Exhibit 12



A High Tide For Prices of Private Docks REAL ESTATE | W1



Bang-Up Job: Visiting China's Fireworks City MARKETPLACE | B1



In Rare Boom, Cities Rush To Build Parks WEEKEND JOURNAL! W1

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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What's News-

Business and Finance

World-Wide ■ Justices restricted the use of race to integrate public schools. The Supreme Court's 5-4 decision is a stark indication of how the court is splitting along ideological lines and reflects deep disagreements over the Brown v. Board of Education ruline. Hun-

agreements over the Brown v. Board of Education rating, Hundreds of schools will be required to rethink their race-based policies. Dissenting institees accused the majority of betraying the promise of racial equality, while conservatives halled the decision. Al, Ad The court. 5-t. berred Trans from a country of the court of the country of the countr

unit interest the instance can be executed.

The immigration bill collapsed as supporters foll 14 votes short. Within minutes after Senate vote to limit debate failed, Democrats discussed how to salvage pieces such as farm-Labor provisions. Tech firms said they would press for legislation to increase the number of skilled workers. But backers may stand back and let problems worsen until public support builds, which may be after 2008 elections. A3

The battle stomps Bush as a lame duck. In the Most, the stalemate can be an excess to model a fight.

can be an excess to mode a fight.

The White Bose moved toward
a constitutional showdown, rejecting Senate subpoenas related to firings of U.S. attorneys. It may soon
be embroiled in a similar executive
privilege standoff over subpoenaon Bush's warrantless surveillance

on Bush's warrantless surveillance program, even as it resumes a legis-iative push to update FISA law. AIZ a Pelosi endorsed the Senate's ef-forts to boost fuel standards, but uncertainty on House action re-flects splits among Democrats. A7 — The House rejected an effort to eliminate Cheney's office funds.

A Scottish panel ruled that a Libyan convicted in the 1988 Pan Au bombing should be given an appe so new evidence can be weighed.

■ The EU banned all indonesian airlines and Some from Russia, Ukraine and Angola from flying into the bloc due to safety issues.

■ Biologists changed one species of bacteria into another, a step toward a new life form and a process with possible commercial uses. Bl ■ Scientists have created embryonic stem cells by stimulating unfertilized eggs, but some disagree on the ethics of the procedure.

■ Israeli President Katsav pleades guilty to lesser sex crimes, a deal that avoids jail but forces him to resign. Peres succeeds him July 15.

Colombia accuse FARC rebels of killing II lawmakers abducted in 2002. The guerrillas said they died in a rescue crossfire last week.

Russia successfully test-fired a sea-based ballistic missile, a weapon Moscow claims can pene-trate prospective air defenses.

■ The U.S. reached pacts with Bogota and Seoul on free trade as Bush raced to meet a deadline be-fore fast-track legislation expires.

■ Bush urged patience on Iraq in a speech at the Naval War College as an aide met with Republican war critics about a defense-policy bill.

Fuel Costs and Real Estate

May Dent Consumer Mood

The Fed left short-term rates unchanged at \$25% and softened its hawkish inflation stance abit, while apparently ruling out any rate cuts soon. The move, which had been expected, had little impact on stocks. The Dow industrials eased \$45 points to 13422.28. Treasurys fell. Az. Ct. 32 Nymes crude-oll futures briefly topped \$70 a barrel for the first time since September before settling at \$69.37. Ct.

- Richard Scrushy was sentenced to nearly seven years in prison for bribery. A judge denied the HealthSouth founder's bid to remain free pending appeal. A3
- remain free pending appeal. A3

 **The U.S. net foreign debt posses about \$500 billion last year, a less-than-expected sum given the current-account aga, helped by returns on overseas investments. As **The Supreme Court deelded to let manufacturers set and enforce minimum prices, upending a nearly 100-year-old ban. A2
- a nearly 100-year-old ban. Az

 Mortgage firms are offering
 deals to avoid foreclosures, but
 the effort may create clashes with
 mortgage-backed debt investors. CI
 U.K. fund Caliber said it is
 shutting down because of souring investments in subprime
 mortgage-backed securities. CI
- KB Home swung to a \$148.7 million loss as revenue tumbled 36% amid a glut of homes for sale and slackening demand. c6
- GM Is selling Allison Transmission to private-equity firms Carlyle and Onex for S5.6 billio its latest move to raise cash. A4
- Delta Air Lines emerged as the leading contender to win the first new nonstop flights between the U.S. and China. A4
- U.A. is struggling with a dispired staff, poor consumer ratings and mediocre service, 17 months after leaving Chapter 11. Alo

