

The National Security State

FOR MORE THAN A DECADE, FROM THE LATE 1950S until 1968, agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation monitored Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., sent him threatening letters and worked to undermine his reputation. "Continuing to follow closely King's activities," noted an FBI memo at the time, "... so that in the end he might be discredited and thus be removed from his position of great stature in the Negro community." Civil-rights leaders weren't the only targets in those days. The FBI and the CIA kept files on hundreds of thousands of law-abiding Americans (and an ex-Beatle, too) involved in anti-war demonstrations. When these abuses were exposed in the Seventies, Congress and the Justice Department imposed reforms that limited the CIA's independence and restricted the FBI and police from monitoring groups only for their politics. ¶ That was then. Now, after September 11th, it turns out that our enemies were living among us, using our laws and our freedoms to plan and execute terrorist acts against the U.S. Within a month, Attorney General John Ashcroft pushed a bill through Congress giving the CIA an important new role in domestic spying, making it easier to conduct wiretaps - including reading e-mail - and encouraging the FBI and local police to snoop on citizens. ¶ In "Spying on Ourselves," Robert Dreyfuss describes this new domestic-surveillance bureaucracy and questions its costs to our civil liberties. "Over and over again, these agencies have asked for more powers," says Dreyfuss. "It's their nature, whether FBI, CIA or the military, to seek more power, more money and weaker restrictions over what they do." It's important to remember that you can still be a patriot and have a healthy distrust of those who would protect us.

—ROBERT LOVE, *Managing Editor*

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COVER: Tom Welling and Kristin Kreuk photographed by Stewart Shining, Vancouver, February 10th, 2002. Location: Larry Goldstein's Studio. Produced by Michelle Hall for the Agency. Hair by Eric Gabriel for REX. Makeup by Jorjee Douglas for REX. Styling by Daniel Caudill for Celestine. Welling wears T-shirt by James Perse, jeans by Helmut Lang, vintage belt and shoes courtesy of Denim DRS, Los Angeles. Kreuk wears dress by Alberta Ferretti and shoes by Jimmy Choo.

"She was an American girl, raised on promises." —TOM PETTY'S "AMERICAN GIRL"

ROCK & ROLL

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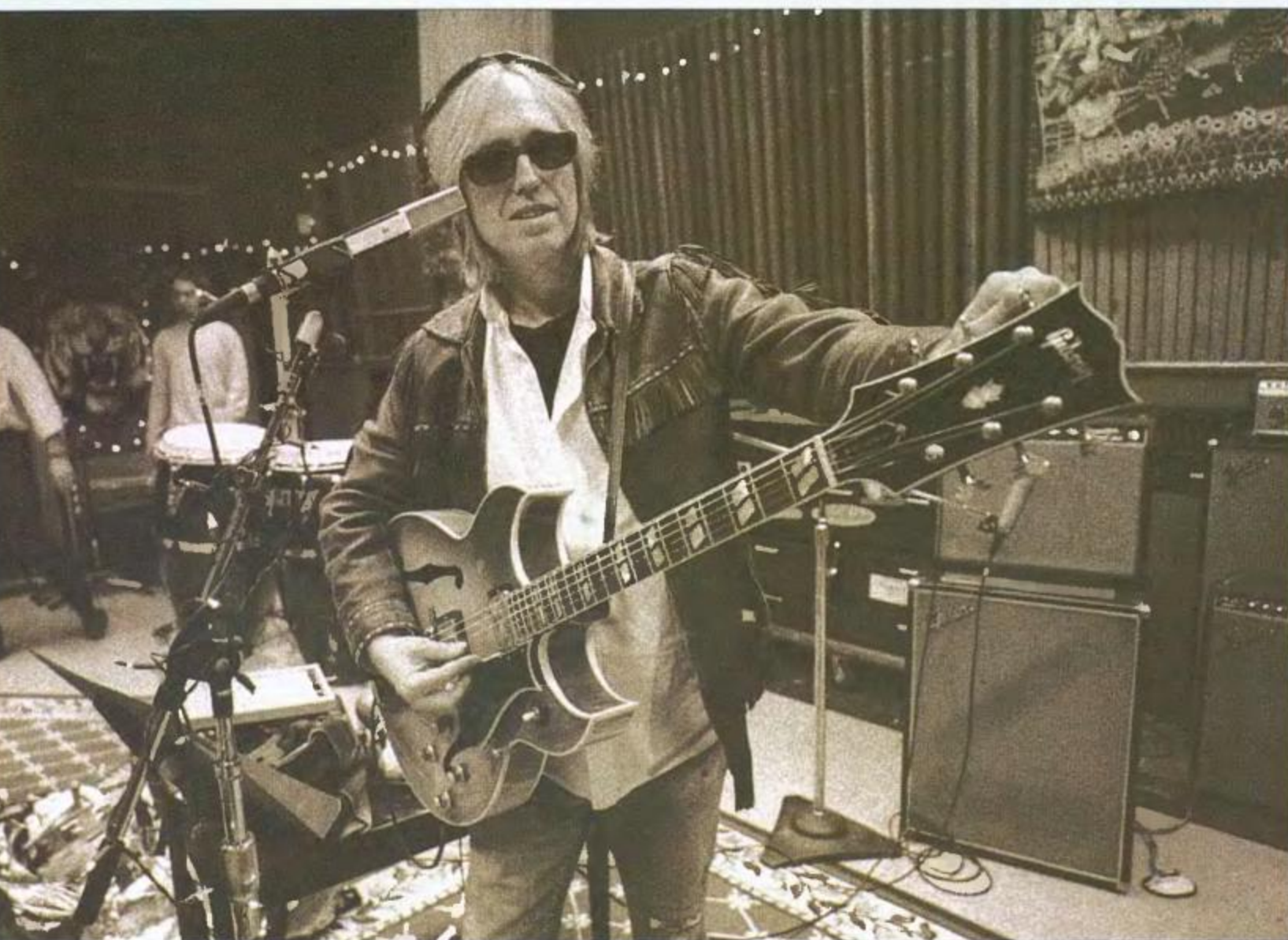
Zen and the art of punk.

