

KEVIN D. WILLIAMSON: Jon Huntsman's Lonely Quest

NATIONAL REVIEW

FIRST- CLASS CRUZ

*Texas Senate
candidate Ted Cruz,
the next great
conservative hope*

BRIAN BOLDUC

PLUS: *Michael Rubin* on
Turkey's Descent

Jay Nordlinger on Felonious
Munk's Glorious Rants





scan: user.localnet.net

status : UNKNOWN
login : PENDING
password : *****
tracetime : 450 s
files on host : 32

Downloading netdump.log
[73%] 490 Mb / 670 Mb

trace in progress
4 channel wide

```
tracetime: 450 s
> Funtion Basic-Setup
> Desk 0 2
> Exec exec xosview - geometry 400x200-11+92
> Wait xosview
> Desk 0 1
> Exec exec rxvt - geometry 82x50-3-0 -fg \#fff4c0 -bg \#381900
> Wait rxvt
> Exec exec emacs - geometry 80x58+0+0 -fg \#ffe97a -bg \#00002b
> Wait emacs
> Desk 0 0
> Exec exec rxvt - geometry 82x50-3-0 -fg white -bg black -sr
> Wait rxvt
> Exec exec emacs - geometry 80x50+0+0 -fg \#ffe97a -bg \#002b00
> Wait emacs
> Exec exec xeyes -geometry 55x50+823+33 -fg -center -ou\tline \#0006
> Echo ready...
```

```
/usr/local/src/unclutter
[25] vroot.h
Makefile patchlevel.h
/usr/local/src/unclutter
/usr/local/bin/
/usr/local/src [26]> ls/
/usr/local/bin/unclutter*
```

INITIALIZED

Welcome to Mano Research

enter username
and password

username: james25peach
password: *****

all access

files available : 32
file size : 670 Mb

session time : 600 s

software version 4.2b

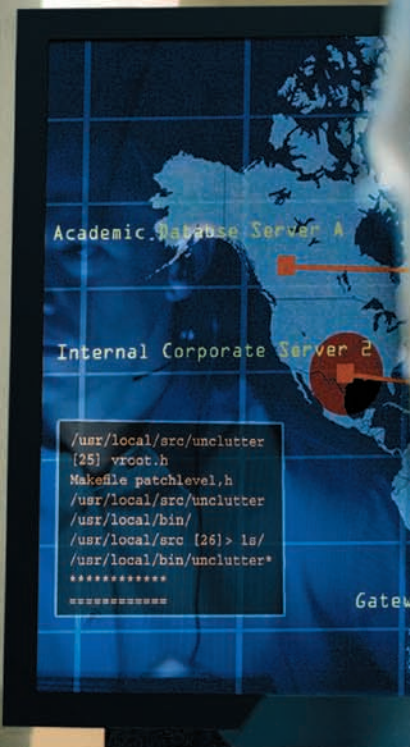
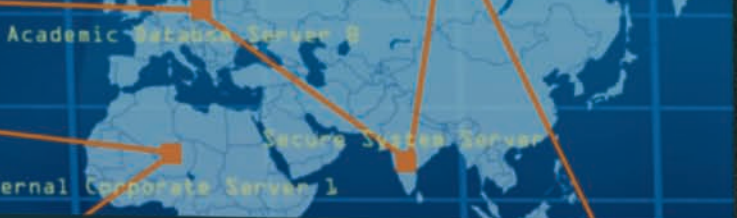
use default settings Y/N

N

proceed

ENDURING SECURITY





Content Management & Analysis

.....
Network & Information Security

.....
Mission Operations

.....
Critical Infrastructure & Borders

.....
www.boeing.com/security

TODAY TOMORROW BEYOND



CHEVRON, the CHEVRON Halmark and HUMAN ENERGY are registered trademarks of Chevron Intellectual Property, LLC. © 2011 Chevron U.S.A. Inc. All rights reserved.



Human Energy®

Every day, the world needs more energy.
It will take all we can produce.
Oil. Alternatives. And natural gas,
the cleanest-burning conventional fuel.
In Australia, we're leading one of the world's
largest natural gas projects.
It will produce enough gas to power a city
the size of Singapore for 50 years
and help create a brighter future for all of us.
Learn more at chevron.com/weagree

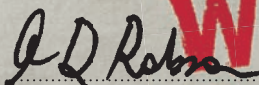
THE WORLD

NEEDS

MORE

THAN OIL.

WE AGREE



Professor Alan Robson
Vice-Chancellor
University of Western Australia



Neil Theobald
General Manager,
Gas Marketing & Commercialization
Chevron

Contents NATIONAL REVIEW

OCTOBER 17, 2011 | VOLUME LXIII, NO. 19 | www.nationalreview.com

COVER STORY Page 33

'As Good As It Gets'

Despite his years in academia and in Washington, Ted Cruz remains a true believer. He often says he'll consider himself a failure if after a whole term in the Senate, he has only a perfect voting record. He wants to see the conservative agenda enacted. *Brian Bolduc*



COVER: LUBA MYTS/NATIONAL REVIEW

ARTICLES

22 THE PRESIDENT OF ROCK *by Kevin D. Williamson*
Jon Huntsman's lonely quest for moderate nirvana.

24 POTHOLE PRAGMATISM *by Robert Costa*
Bob McDonnell does divided government right.

26 STUMBLES THE EU COLOSSUS *by Anthony Daniels*
Chestnuts, anyone?

28 WESTERN SUTTEE *by Diederik Boomsma & Jonathan Price*
Against a 'right' to be killed.

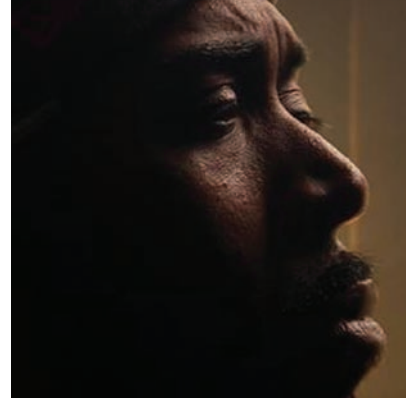
30 A COMEDIAN RISES *by Jay Nordlinger*
The hilarious, serious Felonious Munk.

FEATURES

33 'AS GOOD AS IT GETS' *by Brian Bolduc*
Ted Cruz runs for Senate.

36 THE TROUBLE WITH TURKEY *by Michael Rubin*
A nation that once aspired to be European now curries favor among Islamists.

39 SECOND TO ONE *by Robert G. Joseph*
America's dangerous loss of nuclear parity.



Jay Nordlinger on Felonious Munk
p. 30

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

44 RELUCTANT DRAGON
Ethan Gutmann reviews
Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China,
by Ezra F. Vogel.

49 LAWYERS WITHOUT BORDERS
Jeremy Rabkin reviews Sovereignty or Submission: Will Americans Rule Themselves or Be Ruled by Others? *by John Fonte.*

51 THE WAY THE GOP WAS
Vincent J. Cannato reviews
The Roots of Modern Conservatism: Dewey, Taft, and the Battle for the Soul of the Republican Party,
by Michael Bowen.

53 A SACRED SPACE
Mackubin Thomas Owens reviews
What It Is Like to Go to War,
by Karl Marlantes.

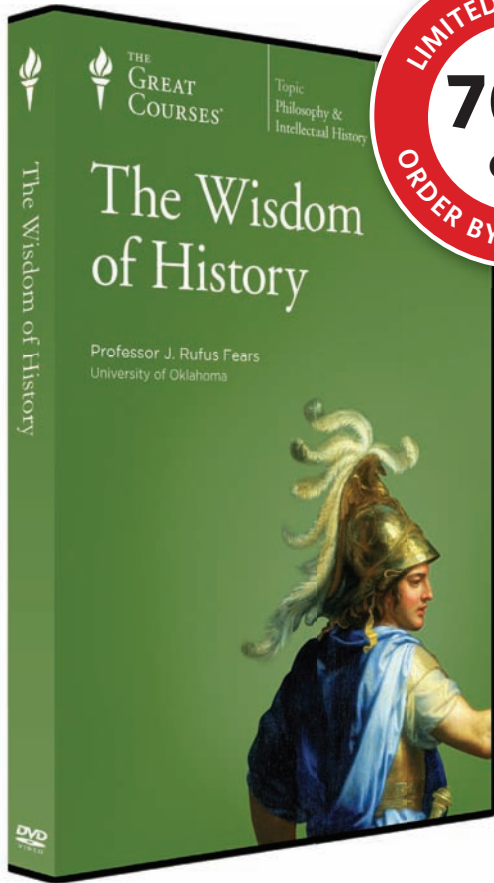
55 CITY DESK: TAKE CARE
Richard Brookhiser measures the hospital, *from multiple angles.*

SECTIONS

- 6 Letters to the Editor
- 8 The Week
- 42 The Long View *Rob Long*
- 43 Athwart *James Lileks*
- 52 Poetry *Richard O'Connell*
- 56 Happy Warrior *Mark Steyn*



THE
GREAT
COURSES®



Master the Invaluable Lessons of History

Do the lessons passed down to us by history—lessons whose origins may lie thousands of years in the past—still have value for us today? Professor J. Rufus Fears believes that not only can you learn from history, you must.

In **The Wisdom of History**, he draws on decades of experience as a world-renowned scholar and classical historian to examine the patterns of history. Taking on the challenge of extracting history's lessons in ways that speak to us today, Professor Fears reveals how ancient empires can teach us about the responsibilities of being a powerful nation. He also shows how learning about important figures like Caesar Augustus, George Washington, and Mahatma Gandhi can equip you to make responsible choices as a citizen and individual.

Offer expires 12/16/11

1-800-832-2412

WWW.THEGREATCOURSES.COM/9NATR

The Wisdom of History

Taught by Professor J. Rufus Fears
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

LECTURE TITLES

1. Why We Study History
2. World War I and the Lessons of History
3. Hitler's Rise and the Lessons of History
4. World War II and the Lessons of History
5. Is Freedom a Universal Value?
6. Birth of Civilization in the Middle East
7. The Trojan War and the Middle East
8. Ancient Israel and the Middle East
9. Ancient Greece and the Middle East
10. Athenian Democracy and Empire
11. The Destiny of the Athenian Democracy
12. Alexander the Great and the Middle East
13. The Roman Republic as Superpower
14. Rome of the Caesars as Superpower
15. Rome and the Middle East
16. Why the Roman Empire Fell
17. Christianity
18. Islam
19. The Ottoman Empire and Turkey
20. The Spanish Empire and Latin America
21. Napoleon's Liberal Empire
22. The British Empire in India
23. Russia and Empire
24. China and Empire
25. The Empire of Genghis Khan
26. Britain's Legacy of Freedom
27. George Washington as Statesman
28. Thomas Jefferson as Statesman
29. America's Empire of Liberty—
Lewis and Clark
30. America and Slavery
31. Abraham Lincoln as Statesman
32. The United States and Empire
33. Franklin Roosevelt as Statesman
34. A Superpower at the Crossroads
35. The Wisdom of History and the Citizen
36. The Wisdom of History and You

The Wisdom of History

Course no. 4360 | 36 lectures (30 minutes/lecture)

SAVE UP TO \$275

DVD ~~\$374.95~~ **NOW \$99.95**
+\$15 Shipping, Processing, and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee
CD ~~\$269.95~~ **NOW \$69.95**
+\$10 Shipping, Processing, and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee
Priority Code: 51029

Designed to meet the demand for lifelong learning, The Great Courses is a highly popular series of audio and video lectures led by top professors and experts. Each of our more than 300 courses is an intellectually engaging experience that will change how you think about the world. Since 1990, over 9 million courses have been sold.



OCTOBER 17 ISSUE; PRINTED SEPTEMBER 29

EDITOR
Richard Lowry

Senior Editors
Richard Brookhiser / Jay Nordlinger
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones
Managing Editor Jason Lee Steorts
Literary Editor Michael Potemra
Executive Editor Christopher McEvoy
National Correspondent John J. Miller
Political Reporter Robert Costa
Art Director Luba Kolomyitseva
Deputy Managing Editors
Fred Schwarz / Kevin D. Williamson
Associate Editors
Helen Rittelmeyer / Robert VerBruggen
Research Director Katherine Connell
Executive Secretary Frances Bronson
Assistant to the Editor Christelény Frangos

Contributing Editors
Robert H. Bork / Shannen Coffin / John Derbyshire
Ross Douthat / Rod Dreher / David Frum
Roman Gienn / Jim Geraghty / Jonah Goldberg
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow / Mark R. Levin
Yuval Levin / Rob Long / Jim Manzi
Andrew C. McCarthy / Kate O'Beirne
David B. Rivkin Jr.

NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE
Editor-at-Large Kathryn Jean Lopez
Managing Editor Edward John Craig
News Editor Daniel Foster

Editorial Associates
Brian Bolduc / Charles C. W. Cooke
Brian Stewart / Katrina Trinko
Web Developer Gareth du Plooy
Technical Services Russell Jenkins

EDITORS-AT-LARGE
Linda Bridges / John O'Sullivan

Contributors
Hadley Arkes / Baloo / Tom Bethell
James Bowman / Priscilla L. Buckley
Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Chester E. Finn Jr. / Neal B. Freeman
James Gardner / David Gelernter
George Gilder / Jeffrey Hart
Kevin A. Hassett / Charles R. Kesler
David Klinghoffer / Anthony Lejeune
D. Keith Mano / Michael Novak
Alan Reynolds / Tracy Lee Simmons
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopoulos
Vin Weber

Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager Galina Veygman
Accountant Zofia Baraniak
Business Services
Alex Batey / Elena Reut / Amy Tyler
Circulation Manager Jason Ng
WORLD WIDE WEB www.nationalreview.com
MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 386-246-0118
WASHINGTON OFFICE 202-543-9226
ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330
Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd
Advertising Director Jim Fowler
Advertising Manager Kevin Longstreet
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER Paul Olivett

PUBLISHER
Jack Fowler

CHAIRMAN EMERITUS
Thomas L. Rhodes

FOUNDER
William F. Buckley Jr.

The Light Bulb Goes On

Your October 3 issue includes a special section on innovation, with nine pages of text. All of it is vigorous, trenchant, and thought-provoking, but also unnecessary, because the accompanying photograph in the table of contents really says it all. The image shows a light bulb—the old-fashioned kind that is actually bulb-shaped, which today's infants will never know because, thanks to our friends in Congress and the Bush administration, they are all being replaced with absurd twisty things.

Instead of a reliable device that had served us well for well over a century, we now have forced on us a new technology that is expensive and much less durable than advertised, imposes an infuriating delay before it goes on, leaves users one fumble away from a hazmat citation, gives everyone in the room a ghostly pallor like Lon Chaney in *The Phantom of the Opera*, and is just plain dorky-looking.

The image in the table of contents shows what American innovation used to be—and by contrast, what's wrong with American innovation today: People are inventing to satisfy government edicts instead of consumer needs.



Alan Greschke
Erie, Pa.

The Chicago Way

I was surprised by Hans A. von Spakovsky's statement in his piece on Voter IDs ("Not a Race Card," August 29) that drive-in voters were being paid \$10 per polling place. That's not even keeping up with inflation.

In Chicago—that paragon of fair elections—in the late 1940s, Bill would run errands for my dad any day but Election Day. He always voted and voted.

It was in the days before there were homeless people. Bill was a wino. On Election Day sometime after 10 A.M.—that's when the political parties began to get an idea of how the turnout and vote were going, precinct by precinct—the winos would be collected at the city's numerous flophouses and bused from precinct to precinct.

He would be given the name of a voter in the precinct and a pre-marked ballot. It was his job to collect a new ballot, put the pre-marked one in the box, and come out with a clean ballot to be given to another wino.

For that he was paid \$1 per vote.

But even through his muscatel haze, Bill was a believer in the one-man, one-vote concept. Before putting that pre-marked ballot in the box, he always voted for the other guy in order to spoil the ballot.

It has been many years since I lived in Chicago, but on Election Day, I always remember Bill and wonder if my vote is still being cast in the Windy City.

Larry Levy
Tulsa, Okla.

Letters may be submitted by e-mail to letters@nationalreview.com.



**I LOVE MY CHILD,
BUT WE DON'T ALWAYS
SEE EYE TO EYE.**

**That's why I'm using DonorsTrust to
carry out my charitable intent.**

They're providing me with a convenient and effective alternative to establishing a private foundation—and one that avoids the pitfalls of the Fords and Rockefellers by ensuring that my beliefs will be honored by my family in the future.

DonorsTrust exists to promote individual and economic liberty and to serve donors who share that purpose. If that reflects your purpose, you won't find a better partner.

**Smart giving.
Convenient giving.
Principled giving.**

For more details, visit our Web site
or call us for a free informational brochure.

DonorsTrust
BUILDING A LEGACY OF LIBERTY

703.535.3563 | www.donorstrust.org

The Week

■ The good news: At long last, Saudi women can vote. The bad news: They'll have to show a valid driver's license.

■ Gov. Rick Perry is falling in the polls following a dismal debate performance in Orlando. One lowlight was his claim that opponents of his policy of in-state tuition for illegal immigrants have no heart. Another was an attempted shot at Romney as a flip-flopper that left doubt as to whether English is Perry's native language. All is not lost for Perry, but he needs to sharpen. Republicans like his conservative record in Texas, but they are also looking for someone who can best Obama in the debates of 2012—and right now, Perry is failing that test.

■ Before Wisconsin, there was Chris Christie in New Jersey—a Republican governor taking on public-sector unions with Garden State Parkway pugnacity. Assorted low-pressure fronts in the Republican presidential contest have caused a gust of interest in Christie's belatedly entering the race. Our general view is, the more the merrier (it keeps interest on the GOP, and forces Obama's attack machine to hang fire). Our word to Christie and his boosters is, expect the storm. He will have been governor for three years in 2012—almost as much executive experience as the incumbent will have, but still on the slight side. He has a string of statements about his reluctance to run, including some expressing unreadiness for the office, that he would have to swallow. Every candidate has displeased some of the base somehow: Christie is pro-gun-control, and ostentatiously unconcerned with what might be called sharia creep. Is he, finally, too big for the job? The last big guy to get elected was William Howard Taft, and that was 103 years ago. Tastes change, and so do concerns: Imagine the chatter about the importance of Christie's vice president. Still, he is smart, tough, and articulate. America could do a lot worse, and has.

■ Obama is ready to take on the Republicans—or at least a handful of boors in the audience at Republican debates. A few people, perhaps three, booed a gay soldier who submitted a question about “don't ask, don't tell.” When Wolf Blitzer asked Ron Paul a question about someone who chose not to get health insurance—“Are you saying that society should just let him die?”—a few people yelled, “Yeah!” Naturally, the same press that showed no interest in Obama's connections to Bill Ayers has decided that these people are the dark heart of the Republican party. Which is absurd: The candidates have not lost any support from Republicans as a result of criticizing these eruptions. Republican-debate attendees should remember to be on their best behavior, because journalists and Democrats will not be.

■ There was a time when Joe McGinniss was witty and stylish. “Unquestionably a work of art”—William F. Buckley Jr. But

See page 14.



that was a long time ago: The McGinniss book WFB was praising was McGinniss's first, *The Selling of the President 1968*. Eleven election cycles later, comes McGinniss with *The Rogue*, a damp smack at Sarah Palin. McGinniss moved next door to the former governor, squabbled with her about moving next door, trolled anti-Palin bloggers for rumors and gossip, then wrote it all up, especially the part about moving next door. The thesis underlying McGinniss's book—that politics has become pure celebrity, dancing with the candidates—is at least half true, yet it has been blunted in this instance by Palin's apparent decision to bow out of politics for a career in celebrity and commentary. There's room for her: Celebrity commentary is pretty thin these days, if McGinniss's latest is the best on offer.

■ Ever since the Tea Party sprang up, a constant refrain from the left has been that the Tea Party is racist. As conservatives, what else could they be? The night before the Florida straw poll, actor Morgan Freeman went on CNN and denounced the Tea Party as racist. For good measure, he tarred Republicans at large with this brush. Their attitude, he said, is “Screw the country. We're going to do whatever we [can] to get this black man out of here.” The next day, the Republicans and tea-party activists of Florida voted overwhelmingly for Herman Cain for president. Evidently, they want to replace one black man with another. More evidently, they care about what a man thinks, rather than what his skin color is.

■ Elizabeth Warren, a Democrat seeking to replace Scott Brown (R., Mass.) in the U.S. Senate, has been doing her best impersonation of a villain from an Ayn Rand novel, declaring that

Limited Time
Offer—Act Now!

“...classic! The [Stauer] tanzanite are a beautiful shade of violet blue... full of color!”

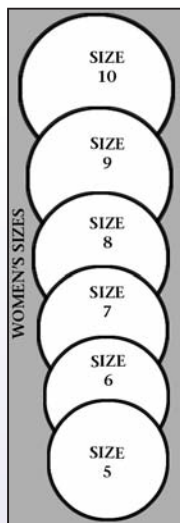
— PRAISE FOR STAUER TANZANITE FROM C. OF MISSOURI

Endangered Gem Disappearing

Tanzanite is found in only one remote spot on Earth, and it's 1,000 times rarer than diamonds. Experts say the mines will soon run dry forever, but today you can own more than 1 carat for **less than \$50!**

Time is running out. Geological experts predict the world's supply of tantalizing tanzanite will disappear in a matter of just a few years. Maybe sooner. High-end retailers are raising prices on this rare stone. And gem dealers are in a mad scramble to secure their claim before it's too late. Let them scramble.

Our buyer recently secured a huge cache of beautiful rare tanzanite, the precious stone loved for its vivid violet-blue color. Today you can own over 1 carat of this rare stone (1,000 times rarer than diamonds) in our spectacular **1 1/5 ctw Tanzanite Cluster Ring** with a suggested retail of \$795 for only \$49.50.



USING THE RING SIZE CHART
Place one of her rings on top of one of the circle diagrams. Her ring size is the circle that matches the inside diameter of the ring diagram. If her ring falls between sizes, order the next larger size.

It started with a lightning bolt. One strike set the African plains on fire and uncovered a secret that was buried for more than 585 million years. Tanzanite naturally occurs in only one place on Earth: Tanzania's remote Merelani Hills, in the shadow of Mount Kilimanjaro.

World's most endangered gem. Top-quality tanzanites can often fetch higher prices than diamonds. But, once the last purple gem is pulled from that remote spot beneath Kilimanjaro, that's it. No more tanzanite.

Reserve your piece of gem history. If you go online right now, you'll find one of

the largest retailers selling tanzanite rings for well over \$2,000 each. Ridiculous. Instead, you can secure your own piece of limited-edition tanzanite history at the right price.

Our promise of absolute satisfaction is 100% guaranteed. Our offers are so consumer friendly that we have earned an **A+ Rating** with the Better Business Bureau. But, why less than \$50 for a genuine 1 1/5 ctw tanzanite ring? It's simple. We want you to come back to Stauer for all of your jewelry and watch purchases. If you are not 100% delighted with your ring, send it back within 30 days for a full refund of the purchase price. Just remember that the odds of finding this stone at this price ever again is like waiting for lightning to strike the same place twice.

JEWELRY SPECS:

- 1 1/5 ctw tanzanite – Ring sizes 5–10
- Rhodium-layered .925 sterling silver setting

Offer Limited to First 2500 Respondents

Tanzanite Cluster Ring (1 1/5 ctw)—~~\$795~~

Now Only \$49.50 + S&P

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

1-888-870-7339

Promotional Code CTR320-06

Please mention this code when you call.



ACCREDITED
BUSINESS

Stauer has a Better Business
Bureau Rating of A+

Stauer®

14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. CTR320-06
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

entrepreneurs, industrialists, and other fat-cat types have no unique claim on their own wealth because “there is nobody in this country who got rich on his own.” Because the factory owner benefits from such government-provided goods as roads, a workforce trained in public schools, and the like, she argues that the “underlying social contract” demands higher taxes on “the rich.” She needs to think her argument through: The “social contract” may indeed be used to justify the imposition of taxes to pay for true public goods—law enforcement and national

defense, public sanitation, etc.—but there is nothing in that to justify, for instance, a steeply progressive system of income taxation, which is simply a preference of Mrs. Warren’s and Mr. Obama’s. Still less does the “social contract” imply bottomless financial support for the failing public schools, which today in many cases constitute a public nuisance rather than a public good. And still less does it imply an open-ended claim upon the wealth of anybody and everybody who produces something of value and thereby builds a large or profitable enterprise. Public

The Confidence Game

CONSUMERS have been in the doldrums throughout this weak recovery, but the mood has gone from sour to despairing in recent months. The numbers have been so bad that the relatively obscure “Index of Consumer Sentiment” constructed by the University of Michigan has begun to receive the attention of political handicappers.

While President Obama’s job-approval rating is terrible, at only 40 percent, he has still not plumbed the depths explored by Jimmy Carter, whose own approval rating 970 days into office was 33 percent. But when it comes to consumer confidence, the story is worse. Throughout history, consumers have been a relatively confident lot. As the accompanying chart indicates, they are not so now. Consumer confidence is currently as low as it has ever been under any president after 32 months in office, going all the way back to 1953, the first year the University of Michigan began constructing the index.

One can see why political scientists might think that this observation is noteworthy. Indeed, two out of the three presidents under whom consumer confidence was below the average did not win reelection, and the fellow who won, Richard Nixon, saw confidence that was only a smidgen below the mean. But the economic implications of the bad sentiment might concern the average citizen as well. Does low consumer confidence mean that consumption is about to dive?

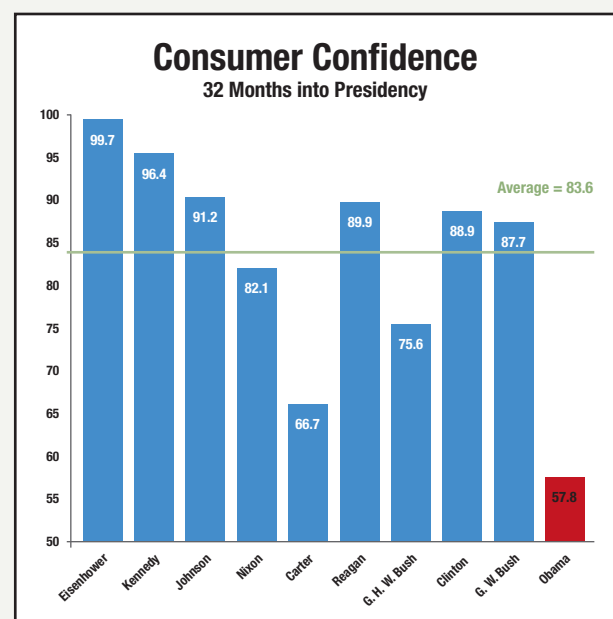
The answer may surprise. Consumption is certainly important, making up about 70 percent of GDP. If consumption tanks, we would certainly have a recession. But consumer confidence is of little use in predicting consumption. One might even say that consumer confidence is the most talked about and least meaningful indicator out there. Consumers go on spending sprees because they are happy, but they also go on therapeutic spending sprees when they are depressed, and entertaining spending sprees when they are bored.

There has been a large amount of research into the role of consumer confidence in the determination of consumption. A recent study by economists Ali Al-Eyd, Ray Barrell, and E. Philip Davis found that once one accounts for variables that should affect consumption, such as income and interest rates, consumer confidence is essen-

tially irrelevant. In another study, economist Jeffrey Fuhrer found that 70 percent of the variation in Michigan’s Index of Consumer Sentiment can be explained by variation in national income, the unemployment rate, inflation, and real interest rates—suggesting that the index has little independent information to add. Recent months have yielded new evidence that consumer confidence does not predict consumer behavior. Even though it has been declining since May 2011, retail sales climbed 0.5 percent in July, the biggest increase since March.

One thing consumer confidence may predict is consumer confidence elsewhere. A recent European Central Bank working paper by economists Stéphane Dées and Pedro Soares Brinca found evidence of a “confidence channel” that transmits shocks from the United States to Europe: When consumer confidence is low in the United States, it can lead to lower consumer sentiment in the euro area. Depressing sentiments spread like swine flu from country to country. They just don’t seem to result in actual depressions.

—KEVIN A. HASSETT



SOURCE: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN INDEX OF CONSUMER SENTIMENT

Technology Simplified

WOW...A Computer Designed For YOU, Not Your Grandchildren!

NEW

...It's easy to read. It's easy to see. It's even easier to understand and use!

Just plug it in!!!



**NEW
Touch
Screen
Technology**

Simple navigation, so you never get lost!

designed for SENIORS®
Big Bright Screen
One-touch "zoom" magnification
No bulky tower

Have you ever said to yourself "I'd love to get a computer, if only I could figure out how to use it." Well, you're not alone. Computers were supposed to make our lives simpler, but they've gotten so complicated that they are not worth the trouble. With all of the "pointing and clicking" and "dragging and dropping" you're lucky if you can figure out where you are. Plus, you are constantly worrying about viruses, spam and freeze-ups. If this sounds familiar, we have great news for you. There is finally a computer that's designed for simplicity and ease of use. It's the WOW Computer, and it was designed with you in mind.

This computer is easy-to-use, worry-free and literally puts the world at your fingertips. From the moment you open the box, you'll realize how different the WOW computer is. The components are all connected; all you do is plug it into an outlet and your high-speed Internet

connection. Then you'll see the screen. This is a completely new operating system, without the cluttered look of the normal computer screen. The "buttons" on the screen are easy to see and easy to understand. All you do is touch one of them, from the Web, Email, Calendar to Games— you name it... and a new screen opens up. It's so easy to use you won't have to ask your children or grandchildren for help.

**"I love this computer!
It is easy to read and to use!
I get photo updates from my children and grandchildren all the time."**

—From Janet F.

countless older Americans are discovering the wonderful world of the Internet every day. Isn't it time you took part? Call now,

Until now the very people who could benefit most from Email, and the Internet are the ones that have had the hardest time accessing it. Now, thanks to the WOW Computer,

and a patient, knowledgeable product expert will tell you how you can try it in your home for 30 days. Call today.

The **WOW!** Computer™

Call now for our special introductory price!

Please mention promotional code 43277.

1-877-696-5513

firstSTREET
for Boomers and Beyond®

1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

...surf the internet
Get current weather & news.

...send and receive emails, and video chat
Keep up with family and friends.

...play games online
hundreds to choose from!

goods are by nature available to everybody, but not everybody builds a Boeing, a Google, an Apple, or a Caterpillar. It may be true on some level that “nobody in this country got rich on his own,” but it’s also true that those factories didn’t build themselves.

■ Recently, someone asked John Boehner whether he would be interested in being the GOP vice-presidential nominee next year. He said, “It’s hard enough for me to go to funerals of people I know.”

■ As part of a politician’s online strategy, debunking websites (such as Obama’s 2008 FightTheSmears.com) must be used with care. If insufficiently vigorous, they may spread more purported misinformation than they counter; if too vehement or detailed, they can come across like that guy with the stack of photocopies that everyone avoids at your local diner. In the latter category is AttackWatch, an official site of the Obama campaign that, upon its mid-September debut, made 1950s-era propaganda look tame by comparison. Site users were invited to report attacks on the president by disloyal citizens, who were depicted in unflattering photos with red tints, as the site pushed risibly implausible lies (“The Obama administration has strengthened our borders while making our immigration system smart and fair”) and labeled all claims to the contrary “smears.” The crudely designed and worded site launched a thousand jokes, and, as with Nixon’s enemies list, critics soon were complaining about being omitted.