 The SEC is set to interview witnesses as it builds a case against a couple accused of improperly trading Dow Jones shares. A4
- The FDA is blocking imports of Chinese farm-raised seafood at ter finding 25% had residues of ille gal antibiotics and chemicals. B6
- RIM's profit jumped 73%, helped by a new linear of co
- suped by a new lineup of consumer devices. Rival Palm reported a 43% drop in earnings. B4

 Apple CEO John
- Apple CEO Jobs conceded AT&T's network will limit how fast iPhones surf the Web but said Wi-Fi use would boost speed. B4 ■ Qualcomm rejected a patent-
- settlement proposal from rival Broadcom, the latest twist in a fight over cellphone chips. BS
- Russia's Gazprom said earnings nearly doubled last year, helped by gas exports to Europe. Lukoil's first-quarter profit fell 23%. C6
- A new Maine law requiring community-impact studies for big box stores shows how the issue is gaining on the state level. A8
 - Died: Klichi Miyazawa, 87, pre-mier of Japan 1991-93, in Tokyo.

TODAY'S'AGENDA: A preview of necessworthy events

With Strong Job Market. Wallets Seem to Stan Open

Wallets Seem to Stap Open

of the state of t

The mood of American consumers likely soured in June, thanks to higher gas prices, real-estate fitters and higher interest rates. The University of Michigann's June consumer-sentiment index is forecast to slide to 88.7 from May's 88.3. Result, at 10 am. EUT.

Commerce department reports on construction spending, 10 am EDT.

Follow the news all day at W\$J.com

A Shift in Dining Scene How Districts Nicks a Once-Hot Chain

Applebee's Retained Bar-and-Grill Formula As Tastes Moved On

By JANET ADAMY

TABLE TALK

By JAMET ADAMY

Of a visit to Marietta, Ga, last fall,
Of laimer stopped into an Appleboe's
and ordered a braschetta burger, "I
didn't like it al." she syst.
All "she syst chicken salad and \$10.09 ribbelset plat-ters, Applebee's in the 1996 grew into the nation's largest sit-down restau-rant chain, in part by blanketing sub-urbs and smaller cities that competi-tors overlooked. It was to popular that franchisces of other chains occasionally tore them down to build more Ap-piebee's restaurants. Yet today, Applebee's finds itself a

Bison Don't Roam, And It's a Problem For the Polish Herd

Plan Is to Get Lazy Beasts To Travel Abroad and Breed; The EU Looks for Solution

By EDWARD TAYLOR

BIALOWIIZA, Poland—Krzysztof Niedziałkowski is trying to teach Ex-rope's largest Jand manmal, the bison, to become more European. To keep the animals from extinc-tion, Mr. Niedziałkowski, coordinator of the European Bison Program, is try-ing to change the migration pattern of about 400 loovland bison 1950 no baabout 400 lowland bison this on ob-sus bonasus) roaming the primeral rest in northeastern Poland. He nuts to persuade Polish bison to ced with other wild herds of the me species in neighboring Lithuania



Registor Mr. Niedziałkowski Mr. Niedziałkowski Mr. Niedziałkowski rona project to lay out trails of beets and hay-food to coax the bison to take their first small steps beyond the forest and eventually, he hopes, across

forest and eventually, he hopes, across borders.

"It's not working very well," says wolfspane fremath, a roodspair at the wolfspane fremath, a roodspair at the helping to finance the project. "Bison are very larg and they haven't understood where to go. It may take a couple of years for theen to learn."

The feeding stations of "steering mesh" set out by the rangers often don't last long since there's a good chare that e.g., deer and wild boar ered from 20 bison with radio collars show that, so far, not a single one shaw that, so far, not a single one lannangaed to follow a planned 37-mile minaration route between neighboring migration route between neighboring nigration route between neighb prests in Poland, Mr. Niedziałk

says.

