying for positioning that we see happening today?

RATHER

Well, Joe may have a different view. My own personal opinion is no on a national primary because, for the same reason we have a senate in the house we have a senate because the smaller states need some weight in their direction. What I do believe deserves serious consideration is a series or regional primaries instead of having state by state going to regional primaries. This has been proposed before, by the way, in the not too distant past and um, it didn't get very far.

KLEIN

Well, we may be getting to the point where it's so screwed up that people are actually going to act on it. I you know, I think that you need a more extended process. Um, not two years extended not the year of money raising and advance, but I think it's a good exercise to see these candidates in small states in small rooms, having to answer questions from, from real civilians. I think that that has a lot of worth, the problem is what happens after that and I think Dan is right. Ultimately, you'll have a series of regional primaries where the regions rotate and in fact, the small states at the beginning could rotate as well. But I think the most important thing here is for us to get a sense of the character of these individuals because the presidency, unlike any other office, is the most intimate office we have. President lives in your kitchen, lives in your TV room, lives in your bedroom for 4 years. And you want to get a sense of who this person is.

RATHER

Next question, please.

HILLARD POUNCY, VISITING LECTURER

Thank you, Dan. My name's Hilliard Pouncy, I'm a visiting lecturer here at the school. My question is, given high national rates of non marital parenting, one of the few areas in which the Bush administration got passing grades from the nation's press, it's, what was in it's efforts, to strengthen family formation among the poor. So my question is, should this policy be continued, expanded, or die a quiet death as a policy recommendation among today's candidates?

RATHER

Well as you know, most reporters including Joe and I consider ourselves "generalists" but this is something my friend Joe Klein is actually an expert and done a lot of reporting.

KLEIN

I've spent a fair amount of time and especially in the Bush administration social policy and faith-biased programs, but I have to ask you what specific policies are you speaking about and I mean this seriously.

PLOUNCY

I could have used a buzzword "healthy marriage," I could have used a word we use around here "fragile families." It all means, what do you do when you have a large number...

KLEIN

But what have they done in your mind?

PLOUNCY

Well, they funded a healthy marriage initiative and in blunt terms they said to poor people, "We think you ought to get married if you had children without being married."

KLEIN

Well in my reading of the sociology, you have seen an up tick in family formation, in marriage. But that began during the Clinton administration after welfare reform when, um you know, when the disincentives to marry were taken away in 1996. So, I think that you know, I'd count that as a Clinton policy. Uh, as for the faith-based social programs, which I thought—which I was very optimistic—about um, the people who have been involved in those programs like John Deulio and David Crowe have been very, very disappointed in the Bush administration's failure to follow through. I think part of that is a natural reaction to the fact that the President's attention became obsessively fixed on Iraq and the region. But I don't, I think that you've seen some progress, but it's mostly a carry over from welfare reform.

RATHER

And I would say the answer to your question is, if the programs have worked as well as you suggest, um who ever is the next president will wanna carry that forward. Thanks for your question we're gonna take another short break here, but we'll come right back with more questions from our audience, so stick in here with us.

ANNOUNCER

WELCOME BACK TO RICHARDSON AUDITORIUM ON THE CAMPUS OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY. ONCE AGAIN, YOUR HOST, DAN RATHER.

DAN RATHER (ON CAMERA)

WELCOME BACK AGAIN TO THE FIRST OF OUR HDNET TOWN HALL MEETINGS ON THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN. TONIGHT WE'RE TALKING ABOUT THE EVERMORE FRONTLOADED ELECTRORAL CALENDAR, MONEY AND POLITICS, AND WHAT IT ALL MEANS FOR OUR COUNTRY. SO, JOE KLEIN, WE HAVE OTHER QUESTIONS WE'RE GOING TO GO TO. BUT YOU WROTE A BOOK, GRANTED IT WAS FICTION BUT AFTER BEING VERY CLOSE AS A REPORTER, ABOUT AS CLOSE AS A JOURNALIST CAN GET, TO THE CLINTONS. LET'S COME DIRECTLY TO IT. WHAT DO WE HAVE HERE IN THE POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON AND SENATOR CLINTON, NOW A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE. WHAT'S GOING ON HERE? WHAT'S REALLY GOING ON?

