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JOHN J. MILLER: THE TRUTH ABOUT HAYMARKET

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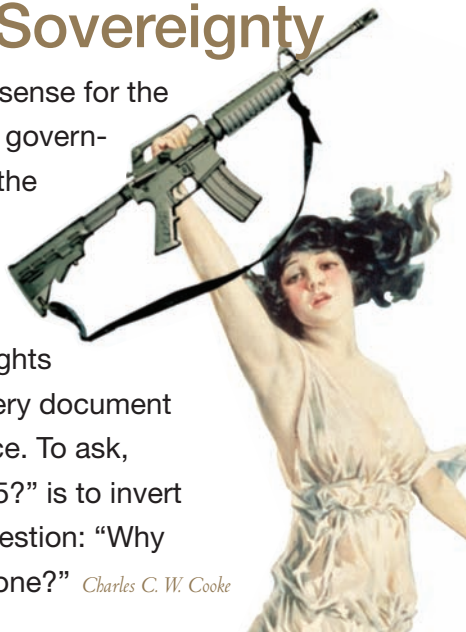


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The Right to Bear Arms and Popular Sovereignty

It makes little philosophical sense for the elected representatives of a government that is subordinate to the people to be able to disarm those people. An enlightened state may not remove from the people the basic rights that are recognized in the very document to which it owes its existence. To ask, "Why do you need an AR-15?" is to invert the relationship. A better question: "Why don't you want me to have one?" *Charles C. W. Cooke*



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Bailout Facts

Mark Calabria's "An End to Bailouts" (January 28) contains some interesting points, but it also contains a number of errors that substantially weaken the reliability of Mr. Calabria's advice:

1.) Mr. Calabria decries the use of various government programs for bailouts, in particular the Treasury Department's Exchange Stabilization Fund, which, as he says, "was used to back the mutual-fund industry. During the Clinton administration, when Timothy Geithner directed the fund, the Treasury used it to protect Wall Street investments in Mexico." He argues that "the fund should be eliminated or, at the very least, its use should be restricted."

Mr. Calabria should take solace in the fact that this has already been done. The Emergency Economic Stabilization Act (the law that enacted TARP) expressly prohibits the government from using this fund to bail out money-market funds. And Dodd-Frank sets forth specific mechanisms that in the future must be used for the funding of orderly liquidations and expressly prohibits using other means to fund such liquidations.

2.) In criticizing the scope of the Fed's lending powers, Mr. Calabria states that "the Fed essentially has complete discretion in setting the terms of its 13.3 assistance [i.e., its unconventional loans in "unusual and exigent circumstances"], allowing it to save some parties while letting others fail."

This is no longer true. Dodd-Frank limits the Fed's ability to perform the types of emergency actions it performed in 2008 and afterward. The Fed is still allowed to set up lending facilities in certain situations, but it must clear numerous procedural hurdles before doing so. Moreover, the Fed is now permitted to offer such lending facilities only to entire classes of institutions; it is expressly forbidden to use its extraordinary-lending authority to lend to an individual entity outside of the orderly-liquidation process. It thus is simply untrue that the Fed has "complete discretion" to "save some parties while letting others fail."

3.) In arguing against expanded deposit insurance, Mr. Calabria states: "The run on mutual funds in 2008, to the extent there was one, was caused by an unlimited extension of deposit insurance under the Transaction Account Guarantee Program. As TAG offered businesses and high-wealth households a federal guarantee, they shifted their money out of mutual funds and into banks."

It is true that *money-market* mutual funds—which hold only 20 to 25 percent of all mutual-fund assets (and are the only type of mutual funds for which insured bank accounts are a viable alternative)—suffered outflows of over \$1 trillion in 2009–10, and that TAG was likely a contributing factor. However, these outflows amounted to less than the inflows such funds had enjoyed in



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2007–08, which totaled over \$1.2 trillion. The inflows were likely due to the “flight to safety” stemming from the acute crisis of 2007–08, and thus were naturally unwound as the crisis abated. Accordingly, it is wrong to attribute those outflows primarily to TAG.

More important, those outflows can in no way be characterized as a “run” on such funds: The outflows bore no resemblance to the sudden mass of withdrawals that characterizes runs. The only run on funds occurred following the Reserve Primary Fund’s “breaking the buck” in September 2008, and that preceded the enactment of TAG. The government’s guarantee program for money-market funds, announced a few days later, did in fact end that run, as documented in the President’s Working Group Report on Money Market Fund Reform, published in October 2010.

4.) Mr. Calabria argues: “Another justification for government intervention in the financial sector was the ‘breaking of the buck’ by money-market mutual fund Reserve Primary—that is, the dropping of its net asset value below the par value of \$1.00. The potential for widespread losses in other money-market funds raised the specter of bank-style runs among mutual funds. But Reserve Primary was heavily invested in Lehman debt; its losses were the result of a bad bet, not a run on mutual funds of a kind the government should offer protection against. Investors in Reserve Primary have recovered 99 cents for every dollar of investment—hardly a loss justifying a host of government interventions.”

The government did not guarantee money-market funds to stem the losses of investors in the Reserve Primary Fund; rather, it did so because the breaking of the buck set off a panic. The announcement of losses at the Reserve Primary Fund didn’t “raise the specter of bank-style runs” at other funds: It caused such runs to occur. About \$310 billion was withdrawn from prime money-market funds during the week of September 15, 2008, according to the President’s Working Group Report cited above. It is reason-

able to say that investors should not have withdrawn so much money at once simply because the Reserve Primary Fund had broken the buck, but the fact is that they did, and the government had no choice but to guarantee the funds. And as noted above, that guarantee worked to stop the run.

Mr. Calabria does his arguments no favors by distorting the circumstances surrounding prior government interventions in the financial system. A serious argument against such interventions needs to grapple honestly with these circumstances.

*Jeremy Senderowicz
Attorney, Dechert LLP
New York*

The views expressed above are not necessarily those of the firm or any of its clients.

MARK CALABRIA REPLIES:

Mr. Senderowicz claims to have identified “errors” in my piece. None of these are factual errors. They are differences of opinion and misunderstandings of the points I made.

In my discussion of the Treasury’s Exchange Stabilization Fund (ESF), I explained how the ESF was the vehicle for the government’s backing of the mutual-fund industry. Mr. Senderowicz points out that Congress has since banned the use of the ESF for backing mutual funds. I take no solace in this, however, because the ESF may still be used to back everyone else. My piece was not simply about ending bailouts of mutual funds; it was about ending all bailouts. Mr. Senderowicz confuses the example for the principle.

Mr. Senderowicz goes on to repeat the oft-heard claim that Dodd-Frank ends bailouts. But it is only once a financial institution is in receivership—that is, placed under the control of the government—that it has to be liquidated and that no taxpayer funds may be used for its benefit. Institutions that have not been placed in receivership may still receive assistance.

Further, one would think the recent experience with Fannie Mae would help Mr. Senderowicz and others under-

stand the limitations of receivership. Fannie Mae is a prime candidate for placement in receivership—imposing an orderly liquidation would protect taxpayers—but this has yet to happen. Also, under Dodd-Frank’s liquidation authority, creditors may still be rescued, so long as the financial-services industry is required to foot the bill. While an improvement over the taxpayer’s footing the bill, this is still a bailout.

Mr. Senderowicz claims that Dodd-Frank ended the Fed’s practice of picking winners and losers under its 13.3 powers; now, he says, the Fed must offer lending facilities to entire classes of institutions. In my seven years on Capitol Hill, I have read many a provision of law that was drafted to be “generally available” but in reality would affect only one entity. As a practicing lawyer, Mr. Senderowicz must recognize how easy it would be for the Fed to craft “generally available” assistance that in truth was targeted at only one firm—and regardless, generally available bailouts are still bailouts. Yes, they are less unfair, but the moral hazard created is the same, if not worse.

In discussing events surrounding the fund Primary Reserve, Mr. Senderowicz again misunderstands my point. I never claimed the rescue was only of Primary Reserve. The point was, as he says, to stop a perceived panic. Yet as data released by the Investors Company Institute demonstrate, investors were shifting funds within the industry in the immediate aftermath of Primary Reserve’s breaking the buck—this is hardly evidence of a run. One man’s run is another’s market discipline; to say that my argument is based on an “error” is disingenuous at best.

In trying to split hairs, Mr. Senderowicz misses the overall point of the piece.

Correction

The color key to the graph accompanying Kevin A. Hassett’s article “The Progressive U.S. Tax Code” (January 28) contained an editing error: Green and blue were transposed.

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The Week

■ We wouldn't be surprised if they lip-synched the oath of office, too.

■ House Republican leaders have announced that they will raise the debt ceiling enough to let the federal government continue to borrow for a few more months, provided that Senate Democrats finally produce a budget (which they have not done since 2009). The extension will give the parties time to negotiate over legislation to fund the government for the next year, and over whether to replace the automatic spending cuts that are starting soon. The Republicans say that they will not grant a longer-term increase in the debt ceiling without budget reforms and cuts. We hope they are not bluffing but fear that they are. They may be hesitating because of the potential economic cost of a struggle over the debt ceiling. One way to reduce that cost would be to pass a bill that stipulates that even if the ceiling is hit, the federal government may continue to borrow to service its existing debts. (Rolling over debt can involve a small amount of additional borrowing.) The threat of default on older debts would be off the table permanently, which the Democrats can hardly lament. Hitting the debt ceiling would still be a painful experience for both parties, since the spending cuts that followed would be drastic, rapid, and indiscriminate, but more deliberate spending cuts, made in advance, would be a ready solution to that problem. House Republicans should pass this bill, and get back in the fight.

■ As the price of accepting the temporary debt-limit extension, conservatives in the House demanded that the House leaders commit to a plan to balance the budget in the next ten years. They say that they will, and the budget looks easier to balance now than it did a year or two ago—mainly because the Congressional Budget Office is projecting higher economic growth, and not so much because of recent budget deals. Which suggests that spending cuts, as important as they are, should not be allowed to swallow up the rest of the conservative economic agenda.

■ Amusement gave way to bemusement as we witnessed a strange idea gain currency, as it were, among a class of pundits and Twitterers who found the standoff over the debt ceiling too tedious to bear. In an odd alcove of federal law meant to enable the minting of commemorative specie for numismatists, they purported to discover the authority for the Treasury to strike a trillion-dollar-denominated platinum coin, which could be deposited directly into government accounts at the Federal Reserve, bypassing the need to issue new debt—not to mention the Republican House. Leave to one side the dubious legality of this device. And forget the possible inflationary consequences. What about the politics? The proponents of “minting the Coin” claimed it was part modest proposal, part legitimate escape hatch to avoid default, and part absurd response to equally absurd Republican obstinacy. Politics ain't Dada. Still, we agree it would have been quite the spectacle to see the president print



twelve zeroes on a souped-up nickel and use it to Win the Future. Alas, the Republican party is no luckier in 2013 than it was in 2012, and the executive dismissed the platinum plot, banishing it back to Twitter.