But the EU, together with Mr. Niedzialkowski's employer, Poland's Mamal Research Institute, and the Frankfurt Zoological Society, have put up more than 54 million as part of a four-year program starting last year to expand the bison's habitat and to teach Please turn to page AIZ

Losing Ground

Change in sales				6.
at Applebee's	247			2
U.S. restaurants	1 1	٠		2
open for at least	4 3	7.7		- 0
18 months:	7004	· , :	'05	-2

Net Income, in millions:

2002	'03	104	105	105	
					4

company with falling profits, a bagging stock and restless investors agirating for change. Reclard Breeden, level of of the company, the attacked Applebee's for giving bonuses to executives while the stock languished, and complained that directors didn't have a strategy to get things moving again. In february, trying to please its antiog strategy to get things moving again, in february, trying to please its antiog that the strategy of the strategy to the str

Attracting diners these days are Please turn to page Al3

- Court Limits Integrate Schools Race-Based Policy Ban

Augurs Broad Changes; Clash Over Brown Case

By Jess Bravin And Daniel Golden

And DANIEL GOLDEN

WASHINGTON—In one of its most
bitterly divided rulings of recent years,
the Supreme Court sharply restricted
how school districts can racially integrate their student bedies, reflecting
the student bedies, reflecting
state their student bedies, reflecting
sweeping change to hundreds of publie-school districts, ammy of which
must rethink the ose of various racebased policies they have voluntarily
adapted, including, the busing of stubased policies they have voluntarily
adapted, including, the busing of stuperdomnantly white suburbs. Except
for districts ordered by courts to remcyt the ills of print official segregation, the decision effectively outlaws
assigning students to a school because
of their race.

That means more districts are likely

assegning students to a school because of their race. It is mean more districts are Biely at the mean more districts are Biely at the mean more districts are Biely at the mean more districts and their stock of the mean strain some students from the more districts of the mean some students of race. Gee redoted article on page BL3 The case is list starkest indication yet how the court is splitting along inclosing that lines under the steward-ship of Chief Justice John Roberts, as the new court hallenges three de-the new court districts of the new court and off the mean one of the angiest disvisions in court in their assessment of Brown, the B95 ruling that decreed an n, the 1954 ruling that decreed an Please turn to page A10

NARRATIVE DISCORD

Critiques of Iraq War Reveal Rifts Among Army Officers

Colonel's Essay Draws Rebuttal From General; Captains Losing Faith By GREG JAFFE

By Graz JAFFE

Last December, Lt. Col. Paul Yingling altended a Purple Heart ceremony for soldlers injured in fraq. As watched the wounded troops, collect their medials, the 41-year-old of their medials, they are sold to the town of their medials of their medials, they are sold their medials, t

war that they did not prepare for and do not understand. "his piece orgued.

The essay rocketed around the Army via enail. The director of the Army's eitle school for war planners scrapped his lesson plan for a day to manding general at Fort Hood assembled about 200 capatains in the chapel and the second plant of the control of the Army via the chapel and the second plant of the second plant of the chapel and the second plant of the

Putin's Soul

By David Satter

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W. Bush meets
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W. Bush meets
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Deep the Bush m

Russia's ex-KGB president runs a gangster state that pursues anti-Western ¿ policies in order to survive

Russia wants to stop the U.S. from installing an anti-ballistic missile system in Eastern Europe on the grounds that it undermines the Russian determ. Mr. Putal offered instead to share the Russian early warning radar station in Azerbaljan to holg the U.S. protect isself against fram. But the öffer made not sense. The radar is to oclose to Jant to be secure and earning guide of the Common Co

interceptors based in Poland.
At the same tive, Russia continues
to lend support to iran. At n. June 20
press conference in Techran, Russia
Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov said
that Iran was not a threat and that Iran
tara not in the at an at the
tregime, including construction of
the Bushehr nuclear plant scheduled
to come on line in October.
Western officials have often been
mystified by Russian actions that
you undermining Western security in the

face of Islamic familicism, undermine Russia's security as well. But the Putin regime is concerned first of all with its won security. Russlan interests are often not taken into account. At first glance, the position of the Putin regime appears impregnable, assign bargets beneficing of the world commodities been stopped to the property of the prope

Despite this, the Putin regime is above 70%.

Despite this, the Putin regime is actually quite fraight. It sits at the apex of an unitst social system and tolerates just enough liberty to make it extended to the system and tolerates in the systematically eliminate dother centers of power, As a result, the breautracy rules alone—without interference from society four lass owthout its support.

Under Mr. Putin the beautract.

terference from society but also without its support.