KLEIN

Well, you know that book was a guess—it was an educated guess and I think that's the question everybody wants to, wants to have answered. But I think it might be a political problem for Hillary Clinton because of this -- as I said, we're going to get to Iowa and we're going to have a three week campaign and those folks, you know, they don't worship presidential candidates—they bump into them on the way to the market there all over the place and they're going to have a couple of inconvenient questions for Hillary Clinton. First of all, what's he going to do? What's his job? And second of all, I think there is this underlying question that everybody is going have which is this -- in 2008 we will have had 20 years of Bushes and Clintons as presidents of the United States and I think the American people think that this office is too precious to keep on trading back and forth between these two prohibitively weird families.

RATHER

Uh, I want the record to show that that was what Joe said, not necessarily what I said. You have a question, yes ma'am.

VICTORIA WETFORD, STUDENT AT WOODROW WILSON

My name is Victoria Wetford, and I'm a graduate student here at the Woodrow Wilson School. President Bush has turned our struggle against al Qaeda and other extremists the war on terrorism and the Pentagon says it's fighting the long war. Do you think that this is the right approach, given its emphasis on military action and matters like detention

without trial, rendition, and wire tapping? And how important do you think the various candidates staunches on terrorism will be in the run up to 2008?

RATHER

Well, as to the first, well things like this my opinion doesn't matter—it's the voters opinion, it's your opinion, the others that matter. And that's one reason I think as Joe has pointed out earlier, we're not dealing here with just another election. We're dealing with an election with a country at war and what the President has described as a long twilight war. And the people, thank God, get to decide those questions in a society such as ours. I do think it will be an issue in the campaign. Uh, I think it might be a strong issue in the campaign particularly if—let us hope not—if things don't go well in Afghanistan this year, if the, quote, surge, um new strategy, new tactic in Iraq is not so successful, then these questions will almost automatically come to the floor and they may do so otherwise. Yes sir?

DAVID LEWIS, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS I'm David Lewis, I'm an assistant professor of politics and public affairs and my question has to do with the Bush administration's involvement in the 2008 election. Does the Bush team have a favorite and if so, who? And how hard are they going to work on behalf of that candidate?

RATHER

Well, it depends on what part of the Bush administration you're talking about. They're not as of one on this issue, there are certainly people within the Bush administration who like what they see and hear about Rudolph Giuliani. Most think he can win, for example. But there are others who say we can't keep the evangelical base with us if we go with a candidate such as Giuliani, so, I think the answer is they haven't decided. Uh Karl Rove will probably have a great deal to say about this but, Joe, what do you think?

KLEIN

If I can expand that out from just the Bush administration or Republicans in general, they are mystified by this election. Usually the Republicans are very orderly and uh and the Democratic nomination process is a bar room brawl. This time, this time, there is no clear- cut favorite, there is no eldest son who is going to, you know, take the mantle. And I think that you know, when I speak to Republicans they uh, they have real questions about how they think it's going to happen. I had a hint a couple of weeks ago. I went to a conservative summit staged by the National Review magazine and a number of the candidates came and the two who received the most enthusiastic applause in reception were Newt Gingrich, who isn't running perhaps 'till later, and Jeb Bush.

RATHER

Well, in terms of who in the White House you can, you can bet that Mrs. Bush, as in Barbara Bush uh, no one could blame her dreams of having a Jeb Bush eventually become president if not this next year. But I think Joe's point from earlier that there may be an undertow in this election. That the public says you know it's been a long while,

perhaps too long that we've had two Bushes, do we want two Clintons? I'm not saying it would be decisive, but I agree with Joe it may be a factor. Yes sir?