■ What is that whining sound, like a distant buzz saw? Could it be Colin Powell? Just the other day he said, of the GOP, that “there is a dark vein of intolerance in some parts of the party. . . . They still sort of look down on minorities.” He indicts Romney spokesman John Sununu for calling Obama’s first debate performance a sign of laziness, which Powell takes to be a racial slur. In fact, Powell’s career was cherished by the GOP—specifically, by Ronald Reagan and the two Bushes—like a Fabergé egg: national-security adviser, chairman of the joint chiefs, secretary of state. Republicans might well have made him the first black president, had he run. We mean no racial slight in saying that, in this controversy, it is Powell who is being lazy, and cheap.

■ Traveling in Italy, Defense Secretary Leon Panetta met the pope, who said to him, “Thank you for helping to protect the world.” There is a man, born in Germany between the wars, who knows something about history, geopolitics, and reality.

■ Senator Charles Schumer (D., N.Y.) had some worries about the prospect of his former colleague Chuck Hagel’s becoming secretary of defense, but after a 90-minute meeting in the West Wing, Schumer gave Hagel a thumbs-up. Schumer emphasized Hagel’s views about Iran. As a senator, Hagel favored negotiat-

ing with Iran and forswearing sanctions, but now, said Schumer, he “expressed the need to keep all options on the table . . . including the use of military force.” But the two biggest options on the table, not mentioned by Schumer, involve Beltway job security. Hagel wants the Pentagon job, and will say or unsay anything to get it, while Schumer wants to become top Senate Democrat whenever Harry Reid moves on (defying a Democratic president would be a stone in his path). In *The Second Jungle Book*, Kipling describes a conversation between a jackal and a crocodile (mugger). “Now the jackal had spoken just to be listened to, for he knew flattery was the best way of getting things to eat, and the mugger knew that the jackal had spoken for this end, and the jackal knew that the mugger knew, and the mugger knew that the jackal knew that the mugger knew, and so they were all very contented together.”

■ Attorney General Eric Holder joined the chorus of calls for gun control, saying that we must keep guns “out of the hands of those who are not and should not be allowed to possess them” and impose tough penalties on people who “help funnel weapons to dangerous criminals.” We take it this means he will be turning state’s evidence against those of his underlings involved in Fast and Furious.

■ In the wake of the Newtown shootings, New York’s state legislature rushed to passage an ill-conceived gun-control law at the behest of Governor Andrew Cuomo, who already is picturing himself as a presidential candidate. The signs of hastiness are

upon the legislation, and may be its undoing: The new law bans magazines that hold more than seven rounds, but there are few magazines that hold seven rounds or fewer, making the law in effect a ban on practically all handguns other than revolvers, and on many rifles with detachable magazines. This broad reach probably puts the law in violation of the constitutional limits established by the *Heller* decision. New York assemblyman Al Graf pointed out that the law does not include an exemption for police officers. The act puts new reporting burdens on mental-health practitioners, who in turn have protested that it will make troubled people less likely to seek professional help. The law also expands the definition of “assault weapon” and tightens other provisions. None of these, it should go without saying, would have made a whit of difference at Sandy Hook. Adam Lanza was carrying a semiautomatic rifle and several magazines, and most of his victims were little children; if he’d had a dozen seven-round magazines rather than a few 30-round magazines, nobody would have stopped him from reloading—which he in fact did, sometimes discarding his magazines before they were empty. New York’s new law is counterproductive and probably unconstitutional, and will make the world safer only for the lawyers who will be enriched through the coming litigation.

■ The actor Danny Glover has a quaint theory about the Second Amendment, which he learned from a 9/11 “truther” and radio host named Thom Hartmann and shared almost verbatim with students at Texas A&M. “I don’t know if people know the genesis of the right to bear arms,” Glover instructed the crowd while



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celebrating the legacy of Martin Luther King Jr. “The Second Amendment comes from the right to protect—for settlers to protect themselves from slave revolts, and from uprisings by Native Americans.” Not quite, Danny, no. That so many Americans have been denied their unalienable rights is certainly a stain on the country’s history. But slave revolts were not a serious concern when the Second Amendment was ratified, nor were they mentioned in the drafting process or in attendant debates. Instead, the focus was on protecting the preexisting rights of Englishmen in the new constitutional order. Time for a survey course.

■ The Obamacare-waiver factory is still open for business. Kathleen Sebelius, secretary of health and human services, is exempting states from the deadline for setting up exchanges and the deadline for expressing interest in setting up exchanges. State governments should continue to say no to the exchanges, which would be state-run in name only and which open the door to the law’s full scheme of subsidies and taxes. If the administration wants to delay implementing this law, however, Republicans should oblige. Those in the House should pass a bill delaying its implementation by a year or two, with the possibility of extensions.



■ The governor of Arizona, Jan Brewer, has been a trenchant critic of Obamacare, but nonetheless has signed off on an expansion of Medicaid associated with the new law, in order to collect some \$2 billion in federal payments. The structure of the Medicaid expansion is an exercise in simple deviousness: States that sign on collect new benefits, first at no out-of-pocket cost and then at a cost of ten cents on the dollar. Governors and state legislators can then boast that they have secured billions of dollars in benefits at little or no cost to the taxpayers of their states—the old free lunch. But of course Arizona taxpayers also are federal taxpayers, and so will be burdened with the enormous new debt that the deficit-driving expansion will create—some \$800 billion worth. That is fairly crude as fiscal sleight-of-hand goes, simply shifting the pain of taxation away from state authorities who are more easily held to account and onto distant powers in Washington. The Obama administration has no legal power to compel Governor Brewer to join it in this project, only the power to offer a payoff. Governor Brewer’s decision to take it is short-sighted, and will cost Arizona’s taxpayers a great deal more in the long run than \$2 billion.

■ John Mackey, co-CEO of the upmarket supermarket Whole Foods, found himself in more hot water than a batch of organic quinoa when he used the F-word to describe Obamacare. In an interview with NPR, Mackey was asked about a 2009 article in which he called the Affordable Care Act socialist. Mackey took the opportunity to revise and extend, saying that, in fact,

Obamacare is more fascist than socialist. “Socialism is where the government owns the means of production,” said Mackey. “In fascism, the government doesn’t own the means of production, but they do control it, and that’s what’s happening with our health-care programs and these reforms.” One might quibble with Mackey’s diction. “Corporatism” and “syndicalism,” for instance, both capture the way in which whole sectors have colluded with the state to control the health-care market, and neither conjures the Nazi associations that “fascism” does. Regardless, there is much to justify Mackey’s distinction, and it is unreasonable that he was so quickly compelled to apologize for making it—not least because many of those who took umbrage are of the sort who casually compare their political opponents to the *fascisti*, and with far less warrant.

■ A number of large U.S. mortgage lenders have agreed to make \$3.3 billion in direct payments to homeowners who lost their houses through improper foreclosure processes, and another \$5.2 billion of restitution in the form of loan modifications. That comes on top of the \$10 billion that Bank of America has agreed to pay to mitigate the misdeeds of Countrywide (which it acquired), and the \$25 billion the banks agreed to pay as part of a settlement with 49 states. Whether the banks are getting off too easy in dollar terms is open to argument, though the fact that these payments will be treated as a tax-deductible business expense has raised the ire of men as different as Chuck Grassley and Sherrod Brown, and it is indeed unseemly that the cost of violating the law should be treated as an ordinary business expense. There has been a great deal of misconduct in the mortgage-lending business, up to and including criminal fraud, on both sides of the transaction. Worse, the problems of improper or uncertain documentation in foreclosures remain unresolved. The Uniform Commercial Code contains rules that would simplify these matters, but those rules are not universally applied. While the billions that the banks have agreed to pay may satisfy the appetite for a pound of flesh, further investigation and further reform are called for, and these settlements should not be allowed to forestall them.

■ The presidential limousine has a new license plate that reads, “Taxation without Representation.” The change was made, President Obama’s spokesman told reporters, because the current arrangement is “patently unfair” to those who live in the nation’s capital. In keeping with his general commitment to fairness, the president is now set upon “the principle of full representation” and “voting rights” for the District of Columbia’s denizens. This all sounds rather nice, but the nation’s Founders would have disagreed as to its wisdom—as should all who understand America’s system of government. Washington, D.C., is a federal city, deliberately independent and explicitly set apart from the usual rules. In *Federalist* 43, James Madison explained that D.C.’s being discrete is an “indispensable necessity,” a means of ensuring that the capital’s host state does not exercise disproportionate influence over the government and undermine the basic principles of federalism. So we can see why Obama disagrees.

■ Mayor Michael Bloomberg announced in January that emergency rooms in New York City’s public hospitals would henceforth be prohibited from prescribing more than three days’ worth of certain painkillers to most patients and from dispensing other

long-acting painkillers, such as OxyContin, at all. He cited a spike in prescription-drug abuse and deaths caused by overdoses in the city as justification for the move. When critics of the new regulations protested that doctors might be in a better position than the mayor to judge what drugs their patients need, and that many poor people who rely on emergency rooms for primary care could have conditions requiring more than three days of pain relief, the mayor was unmoved. “So you didn’t get enough painkillers and you did have to suffer a little bit. . . . Come on, this is a very big problem,” he said on his weekly radio show. He has finally found his political master principle: unnecessary pain.

■ We don’t win wars anymore. We don’t even end them. We simply exit, with handshakes all around. This was President Obama’s endgame in Iraq, and he is inclined to repeat it in Afghanistan. His administration is talking of pulling out all our troops in 2014, or leaving fewer than 10,000—enough, perhaps, to undertake some counterterrorism operations, but not enough to give the Afghan army the support it still needs. When we left Iraq, it slid right into Iran’s orbit. In Afghanistan, our exit will create more breathing room for al-Qaeda and perhaps reignite a full-scale civil war. “A decade of war is now ending,” President Obama said in his second inaugural, a falsehood appropriately rendered without any hint of agency. He once portrayed Afghanistan as the good war; now it, too, is to become an afterthought.