PETTY, AIM, FIRE!

On his new record, Tom Petty targets "the celebration of mediocrity in America"

BY DAVID WILD

SEVERAL WEEKS BEFORE HE'LL be inducted into the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame alongside his band, the Heartbreakers, Tom Petty stands in a Hollywood studio working on a new album he describes as "a kind of audio movie" dealing with "the celebration of mediocrity in America." That includes the music business, of course—the headline of a 1981 ROLLING STONE cover story on Petty was



ONE MAN'S WAR AGAINST HIGH RECORD PRICES—particularly the extravagantly expensive VIP concert seats known as golden-circle tickets. The title of the album, in fact, is *The Golden Circle*.

"I've gotten into this whole golden-circle thing," Petty says, "about how they sell these seats down front at the venues with the names of the big companies. And it drives me nuts." Based on a half-dozen unfin-

Petty tunes up at L.A.'s Cello Studio.

ished tracks, the album—expected to be released in late summer or fall—makes good on Petty's intention to break some new ground. Petty and the Heartbreakers are recording with producer George Drakoulias (best known for his work with the Black Crowes), but they've also solicited contributions from Lindsey Buckingham of Fleetwood Mac and Jon Brion—the L.A. musician who has produced albums for Fiona Apple and Rufus Wainwright. Brion provided orchestrations for several of Petty's songs.

"I feel that what we're doing is every bit as relevant as we've ever been," Petty says as he surveys the room at Cello Studios, where he also cut "Mary Jane's Last Dance." "The great thing is that it's not over. I hope I'm not getting the gold watch."