SOLYNDRA

■ The first round of the Solyndra scandal was bad enough: The Obama admin-

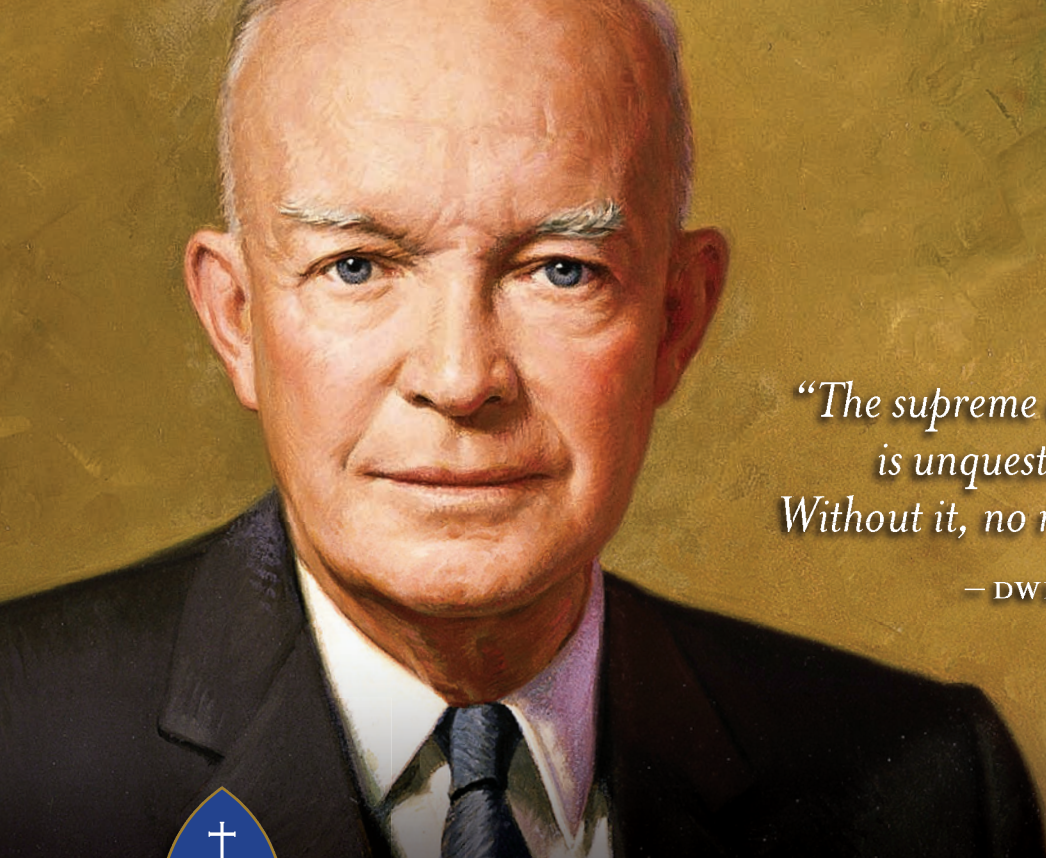
istration, in contravention of standard practice, shoveled a half-billion dollars’ worth of loan guarantees to a wobbly solar-energy firm, backed by Democratic donors, which then went on a spending spree before declaring bankruptcy and wiping out 1,100 jobs. Now, a report from the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service suggests that there were deep problems with Solyndra that should have been apparent from the beginning, and might have been caught if the review process had not been short-circuited by politics: Solyndra’s product was unsuitable for residential uses and large-scale solar facilities, it was more expensive than that of its competitors, it was facing new and more intense competition. Rather than helping the firm, the politically expedited injection of public funds may have hastened its demise: “After we got the loan guarantee, they were just spending money left and right,” former Solyndra engineer Lindsey Eastburn told the *Washington Post*. “Because of that infusion of money, it made people sloppy.” While the firm spent \$340 million on a new factory, it spent some \$660 million on things such as a flashy new conference center and high-dollar lobbyists to keep the public funds flowing. The firm is now under investigation both by Congress and by the Justice Department, and its executives have made a spectacle of themselves by pleading the Fifth. In the hands of the Obama administration, “clean” energy is anything but.

■ The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) lived up to its name by rescuing Senate Democrats from a potentially

humiliating defeat over federal funding. The Republican-led House had already adjourned for recess after passing a continuing resolution funding the government through November 18 (at the fiscal year 2012 levels both parties have agreed to) and providing about \$1 billion in emergency disaster relief to FEMA, which Democrats insisted was on the verge of insolvency. But Senate majority leader Harry Reid (D., Nev.) and his colleagues chafed at the Republicans’ plan to actually pay for the new disaster spending by cutting “green” programs like the one that helped finance Solyndra. Never mind that Democrats had previously supported cuts to these programs to finance their “Cash for Clunkers” boondoggle and bailout of the teachers’ unions. Reid et al. denounced the cuts as “job destroying.” But with the House gone, and the most recent continuing resolution set to expire on September 30, an unceremonious retreat seemed Reid’s only option. Enter FEMA, which somewhat miraculously announced that it could do without the emergency funding, allowing Reid to strike it (and the spending offsets) from the House bill. Senators approved the measure and went home. Both sides declared victory, but the overwhelming winner was FEMA, proving it can provide “disaster relief” for politicians.

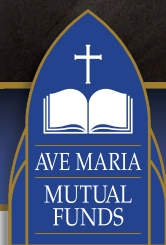
■ Six years after *Kelo v. New London*—the Supreme Court decision allowing state and local governments to take private property and give it to other private parties—the controversy still hasn’t died down. Only recently, Connecticut state-supreme-court justice Richard N. Palmer personally apologized to Susette Kelo, the woman who sued to prevent the seizing of her property, for voting against her when the case was before him. It’s debatable whether the Fifth Amendment’s requirement that “private property [shall not] be taken for public use, without just compensation” is enforceable against state and local governments. But regardless, it is wrong for any government to take property from one private party and give it to another. Today, that fight has been taken up in the legislative branches of lower governments—and getting that ball rolling is a worthy result of Ms. Kelo’s battle.

■ Troy Davis was executed in Georgia. Twenty years ago, he was convicted of murdering Mark MacPhail, a 27-year-old police officer working nights as a security guard to support his young family. On the fateful 1989 evening, Davis, then 20, fired a handgun at a passing car, wounding a passenger. He later met an acquaintance, who was arguing with a homeless man. Officer MacPhail intervened when Davis started pistol-whipping the man. Davis shot MacPhail in the face and the heart. Over two decades, his death sentence became a cause célèbre for anti-capital-punishment activists (and reliables like Jimmy Carter) who, whenever the killer is black and the victim white, see conclusive proof of racial animus in the death penalty’s imposition. But Davis received a fair trial (the court actually suppressed important evidence against him), his case was exhaustively reviewed by state and federal courts, and clemency was denied by the governor after an independent review. Though some eyewitnesses recanted, the courts found them suspect—hardly enough to overcome the other witnesses and ballistics evidence tying the two shootings to the same gun. There have been capital cases where compelling demonstrations of innocence give us pause. This is not one of them.



“The supreme quality for leadership is unquestionably integrity. Without it, no real success is possible.”

— DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER



Morally Responsible Investing with a Lipper Leader

AVE MARIA RISING DIVIDEND FUND is an equity mutual fund designed specifically for morally responsible investors. The Fund managers make investments in companies that do not violate core teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. The Fund invests primarily in common stocks of dividend-paying companies that are expected to increase their dividends regularly. The goal is long-term capital appreciation and a reasonable level of current income. The Fund may invest in companies of all sizes.

As of June 30, 2011	Total Return	Consistent Return	Preservation
Lipper Leaders (Overall)	5	5	5
Number of Funds	242	242	9,984
Category	Equity Income Funds	Equity Income Funds	Equity Funds

Smart Investing and Catholic Values

For more information call **1-866-AVE-MARIA** (1-866-283-6274) or visit avemariafunds.com

Past performance does not guarantee future results. Investment return and principal value are historical and may fluctuate so that redemption value may be worth more or less than the original cost. Lipper ratings for Total Return reflect funds' historical total return performance relative to peers as of 6-30-11. Lipper ratings for Consistent Return reflect funds' historical risk-adjusted returns, adjusted for volatility, relative to peers as of 6-30-11. Lipper ratings for Preservation reflect funds' historical loss avoidance relative to other funds within the same asset class as of 6-30-11. Preservation ratings are relative, rather than absolute measures, and funds named Lipper Leaders for Preservation may still experience losses periodically; those losses may be larger for equity and mixed equity funds than for fixed income funds. The Lipper ratings are subject to change every month and are based on an equal-weighted average of percentile ranks for the Total Return, Consistent Return, and Preservation metrics over three-, five-, and ten-year periods (if applicable). The highest 20% of funds in each peer group are named Lipper Leader or a score of 5, the next 20% receive a score of 4, the middle 20% are scored 3, the next 20% are scored 2, and the lowest 20% are scored 1. With respect to other time periods, the Fund received the following score in its respective peer groups; Total Return: 3 years 5 among 242 funds and 5 years 5 among 194 funds; Consistent Return: 3 years 5 among 242 funds and 5 years 5 among 194 funds; Preservation: 3 years 5 among 9,984 funds and 5 years 5 among 8,004 funds.

The Adviser invests in securities only if they meet the Fund's investment and religious requirements, and as such, the returns may be lower or higher than if the Adviser made decisions based solely on investment considerations. The Fund's method of security selection may or may not be successful and the Fund may underperform or outperform the stock market as a whole. All mutual funds are subject to market risk, including possible loss of principal. The Fund's investments in small- and mid-capitalization companies could experience greater volatility than investments in large-capitalization companies.

Request a prospectus, which includes investment objectives, risks, fees, expenses and other information that you should read and consider carefully before investing. The prospectus can be obtained by calling 1-866-283-6274 or online at www.avemariafunds.com. Distributed by Ultimus Fund Distributors, LLC.

■ The Federal Reserve’s latest attempt to manipulate interest rates in the service of higher economic growth—a trade of short-term for long-term Treasuries modeled on its 1961 “Operation Twist”—could be pronounced a failure on its first day. Stocks, oil, and gold fell while the dollar rose and the yield curve flattened: all signs that the Fed inadvertently took a deflationary step rather than a reflationary one. The chief contribution the Fed can make to the economy is to stabilize expectations about the future path of inflation and nominal income. If it adopted this modest conception of its role it would be less likely to twist itself in knots.

■ One would hope that, if there were a way to ensure that illegal immigrants stood no chance of gainful employment in America, it would be universally adopted. But such a system, E-Verify, exists,

helping the teacher take additional English-language classes or work with a fluency coach.” Nobody was fired or lost pay. But apparently it would be a violation of civil rights to help poor kids assimilate. The federal government may have no accent, but it is frequently incomprehensible.

■ The CLASS Act, a new entitlement to insurance for long-term care, was passed alongside Obamacare. The program was structured to take in taxes before paying out benefits and thus made the overall legislation appear to save money. But it has long been clear that the program will quickly become insolvent: “Totally unsustainable” is the way HHS Secretary Kathleen Sebelius described it. The program’s chief actuary sent out an e-mail saying that HHS was closing the office tasked with implementing the program and reassigning its staff. HHS promptly denied that

The fate of the **CLASS Act** is unclear: It seems to both exist and not exist, in a state of quantum indeterminacy. Just like the savings from Obamacare.

and has been repeatedly challenged: A bill to limit the program has just passed California’s legislature, and its use has been hindered elsewhere. Federal standards on immigration are inconsistently enforced, but this may be about to change: A bill sponsored by Rep. Lamar Smith, which looks likely to pass the House, would implement these standards across the nation. Weakening the prospects of employment for illegal immigrants would do far more than any fence to reduce the flow across the border.

■ That sound you didn’t hear over the last several months was the masses rushing to join La Raza (“The Race”), a Hispanic-supremacist “community activist” group, in boycotting Arizona for its supposedly harsh immigration-enforcement law. Sympathizers were asked to avoid traveling to Arizona, but tourism revenue increased; the group tried to get baseball’s All-Star Game moved from Phoenix, but nobody paid attention. So La Raza decided to declare victory and go home. The organization has ended its boycott, maintaining that it was a triumph “because it successfully discouraged other states from enacting similar laws,” though in fact four states have already done so, and two dozen more are likely to consider such measures next year. It all goes to show that “The Race” is not too swift—though they would have our sincere congratulations if they could succeed in persuading illegal immigrants to boycott Arizona.

■ A report from the *Arizona Republic* makes depressing reading. “Facing a possible civil-rights lawsuit, Arizona has struck an agreement with federal officials to stop monitoring classrooms for mispronounced words and poor grammar from teachers of students still learning the English language.” Monitors had found that some teachers had “unacceptably heavy accents that caused [them] to mispronounce words,” and that some used “poor English grammar.” (“Examples of concerns included a teacher who asked her English learners ‘How do we call it in English?’ and teachers who pronounced ‘levels’ as ‘lebls’ and ‘much’ as ‘mush.’”) In such cases, “state officials would suggest

the office was being closed down. The fate of the program itself is unclear: It seems to both exist and not exist, in a state of quantum indeterminacy. Just like the savings from Obamacare.

■ A story recently broke that the Department of Justice spent staggering amounts of money on refreshments at a conference: A government auditor found that \$32 was spent per attendee to provide a snack consisting of candy bars and Cracker Jack, and muffins cost \$16 each. It turns out that these findings were based on averaging the cost of food at the conferences across all items, and to no one’s surprise, the government did not actually pay \$16 for each muffin. But they did spend an average of \$49,000 on food and beverage per conference, and \$121 million on conferences overall in 2008 and 2009. The incident is reminiscent of the \$640 Navy toilet seat and \$600 Pentagon hammer in more than one way: Sloppy accounting may explain the shocking numbers, but the reality of government waste should still scandalize.

Was there any doubt who would win when two of the Left’s causes—the sick and poor, and the environment—came into conflict? As of the end of 2011, it will be illegal to sell over-the-counter asthma inhalers, simply because those inhalers contain CFCs. Those who rely on these inexpensive devices will instead be forced to turn to prescription models, which cost more and of course require a doctor’s appointment. And even those inhalers aren’t the same as they used to be; several years ago, the EPA required manufacturers to use CFC-free propellants, which, some users report, makes the medication less effective. Reducing the use of CFCs is a valuable goal, as they have been shown to damage the ozone layer, and laws mandating such reductions may be justified in some circumstances. But this policy change makes asthma medication less available to the poor, and it should be reversed before it can begin causing real harm.

■ The Palestinians took their bid for a state to the U.N. As Turtle Bay theater and posturing for a domestic audience, it was a masterstroke. But the push was so poorly conceived that it imme-

Limited Mintage Striking...

WORLD'S FIRST \$100 SILVER PROOF



First-year
2011 date

Mirrored proof
background

Larger Franklin
portrait

Liberty Bell, quill pen
& July 4th date

Minted in one Troy ounce
of pure silver bullion

Shown larger than
actual size of 6" x 2 1/2"

New York Mint Announces the Limited Mintage Striking of an Extraordinary Silver Proof—the New United States \$100 Bill Struck in Pure Silver Bullion. Discount Price \$99

ADVANCE STRIKE DISCOUNT

The price for the 2011 One-Ounce Silver Proof will be set at \$129 per proof.

However, if you place your order now, you can acquire this giant silver proof at the special advance strike discount price—only \$99.

NOTE TO COLLECTORS: *If you place your order for the \$100 silver proof within the next 10 days, it will be processed immediately, and the earliest orders will receive the lowest registration numbers.*

ADDITIONAL DISCOUNTS

Substantial additional discounts are available for serious collectors who wish to acquire more than one of these exquisite silver proofs.

You can order:

ONE Year 2011 \$100 Silver Proofs for just \$99 + s/h

FIVE Year 2011 \$100 Silver Proofs for just \$95 + s/h

TEN Year 2011 \$100 Silver Proofs for just \$89 + s/h

There is a limit of twenty \$100 Silver Proofs per order, and all orders are subject to acceptance by New York Mint.

ONLY 5,000 AVAILABLE

New York Mint will strike only 5,000 One-Ounce Silver Proofs for the year 2011, so oversubscription is a virtual certainty.

Telephone orders only will be accepted on a strict first-come, first-served basis according to the time and date of the order.

Call Today to Order Your \$100 Silver Proof!

1-800-926-MINT (6468)

Offer Code: HSP146

Please mention this code when you call.

A major credit card is necessary to secure your reservation, and New York Mint guarantees satisfaction with a money-back policy for a full 30 days.

New York Mint

Prices and availability subject to change without notice. Past performance is not a predictor of future performance. New York Mint is a private distributor of worldwide government coin issues and is not affiliated with the United States government. Facts and figures were deemed accurate as of April 2011. © 2011 New York Mint

Visit our web site at www.newyorkmint.com



This extraordinary piece of pure silver bullion has a surface area that exceeds 30 square inches...and it contains one Troy ounce of pure silver bullion!

And now, during a limited strike period, the very first Year 2011 \$100 Silver Proof is available at a special discount price—only \$99!

EXQUISITE DETAIL

The historic First Year 2011 \$100 Silver Proof is an exquisite adaptation of the United States Treasury's \$100 Federal Reserve Note—only the second new \$100 bill design in 70 years. It is a true artistic masterpiece that will always be treasured.

.999 SILVER

Best of all, this stunning Silver Proof is even more beautiful than the original, because it's struck in precious silver bullion!

It is a landmark in proof minting, combining unprecedented weight with extraordinary dimension. The specifications for this colossal medallion proof are unparalleled.

Each one:

- Is Individually Struck from Pure .999 Silver Bullion.
- Weighs one Troy ounce.
- Has a Surface Area That Exceeds 30 Square Inches.
- Contains 31.10 Grams (480 Grains) of Pure Silver.
- Is Individually Registered and Comes With a Numbered Certificate of Authenticity.
- Is Fully Encapsulated to Protect Its Mirror-Finish.
- Includes a Deluxe Presentation Case.

diately stalled in the Security Council. As Elliott Abrams wrote on NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE, the Palestinians succeeded only in further alienating the two parties on which their statehood project most depends, the Israelis and the Americans. The Obama administration gave every sign of having finally shelved its obsession with the Israeli settlements and its grudge match with the Israeli government of Bibi Netanyahu, both of which only fueled Palestinian intransigence. We hope this reflects a genuine chastening of an Obama team that believed forging a peace deal was merely a matter of willing it and of scolding Israel. But Barack Obama sounds markedly more pro-Israel with a periodicity that happens to track the U.S. election cycle.



■ Adm. Mike Mullen, outgoing chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, dropped a farewell bombshell at a Senate hearing when he accused Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Agency, the ISI, of being behind a spate of attacks by the Haqqani network on targets, such as the U.S. embassy and NATO headquarters in Kabul, that have high propaganda value. He says he has credible intelligence to back him up. Put another way, a supposed ally is secretly support-

ing a deadly enemy. Maulvi Jalaluddin Haqqani, his sons, and his extended family—Islamists long devoted to violence—form a freelance militia close to the Taliban, called a network for want of a better term. Admiral Mullen's reference to the Haqqani network as the ISI's "veritable arm" has outraged the Pakistani top brass, all the more because it is almost certainly true but supposed to be invisible to outsiders.

■ Russia is due to hold presidential elections next March, but there is no point, as Vladimir Putin settled the matter long ago. To resort to a sinister phrase of his own invention, he has set up "managed democracy," and this means that absolute power stays in his hands. From 2000 to 2008 he served as president, and the constitution specified that nobody could hold that office for more than two four-year terms. It was child's play for Putin to devise a way around that: Nothing prevented four terms as president so long as they weren't consecutive. Putin duly exchanged places with Prime Minister Dmitri Medvedev, a cipher who lacks character and can't conceal what may well be justified fear of Putin. At a mass meeting of United Russia, their party, Putin and Medvedev announced that they are once more going to exchange places. In the finest Soviet tradition, 11,000 delegates gave them a standing ovation. Putin has successfully neutered opposition parties, arrested challengers, bought or broken oligarchs, taken control of almost all media outlets, and arranged to extend the term of office from four to six years, taking his presidency to 2024. It shouldn't be necessary to fix the ballot, as Putin made sure to do in previous elections.

■ As the eurozone's turmoil grows worse, its options dwindle to three: inflation, bailouts, or breakup. If Europe's distressed economies still had their own currencies, they would depreciate and thus bring their wages and prices to competitive levels. The

European Central Bank could accomplish something similar if it inflated the euro. Prices and wages in the region's healthy core would rise faster than those in its troubled economies, and thus the peripheral countries would become competitive again. If European elites are unwilling to give up on the euro, and unwilling as well to allow inflation to rise, then their only alternative is to persuade reluctant electorates to approve massive bailouts—assuming they have enough money. The euro was a political project of elites who thought it would foster a European unity that itself did not enjoy much popular support. They no longer have good choices, and will on past performance probably pick the worst.

■ Ireland's fiscal-austerity measures had no greater enemy than Paul Krugman, the economist turned *New York Times* attack dachshund. Such austerity measures were undermining the Irish economy, driving away investors, eroding confidence, sending incomes plunging, hindering growth, etc. He compared the austerity measures to medieval bloodletting, called them "savage" and their architects superstitious. Suffice it to say, he was not a fan. And then came the Irish economic-growth numbers: considerably stronger in the past two quarters, with GDP up 1.6 percent, exports strong, and domestic demand rising. Professor Krugman, rather than admitting his error, claims to be vindicated: "Standard Keynesian models," he says, helped him see it all coming, even when he was denouncing it in articles with headlines like "A Terrible Ugliness Is Born." Krugman has come in for some gentle chiding from his fellow economists. Comparing economists' forecasts to the Irish facts, economist Tyler Cowen of George Mason University wrote: "It ain't a pretty picture, and I'll be the first to admit (and apparently I am) that my predictions were incorrect." No such admission is forthcoming from Krugman. Alex Massie, writing in *The Spectator*, sees what is really going on: "When Paul Krugman spends a summer writing about Ireland's enforced austerity, he's not really writing about Ireland at all. He's arguing about the United States, and never mind what the hell happens to the poor, miserable Irish. The worse things go for them, the better they go for the Krugman school."

■ It would be too much to say that King Abdullah is an acolyte of John Stuart Mill. And yet he seems inclined to grant women in Saudi Arabia the right to vote and even to submit their candidacy for municipal office "in accordance with sharia." Abdullah justified this shift thus: "We refuse to marginalize the role of women in Saudi society in every field of work," leaving the unsettling implication that marginalization will continue in other areas. One of these will be behind the wheel of a car, where women are prohibited from sitting, hindering their ability to reach polling centers. So long as this wider "marginalization" (known outside the Wahhabi realm as subjugation) persists, equality under the law will remain a fantasy. And so long as the electorate at large is unable to elect—and dismiss—its leaders, universal suffrage will continue to be a mirage.

■ The London riots are over, the dust has settled, and eventual questions are being asked: Who did this, why did they do it, and how do we prevent them from doing it again? Well, one way might be to look at the criminal records of those involved. The London *Telegraph* reports that "the average London rioter had 15 previous offences on his record—but only a third of those had

It Took 42 Million Years to Make This **FREE** Necklace

Limited to First 1500 Responders

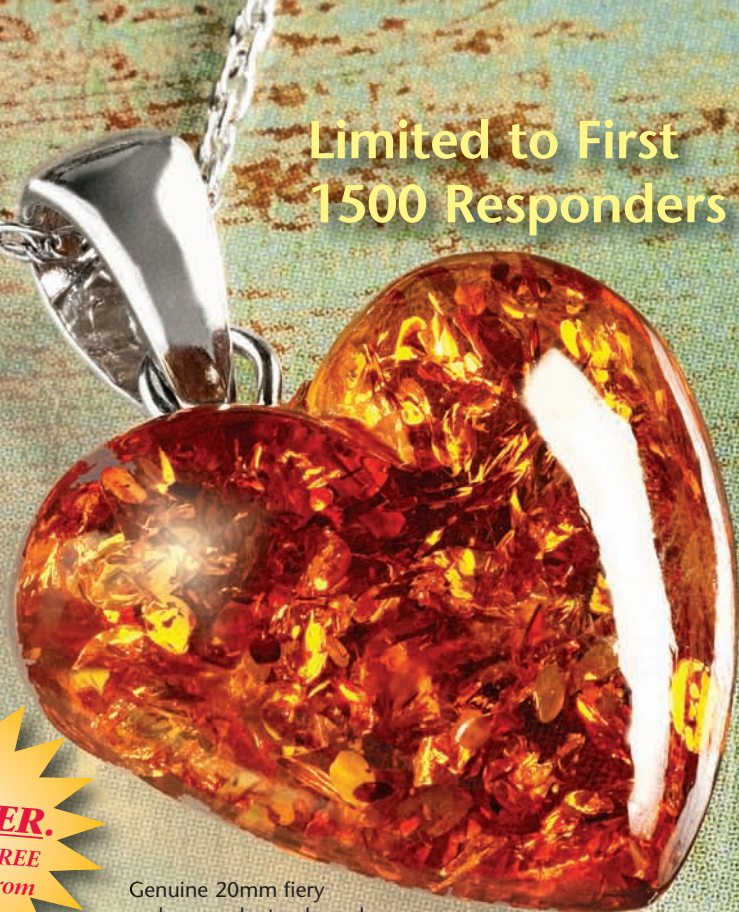
*Pre-history repeats itself! Claim your present from the past with this spectacular – and **FREE** – amber heart!*

Romance doesn't get any more old-fashioned than this. What you're looking into is the heart of ancient history itself. This naturally golden beauty first sparkled in the sunshine over 40 million years ago. It waited patiently through eons of evolution. It lay hidden while man created civilization, society and culture. And then the buried treasure was found. Today, with this exclusive offer from Stauer, the spectacular and rare **Baltic Amber Heart Pendant**, valued at \$195 can be yours... absolutely FREE (you pay only basic shipping and processing).*

The world's oldest natural "gem." Amber was among the first substances to be prized and valued for its precious beauty. In scientific terms, amber is the fossilized resin of ancient trees. It can be found along the shores (and at the bottom) of the icy Baltic Sea. It isn't easy to find and the highest quality, honey-colored nuggets from Scandinavia can fetch as much as \$1000 a piece. Which is why we are delighted to offer these pendants to you for the remarkable price of ZERO.

Why give away jewelry? At first, it sounds ridiculous for a company to charge nothing for something that has held value since the beginning of recorded time. Amber is just as rare today as it was during the Middle Ages

Buy NOW, pay NEVER.
An Exclusive FREE Jewelry Offer from Stauer®



Genuine 20mm fiery amber pendant enlarged to show detail.



Fiery golden glimmers of rich amber

when European kings commanded an order of knights to seize control of the amber trade. Today, you can find artisans around the world who treat a fine piece of amber with the same respect and craft as a diamond. How could we give it to you for **FREE**? And more importantly, why?

The simple answer is that we want to get your attention. We don't make money by selling you one pendant. Our success comes from satisfying our long-term clients. And we know that once you get a closer look at the classically beautiful jewelry and vintage-inspired watches from Stauer, you'll be back for more.

Prehistoric love affair. Your **Baltic Amber Heart Pendant** is a vibrant piece of natural, honey-colored amber. The curves of the heart are polished smooth and the whole piece attaches to a shiny bail of .925 sterling silver (chain is sold separately). Look closely and you can see microscopic inclusions and bubbles that identify your pendant as a naturally-formed work of art. No two pendants are alike. Every heart is a unique symbol of your love.

Extremely limited offer. If the idea of the **FREE Baltic Amber Heart Pendant** appeals to you, please don't hesitate to call. Even though this remarkable piece of ancient jewelry has waited millions of years to be discovered, our supplies of this ancient treasure is very limited. Call today to get your **FREE** sample of luxurious amber before it becomes extinct!

JEWELRY SPECS:

- 20mm genuine solid Baltic amber
- .925 sterling silver bail
- Chain sold separately

Extremely Limited Availability
Amber Heart Pendant ~~\$195~~ Your Cost—FREE — *pay only \$24.95 shipping & processing.

Call now to take advantage of this extremely limited offer.

1-800-859-2923

Promotional Code AHP128-01
Please mention this code when you call.

Stauer has a Better Business Bureau Rating of A+

Stauer® 14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. AHP128-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

ever been to prison.” These figures were correctly interpreted by the British justice secretary, Kenneth Clarke, as confirmation “that existing criminals were on the rampage.” Criminality: still and always the real root cause of crime.

■ A woman in Canada will serve no jail time for strangling her newborn son and leaving his body in a neighbor’s yard. The court’s rationale for giving a mere suspended sentence for infanticide—which, even in a nation with no restrictions on abortion, is still a crime—was a simple extension of its justification for abortion, which is that Canadians “generally understand, accept and sympathize with the onerous demands pregnancy and childbirth exact from mothers, especially mothers without support.” In the words of one of the judges, “Naturally, Canadians are grieved by an infant’s death, especially at the hands of the infant’s mother, but Canadians also grieve for the mother.” Someone should grieve for Canada.

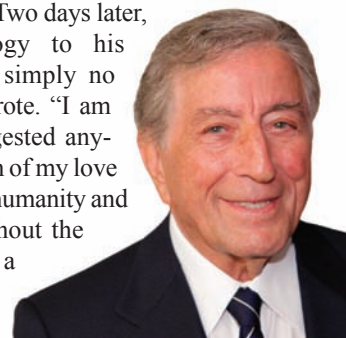
■ A British consultant named Anne O’Connor makes a living advising local school authorities on their use of colors. She’s not an interior designer, but rather a diversity counselor who explains the many subtle ways that reactionary color choices can poison children’s minds. One very common example is white paper: Since paper conveys power and authority (presumably with an exception for the loo), nursery-school pupils should be given green or lavender sheets to draw on, so they won’t consider whiteness to be the norm. But that’s just the beginning, reports the *Telegraph*: “Staff should be prepared to be economical with the truth when asked by pupils what their favourite colour is and, in the interests of good race relations, answer ‘black’ or ‘brown.’” When witches are shown dressed in black, the message is that black equals evil; to remedy this, the consultant says they should wear pink instead. Rather oddly, Ms. O’Connor has nothing to say about ghosts; but applying her principles, we would say that Casper should be black, Marley’s ghost off-white, and the ones that just knock over lamps and chairs sort of beige. Matters like these are crucial in children’s early development: After all, you’ve got to be carefully taught to believe in political correctness.

■ In one of his recent weekly radio addresses, New York mayor Michael Bloomberg saw riots in our future. “We have a lot of kids graduating from college [who] can’t find jobs. That’s what happened in Cairo. . . . You don’t want those kinds of riots here.” The main task of a mayor is preserving public order, and Mayor Bloomberg’s greatest achievement—though he may lose track of it when he noodles with trans-fats and bike lanes—was maintaining the sensible policing policies of his predecessor, Rudy Giuliani. Bloomberg’s diagnosis of the causes of urban violence is inaccurate: The riots of the recent American past—Los Angeles in 1992, everywhere in the mid to late Sixties—were not caused by underemployed collegians. It is also a preemptive exculpation: Riot away, you have reason. The mayor should be embarrassed. But New Yorkers long ago learned that he, as Mick Jagger said of Marianne Faithfull, don’t embarrass easy.