Under Mr. Putin, the handful of
people who run Russia blao own it.
Government officials are on the board of
Russia's largest state-run companies. First Deputy Premier Dmitty
Medvedev is chairman of the board of
Gazprom, Joor Sechin, doputy head of
Gazprom, Joor Sechin, doputy head of
Heaving Seching of the Seching of the Seching
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the Russian stock market.
The country is the scene of grossincome inequality. In 2006, the average
income of the top 10% of the population in Moscow was 49 times greater
than that of the bottom 10%. Despite
the oil boom, 83% of the Russian population is poor.
Historically, income Inquestive has

action is poor.

Historically, income inequality has been dangerous for Russia and seldom has wealth been flouted in Russia the way it is now. The income gap also lias grimconsequences because of the gov-

George Bush and Vladimir Putin

George usion and videous reliant point.

erroment's failure to invest in social services. Those with money obtain high quality medical care. Those without it give up on their lives and wait to die, aware that decent medical care is out of reach. One result is, that there are 160 deaths in Nussia for every 100, births. Male life expectancy in Bussia ladesh, Bussia's in unter rate is nearly live times that of the U.S.

five times that of the U.S.

Because the oil boom has guaranteed a gradual improvement in conditions and Russians were traumatized by the chaos of the Boris Yolisin years, they have been accepting of conditions under Mr. Putin. But a collapse of the oil price would pringe the social and the conditions are the conditions and the conditions are the same time, the Russian leading the conditions are several terrorist acres and political assassinations that could be ree-scanned with far receiving consequences. Russia has been the seene of many and with far receiving consequences. Russia has been the seene of many crimes and unexplained deaths he last eight years, but the best known were the 1999 apartment bombings, the hostage takings in Moscow and

Resian, the apparent poisoning of the investigative journalist Yari Shchaicochkhin, the murder of Duma deputy Sergel Jysthenkov, and the recent murders of Anna Politikovskaya and Alexander Livinenkov, and the recent murders of Anna Politikovskaya and Alexander Livinenko was typical.

The government has done virtually but the murder of Livinenko was typical, the murder of Livinenko was typical, the private citizens and journalists have continued to turn up information. It has been reported, for example, that law enforcement was informed in advance about Jimston to take hostages about the continuent of the continuent o

ing the investigation into the apparent poisoning of Shehekeelikkin, who had investigated corruption in the FSB. This was a way of attacking their end of the FSB. This was a way of attacking their end of the their end of their bear. In the second of the

Mr. Satter is affiliated with the Hoover Institution, the Hudson Insti-tute and Johns Hopkins. His most re-cent book is "Darkness at Dawn; the Rise of the Russian Criminal State" (Yale, 2003).

Bv Paul Kedrosky

In he Apple iPhone is set to be released today at 6 p.m., and I feel
like I already have one. Apple's
new "Jesus phone"—it combines Inreferrent access, an iPdo must player,
and, oh-yes, aphone—has been accompanied by a loud, relentiess, and unAccording to one study, \$58x of British and 64% of U.S. mobile phone ubers are aware of the iPhone, and 19 million Americans have expressed interest in buying
one. That is remarkable
stuff when you consider the
imported by price, not to expressed interest in buying
one. That is remarkable
stuff when you consider the
imported by price, not exsuccessful so-called smarrhones are lueky to sell a
million units.
Yikes! \$0, how has Apple
done it? Some people argue
it has clevely drip-dripped
product information to the
ers and journaists alike, everyone hanging on to learn
about the next infly feature.
A big, bright touch screen!
A real Web browser! A finger-flickable interface!
Joss described and demonstrated
between the product
the same as what is being launched to
day. I am hard-pressed to think of a
single material feature in the product
that wasn't announced six months
ago, right down to the nifty new way
you can serold through songs.

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single material feature in the product
the same as what is being launched to
day in the reserved the same has been
the company's massive, multibilliondellar marketing campaign hat has

other interest in the company's massive, multiplimoudollar marketing campaign that has done the deed. The trouble is, there is no such multibillion-dollar Apple campaign. Apple simpay announced

the product, and they did nothing. It has only been in the last month that there have been some television advertisements, and those were merely product demonstrations set to music. Granted, it was nice music, but it was also just an iPhone being put through its paces, hardly the recipe for hype.

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CE.

was also just an irhone being put who also just an irhone being put through its paces, hardly the recipe for hype.