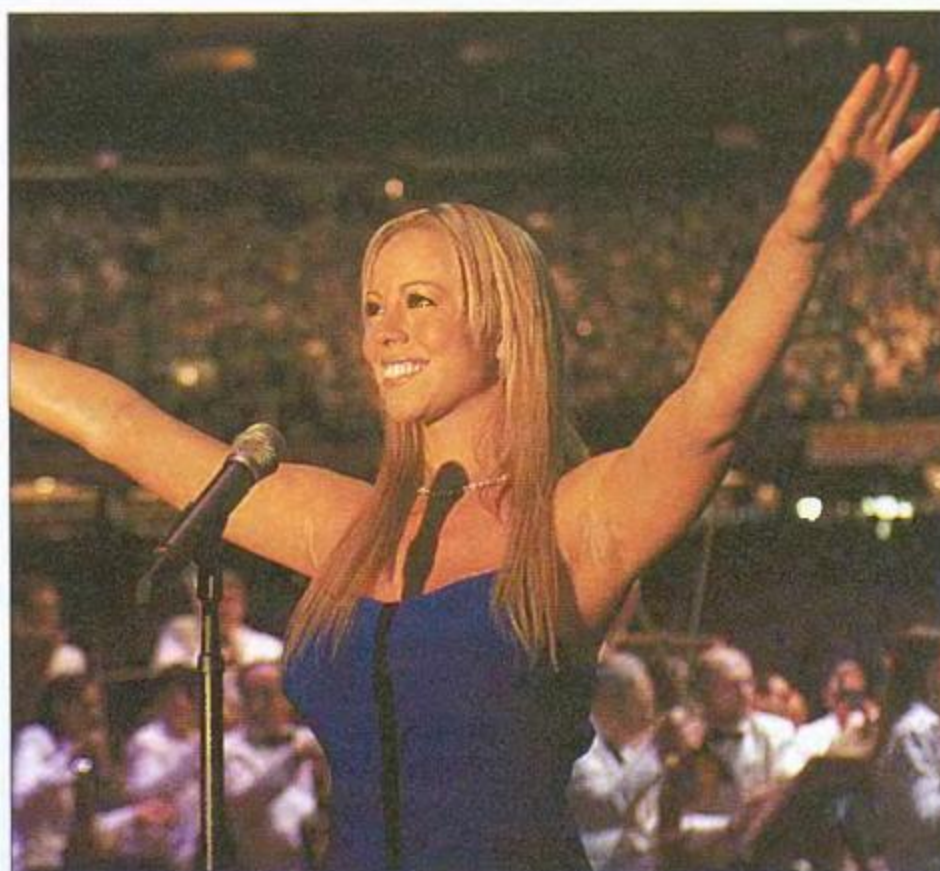
No such luck. The Hall of Fame induction doesn't include a gold watch, but it does put Petty in the company of the rock & roll heroes he has befriended and collaborated with: Bob Dylan, George Harrison and Roger McGuinn. [Cont. on 16]

MARIAH: WHAT'S NEXT?

As she shops for a new deal, labels ask whether she can still bring the hits

BY FRED GOODMAN

IT WAS A SPECTACULAR WEDDING, WITH an unhappy honeymoon and a wallet-emptying divorce. And now, on the morning after, both pop superstar Mariah Carey and her former record company, EMI Music Group, are facing serious questions about [Cont. on 16]



Carey performs the "Star-Spangled Banner" at the Super Bowl.

FRANK MICELOTTA/IMAGEDIRECT



SUM 41: LESS PUNK, MORE METAL

Band writes new material on the road

THIS POP-PUNK STYLE OF music is becoming boring," says Sum 41's Deryck "Bizzy D" Whibley. "I don't know if that's what I want to keep doing." The Canadian quartet is working

on material for its next album, and Whibley says the new songs are more metal. "Some of it sounds like melodic Slayer," he says.

Whibley and his band mates started writing tunes for the fol-

low-up to last year's *All Killer No Filler* during their recent European tour. On April 1st, they kick off three more weeks of touring in the U.S., then head into the studio in May. They hope to have the album out by early next year.

According to drummer Steve "Steveo32" Jocz, Sum's directional shift is not a move to escape comparisons to Green Day and Blink-182. "Writing songs just to get away from those comparisons is silly," he says. "We're just trying to write good songs."

Greig Nori - who produced Sum 41's first EP, *Half Hour of Power*, and manages the band - is expected to produce the upcoming album. Among the songs being considered is a new version of "It's What We're All About," recorded in January with producer Rick Rubin.

This month, Sum will put out a live DVD that will also feature footage of the band's infamous offstage shenanigans.

—GREG HELLER

TOM PETTY

[Cont. from 15] "It's an honor to me because I was the kid that rock & roll really meant something to," Petty says of his induction. "To wind up in the Hall of Fame is just beyond all belief. I used to think - years ago, before I made records - I would be so happy if I just had a good car and a place to live. It's gone so far past that."

In *The Golden Circle*, Petty takes on a music business he sees as driven increasingly by the bottom line. "It's a good metaphor for America," he says. The album's narrator, of sorts, is a disk jockey. "He is the last guy who plays what he wants and says what he wants," Petty says. "And it involves an alcoholic, aging rock-star sellout, John, and his loyal but straying girlfriend, Maggie. It goes on and on. It's not completely narrative."

For the record, Petty says the album is not especially autobiographical, but "it's all true." As for the love songs on the disc - such as the exquisite "Like a Diamond" - remember that last year Petty got

married for the second time.

Asked about the new album, Drakoulis says, "You will hear some songs, and you will think, 'Wow, Tom's angry.' But, really, it's not an indictment. I think it's like, 'It doesn't have to be this way. You can change it.'"