■ No branch of the services fought harder than the U.S. Marine Corps to keep “don’t ask, don’t tell” in place. That battle now lost, the Marines have swiftly regrouped, and are aggressively seeking homosexual recruits. The day after DADT officially

ended, the Corps had a recruiting booth open at the “gay community center” in downtown Tulsa, Okla. They were the only branch of the services so represented. To judge from the *New York Times* report of the event, local media were more interested in it than were local homosexuals; and among the latter group, women were much more interested than men (which seems also to be the case with same-sex “marriage”). The *Times* reporter watched the Marine recruiters give interviews to five local TV stations, three print journalists, and an NPR correspondent. Meanwhile: “A trickle of gay women . . . came in to ask about joining the Marines.” If the end of all this is that there are lesbians among female Marine enlistees, we venture to hope that the status quo may be preserved after all.

■ Forty-nine years ago, Tony Bennett first crooned that he’d left his heart in San Francisco. Considering his comments on the tenth anniversary of 9/11, we’d say he left his head there also. On *The Howard Stern Show*—of all places—the 85-year-old singer put on his pundit cap and analyzed the root causes of the War on Terror. “They flew the plane in, but we caused it,” Bennett told Stern. “We were bombing them, and they told us to stop.” He wondered, “Who are the terrorists? Are we the terrorists or are they the terrorists? Two wrongs don’t make a right.” Two days later, Bennett posted an apology to his Facebook page. “There is simply no excuse for terrorism,” he wrote. “I am sorry if my statements suggested anything other than an expression of my love for my country, my hope for humanity and my desire for peace throughout the world.” Or, we might add, a lack of moral reasoning.



■ Anyone inclined to doubt that Western civilization is in crisis need only contemplate the phenomenon of “reality TV.” Item: There has since 2004 been a series of shows on ABC around the idea of two households’ exchanging wives. The format has now advanced to *Celebrity Wife Swap*. We are told that an upcoming edition will feature a trade of partners between former megachurch pastor Ted Haggard and movie actor Gary Busey (who describes himself as a born-again Christian). Item: MTV is now in the third season of a show titled *16 and Pregnant*, which follows the travails of 16-year-old mothers-to-be. One such from the show’s first season married her baby’s father, who then joined the Air Force. The couple, now both 19, has just been arrested in Arkansas for drug offenses and child endangerment; the infant, now aged two, is in state care. Contrasting the ancient Greek *polis* with post-war Britain, H. D. F. Kitto lamented that “the training in virtue, which the medieval state left to the church, and the *polis* made its own concern, the modern state leaves to God knows what.” If we are leaving it to reality TV, then we are doomed, and deserve to be.

■ Malcolm Wallop was one of the most valuable conservative voices in the U.S. Senate: a full-throated, full-spectrum advocate for economic liberty and strong national defense. The blueblood cowboy—he was both a cattle rancher and a Yale graduate with

You deserve a factual look at . . .

The Promised Land of Milk and Honey

Could it have been? Could the dream still come true?

In 1947, the British, who had the Mandate over Palestine, decided that they had enough of the decades of fighting and slaughter between Arabs and Jews. They washed their hands of the Mandate and turned it over to the United Nations.

What are the facts?

A solution not accepted. Wishing to end the bloodshed and to create a stable and, hopefully, permanent solution to the decades of conflict, the U.N. decreed a partition of the country west of the Jordan River into an Arab and a Jewish state. In deference to Arab Muslim insistence that it was their “third holiest city,” the city of Jerusalem, the focus of all Jewish aspirations for two millennia, was to be “internationalized.” For the Jews this was bitterly disappointing. Still, in order to

create their dreamed-of state, to normalize the lives of the Jewish inhabitants, and to make possible the ingathering of the Holocaust survivors, they accepted the partition plan. They declared their state, *Eretz Yisrael* – the Land of Israel – and became a nation. Forever to his credit, US President Harry Truman recognized the nascent state of Israel within minutes of its declaration of independence.

The Arabs rejected the partition proposal out of hand. Instead, six Arab armies invaded the country from all sides. They vowed to wage a war of extermination. The Jewish population of only 650,000 people was lightly armed and almost hopelessly outnumbered. But in an almost Biblical miracle, the ragtag Jewish forces defeated the combined Arab might. They suffered horrendous casualties – about 1 per cent of the population. It was as if the United States were to lose 3 million people in a conflict. The Arabs also suffered greatly. Goaded mostly by their leaders to make room for the invading armies, about 650,000 fled the fighting. They were not accepted by their Arab brethren. They were interned and live to this day in so-called refugee camps, slum cities, in which they lead miserable and totally unproductive lives, dependent on the dole of the world. They are consumed with hatred against the Jews who, they believe, have deprived them of their patrimony.

Prosperity despite unending attacks. But Israel was not

allowed to live in peace. Virtually without interruption, it was victimized by attacks from Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Egypt. There were two major wars: the Six Day War of 1967 and the Yom Kippur War of 1973. Israel prevailed in both. It acquired major territories, most of which, in its never-ending quest for peace, it returned. Following these unsuccessful wars, the Palestinians subjected Israel to almost uninterrupted “intifadas,” essentially one-sided civil wars, in which suicide bombings and other assorted terrors were the main weapons.

Despite these unending tribulations and absorbing close to 4 million migrants from all parts of the world, Israel prospered mightily. Its population is now close to 8 million. Over 1 million of them are Arabs. They are Israeli citizens, have all the rights of their fellow Jewish citizens, serve in the Knesset (Israel’s parliament) and in the diplomatic corps. They are full participants in the economic prosperity that permeates Israel. Israel’s product per person is on the same or higher order as that of most European countries. It is a center of science and of culture. Its industrial output encompasses some of the most advanced technology and sophisticated production in the world. Next to Canada, Israel is the most represented country on US stock exchanges. Most major high-tech companies have facilities – factories and research establishments – in Israel.

All of this is admirable, of course. But there is a flip side to this edifying story. That is the fate of the Arab descendants of those who fled Israel in the 1948 War of Liberation. Had they followed the example of the Jews and agreed to the partition decreed by the U.N., they could today be in the same advanced position as Israel, instead of the misery in which they live. Because there is no question that Israel would have been more than willing to enter into a federation with Palestine, in which citizens of both countries could peacefully partake in common prosperity.

Can that dream still come true? Of course it can! Israel has accepted virtually all of the “conditions” for reconciliation on which the Palestinians have insisted, with the sole exception of the demand for the “right of return.” That “right” would swamp Israel with hundreds of thousands of Arabs. And it would with one stroke be the end of Israel as the Jewish state. Even for the thorny question of Jerusalem a compromise could be found. But, having been misled by the thuggish Arafat for decades, Arab Palestine needs a wise leader in order to finally make peace with Israel. In view of Israel’s experience in Lebanon and Gaza and because it would be fatally vulnerable if an armed enemy occupied the Judean heights, the state of Palestine would have to be totally demilitarized and controlled (probably by US military) for compliance. It would be a difficult condition to swallow, but it would have to be the price to gain their own country. But the dream could then finally be fulfilled and peace and prosperity could be extended over all of the Promised Land. Milk and Honey could indeed flow.

This ad has been published and paid for by

FLAME

Facts and Logic About the Middle East

P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco, CA 94159

Gerardo Joffe, President

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational 501 (c)(3) organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world. Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and for related direct mail.

112A

To receive free FLAME updates, visit our website: www.factsandlogic.org

family ties to the British aristocracy—represented Wyoming for 18 years, and was greatly respected by his Senate colleagues. He is perhaps best remembered for his strong advocacy of the Strategic Defense Initiative, which was just one example of his forward-looking approach to national-security issues. Dead at 78. R.I.P.

■ Oscar Handlin was America's greatest historian of immigration, and the famous first line of his 1951 book, *The Uprooted*, has achieved a greatness of its own: "Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants *were* American history." Despite this ambitious observation, Handlin refused to romanticize the immigrant experience, a temptation that many of his peers failed to resist. *The Uprooted* is one part scholarship, one part elegy. It reveals that as immigrants moved from an old country to a new one, they often wound up feeling alienated from both. Yet they also contributed to America's sense of self. Individualism, restlessness, creativity, entrepreneurship, disregard of status, and risk acceptance are traits of both the immigrant and the American. Or, as Handlin might have said, they are American because they are immigrant. Dead at 95. R.I.P.

PUBLIC POLICY

Taxing Our Patience

PRESIDENT OBAMA is threatening to impose a massive tax increase to pay for yet another round of stimulus spending, the first half-dozen rounds having failed to do the trick. Further, the president says he wants to ensure that the very wealthy do not pay lower effective tax rates than the middle class does, and argues that families and businesses earning more than \$250,000 in any given year should pay an additional \$1,500,000,000,000.00 or so in taxes.

Mr. Obama and his favorite campaign underwriter, billionaire investor Warren Buffett, have tried to bring in a bumper crop of political hay out of the fact that Mr. Buffett alleges that he pays taxes at a lower effective rate than does his secretary. There is rather less to this claim than meets the eye: Mr. Buffett, the third-wealthiest man on earth, pays himself a salary of only \$100,000 a year, and says his secretary earns around \$60,000. (If his secretary has a spouse similarly employed, the couple may very well earn a combined salary higher than Mr. Buffett's, as indeed do a number of police officers, nurses, and high-school principals.) Mr. Buffett pays no taxes on dividends accruing to the many shares of stock he holds in his company, Berkshire Hathaway, simply because the firm does not pay a dividend, while most of his personal wealth has been put into a trust. Each of those facts—the relatively low salary, the lack of dividend payments on Berkshire Hathaway shares, the trust—is part of a calculated strategy to avoid paying taxes.

Very wealthy people such as Mr. Buffett tend to earn their money in one of three ways: as investors, as entrepreneurs, or as executives in large enterprises. In each case, salary is a relatively small part of total compensation: Rather than getting a regular paycheck, investors, entrepreneurs, and top executives most often are rewarded with an ownership stake in their firms. As they work to increase the value of the business, they enrich themselves as well. This is a desirable arrangement to the extent

that it aligns the financial interests of a company's management with those of its shareholders. Because Congress has for decades sought to increase the incentives for Americans to invest—investment being where new businesses, products, and jobs come from—we tax long-term capital gains at a lower rate than we tax regular income such as salaries and cash bonuses. This reflects both the fact that investors are risking their capital and the fact that much of the money that flows into such investments already has been taxed once—as household income, in the case of Americans investing for their retirements, or as business income, in the case of large and small firms expanding their operations and product lines with new investments.

President Obama proposes to stop taxing investment income at lower rates than salaries and other cash income, and to raise tax rates generally on American families earning \$250,000 or more. His approach is a deeply foolish one. For one thing, it probably would not raise the revenue he claims it would. Neither President Obama nor any act of Congress can force an investor to realize a capital gain at any given time, and compensation packages will simply be restructured in light of the new rates.

Worse, this tax hike would immediately devalue the investments of millions of American households, and would make investing in American firms, which already labor under the developed world's second-highest corporate-tax rate, even less attractive. It would do so precisely at the time when we should be encouraging investment, which is the only real source of reliable long-term job growth.

While we believe that a tax increase is bad medicine for a country on the cusp of a double-dip recession and suffering from the weakest growth and worst job market in modern history, practically all parties—Republicans and Democrats, supply-side conservatives and their tormenters at the Brookings Institution—agree that a deep and fundamental reorganization of the U.S. tax code is highly desirable, and there are several excellent proposals for achieving this. President Obama's preference for simply jacking up tax rates on families earning \$250,000 and more is crude and childish in comparison with the proposals of thoughtful Democrats, to say nothing of those offered by more sensible conservatives.



SIPA USA/SIPA/NEWS.COM

Praise for Stauer Men's Rings:



"...for men that like to make a statement"
— D. FROM WASHINGTON



"Both my husband and I have been impressed with their attention to detail. Very satisfied..."
— T. FROM TEXAS



"...simple lines with a nice balanced weight... well done Stauer..."
— E. FROM ARKANSAS



"massive and very distinctive... very pleased with my purchase."
— J. FROM CALIFORNIA



Long Live Heavy Metal

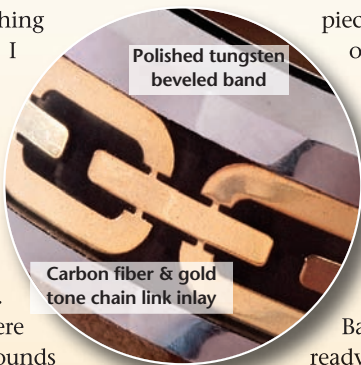
Made from one of the hardest substances known to man: tungsten ring for only \$99

I love precious metals. Honestly I do. But sometimes for a piece of men's jewelry, I crave something tougher, something less... *precious*. Once I found tungsten, I knew it was the only metal for me. This was a new kind of love. Not that sappy, romantic version with birds chirping and harps playing. I heard music, but it was the crunching guitar riffs and thundering drums of heavy metal. Any chirping birds were drowned out by the sounds of bullets, explosions and rockets. Okay, maybe I'm getting carried away. But that's what happens when you fall in love. You'll understand when you put on this **Tungsten Ring** for only \$99.

Where has this metal been all my life? Named for the old Swedish word for "heavy stone," tungsten is four times harder than titanium and 71% denser than lead. It's so tough that when they need to cut it and polish it they have to use diamonds... the hardest substance on Earth! It's the very same metal that goes into armor-piercing ammunition and the fuel nozzles of skyscraper-sized rockets.

JEWELRY SPECS: Can it handle a life of luxury? Of course. Even as a

piece of jewelry it remains an overachiever. Unlike other fine metals, the spectacular polish and shine will never dull. And you're going to be amazed by how well this ring balances a heavyweight feel with "forget-your-wearing-it" comfort. Added details include a handsome beveled-edge and a carbon fiber and gold tone chain link inlay. The perfect symbol of a relationship built to last. And right now you can **get it for \$150 less**. Plus with the Stauer 30-day Money Back Guarantee, you've got time to see if you're ready for the commitment. If you're not satisfied, return it for a full refund of the purchase price. This just might be the easiest "tough decision" you've ever made!



Polished tungsten beveled band

Carbon fiber & gold tone chain link inlay

JEWELRY SPECS:
- Tough tungsten steel beveled band - Carbon fiber and gold tone accent

A Stauer Exclusive

Men's Tungsten Ring—~~\$249~~ Now \$99 +S&P

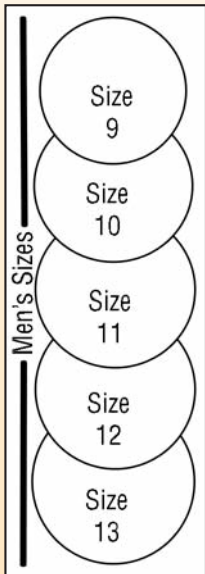
Please specify ring size 8-14 when ordering.
Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

1-888-324-1886

Promotional Code MTR154-01
Please mention this code when you call.

BBB ACCREDITED BUSINESS Stauer has a Better Business Bureau Rating of A+

Stauer® 14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. MTR154-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com



USING THE RING SIZE CHART
Place one of his rings on top of one of the circle diagrams. Your ring size is the circle that matches the inside diameter of the ring diagram. If your ring falls between sizes, order the next larger size.

Smart Luxuries—Surprising Prices



The President of Rock

Jon Huntsman's lonely quest for moderate nirvana

BY KEVIN D. WILLIAMSON

Sandown, N.H.

In a presidential-primary race boasting not one but two stiff and plasticky multimillionaire Mormon Republican ex-governors, Jon Huntsman has hit upon an oddball strategy: He's going to be the *cool* stiff and plasticky multimillionaire Mormon Republican ex-governor—the Harley-straddling, “more spiritual than religious,” Dream Theater-loving, keyboard-playing, moderate rock star of our dreams. Whose dreams, exactly? That's an awkward question: Outlaw bikers call themselves “1 percenters,” and September's Gallup numbers had the motorcycle-loving Governor Huntsman a 1 percenter, too—dead last in the affections of Republican primary voters, with one-thirteenth the support of atavistic Robert Taft impersonator Ron Paul and half the support of idealistic no-hoper Rick Santorum. He's serving up Morningstar Farms veggie burgers to a

Republican electorate ravenous for raw red meat. It's an Us-and-Them election, and Huntsman, a former envoy to China, is positioning himself as Republican ambassador to Them.

“We're going to need a lot of independents on board if we're going to win in 2012,” Huntsman says. “I think I'm the only candidate in the race that can really reach out to them.” Huntsman is not the only one who thinks that. “Out of all the candidates out there, Jon Huntsman is the only one who really scares me,” a Democratic lobbyist tells me. “Independents, moderates, white suburban voters, women—he can appeal to them in a way that Rick Perry can't.” That's the kind of endorsement Huntsman would like: He's the presentable one, the one who can win. Which would probably be true if the Republican primary electorate had anything much in common with Democratic lobbyists and the self-appointed every-

men of the *New York Times*. The paper of alleged record takes Huntsman so seriously that it once headlined a piece about him: “Why Huntsman Should Be Taken Seriously.” (Seriously.) The *Times* has even floated a little conspiracy theory, popular in political circles, that the Obama administration appointed Huntsman ambassador to China because it would cripple him as a presidential candidate. It has, at the very least, hobbled him—a fact of which Republicans should not be proud.

Conservatives, for the most part, have greeted Huntsman's Charlie Crist-meets-Montgomery Burns act with galloping contempt. When Tom Ridge endorsed Huntsman, Rush Limbaugh held a contest, offering a free case of his trademark sweet tea to the first listener who could accurately identify both Jon Huntsman and Tom Ridge. Much gleeful mockery ensued. Back in May, I asked on NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE, “Why not Huntsman?” and the response was nearly unanimously hostile. “May 2011, and already we're negotiating down to Huntsman?” one reader replied. “At this rate, by November 2012, Howard Dean will be our choice.”

It didn't have to be that way. Don't try to convince a Republican primary voter of the fact, but Huntsman is a pretty conservative figure by any non-moonbat standard. Not too many years ago, he would have been considered hard-Right: Under his watch, Utah banned second-trimester abortions and imposed stiff penalties for performing other illegal abortions, passed a fetal-pain bill, and imposed parental-consent restrictions. He supports a “trigger bill” that would make abortions illegal if *Roe v. Wade* were overturned. His tax proposal—three personal-income tax brackets pegged at 8, 14, and 23 percent, a 25 percent corporate-tax rate, and zero deductions—is more radical than anything contemplated by the likes of Newt Gingrich, or Ronald Reagan for that matter. He's to the right of Dick Cheney on gay marriage, and his enthusiasm for civil unions puts him squarely in George W. Bush territory. Sure, he took stimulus money from the Obama administration—along with Rick Perry and every other governor in these United States. But he also cut taxes and supported school choice, and the NRA loves him. His record in Utah, as Ramesh Ponnuru pointed out in these pages (“The Moderate,”

June 20), is one most conservatives would envy.

And though it is a source of endless irritation to many conservatives, Huntsman's service to the Obama administration as ambassador to China was the crowning achievement of a diplomatic career that found him representing his country in Beijing and Singapore, and gaining extensive experience in Taiwan and South Korea. He is a shrewd and thoughtful judge of the U.S.-China relationship. He rightly scoffs at Mitt Romney's threat to impose trade sanctions on China as bluster, and is neither overawed by the Chinese juggernaut nor naïve about the fact that one partner in what he calls "the world's most important bilateral relationship" is a ruthless police state. He speaks with real insight on subjects ranging from the barriers facing entrepreneurial innovation in Singapore to the pending leadership crisis in the Chinese Communist Party, subjects about which no other presidential candidate—Republican or Democrat—has one interesting or useful thing to say.

You'd think that would be the record he would be running on—at least during the primary—but it's not. Jon Huntsman, a direct lineal descendant of the pilgrims who made the trek to Utah after the death of Joseph Smith, third cousin to Mitt Romney, son of a billionaire entrepreneur-philanthropist, is running for president of rock-'n'-roll.

"That 30-second sound-bite debate format, it's like the short version of 'Stairway to Heaven,'" Huntsman tells the small crowd gathered to hear his pitch at the town hall in Sandown, N.H. "I prefer the extended version." And crickets chirped in the cool New England evening. It was reminiscent of his reference to Nirvana singer Kurt Cobain in the earlier primary debate—a little too hip for the room, a gambit that left everybody under 40 suppressing a groan, and everybody over 40 nonplussed. (The late Mr. Cobain was a Jerry Brown supporter, as his bandmate Krist Novoselic noted after the awkward shout-out.) And it's not just rock-'n'-roll: Governor Huntsman is trying really, really hard to ingratiate himself with the cool kids, declaring at every opportunity that when it comes to the cultural fault line that separates Manhattan from Mayberry, Austin from Amarillo, and Berkeley from Bakersfield, Jon Huntsman is more a half-caff soy latte

than a bottle of Bud. Even his experience in China, which ought to be his trump card in a field not exactly thick with foreign-policy expertise, loses its luster when refracted through the prism of his vanity: He bragged that he looked forward to addressing the Chinese people in Chinese, he answered one question about China with "Would you like the answer in Chinese or English?" and he basically never passes up an opportunity to affirm that he knows some foreign languages, accepts the standard scientific accounts of evolution and global warming, and is not, you know, a rube.

It's not obvious that this is going to be a winning strategy. A few members of the Republican Liberty Caucus—the Ron Paul brigade—came out to have a gander at Huntsman in New Hampshire, and they liked what they saw, although Huntsman was by consensus their third choice behind Ron Paul and Gary Johnson—Doctor No and Governor Who?—and it wasn't what Huntsman was saying that they liked, but what he wasn't saying. "Huntsman doesn't talk about the social stuff," one RLCer said. "And that's what we like about him." So, here's a guy with a seriously pro-life record, a Mormon with a raft of kids, who ought to be reasonably at home with the social conservatives, going out of his way to distance himself from them. He's the anti-SoCon SoCon, laboring like a hyperactive beaver to gnaw off one leg of the three-legged stool upon which successful Republican presidential candidates sit.

Forget South Carolina and Iowa: Jon Huntsman, would-be rock star, may be too cool for New Hampshire. There's a reason the Granite State looms large in the Republican presidential contest. Even with a loan from his dad, Jon Huntsman could not have bought himself a better backdrop than the one he had in Sandown. Across the parking lot from the town hall, a white-steepled church drew a crowd about as large as Huntsman's, and a more vocal one: Old-time hymns filtered out of the slightly cracked windows. True, the 21st century is as ugly in New Hampshire as it is everywhere else in the country—strip malls, suburban sprawl, small-town kids aping ghetto manners—but there is a little bit of that sweet, weird, old America alive there, too. One senses that beneath the sweat pants and gimme caps and overfed exteriors there persist the bones of a people who still take seriously that

Preserve Your Memories

The Cordless Slide And Negative To Digital Picture Converter



FREE STANDARD SHIPPING

when you order by Nov. 30, 2011.

This portable device converts old 35mm slides and film negatives into digital images without the need for a computer. Slides (35mm) and negatives (110 and 135 film) are placed into a tray. Images can be immediately previewed on the built-in 2½" TFT color display; the touch of a button converts the image in 3-5 seconds to a JPEG file. Includes SD card slot. Images are transferred to a PC running Windows 7, Vista, or XP, or a Mac via the included USB cable. Its 9 MP CMOS provides 3328 x 2216 resolution, automatic exposure control, and color balance. Rechargeable battery provides up to 400 conversions from either USB (six hours) or AC (three hours). 6½" H x 4¼" W x 4¼" D (1 lb.)
Item 79353 \$129.95

1-800-543-3366

www.ammacher.com/slide
Use special offer code 600249

Lifetime Guarantee
of Complete Satisfaction.

Hammacher Schlemmer

whole “LIVE FREE OR DIE!” business, whose ancestors joined the militias, fought at Bennington, and built the ships in which John Paul Jones (*not* the bassist from Led Zeppelin, the other one) sailed to glory. The small-town charm is not to be underrated: When I asked for directions to the nearest hotel, a local Republican boss, who doesn’t know me from Adam, offered me his spare bedroom—without even asking my name or where I was from.

In New Hampshire, as in Iowa, they don’t feel confident that they can vote for a presidential candidate they haven’t shaken hands with once or twice; at the very least, they want to have watched him eat a few pancakes. They got their look at the man from Utah. There were a couple of very enthusiastic Huntsman partisans in the crowd, but there was more skepticism. “It’s great he came out, and we hope the others do, too,” said one local. “But, president? Well . . .”

Huntsman talks like a man who remains confident in his strategy, against all sorts of evidence. ‘When people get to know me, they like me,’ he says. But they don’t.

Huntsman is not a natural when it comes to working blasé crowds. And thank goodness for that: One of the great pleasures of politics is watching rich and powerful men who are driven by God knows what demons to seek the most powerful office in the history of the world by putting on mufti and stepping gingerly around fresh fertilizer in places like Nowhereville, Iowa, and rural New Hampshire, each doing his best impersonation of a human being. Mitt Romney, an underwear-ironing type who looks practically naked without a crisp-edged pocket square, has been modeling low-rise jeans like some kind of hipster gone tragically awry. Huntsman, in New Hampshire, stuck to the classics: plaid button-down shirt and Levi’s 501s, looking fresh from the shelf (34X32, if you’re wondering: he’s no Haley Barbour).

He took all the questions, his smile a standard-issue political rictus but one that never degenerated into a Michele Bachmann-style jacklighted Bambi panic,

keeping an even keel even with the “questions” that inevitably turned into mini-speeches from the political obsessives who turn out for campaign events. He smiled and looked intensely serious when he talked about ending corporate welfare and special tax loopholes for energy companies, and he smiled the same smile and looked just as intensely serious when in the next breath he proposed a whole new raft of corporate welfare and tax loopholes for energy companies in the name of “energy independence,” and if the flat contradiction in claims registered with him or with his audience, it was not apparent. He kept that same smiling intensity up as he mingled and posed for pictures with the locals afterward, with one interesting little tell—the Jon Huntsman fade-away handshake: As he reaches forward to shake hands, his torso retreats in the opposite direction, one half of his body saying “Howdy, partner!” and the other saying “Eek! A plebe!” It’s a weird little

thing he does, though he didn’t immediately slather himself with Purell afterward, as some candidates do.

Huntsman talks like a man who remains confident in his strategy, against all sorts of evidence. “When people get to know me, they like me,” he says. But they don’t. Most of what Huntsman stands for could be (and in many cases should be) incorporated into the platform of any eventual Republican political candidate—the fiscal realism, the clear-eyed view of China, the acknowledgment that abortion and civil unions are social issues of two very different kinds. It’s not the platform. It’s Huntsman. Obama ran as the Messiah, and Jon Huntsman is the Second Coming of Crist. Huntsman’s belief that Republicans just need a little more face time with him before he gets invited to sit at the cool kids’ table is somewhere between wishful thinking and delusion. But such delusions are what presidential campaigns are made of. **NR**

Pothole Pragmatism

Bob McDonnell does divided government right

BY ROBERT COSTA

Richmond, Va.

ELSEWHERE, in swing states such as Wisconsin and Ohio, Republican governors are under siege. Union heavies have swarmed capitol rotundas, schoolteachers are marching in the streets, and businesses are struggling. And as the recession continues, poll numbers are plummeting for GOP executives. But here in Virginia, a purple state carried by Pres. Barack Obama in 2008, Gov. Bob McDonnell, a first-term Republican, is a cross-aisle favorite with a 67 percent approval rating. What gives?

Chalk it up to pragmatism, McDonnell tells me as we chat in his third-floor office, a few steps from the governor’s mansion. “It’s the same situation that President Obama has got—a Democratic senate, a Republican house,” he says. “But we try to do things different.” Indeed, since his landslide, 17-point victory in 2009, the 57-year-old former attorney general has established an impressive record: closing a \$4.2 billion budget shortfall and dialing back state spending. Unemployment hovers near 6 percent, well below the national average, and CNBC recently celebrated Virginia as a business haven.

What intrigues Republicans, beyond the splashy scorecard, is how McDonnell has done it: with little fanfare and making few enemies. When he was elected, near the end of Obama’s first year, he was heralded as one of the GOP’s gubernatorial comers, alongside New Jersey’s Chris Christie. Christie, as we all know, has since become a national (and YouTube) sensation, a brusque hero with countless party grandees begging him to run for president. McDonnell, a low-key former Army lieutenant colonel, has not reached similar status.

But he’s on his way. In the eyes of party leaders, 2009 yielded not one but two stars in the states. The Republican Governors Association recently tapped McDonnell to be its chairman, and he’s

quickly become a fundraising powerhouse. Yet it is his quiet success here that is drawing the attention of White House contenders. GOP consultants frequently cite him as a potential vice-presidential candidate, a conservative who could add gubernatorial heft and a suburban temperament to the ticket. McDonnell, of course, shrugs off the chatter, but he has not shut the door should the nominee call.

And call the candidates have—Mitt Romney and Rick Perry, the frontrunners in most polls, keep in close touch, as do other campaigns. Perry, for his part, recently raised funds downtown, showering McDonnell with high praise before a packed convention hall. At the event, scores of Virginia Republicans displayed “Perry-McDonnell” pins. McDonnell didn’t snuff out these musings, playfully jabbing Perry, another jobs-centric governor, about Virginia’s economic prowess.

Since McDonnell cannot serve consecutive terms under Virginia law, state politicians predict he’d take the VP slot if offered. He’s “interested,” he tells me, but not seeking the nomination. Virginia is trending right, so tapping McDonnell for electoral votes would likely be unnecessary. But his supporters’ case is about more than geography: They argue that he’d accentuate, with easy charm and business smarts, the Republican commitment to job growth. Plus, he’d give the ticket a Catholic father of five. And with a law degree from Regent University, a school founded by Pat Robertson, he has evangelical appeal, too.

McDonnell would like to see a Republican governor in the Oval Office. But don’t expect him to decide between Perry and Romney anytime soon. “I don’t agree with *myself* 100 percent of the time,” he laughs when pressed about where he finds fault with the two. “But I think governors make good presidents. You’ve got to balance the budget. You can’t make excuses.”

Unlike some of his high-profile friends at the RGA, McDonnell has at every juncture kept his focus on building coalitions in the capital, with only a casual glance at the national scene. In fact, transportation and infrastructure—two words that make conservatives skittish—have become his bailiwick. But his attention to those issues, he says, is driven not by big-government dreams, but by hard evidence and the political realities of divided government. On the campaign trail, McDonnell toured

Virginia by RV and was alarmed at the condition of state highways, from the traffic-snarled Beltway suburbs to the crumbling roads near Virginia’s coalfields. Residents’ complaints were constant, but few wanted to pay higher taxes to support roadwork.

As a longtime legislator—he was first elected to the state house in 1991—McDonnell was well aware of how Republicans usually avoided involved and expensive transportation projects, unable or unwilling to find new revenue streams. But with the economy stumbling and frustration mounting, he presented the issue in his terms, leading a push for smarter spending and stiff oversight, not for larding cash. If he could make a bipartisan, prudent pitch to voters, he knew, legislators would follow. But first, he needed fresh data, some fiscal evidence to satisfy conservatives and rally liberals.

He soon found it. Four months into office, McDonnell ordered a Department of Transportation audit, which in September 2010 revealed \$1.4 billion in reserve funds. That stash was used, but it was far from enough. With interest rates at historic lows, McDonnell wanted to be aggressive, raising another \$4 billion—\$3 billion in borrowed capital and \$1 billion in federal bonds—to redress congestion and build new roads. The governor huddled with GOP and Democratic leaders at the capitol, debating the details of a comprehensive proposal.