■ Thrown up by the Arab Spring to be president of Egypt, Mohamed Morsi was an unknown quantity. Though a lifelong member of the extremist Muslim Brotherhood, he had spent many years in the United States, and two of his children are American nationals. Optimists hoped the latter facts would overcome the former. It turns out, though, that in a video from 2010 Morsi urged Egyptians to nurse their children and grandchildren on hatred for Jews and Zionists, and in a television interview he went on to describe them as “the descendants of apes and pigs.” Since the slur is a quotation from the Koran, a Muslim Brother takes it literally, not metaphorically. Confronted, Morsi used the tried and tested excuse that his words had been taken out of context. When he spoke of Jews in this derogatory way, he explained as though it were self-evident, he meant only Zionists.

■ The recent Israeli general election had one clear result, namely that Prime Minister Benjamin (“Bibi” to all) Netanyahu won but at the same time lost. In a Knesset of 120 seats, he and his party, Likud, held 42 before the election. Contrary to almost everyone’s expectation, Likud slipped to 31, though it is still the largest party. The Israeli model of proportional representation condemns Bibi to complicated backstairs bargaining in order to form a coalition with the magic figure of 61 members. The Labor party won 15 seats but refuses in advance to join a Likud government. International criticism and the likelihood of war have marginalized the entire Left in Israel. Two new party leaders, Yair Lapid and Naftali Bennett, have erupted with special dynamism on the scene. Both are rather unknown and untried political quantities, and it is astonishing that they would bring to a coalition 19 and 11 seats respectively. The former, a TV personality, campaigns to remove the privileges enjoyed by Orthodox Jews at the expense of the secular—for instance, rescinding the exemption from military service to which many of them are entitled. The latter took votes from Bibi by opposing a Palestinian state and

would instead incorporate into Israel as much of the West Bank as is deemed necessary for security. It’s a tall order to reconcile Likud with one party well to its left and another well to its right. Cautiously, some of the soothsayers are already suggesting that a government of national unity is a real possibility and the best that the country could hope for in the circumstances.

■ Mali is home to a free-for-all struggle for power between a would-be president, the army, the Tuareg (Saharan nomads who want a breakaway state), and, most important to Western interests, various Islamist groups that come together under the acronym AQIM, or al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. Taking over tracts of the country, Islamists introduced sharia law, complete with public floggings and executions. The French, former colonial rulers, have huge interests in nearby Mauritania, Niger, Chad, and Senegal. The famous Foreign Legion went in to sort out AQIM in a replay of *Beau Geste*. Whereupon an AQIM offshoot known as the Signed-in-Blood Battalion and about 40 strong attacked the huge natural-gas plant at In Amenas, a few miles on the Algerian side of the border with Libya. The leader of the AQIM Battalion, Mokhtar Belmokhtar, long wanted and under sentence of death for common crime as well as terrorism, praised the attack as “this blessed operation.” A high number of the 700 or so employees recruited from a dozen countries were held hostage. In the 1990s, the Algerian government fought a civil war with Islamists that cost as many as 200,000 lives, and at In Amenas it did not hesitate to deploy maximum force and ask questions later. By the time the shooting was over, the terrorists were all either dead or captured, but about 80 hostages had also been killed. The search is on for Belmokhtar, who left the fighting to his lieutenants. The French concede that they are at the start of a long war. They would welcome help from the United States and Britain, but will get only soft words.

■ To be an orphan in Russia under the rule of Vladimir Putin is about as bad a start in life as it was to be an orphan in Communist days. Too many orphans, not enough families willing to adopt—that’s a constant. There were never many Americans offering to adopt, but quite a number of them took disabled children. Recent Russian legislation, though not actually ruling out adoption of Russian children by Americans, uses the bureaucracy and courts to make it nearly impossible. The U.S. Agency for International Development was suddenly kicked out. Radio Liberty in Moscow is no longer allowed to broadcast. Many of these moves are a protest against the Magnitsky Act, passed by the U.S. to fight Russian corruption. The Russian government is making a show of its fearsome power, or at least deploying it against orphans.

■ Liu Yi, an artist in Beijing, could paint any number of subjects: flowers, landscapes, buildings. None of them would land him in trouble. But he has chosen to paint portraits of the 100 or so Tibetans who have immolated themselves in protest of China’s death grip on that nation. Liu says he can do no other: It is his



way of bearing witness to this injustice. Such courage—a reckless courage, given what the Chinese Communist Party does to dissenters—may be hard to understand, but it’s admirable all the same. “When I’m painting them, I always feel that I am receiving blessings,” says Liu. “These people are not attacking other people, they are completely sacrificing themselves.”

■ Bob (not his real name) was, by all accounts, a model computer programmer. But Bob was both more enterprising and less diligent than his employers imagined, as they discovered when an investigation last year into what they assumed was a security breach revealed that Bob was in fact outsourcing his job to someone in China for a fifth of his six-figure salary. His browsing history, posted online by the Verizon security team that conducted the investigation, revealed a typical day at the office: “9:00 a.m. Arrive and surf Reddit for a couple of hours. Watch cat videos. 11:30 a.m. Take lunch. 1:00 p.m. Ebay time. 2:00 p.m. Facebook updates/LinkedIn. 4:30 p.m. End of day update e-mail to management. 5:00 p.m. Go home.” Though he had received several

excellent performance reviews for his clean, timely, and well-written code, Bob’s employment was terminated.

■ If you’re the quarterback of a championship team, you can date the prettiest girl in the state. This is the happy position of A. J. McCarron, quarterback of the national champion Alabama Crimson Tide, whose girlfriend—Miss Alabama, Katherine Webb—is strikingly beautiful even by Alabama’s stringent standards. While broadcasting the BCS championship, Brent Musburger made a couple of appreciative but innocuous remarks on her pulchritude, which inspired a penitent statement from ESPN: “We apologize that the commentary in this instance went too far and Brent understands that.” The supposed offense here is unclear. Being judged on the basis of one’s looks is what being a beauty-pageant contestant is all about, and the indignities that contestants put up with—crash dieting, glue and duct tape in uncomfortable places, being expected to know which countries are on which continent—far outstrip the occasional clumsy compliment from an aging sportscaster. But if Musburger wants to be

Yankee Stay Home

“SOME of the southern areas have cultures that we have to overcome.”

That was Representative Charlie Rangel the other day on MSNBC, setting off a small brouhaha. He wasn’t playing the usual liberal game of talking about the South as if its racial policies hadn’t changed since 1952—or 1852, for that matter. No, he was talking about guns. Rangel believes that Southerners are still backward—about guns, of course.

You’d think the longtime representative from Harlem, of all places, would be a little more circumspect about so cavalierly generalizing about the shortcomings of a specific region. On second thought, maybe you wouldn’t.

Regardless, the reason I bring this up isn’t to defend the honor of the South, even though I’d be perfectly happy to do so if asked. Anti-southern bigotry is one of the last remaining fashionable forms of prejudice in America. Nor is it to note that many of the northeastern areas have cultures that could profit from taking a nice, long personal inventory.

Rather, I’d just ask the reader to make a mental note of this story and remember it the next time you hear about how the Right always tries to “impose” its values on the rest of the country.

This is the great myth of American politics. The conservative coalition as we know it today was, in almost every respect, an antibody response to the Left’s initiation and successful prosecution of the culture war. From abortion to gun rights to religious liberty, the Right has been fighting against the self-proclaimed “forces of change.”

And let’s be fair: The forces of change were on occasion fighting good fights. Starting a fight doesn’t always make you the bad guy. Even if you want to fault the Left’s initiative

or its credit-taking on civil rights, feminism, gays, etc., the simple fact is that the Left acknowledges that it’s the aggressor in the culture war whenever it feels boastful about itself. President Obama’s line about Seneca Falls, Selma, and Stonewall in his second inaugural address illustrated this point nicely. So did his promise to “fundamentally transform America.”

This is hardly a new point, but what’s interesting to me is how certain regional cultures in America can’t mind their own business. It’s not just the Northeast and the West Coast. Historically the cheese curd-and-beer regions of the upper Midwest may have been disproportionately isolationist in foreign policy, but in domestic policy they certainly didn’t keep their

schemes to themselves. Obviously progressivism, an ideology that recognizes no legitimate constraints on, or barriers to, its vision for society, is a big part of that story. But culture matters too. For instance, New York and, in particular, New England were founded by busybody stock, and that culture has grown beyond the mere boundaries of genetic lineage. And culture has consequences, which may explain why the West and East Coasts are in such bad fiscal shape (to their credit, the cheese-curders have embraced conservative reform). Meanwhile, Texas, founded by people more well-disposed to individual liberty, is doing much better.

Speaking of Texas, Republican congressman Ted Poe, responding to Rangel, said, “In Texas, we have the freedom to legally own guns and drink Big Gulps. Frankly, we don’t really care how you do it up north.” Just so. And that might also explain why so many from up North—and out West—are moving to Texas.

—JONAH GOLDBERG



Representative Ted Poe

Never Too Old to Restore Memory, Claims Creator of Medicare-Approved Brain Health Breakthrough

Dr. Bresky offers new memory formula along with complimentary copy of 'Four Pillars' brain health protocol as part of national in-home trial

Tired of losing your car keys? Fed up with finding your TV remote control in the refrigerator... again?

For readers concerned about mind and memory problems, the cavalry is on the way in the form of a soft-spoken, medical doctor wielding a remarkable, patented memory compound.

Dr. Arnold Bresky, MD, a Preventive Gerontologist in the Behavioral Neurology department at Albert Einstein College of Medicine, has made it his life's calling to understand premature mental decline, and to learning why treasured memories can simply fade away.

"Memory is life," says Dr. Bresky, and it is a subject in which he is eminently qualified.

Dr. Bresky is the man responsible for the legendary, Medicare-approved brain tune-up protocol, *Four Pillars of Brain Health*.

For a limited time, a few lucky folks can test-drive Bresky's memory-boosting breakthrough, risk-free, as part of a national in-home trial.

'Dramatic Memory Improvement!'

First developed in 1996 to treat a handful of desperate patients in a California hospital, his nine-point scientific protocol was later approved by Medicare, and has since been used to help thousands of concerned patients, resulting in "significant, even dramatic memory improvement."

"I remember names and numbers a lot better since implementing Dr. Bresky's Four Pillars program," says Dorothy C., Reseda, California.

Ann H. agrees, "I always had a decent memory, but I can already see how much it's improved!"

For Yolanda S. of Los Angeles, the Four Pillars guidelines kept her behind the wheel.

"I was really worried about passing my California driver's test, but Dr. Bresky's program helped me pass. I'm so happy!"