JONATHAN ELLIS, STUDENT AT WOODROW WILSON

Hi, my name is Jonathan Ellis I'm a senior in the Woodrow Wilson School. Governor Vilsac was mentioned earlier. And I was wondering do you predict more early dropouts of otherwise viable candidates and will this mean a more a less bruising primary process for the eventual nominee.

RATHER

Well, first certainly there will be more casualties. Uh I don't agree with it necessarily with the category, otherwise viable candidates, but it will take its toll and money is one big reason. I do not think it will mean a less bruising primary campaign. I think this is going to be a really tough campaign. Each time we journalists say, "listen, this is going to be enough to gag a maggot," the time we get through with all this, and sure enough it is, but each time it gets worse and Joe thinks that the negative ads and negative campaigning doesn't work, but unfortunately the candidates and those who advise them are not yet convinced of that.

KLEIN

I think I think that the negative ads don't work to the extent they once did, because there's this fabulous invention—the clicker, and people are tending to click those suckers off. Um or Tivo you know race through them on Tivo. I think Vilsac made a mistake by the way. You know, we talked about the Republican race before. The Democratic race is kind of orderly at this point, you know it's like a swimming meet where each of the main candidates, main candidates—Clinton, Obama, Edwards—have their lane in the swimming pool and we're going to see who swims the fastest. Well, I thought Vilsac had a very strong lane, especially in Iowa—he was going to be the low key designated grown up and at the end, at the end the Iowans would find him more comfortable then the others. It wasn't going to be a money-based campaign. He was probably thinking about all the money he would have to raise to compete in places like California and so forth. But I do believe he got out of it too early. We saw this once before you remember, Dan—in 1999 you had a scad of Republicans drop out because they thought George W. Bush had the thing sewn up.

RATHER

Let me ask you this Joe before we get to the next question. The National Nominating Convention so called, to my recollection they haven't really nominated anybody since 1972—would probably the last time. Are the political conventions now given the primarily and particularly the shift to upload the primaries in anachronism?

KLEIN

As soon as they say there an anachronism we're going to have this wild bar room brawl next year and uh which will be decided on the floor of the Democratic convention in Denver. I think that's more likely then on the Republican—well, maybe you might have it on the Republican side. I think it's too you know it, as long as the process is in place and

as long as the certain number of votes are needed to get them. I, you know I can't discount the possibility that you're going to have a close race one of these years.

RATHER

But would you bet the trailer money on it?

KLEIN

No, I wouldn't bet the trailer money.

JULES COPA BAILEY, STUDENT AT WOODROW WILSON

Thank you. My name is Jules Copa Bailey, I'm a second year master student at the Woodrow Wilson School. 2006 seemed to highlight the success that moderates especially Democratic moderates can have. I'm curious, can you asses the willingness of each of the parties to nominate a moderate candidate and should they? And if they do not nominate a moderate, how might you expect the general election to play out?

RATHER

Well my own feeling is that I don't think the parties are ready to nominate a moderate by most people's definition of moderate. I believe it still to be true, it may be proven untrue in this next round of primaries, that the extremes tend to mode, tend to dominate when it comes to the caucuses and primaries. Now Klein wrote a cover story for time magazine uh just after the last election on this very subject so, let's hear what he has to say.

KLEIN

Well I think that first of all I consider myself a moderate, in fact, when I write my memoirs it will be called "flaming moderate." Um, but I think that the roll of moderation was probably over emphasized because most of the contested districts in that election were, you know, kind of centrist moderate districts, so uh you know you had, you might have had a bunch of moderate Republicans winning some of those races as well especially in New England. Um, you know I, I think you can always hope for a candidate who will say to the public, "look we got some really serious problems here. And if were going to solve them it's going to have to transcend, you know, the various wings of the parties." And that's what I'm going be looking for as I ask these candidates you know, "tell me something uncomfortable. Tell me something difficult that were going to have to do as a people." Uh and uh, you know I can't guarantee, I think Dan's right, you get, you know, the activists come from the left wing of the Democratic party, the right wing of the Republican party. But I think that you're always looking for the candidate who is willing to tell them things that they don't wanna hear, and who is able to transcend.