Some will say i'm missing the most important factor in Apple's marser showman, and Apple founder and CEO. Steve Jobs. The proposition using Lampaign in the promotion using his personal persuasiveness and charm. Fine. Show me his recent if hone-pumping appearances on CRIB. Abone, Or on CRIB. Choice, Or on CRIB. Child. Choice, Or on CRIB. Choice, Or on CRIB. Child. Choice, Or on CRIB. Child. Chi

to explain the iPhone's cultural usuq-uity.

If it's not the marketing campaign, northe cult of Apple, northe shounds, ship of the charismatic Steve Jolis, then how has the iPhone succeeded in getting millions of pencel interested in buying comelling to exposure that in buying comelling to exposure that it let let you. First, people hate their cell phones Other than making phone calls—a downright dreary bit of business—suring phones for Inter-net, entertainment and pretty much

The Jesus Phone

anything else has been abysmal. Cell phones are best characterized as crippled, paternalistic devices best suited for people who think strait-jackets are comfortable 'evening

iPhone mania says a lot about how much people hate their current wireless

ontions.

wear. They have horrible Web brows-ers, crummy screens, and obscure-to-the point-of-opacity interfaces. (Af-ter all, some of the iPhone's most hyped features, like maps, are on tra-

ditional cell phones as well. You just can't find the feature.)
But in addition to hating their phones, people hate their cell phone carriers. Hate, hate, hate. The major cellular providers—with their humbanded support and fasciest common their cellular providers—with their directly—are right up there with the HSS in terms of inspiring your state are also made as the cellular providers and the support and fasciest the support and fasciest the last of the support and fasciest the support and

age mobile phone user's disgust and loathing.

To such consumers, Apple's Phone seems like a cool drink of water. These people want to be liberated either from bad phones or from bad phone companies. They want to hoose a device that does all the things they want to do—calling, being entertained, consuming linder, consuming linder, consuming linder, and the things their phone

company thinks they should do (and then be charged \$5 a month per feature for the privilege). They want plones that make it possible to do calls over wir fi, to the point that cellipse the did potentially become irrelevant.

The massive upwelling of grass-roots support for the iPhone shows that a revolution has been building for some time. Now it's here. Cell phone carriers are going to have to respond by cutting the length of contracts and eliminating exclusivity, and most important, by finally being responsive to their market. If not, and most important, by finally being responsive to their market. If not like the proposed in the proposed proposed in the proposed prop

Mr. Kedrosky is a venture capitalist and CNBC analyst.

Scalia's Judicial Activism

his past, week, a sharply divided Supreme Court in Hein v. Free-dow From Religion Foundable held that President Busin's falth-based initiatives could not be challegued in the factor of the factor as a prohibited state establishment of religion. Religion Religion shad not be challegued but the merits of the underlying held but the merits of the underlying held but the merits of the underlying held profit of the constitutional rule that denies taxpayers 'standing' to sue.

eshallenge, but relied instead on tho constitutional rule that denies taxpayeers "standing" to sue. Many liberals criticized his discission of the control o

side congressional or executive power.

The doctrine arose from two companion suits brought in 1923 against Andrew Mellon, then Secretary of the panion suits brought in 1923 against Andrew Mellon, then Secretary of the Treasury, to begic the collection suit of the secretary of the secretary of the secretary of the secretary and the se

Since then, the one major excep-tion to the standing doctrine surfaced

the Studie of the Color of the

Taxpayers have every right to challenge unconstitutional government.

They all addressed the wrong question: The proper rule should allow all taxpayers free roin to challenge either Congress or the executive branch for overstepping their constitutional au-

Congress or the second conversepping their constitutional authority.

At stake is whether judicial review itself remains as a check on the political branches, Blocking taxapore stand-congressional or predicted in the production of the production

all.

Article III states that "the judicial power of the federal courts] shall extend to all cases in Law and Equity." Thereafter follows a discrete list of various disputes over which that power shall be exercised; suits aris-

ing under the Constitution and federal laws, suits to which the U.S. is a party, and the like. Nothing about this limits who counts as a proper step of the law of th

stance of shapenonary, taxpayers.
Justice Scalla therefore takes a blatantly anti-originalist position by reading into the Constitution a limitation found neither in its text nor its analysis and in the general justice. auditative and one figure as positions of the control of the contr

Mr. Epstein is a professor of law at the University of Chicago and a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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By Paul Kedrosky

he Apple iPhone is set to be released today at 6 p.m., and I feel like I already have one. Apple's new "Jesus phone"—it combines In-ternet access, an iPod music player, and, oh yes, a phone—has been accompanied by a loud, relentless, and unavoidable drumbeat of hype.