Bresky's acclaimed *Four Pillars* protocol consists of specific mental and physical activities, regular social interaction with others, and targeted brain nutrition obtained from food, and from a miraculous natural compound that may help "make old brains feel and function younger!" It's a scientific system that helps forgetful brains snap awake.

"If you can do all four, you may be on the path to a lifetime of optimal brain health and fitness," smiles Dr. Bresky.

What to Feed A Hungry Brain?

Dr. Bresky struggled with how best to adequately address the nutritional needs of an

aging brain. In his experience, diet and food were not enough.

He contacted a colleague, Dr. Gene Steiner, a well-known clinical pharmacist, whose research had led him to a clinically tested compound that had a surprisingly powerful effect on aging brains.

In studies, it helped enhance memory, concentration, and even improved mood and a feeling of well being.

During randomized, double-blind, placebo-controlled studies, clinicians witnessed a startling transformation.

Over a period of a few weeks, scientists observed the compound helping aging brains function more youthfully, helping match the speed, memory abilities and mental powers enjoyed by a group up to 15 years younger.

Elizabeth K. of Rochester, New York discovered it just in time. At the age of 54, her memory was declining at an "alarming rate."

She searched high and low for a solution, before she heard about Dr. Bresky's memory compound.

She decided to give it a try.

"It took about a month for the memory benefit to kick in," smiles Elizabeth. "Six months later, even my husband was impressed with my improved memory. And I am very happy with my renewed mental clarity and focus!"

The natural compound was put through the analytical grinder.

"It was subjected to the same rigorous FDA-approved cognitive function tests that are used in pharmaceutical drug trials – the gold standard," says Dr. Bresky.

"Then, it was peer-reviewed and published in the *Journal of American Nutraceutical Association*. It worked so well that participants reported an improvement in memory, mental clarity, concentration, and even mood in just 30 days!"

Drug Store Dilemma?

For many years, pharmacy customers would ask Dr. Steiner what he would recommend for mind and memory.

"For years, I had nothing to offer them. Not until I found this natural compound was I willing to recommend anything," he says.

Now, Dr. Steiner can personally attest to its memory-boosting powers.

He was relocating to another state and was apprehensive about taking the state board of pharmacy jurisprudence examination, a daunting

examination that tests a candidate's mastery of pharmacy law.

"There was lots of studying," says Dr. Steiner. "So, I began taking the natural compound two weeks prior to the test."

"I am happy to report that, at the age of 64, I passed the test with flying colors! The recall I experienced was near fantastic," laughs Dr. Steiner.

New Brain Cells... at Any Age!?

Dr. Bresky's theory that it is medically possible to grow new brain cells at any age was validated in a groundbreaking study by Princeton University scientist, Elizabeth Gould.

The Princeton study showed that neurogenesis, the growth of new brain cells, does, indeed, occur in several regions of the brain, a concept that had previously been thought impossible.

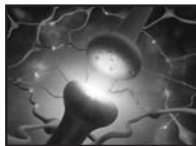
This comes as welcome news to Dr. Bresky who reports that the natural memory compound has been found to stimulate brain health and cognitive sharpness several ways.

"It helps increase blood flow to the brain, supplying it with more oxygen and vital nutrients," explains Dr. Bresky.

Encouraging more oxygen and blood flow to the brain helps 'wake up' and recharge a tired, sluggish mind.

"It's like going outside and taking a breath of invigorating fresh air on a crisp, cool day," says Dr. Bresky.

He compares it to reading an eye chart at the optometrist's office, with a new pair of glasses.



Natural memory compound increases neurotransmitters in the aging brain to help restore mental quickness and alertness.

"Neurotransmitters are chemical messengers in the brain responsible for memory, concentration, alertness, even decision-making. They naturally get depleted with age and stress."

The compound also performs long overdue spring-cleaning in the brain.

Over the course of a lifetime, environmental toxins, and free radicals build up in the brain.

Brain-specific, broad-spectrum antioxidants



Memory doctor, Arnold Bresky, MD, used his Four Pillars brain tune-up guidelines at the California DMV to help keep safe-driving seniors on the road.

found naturally in the compound help fight neurotoxins.

If you are concerned about your failing memory, and your inability to stay focused and mentally alert, Dr. Arnold Bresky offers some free medical advice.

"Don't miss out on the best years of your life. If you don't take steps to address your mental decline, your future may be quite bleak. As a medical doctor who specializes in memory problems, I urge you to take action today to ensure a healthier, more joyful tomorrow remaining free to make decisions for yourself!"

Get Your Free Copy of Dr. Bresky's 'Four Pillars of Brain Health'

Call the toll-free number below now to reserve your free condensed copy of Dr. Bresky's Medicare-approved brain health protocol, *Four Pillars of Brain Health*.

Plus, Free 30-Day Supply of Dr. Bresky's Memory Formula!

When you call the toll-free number below, ask how you can receive a free 30-day supply of Dr. Bresky's clinically tested memory formula as part of a national in-home trial. It's the same one mentioned in his acclaimed brain health program.

Free Brain Detox Formula, Too!

The first 500 callers will also receive a free supply of Dr. Bresky's brain detox formula, scientifically designed to help flush away toxins to further increase mental clarity and focus. Call now!

**Call Toll-Free!
1-800-530-0527**

This product is not intended to diagnose, treat, cure or prevent any disease. These statements have not been evaluated by the FDA.

on the safe side next time, instead of complimenting a beauty queen on her looks, he can instead earn universal acclaim by asking about her position on same-sex marriage.

■ It's hard to believe, but we live in a universe where *Archie Comics* is more progressive than *Star Wars*: *Archie* has had gay characters for several years now, while *Star Wars* is just introducing them. In an update due this spring, the computer game *Star Wars: The Old Republic* will include a planet populated by homosexuals (no, it's not the same one that Superman is from). This would seem a sure recipe for demographic decline unless, like the island dwellers who survived by taking in one another's washing, they adopt one another's children. In any case, a critic points out that "there were no LGBT characters in any of the *Star Wars* movies." (C-3PO was just sensitive.)

■ In a rare attack of common sense, the U.K.'s speech police have decided that it is not a hate crime to make homophobic remarks to animals. One case that gave rise to this decision occurred when an Oxford student asked a policeman, "Do you realize that your horse is gay?" For this hate-filled diatribe he was jailed and fined £80, which he refused to pay. More recently, a teenager in Newcastle was fined £50 plus £150 in costs for saying "Woof" to a police dog. One might think this is about all you can say to a dog, if you want to start a conversation at least, but the word "woof" turns out to have a slang meaning suggesting doubts about the animal's sexual preferences. These episodes, which exhibit the British constabulary's lack of humor in all its glory, inspired the House of Lords to suggest an amendment legalizing speech that is "insulting" but not "abusive," which the government accepted. So if you were wondering what the House of Lords' job is, there's your answer. Makes the whole Magna Carta thing seem worthwhile, doesn't it?

■ Dogs are known for being faithful to their masters, but a German shepherd named Ciccio, of Brindisi, Italy, exhibits a different sort of faith by attending Mass every day, a regularity that would shame most humans (especially in Europe). Ciccio used to go to church with his owner, and since her death, in a display of Pavlovian piety, he returns there every day when he hears the bells ring, supposedly hoping to see her again. We will not speculate on where Ciccio's devotion (which might be called Fidoism) will lead; but the purity and simplicity of his faith can perhaps hold a lesson for many human believers.

■ Abel Mutai, the bronze medalist in the steeplechase at the 2012 Olympics, took a comfortable lead in a cross-country race last fall in Burlada, Spain, but stopped short of the finish line by about ten yards. Then Iván Fernández Anaya, running second, caught him—almost. He, too, stopped short when he saw that Mutai had mistakenly assumed he'd crossed the line and won the race. Not speaking any of the languages of Kenya, Fernández Anaya resorted to hand gestures to direct to the finish line the athlete he considered the "rightful winner," as he described Mutai afterward. "I didn't deserve to win it," he said. "I did what I had to do." As news of his remarkable conduct has spread, the acclaim showered on him by sports fans worldwide has grown. The high-fives to him on Twitter continue to stream in. His coach said he wasted an opportunity, but many more competitions likely await the 24-year-old distance runner. What may never

come his way again is the opportunity to demonstrate such unanimity. Fernández Anaya gives new meaning to the expression "moral victory."

■ Lance Armstrong has had a dramatic life. He survived cancer to win the Tour de France seven times—seven times in a row. He set up a foundation, Livestrong, to help those affected by cancer. Throughout his cycling career, he "doped," which is to say, used illegal, performance-enhancing drugs. And all the while, he lied about it, hotly and viciously. He lied to friends and associates. He lied to reporters on and off the record. He lied with a fiery, self-righteous, Clintonian conviction. He hounded, harassed, and slandered those who told the truth, and sued them, and sometimes won. Finally, when organized cycling had left no doubt of his guilt, he partially confessed, in an interview with Oprah Winfrey. He did it in his accustomed style: self-righteous, rationalizing, Clintonian. Armstrong is 41 years old, and has plenty more living to do. There will be no cycling glory, but he can live better, and we hope and trust he will.

■ That politicians do not cease to be self-interested upon taking public office is hardly an original insight—Plato knew as much—but James M. Buchanan made a science out of it, and in the course of his life's work changed our understanding of the nature of the political enterprise. Working with his longtime colleague Gordon Tullock, Buchanan established what is today known as public-choice theory, the key insight of which is that individuals in the public sector respond to self-interested incentives in much the same way that individuals working in markets do—"politics without romance," Buchanan called it. He helped make the mysterious failings of politics a good deal less mysterious. His work led both to technical economic insights and to a broader understanding of the real forces at work in political institutions. Buchanan was no stranger to the operations of the state: His grandfather was a governor of Tennessee in the 1890s, and he himself served on Admiral Nimitz's staff during World War II. He was a champion of strong constitutional limits on government and a lifelong skeptic of political ideology. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in economics in 1986 and was a major force in making the George Mason University economics department a center of innovative thought. Dead at 93. R.I.P.

■ Numbers never tell the whole story, but in baseball they're the place to begin. Over the course of his 22-year career, Stan Musial won seven batting titles, appeared in four World Series, and contributed to three world championships for the Cardinals, the only team he ever played for. He shines even brighter in the light of various statistical metrics that have been developed since his retirement in 1963. In career total bases, Musial ranks second, behind Henry Aaron; in runs created, third—one place behind Babe Ruth, and one ahead of Aaron. Baseball cognoscenti are quick to emphasize Musial's rightful place in such elevated company, although average fans outside St. Louis need constant reminder. In ESPN.com's list of the most underrated athletes in the history of sports, he's No. 1. A gentleman, he was never ejected from a game and is said to have never ignored a fan's request for an autograph. He was a model of civility when Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier in baseball in the 1940s. "Stan Musial is the nicest man I ever met in baseball," his teammate Bob Gibson said, expressing a sentiment echoed

The First The Last The ONLY!