RATHER

We have a question um from the internet, we asked for them earlier. Um, Mark Gurley of Texas asks, "Why we do still have the electoral college?" Well, we have it because it's the law as of right now.

KLEIN

Well, the other answer is, why did we have it, the other answer is because we still have small states. That's why we have the electoral college in the first place was that the small states, um wanted to have, didn't want to be steamrolled by the big states which in those days were Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania. And as long as there is North Dakota, and North Dakota will have two senators when it has a population of three, you're gonna have the electoral college.

RATHER

I don't see any prospect of it being done away with any time soon. Uh, close elections like the 2000 election and for that matter the 2004 election sparked more questions such as this. Perhaps it's something we need to have a national debate about but I don't see that coming. In a moment we'll be back with more from Princeton University. Thanks

ANNOUNCER

YOU ARE WATCHING DAN RATHER REPORTS "RACE TO THE WHITE HOUSE," TALKING POLITICS AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY. HERE'S YOUR HOST DAN RATHER.

DAN RATHER (ON CAMERA)

AND AGAIN, WELCOME BACK AND OUR THANKS TO THE WOODROW WILSON SCHOOL HERE IN PRINCETON FOR HOSTING US HERE THIS EVENING. OUR DISCUSSION OF THIS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN, FASTER OUT OF THE GATE, MORE LOADED WITH CASH THEN ANY IN OUR HISTORY. ONE THING WE LEARN AGAIN EVERY 4 YEARS IS THAT NO MATTER WHAT WE SAY AND REGARDLESS OF THE BEST LAID PLANS OF THE CANDIDATES, THESE CAMPAIGNS DO NOT TAKE PLACE IN A VACUUM. AND THOUGH WE CAN NOT POSSIBLY KNOW HOW THE NEWS, OR WHAT STORIES ARE GOING TO AFFECT THE CAMPAIGN WHEN IT GETS DOWN TO THE GENERAL ELECTION. TODAY'S HEADLINES ABOUT THE TARGETING OF VICE PRESIDENT CHENEY BY A SUICIDE BOMBER IN AFGHANISTAN, PLUS THE HEADLINES ABOUT HIS PREVIOUS VISIT TO PAKISTAN, SUGGEST THAT AFGHANISTAN, THE FIRST FRONT ON THE WAR ON TERROR, NOW HEATING UP AGAIN, MAY INDEED PLAY A ROLL IN THE 2008 ELECTION. NOW, I JUST RETURNED FROM A VISIT TO AFGHANISTAN, WHERE THE TALIBAN STRENGTH IS UNOUESTIONABLY REGROUPING AND GROWING. IN PREPARATION, IT'S WIDELY BELIEVED, FOR A MAJOR SPRING OFFENSIVE WHICH SHOULD START JUST AFTER THE SNOW STARTS TO MELT ON SOME OF THE MOUNTAIN PASSES, WHICH WILL BE VERY SOON. AND IT'S KEY TO ALLIED OFFERS TO REPEL THIS EFFORT IS PAKISTAN—THAT'S THE KEY. AND PAKISTAN/U.S. INTELLIGENCE OPERATIVES, ALMOST TO A PERSON, BELIEVE THAT LOCAL TRIBAL LEADERS ARE HARBORING TALIBAN WHO ARE LAUNCHING ATTACKS INTO AFGHANISTAN.

DAN RATHER (VOICE OVER)

YESTERDAY VICE PRESIDENT DICK CHENEY VISITED PAKISTAN'S PRESIDENT MUSHARRAF IN ISLAMABAD TO ESSENTIALLY WARN HIM THAT IF HE CAN'T PRODUCE MORE RESULTS AND SOON, THE NEW US DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS MAY CUT OFF THE MILITARY AID TO PAKISTAN.