For weeks, both sides had concerns about the additional debt; everyone had concerns about where the money would be spent. His original proposal, calling for an “infrastructure bank,” was shot down. As the political clock ticked, McDonnell knew the odds were against him. Virginia’s political graveyard is full of governors who tried and failed on transportation reform. Democrat Mark Warner attempted to raise regional sales taxes and was rebuffed by voters. McDonnell’s predecessor, Democrat Tim Kaine, faced opposition from GOP lawmakers. But in meeting after late-night meeting, McDonnell made clear to Republicans that fixing the roads was long overdue, and, with the state’s high credit rating, now was the time. And to Democrats, he urged caution, arguing that in a recession, both parties needed to focus on efficiency.

Slowly, McDonnell began to win backing for SB 1446, the final package. After decades of working with him, Democratic

senators, even committee barons, trusted him and appreciated his collaborative approach. They began to whip in its favor. In the house, Speaker William Howell, McDonnell’s friend and ally, did the same. By February of this year, the omnibus bill passed by a 65–33 margin in the lower chamber and 34–6 in the senate, with the support of the Democratic leadership.



Gov. Bob McDonnell

“We’re all about getting results,” McDonnell says, reflecting on the pursuit. “Talk is cheap. There is plenty of rhetoric, sound bites, and posturing in Washington, but we are trying not to do that here. Especially when you have a divided legislature, you have to do that. We can’t win with just Republicans or Democrats. We have to get people working together. So I spend a lot of time with leaders of both parties in this office, getting stuff done—on time. That’s results-oriented conservatism: You stick to your guns, but we all need to do some things to find solutions.”

Not that he’s afraid to knock heads. McDonnell may have finessed a major transportation bill through the legislature, but its implementation is causing headaches. To help pay for highway construction in central Virginia, he and state legislators are thinking of collecting a \$2 to \$4 toll on Interstate 95. Conservatives are grumbling that this is a thinly dis-

STEVE HELBER/AP

guised tax on commuters, a roundabout way of avoiding tax increases, which McDonnell pledged to oppose.

McDonnell acknowledges that, in the final two years of his term, brokering deals like the transportation bill will only become more complicated as he looks to reform the state's pension system and bolster economic growth. Early in his term, when he proposed deep budget cuts, he hinted at what was to come. He pushed for more than \$700 million to be cut from public schools and more than \$300 million to be axed from state health-care programs. "Of course, we had screaming from people in education and health care and others, that horrible things were going to happen," he says. "It's hard for politicians to say, 'Elect me, and we'll do less for you.'"

McDonnell pauses. He kicks his right foot up onto his coffee table, the same foot he thought could get him onto the Fighting Irish football squad as a walk-on punter. Around the room hang pictures of George Washington, and the shelves are lined with tomes about the Founding Fathers. Those cuts, he said then, gave him "heartburn," and the burn lingers. He has learned that politics more often is about the half loaf—making the best of what you're given—more than soaring rhetoric or political standoffs.

For conservatives, he says, this needn't be troubling. His record, from cutting spending to stabilizing higher-education funding, is about balance more than partisanship—and it's worked. In states under Obama's sway, he says, the nonconfrontational approach can win. In November's legislative elections—they're odd-year occurrences in the Old Dominion—he expects Republicans to pick up seats in both chambers. One doesn't need bruises or a temper to lead, he says. "These are serious elections, unlike in 2008, where it seemed to be more about style. We tried style, and it didn't work."

McDonnell's own understated, conservative style is catching on more than he admits. He cuts me off when I once again bring up the veep chatter. "As Mills Godwin said, there is no higher honor than being the governor of Virginia. I have the best job in America, I really do. Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and . . . *Bob McDonnell*," he chuckles, an eyebrow raised. "That has a nice roll to it." Romney, Perry, and the rest appear to agree.

Stumbles the EU Colossus

Chestnuts, anyone?

BY ANTHONY DANIELS

WHEN I look out from my house at my land in France, I find myself now asking a very strange question: Could we live here in autarky? It is rather late in the day for us to become self-supporting peasants, but the shares in my French bank (the *Crédit Agricole*) have fallen by 55 percent since July 1, which could herald an even more total collapse. And the *Crédit Agricole* is not even the worst of the banks: Shares in the *Société Generale* have lost more than 60 percent of their value in the same period. Could foraging for food be our future?

We are already self-sufficient in blackberries, which is a small beginning. As it happens, this area of France did comparatively well during the war because its staple then was chestnuts, which not even the Germans could be bothered to appropriate, and though a lot of the original chestnut forest has been replaced by pines, introduced to provide pit props for the local mines (the mines have closed, but the pines remain), we still have enough chestnut trees to feed us. And you can make almost everything from chestnuts.

At the moment there are the mushrooms too, or toadstools. We can still take them to the local pharmacist for confirmation of safety, but when the total collapse comes there will be no pharmacists to help, and no means of getting to town in any case. I had better learn some mycology now, then, before it is too late.

And for meat there are the *cochongliers*, the cross of wild boar with domestic pig that the hunters have encouraged because domestic pigs have much larger litters than wild boar, and the hunters round here, city dwellers unaccustomed to exercise, like easy prey. I could learn to shoot these half-breed beasts—the *cochongliers*, I mean—whose meat is so tough that it needs marinating in wine for three days,

Mr Daniels is the author of Utopias Elsewhere and other books.

though I have a suspicion that I should be more likely to kill my neighbors by accident with my gun than any game on purpose.

Of course, I am assuming that we shall be able to defend our land from the hordes of aging *soixante-huitards* who settled in the area years ago, who will be driven half-mad after the economic collapse by hunger (there will be no market left for the ethnic-inspired jewelry and joss sticks that they make and sell in summer to tourists from Belgium and Holland). But will we be able to defend our property? When the real crisis strikes, legal titles to land will be worth what Sam Goldwyn thought verbal contracts were worth, that is to say not even the paper they are written on.

My fevered imagination is stimulated by reading the newspapers rather than by observation of life around me, which seems to continue as if nothing much were happening. There is no panic buying, no queues form outside the banks as customers try to withdraw their savings, the ATM machines spew out cash just as before. This season's *cèpes* have just arrived: They are at \$12 a pound, about the price of decent fish. But the newspapers are full of financial apocalypse. Unless something is done, they say, we face (to change slightly the metaphor) the abyss. But what is it that we should do?

These are happy days for those who have nothing but contempt for the European Union and the political class that has formed it—who, it must be admitted, are very few. The contemptuous always knew that the single currency was unworkable without fiscal union, that fiscal union was impossible without political union, that political union was impossible with even the most minimal democratic oversight and was therefore essentially a fascist ideal, and that in the end the so-called union would bring conflict and even violence. Europe is the Yugoslavia *de nos jours*.

Eurobonds are one of the answers to the dilemma that are touted, according to which the debts of one country will become the debts of all. Like most answers to most political questions, this one will not please everyone, to put it mildly. Indeed, it is difficult to think of a scheme better calculated to re-arouse the nationalist passions of northern Europe, especially, of course, those of Germany, for it is in essence the German surplus that will have to keep the debts and borrowing capacity

afloat. He who pays the piper will call the tune, and rightfully so: It is not reasonable to expect the German population to hand a blank check to the Greeks or Portuguese, who in effect had one thanks to the creation of the euro. The Germans will rule, and everyone else will fret under the yoke.

Another touted short-term solution, though with equally long-term consequences, is resort to the Chinese for funds. There is a certain delicious irony in the

Europe was in the process of creating an empire, he was right: It was just that he got the location of the empire wrong. Its capital is in Peking, not in Brussels; he mistook a suzerainty for an empire.

What, ask the newspapers, has got us into this mess? One possible answer, of course, duly reported in *Le Monde*, is the Anglo-Saxons. According to an economist at the Centre Bruegel in Brussels, Shahin Vallée, “the Anglo-Saxons have always

be able to sell its own debt. For the head of the French association of heads of business, Laurence Parisot, the problems of the eurozone have arisen from the panics caused by the latest euroskeptic article in the *Financial Times*. For her, there is “a highly organized drumbeat.” In short, an English-speaking conspiracy, the modern equivalent of the freemasonry that so preoccupied many of the French in the 19th century.

There is a certain delicious irony in the heirs of Mao reading **lessons in economic orthodoxy** and fiscal responsibility to the European political class.

heirs of Mao reading lessons in economic orthodoxy and fiscal responsibility to the European political class, but that is precisely what is happening at the moment. The Italians asked the Chinese to buy their bonds, and received in return a sermon on living within their means. When the head of the European Commission, José Manuel Barroso, said not long ago that

looked on the euro as an intellectual crime, and its success with a certain irritation.” Furthermore, “the Anglo-Saxon banks see the difficulties of the eurozone and its banks as an opportunity to gain market share.” A researcher at one of the French banks in trouble, Natixis, says that the United States stands in “crucial need of a loss of credibility of the euro” in order to

It is true, of course, that an Anglo-Saxon bank, using the term very broadly, helped the Greeks to disguise the true state of their finances, in order that they might join the eurozone and thus degrade their finances exponentially at Germany’s expense; but the state of those finances in the first place, and the idiocy or crookedness of those who believed the Greeks

You Are Invited to Attend the Human Life Foundation’s 9th Annual

Great Defender of Life Dinner

Honoring **PAUL GREENBERG**

Introduced by **CHARMAINE YOEST**

To Benefit the **HUMAN LIFE REVIEW**

Paul Greenberg’s distinctive work has appeared in the *Human Life Review* since the early 1990s, after he became a convert to the prolife cause. The longtime and respected editorial-page editor of the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*, Mr. Greenberg is a Pulitzer Prize winning syndicated columnist, the author of several books, and known for an engaging and inimitable style that is part southern gentleman, part razor-sharp gadfly. Former Governor Mike Huckabee says his fellow Arkansan is “one of the most reasoned voices in the country in favor of life.” Mr. Greenberg will be introduced by Charmaine Yoest, the president and CEO of Americans United for Life.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 27, 2011

THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB, 38 EAST 37TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Individual Tickets	\$300
Student Tickets	\$200
Sponsor Table	\$3,000
Benefactor Table	\$5,000
Guarantor Table	\$10,000

DINNER JOURNAL RATES

Gold Full Page	5 ¼" X 8 ¼"	\$2,000
Silver Full Page	5 ¼" X 8 ¼"	\$1,000
White Full Page	5 ¼" X 8 ¼"	\$500
Half Page	5 ¼" X 4"	\$250

For more information, or if you would like to receive an invitation, please call 212-685-5210; or e-mail christina@humanlifereview.com You may also purchase space in our dinner journal. You may send us a completed ad (in PDF format), or provide us with a message, and we will design the ad for you.

when they presented their figures, was not caused by *les anglo-saxons*. Rather it was the consequence of the megalomania of a European political class that wanted a eurozone not as sound, but as large, as possible: for in their mind, size was indistinguishable from strength, and the one thing they really valued was power. They wanted to bestride the world like colossi and they wanted to do it immediately.

There is a general reluctance in France to admit that there has been something wrong with Western finances for a long time, at least as much in Britain and the United States as in Europe. The Greek case is surely emblematic rather than *sui generis*—an extreme case of a general condition.

Why did the Greek government borrow so much? First it increased yet further the political class's powers of patronage, and second it was by far the easiest and quickest way of raising living standards in Greece without forcing the population to go to the trouble of earning that increase, which is always a slow, onerous, and tedious business if you have to rely on your own work to do it.

In this, however, Greece is not so very different from other Western countries, which have wanted to protect themselves from the vicissitudes of human existence, including economic existence, not by prudence and provision for the future, but by the issuance of promissory notes committing future generations to payment on their behalf. The problem is that promissory notes tend to degrade as more of them are issued; there comes a time when no one believes in them any longer. And it should not be forgotten that France and Germany were the first countries to break the rules of membership of the eurozone: the principle of all European politicians being *Let your yea be nay and your nay yea*.

Having pursued the policy of *après nous le déluge* for so long, European politicians now find themselves in an insoluble dilemma: They have to decide which kind of economic degradation to plump for. They can maintain demand for a time at the expense of the currency, or they can maintain the currency for a time at the expense of demand. And if the Greeks don't like it—well, there is always the option of military occupation: though, you understand, only to restore that order which the Greek government has not been able to maintain among its own population. A police action, then, not a real occupation. **NR**

Western Suttee

Against a 'right' to be killed

BY DIEDERIK BOOMSMA &
JONATHAN PRICE

ON March 30 of this year, a team of doctors euthanized a Belgian couple, at their request. The 83-year-old man suffered from terminal prostate cancer. His 78-year-old wife, although suffering from severe rheumatism, was not terminally ill. But she did not want to live without her husband. This became the first official, public instance of co-euthanasia in Western Europe. The death announcement that relatives placed in the newspaper stated that they “choose to end it together.”

Euthanasia is legal in the Low Countries under two conditions: The request must be made by an adult of sound mind, and the patient must have an incurable disease that causes unbearable suffering. Although there is no cure for rheumatism, the Belgian woman did not meet these conditions. However, she would have had to move to a nursing home after her husband was gone. So horrified was she by this prospect that, combined with her age-related ailments, it was deemed by the doctors to constitute “unbearable suffering.”

One can empathize with her. Apart from the wish not to be alone in one's later years, credible stories abound of elderly people left unwashed in bed to vegetate, as nursing homes fail to muster the money, staff, or interest for proper care. But, empathy notwithstanding, this de facto legalization of “euthanasia for love” shows us that another taboo has bitten the dust. A mere nine years after euthanasia was legalized, the strict conditions for its use are already showing major cracks.

Other taboos vanished earlier, some even before legalization. Since a 1994 decision of the Dutch high court, “mental

suffering” has been accepted as a reason for allowing euthanasia. This followed a case in which a doctor gave a lethal overdose to a 50-year-old woman who had been chronically depressed after a difficult divorce and the death of her two sons. In 1998, a retired Dutch socialist senator claimed to be tired of life and, therefore, to have the right to die. His doctor agreed that, although he was not clinically depressed, his weariness of life had no cure, and proceeded to deliver a lethal dose of barbiturates. For this, the doctor was eventually convicted of culpable assisted suicide. But the Dutch high court took the view that clinical depression alone can be a sufficient justification for euthanasia. Finally, in June of this year, the Dutch medical association stated that decline caused by age ought to be considered sufficient reason to euthanize a patient.

The *Financial Times* recently (and correctly) referred to the Netherlands as the “California of Europe”: Where Holland goes, the rest of the Continent—and even the British Isles—will follow. A 2008 study of the Swiss death clinics Exit and Dignitas claimed that many of those who committed suicide there suffered from weariness of life rather than a terminal medical condition. Since its founding by a human-rights lawyer in 1998, Dignitas has become an important European center for suicide tourism.

Across Europe, pressure groups are pushing for legalization of euthanasia and assisted suicide. In Spain, support for legalization was strengthened by an Academy Award-winning film about the life and assisted death of Ramón Sampedro, who was paralyzed from the neck down after diving into shallow water. In Britain this June, the BBC aired a documentary narrated by Sir Terry Pratchett, one of the world's most successful fantasy writers, who visited Dignitas. We see a British motor-neurone-disease sufferer walk in to the clinic with his wife, sit down on a sofa, and drink a deadly cocktail of barbiturates. He mumbles and moans, begs for water—which is refused, lest it dilute the poison—and, finally, dies. Pratchett has been diagnosed with Alzheimer's, and has since announced his plan to complete the necessary forms for Dignitas's assisted-suicide waiting list, saying, “The only thing stopping me [from signing them] is that I have . . . a bloody book to finish.”

Mr. Boomsma is a member of the Amsterdam City Council. Mr. Price is a researcher and teacher at Leiden University Law School and Blackfriars Hall, Oxford.

The BBC was criticized for airing what amounted to its fourth pro-euthanasia documentary. Yet the BBC was merely following the script: In February of this year, the British director of public prosecutors said his office would be less likely to prosecute cases of assisted suicide in which the motive was compassion and not a desire for personal gain.

A slippery-slope argument is a fallacy, except when it is not. The gradual shedding of taboos is precisely what opponents of legal euthanasia have always warned about. From first being recognized as a regrettable practice that should be allowed only in the most exceptional cases and under strict regulations, euthanasia is increasingly being presented as a full-blown human right. Note that we are not talking merely about the right to die. Euthanasia involves others: doctors, and perhaps family, friends, or strangers—those who must *help* you die. Of course, if you have a right to be killed, someone else may be given the duty to do the deed. And if you grant the right to the terminally ill, can you deny it to anyone

else—given that rights are, by definition, universal?

In the Netherlands, this change of perception is giving rise to misgivings even among those who have been in the vanguard of the legalization movement. Els Borst, the minister originally responsible for introducing the 2002 law legalizing euthanasia—who infuriated Christians in the parliament by saying Jesus’s last words, “It is finished,” after the bill was passed—now has some regrets. She believes we have done things the wrong way around, and should have focused instead on the improved possibilities for palliative care: “We first listened to the political and societal demand in favour of euthanasia. Obviously, this was not the proper order.” (These statements followed the publication two years ago of an influential book by Dutch anthropologist Anne-Mei The, which concluded that many patients ask to die “out of fear,” because of an absence of effective pain relief.)

Many Dutch doctors are also changing their approach. Instead of informing

patients about euthanasia, they first tell them about other forms of care. Doctors have found that many very ill patients will agree to *whatever* they suggest—whether death or treatment. But not all patients. As one doctor recently told a journalist: “Patients no longer request euthanasia, they demand it as a right. We never wanted it that way. It’s as if we doctors are being pushed to cross borders.” Last year, doctors granted euthanasia requests to only 25 people suffering from dementia—a mere fraction of those requesting it for that reason. The reluctance of some medical professionals is prompting demands for a new clinic for assisted suicide, where patients can go if their doctors refuse to cooperate.

But an opposite trend toward full legalization also exists, and it involves not the sick but the healthy. A group of prominent people over age 70—including writers, artists, and politicians—are urging that the law allow *anyone* over 70 to be legally euthanized if he or she so chooses. Their demand is that euthan-

**LEARN HOW
TO FIND YOUR WAY
NO MATTER WHERE
YOU GO**



Wyoming
Catholic College

www.wyomingcatholiccollege.com
877-332-2930

asia no longer be considered a medical decision, and they want the right to die to be included in the Dutch Constitution. “There already is a human right to life, but there shouldn’t be a *duty* to live,” as former European commissioner Frits Bolkestein put it. The idea is: I am the captain of my own ship. Why can’t I sink it?

It is a profound theological truth that life is a gift, and receiving it is a task. Ownership is not a correct metaphor for our lives. But even if it were, this wouldn’t free one from responsibility. If I own a Rembrandt, that doesn’t give me the right to use it to light my cigar, and we can imagine a sensible law against such arson. Permitting euthanasia or assisted suicide is a world away from making it a constitutionally guaranteed right. At the moment, the question arises mostly with the elderly and the severely ill. But

killed, may the rapist avoid his term by requesting death? Most criminals would never choose death over life, but the point is instructive and could apply, by analogy, elsewhere. A second practical consequence concerns personal relations. Imagine a friend comes to you and says that she is thinking of committing suicide. Naturally, you would urge her to seek help, and, if things got worse, you might seek help for her, even against her will. But imagine now that death is a right, guaranteed by the state. What is then the appropriate response? What is then the *politically correct* response? As with abortion, the convention may become to treat suicide as a private matter, to be removed from the realm of public morality and discourse.

Lawmakers must be cautious. After suicide was decriminalized in Britain in 1961, the number of successful and attempted

It takes some imagination to envision a culture in which **couple-euthanasia** becomes a social expectation rather than a purely individual choice. But it does not take a whole lot of imagination.

where can one draw the line? If 70, why not 50? If 50, why not 35? Creating a new constitutional right to die would render these questions illegitimate in public discourse.

A state recognizing an inalienable right to die could not be anything approaching a true community defined by mutual rights and duties. With fully negotiable relations to the political community, its citizens could hardly be political beings in the Aristotelian sense (one wonders whether they could be considered human at all, since, for Aristotle, being social enters into the basic definition of man). As citizenship is increasingly seen as a matter of rights without duties, the state becomes a slave to the wishes of the radically free individual, who can turn in his passport or—in this case—demand death at will. With a right to be killed, the most basic duty to others—to remain alive within reason—is rejected.

There are also curious practical consequences. If there is in fact a right to be

suicides quickly rose. Causation or correlation? We don’t know. But it could get worse yet.

The Hindu custom of suttee, in which the wife of a deceased husband immolates herself on his funeral pyre, was famously banned by the British in 1829. In the West, the Vikings had similar customs. Now, in the California of Europe, an appeal to human rights is being used as an argument that doctors should be allowed to kill wives who want to join their husbands in death. It’s difficult to say whether Indian or Viking widows freely chose to die, but it’s quite possible that many of them did. It takes some imagination to envision a culture in which couple-euthanasia becomes a social expectation rather than a purely individual choice. But it does not take a whole lot of imagination. A millennium after Christians converted the Vikings and banned the practice, it may be worth asking whether Western suttee is sneaking in through the back door. **NR**

A Comedian Rises

*The hilarious, serious
Felonious Munk*

BY JAY NORDLINGER

Newport News, Va.

SOMETHING interesting happened this morning, says Felonious Munk. Don Imus mentioned him on television. Munk’s father heard about it, and he said to his son, “You’re famous.” The son denied it—but it’s true, or getting true. Felonious Munk is a comedian. He is bold, profane, wide-ranging, quirky, and outrageous. For many, he is irresistible.

One of his YouTube videos has gone viral. This is the one that caught Imus’s attention (along with that of about 3 million others). In the video, Munk delivers himself of a volcanic rant. He admonishes the federal government to pay its bills. He does this in a hard street argot. I’ll give a heavily Bowdlerized version (as well as a heavily condensed one):

Pay your bills! Why can’t you balance your checkbook? Every American has to do that every week. You’re supposed to be “the best and the brightest”: Harvard, Yale, and so on. Should have gone to Norfolk State. You’d have saved yourselves a lot of money.

I’m not blaming Democrats or Republicans. I’m blaming everybody. How can I tell my daughter with a straight face that capitalism is a better system than Communism when we’re borrowing all our money from China?

Don’t go on television, don’t do any more press conferences, until you’ve balanced my budget. And, Obama, this is for you: We black Americans were proud when you were elected. But, for heaven’s sake, pay your bills!

I have not done anything like justice to Munk’s rant. For one thing, I have made it unfunny. In any case, the video comes in a series of Munk videos called *Stop It B*. (Like the people who bring us *Good Morning America*, Munk eschews a comma.) “B” is short for “b-boy” or “b-girl,” which comes out of hip-hop, and refers to someone who does break danc-

ing. “Stop it, b” is Munk’s tagline, as well as his title.

I’ve come to the Hampton Roads area in Virginia—Newport News, in particular—to see Munk. We sit at an outdoor table at Starbucks. Nearby is an auto dealership, where he used to work. He was the finance director. He has now taken the plunge into comedy, full-time. “The way my mother puts it is, I’ve run off and joined the circus.”

He grew up here, and in New Jersey. The Munk I encounter is personable, kind—you could even say sweet—and a torrent of words. Oh, what a talker. He loves words and language, high and low. He’s the type to play with homophones—“profits” and “prophets”—and to relish the fact that “cleave” has two opposite meanings. Also, he’s a first-rate mimic.

In his trademark get-up—backward baseball cap, long T-shirt, and jeans—he looks like he’s in his mid-twenties. But he’s actually one year shy of forty, which people have trouble believing. He’s used to whipping out his driver’s license. You could mistake him for a cool cat (as they

said eons ago). But he denies that he’s cool. He is early to bed, early to rise. “The only time I’m in a club is when I’m working.”

He was born with the name Dennis Banks, but chose the name Felonious Munk, in tribute, of course, to the jazz pianist Thelonious Monk (1917–82). Why the different spelling of the last name? Someone else had taken “Felonious Monk” on Twitter. The comedian is “Munk” (not “Felonious”) to pretty much everybody. “Even my mother calls me ‘Munk,’” he says. “I don’t know how I feel about that.”

His grandmother was the head of a high-school English department in Norfolk, and his mother, too, is a stickler for proper English. So is Munk. But he can slip into the street argot, or other modes, when he wants to. “They say that people who use foul language have a limited vocabulary.” Problem is, “it’s not true.” (William F. Buckley Jr. made the same point.)

When Munk was little, he sneaked his mother’s Richard Pryor albums. Pryor,

says Munk, was the first to use “the white voice”—an imitation of white people. Munk uses this voice too, and in unusual ways. He’ll put on the voice when quoting his black critics. In my observation, he uses the voice to signal anything that is uptight or contrary.

He reads everything, listens to all kinds of music, watches all kinds of television. He is encyclopedic on the popular culture. A philosophizing comedian, he comes out of the Lenny Bruce school, as he says. He also cites George Carlin as a forerunner. But he is not so in love with commentary that he forgets to be funny.

In his *Stop It B* videos, he says all the things he has always said—including at the auto dealership. The words aren’t an act. “The only acting,” says Munk, “is the anger”—the huge indignation that he works up. And he does everything extemp: no script, no prompter.

On the subject of men and women—the relations between the sexes—he is hilarious and scalding. I’ll do some more Bowdlerizing:

Fellas, you’re always saying that

Visit AtlasNetwork.org/FreedomDinner for more information.



Featuring...



Steve Forbes
President of Forbes Inc.



Leszek Balcerowicz
Former Deputy Prime
Minister of Poland



Mario Vargas Llosa
2010 Nobel Laureate
for Literature

Liberty Forum & Freedom Dinner

November 8-9, 2011

New York City



AtlasNetwork.org

Join the Atlas Network, supporter of over 400 free-market think tanks worldwide, for the 30th anniversary festivities at the Liberty Forum and Freedom Dinner!



Felonious Munk

women are worthless. But you're going to be in the club this weekend chasing those "worthless" women. How hypocritical can you be?

Ladies, you're acting like men. You're acting like men because you're thinking like men. You can't think like a man and act like a lady. Your actions come from your thoughts. Quit submitting to every Tom, Dick, and Harry. When you're sleeping around for fun, you're getting pregnant for real.

Mothers and fathers, raise your kids! You're going to the club, but how about a PTA meeting? Plus, we're having more baby showers than we are weddings. You think marriage isn't important? You're crazy.

One of Munk's constant refrains—here I'm quoting, not Bowdlerizing—is “Change your life.” “Become the person you know you should be.” “You can't do anything about what you've done, but you can do something about what you're going to do.” “Get your life together.” “Recalibrate your system.” “Stop it, b”—cut the nonsense.

Munk is keen to point out that he's not talking down to anybody. His material comes out of his own experience, not just past, but present too. We all have things to work on.

When it comes to race, he is blissfully frank, as he is on all other questions. He

talks about white guilt. He talks about stereotypes, even reveling in them. “Yeah, I love fried chicken and hot sauce. Why should I shy away from that?” I say I don't think of hot sauce as “black.” He says, “Yes, it is. And you guys put mayonnaise on everything.”

What he seems to love most, other than his daughter, is politics. Total political junkie. I want to talk about comedy. He's more interested in talking about politics. He reads both the liberal press and the conservative press, and laments that many others won't do the same. People should get out of their “comfort zones,” he says. They should do more than reinforce their own prejudices.

White people will meet him and assume he's a down-the-line Democrat. “I understand that,” he says. “That's what they've been fed.” People who look like Munk are supposed to be Democrats, if they care about politics at all. And “in the urban community, we've been fed that Republicans don't care about us. Most of us don't know that more Republicans voted for the Civil Rights Act than Democrats did, in percentage terms.”

In his politics, Munk is a mixture of views, it seems to me. (So are most people.) Above all, he is an individual. In one of his videos, he says, “Before I'm black, I'm a man.” And he says to me, “I refuse to be grouped. And because I refuse to be

grouped, I try my best not to group others.” He may play around about hot sauce and mayonnaise—but he takes people individually. And he wants to appeal to all audiences, in his comedy. He's pleased to have fans in Malaysia and other corners of the earth. (The Internet is globe-circling.)

I say to him, “You hate whining, don't you? That's a theme of your videos: No whining, no excuse-making—stop it, b.” Sighing, Munk says that whining “is the bane of my existence.” Then, smiling warmly, he says, “I'm always complaining about others' complaining.” His mother, too, hates whining. “The only way I can tell something's not right is that she won't answer the phone, or won't call me for a couple of days.”

He is intensely patriotic, Munk, to the point of supporting the president no matter who he is. “It's my sincerest wish that our president be successful. If he's not successful, it kind of trickles down and affects my life.” He holds to the view that the people must run the government, not the other way around. There's a reason politicians and others in government are called “public servants” and “civil servants.”

Naturally, conservatives like a lot of what he says. And liberals have said to him, in so many words, “Aren't you embarrassed by that?” His answer is no. He'll take his support where he can get it. In the course of our conversation, he says the following about the two parties: “I think the conservatives can be a little insensitive socially, and the liberals can be a little irresponsible fiscally. The idea that one party has my best interests at heart, and the other is out to get me—I'm sorry, I don't subscribe to that.”

A man drives by the Starbucks, spots Munk, and yells out, “Stop it, b!” Munk loves it. In fact, he is having a ball, in this burgeoning comedic career. At night, a few hours after our talk, he takes the stage at a local hotel. He is the last of a string of comedians to appear. There is one white person in the audience. I serve as foil.

“Cover your ears!” he calls out to me. “I'm about to say something about black people. This is just in the family, you know.” But Munk will say anything to anybody. You can see it all on YouTube. It's fantastically profane, and now and then wrongheaded, I think. But it is something remarkable under the sun. **NR**



'As Good As It Gets'

Ted Cruz runs for Senate

BY BRIAN BOLDUC

Austin, Texas

IN an unfurnished storefront in a nondescript strip mall, the Republican Women of Kerr County, Texas, is holding a candidates' forum. Seventy people—most of them seniors—are fidgeting in folding chairs, as a projector beams images of the candidates onto a screen. Next to the slideshow stands a stout wooden podium, from which the emcee, local talk-radio host James Williamson, is addressing the audience.

"Now this is heavy, folks," he avers. Kerr County is hill country, home to only 50,000 people in a state of 25 million. And yet this forum—with its attendant straw poll—has gained the attention of every candidate in the Republican primary for retiring senator Kay Bailey Hutchison's seat. Well, almost. The frontrunner, Lt. Gov. David Dewhurst, is absent. Since he declared his candidacy one month ago, he's skipped six straight forums.

But his main opponent is present: former state solicitor general Ted Cruz. After Williamson's introduction, the candidate takes the floor. It's a blistering August afternoon—the temperature will hit 105°F—yet the 40-year-old Cruz shows little discomfort: He's sporting a navy blue blazer, an aqua blue tie, and, of course, black cowboy boots. Bypassing the podium, he places himself squarely in front of the audience and makes his pitch.

"I want to begin with an apology," he says in a slightly nasal but commanding voice. "I apologize for not having a teleprompter." The crowd chuckles; it gets the joke. For the next ten minutes, Cruz speaks without notes, not once tripping over his words. Like a good lawyer, he outlines his argument: "I want to share with you why it is I'm running for U.S. Senate and why it is I believe together we can win."