50 Years later the 1964 Silver Proof Set still shines bright

On November 25, 1963, just three days after the tragedy in Dallas, the U.S. Mint began work on the 90% Silver Kennedy Half Dollar. It would prove to be one of the most popular half dollar designs in our nation's history. Not surprisingly, when Americans discovered that the brand new Kennedy Half Dollar was the centerpiece of the 1964 U.S. Silver Proof Set, demand immediately soared through the roof!

By January 11th, 1964, the Mint was forced to halt orders for the 1964 Silver Proof Set, and eventually had to reduce the original maximum order of 100 Proof Sets down to just 2 sets per buyer in the face of such staggering demand. Finally, on March 12, even the limit of 2 sets was halted because the Mint received orders for 200,000 Proof Sets in just two days!

Fifty years later, the 1964 Silver Proof Set is still in great demand.

Why? Because this set is chock full of "Firsts", "Lasts" and "Onlys":

1964 Proof Set Firsts, Lasts & Onlys

- ✓ The **FIRST** year Kennedy Half Dollar Proof
- ✓ The **FIRST** Proof set to feature a former president on every coin
- ✓ The **LAST** Proof Set struck at the Philadelphia Mint
- ✓ The **LAST** year the Roosevelt Dime, Washington Quarter and Kennedy Half Dollar were struck in 90% silver for regular production
- ✓ The **ONLY** 90% Silver Kennedy Half Dollar Proof ever minted for regular production
- ✓ The **ONLY** Kennedy Half Dollar Proof struck at the Philadelphia Mint

As we approach the 50th Anniversary of JFK's 1963 assassination this year, the 1964 U.S. Silver Proof Set is back into the spotlight again. Each set contains the 1964 Lincoln Cent and Jefferson

Nickel, along with three 90% Silver coins: the Silver Roosevelt Dime, Silver Washington Quarter, and the 1964 Silver Kennedy Half Dollar—the only 90% Kennedy Half Dollar ever struck for regular production.

Saved from destruction—but how many set survived?

Collectors know that the key is to find those sets still preserved in the original U.S. Mint "flat pack" just as issued. And over the past 50 years, that has become more and more difficult! Since this set was issued, silver prices have risen from \$1.29 per ounce to over \$48 per ounce at the silver market's high mark. During that climb, it is impossible to determine how many of these 1964 Proof Sets have been melted for their precious silver content. The packaging on thousands of other sets has been cut apart to remove the silver coins—so there is no way to know for certain how many 1964 U.S. Proof Sets have survived to this day.

Order now—Satisfaction Guaranteed

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by many over the years. Musial proved Leo Durocher wrong. Dead at 92. R.I.P.



■ Pauline Phillips (Abigail Van Buren to you) was in her heyday one of the most widely read women in the world. The other, Eppie Lederer (a.k.a. Ann Landers), was her twin sister. We don't know what it was in the water of Sioux City, Iowa, but it turned two daughters of Russian Jewish immigrants into international advice mavens. Pauline assembled her nom de plume from the

Bible (“Blessed be thy advice,” says David to Abigail, 1 Samuel 25:33) and the eighth president. “Dear Abby,” the column she began writing in 1956, was a pint-sized dose of good sense and mild voyeurism (people do *that?*), all leavened by her wit. She did not lead any of the great, mostly damaging social changes of the Sixties, but generally followed them at a discreet distance. As the millennium drew down she relinquished her responsibilities to a daughter, who continues the column. Dead at 94. R.I.P.

PUBLIC POLICY

The President's Gun Fetish

PRESIDENT OBAMA has initiated 23 executive actions related to gun control, ranging from the unobjectionable to the trivial. He has also called on Congress to enact intrusive and possibly unconstitutional new restrictions on the right of Americans to keep and bear arms.

Before the substance, a note on style: The president announced his new measures encircled by beaming children, and read from letters written to him—spontaneously, we are sure—by various tots. “I feel terrible for the parents who lost their children,” the president read. “I love my country and I want everyone to be happy and safe.” As opposed to those meanies on the other side who don't feel terrible about slaughtered children, who don't love their country, and who don't want everybody happy and safe. The president then ratified the dignity of the moment by high-fiving the child. This is grotesque theater, a shameful spectacle and an act of child exploitation that should repulse all decent people. President Obama has done a great many embarrassing and distasteful things in his day, but this ranks high among them. Barack Obama likes to compare himself to Abraham Lincoln, but he conducts himself like P. T. Barnum.

The substance of the president's executive actions included some fairly tangential and trivial things: The acting head of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives is to be made its permanent head: Bold move, Mr. President. Providing law-enforcement agencies with better training to handle live-shooter situations is a fine idea. Directing the Centers for Disease Control to engage in gun-death research conflates crime and contagion, and is a naked attempt to subvert federal laws barring the CDC from engaging in gun-control advocacy. Which is to say, this is mostly routine business and shallow politics.

Asking Congress to renew the ban on so-called assault weapons and to ban magazines capable of holding more than ten rounds will do very little to prevent gun deaths. Two-thirds of the gun deaths in the United States each year are suicides, for which a single-shot weapon usually will suffice. Accidents account for

another portion. A great deal of attention has been paid to guns sold at gun shows, at which private parties (as opposed to licensed firearms dealers) conduct exchanges that do not always involve background checks. (Some gun shows require background checks and make resources available to conduct them.) According to the Department of Justice, less than 1 percent of the guns used in crimes were purchased at gun shows: another triviality masquerading as a major issue. Likewise, while “assault rifles” give liberals the willies, rifles as a category—not just the scary-looking ones, but all rifles—are used in a small minority of gun-related crimes. And guns categorically are used in fewer crimes than you might imagine: There is no gun present in one out of three homicides, in four out of five aggravated assaults, and in the majority of robberies, according to National Institute of Justice figures.

In theory, a comprehensive background-check system could be helpful—but in practice, any attempt to implement such a system would probably be cumbersome and unworkable, and the president did not offer specifics. And more background checks will neither prevent another Sandy Hook—those guns were legally owned by Adam Lanza's mother, who passed the relevant background checks—nor prevent the most common kind of violent crimes involving guns, which are in the main perpetrated by people who do not come by their guns legally. A ban on high-capacity magazines would not have enabled a roomful of first-graders to stop Adam Lanza from reloading. We do not suffer from a dearth of gun-related statutes on the books.

Incidents such as Sandy Hook and Columbine are akin to acts of terrorism: Far from fearing the possibility of being caught and punished for their crimes, the perpetrators seek notoriety—or death, or both. It is very difficult for conventional law-enforcement measures to prevent crimes when the perpetrators have no fear of punishment. The scarcity in these situations is not of gun-control laws but of the political will and moral clarity to treat people with serious mental illness. Not every mass shooting could have been foreseen, but many could have.

Murderers will always be with us—like usury, murder is ancient enough to have an Old Testament prohibition against it, and therefore is a permanent feature of the human condition. But the political spotlight remains on the relatively unimportant question of “assault weapons,” leaving President Obama and the Democrats in the position of the drunk looking for his car keys under the streetlamp not because he lost them there but because that's where the light is good.

THE INAUGURATION

The Middle of the Journey

THE crowds were smaller for Barack Obama's second inauguration, and the buzz softer. No one is likely, in this term, to compare him, as Evan Thomas did during his first, to God.

Still, Barack Obama is the first Democrat to win more than half the popular vote twice since FDR. He killed Osama bin Laden, passed national health care, and made “trillion” an everyday word—all considerable feats. What lies ahead for him?

Obama ended America's role in Iraq and is ending it in Afghanistan. Yet Islamic radicalism still stalks the world. Obama wants to talk down the Iranians and work with the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, and he hopes for the best in North Africa.

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The murder of Ambassador Stevens at the end of his first term and eruptions of al-Qaeda in Algeria and Mali pose early threats to this strategy; time will tell how Iran's arms race and empowered radicalism in Egypt turn out.

Unemployment still lingers at 2009 levels. Obama's stimulus was a load of pork.

Like the cavalry in the third reel, American and Canadian oil and natural-gas production could save everything, though Obama's green instincts work against his self-interest in reaping the benefits.

Obama's inaugural address threw out bait for the base. He pushed for same-sex marriage ("the love we commit to one another must be equal"), gun control (invoking Newtown), and "sustainable energy" (invoking "the overwhelming judgment of science").

More important than these policy details was the framework of his speech, which sought to advance the century-old progressive project of conflating liberty with positive liberty. The first is freedom from force, oppression, and corruption; the second is fulfillment through common action. The first is God-granted; the second is orchestrated by the state. Obama equated the struggle for emancipation with building railroads and highways, regulating the economy ("rules to ensure competition and fair play"), and maintaining the safety net. He seemed never to have heard of the entitlement bulge that threatens our solvency. Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security, he said, "strengthen us." No prospect for reform there, unless events drag him into it.

An aesthetic note: Can we abandon the notion that this man is a great orator? An early echo of Lincoln's second inaugural was particularly jarring. Instead of Lincoln's poetry, Jefferson's clarity, or Reagan's warmth, he handed us a hefty bag of talking points, many of them smelly.

Second terms are almost all unhappy. Fortune is guaranteed to hand the president unpleasant surprises. But he remains an attractive figure with serviceable political instincts. He has taken America far down his path—the wrong path. Resisting and rolling him back will require principle, savvy, and determination.

ABORTION

An Enduring Wrong

THE *New York Times* got the story wrong from the very beginning. "The Supreme Court overruled today all state laws that prohibit or restrict a woman's right to obtain an abortion during her first three months of pregnancy," its front page reported on January 23, 1973. "The vote was 7–2," the *Times* continued. "In a historic resolution of a fiercely controversial issue, the Court drafted a new set of national guidelines that will result in broadly liberalized abortion laws in 46 states but will not abolish restrictions altogether."

What the Supreme Court had actually done, through the combined effect of *Roe v. Wade* and its companion case, *Doe v. Bolton*, was make abortion legal at any stage of pregnancy for any reason, which is a considerably more liberal policy than that encoded in the law of any state or supported by public opinion then or now. The next day the *Times* ran an editorial that repeated both the three-months spin and the news story's implicit prediction: "The Court's verdict on abortion provides a sound foundation for a final and reasonable resolution of a debate that has divided America too long."