According to one study, 58% of British and 64% of U.S. mobile phone us- 4 ers are aware of the iPhone, and 19 mil-

lion Americans have expressed interest in buying one. That is remarkable stuff when you consider the iPhone's \$499 price, not to mention that even the most successful so-called smartphones are lucky to sell a million units.

Yikes! So, how has Apple done it? Some people argue it has cleverly drip-dripped product information to the market, tantalizing consumers and journalists alike, everyone hanging on to learn about the next nifty feature. A big, bright touch screen! A real Web browser! A finger-flickable interface! 1 gotta get one!

But this theory is wrong. Apple hasn't steadily dripped product information. As a matter of fact, the iPhone that Steve

Jobs described and demonstrated back in January, when he first announced the product, is pretty much the same as what is being launched today, I am hard-pressed to think of a single material feature in the product that wasn't announced six months ago, right down to the nifty new way you can scroll through songs.

So if Apple hasn't teased and tantalized its way to iPhone ubiquity, another theory goes, surely it has been the company's massive, multibilliondollar marketing campaign that has done the deed. The trouble is, there is no such multibillion-dollar Apple campaign. Apple simply announced

L Gordon Crovitz

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the product, and then did nothing. It has only been in the last month that there have been some television advertisements, and those were merely product demonstrations set to music. Granted, it was nice music, but it was also just an iPhone being put through its paces, hardly the recipe for hype.

Some will say I'm missing the most important factor in Apple's marketing campaign; master showman, and Apple founder and CEO, Steve Jobs.

He has been the one driving the promotion using his personal persuasiveness and charm. Fine. Show me his recent iPhonepumping appearances 'on CNBC. None. Or on CNN. None. He has been conspicuous in his almost_complete media absence. It must be a fairly postmodern style of promotion that has Mr. Jobs playing master showman largely by being invisible.

So if there hasn't really been much of an iPhone marketing campaign, at least in orthodox terms and Apple demonstrably isn't suffering for iPhone. attention, is it the Apple addicts out there that are responsible for the hype? Apple does have some of

the most ardent fans of anv modern company, more similar to cult members than customers, but there simply aren't enough of them to explain the iPhone's cultural ubiguity.

If it's not the marketing campaign, nor the cult of Apple, nor the showmanship of the charismatic Steve Jobs. then how has the iPhone succeeded in getting millions of people interested in buying something so expensive that hasn't even been launched?

I'll tell you. First, people hate their cell phones. Other than making phone calls-a downright dreary bit of business-using phones for Internet, entertainment and pretty much

anything else has been abysmal, Celi phones are best characterized as crippled, paternalistic devices best suited for people who think straitjackets are comfortable evening

The Jesus Phone

iPhone mania savs a lot about how much people hate their current wireless options.

wear. They have horrible Web browsers, crummy screens, and obscure-tothe point-of-opacity interfaces. (After all, some of the iPhone's most hyped features, like maps, are on traditional cell phones as well. You just can't find the feature.)

But in addition to hating their phones, people hate their cell phone carriers. Hate, hate, hate, hate. The major cellular providers-with their ham-handed "support" and fascist control of software that can run on phones directly-are right up there with the IRS in terms of inspiring your average mobile phone user's disgust and loathing.

To such consumers, Apple's iPhone seems like a cool drink of water. These people want to be liberated either from bad phones or from bad phone companies. They want to choose a device that does all the things they want to do-calling, being entertained, consuming information-not all the things their phone company thinks they should do (and then be charged \$5 a month per feature for the privilege). They want phones that make it possible to do calls over wi-fi, to the point that cellular companies could potentially become irrelevant.

The massive upwelling of grassroots support for the iPhone shows that a revolution has been building for some time. Now it's here. Cell phone carriers are going to have to respond by cutting the length of contracts and eliminating exclusivity, and most important, by finally being responsive to their market. If not, iPhones (or their successors) will finish them off.

Mr. Kedrosky is a venture capitalist . and CNBC analyst.

Scalia's Judicial Activism

By Richard A. Epstein

This past week, a sharply divided Supreme Court in Hein v. Freedom From Religion Foundation held that President Bush's faith-based initiatives could not be challenged in federal court as a prohibited state establishment of religion. Hein said nothing about the merits of the underlying challenge, but relied instead on the constitutional rule that denies taxpay. ers "standing" to sue.