His reason for running is simple: Over the last two and a half

years, President Obama has tightened the federal government's vise on the economy, and only the strongest of conservatives can pry it free. "I am convinced we are facing the epic battle of our generation," Cruz says, his brow furrowed. The primary, therefore, revolves around one question: "Which candidate is best prepared to stand up and lead the fight to stop the Obama agenda?"

Cruz acknowledges that every candidate claims to be conservative. "Suddenly, they've all discovered this thing called the Tenth Amendment," he jokes. But Cruz is a foot soldier in the conservative movement. And he has the scars to prove it.

As state solicitor general from 2003 to 2008, he represented Texas in cases before the Supreme Court, he explains. Throughout his tenure, he championed conservative causes. As he lists his victories, Cruz chops his right arm on key words for emphasis.

"We *defended* the Ten Commandments monument that stands on the state-capitol grounds," he says with a chop. "We went to the U.S. Supreme Court, and we *won* 5–4."

Next point: "We *defended* the Pledge of Allegiance when a federal court of appeals struck down the pledge . . . because it included the words 'one nation under God.' We went to the U.S. Supreme Court, and we *won* unanimously."

He saves his favorite for last: a case called *Medellin v. Texas*, in which the George W. Bush administration tried to force Texas to obey a ruling of the International Court of Justice. "On the other side were 90 foreign nations," he says, adding softly, "and the president of the United States." Nonetheless, "we defended U.S. sovereignty . . . and we won 6–3."

"That's the record I'm running on," Cruz assures the crowd. In a crescendo, he affirms, "What we need in the Senate is a fighter. We don't need another establishment, career politician that's going

DARREN GYGI

to put his arm around the Democrats and keep compromising in growing the size and spending and power of the federal government.” (Meaning: We don’t need Dewhurst.)

Cruz receives warm applause for his effort. But he has competition. The last candidate to speak is 32-year-old rancher Lela Pittenger. She has no political experience, but she has the natural touch. “When people want to know what kind of experience I have, I say, ‘Well, if you’re talking about lying, cheating, or flip-flopping on the issues, I have no experience,’” she jokes to a grateful audience.

After the forum, Jim Redden, an attendee, tells me, “The lady’s very impressive.”

“Pittenger blows me away,” Jolene Hawkins, another attendee, says.

But even if the crowd appreciates Pittenger’s performance, in their gut they crave a winner.

“Cruz would *win*,” Lorraine LeMon, an attendee, tells me as she grapples with her vote. The straw poll is about to close.

When the votes are tallied, the victor’s margin is huge: Of 101 votes cast, Ted Cruz wins 64 of them, while Pittenger gets 15. No-show Dewhurst earns just three votes.

Cruz’s victory is well deserved. Last night, he corralled 25 of his supporters at a nearby restaurant, Buzzie’s Bar-B-Q. Today, he is the last candidate to leave—he’s constantly shaking hands, swapping stories, fielding questions. He’s determined to win. And that determination has seen him through.

CRUZ inherited his work ethic from his parents. In 1957, his father, then 18 years old, fled Cuba for Austin with just \$100, sewn into his underwear. He didn’t speak English, so he washed dishes seven days a week to pay his way through the University of Texas, during which time he met his wife, Cruz’s mother. Both studied mathematics, and after college, they started a small business in seismic-data processing for oil companies.

Cruz also inherited his patriotism from them. “When I was a kid, my father used to say to me all the time, ‘When we faced oppression in Cuba, I had a place to flee to. If we lose our freedom here, where do we go?’” he says. That concern for liberty (and the prospect of scholarship money) drew him as a high-school student to the Free Enterprise Institute, a Houston-based think tank dedicated to teaching students about the American founders and the free market.

Each year, the institute held a speech contest for high-school students entitled “The Ten Pillars of Economic Wisdom.” The contestants would read classical liberals such as Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek, and then they would each write a 20-minute speech on what they had learned. Cruz was one of his city’s winners in all four years of high school, and he would travel to different civic-minded institutions—Rotary clubs, Kiwanis clubs, “anyone who would listen”—to give his speech from memory.

Cruz’s involvement with the institute led to a lifelong love affair with the Constitution. The institute soon began another group called “The Constitutional Corroborators,” which took five high-school students, assigned them readings about the Constitution, and then helped them memorize a mnemonic version of the document. Afterward, they toured Texas. Their shtick was to set up five pads of paper on easels and, using their mnemonic device, write the entire Constitution—in truncated form—from memory.

The students were so impressive, in fact, that they inspired one businessman, Tom DeLay, to go into politics.

By the time the 17-year-old Cruz enrolled at Princeton University in the fall of 1988, he had given over 70 speeches on the Constitution across the Lone Star State. It was no surprise, then, that he joined the debate team. Cruz seemed a shoo-in for the “Best Freshman Debater” award, but it went instead to David Panton, a Jamaican student who lived down the hall from Cruz in Butler College.

“I think Ted was pissed that he didn’t get it,” Panton jokes. Not one to let rivalry poison a friendship, however, Cruz asked Panton to be his debate partner. In 1992, their senior year, the two won the American Parliamentary Debate Association’s “Team of the Year” award. “I loved debating with Ted,” Panton says. “A lot of people are smart, but he also has this passionate side. That combination really is a key to his success.”

That, and plain grit. When Cruz and Panton began debating together, they would occasionally lose. When they got back from a tournament, therefore, Cruz would insist that they review the scorecards and determine what they could have done differently. Soon, they started winning more frequently, but Cruz wasn’t satisfied. Even after they won the “Second Best Team” award as juniors, Cruz would still insist that they review their scorecards late into the night. “I was like, Ted, *why*?” Panton remembers. “His determination to improve himself was amazing.”

And he loved to talk politics. “We would have long conversations way into the night, talking about the Tenth Amendment,” Panton remembers. “I hadn’t even heard of the Tenth Amendment till I met him.”

Cruz wasn’t just another social-ladder climber, says Prof. Robert P. George, Cruz’s thesis adviser at Princeton. “He had a drive to know even when it wasn’t particularly connected to any instrumental benefit,” George says. Cruz was fascinated by the Constitution, so much so that he wrote his thesis on the Ninth and Tenth Amendments. “Ted was very drawn to the idea of constitutional originalism,” George says. “He was a strong supporter of the idea that the federal government possesses delegated and, therefore, limited powers.”

Cruz’s grasp of the Constitution was so strong that it commanded the respect of liberals, including Prof. Alan M. Dershowitz, who taught him in a first-year criminal-law class at Harvard Law School, where Cruz enrolled in the fall of 1992. “Cruz was off-the-charts brilliant,” Dershowitz says. Luckily for Cruz, his best friend Panton enrolled at Harvard that same year, and usually, the two would sit together in class. Each would argue one side of every issue—Cruz the conservative, Panton the liberal. “The other students would stare up in wonderment at these guys because they were so much more mature politically,” Dershowitz says. “They weren’t asking the teachers to tell them what to believe.”

After law school, Cruz clerked for judge Michael Luttig of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. And beginning in the summer of 1996, Cruz clerked for one of his icons, Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist. Each week, Cruz and his fellow clerks, Richard Garnett and David Hoffman, would write memos summarizing the hundreds of petitions the high court had received. They would work late into the night, pausing around 8 P.M. to play basketball at the court on the top floor of their building—“the highest court in the land.”

Every Thursday, they would turn in their memos at 10:30 A.M. and then join the chief for a game of tennis, which would begin promptly at 11. Although Cruz hoped to be the chief’s doubles

partner, he was awful, and Rehnquist didn't like to lose. "His enthusiasm for tennis was greater than his skill," says Garnett, now a law professor at the University of Notre Dame. Instead, Cruz played with the designated liberal among Rehnquist's clerks, Hoffman.

To this day, Hoffman remembers his arguments with Cruz, which the chief would referee over a cheeseburger and a "Miller's Lite," as Rehnquist called it, at the Monocle, a restaurant on Capitol Hill. One time the two got so heated that the chief interceded. "'That's enough; pipe down, you two,' he told us," Hoffman remembers.

But Cruz couldn't resist politics. After his clerkship, he joined the law offices of Cooper, Carvin & Rosenthal, where he assisted such high-profile cases as Rep. John Boehner's suit against Rep. Jim McDermott for leaking the contents of one of Boehner's cell-phone conversations to the press. In June 1999, however, Cruz met Josh Bolten, George W. Bush's campaign policy director, at a reception in D.C., and the two hit it off.

"I remember a very sharp young man who was extremely courteous and well mannered, but very sharp and intellectually focused," Bolten says. Days later, Bolten extended Cruz an offer to be a policy staffer for the Bush team. Cruz quickly accepted. On the campaign, Cruz handled legal issues—"basically anything that would have been handled by the Justice Department," Bolten says—often advising the candidate himself when he called in with questions.

The Bush campaign launched Cruz's political career, sending him to posts as an assistant attorney general in the Justice Department and, later, as the director of policy planning at the Federal Trade Commission. It also helped his love life: Cruz met his wife, Heidi, on the campaign.

But the role he most relished was state solicitor general. In 2003, a friend called Cruz to ask him whether he would like to be considered for the post. Although Cruz had never met the attorney general, Greg Abbott, he obliged. The two met in Austin, and several weeks later, Abbott offered him the job. Cruz made the most of his tenure: He authored 70 briefs to the Supreme Court and argued in front of the court nine times.

"Ted really set the gold standard for what a conservative lawyer should do in public service," says James C. Ho, Cruz's successor as solicitor general. "He litigated at the very highest levels of the profession, and he worked with his colleagues to identify conservative causes to champion through the courts."

Cruz's drive brought him from the hills of Texas to the halls of Washington. Now, he hopes to return to the capital city—as a United States senator.

“ONE difficulty Republicans have had for a long time is we typically are not effective articulating our message,” Cruz tells me one afternoon in his bare campaign office in Austin. With his tie tucked into his shirt, Cruz interjects answers to my questions as he wolfs down a sandwich from Quiznos. (He's just come from a campaign event, and he's got another meet-up in a few hours.)

It was Republicans' rhetorical handicap that prevented them from winning the public-relations battle over the debt ceiling, Cruz says. And that's a shame, because it provided the perfect political environment for passing a balanced-budget amendment, one plank in his platform.

On domestic issues, Cruz is fiscally hawkish and strongly pro-life. He's for repealing the Obama agenda—Obamacare, cap-and-trade, Dodd-Frank—and for implementing conservative reforms—cutting the corporate-tax rate to 15 percent, instituting a flat income tax or the FairTax, and adding private investment accounts to Social Security. He also supports some newer proposals, such as passing Rep. Ron Paul's bill to audit the Federal Reserve and allowing small and medium-sized companies to opt out of the Sarbanes-Oxley law.

On illegal immigration, Cruz is just as tough, promising a laser-like focus on border security. "I believe we should use every tool at our disposal to secure our borders so that illegal immigration drops to zero"—fences, walls, helicopters, drones, and, most important, people. "I intend to introduce a bill to triple the size of the U.S. Border Patrol," Cruz says.

He reminds opponents of illegal immigration to focus on border security, rather than hope that the Supreme Court will reinterpret the Fourteenth Amendment to deny birthright citizenship to children of illegal immigrants. "I don't think their argument is consistent with the Constitution, and so even if that outcome might be desirable as a policy outcome, I think we have an obligation to be faithful to the Constitution," he reasons.

On foreign policy, Cruz is less than sanguine about nation building: "I don't think we should be engaged in long-term nation building. I think there are too many nations on earth to build up, and it's not our military's job." When asked about Afghanistan and Iraq, Cruz is cautious. After a few munches on his sandwich, he says, "What I don't think is acceptable is for us just to stay there in perpetuity and try to rebuild each nation into a perfect utopia. That's not our job and not our role. I think we have an important role stopping and killing terrorists."

Within the party rank-and-file, it is believed that Cruz is the conservative in the race. "At the end of the day, Cruz will be more conservative than Dewhurst," a longtime Republican activist says.

Some believe that because Cruz is Hispanic, he will appeal to the growing Latin American community in Texas. But though he is proud of his heritage, Cruz has never taken a self-righteous attitude about his ethnicity. At a July 1998 recording of *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*, for example, he was asked whether the fact that, at the time, he was the only person belonging to a minority group to have clerked for a Supreme Court justice was evidence of bias in the institution.

"What we see in terms of Supreme Court clerks is also unfortunately what we see at the very tops of the law schools," Cruz replied. "And rather than tearing down those institutions, rather than attacking the court for not hiring minorities, I think we need to be asking why is it that there aren't more minorities that are excelling like that." Unsurprisingly, Cruz is a strong proponent of school choice.

Despite his years in academia and in Washington, Cruz remains a true believer. He often says he'll consider himself a failure if after a whole term in the Senate, he has only a perfect voting record. He wants to see the conservative agenda enacted. "Statists invariably have talented people drawn to politics because they believe in power," he says. "And they're very effective at defending government control of the economy in our lives. But for conservatives, there has been an incredible scarcity of effective, principled defenders of liberty. And so starting as a teenager, what I wanted to do in life was to defend the Constitution and to defend free-market principles."

BUT it won't be easy. When Public Policy Polling surveyed Texas Republicans about their preferred senatorial candidate in June, 40 percent picked Dewhurst. Cruz, by contrast, won only 11 percent. (Five years as state solicitor general won't necessarily raise a man's profile.) And though Cruz ended the second quarter with over \$1.5 million in cash on hand and only \$70,000 in debt, Dewhurst is a multimillionaire who can dump as much money as he needs into his campaign. Cruz will definitely need more cash.

The lieutenant governor is a formidable opponent. He grew up in Houston before attending the University of Arizona, where he played basketball. After college, he enlisted in the Air Force, and later, he served a brief stint with the Central Intelligence Agency—doing exactly what, he's never said. In the early 1980s, Dewhurst founded the energy company Falcon Seaboard during an oil-and-gas boom. Before long, the boom went bust, as did Dewhurst. But he rebounded, and by the 1990s he was flying high. Today, he is worth an estimated \$200 million.

Dewhurst first ran for office in 1998, when he was elected land commissioner. In 2002, he traded up, running for lieutenant governor in a competitive race against Democratic comptroller John Sharp. In his current office, Dewhurst presides over the state senate, doing his best to foster consensus. And that's exactly what conservatives don't like about him.

"With party insiders, he's less popular," a GOP official tells me. Conservatives blame Dewhurst for the Texas legislature's failure to pass a law penalizing sanctuary cities this year. Although the senate did pass a related bill, it did so late in a special session, leaving too little time for the house to reconcile the competing approaches. Dewhurst also has a few quotes floating around the Internet that he probably regrets. For example, in 2005, he argued in favor of a wage tax to pay for greater education spending, saying, "What good Texan is going to have real heartburn about paying—out of \$650,000—\$6,000 to \$9,000 to improve the education of our youngsters?"

"Dewhurst is going to wage the air war, and Cruz is going to wage the ground war," the Republican activist says. Like Marco Rubio in Florida, Cruz can't outspend his primary opponent, but he can outrun him, going to every assemblage of conservative activists and hoping his message catches fire. In September, Cruz again trounced Dewhurst in a straw poll, this one held by the Garland Tea Party. The margin was 64.5 percent to 1 percent.

Cruz has earned the backing of several prominent conservatives and conservative groups. The Club for Growth and FreedomWorks have both endorsed him. Sens. Jim DeMint, Rand Paul, Mike Lee, and Pat Toomey are supporting his campaign, and Cruz himself hopes to join the constitutional-conservative faction if he's elected to the Senate. He's also gained the support of *Washington Post* columnist George Will, who declared Cruz in a June column "as good as it gets."

Their support alone won't put him over the top. But Cruz's dogged determination might. When Pantton and he were the second-best debating team in the country, he made them practice until they were first. When a Republican president pressured his home state to accept a World Court ruling, he got the Supreme Court to reverse it. And when a well-known, wealthy politician stands between him and the United States Senate, you get the feeling that Ted Cruz will, somehow, find a way to win.

NR

The Trouble WITH TURKEY

*A nation that once aspired to be European
now curries favor among Islamists*

BY MICHAEL RUBIN

‘WE stand together on the major issues that divide the world," Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower declared in Ankara while preparing to depart Turkey, on a cold and windy day in December 1959. "And I can see no reason whatsoever that we shouldn't be two of the sturdiest partners standing together always for freedom, security, and the pursuit of peace."

It took almost a half century, but Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Turkey's prime minister, has succeeded in ending that partnership. Certainly Turkey no longer stands for freedom. Like his Russian counterpart Vladimir Putin, Erdogan roughs up and imprisons those who challenge him. In 2002, the year before Erdogan became prime minister, Turkey ranked 99th in the world in press freedom out of 139 nations rated by Reporters Without Borders. By 2010, it ranked 138th out of 178, barely nosing out Russia and finishing below even Zimbabwe. Nor can American officials any longer say that America's relationship with Turkey bolsters national security. Just one year ago, the Turkish air force held secret war games with its Chinese counterparts without first informing the Pentagon. Erdogan has also deferred final approval of a new NATO anti-missile warning system. Meanwhile, Hakan Fidan, Turkey's new intelligence chief, makes little secret of his preference for Tehran over Washington.

More recently, Erdogan's anti-Israel incitement propelled Turkey to a leadership role within the Islamic bloc at the expense of the Middle East peace process, and for the first time raised the possibility that Israel and Turkey, historic friends in trade, diplomacy, and defense, might clash in the Eastern Mediterranean. Making matters worse, Egemen Bagis, Erdogan's longtime confidant and current minister for European Union affairs, threatened this month to use the Turkish navy against Cyprus should that island nation drill for oil in international waters.

While diplomats and generals too often ascribe tensions between Turkey and the West to a reaction to the Iraq War, disappointment with the slow pace of the European Union-accession process, or anger at the death of nine Turks killed in a clash with Israeli forces aboard the blockade-challenging *Mavi Marmara*, in reality, Turkey's break from the West was the result of a deliberate and steady strategy initiated by Erdogan upon assuming the reins of government.

The rise of the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi, AKP) in Turkey's November 2002 general

Mr. Rubin is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

elections shocked the West. The AKP had its roots in Refah, a party founded in 1983 by Islamist ideologue Necmettin Erbakan after the Turkish constitutional court had banned two previous parties modeled on the Muslim Brotherhood. The court dissolved Refah in 1998, the same year Erdogan went to prison for religious incitement. After his release, Erdogan founded the AKP out of the ashes of the banned parties.

Because five secularist parties split the vote in 2002, each falling short of the 10 percent threshold needed to enter parliament, the AKP was able to amplify its 34 percent vote into an outright majority—363 out of 550 seats. As the world press highlighted the party's ties with Islam, Erdogan tried to calm fears. "We are the guarantors of this secularism, and our management will clearly prove that," he promised.

At the time of the AKP victory, however, Erdogan's conviction still disqualified him from seeking political office, even though he was party leader. Erdogan accordingly chose Abdullah Gul, who previously had worked for eight years in Saudi Arabia as an Islamic-finance specialist, to head the government. Gul would not be prime minister for long, however. The AKP was able to use its majority to change the law and enable Erdogan to run for office. Four months later, after a court conveniently threw out the results in one district, he won a special election, and on March 14, 2003, he became prime minister.

AMERICAN officials initially welcomed Erdogan. The U.S. embassy in Ankara accepted his pledge to embrace Europe. Daniel Fried, assistant secretary of state for European affairs, described the AKP as "a kind of Muslim version of a Christian Democratic party," while Secretary of State Colin Powell praised Turkey as a "Muslim democracy." Turkish liberals chafed at this description, believing it to endorse Erdogan's Islamism. "We are a democracy. Islam has nothing to do with it," one Turkish professor explained. Yet even if unintentionally, Powell may have been on to something: While American officials continued to endorse Turkey as a partner and a country bridging East and West, Erdogan and his confidants were quietly setting Turkey on a different course.

In hindsight, Erdogan's true agenda should have been clear. As Istanbul's mayor, Erdogan had regularly disparaged secularism. "Thank God Almighty, I am a servant of sharia," he declared in 1994, and the following year he described himself as "the imam of Istanbul." Around the same time, Turkish journalist Cengiz Candar, who often serves as Erdogan's unofficial mouthpiece, hinted that the new political class would end its embrace of Kemalism—the secular political philosophy inaugurated by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey. "We cannot stick to the old taboos while the world is changing and new opportunities are arising for Turkey," he told the *Washington Post*. "We have to think big." As Erdogan ascended to the premiership, Ali Bayramoglu, a commentator for the fiercely Islamist and anti-Western daily *Yeni Safak*, which Erdogan described as his newspaper of choice, bragged that the partisans of "neo-Ottomanism . . . are increasing every day."

Bayramoglu cast neo-Ottomanism in opposition to Kemalism. If Kemalism combines laicism with the notion that Turkey should emulate the West, neo-Ottomanists focus less on Europe and instead seek to leverage Turkey's imperial past in the

Middle East, much as Russian nationalists embrace the former Soviet republics and even Eastern Europe as their "near abroad."

Erdogan was shrewd, however. He did not publicly abandon Turkey's drive toward European Union accession. To do so would have been to show his cards while his hand was still weak. Instead, he pursued the accession process for devious reasons.

The AKP has never respected Europe and its institutions. When the European Court of Human Rights upheld a headscarf ban at Turkish universities in November 2005, Erdogan used a visit to Denmark to declare, "It is wrong that those who have no connection to this field make such a decision . . . without consulting Islamic scholars." The following year, Erdogan excised all references to secularism from a negotiating paper discussing the future of Turkey's educational system.

Erdogan continued the EU-accession effort for one simple reason: The process required Turkey to reduce the military influence in politics. On the surface, this sounds beneficial to democracy: After all, the military had forcibly overthrown Turkish governments in 1960 and 1980, and in 1971 and 1997 the threat of military action was sufficient to force governments to resign. In reality, however, Turkey's military enabled democracy. Not only was it charged with national defense, but it also served as the guarantor of Turkey's constitution. If the Islamists wanted to end Turkey's constitutional order, therefore, they first had to weaken the military.

With Europe's blessing, Erdogan subordinated Turkey's National Security Council to civilian control and passed a reform package that further reduced that body's power in government. Never did European officials—or their American counterparts—recognize that they were undercutting an important check-and-balance system without constructing a civilian alternative. The 2005 threat by Bulent Arinc, now Erdogan's chief deputy, to dissolve the constitutional court if it continued to find AKP legislation unconstitutional highlights the need for a constitutional guarantor. Erdogan further undercut the military with a crackdown on alleged malfeasance, imprisoning dozens of secularist officers on spurious charges. European officials, notoriously distrustful of hard power, seldom raised their voices, perhaps believing that the end justified the means.

By the time Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu acknowledged that neo-Ottomanism formed the basis of AKP foreign policy, in December 2009, Turkey had already changed irreversibly from the Western-leaning pillar of NATO into a state whose future rests in the Middle East.

As Erdogan feinted toward Europe, he pursued Arab states with vigor, often at the expense of both the United States and Israel. In July 2004, for example, Erdogan snubbed the Jewish state, saying he was too busy to meet Israel's visiting deputy prime minister, but he nevertheless found time the same day to see Syria's prime minister. The following year, Erdogan invited Syria's president to vacation with him in Turkey, a dramatic reversal in relations considering that, less than a decade before, Turkey and Syria had been on the verge of war over Syria's sponsorship of terrorism.

Likewise, in February 2006, Erdogan stunned American officials when, less than a month after Hamas's victory in the

Palestinian elections, and less than a week after he had told European officials that he would honor the international community's decision to isolate Hamas until it renounced terrorism and recognized the Jewish state's right to exist, Turkey received a Hamas delegation in Ankara. Turkish authorities defended their actions by arguing that they wanted good relations with all regional countries and that their ties with all parties enabled Turkey to broker peace, but the reality was the opposite: Every time Erdogan was forced to choose among Arab regimes, he invariably embraced the extreme at the expense of the moderate.

His outreach to Syria's notorious dictator Bashar al-Assad, for example, came against the backdrop of the 2005 Cedar Revolution against Syrian-imposed rule in Lebanon. As the Western world rallied around the Lebanese people, Turkey was one of only two countries—the other being the Islamic Republic of Iran—that supported Syria. Likewise, when given a choice between the relatively moderate Palestinian leadership of Mahmoud Abbas and that of Abbas's rejectionist (anti-peace-process) opponents in Hamas, Erdogan not only sided with the latter but provided diplomatic legitimacy to Khaled Meshal, Hamas's most unrepentant terrorist. In 2007, emergency personnel responding to a train derailment in Turkey found it to be carrying arms apparently destined for Hezbollah, the Syrian/Iranian-backed terrorist militia in Lebanon.

Erdogan's support for extremists proved to be the rule rather than the exception. In this context, much of the press analysis surrounding Erdogan's behavior at the 2009 World Economic Forum in Davos appears naïve. During a panel discussion with Israeli president Shimon Peres in which Peres defended Israel's military response to Hamas, Erdogan shouted, "When it comes to killing, you know well how to kill," and stormed off the stage vowing never to return. The *New York Times* explained that "Mr. Erdogan apparently became incensed after the moderator curtailed his response to remarks by Mr. Peres on the recent Israeli military campaign. The panel was running late, and Mr. Peres was to have had the last word."

Turks, however, knew better. Engineers working on Istanbul's metro system were told a day before the incident that the subway should not close at midnight as usual, but rather should remain open until 4:00 A.M., on the evening of the Davos blow-up. Other AKP activists received notices telling them to prepare for a dead-of-night rally. As Erdogan "spontaneously" curtailed his trip and flew home, 3,000 Palestinian-flag-waving supporters greeted his plane at 3:00 A.M. Pre-printed signs hailed Erdogan as a new world leader. Neither Erdogan's attack on Peres nor the rally was spontaneous. Even in a city as vibrant as Istanbul, it is hard to purchase Palestinian flags by the thousand after the close of business.

Today, Erdogan tries to leverage Turkey's position to create an impression that it is the chief power in the Middle East. Like his Iranian counterpart Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, he has tried to hijack the Arab Spring quest for democracy to his own ends. In September, Erdogan embarked on a tour to Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia, pledging support for their new governments and lobbying them to adopt the Turkish model. While Erdogan now speaks out against Assad and Qaddafi, Arabs know that Erdogan was for the region's worst dictators before he was against them. As recently as November 2010, Erdogan even traveled to Tripoli to collect the Moammar Qaddafi human-rights prize—and its \$250,000 purse—from the mercurial and murderous

dictator. He used his acceptance speech to pledge his dedication to the "truth" and promised to spare no effort in holding Israel to account.

Diplomats may concede that Turkey has become pro-Arab in its foreign policy, but this is only half the story. The rest is that Erdogan seeks not only to be pro-Arab, but also to head the region's rejectionist front.

WHILE Erdogan gives lip service to secularism when talking to Western diplomats, or at rallies where international media are present, his actions consistently show the importance he places on Muslim solidarity and Turkey's place in the Islamic world. In June 2004, after significant Turkish lobbying and deal-making, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) selected Turkish professor Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu as its new secretary general. AKP officials point to the Ihsanoglu appointment as a sign of Turkey's increased prestige among Islamic countries.

The destructiveness of Turkey's Islamist nexus first became apparent with the eruption of the Danish-cartoon controversy. On Sept. 30, 2005, the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* published twelve cartoons depicting the Prophet Mohammed. Initially, the cartoons passed with little notice in Denmark. It took two weeks for the first demonstration to occur there, and it was largely peaceful. On Oct. 17, 2005, the Egyptian newspaper *Al Fagr* even republished a half dozen of the caricatures without prompting so much as a demonstration. But by February 2006, the Middle East was aflame.

Certainly the spread of rage was not spontaneous. First a delegation of Danish imams traveled from Denmark to Egypt with the controversial cartoons and some fraudulent ones to whip up outrage, then Saudi preachers poured gasoline on the fire. Behind the scenes, Turkey played a more active role than it will publicly acknowledge.

According to Danish officials, the crisis became internationalized after Turkey's ambassador in Copenhagen called Gul, now Turkey's president, who in turn instructed Ihsanoglu to exploit the cartoon issue. On Dec. 6, 2005, the OIC issued an official communiqué condemning Denmark and the cartoons. The next day, protests erupted in Pakistan, marking the beginning of violence that would claim more than a dozen lives. Erdogan sided fully with the Islamists. "Caricatures of Prophet Mohammed are an attack against our spiritual values," he said, adding, "There should be a limit of freedom of the press." Denmark quietly asked Turkey's ambassador to leave.

Erdogan's Islamism manifested itself even more disturbingly in the case of Yasin al-Qadi, a Saudi businessman alleged to have helped finance the East African embassy bombings in 1998. Not only did the U.S. Treasury Department label al-Qadi a "specially designated global terrorist" for his support of al-Qaeda, but the United Nations Security Council also placed him on its terrorism list and demanded that all countries freeze his funds. Enter Turkey's prime minister: After Turkish newspapers reported that Erdogan confidant Cunejd Zapsu had donated money to al-Qadi, his former business partner, Erdogan declared, "I know Mr. Qadi. I believe in him as I believe in myself," and refused to discipline Zapsu or freeze al-Qadi's funds in Turkey. As for Zapsu, he was the go-to man whom the *New York Times* relied upon the day after the AKP's election to

vouch for Erdogan's secularism. "Everybody knows Tayyip Erdogan is not a shariat [Islamic-law] guy anymore," Zapsu declared.

Other financial transactions, however, suggest that Zapsu was not being truthful. No sooner had the AKP taken office than statistics provided by Turkey's central bank showed an influx of more than \$4 billion into Turkey for which reported transactions and tax receipts cannot account. A retired Turkish budget official attributed that figure to funds brought into Turkey off-books from Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf emirates. By 2006, Turkish economists estimated that this infusion of Islamist cash into the Turkish economy could be between \$6 billion and \$12 billion. Some Turkish intelligence officials privately suggest that the nation of Qatar is currently the source of most subsidies for the AKP and its projects.

From a Saudi perspective, the investment has paid dividends. Turkey today is not the secular, Western stalwart that presidents from Eisenhower to Clinton embraced. Rather, it is a state where Islamic mores are given increasing prominence, and where fealty to the Islamic world trumps NATO security. Indeed, while President Obama continues to praise Turkey as an important NATO ally, almost as many Turks may be fighting in Afghanistan against U.S. forces as part of the Taifetul Mansura group as are supporting the International Security Assistance Force.

TURKEY has changed irreversibly. While it once emulated Europe and even elected a female prime minister, under Erdogan's rule, women are relegated to minor ministries and make up less than 3 percent of senior management in the state bureaucracy. As he imposes more radical Islamist laws, justice-ministry statistics show that the murder rate of women has increased by 1,400 percent. No longer is Turkey a secular pillar in the Islamic world, nor does Turkish society reflect European liberalism.

Rather, Turkey has become a danger and a liability to the United States. As Erdogan has consolidated control of the media, his government has fed Turks a steady diet of anti-Americanism and religious incitement. In the latest Pew Global Attitudes Project poll, Turkey remains the most anti-American country surveyed, more anti-American than Pakistan, Lebanon, and the Palestinian territories.

Turkey's sponsorship of the *Mavi Marmara* and Erdogan's over-the-top reaction to the U.N.-appointed Palmer Committee's mostly exculpatory findings concerning Israel in that incident are just symptoms of Turkey's change, rather than the motivation for it. The real problem in Turkey cannot be papered over by diplomats, nor should the concerns of Turkish secularists and liberals ever again be dismissed as mere "cacophony," as Ross Wilson, a former U.S. ambassador to Turkey, described them five years ago.