Nineteen years after *Roe*, the Court confronted its frustrating failure to resolve the issue in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*. The Court explained that when it makes a ruling like *Roe*, it "calls the contending sides of a national controversy to end their national division."

Yet still the controversy endures. No matter how many times pro-lifers have been authoritatively invited to put down their placards and accept the slaughter of innocent unborn children as one of our founding ideals, they have refused—sometimes patiently and politely, sometimes angrily, always firmly.

Now 40 years have passed since *Roe*, and nobody pretends that our division is ending. *Time* just ran a cover story declaring that "abortion-rights activists" have "been losing ever since" 1973. Nearly half of Americans think of themselves as pro-life, often a larger percentage than considers itself "pro-choice." State governments are passing what protections for unborn children they can, given the Court's hostility. The number of abortions has been dropping, if slowly, for years.

Pro-lifers are not winning: The suggestion is obscene. Nearly 56 million human beings have been killed in the womb since *Roe*, a toll that rises another million each year. The pro-life movement's achievement is a witness, not a victory. We have maintained resistance to an injustice rather than vanquished it.

But neither have we suffered a final defeat, nor will we so long as Americans remain who are willing to stand for the country's true founding principle: that all men are created equal by their Creator; that all of them have the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, whatever their creed or station, their race or their place, their might or their weakness. The Supreme Court has been a formidable enemy of this principle for much of our history. It struck down laws against slavery in an attempt to settle that issue and call the contending sides to end a national division. It blocked congressional attempts to protect civil rights following the Civil War. Pro-lifers who are tempted to despair should remember that *Plessy v. Ferguson* was on the books for even longer than *Roe* has been.

Roe has always been bad constitutional law, something that even honest supporters of the abortion license admitted they could not plausibly find in the Constitution. The *Casey* Court that portentously affirmed *Roe* studiously avoided saying that it follows from the Constitution. Abortion itself seems to inspire the same kind of bobbing and weaving. (Imagine an NRA that committed itself to the absolute defense of "the right to own" but could not bear to give its verb an object.)

Over on the other side of the debate, we labor under no such handicaps. We know that whether we will live to see victory over abortion is not in our hands. We also know that standing for truth, for mercy, and for justice is always within our power, and so we will keep doing it for as long as the evil endures.

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The Right to Bear Arms and Popular Sovereignty

They are inextricably linked

BY CHARLES C. W. COOKE

WERE I to develop a penchant for masochism and to run for elected office, my opponent would no doubt profit immensely from informing the voters that I was against the Second Amendment before I was for it. He would be correct. To grow up in modern Britain is to be marinated in that country's aversion to anything that slips the surly bonds of moderation, and I absorbed by osmosis the idea that, on the question of guns, my American friends were quietly batty. I had no objection to guns per se—I even enjoyed firing one every now and again—but I reflexively wondered aloud, “Who needs an AR-15? What is all this nonsense about ‘liberty’? If you want to play with weapons, *join the military.*”

Private gun ownership was, I thought, a historical vestige: an unhappy accident of its era that had been cynically hijacked by witless men with a pecuniary interest in death and rather too much testosterone. “I will demonstrate,” I quixotically promised in the first draft of my thesis proposal, that the “so-

called right to bear arms” is a “dangerous fiction.” But, damn it all, my budding ideology was quickly overturned. The right to bear arms is not a fiction at all. Those Americans who spoke of liberty, of the Constitution, and of unalienable rights? They were spot on. My friends, who looked loftily down their noses? Not so much.

Brutally put, it makes little philosophical sense for the elected representatives of a government that is subordinate to the people to be able to disarm those people. As an enlightened state may by no means act as the arbiter of its critics' words, it may not remove from the people the basic rights that are recognized in the very document to which it owes its existence. “Shall not be infringed” and “shall make no law” are clear enough even for the postmodern age. To ask, “Why do you need an AR-15?” is to invert the relationship. A better question: “Why don't you want me to have one?” And far from being the preserve of two-bit reactionaries, this, I discovered to my consternation, is a deeply—nay, *radi-*

cally—liberal principle, and one of the most beautiful ideas in the history of beautiful ideas. It changed my politics forever.

For all the craven lip service that they pay to the right to bear arms, its opponents on both sides of the Atlantic fail to appreciate that it is utterly inextricable from the timeless philosophy that underpins the American republic, and central to the relationship between the citizen and the state. Disputes about the scope of the Second Amendment to one side, the right to bear arms itself may well be the ultimate right in any free society. It has long been denied to undesirables. If black people were citizens, Justice Taney reasoned with horror in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, they would be able “to keep and carry arms wherever they went.” Free men who are masters of their government have that right, he concluded, but slaves and subjects do not.

It is perverse that I should have had to move to America to enjoy the right, for it was my countrymen who first recognized it. In his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Sir William Blackstone cited the right to bear arms as one of the fundamental liberties enjoyed by all Englishmen. Alas, all have not always enjoyed it. Now, at least, British gun law guarantees the equal sharing of miseries. But it was not always so. The long history of disarmament in Britain tallies grotesquely with the lists of those marked out as second-class citizens: Catholics were excluded from the 1689 Bill of Rights (“the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence”), and the aristocracy, terrified of an uprising of the disenfranchised minority, regularly took it upon itself to disarm the perceived threat. In Canada, the first serious gun-control laws, passed between 1911 and 1913, were contrived to keep guns out of the hands of non-British immigrants, away from people who were regarded by authorities as inferior, uncivilized “disciples of the torch and bomb” whose behavior was disgraced by “bad habits, notions, and vicious practices.”

America's history is worse. In the 17th century, the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies prohibited the sale of guns to Indians, while the “Black Codes” of 18th-century Louisiana required free French colonists not only to disarm but to

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beat “any black carrying any potential weapon.” Blacks have had it especially tough. Many post-Revolutionary state constitutions reserved the right to bear arms to “freemen,” which, naturally, meant whites. After the Civil War, the Democratic party’s own “Black Codes,” which were designed to prohibit freed slaves from owning guns in the South, had the same execrable purpose. The first draft of the 1871 Ku Klux Klan Act rendered it a federal crime to “deprive any citizen of the United States of any arms or weapons he may have in his house or possession for the defense of his person, family, or property.”

As recently as 1968, gun-control mea-

as an anachronism or was passed to protect “sport shooting” or “hunting” is as defective as the idea that the First Amendment exists to protect Shakespeare or the Beatles. Certainly it does those things, too. But primarily such protections were chiseled deep into American scripture in order to afford the people the perennial scope to take their government to task.

We are in thorny territory here, wading inexorably into a discussion of potential insurrection that typically invites scornful calls of “sedition” or charges of *Red Dawn* fantasies. Such thoughts are certainly unpleasant—not to be expressed in polite company. But politics is not ballet. Advocates of the right to bear arms

with parchment. The progressive notion that the police and armed forces should hold a monopoly on the legal violence necessary to defend each individual thus betrays both foundational principles and the traditionally auxiliary role of law enforcement in American society. The police, as the Supreme Court has repeatedly held, are employees of the public, not the sole enforcers of public order. Americans who would leave the means of violence in the hands of the state and, inevitably, the criminals would remove the means of self-defense from the one group in American life for whom the social compact was constructed: the People. This will not do.

From the notion that one controls one’s body and may defend it, we get the **attendant right to bear arms**; you can’t defend yourself with parchment.

asures were a veiled attempt to disarm black people. “The Gun Control Act of 1968 was passed not to control guns,” the anti-gun Robert Sherrill contends, “but to control blacks, and inasmuch as a majority of Congress did not want to do the former but were ashamed to show that their goal was the latter, the result was that they did neither.” In debates over gun-control measures, tyranny is usually posited as potential, not actual. But what possible resonance could smug assurances that “it couldn’t happen here” have had for these excluded men? It did happen here.

In his “Remarks on the First Part of the Amendments to the Federal Constitution,” published in the *Federal Gazette* on June 18, 1789, and widely reprinted, Pennsylvania delegate Tench Coxe explained to the reading public that the proposed Second Amendment affirmed the people’s “right to keep and bear their private arms” against “civil rulers” and “military forces” that “might pervert their power to the injury of their fellow citizens.” His article adumbrating the amendment’s meaning prompted its author, James Madison, to write Coxe a warm letter, noting that the process would “be greatly favored by explanatory strictures of a healing tendency, and is therefore already indebted to the co-operation of your pen.”

As Coxe implied, the oft-repeated notion that the Second Amendment exists

should acknowledge readily that they are arguing for the right to possess deadly force, avoiding the allure of “political language,” which, Orwell complained, “is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind.” Firearms are designed to kill and to maim. Defenders of the right to bear arms should not run away from this truth, and I will not. Instead we might point out that it is not the material question at hand. Nobody doubts what guns do. The important question is, Who in society gets such weapons?

John Locke, who was crucial to the Founders’ thinking, held that we are possessed of the inalienable right to own our bodies. From this we get the “life, liberty, and the pursuit of property” construction that was subtly changed in the Declaration to make more explicit the personal nature of property. And from the notion that one controls one’s body and may defend it, we get the attendant right to bear arms; you can’t defend yourself



“Your big sister reminds you of your English class?”

“Yeah—she’s always in an imperative mood.”

When Thomas Jefferson drafted his constitution for Virginia, the proposed qualification that “no *freeman* shall be debarred the use of arms” was undoubtedly designed to explain that slaves were excluded from the right. But in doing so, it betrayed something else. To found a government on the principle that “We the People” are sovereign but to fail to entrust those for whom the state was constructed with the means by which, as a desperate last resort, that state might be forcibly dissolved would have been to undermine the whole edifice. “Governments” in Europe, wrote James Madison, “are afraid to trust the people with arms.” Not so America.

These ideas had a profound effect on me, ushering in the startling realization that, far from merely being a larger England, the United States had become something quite different: an incubator of lost or diluted British freedoms. As the Liberty Bell was originally cast in England but rang out in America, so those guarantees of the “rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural-born subjects” have found their truest expression across the Atlantic. “That rifle on the wall of the labourer’s cottage or working class flat is the symbol of democracy,” wrote George Orwell in 1941. “It is our job to see that it stays there.” In Britain and beyond, that rifle has long been taken away. England’s bell has fallen silent. Americans would do well to ensure that the crack in theirs grows no larger. **NR**

Health & Wellness

Are you tired of feeling “foggy”...
absent-minded... or confused?

IS YOUR MEMORY SLIPPING AWAY?

Find out how some people stay sharp and mentally focused --- even at age 90! Here's their secret...