PAKISTAN HAS BEEN SEEING THE SIGNS FOR A WHILE. AND THE MILITARY THERE RECENTLY TRIED TO SHOW THAT THEY ARE IN CONTROL OF THE BORDER TOWARD AFGHANISTAN BY LETTING CAMERAS INTO SOME VERY REMOTE BOARDER AREAS. WE JUST GOT THESE RARE IMAGES IN FROM NORTH WAZIRISTAN —AN AREA BORDERING ON AFGHANISTAN— WHERE LOCAL TRIBAL LEADERS HAVE SHOWN TO BE LESS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT FIGHTING THE TALIBAN, BUT INSTEAD SHELTERING THEM. BUT THESE PICTURES MAY NOT TELL THE WHOLE STORY OF WHAT'S GOING ON IN THE DANGEROUS MOUNTAIN REGIONS, WHERE THE ARMY IS SAID SOMETIMES TO BE LOOKING THE OTHER WAY. AND THAT'S BECAUSE OF SCENES LIKE THIS.

THERE ARE THOUSANDS OF TALIBAN SUPPORTERS IN THE COUNTRY, WHO WANT PAKISTAN ARMY OUT OF THE REGION. AND THAT ONLY COMPLICATES MATTERS FOR THE PAKISTANI LEADERSHIP. SO MORE THAN 5 YEARS LATER, WITH BILLIONS OF AMERICAN TAX PAYER DOLLARS PAID OUT TO THE MUSHARRAF REGIME AND ITS ARMY. HERES THE BOTTOM LINE—OSAMA BIN LADEN HAS NOT BEEN CAPTURED. AND NOW THE TALIBAN HAS FOUND SHELTER AND EVEN FREE REIGN OVER SOME AREAS ALONG THE PAKISTANI BOARDER. LAST YEAR, MUSHARRAF PULLED BACK HIS TROOPS FROM PARTS OF THE NORTHERN REGION, LEAVING SOME AREAS ENTIRELY CONTROLLED BY TRIBAL LEADERS WHO SYMPATHIZE WITH THE TALIBAN. THE EFFECT HAS BEEN DISASTROUS, ACCORDING TO INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS. THEY SAY THAT THE TALIBAN LEADERSHIP IS NOW STRONGER THEN IT HAS BEEN IN YEARS, AND THAT COME SPRING THERE WILL BE A TALIBAN OFFENSIVE IN AFGHANISTAN LAUNCHED FROM PAKISTAN.

RATHER

Joe, we've been seeing a growing discussion about Afghanistan alongside what had been a war debate dominated almost entirely by Iraq. How do you think this more complicated foreign policy question, this reminder of the larger war on terrorism, will play out in the campaign?

KLEIN

Well um, first of all we had a question before from a young woman about whether this should have been described as the war on terror in the first place. Uh, when I've talked to members of, high ranking members of our intelligence community and also the uniform military going back to 2003, they always thought that, that an invasion a frontal invasion of Iraq was a diversion from this conflict—notice I didn't call it a war. I think that we're

facing you know, we are facing a really long-term sporadic, intermittent conflict against religious extremists here. And uh and it's going to have to be addressed. But what we need to hear from the candidates is wither or not they believe in the Bush doctrine of preemptive attack on other states, whether they believe that other states are the real problem. Or are these non-state actors who are kind of post modern and uh and vicious and violent, but have to be attacked in a different way.

RATHER

Having just come back from Afghanistan let me note, then were gonna go to a question from the audience. I think two things to watch in Afghanistan are what happens in the rather extreme southwest portion of the country, Kandahar province and Helmand province next to it. A lot of the help, it's unquestionably coming to the Taliban, uh goes into that area and in terms of what the military will be facing, I think we keep our eye on. The second is what happens to opium. The opium crop is financing the Taliban and a lot of other bad actors in Afghanistan. The State Department is working very hard to try to do something with this problem, but those are two things to watch when you think about Afghanistan. Let's go to a question from the audience, thank you.