Rather than be a partner upon which the United States can rely, Turkey today endorses Iran's nuclear program, supports—and may even supply—terrorist groups such as Hamas and Hezbollah, and actively undermines the peace process. As Erdogan approaches the end of his first decade of rule, the question for American and European policymakers should not be whether Turkey should join the European Union, but whether it even belongs in NATO.

NR

Second to One

America's dangerous loss of nuclear parity

BY ROBERT G. JOSEPH

SINCE the start of the atomic age, from Harry Truman to George W. Bush, the United States has sought to maintain, in the words of John F. Kennedy, a nuclear-weapons capability "second to none." Each of these eleven successive administrations, Democratic and Republican alike, described its commitment to that principle differently, some insisting on superiority and others on parity or essential equivalence. But all—including those that took large and unilateral steps to reduce the U.S. nuclear arsenal following the Cold War—believed that it was vital for the United States not to concede nuclear preeminence to any country.

In pursuing the goal of a world without nuclear weapons, and notwithstanding his administration's stated commitment to maintaining an effective deterrent for as long as necessary, President Obama has abandoned this bedrock of our national security. Under New START, often heralded by the administration as its greatest foreign-policy success, the United States is compelled to substantially reduce its strategic forces—while Russia is allowed to build up its forces, which Moscow has announced its intention to do. As a consequence of this treaty and of the significant advantages that Russia possesses in other measures of nuclear might, the United States will for the first time become a nation "second to one" in what remains a vital military capability in an increasingly dangerous world with ever greater proliferation.

Defenders of the Obama administration's policies are quick to assert that the nuclear posture of the United States today is superior to that of Russia and all other nuclear-weapons states combined. In support of this assertion, they cite the United States' current advantage in deployed operational strategic warheads and launchers. But this is the very advantage that is given up under New START. The United States currently deploys about 1,800 warheads on 822 strategic delivery vehicles. Russia, according to its initial declaration under the treaty, deploys 1,537 warheads on 521 delivery vehicles. Under New START, each side will be allowed 1,550 warheads and 700 deployed vehicles.

But by suggesting parity, these numbers mislead, because they do not accurately reflect the overall nuclear capabilities of the two countries—or perhaps even the capabilities of those forces covered under New START. One provision of the treaty is a change in counting rules: Each heavy bomber is counted as carrying one warhead, no matter what its actual load. While this rule applies to both sides, and will allow each to deploy a number of actual (as opposed to accountable) warheads well above 1,550, it is unlikely that both will take advantage of the rule. Russia has a record of fully exploiting such provisions in arms-control treaties and, if it does so again, it could deploy even more warheads than the 2,200

Mr. Joseph is a senior scholar at the National Institute for Public Policy. He served from 2005 until 2007 as under secretary of state for arms control and international security.

permitted under the Moscow Treaty negotiated by the George W. Bush administration. The United States will likely want to set a different example by staying at or below 1,550.

Most important, thousands of Russian nuclear weapons carried by shorter-range systems—including everything from artillery to medium-range aircraft—are not counted under New START. With the notable exception of the 1987 INF Treaty, these weapons, referred to as “theater” or “tactical” nuclear forces, have largely been ignored by nuclear strategists and arms-control experts, who have focused almost entirely on weapons that can reach beyond 5,500 kilometers.

This division between “strategic” and “tactical” weapons is primarily a relic of Cold War arms control, based in large part on the inherent difficulties of verifying shorter-range, often dual-capable systems (that is, widely dispersed delivery systems that can carry both nuclear and non-nuclear warheads). To facilitate the negotiation of arms-control treaties, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to categorize only specific long-range missiles and bombers as “strategic,” while mostly ignoring nuclear-armed systems that were deemed “non-strategic”—an oxymoron, because the use of any nuclear weapon would have a strategic effect.

Adopting this convenient designation of “non-strategic” nuclear weapons seemed both necessary and acceptable. Necessary because including them in arms negotiations was considered simply too hard to do; and acceptable because the numbers of American and Soviet long-range weapons ran into the high thousands, making an agreement on shorter-range systems seem less urgent. But with today’s much lower levels of strategic forces, the importance of theater weapons has increased substantially.

While both the United States and Russia deployed thousands of theater nuclear weapons during the Cold War, the current numbers show a dramatic disparity. As revealed by a key Obama adviser, the United States possesses a “few hundred” tactical weapons, while Russia deploys an estimated 3,500 to 4,000. When these thousands of weapons (which in some cases can strike the same targets as those delivered by longer-range systems) are included in the counting of nuclear arsenals, the emerging inferiority of the United States stands out.

And when total inventories of nuclear weapons are compared, the disparity is even starker. In May 2010, in the name of “transparency,” the Pentagon took the unprecedented step of announcing that the active U.S. stockpile had been reduced to 5,113. While Moscow has not released a number for its total arsenal and is unlikely to do so in the future, the congressional Strategic Posture Commission estimated the Russian operational-warhead inventory in 2009 to be 7,900.

Beyond the numbers of weapons, any meaningful comparison must also take into account overall trends and weapons infrastructure. The United States not only trails but is falling farther behind on both counts, even apart from the rapid vanishing of funding commitments the Obama administration made to secure ratification of New START. For example, Russia can produce about 2,000 new warheads each year, whereas the United States can produce just 50 to 80 under the best conditions. Russia retires and replaces its warheads, while the U.S. spends billions on stockpile stewardship, so these numbers exaggerate the difference—but nonetheless, they demonstrate Russia’s dedication to maintaining its force at a time when America’s weapons infrastructure is deteriorating. And while Moscow seeks greater military capability in its new warhead designs, the Obama administration has taken the unprecedented—

and unilateral—position that the United States will forgo “any new capabilities” in future or redesigned warheads.

As for strategic delivery vehicles, while Russia’s total will almost certainly continue to diminish in the near term because of the aging of its current forces, Moscow has begun to implement its stated commitment to reverse this trend, pledging to reach the New START limit of 700 by 2028. To meet this objective, Russia is constructing a new class of ballistic-missile submarines, two of which could be deployed by next year. It is increasing production of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) this year, with the goal of more than doubling production, to 30 per year, by 2013 and fielding a new missile by 2018. And it has announced that it will deploy a new strategic bomber by 2025 or 2030. While it is dubious that Russia will meet these ambitious timelines, for budgetary and other reasons, there is little doubt that, over time, it will build up at least to the New START limits—its self-image as a recovering superpower depends on it.

As for the United States, a new strategic submarine is planned for 2029. A new ICBM, for which there is no committed funding, will not come on line until at least 2030, when the existing missile force will be 60 years old. And as for the new bomber announced by Defense Secretary Robert Gates before leaving office, not only is there no current program, but the Pentagon has not even established an official requirement for one—an essential step to moving forward. In fact, the recently retired vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs stated there is no need for such a bomber.

THE Obama administration has responded to the emerging loss of parity in a variety of ways. First, it asserts that rough parity in overall nuclear forces still exists, despite the numbers and trends. Second, it suggests that parity is less important than it was in the past. Third, it has taken a number of steps that further erode parity, including unilateral reductions in nuclear forces. And perhaps most troubling are the suggestions that even more reductions of this type are coming—all in pursuit of the president’s vision of a world free of nuclear weapons.

To assert that parity is being maintained, one must ignore the facts. This is most commonly done in the context of minimizing the military and political value of “non-strategic” nuclear weapons. Today, even many who support the maintenance of an American nuclear force second to none have accepted the fiction outlined above that some nuclear weapons count in measuring overall capability (“strategic” weapons) while others do not (“non-strategic” weapons). When asked whether the United States is now inferior to Russia in nuclear weaponry, these members of the “nuclear priesthood” will often respond, “of course not,” and cite the quantitative advantages in U.S. strategic forces, as well as what they present as qualitative advantages, such as reload capacity on ICBMs or better-built and -manned submarines. But when pressed about overall capabilities once tactical weapons are included, many concede that the calculus changes.

Others defend the strategic/non-strategic fiction. High-level Obama advisers have suggested that tactical weapons are mostly symbolic—having no real utility in the contemporary security setting. Shorter-range weapons don’t matter as much, they argue, because they can’t target the U.S. homeland. This is neither accurate, because many can hit targets in the United States, nor meaningful, because shorter-range weapons can strike forward-based U.S. forces as well as allies in Asia and Europe whose security we have long maintained to be inseparable from our own. In fact, as

NATO has incorporated new members in Central and Eastern Europe, the strategic significance of tactical nuclear forces has grown in the eyes of allies such as Poland.

Russia also sees the matter differently than we do—placing greater importance on tactical capabilities than ever before, as reflected in its published military doctrine and its intimidation of U.S. allies in Central Europe. Paraphrasing a warning from Vladimir Putin to these allies: If you deploy U.S. missile defenses, we will target you with short-range missiles.

In providing its advice and consent to the ratification of New START, the Senate highlighted its concerns over the imbalance in tactical weapons. In its formal resolution, supported on both sides of the aisle, the Senate called on the president to pursue an agreement with Russia “that would address the disparity.” Unfortunately, but understandably, Moscow has shown no interest in such an agreement, perhaps because the United States gave up all of its leverage by agreeing to a treaty eliminating its main nuclear advantage: a greater number of deployed strategic launchers and warheads.

In one of the less quoted but more revealing statements contained in its 2010 Nuclear Posture Review, the Obama administration intimated its willingness to accept a nuclear posture second to Russia: “Because of our improved relations, the need for strict numerical parity between the two countries is no longer as compelling as it was during the Cold War.” In part, this judgment was based on the assumption that the United States would realize potential advantages in missile defenses and advanced conventional arms.

However, missile defenses, at least those capabilities intended to protect the U.S. homeland, were an early casualty of the Obama team’s New START negotiations with Russia. Not only did the president cancel the third missile-defense site in Europe, sacrificing the security interests of key allies, but he also killed or greatly curtailed all the existing programs that were designed to meet long-range-missile threats from states including North Korea and Iran. (Programs such as the Multiple Kill Vehicle and the Kinetic Energy Interceptor were ended; Airborne Laser was relegated to the status of a science project; and the number of ground-based interceptors was reduced.) While the administration has supported the development and deployment of defenses against short- and medium-range threats, it has funded studies—but developed no real capabilities—when it comes to strategic defenses. As for advanced conventional programs, there has been no commitment to deploy long-range prompt global-strike capabilities (which could attack targets at intercontinental range with non-nuclear payloads)—perhaps because, as with missile defense, Moscow has said that our deployment of such a capability would endanger its adherence to New START.

What guided the administration most in making deep, unilateral cuts was a desire to demonstrate the declining role of nuclear weapons and lead by example in placing nuclear reductions, in the words of the Nuclear Posture Review, “atop the U.S. nuclear agenda.” But the nonproliferation dividends have been few, if any, and no country of concern has followed the example. Nevertheless, the administration argues that the United States still possesses too many nuclear weapons. The president’s national-security adviser, Tom Donilon, recently expressed this view in a forum sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, when he announced that the United States would conduct yet another study to identify even more reductions.

New START, although a bilateral agreement, is a clear step toward unilateral disarmament. While the Obama administration marketed New START as requiring 30 percent reductions in U.S.

and Russian strategic forces, it simply does not. We now have definitive confirmation that only the United States must reduce its forces—a possibility raised by New START skeptics but strongly denied by the Obama administration during the ratification process.

In June, the State Department released the initial data exchange required by the treaty. As of February 5, the day the treaty entered into force, Russia was already below the ceilings for both delivery vehicles and warheads. Perhaps most telling, knowledgeable Russian observers have stated that American negotiators didn’t even propose terms that would have required Moscow to reduce its stockpiles.

The same mindset led to the administration’s decision last year to give up all nuclear-armed Tomahawk missiles while asking for—and getting—nothing in return. It took this action despite its own consistent calls for negotiations with Russia on theater systems. Once again, leading by example left the U.S. empty-handed.

But that lesson continues to elude the administration. In a recent interview, the president’s point man on arms control, Gary Samore, noted that, while we wait for the outcome of the study announced by Donilon, “there may be parallel steps that both sides could take or even unilateral steps that the U.S. could take.” No doubt there are more steps that the United States could take. No doubt, as well, that for the Obama administration, it is more important to take these steps than to reverse the coming U.S. inferiority in nuclear capabilities.

EVEN some members of the Obama team seem to recognize that there are risks to such steps. The Nuclear Posture Review, while de-emphasizing the need for numerical parity, does contain a caution about going too far. Published by the Defense Department prior to the ratification of New START, it notes that “large disparities in nuclear capabilities could raise concerns on both sides and among U.S. allies and partners, and may not be conducive to maintaining a stable, long-term strategic relationship, especially as nuclear forces are significantly reduced.”

Translating this code language: Nuclear weapons remain vital to our national security. They provide an essential component of our efforts to deter rogue states in regions of critical U.S. interest—states that have acquired or are aggressively pursuing their own nuclear weapons. They provide an essential component of extended deterrence—giving credibility to our security guarantees to friends and allies in those regions and thereby undercutting incentives for them to seek their own nuclear capabilities. And finally, nuclear weapons provide an irreplaceable safeguard against the strategic uncertainties associated with the future of Russia and China, which, although no longer our enemies, continue to view the United States with deep suspicion while developing new nuclear and other asymmetric capabilities with us in mind.

New START has made the nuclear disparity worse. Further unilateral steps in this direction will only aggravate the fears of allies and undermine stability in our relationship with Russia.

One can argue, mistakenly I believe, that conceding superiority to Russia in nuclear arms is acceptable in today’s strategic environment. But one cannot argue, consistent with the facts, that we are not making this concession. As Russia, China, North Korea, and other states continue to build their nuclear arsenals, and as Iran aggressively pursues a nuclear-weapons capability, the warning of the Posture Review and the hard realities of the world we live in stand in stark contrast to the president’s utopian vision of a world without nuclear weapons.

NR



Stimulus II

In anticipation of the Obama administration's plan for a second stimulus package, some ideas to restore and rebuild our nation's crumbling and outdated infrastructure.

Please add your own in the space provided.

1. The New Jersey–New York Meatball-Sub Delivery Canal

An Erie Canal-sized sluiceway will be constructed from western and northwestern New York and New Jersey, allowing the quick and efficient delivery of meatballs, sauce, and submarine-sandwich-appropriate breadstuffs to the urban areas of New York and New Jersey. The canal itself will require 100,000 construction jobs of the low-skill variety, several hundred high-skilled engineers and construction-supervisory personnel, as well as meatball-sub-manufacturing tax-free zones at the sluice-head nodes.

2. The D.C.–Beltway Lobby Dome

A series of triple-stadium-sized, air-tight, crystalline domes will be constructed over large portions of downtown Washington, D.C., and the adjacent “Beltway” area. Will require at least 10,000 construction and engineering jobs, as well as 300 medium-grade technical employees for the operation and maintenance of the domes. In addition, several dozen managerial and executive positions will be required upon completion of these domes to regulate and monitor air flow, interior climate conditions, and the options available for both. Air flow can be increased or eliminated as political conditions change. Note: PENDING REGULATORY APPROVAL.

3. The High-Speed Florida Tunnel

A submerged multi-lane express tunnel, built for passenger cars, to be used exclusively by drivers older than 80. Requiring 200,000 skilled construction workers and engineers, along with supervisory and procurement personnel (estimated: 5,000), the tunnel will span the Eastern Seaboard, connecting nodes along the northern corridor, channeling them into a speed-controlled chain-operated passenger-car trackway, terminating in the outskirts of Boca Raton, Fla. Estimated savings: \$5.6 billion in averted highway deaths.

4. The Los Angeles Metroplex Expander

A large-scale urban moving project, requiring several hundred thousand unskilled laborers and hundreds of urban-planning experts. Systematically, over the course of the project (estimated: two years), every object in the Los Angeles Basin—including homes, buildings, trees, individuals, and Starbucks Coffee locations—will be lifted up and replaced again at least twelve inches farther apart. The result of this project will be to expand the Los Angeles metro area into western Nevada, and to annex parts of Baja California, now a part of Mexico, into the Long Beach metroplex.

5. The Brooklyn Hipster Collider

An enormous concrete ring will be constructed around the borough of Brooklyn (10,000 construction jobs created), and hipster residents will be thrust into a high-speed centrifuge (estimated: 250 technical and expert jobs created) and forced to collide together, to measure the impact and velocity of the resulting energy-releasing events. Will additionally reduce the number of jobless hipsters in the region. If the pilot program is successful, additional Colliders can be constructed in suitable areas, such as the San Francisco Bay Area, the Pacific Northwest, and Cambridge, Mass.

6. The Metro-Detroit Closer

A major job creator, entailing the hiring of 100,000 low-skilled workers. The project should require twelve months of labor-intensive effort on the part of the work force, as they systematically move throughout the Detroit metro area, turning out the lights and preparing the city for permanent closure. Job training will be available in such areas as turning off ovens, locking doors, making sure the sprinklers are off, disconnecting car batteries, and covering all moving parts with a grease-based preservative. Pending completion of this project, the city can be “re-opened” in the future by another major project undertaking.

7. The Southern Multi-State Deep-Fat-Fryer-Generated Power Grid

A Green Jobs initiative encompassing a multistate footprint. Utilizing smart-grid technology, the estimated 17 million deep-fat fryers in simultaneous use within the region will be networked together. As food products are immersed within the cooking fat, the energy thrown off by this action will be collected by the network and transferred to the energy hub in the region. Estimated job creation: 75,000 in its first year. Will require high-skilled engineering and energy-construction experts, as well as fry cooks.

8. The Keith Olbermann Viewer Connector

A high-speed, high-tech e-link requiring several hundred skilled technical workers, along with maintenance and cell-tower construction experts, to create an instantaneous and always-on fiber-optic connection for each viewer of the Keith Olbermann television show now appearing on Current TV. Will create 5,000 new jobs for the benefit of the 2,000 viewers of the Keith Olbermann television show. NOTE: PENDING REGULATORY APPROVAL.

Mad Cow Disuse

BRITAIN'S main export now consists of stories about a people cowed by dunderheaded bureaucrats or political correctness: A shopkeeper's fined for selling a Miss Piggy doll within three miles of a mosque, a homeowner who takes a bat to a burglar's brainpan gets charged with unlawful self-preservation. We read these tales as previews of coming attractions, the logical result of socialistic paternalism and an enfeebled national character, and we steel ourselves: We'll fight back before it gets that bad. Wait until 2012! The forces of statism will crumple with dismay as Herman Cain, Secretary of Plain Ordinary Common Sense, goes around the country and yells at bureaucrats to knock that off, already.

What if we're already too far down the road? Every summer brings more tales of lemonade stands shut down by regulators. (Next summer's twist: While clamping down on illegal stands, the government was actually selling Sunny D to Mexican cartels.) The story hits the wires, people get mad, and they go so far as to write comments on webpages. But nothing changes. A week later you read about someone being fined for hanging a bird feeder in violation of the Transient Avian Nutritional Guidelines—the first lady was concerned about all that suet, and demanded a national conversation about pheasant obesity—and people get spun up about that. And nothing happens. The Bureaucrat-American community never demonstrates a jot of shame; candidates talk about the top-level regulations that garrote the economy; and the myriad codes and diktats pile up, criminalizing everything. Check your facial-tissues box: Some say “It is a violation of Federal law to use this product in a manner inconsistent with its labeling.” Wearing the box as shoes when you go as Howard Hughes for Halloween? You're looking at hard time, brother. No one says “There oughta be a law” anymore, because we know there probably is.

Speaking of being cowed: A recent controversy in Wisconsin has revealed a new front in the diminution of personal liberty. Turns out you don't have the right to drink raw cow milk. Some people believe raw milk conveys certain advantages, and these may include seeing the inside of a hospital you might otherwise not visit, since pasteurizing milk can prevent TB and diphtheria, and raw milk can have all kinds of gut-gripping wee beasties like salmonella and *E. coli*. Many states allow its sale. California hasn't gotten around to banning it yet. It's legal for pets only in Florida. Wisconsin bans it entirely, so they have to cross the border to get it in Minnesota. (Somehow this has not produced hyper-violent milk cartels. Yet.)

Mr. Lileks blogs at www.lileks.com.

The raw-milk group gives off a faint whiff of the anti-vaccine crowd, and the fact that their website has a protest song is enough to turn off many. Visions of some hairy Bolshevik warbling about Tom Dooley's Pail or something. You'd think progressives would be split on a raw-milk ban—on one hand, regulating life in the name of Health is good; on the other hand, pasteurization interferes with the Natural Way of Life, which was practiced by noble indigenous people who didn't drink soda or eat processed grains, paving the way for a healthy life right up to the moment when they died from an abscessed tooth at age 27.

Anyway. Even people who prefer their milk in a plastic gallon bladder from an industrial dairy—irradiated, preferably, to nuke any residual offal—would probably say that raw-milk enthusiasts ought to be able to exercise freedom of choice. It's their bodies, after all, and isn't there some penumbra in the Constitution emanating about that? If you own the cow, shouldn't you be able to drink the milk? After all, if you buy the cow in ground-up form, and decide to eat the hamburger extra rare, the state can't bust into your kitchen and slap it out of your hand.

Give them time. The Wisconsin case involved “herd sharing,” an ingenious response to the raw-milk ban. Regulation was the mother of invention: The cows were sold in pieces—normal for cows, but in this case they're still alive. Everyone who had an interest in the cow could have its milk, since they owned it. Clever! But doomed. A judge ruled against the herd-share concept, because he could see what they were up to. If his decision had consisted of “C'mon. Really? Nice try” it would have been unremarkable. But no. He had a point to make, and you fools had better listen and listen good. In a clarification of his ruling, he pounded the facts of life into the thick heads of these serfs who bother the court: “No,” he wrote, “no, Plaintiffs do not have a fundamental right to own and use a dairy cow or a dairy herd; no, Plaintiffs do not have a fundamental right to consume the milk from their own cow; no, Plaintiffs do not have a fundamental right to produce and consume the foods of their choice.”

Got that? Your right to drink milk from a cow you own is granted by the state. Which, incidentally, declines to grant it.

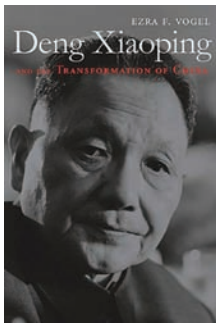
Don't worry, raw-milkers. In ten years the people who believe the difference between people and animals is just semantics and bipedal hubris will lobby for interspecies marriage, and once that's in place, there will be demonstrations to GET THE GOVERNMENT OUT OF MY BARN. You can marry the cow and have free milk. Marrying a chicken you raised so you can eat the meat, though, that will still make people sick. Literally sick. You have to cook it to 160 degrees! It's the law.

NR



Reluctant Dragon

ETHAN GUTMANN



Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China, by Ezra F. Vogel (Belknap, 928 pp., \$39.95)

OVER the past few decades, an increasing number of scholars have come to interpret Western history less as a linear progression and more as a periodic cycle punctuated by crises, of which our current economic disaster is the most recent. Yet even in the realist precincts of social science, some still long for a classic narrative structure, progressive motion, and world-historical heroes.

They have had slim pickings. In the early 1980s, attention fell briefly, unsatisfactorily, on Japan. As Japan's growth flatlined, and the once-promising Soviet Union dissolved, the hero-meter edged toward China. Given China's meteoric rise since that time, the needle has had little reason to wander. Employing projections from Chinese trajectories, academia generates serial predictions of China's dominating the century, while interpretations of recent Chinese history bend slightly to explain and meet those projections. And for those who believe in the current and historical narrative of China's linear progress, there is no greater patron saint than Deng Xiaoping.

Not without reason: Any Western acad-

Mr. Gutmann is an adjunct fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies and the author of Losing the New China.

emic who depends on access to Chinese officials and archives, any businessman who profits from China exports, must acknowledge a debt to the man who, at great personal risk, tirelessly, singlehandedly at times, tore down Mao's barriers to the West. For many China hands and expats who actually witnessed the Chinese transformation from Mao to the present it became the defining event of their lives—to observe, to support, to participate in the mass-scale redemption of a great people. (I defy anyone who visits China to remain completely immune to that awe, excitement, and optimism.) Finally, for much of the Chinese elite and for a fair amount of poorer-but-patriotic young Chinese, Deng is the Ur-stone, the starting point where China finally stood up—for real this time—cast shame and fear aside, and began implementing its 19th-century nationalist dream of becoming a rich country with a strong army.

Ezra F. Vogel, emeritus professor at Harvard and former director of Harvard's Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, has written a formidable biography that should please all of these audiences. In his preface—24 pages acknowledging most major China hands, the D.C. policy crowd, a vast multitude of Chinese officials and Deng princelings, along with a sprinkling of dissidents for flavor—the comprehensiveness of Vogel's interviews and archival research is presented as ironclad. The result, laid out in 714 pages, not including appendices and footnotes, does not disappoint, nor does Vogel's subject:

On August 18, 1980, a Chinese citizen gave one of the most biting and comprehensive criticisms of Chinese officials made during the entire Deng Era. In scathing terms, he accused them of abusing power; divorcing themselves from reality and the masses; spending time and effort putting up impressive fronts; indulging in empty talk; sticking to rigid ways of thinking; overstaffing administrative organs; being dilatory, inefficient, and irresponsible; failing to keep their word; circulating documents endlessly without solving problems; shifting responsibility to others; assuming the air of mandarins; reprimanding and attacking others at every turn; suppressing democracy; deceiving superiors and subordinates; being arbitrary and despotic and

practicing favoritism; offering bribes; and participating in other corrupt practices. The citizen? Deng Xiaoping.

Is it possible for any businessman—Western or Chinese—who has dealt with the Chinese bureaucracy to read that paragraph without grinning in pure joy? How remarkable that, 31 years on, under Vogel's hand, Deng still has that electrifying effect. Yet there is one serious caveat: Vogel, an unerringly powerful and reasonable writer, admires his subject to the point where he finds himself hewing to the straight Communist-party line at unexpected moments—a bit the way Deng, near the end, found himself defending horrific decisions with rancid dogma. In short, this is a great—and somewhat flawed—book about a great—and deeply flawed—leader.

Vogel focuses on Deng's top-down transformation of China, but does not neglect Deng's personal history: his early radicalization, his ascent in the party during the Guomindang and Japanese wars, his famous ups and downs in accordance with the whims of the mercurial Mao, and his brilliant rise to power over the hapless Hua Guofeng. Throughout, Vogel uncovers scattered premonitions of the China that Deng would create.

For example, Deng's brief experience in France not only gave him convictions, and possibly contributed to his eventual genius in foreign relations, but also brought home to him China's backwardness and spurred his belief that China should study foreign ways. One of Deng's first acts when he came to power was to force his officials to see the West for themselves, thus creating a political consensus for allowing foreign investment in China's Special Economic Zones.

As a young Communist operative, Deng also lived in the Soviet Union briefly during the 1920s New Economic Policy, a form of state capitalism. Deng would promote a similar model during the 1980s: dissolving the collectives, while declaring family farms “socialist”—i.e., kosher for Communists—and quietly releasing the entrepreneurial energy of household businesses. Deng was disarmingly straightforward on the macro level: Socialism does not mean poverty, he said, although “some will get rich first.”

Deng's authoritarianism was also evident early on: In 1926, he was writing that "centralized power flows from the top down. It is absolutely necessary to obey the directions from above." Later, he would speak of democracy within the Chinese Communist Party, and, in 1978, he briefly supported Beijing's Democracy Wall—a place where citizens could put up posters criticizing the government. But as the posters grew more daring—attacking Mao, and even Deng himself—he ensured Wei Jingsheng's arrest and the fall of the Democracy Wall. Vogel quotes a provincial official: "Lord Ye loved looking at a book with pretty pictures of dragons . . . but when a real dragon appeared, he was terrified."

By 1987, intraparty democracy was nowhere to be seen and Deng simplified his original equation: "Do not yield to the feelings for democracy." Vogel's evidence suggests that when Deng had spoken of political reform, it had largely been a reaction to Mao. Deng subsequently deemed the legal system capable of preventing a single individual from dominating, and thus he had no use for the checks and balances of democracy. As political freedoms evaporated under Deng's revised constitution, he launched a nationwide campaign against spiritual pollution, followed by another against bourgeois liberalization. He introduced the one-child policy, with its mass abortions, sterilizations, and predictable female infanticide. In addition, Deng made it clear that he would not become "China's Khrushchev" by delegitimizing Mao's memory. While Deng would restore politically suspect Chinese officials, the demons of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution would go unpurged—and they burn in the Chinese psyche today. If the temple of Marxism was now neglected, he enshrined Chinese patriotism in its place. Those who followed Deng stuck with the template. Vogel believes that Deng ultimately had no ideological objections to private enterprise and accepted competition as its driving force, but was determined to keep the Communist Party in control.

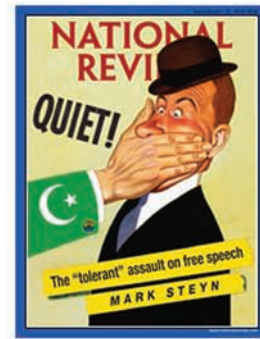
Vogel's personal support for Deng's approach finds its way into the text. For example, commenting on the influx of foreign factories into capitalist pacesetter Guangdong Province, Vogel writes: "Guangdong's progress cannot be explained simply by 'opening markets,' for many countries with open markets did not

achieve the progress that Guangdong made. Instead, in Guangdong, a Communist organization that less than a decade earlier had engaged in class warfare became an effective vehicle to promote modernization."

Yet one wonders if even Deng would have made this claim. Did other Asian countries with open markets do so badly? Weren't foreigners simply trying to get a toehold? Foreign perceptions of unprecedented opportunities of scale in the China market—isn't that precisely the same impetus that has driven foreign businesses to overlook massive start-up losses over the last several decades? Don't ethnic Chinese do well pretty much everywhere—the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia—regardless of whether they are organized by the Chinese Communist Party? And if the entrepreneurial energy of the Chinese is somewhat heroic, why should the party take the credit? These questions shed light on the odd flatness of a few of Vogel's middle chapters—particularly those that deal with the regulation of township and village enterprises. There is nothing particularly heroic here; much of what took place during the Deng era consisted of commonsense subtraction of preposterous regulations that never should have existed.

It might also be asked whether Deng truly understood the full possibilities for corruption in an alliance between authoritarian ownership and unfettered capitalism. For example, Deng freed the Chinese military to enter the private sphere, with horrendous spinoff effects—such as Operation Aurora (a military-dotcom hacking spree that violated the privacy not only of governments but also of Western corporations, on an epic scale), and the use of Chinese military hospitals as illicit organ-harvesting centers victimizing Uighur activists and followers of Falun Gong (I estimate that 65,000 prisoners of conscience were murdered through these means in the decade immediately following Deng's death).

Deng was equally ill-prepared for other possibilities. As Vogel reminds us, Deng was indirectly brought into power by the 1976 Tiananmen demonstrations with their anti-Mao undertones. But when Deng's legacy was similarly threatened in 1989 by the events at Tiananmen (Vogel calls it the "Tiananmen tragedy" rather than a massacre), Vogel follows an insightful discussion of the insurrection's



+



+



=



NATIONAL REVIEW is now available on iTunes and in the Android Market.

NR APPS ARE FREE TO DOWNLOAD.

© NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., 2011

2011 Post-Election Cruise

Join **MARK STEYN, FRED THOMPSON, JOHN BOLTON, TIM PAWLENTY, VICTOR DAVIS HANSON, James Q. Wilson, Bernard Lewis, S. E. Cupp, Andrew Klavan, Jonah Goldberg, John Yoo, Tony Blankley, John Sununu, Andrew McCarthy, Cal Thomas, James Lileks, Ralph Reed, Mona Charen, Elliott Abrams, Rich Lowry, Kevin Hassett, Jim Geraghty, Ramesh Ponnuru, Michael Walsh, Tracie Sharp, Sally Pipes, Rob Long, Charles Kesler, Jay Nordlinger, Kathryn Jean Lopez, David Pryce-Jones, Deroy Murdock, Robert Costa, Charmaine Yoest, Kevin D. Williamson, John Derbyshire, John Miller, & Roman Genn**

as we visit Grand Turk, San Juan, St. Thomas, Half Moon Cay, and Ft. Lauderdale

This is your last chance to sign up for what’s certain to be one of the most exciting seafaring adventures you will ever experience: the *National Review* 2011 Caribbean Cruise. Featuring a cast of all-star conservative speakers, this affordable trip—prices start at a low \$1,899 a person—will take place November 12–19, 2011, aboard Holland America Line’s ms *Eurodam*, the acclaimed ship of one of the world’s most respected cruise lines.

From politics, the presidency, and policy to economics, national security, and foreign affairs, there’s so much to discuss. That’s precisely what our array of over three dozen leading conservative analysts, writers, and experts will do on the *Eurodam*, your floating luxury getaway for scintillating discussion of major current events and trends and the upcoming 2012 elections.

We’ve assembled a crew of exemplary speakers to make sense of politics and the day’s top issues: revered columnist and author **Mark Steyn**, former Senator **Fred Thompson**, former U.N. Ambassador **John Bolton**, Islam scholar **Bernard Lewis**, former Minnesota Governor **Tim Pawlenty**, historian **Victor Davis Hanson**, esteemed academics **James Q. Wilson** and **Charles Kesler**, foreign-policy expert **Elliott Abrams**, columnists **Tony Blankley**, **Cal Thomas**, **Mona Charen**, and **Deroy Murdock**, *Fox News* commentator **S. E. Cupp**, terrorism and legal experts **Andrew McCarthy** and **John Yoo**, former New Hampshire gover-



nor **John Sununu**, political guru **Ralph Reed**, social critic and humorist **James Lileks**, domestic-policy expert **Sally Pipes**, best-selling conservative authors **Andrew Klavan** and **Michael Walsh**, ace economist **Kevin Hassett**, State Policy Network executive **Tracie Sharp**, Americans United for Life president **Charmaine Yoest**, and, from *NR*, editor **Rich Lowry**, *Liberal Fascism* author **Jonah Goldberg**, *NRO* editor-at-large **Kathryn Jean Lopez**, senior editors **Jay Nordlinger**, **Ramesh Ponnuru**, and **David Pryce-Jones**, *NRO* “Campaign Spot” blogger **Jim Geraghty**, *NRO* “Exchequer” blogger **Kevin D. Williamson**, “Long View” columnist **Rob Long**, “The Straggler” columnist **John Derbyshire**, national correspondent **John J. Miller**, political reporter **Bob Costa**, and artist **Roman Genn**.

The “typical” *NR* cruise alumnus (there are thousands) has gone on four of our voyages and knows *NR* trips are marked by riveting political shoptalk, wonderful socializing, intimate dining with our editors and speakers, making new friends, rekindling old friendships, and grand cruising. That and so much more are in store for you on the *National Review* 2011 Caribbean Cruise.

The best reason to come is the luminaries who will be aboard. This extraordinary gathering is one of the best-ever ensembles. We guarantee fascinating and informative seminar sessions.

- ✓ Revel in **Mark Steyn**’s ruminations on everything from gag rules to demographics, and his tag-teaming with **Jonah Goldberg** and **Rob Long** for a fun-filled “Night Owl” humorfest.

- ✓ Listen as **Tim Pawlenty** and **Fred Thompson** provide their informed takes on presidential politics and Capitol Hill, and as **John Bolton** reflects on the standing of the USA as a world power.

- ✓ Some of our *primo* past cruise experiences have been the informed interchanges between **Bernard Lewis** and **Victor Davis Hanson** on the struggle between Islam and the West. These academic giants, and terrorism experts **Andy McCarthy** and **John Yoo**, will provide their razor-sharp insights on America’s dealings in the Middle East and the Muslim world.

JOIN US FOR SEVEN BALMY DAYS AND COOL CONSERVATIVE NIGHTS

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENT
SAT/Nov. 12	Ft. Lauderdale, FL		5:00PM	evening cocktail reception
SUN/Nov. 13	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars
MON/Nov. 14	Grand Turk	7:00AM	3:00PM	morning/afternoon seminars “Night Owl” session
TUE/Nov. 15	San Juan	1:00PM	11:00PM	morning seminar late-night smoker
WED/Nov. 16	St. Thomas	8:00AM	5:00PM	morning/afternoon seminars evening cocktail reception “Night Owl” session
THU/Nov. 17	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars
FRI/Nov. 18	Half Moon Cay	8:00AM	4:00PM	afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
SAT/Nov. 19	Ft. Lauderdale, FL	7:00AM		Debarck

LAST CHANCE TO SIGN UP!

**PRICES START AT JUST \$1899!
OVER 320 CABINS RESERVED!**

Superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment await you on the beautiful MS *Eurodam*. Prices are per-person, based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, transfers (for those booking airfare through Holland America), all meals, entertainment, and admittance to and participation in all NR functions. Per-person rates for third/fourth person (in same cabin with two full-fare guests) are:

Ages 6 months to 17: \$658 Ages 18 and over: \$1,108

DELUXE SUITE Magnificent luxury quarters (528 sq. ft.) features use of exclusive Neptune Lounge and personal concierge, complimentary laundry, pressing and dry-cleaning service. Large private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), whirlpool bath/shower, dressing room, large sitting area, DVD, mini-bar, and refrigerator.

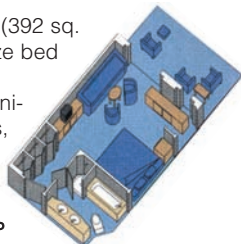


Category SA

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 4,499 P/P

SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 6,999

SUPERIOR SUITE Grand stateroom (392 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, large sitting area, DVD, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows, and much more.

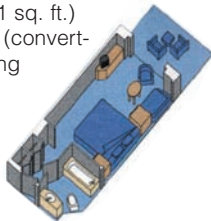


Category SS

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 3,499 P/P

SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 5,799

DELUXE OUTSIDE Spacious cabin (241 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bath with shower, sitting area, mini-bar, tv, refrigerator, and floor-to-ceiling windows.

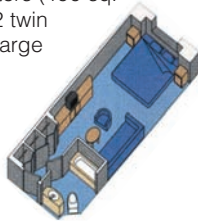


Categories VA / VB / VC

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 2,999 P/P

SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 4,399

LARGE OCEAN VIEW Comfortable quarters (190 sq. ft.) features queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bathtub with shower, sitting area, tv, large ocean-view windows.



Category D

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 2,399 P/P

SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 2,899

LARGE INSIDE Cozy but ample cabin quarters (185 sq. ft.) features queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bathtub with shower, sitting area, tv.



Category J

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 1,899 P/P

SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 2,399



✓ Watch **Tony Blankley**, **Ralph Reed**, **S. E. Cupp**, **Cal Thomas**, **Mona Charen**, **Deroy Murdock**, **John Sununu**, and **Charmaine Yoest** provide expert analyses of the conservative movement, the GOP, and the day's top issues.

✓ Enjoy insightful commentary on American culture from **Andrew Klavan**, **James Lileks**, and **Michael Walsh**, and a frank look at the academy from **James Q. Wilson** and **Charles Kesler**.

✓ Picture **Elliott Abrams** and **David Pryce-Jones** discussing foreign relations, **Kevin Hassett** and NRO "Exchequer" **Kevin D. Williamson** tackling the economy, **Sally Pipes** explaining the Obama administration's latest domestic-policy machinations, while **Tracie Sharp** gives an informed rundown of what ideas are percolating at conservative state think tanks. All that's in store.

✓ They'll be joined in all the world-class elucidating and analyzing by NR's editorial heavyweights, including **Rich Lowry**, **Jay Nordlinger**, **Ramesh Ponnuru**, **Kathryn Lopez**, **Jim Geraghty**, **John J. Miller**, **John Derbyshire**, **Bob Costa**, and **Roman Genn**.

As for the ship: The *Eurodam* offers well-appointed spacious staterooms and countless amenities. And it's affordable—prices start as low as \$1,899 a person. No matter what cabin meets your individual tastes and circumstances, you can be assured the *Eurodam* and its stellar staff will offer you unsurpassed service, sumptuous cuisine, roomy accommodations, and luxury.

And don't forget the fantastic itinerary: St. Thomas, Grand Turk, San Juan, and Holland America's private island, Half Moon Cay (with a must-see-it-to-believe-it blue lagoon!).

Our 2011 **Caribbean Cruise** will be remarkable—but then every NR sojourn is. With a winning program of seminars (we'll have ten), cocktail parties (three are scheduled—they're great opportunities to chat and have photos taken with your favorite conservatives), late-night poolside smokers (featuring world-class **H. Upmann** cigars), and dining with our editors and speakers (on two nights)—it's all something you really *must* experience.

Take the trip of a lifetime with America's preeminent intellectuals, policy analysts, and political experts. You can sign up now by filling out and returning the application form on the next page, visiting our dedicated website, **www.nrcruise.com** (which provides complete information about the trip), or by calling The Cruise Authority (M-F, 9AM to 5PM EST) at 1-800-707-1634. Don't delay! We'll see you on the *Eurodam* this November!

**REGISTER NOW: USE
THE FORM ON THE NEXT PAGE,
VISIT US AT WWW.NRCRUISE.COM OR
CALL 800-707-1634 FOR MORE INFORMATION.**

National Review 2011 Caribbean Cruise Application

Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1760 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067 or Fax to 770-953-1228

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

Personal

GUEST #1: Name as listed on Passport (LAST, FIRST, MIDDLE)			Date of Birth
Passport Number	Expiration Date	Citizenship	Size: S-XXL

Are you a past Holland America cruiser? Yes No

GUEST #2: Name as listed on Passport (LAST, FIRST, MIDDLE)			Date of Birth
Passport Number	Expiration Date	Citizenship	Size: S-XXL

Are you a past Holland America cruiser? Yes No

GUEST #3: Name as listed on Passport (LAST, FIRST, MIDDLE)			Date of Birth
Passport Number	Expiration Date	Citizenship	Size: S-XXL

Are you a past Holland America cruiser? Yes No

MAILING AND CONTACT INFORMATION

Mailing address

City / State / Zip

Email Address

Daytime Phone

Cell phone

Be assured that National Review and The Cruise Authority retain this information for internal use, and do not release or distribute your personal information to third parties.

CREDENTIALS

Your legal first and last name are required for travel documentation. If you have an informal name you would like reflected on your name badge, please indicate it here:

Guest #1 _____

Guest #2 _____

Guest #3 _____

Cabins, Air Travel, & Other Information

All rates are per person, double occupancy, and include all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and National Review activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included. PLEASE CHECK ALL APPLICABLE BOXES!

I. CABIN CATEGORY (see list and prices on previous page)

First cabin category choice: _____ Second cabin category choice: _____

Bedding: Beds made up as Twin King/Queen

BOOKING SINGLE? Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: _____)

II. DINING w/ FRIENDS/FAMILY: I wish to dine with _____

Every Night 3-4 times 2 times Once

III. PRE- AND POST-CRUISE TOUR PACKAGES

Please send me information on pre-/post-cruise packages in Ft. Lauderdale.

Payment, Cancellation, & Insurance

Deposit of \$600 per person is due with this application. If paid by credit card, the balance will be charged to the same card on 8/12/11 unless otherwise directed. If application is received after 8/12/11, the full amount of the cruise will be charged.

My deposit of \$600 per person is included.
(Make checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

Charge my deposit to: AmEx Visa MasterCard Discover

Expiration Date	Month	Year	Security Code
-----------------	-------	------	---------------

Amex 4 digits on front, others 3 digits on back

Authorized Signature of Cardholder

Name of Cardholder (please print)

Important!

of the Eurodam. **RESPONSIBILITY:** Notice is hereby given that the cruise advertised herein, including all tickets, vouchers and coupons issued and all arrangements for transportation or conveyance or for hotel or lodging or for sightseeing/shore tour services are made by H2O Ltd. d/b/a The Cruise Authority (TCA) on behalf of National Review (NR), as agency for Holland America Line (HAL), and/or service providers and/or suppliers providing services necessary for operation of the tour upon the express condition that TCA shall not be liable for injury, acts of terrorism, acts of war, damage, loss, accident, delay or irregularity to any tour participant or his or her property that may result from any act or omission of any company, contractor or employee thereof providing services in connection with the tour, including but not limited to transportation, lodging, food and beverage, entertainment, sightseeing, luggage handling and tour guiding. Furthermore, TCA shall not be responsible for delays or costs incurred resulting from weather, road connections, breakdowns, acts of war-declared or undeclared, acts of terrorism, strikes, riots, acts of God, authority of law or other circumstances beyond its control. In the event that a participant is entitled to a refund of monies paid, TCA will not be liable in excess of amount paid. TCA reserves the right to decline any persons as a tour participant at any time. TCA shall not be held financially or otherwise responsible should NR cease to exist and this cruise not go forth as planned. In the event of the demise of NR, and guest(s) elect not to sail on this cruise, every effort will be put forth to refund as much of the payment as possible dependently solely on the cruise lines cancellation terms. TCA is not responsible for price increases or surcharges imposed by HAL and/or service providers. TCA is not responsible for breach of contract or any intentional or careless actions or omissions on the part of HAL and/or service providers, such as suppliers of tours or other services used or obtained on or at the time of the cruise or shore excursions, which result in any loss, damage, delay or injury to you or your travel companions or group members. TCA does not guarantee any of such suppliers rates, booking or reservations and TCA shall not be responsible for any social or labor unrest, mechanical or construction difficulties, diseases, local laws, climate conditions, acts of war-declared or undeclared, acts of terrorism, abnormal conditions or developments or any other actions, omissions or conditions outside of TCA's control. TCA, nor NR, shall be responsible for the accessibility, appearance, actions or decisions of those individuals promoted as guest speakers for this cruise. On behalf of those guests listed in this application, I authorize TCA/NR to use image(s) (video or photo) for purposes of promoting future NR cruise events. **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:** I understand and accept the terms and conditions of booking this cruise package and acknowledge responsibility for myself and those sharing my accommodations:

IV. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to and from Ft. Lauderdale (arriving there on 11/12/11 by 1:30PM EST and departing 11/19/11 after 10:30a.m.).

We would like The Cruise Authority to customize roundtrip air from _____ Coach First Class Air

Arrival date: _____

Departure date: _____

Preferred carrier: _____

(Please note that The Cruise Authority does not have control over the flight schedule or carrier assigned by the cruise line. Times and connections may not always be ideal.)

V. MEDICAL / DIETARY / SPECIAL REQUESTS

Please enter in the box below any medical, dietary, or special needs or requests we should know about any of the members of your party:

The card's billing address is indicated above. The card's billing address is: _____

CANCELLATION PENALTY SCHEDULE: (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated); PRIOR to June 13, 2011 cancellation penalty is \$100 per person; June 13 to August 12, 2011 cancellation penalty is \$600 per person, AFTER August 12, 2011 cancellation penalty is 100% of cruise/package.

CANCELLATION / MEDICAL INSURANCE is available and recommended for this cruise (and package). Costs are Age 0-49: 7% of total price; Age 50-59: 8% of total price; Age 60-69: 9% of total price; Age 70+: 11% of total price. The exact amount will appear on your cruise statement. Purchase will be immediate upon your acceptance and is non-refundable.

YES I/we wish to purchase the Trip Cancellation & Medical Insurance coverage. Additions to the cruise package will increase my insurance premium.

NO I/we are declining to purchase the Trip Cancellation & Medical Insurance coverage and understand that I/we will be subject to applicable cancellation penalties.

PASSPORT REQUIRED! Everyone cruising, including children, will be required to bring a valid passport. Current passports must be valid through May 20, 2012. Failure to do so will result in being denied boarding.

SIGNATURE OF GUEST #1

DATE

causes with this description: “What began as an unplanned peaceful outpouring of mourning for Hu Yaobang was transformed into parades, political forums, campouts, angry protests, hunger strikes, and clashes that spiraled out of control.”

To which “clashes that spiraled out of control,” exactly, does Vogel refer? Traffic disruptions? A broken window at the Hall of the People? Overloaded sanitary facilities? Or is Vogel indirectly referring to the three individuals who threw paint on Mao’s portrait? If so, he might mention that they paid a rather steep price. I met one of them after his recent release—the man can barely speak. If Vogel is referring to the troops who ultimately shed blood, he should be clear. Instead, in his discussion of Deng’s decision to clear the square by any means necessary, Vogel invokes a dizzying series of willfully evenhanded arguments: Deng was too tough, Deng was not tough enough; Deng was moving too fast towards democracy, Deng was moving too slow. Ultimately, these are revealed as obfuscations, when Vogel gives a long last word to the Chinese Communist Party defense: “In late May 1989, once the situation in Tiananmen Square began spinning out of control, the strong actions taken by Deng represented the Chinese people’s only chance for keeping their nation together. . . . China could not have stayed together had the leadership allowed the intellectuals the freedom they sought. . . . What we do know is that in the two decades after Tiananmen, China enjoyed relative stability and rapid—even spectacular—economic growth.”

The repeated claim that the Communist Party is responsible for economic growth (when Taiwan’s GDP did not decrease when it moved to a multi-party system) is now followed by the buzzword “stability.” Yet that “stability” was shattered exactly one decade after Tiananmen by the Communist Party’s crackdown on Falun Gong—indisputably the largest sustained action by Chinese security forces since the Cultural Revolution.

In several passages, Vogel questions the sincerity of the Western outcry over Tiananmen by invoking the muted reaction to the Guomindang’s murder of local leaders in 1947 and the Korean suppression of students in 1980. It is summarized by the following statement: “For the West-erners, the killing of innocent students protesting for freedom and democracy in

Beijing was a far worse crime than the decisions of their countries that had brought about the deaths of many more civilians in Vietnam, Cambodia, and elsewhere.”

After casting doubt on the sincerity and validity of our concern, Vogel stakes a claim for his own humanitarianism: “All of us who care about human welfare are repulsed by the brutal crackdown on June 4, 1989.” Yet the deeper Tiananmen tragedy has little to do with Vogel’s framing of it. It never was about the number of dead students, or whether people were slaughtered in the square itself, or whether the Tank Man survived. The tragedy was that, at a time when freedom and political reform were advancing across the world, China was stepping backward. So the tragedy will be found in the opportunity cost, the lost years of an authoritarian China—a Web-based Democracy Wall that never happened, stunted intellectualism, justice never realized, dead never commemorated, and, most of all, a moral hunger forced to subsist on patriotic junk food. Ultimately, given China’s military trajectory, this is a tragedy that may pull us in as well.

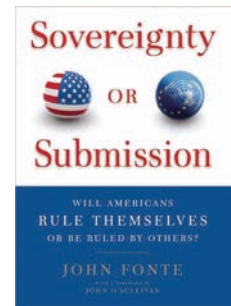
Vogel has a bit about that on the last page—and it is tantalizing to think that his final admonition is aimed not only at us, but also at the Chinese Communist Party. It’s a slightly forced what-if, but Vogel has fairly earned the right to channel his subject. Vogel asks: What would Deng say about China’s superpower ambitions if he were still alive? “He would say that China should never behave like a hegemon that interferes in the internal affairs of another nation. Rather it should maintain harmonious relations with other countries and concentrate on peaceful development at home.”

Vogel is correct; every inch a soldier, Deng was no militarist. He cut troop levels nearly in half and reduced Chinese military expenditures from 4.6 percent of GDP down to 1.4 percent by 1991. How different from the rapidly expanding defense budgets that would follow.

But as long as we’re doing what-ifs: What if Deng had opened the door a crack—not just to competing capitalist enterprises, but to competing political parties? Perhaps Vogel wouldn’t need to bring Deng back from the dead, because we probably wouldn’t be headed toward conflict with China. And Deng Xiaoping could sleep the sleep of heroes. **NR**

Lawyers Without Borders

JEREMY RABKIN



Sovereignty or Submission: Will Americans Rule Themselves or Be Ruled by Others?
by John Fonte (Encounter,
369 pp., \$25.95)

IN the early 1950s, serious conservatives warned of an impending world government. In proposed U.N. human-rights treaties, they saw a device for supplanting the American Constitution and gradually imposing socialism throughout the world. But the U.N. turned out to be paralyzed by real-world divisions. Under Eisenhower and Kennedy, U.S. foreign policy paid little heed to the U.N. By the early 1960s, warnings about world government stirred little interest outside the fevered precincts of the John Birch Society.

But the end of the Cold War kindled hopes that international law could safeguard human rights, forestall environmental threats, and ensure peace and good will. In Europe, the modest Common Market of the 1950s was remodeled into the European Union. It was launched in 1992 with an ambitious regulatory agenda and plans to extend its reach to the borders of Russia, uniting some two dozen historic nations with a common currency and a common foreign policy. And somehow it was all to be done without armies or police, by the mere legal force of international agreements. The International Criminal Court

Mr. Rabkin is a professor of law at George Mason University.

(ICC), launched by a U.N. conference in 1998, embodied the global ambition of this new vision—and, in the United States, provoked a new round of conservative alarms about threats to sovereignty.

John Fonte's new book is an alert and encompassing survey of the ensuing debate. Fonte, a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute, has been monitoring this debate for some time (as readers of these pages will recall). His book does not set out to expose dark conspiracies or secret aims. For the most part he simply reports what advocates of global government actually say—in law journals, in opinion columns, and in international forums.

These advocates, including former Yale Law dean Harold Koh (now legal adviser for the State Department), have been quite open about their aims, though not always explicit about their more uncomfortable implications. They embrace global norms, covering human rights and many other concerns, to which national constitutions must be subordinated—through a process Koh has described as “domesticating international law into U.S. law” by “constru[ing] our Constitution in light of foreign and international law.”

Fonte readily concedes that proponents of this vision do not see themselves as hostile to democracy or anti-American. But their globalist vision aims to transcend past political divisions in the world and within each nation. Their vision—what Fonte calls “transnational progressivism”—is, as he says, “post-sovereigntist” and therefore “post-national.” Necessarily, therefore, such views are also “post-American” and “post-democratic.” Underneath soothing assurances and artful ambiguities, the point is to deny the right of the American people to embrace standards different from those endorsed by the global consensus, as it is seen by enthusiasts of global governance.

Perhaps the most disturbing implication of this new outlook, as Fonte shows, is that independent states can't go very far in defending themselves. His book includes an excellent chapter on changing understandings of the law of armed conflict. A Geneva conference in the mid-1970s sought to ensure legal protections for guerrilla fighters, while simultaneously constraining Western air

power and insisting (for the first time) that violations by one side do not absolve its opponents from observing previously agreed restraints. Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions (the treaty setting out these rules) was eventually embraced by all NATO nations except the United States and Turkey. Its provisions were then folded in to the treaty for the ICC.

As Fonte reports, a Pentagon war game in the 1980s convinced top American commanders that if a state adhered to these restraints against an enemy that did not, the enemy would prevail in an actual conflict. Even amidst the optimism of the 1990s, then, the Clinton administration refrained from embracing AP I, let alone the ICC.

Of course, the Bush administration was still denounced throughout Europe and by many homegrown critics for “defying the Geneva conventions”—though its policies were quite consistent with the 1949 Geneva conventions actually ratified by the U.S. Senate. In the 1980s, Fonte points out, both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* had voiced editorial support for the decision of the Reagan administration to reject the newer standards as providing legal succor for terrorist groups. But somehow, in the succeeding decades, the new standards came to be seen as “global norms,” already binding on the U.S. without the formality of Senate ratification.

The Obama administration has somehow managed to escape international opprobrium while ignoring U.N. criticism of its drone strikes in Pakistan. Israel has not been so fortunate. Fonte includes a whole chapter on the international campaign against Israel, titled “Will Israel Be Allowed to Defend Itself?” If states are bound by international standards—even those they haven't consented to, even those defied by their enemies—then Israeli defense measures will constantly appear to be violating “international law.” The Goldstone Report of the U.N. Human Rights Council, denouncing Israel's tactics in the 2009 Gaza conflict, could have been written without any serious investigation of facts on the ground. As in fact it was.

If we live in a world where the mere say-so of U.N. majorities counts as “law,” then Israel can't be defended,

since much of the world finds Israel's continued existence a threat to peace. Elsewhere in his book, Fonte also notes the echoes of a deeper animus. In 2008, Strobe Talbott—friend of Bill Clinton, senior State Department counselor in the 1990s, subsequent president of the Brookings Institution—published a remarkably candid vision of the world's progress in what he called “The Quest for a Global Nation.”

Talbott frets there about the ethno-religious exclusivism in the Hebrew Bible. He defends “Babylonian kings and Egyptian pharaohs” as “in important respects, just and tolerant rulers and pioneers of the novel idea that peace was preferable to war in relations among god-kings.” The lessons of the Tower of Babel do not impress the scholars of Brookings; nor does the admonition against rendering unto Caesar (or lesser god-kings) what is owed to God.

While Fonte alludes to such timeless debates—going back to the Biblical prophets and the defenders of independent Greek cities—he keeps his focus on contemporary policy disputes. The same vision that casts doubt on the moral claims of self-defense ultimately challenges the claim of nations to define themselves against outsiders. In the name of equality and inclusiveness, critics denounce any serious effort to enforce restrictions on immigration or to teach a common national history in schools. Majorities of Americans (as indeed of people in every European country) want local laws to protect at least some aspects of national culture and distinctiveness. But advocates of global governance are not much impressed by national majorities.

It is not at all clear where this multifaceted debate is headed. Fonte may give too much credit to professors, intellectuals, and visionary political advocates. His concluding chapter, echoing the “submission” in his title, suggests that the future may bring some global version of the EU. That seems unlikely. Even within Europe, the EU now seems to be staggering under its own outsized ambitions, as German taxpayers refuse to foot the bill for free-spending smaller states. And wrestling China and India and the Muslim world into a global regulatory scheme would be quite a bit more ambitious than beating down Ireland and Greece.

So eroding traditional notions of sovereignty is not likely to bring us a global tyranny. The more likely result is a world of mounting chaos. But that's threat enough. You may, in a similar way, worry about Islamist terror networks without believing that the jihadis have much prospect of establishing a global caliphate.

I have a similar reservation about Fonte's main argument, that global governance is a threat to democracy. It's certainly true that ambitious schemes of global governance threaten the principle of government by consent. (To that extent, it's quite appropriate that Fonte ends his book celebrating the moral claims of what he calls "Philadelphian sovereignty" or "democratic sovereignty.") But the constitutional system bequeathed to us by the Philadelphia Convention—with federalism and separation of powers, fixed terms and staggered elections for the Senate—is not simply democracy. If you celebrate "democracy" alone, you might feel bound to concede that whenever the current majority agrees to cede essential powers to some supranational entity, it is entitled to do so.

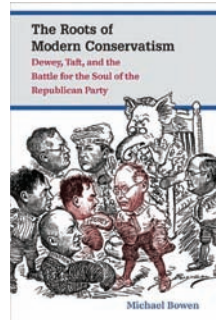
The founders did not celebrate "democracy" as such, but they did emphasize the importance of "sovereignty," in no uncertain terms. They hoped the Constitution would restrain reckless abdications of it, and they understood that, in some circumstances, defending your own is not just a right but (as the Declaration of Independence asserts) a "duty."

Sovereignty is a complex notion, hard to explain or defend in a few words. But it serves a concern that is not hard to grasp. Fonte ends his book with the last public pronouncement of John Adams. As a co-author of the Declaration of Independence, the aged and ailing Adams was asked, in late June of 1826, to provide a toast for the impending celebration of the Declaration's 50th anniversary. He offered, "Independence forever." Asked whether he wanted to add anything, Adams replied, "Not a word."

Those who hope to preserve that spirit should fortify themselves with John Fonte's book. It is a comprehensive survey of the intellectual trends and policy nostrums now undermining commitment to national independence. **NR**

The Way the GOP Was

VINCENT J. CANNATO



The Roots of Modern Conservatism: Dewey, Taft, and the Battle for the Soul of the Republican Party,
by Michael Bowen (North Carolina,
288 pp., \$45)

THOSE following the current Republican presidential primary campaign would find GOP presidential politics of the 1940s and 1950s odd, to say the least. As Michael Bowen shows in this new book, the GOP of that era was divided into two factions, one led by New York governor Thomas E. Dewey and the other by Ohio senator Robert A. Taft. Party insiders fought their battles behind the scenes. Both factions could lay claim to being part of the Republican establishment. Ideology was often a secondary concern. Neither NATIONAL REVIEW, talk radio, nor the conservative blogosphere was on the scene.

It was a far cry from today's GOP race, which features a broad range of candidates, including a House backbencher, former and present governors, a libertarian with a cult-like following, and a businessman who has never held political office. The Tea Party tries to hold candidates to conservative principles, as its supporters on talk radio condemn Republicans they deem insufficiently conservative as RINOs—"Republicans in Name Only."

If members of the Tea Party had been around politics in the late 1940s and early 1950s, they would have found it a lonely place. Definitions of "liberal"

Mr. Cannato teaches history at the University of Massachusetts, Boston.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION (required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1. Publication Title: NATIONAL REVIEW
2. Publication Number: 374-120
3. Filing Date: September 22, 2011
4. Issue Frequency: Bi-weekly
5. Number of Issues Published Annually: 24
6. Annual Subscription Price: \$59.00
7. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication: 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188
 - 7A. Contact Person: Jason Ng
 - 7B. Telephone: (212) 849-2829
8. Complete Mailing Address of the Headquarters or General Business Office of Publisher: 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188

9. Full Names and Complete Mailing Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor: Publisher: Jack Fowler, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188; Editor: Richard Lowry, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188; Managing Editor: Jason Lee Steerts, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188

10. Owner: National Review, Inc., 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188; Constitutional Enterprises Corporation., 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188

11. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities: None

13. Publication Title: NATIONAL REVIEW

14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below: October 3, 2011

15. Extent and Nature of Circulation:

	Average no. copies of each issue during preceding 12 months	Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date
A. Total Number of Copies	191,758	184,500
B. Paid and/or Requested Circulation		
1. Paid/Requested Outside-County Mail Subscriptions Stated on Form 3541	173,086	169,616
2. Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, Counter Sales, and Other Non-USPS Paid Distribution	3,557	2,531
C. Total Paid and/or Requested Circulation	176,643	172,147
D. Free Distribution by Mail		
1. Outside-County as Stated on Form 3541	1,145	1,002
4. Free Distribution Outside the Mail	4,189	4,226
E. Total Free Distribution	5,334	5,228
F. Total Distribution	181,977	177,375
G. Copies not Distributed	9,781	7,125
I. Total	191,758	184,500
J. Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation	97%	97%

16. Publication of Statement of Ownership: Will be printed in the October 17, 2011, issue of this publication.

17. Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner

JASON NG
Circulation Manager

9/22/11

and “conservative” were less clear-cut, while party elites ran the show from start to finish. The tea partiers would have found that it was all RINOs all the way down back then.