Petty still plans to write more songs for the album. Already, though, he's nearly done with the theme-setting "Money Becomes King" ("I'll tell you a tale/About a time when everything wasn't up for sale"), the trippy "Showtime," the satirical "Joe" ("My name is Joe/I'm the CEO") and the gorgeous "Blue Sunday," which recalls a vintage Rolling Stones country jam.

"Tom keeps saying he's got a few more songs in him," says Heartbreaker keyboardist Benmont Tench. "We've been to this point before, and that's meant fifteen more, so I guess we'll see."

Still, as he prepares to celebrate his past achievements, Petty seems most excited about his musical future. "I tell you, this is one of our good ones," he says with a grin. "I predict that this is one of our good ones." ○

MARIAH CAREY

[Cont. from 15] their futures.

Although Carey refused to comment for this article, her music-business attorney, Don Passman, says "a lot" of labels want to sign her, though he won't say which ones. "Everyone knows she's enormously talented," Passman says, suggesting Carey is only one hit away from regaining her luster. "There isn't a superstar who hasn't had a glitch in her career."

Passman did not say when a deal could be expected nor did he comment on published reports that the advances being offered were for between \$3 million to \$5 million per album - nothing to sneeze at but nowhere near the \$21 million she got from EMI for *Glitter*. A representative for Island and Def Jam, two of the labels reportedly pursuing Carey, declined to comment.

When Carey parted company with Sony's Columbia Records just a year ago, she was wooed by EMI Music with a long-term contract reportedly worth \$80 million. For EMI, it was a chance to bolster a roster thin on current sellers with a pop star whose track record included selling tens of millions of albums worldwide; for Carey, it was an opportunity to step out of the shadow of her former husband and mentor, Sony Music chief Tommy Mottola. Late last sum-



The 2000 American Music Awards' Artist of the Decade

mer, however, Carey suffered a brief but highly publicized emotional breakdown on the eve of the release of the film *Glitter*, whose soundtrack was her debut

"THERE ISN'T A SUPERSTAR WHO HASN'T HAD A GLITCH IN HER CAREER," SAYS CAREY'S LAWYER.

on EMI's Virgin label. When both the film and the album tanked, the company quickly moved to end her contract. Ken and Nancy Berry, the former husband and wife who had headed EMI Music and Virgin Records, respectively, were both sacked by EMI's new chief, Alain Levy. To get out of Carey's contract, EMI paid the singer a reported \$28 million - after already having shelled out \$21 million for *Glitter*.

Carey can certainly console herself with the notion that getting paid \$49 million for a flop may be the score of all time. Still, if she doesn't come up with hits quickly for her next label, her future will look a good deal less rosy.

EMI's decision to cut Carey and to end its long-standing relationship with David Bowie are being viewed by some as a way for Levy to take a huge loss now, thus giving himself the chance to show an improved profit next year, his first full year on the job. EMI has also pruned its staff and those of its smaller labels. In addition, the

EMI Records imprint has been shuttered, and Virgin has consolidated as a small East Coast counterpart to the Los Angeles-based Capitol label. But cost-cutting alone can't solve EMI's biggest problem: a weak roster and disappointing sales by established artists such as Radiohead, Mick Jagger and Paul McCartney.

That EMI would repudiate a big contract with a proven seller such as Carey so quickly was a shock. Yet industry attorneys doubt it is a harbinger of things to come or a sign that prices for superstar artists will drop. "It's not going to lower the market," says Michael Sukin of the Sukin Law Group in New York. "This is about Alain Levy not believing Mariah Carey is worth that much money."

Various music-industry managers are split on how easy it will be for Carey to come back. "She's got to have a realistic view of who she is," says one manager who has worked on projects with Carey. "Nothing great happens quickly

or by accident - that's what one-hit wonders are made of. I think she worked herself into the ground and needs to put a good team together. That's her light at the end of the tunnel."

Others are less convinced of Carey's staying power. "I don't think any artist who relies on heavy pop hits backed by MTV is reliable," says a manager who admits he's not a fan of Carey's recordings. "She needs MTV to sell large numbers, and she's not twenty anymore - she's going to be thirty-two. She can't continue to play the ingénue. I disagree with the notion that she's always one hit away from being a superstar - her career is only her next hit."

Similarly, industry players are split on whether EMI - which has previously sought mergers with other major record companies - can survive. "It has no future," one veteran manager says flatly. But another manager with wide-ranging industry and label experience says a big turnaround is possible: "EMI has the best music-publishing company in the business and a strong back catalog, so it's got a shot." The same manager also points out that when Levy was at Polygram, he had hoped to get that company into the film business. "So," he says, "don't be surprised if he tries to merge EMI with some film company like DreamWorks or MGM." ○