JIM WILLS, STUDENT AT WOODROW WILSON

Thank you I'm Jim Wills, I'm a second year master student here at the Wilson School. Uh, I'm curious as to if you think experience as an elected official will become a substantive issue in the Democratic primary. Specifically, uh from my armchair it appears that Governor Bill Richardson has more experience, to use Mr. Klein's analogy, than the three current swimmers in the Democratic lap pool. And if he's unable to break into the spotlight, will the experience issue not manifest itself in a as a prevailing issue?

RATHER

Well, without identifying myself with the premise of your question about Governor Richardson, who obviously has a very good resume—one-time U.N. Ambassador, one-time Secretary of Energy, Congressman and now a Governor, actually great resume. I think experience does count, however it may count less in this election than before, because my sense is at this point we still have well over a year to run. A lot of the electorate is looking something new and is willing to trade off saying, "listen, we've tried experienced people and it didn't work out so well, so give me someone new." So I think there's that factor. But I can't think of a presidential election campaign in which experience was the dominant issue. I subscribe to the idea that character is always the dominant issue in a presidential campaign. That's first and foremost. Now if you have and can convince the electorate you have the character and better character for the presidency than your opponent, then that's a very tough combination to beat. Joe?

KLEIN

Freshness is a character trait. You know, let me throw a kind of amazing statistic out to you. In the television era, which began with John Kennedy, we've had party changes in the presidency six times, and of those six times the less experienced candidate won five of them, from John Kennedy beating Richard Nixon to George W. Bush beating Al Gore. The only exception was when, well was really kind of a toss up in 1968 when Hubert

Humphrey ran up against Richard Nixon, both of them were experienced. Now, I think the important part of your question is this -- how serious are we now as a country after 9/11, after the experience of the last six years, uh living in a country which has lost a lot of it's luster in the world, which is facing major problems in terms of you know global warming, our health insurance system, our education system um and, is the country of such a serious mood now that they're going to look to something more then freshness and charisma. I don't have the answer for that.

RATHER

Yes, ma'am.

MALDORI VALDIVIA, STUDENT AT WOODROW WILSON

Thank you, my name is Maldori Valdivia, I'm a first year masters student at the Woodrow Wilson School. My question is with all the money spent in 2008, do you believe that after the election's over the public financing system will be revamped?

RATHER

Frankly, I doubt it. I think there will be some efforts to make it. I'm not saying there won't be something passed, but in terms of a serious revamping of it. I doubt it, but I'm an optimist by nature and experience and one can always hope that it may be. Joe, we've gone through this nearly every election, saying listen we're gonna get really serious campaign finance reform and we've yet to find it.

KLEIN

Yes, I'm tempted to answer your question by saying, God, I hope not, because every time we try and find the magic bullet, um you know, the people with money figure out ways around it. In truth, I think there are only two directions you can go: towards a publicly financed system, uh in which case your going to have some real First Amendment issues—or, going exactly in the opposite direction and saying that candidates can raise as much money as they want from everybody, anybody and um and but that those contributions have to be posted. So if you, Candidate A, want to raise 40 million dollars from defense contractors, we in the public, we in the press, are going to publicize that. I think ultimately given the Constitution that's the only system that is going to eliminate a lot of the craziness that we have now, the amount of the time the candidates have to spend in raising the money.

RATHER

But Joe, question, um if you reach that nirvana as you described it earlier.

KLEIN

It's not nirvana..

RATHER

Would it not would it or would it not, encourage a candidate say, Michael Bloomberg, Mayor of New York, without saying whether or not he wants to get in the presidential race or not, I'd be interested to know what you think about that, but a candidate such as a

Bloomberg can say, "Listen, everybody else has to play to those rules, I'll just take the rubber band off this bankroll in my pocket and finance my own campaign."