But that would be looking backwards at history through the lens of present conditions. Bowen seeks to avoid that and, like many academic historians, hopes to upend conventional wisdom. In this case, he takes issue with the idea that the birth of modern political conservatism came during the 1960s with the rise of Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan. Instead, he views the battles between Dewey and Taft as foreshadowing the future liberal/conservative debate that would dominate not just Republican politics, but national politics as well.

Bowen marshals his case with an impressive amount of research into the minutiae of intramural party politics. This is political history—straight, no chaser. He dives into arcane organizational battles as party elites competed over patronage and the presidential-nominating process. In this, Bowen understands what so many historians don’t—that politics is often about power and organization, with ideas coming a distant third.

One can certainly see the faint traces of modern GOP politics in the fights between Dewey and Taft. Phyllis Schlafly dubbed Dewey and his supporters “the Kingmakers.” They were the eastern, liberal Republican establishment. While they sometimes spoke of their opposition to parts of the New Deal, they were more interested in winning elections and thought the pathway to success meant sounding more like Democrats, especially in winning over

the labor vote. They may have occasionally criticized the New Deal, but at the end of the day they made their peace with the vast changes FDR had wrought in the relationship between citizens and the federal government.

The Taftites were more vocally opposed to the New Deal and what they saw as the country’s descent into socialism. But the Taftites were elites as well, just of a different kind: pro-business types from the Midwest. (Taft himself had impressive elite credentials: He had been *Skull and Bones* at Yale.) Yet in the way they framed their positions in intra-party squabbles, Taft’s Old Guard played the “conservatives” to Dewey’s Eastern Establishment “liberals.”

In some ways, Taft showed that he was willing to go further than Dewey. He co-authored one of the most important pieces of post-war legislation: the Taft-Hartley Act, which curbed some of the gains that organized labor had achieved during the New Deal and allowed states to adopt “right to work” laws. Yet, though Taft was willing to challenge organized labor, he was hardly a small-government conservative. He supported federal aid to education and was a leading backer of the 1949 Housing Act, which funded urban renewal and public-housing projects across the nation.

The son of Pres. William Howard Taft, Robert A. Taft was one of the most influential Republicans of the 20th century, widely hailed as the embodiment of Republicanism throughout his career. Yet his legacy remains hidden under the shadows of Goldwater and Reagan. Part of the reason for his relative obscurity is his early and untimely death from cancer in 1953. He was only 63 and there is

no way to tell how he would have guided the party through the 1950s and into the 1960s.

Taft’s death not only ended his own career, but badly damaged the position of his supporters within the GOP. Dewey’s Eastern Establishment, Bowen notes, were just much better at backroom politics than the midwesterners.

Then there was Taft’s longstanding isolationism, which made him skeptical of NATO and the Korean War. These foreign-policy positions put him at odds with much of modern conservative foreign-policy thinking. Finally, there is the fact that the Taft descendants who remained involved in politics, including his son who followed him in the Senate and his grandson who was governor of Ohio, have been more closely identified with the moderate wing of the GOP.

Others who carried on in the Taft tradition were staid, midwestern moderate conservatives such as Gerald Ford and former House minority leader Bob Michel: not flaming liberals, but men unlikely to challenge liberal orthodoxy too strenuously. Of course, Taft fares better than Dewey, who is now remembered mostly for losing the 1948 presidential election to Harry Truman, a race that he had all but wrapped up.

Bowen wants to show that the modern conservative/liberal divide can be traced back to the Dewey–Taft fight, but he can’t seem to decide whether those battles were simply factionalism for factionalism’s sake, or a real ideological dispute. Ultimately, he hedges and admits that although “neither the Taftites nor the Deweyites governed ideologically, voters increasingly expected them to.”

Of course, ideological factionalism was nothing new to the GOP, as Taft’s father surely understood. In the first two decades of the 20th century, “Old Guard” Republicans continually battled “Progressive” Republicans over the direction of the party. It was a fight over both party control and public policy.

In the end, the power struggle between Dewey and Taft for control of the Republican party may not have shaped the modern conservative GOP quite as much as Bowen claims. Yet similarities to future party conflicts are certainly present. Taft’s Old Guard were often portrayed as reactionary retrogrades, while Dewey’s “modern Republicans”

ADVERTISEMENT

Time is not worn,
O lady with the Rolex on your wrist.
It wears us from the time we’re born
And when we’re gone its tickings still exist.

Your show of wealth
But shows how costly manacled you are
To what corrosive in its stealth
Eats flesh and star.

—RICHARD O’CONNELL

were characterized as reasonable, respectable, and, above all, electable. One saw the same script play out in the 2008 Republican Senate primary races in Delaware, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Kentucky, and Florida.

Modern Republican politics has indeed often boiled down to a battle for control between party elites and advocates of a kind of middle-class populism. Elites are accused of trimming their ideological sails out of self-interest, while populists are accused of an extremism that will lead to electoral defeat. You can see this in Goldwater vs. Rockefeller; Reagan vs. Ford (in 1976) and Bush (in 1980); and today's Tea Party against the Washington GOP establishment.

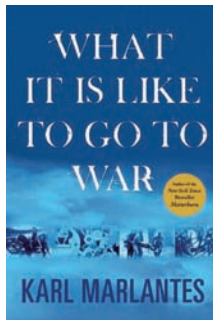
One important historical lesson hidden within Bowen's book is the sometimes-yawning chasm between conservative rhetoric and the actual record of Republican governance. As Bowen writes, it was "one thing to argue for limiting the federal government but quite another to actually do it." Neither Taft (with the prominent exception of Taft-Hartley) nor Dewey was prepared to challenge New Deal liberalism in any meaningful way. (In their partial defense, such a challenge was simply not politically viable at that time.)

At some point, actions have to align with political rhetoric. In retrospect, most of the GOP position papers and political platforms of the 1940s and 1950s were relatively meaningless. The Dewey-Taft fights may have conditioned voters to think in terms of "conservative" and "liberal," but they provided very little substance to those terms.

Today, the Republican party faces a similar problem. For years, conservatives have called for smaller, limited government, yet with few exceptions, federal spending and government regulations have continued to grow. The current economic crisis and the rise of the Tea Party have called attention to the need for fiscal discipline, entitlement reform, and regulatory reform. If today's Republicans can't find a way to tackle these problems in a manner consistent with their ideological beliefs, while maintaining an air of prudence that appeals to a broad base of the electorate, they may end up like Taft and Dewey: relics of a bygone age. **NR**

A Sacred Space

MACKUBIN THOMAS OWENS



What It Is Like to Go to War,
by Karl Marlantes (Atlantic Monthly,
272 pp., \$25)

ABOUT three years ago, Karl Marlantes asked me whether I would review the manuscript of his novel, *Matterhorn*, about Vietnam, and write a dust-jacket blurb for it if I liked it. I agreed and was soon immersed in one of the finest war novels I have ever read. Here's some of what I wrote for the publisher: "I had the honor of serving in the same battalion as Karl Marlantes in Vietnam. There he proved himself to be one hell of a Marine. With *Matterhorn*, he proves himself to be one hell of a novelist. . . . No other novel about Vietnam—including Jim Webb's *Fields of Fire*—does a better job of capturing the essence of what it meant to be a 'grunt' in Vietnam than *Matterhorn*."

I must confess that although I was overwhelmed by the power of the novel, I really didn't think that there would be much of a market for a work about one unpopular war just as another was winding down. It's a good thing I wasn't Marlantes's literary agent, because I was dead wrong: *Matterhorn* became and remains a best seller.

He has now turned his attention to a nonfiction reflection on combat titled

Mr. Owens is a professor of national-security affairs at the Naval War College in Newport, R.I.; editor of Orbis, the quarterly journal of the Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI); and author of US Civil-Military Relations After 9/11: Renegotiating the Civil-Military Bargain.

What It Is Like to Go to War. Like *Matterhorn*, it is a powerful work that takes an honest, introspective, and very personal look at the ordeal of combat and its aftermath. Marlantes interweaves accounts of his experiences in battle with thoughtful analysis and self-examination that is almost too honest for the reader to bear: "What got me into the temple of Mars was a contradictory mixture of patriotism, genetic imperative, the draft, a yearning for transcendence and escape from the humdrum, a need to prove my manhood, and just plain self-testing and curiosity. Inside the temple I experienced a surprising love for those who entered with me. There I prayed for deliverance from horror, carnage, and death."

Marlantes is a remarkable fellow and something of an anomaly among Vietnam veterans. He is a graduate of Yale who went to war when most of his Ivy League colleagues did whatever they could to avoid it. Indeed, he gave up a Rhodes scholarship to return home to fight (it was later reinstated). But he was nonetheless a reluctant warrior: While at Oxford, he came to believe that the Vietnam War was a mistake on many levels and seriously contemplated deserting—he had already accepted a Marine Corps commission that was delayed so he could go to Oxford on his scholarship—by going to Canada.

But loyalty led him to return home. He was awarded the Navy Cross for valor during a particularly nasty battle, and two Purple Hearts, one for a wound that almost cost him an eye. Marlantes became a successful businessman after the war, but admits to bouts of drug use in his attempt to deal with the demons that accompanied him home from war.

He draws heavily on many disparate sources to convey the meaning of combat: invoking Jungian psychology, especially Jung's concept of the Shadow—the "other," our internal enemy—that is deeply buried in our psyche, and also the epic poetry that has shaped our understanding of war since the earliest times (the *Iliad*; the *Mahabharata* of India, especially the dialogue between Arjuna and Krishna, known as the *Bhagavad Gita*; Bushido, the warrior code of Japan; and the story of Cuchulainn from the Irish epic *Táin Bó Cúailnge*).

The book is structured around several topics, each the subject of a separate chapter: Killing; Guilt; Numbness and

Violence; The Enemy Within; Lying; Loyalty; Heroism; and Home. He ends with a discussion of how it might be possible for citizens of a modern liberal society to better relate to “the underlying organizing power that creates and sustains those physical and terrible aspects of war that seem beyond the comprehension of our small psyches.”

Those who have lived through war write about their experiences for several reasons. The first is that writing serves as catharsis for the writer. A second is to convey to those citizens who have not been subjected to the crucible of war—in these times, the vast majority of the American population—the sacrifices that soldiers make in order to ensure the liberty and prosperity of their fellow citizens.

Marlantes suggests a couple more reasons: to help other veterans “with their own quest for meaning and their efforts to integrate their combat experiences into their current lives,” and to convey to those about to join the military what war

terms with guilt over killing and maiming other people.”

Marlantes candidly discusses a topic of particular interest to me, one I have often written about for both NATIONAL REVIEW and NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE: atrocities. In a series of articles during the 2004 election, I took umbrage at the central claim of John Kerry’s 1971 testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to the effect that atrocities were an everyday occurrence in Vietnam and that they were sanctioned by the chain of command. I contended that the U.S. conducted the Vietnam War with remarkable restraint: Between 1965 and 1973, 201 soldiers and 77 Marines were convicted of serious crimes against the Vietnamese. My Lai is, of course, the exception that seems to prove the rule. I acknowledged that there were likely to be episodes that were not reported, but, given the number of U.S. troops who served in Vietnam and the nature of the war, atrocities were remarkably rare.

Marlantes makes clear that modern liberal society doesn’t recognize the psychological split that killing, and war generally, engenders in those who fight.

is really like. As he remarks, “the violence of combat assaults psyches, confuses ethics, and tests souls.”

In the HBO series *The Pacific*, the father of future Marine Eugene Sledge is a genteel southern physician who served in World War I. He tells his son that “the worst thing about treating those combat boys from the Great War was not that their flesh had been torn, but that their souls had been torn out.” One who has seen a comrade die, or who has looked into the eyes of an enemy he is about to kill lest his enemy kill him, is forever transformed.

Killing is what soldiers do for society. But Marlantes makes clear that modern liberal society doesn’t recognize the psychological split that killing, and war generally, engenders in those who fight: a split under whose spiritual weight the soldier will “stumble” for the rest of his life. Marlantes writes: “War is the antithesis of the most fundamental rule of moral conduct. . . . To survive psychically in the proximity of Mars, one has to come to terms with stepping outside conventional moral conduct. This requires coming to

Marlantes argues that there are three basic categories of atrocity: “white heat,” where logic reigns supreme untempered by empathy; “red heat,” where rage dominates at the expense of reason and logic; and the atrocity of “fallen standards,” arising from failures of leadership. Marlantes describes his own experience with each type. I agree with him that “in combat we do dreadful things that are excused too easily,” but I believe his understanding of atrocity is too broad. Anyone who has been in combat understands the thin line between permissible acts and atrocities. The first and potentially most powerful emotion in combat is fear arising from the instinct of self-preservation. But in soldiers, fear is overcome by what the Greeks called *thumos*, spiritedness and righteous anger. In the *Iliad*, it is *thumos*, awakened by the death of his comrade Patroclus, that leads Achilles to put aside sulking in his tent and kill Hector, dragging his corpse behind his chariot before the wall of Troy.

It seems to me that wartime behavior arising out of both Marlantes’s “white

heat” and “red heat” circumstances is a manifestation of *thumos*. The problem is that *thumos*, if unchecked, can engender rage and frenzy. It is the role of leadership, which provides strategic context for killing and enforces discipline, to prevent this outcome. Such leadership was not in evidence at My Lai.

I would dissent from Marlantes in one other respect. His observations are applicable mainly to the soldiers of a modern liberal society, one that does not place war at the center of its being. While war may indeed be a “sacred space”—one that possesses a mystical quality for those who fight it—it is not a space shared by most citizens of the modern West. This is not true of many of our enemies, who, like those in ancient societies, embrace war and death with a fervor that goes far beyond what is accepted in the West today.

It is important to note that although Marlantes discusses his own experiences in Vietnam, this book is not about Viet-

nam per se, but about war in general. For far too long, Vietnam has been singled out as somehow unique in the history of warfare. In fact, Vietnam was no more brutal than what my father went through in the Pacific during World War II or what contemporary young Americans have endured in Iraq and Afghanistan. But that makes what Marlantes has to say all the more important. Unfortunately for the utopians among us, barbarism exists in the world. Civilization can repress barbarism and savagery but cannot eradicate it. Thus war is not an aberration.

Marlantes writes that as long as there are people who will kill for gain and power, the U.S. will need soldiers who will kill to stop them. But this requires honesty about war and its costs, especially in terms of the split that war creates in the soul of the soldier. In *Parzival*, Wolfram von Eschenbach captures the nature of that psychological split: “Shame and honor clash where the courage of a steadfast man is motley like the magpie. But such a man may yet make merry, for Heaven and Hell have equal part in him.”

NR

Take Care



RICHARD BROOKHISER

YOU can write about hospitals all the time, since they will take us all in the end.

Hospitals are institutions, with their own history and demography. The ground floors of the great teaching hospitals of the city have dark and disused shrines—niches hung with the portraits of their WASP overseers of old, in whiskers and stiff collars. At the fin of the last siècle, the portraits and chiseled names of the benefactors were all Jews. Passing donor, stop and see / What I am now, so you shall be. Jewish is also the ethnicity of most of the doctors who are not Chinese. The nurses and the kitchen and custodial staffs represent the islands; on a recent visit I met three women named Althea: not as popular a first name as Britney or Tiffany here, but big in Jamaica.

Like any institution, a hospital must struggle with problems of scale. You want to help as many as possible, but the more you help you may help them all less. Patients confined to hospital beds for long stretches are at risk for bedsores and clots, so a bed with an air mattress that reflatates under different body parts successively is a blessing to them. But since one size fits all, patients who are in for shorter stretches must endure a bed that moans and hisses and gives them a love tap every six seconds—like sleeping with a Nicholson Baker book: distracting at the best of times, vexing in the watches of the night. Speaking of night, hospitals have no night, strictly speaking. They space out the tasks that must be performed for each of their

hundreds of patients over the whole circadian cycle, so in the dark of pre-dawn the patient must be roused to have his blood pressure taken (higher than it would be, outside the hospital and the reach of its wake-up calls).

Perhaps the worst problem of scale is the quality of the food. Bad food afflicts all institutions, from college to the Marines. Why does it have to be so bad in hospitals? Even airlines sometimes served decent food, when they still served food. The patient is given a show of choice, but the fruit plate always becomes meat loaf on delivery. That's all right, they taste the same anyway. The hospital of my acquaintance has made an honorable compromise, by letting a chain of French bakeries have a 24/7 outpost just inside its front door. For meals more complicated than muffins or *les sandwiches*, patients turn to take-out. The Yemeni place—OK. The Persian place—not so OK. The retro Chinese place—too far for delivery, but it will deliver to our apartment, from whence the wontons can be carried on, as if by Pony Express.

The most perverse feature of the hospital-as-institution is the iatrogenic paradox. Hospitals are abodes of recovery and cure. Yet they are also bastions of filth. I do not mean to criticize the men and women who empty the garbage bags and clean the floors with their dry mops. They make their appointed rounds, and some of them are saints. But the accumulation of tissues, wrappers, plastic, crumbs, and dust always overtakes them. Every corner is an amen corner of grit. At least doctors now regularly wash their hands as they make their rounds. That took only 2,400 years since Hippocrates.

I mentioned saints. You know them when you meet them. They can appear in any guise, from surgeons to sweepers. They are the people who take interest and pleasure in you as they take care of

you, and who (you are certain) take everyone they meet in the same spirit. When you see them you think of sunlight and gold. There are also, let's face it, a few bastards—the curt, the sullen, as if being there weren't problem enough. Then there are the majority of those who do their jobs. Is there any way to arrange the ethos of a profession and the structure of an institution to pull the average toward sainthood and away from bastardy? It seems that there is. A good hospital is the living proof. Culture and rules can pull for the good-hearted, encourage goodness in the normal, and leave the gnomes and goblins wrong-footed. Wingers, especially in America, have a yen for the rugged individual, from Leatherstocking to Galt's Gulch. But you should have a very good reason to scorn a prop for goodness.

Hospitals are exercises in bifocal vision. There is the eye of the next of kin, and the eye of the patient. They see almost the same things, but from slightly different angles. The next of kin become master travelers. Since many of the hospitals in the city are on the East River, that means becoming an expert of the FDR Drive. The 23rd Street exit can take you to 23rd Street, but it can be better to make a hard right on 25th, which goes all the way to Second Avenue—*unless* you take the quick left on Asser Levy Place, past the old public swimming pool, to try and beat the light. Take your time—if you mess it up, you'll have 30 or 40 chances to re-do. The FDR Drive is always the same, except when it's different. Hurricane Irene—looks like Robert Moses didn't expect such big puddles. Obama visits the U.N.—suddenly the oily stream is filled with police boats, with rather dramatic machine guns in the bow. If the FDR Drive had been there for the Blizzard of 1888, you could have seen jokers riding across the ice on horseback.

The patient's view is much much much grimmer. A room with a window is beyond price. It is also a postcard designed by an idiot. Lovely Roosevelt Island, with its backdrop of power-plant smokestacks. Traffic on the 59th Street bridge—what a treat. Roofs of gravel.

But among the stones, even in autumn, there is grass. Tough little bug-gers. You too. **NR**



"The best part about being a hypocrite is that you can still denounce hypocrisy."

Lethal Leisure

IN 1853 or thereabouts, Czar Nicholas I described Turkey as the sick man of Europe. A century and a half later, Turkey is increasingly the strong man of the Middle East, and the sick man of Europe is Europe—or, rather, “Europe.” The transformation of a geographical patchwork of nation-states into a single political entity has been the dominant Big Idea of the post-war era, the Big Idea the Continent’s elites turned to after all the other Big Ideas—Fascism, Nazism, and eventually Communism—failed, spectacularly. The West’s last Big Idea is now dying in the eurozone debt crisis. Although less obviously malign than the big totalitarian -isms, this particular idea has proved so insinuating and debilitating that the only question is whether most of the West dies with it.

“Europe” has a basic identity crisis: As the Germans have begun to figure out, just because the Greeks live in the same general neighborhood is no reason to open a joint checking account. And yet a decade ago, when it counted, everyone who mattered on the Continent assumed a common currency for nations with nothing in common was so obviously brilliant an idea it was barely worth explaining to the masses. In the absence of ethnic or cultural compatibility, the European Union offered Big Government as a substitute: The project was propped up by two pillars—social welfare and defense welfare. The former regulated Europe into economic sloth even as India, China, and Brazil began figuring out how this capitalism thing worked. The latter meant that the U.S. defense umbrella ensured once-lavish budgets for hussars and lancers could be reallocated to government health care and other lollipops—and it still wasn’t enough. Whatever the individual merits of ever-more-leisurely education, 30-hour work weeks, six weeks’ vacation, retirement at 50, the cumulative impact is that not enough people do not enough work for not enough of their lives. And once large numbers of people acquire the habits of a leisured class, there are not many easy ways back to reality.

Defense welfare does the same at a geopolitical level. In absolving the Continent of responsibility for its own defense, the United States not only enabled Europe to beat its swords into Ponzi shares but, in a subtle and profound way, helped enervate the survival instincts of some of the oldest nation-states on the planet. I tend to agree with John Keegan, the great military historian and my old *Telegraph* colleague, that a nation without a military is in a sense no longer a nation. One of the few remaining serious second-tier powers is now joining their ranks: Under the “Conservative” premiership of David Cameron, a nation that within living memory governed a fifth of the

earth’s surface and a quarter of its population and provided what global order there was for much of the rest will have a military incapable of independent force projection. Were the Argies to seize the Falklands today, Her Majesty’s Government would have to content itself with going to the U.N. and getting a strong resolution. Were the toppling of Saddam to be attempted today, Britain would be incapable of reprising the role it played eight years ago—of holding down the lower third of Iraq all but singlehanded while the Yanks pressed on to Baghdad. But beyond that, in a more general sense, nations that abandon their militaries tend also to abandon their national interests: Increasingly, instead of policies, they have attitudes. “Global warming”—“saving” the planet—is the perfect preoccupation for the ever-more-refined sensibilities of the post-national nation.

While Europe slept in and slept around, new powers emerged. China and India, on course to be the world’s top two economies within a couple of decades, both act as more or less conventional nation-states. So too do Iran, Saudi Arabia, Turkey—and many lesser players. We live on a planet in which the wealthiest societies in history, from Norway to New Zealand, are incapable of defending their own borders while basket cases like North Korea and Pakistan have gone nuclear, and Sudan and Somalia are anxious to follow. Whatever supple lies it may tell itself, a rich nation that cannot bother keeping up an army is retreating not only from imperialism and conquest but also from greatness. Continentals enjoy more paid leisure time than anybody else, yet they produce less and less great art, music, literature. A land of universal welfare invariably universalizes mediocrity.

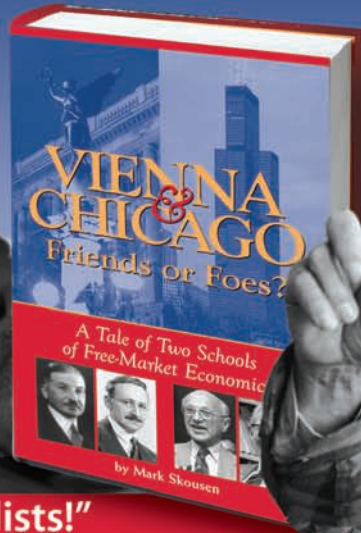
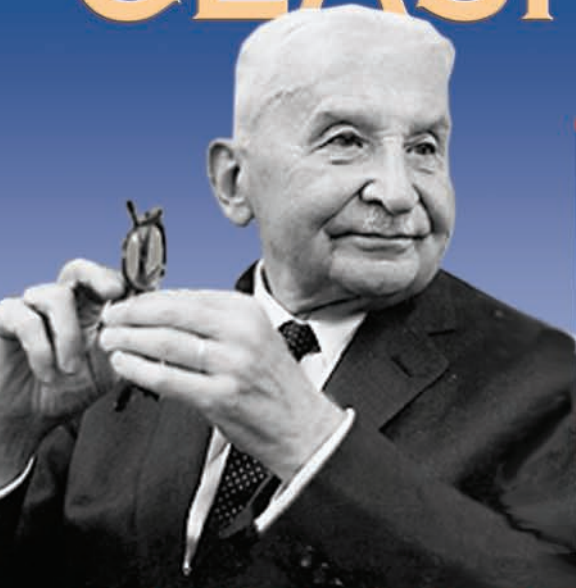
Whether Greece defaults or gets bailed out one mo’ time doesn’t really matter: It’s insolvent, and there isn’t enough money in Germany to obscure that fact indefinitely. The longer “political reality” tries to dodge real reality, the bloodier the eventual reacquaintance will be. Europeans are going to have to relearn impulses three generations of Continentals have learned to regard as hopelessly vulgar. Can they do that? A land of 30-year-old students and 50-year-old retirees has so thoroughly diverted the great stream of life that it barely comprehends what’s at stake. “Europe” as a geopolitical rather than geographical concept has been for half a century the most conventional of conventional wisdom. Those, like Britain’s Euroskeptics, who dissented from it were derided as “swivel-eyed” “loony tunes.” The loons were right, and the smart set—the political class, the universities, the BBC, *Le Monde*—were wrong. “Europe” was a blueprint for sclerosis and decline, and then a sudden, devastating fall. As the “loony tunes” could have told them, it ends with, “That’s all, folks.”

NR

A land of
universal
welfare
invariably
universalizes
mediocrity.

Mr. Steyn blogs at SteynOnline (www.steynonline.com).

CLASH OF THE TITANS



"You're all a bunch of socialists!"

-- Ludwig von Mises (Vienna)

"You're intolerant!"

-- Milton Friedman (Chicago)

Austrian and Chicago economists have battled Keynesians, Marxists and socialists alike, but they often fight each other as well. What are the differences between the Austrian and Chicago schools, and why do free-market economists disagree so much?

After years of research and interviews in both camps, Professor Mark Skousen has uncovered the strengths and weaknesses of each, and determines who's right and who's wrong at the end of each chapter by declaring either "Advantage, Vienna" or "Advantage, Chicago." He ends with a chapter on how they could reconcile on major issues.

From the Chicago school: "This tale is thorough, thoughtful, even-handed, and highly readable. All economists, of whatever school, will find it both instructive and entertaining."

--Milton Friedman

From the Austrian school: "In his upbeat tale of two schools, Skousen gives us a delightful blend of theory, history, and political science, and shows that there is much common ground and scope for development."

--Roger W. Garrison

"I don't know whether I should love you or hate you. Your book was so good I spent half a day plus avoiding what I was supposed to do in order to read your book. The book is great!"

--Art Laffer

HIGHLIGHTS

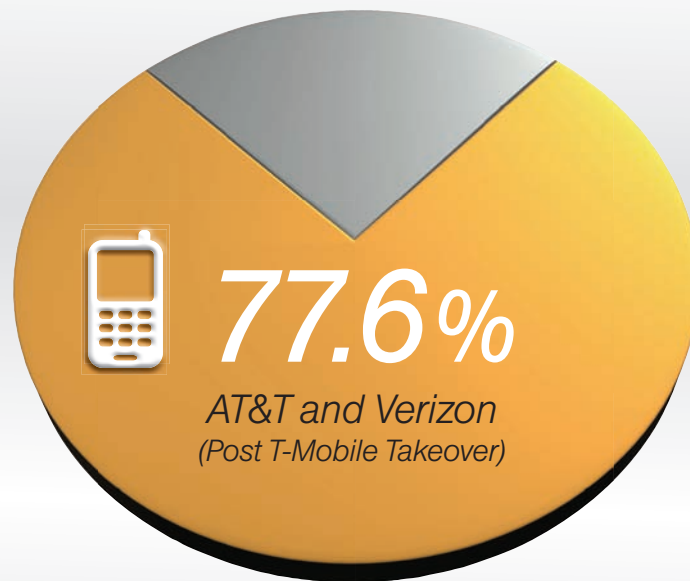
- Whose methodology is more controversial—Mises or Friedman?
- A debate that the Austrians have clearly won.
- Why Chicago economists have won more Nobel Prizes than the Austrians.
- Why did Israel Kirzner call George Stigler's essay on politics "bizarre, disturbing, unfortunate, and an affront to common sense"?
- Emotional fights at the Mont Pelerin Society, Foundation for Economic Education, and other freedom organizations.
- Why Friedman and Mises admire Adam Smith, and Murray Rothbard despises him.
- Why some Austrians call Friedman a "Keynesian" and "a statist" while Friedman calls Mises and Ayn Rand "intolerant" and "extremist"
- Major differences between Mises & Hayek; between Stigler & Friedman.
- Amazing similarities between Austrians and Marxists, and between Chicagoans and Keynesians.
- Why Mises refused to use graphs and charts in his books.
- How Friedman shocked the audience when asked "Who is the better economist, Keynes or Mises?"
- Why Austrians are usually pessimists and Chicagoans optimists.
- Powerful contributions by the "new" generation of Austrian and Chicago economists.....

TWO BONUSES! Order Today and Receive a **FREE COPY** of Mark Skousen's controversial essays, "My Friendly Fights with Milton Friedman" and "Austrian vs. Chicago Economics: Response to the Financial Crisis of 2008 and Beyond."

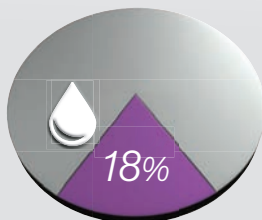
To Order this Book Call: 1-800-211-7661

Vienna and Chicago, *Friends or Foes?* is a 320-page quality paperback available at a special discount price from Capital Press/Regnery. The book normally sells for \$24.95, but you pay **only \$19.95, plus \$5 postage & handling.** Mention code "Vienna" for the book. FOR CREDIT CARD ORDERS, PLEASE CALL EAGLE PUBLISHING AT 1-800-211-7661. One Massachusetts Ave. NW Washington, DC 20001

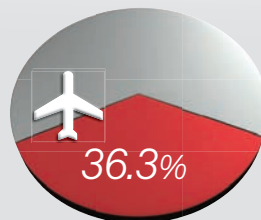
Two companies controlling this much wireless industry revenue creates a one-sided conversation.



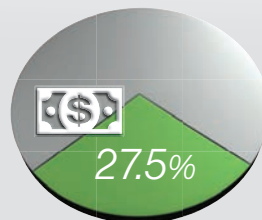
Wireless



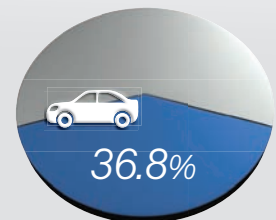
Oil



Airline



Banking



Auto

AT&T's proposed takeover of T-Mobile would result in two companies controlling more than 77% of wireless industry revenues. In other major industries, the two top firms control much less.

Two wireless industry giants would marginalize the ability of other providers to keep prices competitive for consumers and influence the pace of wireless industry innovation.

This is a bad idea for consumers, competition and our country.

Wireless industry source: Individual company annual financial reports for 2010.

Oil source: www.alacra.com/acm/2042_sample.pdf, page 22. Note: data includes oil refining and gas.

Airline source: DOT, form 41, Schedule P-1.2.

Banking source: DATAMONITOR'S "Banks in the United States" and www2.fdic.gov/sdi/main.asp.

Auto source: SEC 10-K filings, (includes cars and trucks and may include other revenue streams). Foreign currencies converted to dollars using prevailing exchange rates.