By Steven Wuzubia; Health Correspondent;

Clearwater, Florida:

Nothing's more frustrating than when you forget names... misplace your keys... or just feel “a little confused”. And even though your foggy memory gets laughed off as just another “senior moment”, it's not very funny when it keeps happening to you.

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- Donna V., Ocala, FL.

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Armed, Not Dangerous

Every Swiss man is trained to shoot, so why don't they?

BY KEVIN D. WILLIAMSON

LOOKED at through the dim eyes of the Brady Campaign or any other gang of gun-grabbers, Switzerland should be a post-apocalyptic nightmare of wanton murder, basically Mad Max meets Heidi in the Alps. While leading criminologists such as Gwyneth Paltrow and top policy analysts such as Will Ferrell are wetting the great American bed about so-called military-style weapons in the United States, the Swiss are packed to their punc-

has 50-odd murders a year in the entire country. Chicago, population 2.7 million, had more than 500 murders in 2012, and good luck trying to legally own a BB gun in Mayor Emanuel's town if it so much as looks like a scary gun—"replica" air guns are banned under the city's draconian gun-control regime. Somewhere, the ghost of Ulrich Ochsenbein is laughing at the ghost of Al Capone.

The Second Amendment was put into the Constitution in order to ensure that ordinary Americans were always ready to form an armed militia to protect their liberties against enemies foreign and domestic. Well-informed Americans appreciate that fact, but even among most hard-core gun aficionados, that business is all sort of theoretical. Not so in Switzerland: Swiss men are universally conscripted into the national militia, which also welcomes female volunteers, while the country maintains only 4,200 full-time soldiers. Because it remains deeply committed to

defense if Uncle Stupid will do it for you?—but in fairness to the Swiss it should be noted that, with the Nazis breathing down their backs, they shot at U.S. warplanes violating their airspace and thus threatening their neutrality. The Swiss may benefit from American martial ubiquity, but they never asked for it. Sure, there's been some inevitable moral compromise in their neutrality—and I'm sure Henry Kissinger and Hamid Karzai could have a fascinating discussion on that subject.

The Swiss are sometimes accused of having a bunker mentality, but as the Swiss military historian Jürg Stüssi-Lauterburg puts it, "If survival demands paranoia, so be it. We have survived the greatest threats during the greatest wars that ever happened on the European continent in freedom and independence, not least because of our readiness to defend our country, our liberty, our democratic institutions."

While practically every able-bodied Swiss man has been trained to shoot people and given a rifle to do so, the Swiss **do not actually shoot** very many people.

tual and well-scrubbed gills with actual military hardware in private hands—some 420,000 fully automatic SG 550 rifles are stored in homes across Switzerland. And in case you didn't get the message, SG is an abbreviation for *Sturmgewehr*, or "assault rifle." (Everything sounds meaner in German.) Not only are those full-auto rifles in private, regular-Johan hands, they are in the sort of hands most likely to commit violent crimes: those attached to the arms of men in their 20s and 30s.

So where's the crime?

Dianne Feinstein is working to ban firearms and ammunition, but the gun-loving Swiss subsidize the purchase of both. Every five years the Swiss host the world's biggest shooting competition, the Eidgenössische Schützenfest, a national firearms festival at which the government provides the party favors. This is a country in which shooting is so popular they *shoot while they ski*.

But Zurich is no San Pedro Sula (currently the most dangerous city in the world by murder rate), or even New Orleans (No. 21 in the global murder index). Switzerland, population 8 million,

its longstanding policy of international neutrality, Switzerland's military doctrine is dedicated largely to the issue of foreign invasion—perhaps not a pressing concern, but not an unreasonable one, given European history.

The Swiss do not think that they need to be able to defeat any of their neighbors in a pitched battle; instead, they have armed and organized their people to ensure that invading Switzerland is a high-price, low-return proposition for any adventurous adversary. Neutrality and preparedness in fact go hand-in-hand in Swiss thinking: Don't give anybody a good reason to start a fight, and give them a really good reason not to. Disorganized desert yahoos armed mostly with aging rifles beat the mighty Red Army in Afghanistan and later fought the U.S. military to something like a draw. Imagine tidy mujahideen organized with Swiss precision and you have a pretty good idea of what they're thinking in Berne.

Conservatives sometimes complain that the Europeans are free-riders on the worldwide American military presence—why spend anything on national

If the above sounds more than a little NRA/Tea Party/Rick By-God Perry to you, it is, but with a difference. The Swiss version of the NRA, ProTell, is every bit as hard-line as its American counterpart, but there is nothing especially blue-collar or rural or reactionary about the Swiss enthusiasm for guns and liberty. It's as if the Swiss took the worst stereotypes about red-state and blue-state Americans and made a pretty respectable national identity out of them: Yeah, the Swiss tend to be slightly metrosexual, secular-minded libertines who love public transit and work in finance, but they all belong to a militia, too. Assault rifles and universal health care: Surely there is something to be learned from that arrangement.

For instance, we might ask ourselves why it is that while practically every able-bodied Swiss man has been trained to shoot people and given a rifle to do so, the Swiss do not actually shoot very many people. Of the 53 murders recorded in 2010, 40 involved firearms: John Wayne Gacy killed nearly as many people as the entire gun-toting Swiss population does most years.

You deserve a factual look at . . .

Israel and the United States

Is Israel an asset or a burden to our country?

The United States is without question Israel's most important ally. Also, without question, Israel is the staunchest and most reliable friend of the United States. But there are some who believe and vigorously advocate that Israel is a burden to the United States and that, were it not for Israel, peace would prevail in the Middle East.

What are the facts?

The "Israel lobby." There are indeed those who claim that Israel is a liability, a burden to our country. Professors from prestigious universities write essays in which they aver that the United States is in thrall to the "Israel lobby." This lobby is said to pull the strings of American policy. Its supposed main promoters are AIPAC (American Israel Public Affairs Committee) and the so-called "neo-cons," some of whom are indeed Jewish. They are said to exert an almost magical spell over policy makers, including the leaders of Congress and the President. Some even say that the Iraq war was promoted by this omnipotent "Israel lobby," that President Bush was flummoxed into declaring war on Saddam Hussein, not in order to defend the United States or to promote its interests, but in order to further the interests of Israel.

Israel is indeed a major recipient of U.S. aid. Israel receives yearly \$3.0 billion, all of it in military aid – nothing in economic aid. 75% of this military aid must be spent with U.S. military contractors, making Israel a very large customer of those companies.

America's staunchest ally. A good case can be made that aid to Israel, all of it military, should be part of the United States defense budget, rather than of the aid budget because Israel is, next only perhaps to Britain, by far the most important ally of the United States. Virtually without exception, Israel's government and its people agree with and support the foreign policy objectives of the United States. In the United Nations, Israel's votes coincide with those of the United States over 90% of the time. The Arabs and other Moslem countries, virtually all of them recipients of American largess, almost reflexively vote against the United States in most instances.

Israel is indeed America's unsinkable aircraft carrier in the Middle East and the indispensable defender of America's interests in that area of the world. The people of the United States, individually and through their Congressional representatives, overwhelmingly support Israel in its seemingly unending fight against Arab aggression and Muslim terror. But that support is not only based on the great strategic value that Israel represents to the United States. It is and always has been based on shared values of liberty, democracy, and human rights. America and Israel are aligned by their shared love of peace and democracy. Israel and the United States stand together in their fight against Islamo-fascist terrorism. These shared values, these common ideals, will bind Israel and the United States forever.

Israel is the major strategic asset of the United States in an area of the world that is the cradle of Islamo-fascism, which is dominated by tyrants and permeated by religious obscurantism and shows almost total disregard for human rights. During the decades-long Cold War, Israel was America's indispensable rampart against the inroads of the Soviet Union. It is now the bulwark against the aggressive intentions of Iran. During Desert Storm, Israel provided invaluable intelligence, an

"Israel and the United States stand together in their fight against Islamo-fascist terrorism. These shared values will bind Israel and the United States forever."

umbrella of air cover for military cargo, and had personnel planted in the Iraqi deserts to pick up downed American pilots.

Gen. George Keagan, former head of U.S. Air Force Intelligence, stated publicly that "Israel is worth five

CIAs," with regard to intelligence passed to our country. He also stated that the yearly \$3.0 billion that Israel received in military assistance was worth \$50 to \$60 billion in intelligence, R&D savings, and Soviet weapons systems captured and transferred to the Pentagon. In contrast to our commitments in Korea, Japan, Germany, and other parts, not a single American serviceperson needs to be stationed in Israel. Considering that the cost of one serviceperson per year – including backup and infrastructure – is estimated to be about \$200,000, and assuming a minimum contingent of 25,000 troops, the cost savings to the United States on that score alone is on the order of \$5 billion a year.

Israel effectively secures NATO's southeastern flank. Its superb harbor, its outstanding military installations, the air and sea lift capabilities, and the trained manpower to maintain sophisticated equipment are readily at hand in Israel. It is the only country that makes itself available to the United States in any contingency. Yes, Israel is not a burden, but a tremendous asset to the United States.

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FLAME

Facts and Logic About the Middle East
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Gerardo Joffe, President

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Switzerland is hardly a free-for-all when it comes to guns. In fact, Swiss gun-control policies in large part resemble those of the United States, including background checks for purchases made from dealers (but not private sales between individuals), age restrictions, and the like. The Swiss also register some weapons and ammunition, and they have some unusual provisions related to the use and storage of government-issued ammunition for those ubiquitous full-auto rifles.

Because immigrants commit an enormously disproportionate amount of crime in Switzerland, the Swiss also take some measures that would be absolute anathema to American liberals: For example, foreigners with legal-residency status can buy guns on the same terms as Swiss nationals—unless they come from Algeria, Turkey, Sri Lanka, or other countries associated in the Swiss mind with *Verbrechen*, in which case they cannot buy a gun, period, legal resident or no. The Swiss sensibly see the criminal as the more important variable in gun crimes, and so they have created procedures to expedite the deportation of criminal foreigners, an anti-crime policy that many American conservatives surely would endorse.

So the policy story is mixed. But what Switzerland really is is an example of the fact that when it comes to crime, culture matters more than policy.

If you take the 20 countries with the highest rates of private gun ownership, you'll see some very dangerous and high-crime places (Yemen and Iraq), some places with relatively high crime (the United States), and a lot of low-crime countries (Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Canada). If you take the countries with the fewest guns per capita, you'll see some very safe, low-crime places (Singapore, Japan) and some truly outstanding places to get murdered (Haiti, Rwanda, Sierra Leone). The United States has nearly one gun per person (88.8 guns per hundred), while the Swiss have about one gun for every other person and the Canadians and Swedes have about one gun for every third person. But the United States has 4.8 murders per 100,000, while the rates for the Canadians, Swedes, and Swiss are 1.6, 1.0, and 0.7, respectively. Put another way, we may have twice the guns per capita as the Swiss, but we have seven times the murders per capita—and more

like ten times the murders if you limit it to Swiss nationals.