KLEIN

And that's what we have now, that's what we have now, essentially the 3rd party movement in the last 20 years has been the big money movement, Ross Perot and now the possibility of Bloomberg, who I must say has been a terrific mayor of New York, but I don't know about his foreign policy and national security credentials.

RATHER

Would you be stunned if he got in the race?

KLEIN

I would not be stunned if he got in the race, especially if the major party candidates turn out to be people who have gotten there purely on the basis of the amount of money they've had and not on their character and if they're candidates who don't seem to be addressing the serious issues that we have facing us.

RATHER

Well, I wanna get to a question off the internet, but just a footnote that if, if it turns out with the frontloaded primaries that each of the major parties know their candidates as early as February, which could very well happen, there may be enough voter fatigue by the time we get to the summer that somebody says that I'm gonna run as an independent as Ross Perot did. People tend to forget Ross Perot got a little over 19 percent or about 19 percent of the vote in 1992. And Bill Clinton might very well have not been president, elected president, except for Perot's instance, so that may be something to watch.

KLEIN

Chronology is weird in politics, as you know. I mean especially when you get down to an election. The last week, every day is like a month before and you know, last time in 2004 remember we were talking about how, "What are we going to do from March until September?" And in somehow we managed to fill up those days with all kinds of not very profound speculation and being for it before I was against it and things like that.

RATHER

We're gonna go to a question from the internet now Charles from Delan, Florida asked, does the appeal of Hillary and Obama mean that popularity is more important than experience? Goes back to a question that we had before. But how important is it? Well certainly popularity, it's a popularity contest in many ways, but I was struck with what you said earlier, Joe and I tend to agree with it. That charisma plays a roll and popularity, early popularity certainly helps, but I can't remember a campaign in which I thought it was decisive.

KLEIN

I think you're right and the interesting thing about Hillary Clinton is that the way she's framing her campaign, it isn't about charisma at all, it's about experience, and she's

counting the eight years when she was first lady as part of her experience. Now when I look at her resume from that period, I look at the failure of universal health insurance at a moment when the President, President Clinton now says he could have gotten it if they'd gone about it in a different way. Um and so, I think that she is banking on the experience card against, against Obama. But you know, were going to have to see how this evolves and when we talk about those two, I would have to say that just sitting here that the most undervalued stock in the presidential on the Democratic side is John Edwards.

RATHER

And the most undervalued stock on the Republican side?

KLEIN

Well, it's hard to be overvalued and undervalued at the same time, but I would say Rudy Giuliani is—he is probably overvalued by the public that doesn't know him yet and undervalued by the Washington punditocracy who's saying, "a guy like that could never be elected president."

RATHER

Ahh, but they said that about Ronald Regan in 1980 and Lyndon Johnson thought that Richard Nixon was no way that he could win in um 68. Yes ma'am?

SHIRLEY HU, STUDENT AT WOODROW WILSON

I'm Shirley Hu. I'm a senior in the Wilson School. In the upcoming elections it seems a lot of the hot button issues are global in scope. My question is in light of the U.N. panel's recent study confirming climate change, what kind of role do you think global warming will play in the upcoming election?

RATHER

Well, I think the environment as a whole will be a bigger issue then any previous election and partly because of global warming and the attention has been called to this subject. The question in my mind is, Joe, having givin that answer is, why hasn't a Republican candidate taken the environment as his own and his party's own? Theodore Roosevelt got pretty far with it in his time --why haven't they taken it on?

KLEIN

Well, you know the interesting thing is when you go over seas to countries like Russia, for example, environmentalism is a conservative issue. It's a, you know the you know the more conservative parties count that as one of their most important planks. John McCain is somebody who I think will emphasize it this time. He has a, uh a bill to reduce carbon emissions—it's a bill jointly sponsored with Joseph Lieberman. But this issue, almost more then any other, is one that I'm going to look at to see what the candidates ask of us. Because you're not going to be, everybody is talking a good game about global warming now in Washington. I was at a hearing this morning at the Senate Finance Committee and you would be surprised how the conservative Republicans are saying, "We have to do something about it." The true test is when we, when they, when we ask them, "Well,

what are you going to ask of us? What kind of taxes are we going to have to pay?" And if they don't tell you, they're not telling you the truth.