Many liberals criticized the decision because it erodes the line between church and state. Many conservatives have hailed the decision for the opposite reason. I think the liber. als have a point on the merits-but quite apart from the merits, conservatives who cheer Hein make a critical mistake. Any defender of limited government who believes in an originalist interpretation of the Constitution should reject, root-and-branch, the court's hostility to taxpayer

"Standing" doctrine holds that only certain individuals are in position to challenge the constitutionality of various government actions. Today's basic rule allows challenges only from parties with a distinct "pocketbook interest," such as personal injury or contract loss. That rule blocks taxpayers from suing to stop action that they claim lies outside congressional or executive power.

The doctrine arose from two companion suits brought in 1923 against Andrew Mellon, then Secretary of the Treasury, to block the collection and expenditure of funds under the 1921 Maternity Act, which offered to cooperating states federal grants intended to reduce infant and maternal mortality. Any state could opt out of the grantbut its citizens could not opt out from the taxes needed to fund it. Massachusetts and Mrs. Frothingham sought to stop a program they claimed was exclusively of local concern under the 10th Amendment, which reserves powers not delegated to the federal govenment to the states. Justice Sutherland, writing for a unanimous court, ducked the substantive issue by denying standing to both plaintiffs.

Since then, the one major exception to the standing doctrine surfaced

in 1968 in Flast v. Cohen, which did allow taxpavers an establishment clause challenge to the payment of federal funds to religious schools. Hein asked whether the Flast exception allowed taxpavers to challenge discretionary executive branch expenditures in support of faith-based initiatives. The upshot was a three-way split. Justice Alito, writing for the Chief Justice and Justice Kennedy. held the Flast exception did not. Justices Scalia and Thomas wanted to deny taxpaver standing across the board, overruling Flast. That uneasy coalition tossed the Foundation out of court. Justice Souter speaking for Justices Stevens, Ginsburg and Breyer argued that Flast governed.

> Taxpayers have every right • to challenge unconstitutional government.

They all addressed the wrong question: The proper rule should allow all taxpavers free rein to challenge either Congress or the executive branch for overstepping their constitutional au-

At stake is whether judicial review itself remains as a check on the political branches. Blocking taxpayer standing often leaves no one to challenge congressional or presidential actions as inconsistent with our basic constitudesign-allowing both branches to act in areas where they have no constitutional authority.

Many conservatives might react in horror: High-flying legal theory should never be invoked to manufacture new powers for the federal courts. But limits on taxpayer standing do not derive from any textual command. They rest on a serious misreading of the constitutional text, which contains no standing requirement at

Article III states that "the judicial power [of the federal courts] shall extend to all cases in Law and Equity. Thereafter follows a discrete list of various disputes over which that power shall be exercised: suits aris-

ing under the Constitution and federal laws, suits to which the U.S. is a party, and the like. Nothing about this limits who counts as a proper plaintiff. It is therefore a supreme sleight-of-hand to assume that Article III justifies this self-imposed limit on judicial power.

Quite the opposite. The pocketbook or discrete-injury requirement of standing is rightly implied for cases "in law"-that is, the old common-law courts-where only damages could be awarded. But from well before even the federal constitution unified state and federal courts, courts could use their powers of equity to issue injunctions to stop the illegal actions of corporations, associations, or local governments at the instance of shareholders, members or taxpavers.

Justice Scalia therefore takes a blatantly anti-originalist position by reading into the Constitution a limitation found neither in its text nor its basic structure, nor in the general judicial practice running deep in our history. Hein does not involve a question, as he says, of "mental displeasure" on the part of members of the Freedom from Religion Foundation. The question is about the structural integrity of our government under the Constitution. It is not Flast that needs to be overturned, but Frothingham v. Mellon.

There are high stakes here in the ongoing debate between majoritarians and limited government libertarians. Majoritarians may think that our Constitution is simply a blueprint to organize democratic politics. But its elaborate system of separation of powers, checks and balances, and individual guarantees, reveals a far more complex structure.

These issues have and will replay themselves in areas from national security to environmental protection. where federal legislation and executive initiatives could raise serious constitutional questions. When they do, our commitment to limited government calls for a full and substantive analysis, not an artful dodge by unprincipled procedural tricks.

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