RATHER

Yes ma'am, next question.

FRANKIE EVANS, STUDENT AT WODROW WILSON

Thank you. Frankie Evans, second year masters candidate at the Woodrow Wilson School. Moving a little bit to the role of the media will, will the media coverage of primary results, vis-à-vis primary expectations, make or break a candidate like Edwards who, with the correct spin could be surging with healthy, if not winning results in New Hampshire and Iowa?

RATHER

Well, I think the short answer is yes to the first part of your question, uh will it be overtalked, overplayed, over hyped? Probably so. But let's take the Edwards case, which you used as a hypothetical. It wouldn't be spin if Edwards were to win Iowa, it wouldn't be spin to say, he's now a player, big time. Now from that, would probably the next graph might say, "Now he has to win two of the next three: New Hampshire, South Carolina, maybe Michigan. But that would be a real accomplishment by Edwards. I don't—my own personal opinion is, he nearly has to win Iowa to keep himself viable in the campaign and importantly to continue to be able to raise the money.

KLEIN

Can I broaden this into our role in general? Um, you know, we went through, actually I named a character in "Primary Colors" after this Orlando Ortzio, the Governor of New York. Machiavelli said that "otzio" is the greatest enemy of a republic—"otzio" is Italian for indolence, for laziness. And we've had a period of unprecedented peace and prosperity in this country. Yes, we've had wars, but they were peripheral wars, not wars that involve the whole country. And during that period we lost the habits of citizenship and we in the media, in order to keep our ratings up had to resort, especially the all news channels, had to resort to bread and circuses. And so there's a whole generation of young Americans, people your age who think that serious political discourse is Eleanor Cleft and Pat Buchanan screaming at each other. And I think that we are facing that, you are facing a test of citizens in 2008, we in the media are facing a test as citizens as well, and I think that while there's going to be horse race speculation as Dan says, we have to give him a little bit, we have to give you a little bit more then that.

DAN RATHER (ON CAMERA)

TIME FOR ME TO PLAY TIME POLICE, TONIGHT WE'VE BEGUN OUR DISCUSSION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN WITH THE SUBJECT OF MONEY. AS THE CAMPAIGN MOVES ON WE'LL BE GETTING TOGETHER FOR MORE OF THESE MEETINGS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, CONTINUING THE CONVERSATION ABOUT THE ISSUES AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. BUT THROUGH IT ALL YOU MAY WANT TO KEEP YOUR EYE ON WHERE THE MONEY IS COMING FROM AND YOU MAY WANT TO GIVE SOME

THOUGHT AS WELL TO WHAT MIGHT BE EXPECTED IN RETURN FROM THOSE WHO SUPPLY THE VERY LARGE SUMS THAT FUEL MODERN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS.

WITH SO MANY PRESSING ISSUES FACING OUR COUNTRY AND THE NEXT PRESIDENT, THERE MAY BE FEW QUESTIONS MORE IMPORTANT THEN THAT OF WITHER WE ARE STILL A NATION OF, BY AND FOR THE PEOPLE, OR—WHETHER WE ARE IN DANGER OF BECOMING A NATION OF BY, AND FOR, PEOPLE WITH MONEY. THE KIND OF MONEY THAT CAN MAKE SOME VOICES MORE EQUAL, MUCH MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS. NOW WITH SPECIAL THANKS TO THE WOODROW WILSON SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS HERE AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, AND TO OUR LIVE AUDIENCE HERE AND FOR THOSE AT HOME OUR THANKS. THANKS ALSO TO JOE KLEIN. FOR HDNET, DAN RATHER REPORTING. GOODNIGHT.