As late as 2001, the BBC could report: "Guns are deeply rooted within Swiss culture—but the gun crime rate is so low that statistics are not even kept." That is no longer true—they keep records now—but gun-related crime remains quite low. Switzerland has its gun-grabbers, too, but a 2011 referendum calling for tighter gun control failed spectacularly: Swiss law requires referenda to win approval from both a popular majority and a majority of cantons before becoming law, and the gun-control initiative did neither. The largely unspoken belief in Switzerland is that when it comes to crime, the country does not have a gun problem, but an immigration problem.

Crime and violence are an outgrowth of culture, and Switzerland has the great good luck to be surpassingly full of Swiss—boring, punctual, suit-wearing, slightly aloof, convertible-driving, bank-working Swiss. The United States is full of . . . well, consider this: The Swiss rate of death by automobile accident is 4.7 per 100,000. The U.S. rate is 12.3—and that in a country in which the rate of alcohol consumption is lower than it is in Switzerland or Canada, to say nothing of the thirsty Swedes. We have ten times France's arson rate. Life expectancy in the United States is in the bottom half of the OECD; exclude murder and accidents, and we lead the list.

Maybe we're clumsy. Maybe we're just unlucky. Maybe we're nuts. But we are much more likely to come to violent ends than citizens of many other affluent countries, whether we are under the gun or behind the wheel. Cowboys, rock-'n'-roll, gangsters, Thomas Edison, General Patton, Thomas Paine, Evel Knievel, John Brown: That fundamental unruliness is a great and admirable and animating part of the American character, but it's also a nuisance—and damned dangerous, too.

Think of it this way: You probably don't know who Ueli Maurer is, and it is true that the major Swiss cultural achievements are the works of Rousseau and yodeling. Fair enough. But you probably can't think of a famous Swiss gangsta rapper, either. When most Americans hear the word "Swiss," they think: a) cheese or b) bank account. It is true that "Chicago" and "Detroit" have much more exciting connotations, but that's the kind of excitement that can kill you. **NR**

The Small Presidency

Let's give it another try

BY AMITY SHLAES

ACTION is something Americans of both parties demand of their presidents these days. This is natural for Democrats, whose heritage is all action, starting with Franklin Roosevelt and his Hundred Days. But Republicans like energy and a big executive as well. Over the course of the campaign this past year, any number of political stars, including Governor Mitch Daniels of Indiana, argued that only an energetic candidate would be up to the job of managing the U.S. fiscal crisis. Mitt Romney worked hard to let voters know his party could beat the Democrats in the legislative arena. He swore up and down that, à la Roosevelt, he would get off to a running start, sending five bills to Congress and signing five executive orders on his first day in the Oval Office.

The Grand Old Party's abiding affection for a "bigger and better" presidency isn't entirely logical. After all, the Obama presidency commenced with an effort to reenact the Hundred Days. Yet President Obama's first-term economic performance itself was not "big" but mediocre, tiny even. Perhaps Republicans should consider whether inaction on the part of the White House can be desirable. Perhaps, led by Republicans, the United States could benefit from trying out an unfashionable idea: the small presidency.

Evidence from a near-forgotten period, the early 1920s, instructs us. In those days the country was suffering economic turmoil similar to our own. Because of a crisis—World War I—the government had intruded in business and financial markets in unprecedented fashion, nationalizing the railroads, shutting down the stock market, and entering the debt market with war bonds.

Amity Shlaes, who directs the George W. Bush Institute's economic-growth program, is the author of the book Coolidge, forthcoming from HarperCollins.



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Central bankers warned that the only reason the government's large debt hadn't set off a fiscal apocalypse was that interest rates had not yet commenced what they deemed an inevitable rise. Angry veterans, many of them disabled, were having trouble finding jobs, and many people assumed a new federal entitlement, veteran pensions, would be established within the year. A recent and active president, Theodore Roosevelt, had taught the nation that the Oval Office was a "bully pulpit."

But this was not the view of the two candidates on the 1920 Republican ticket, Warren Harding of Ohio and Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts. The pair coolly campaigned on the humdrum, underwhelming motto of "normalcy," meaning a reduction in uncertainty. The White House was no bully pulpit; the Republican elephant should not be an elephant in a china shop. After winning the presidency, Harding continued to endorse inaction. "No altered system will work a miracle," Harding told the crowds at his March 1921 inauguration. "Any wild experiment will only add to the confusion. Our best assurance lies in efficient administration of the proven system." Harding wanted to ensure that government did less so that commerce might enjoy free range. He pushed for and got tax cuts for businesses hindered by large levies, and he readied a plan to privatize naval oil reserves.

Harding also provided displays of austerity. He canceled an inaugural ball that was to be held at the public's expense, and even let his wife Florence know she would not need a ball gown. He backed and signed a budget law that helped the executive curtail congressional spending. And he crafted a compromise with veterans that enabled the government to avoid granting the expected veteran pensions: It would provide hospitals, but not cash, for vets.

But despite these measures, Harding was not really cut out to be a small president. His personality was big, and he tended to do things in a big way. The inconsistency between the man and his announced intentions was evident even on the night of the inauguration: The official ball was indeed canceled, but the Hardings put on finery and partied at an opulent private ball held by the owner of the *Washington Post*, Edward McLean, and his wife, Evalyn.

Harding's friends loved him, and he loved them back—too much. More than once he appointed old cronies to office, regardless of their merits. To head the Veterans Bureau, the product of his compromise with the vets, Harding tapped his old acquaintance Charles Forbes. An Ohio buddy, Harry Daugherty, got the attorney general's post.

Even when it came to legislating smaller government, Harding tended to favor a big style, demanding extra ses-

sions of Congress to implement his agenda.

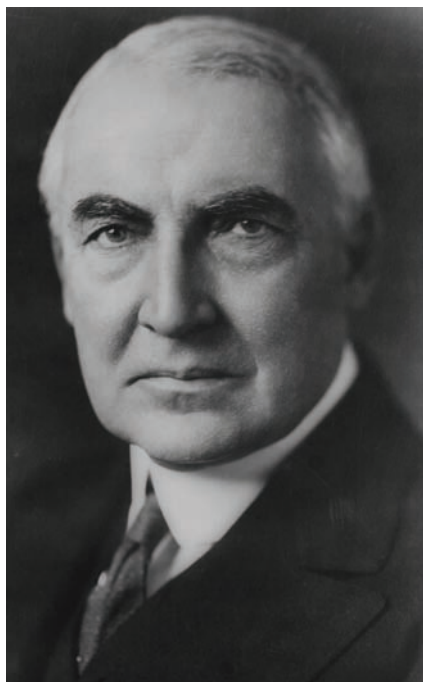
Soon it all went wrong for Harding. The president's demand for special legislative sessions backfired, because it gave lawmakers more time to introduce legislation of their own, and therefore gave Harding more projects to battle. His exuberant affection for his former colleagues in the Senate made it especially difficult for him to oppose their legislation, and in the end he vetoed only six bills. The buddies he appointed to high office routinely undermined his case for small government.

The sale of some of the Navy's oil reserves—a reasonable-sounding privatization—morphed into the scandal we know as Teapot Dome because Harding allies, including campaign donors, handled the transaction improperly. The neat Veterans Bureau compromise failed because Charles Forbes took large kickbacks on the construction of the veterans' hospitals. When Americans saw that government-run hospitals were corrupt, demands for direct payments seemed reasonable.

Within two years, Harding's legislative campaign had stalled, a casualty of the inconsistency between the personality and the program of the 29th president.

After Harding died suddenly in 1923 while on a trip to the West, the taciturn Coolidge became president, and he went on to be elected in his own right in 1924. Coolidge's aims differed little from Harding's: Indeed, he told the *Post*'s McLean that he aimed to carry out Harding's plans "to perfection." But where Harding had relished the limelight, Coolidge shrank from it. Where Harding had led, Coolidge now delegated. As vice president, the New Englander had struck Washington socialites with his silence, and as president he continued to do so.

Many rated Coolidge weak. Some were even astounded that the presidency should come to such a nonentity. H. L. Mencken wondered at a country that, given all the possible choices for president, "including thousands who are handsome and many who are wise, [would] pick out the Hon. Mr. Coolidge to be the head of state." Thrifty to the point of stinginess, Coolidge eschewed attention and insisted the White House do so as well. Observant Washingtonians



Warren G. Harding



Calvin Coolidge

noted that the food at the White House became less good and that the liquor no longer flowed as it had in Harding's day. Coolidge kept the White House kitchen on such a tight budget that he drove out the housekeeper who had served there since the Tafts' day.

He so irritated many in Congress that lawmakers overrode some of his vetoes. In frustration, he resorted to the pocket veto, which could not be overridden. In total Coolidge issued 50 vetoes, among them 30 pocket vetoes. And he declined to run for reelection in 1928, forgoing a near-certain chance at victory. That earned him the contempt of his very practical party.

Many Republican political failures, long-term or short-, can be blamed on the party's unwillingness to try out the **small presidency** again.

But Coolidge's minimalism did not represent weakness. Sometimes it takes more strength to be small than to be big, and that was true in Coolidge's case.

As I recently noted in these pages ("Calling Cal," August 13), Coolidge's modesty was an expression not of uncertainty but of an obsession with avoiding the corruption of office. By 1929, when Coolidge left Washington, he had completed the legislative tasks Harding had only started. His 50 vetoes had held back the Progressives; his federal budget contained less spending in 1929 than it had in 1924. The harmony between Coolidge's modest goals and his modest comportment lent the whole undertaking credibility. He restored the reputation of the presidency and the federal government, wiping away the damage of Harding's tenure.

Unfortunately, the small presidency did not last more than a few weeks beyond Coolidge's departure from office in 1929. Even before the stock-market crash later that year, his successor, Herbert Hoover, was making big plans. "There is another atmosphere around there [in addition to] the Coolidge atmosphere," wrote the journalist William Allen White. "It is the Roosevelt atmosphere, stepped down through a vast transference, but still Rooseveltian, muffled but quite as vigorous. At the table Hoover lets the conver-

sation die. Roosevelt never did. But at the desk, I fancy, Hoover gets more done than Roosevelt. And both are going in the same direction."

My sense is that many Republican political failures, long-term or short-, can be blamed on the party's unwillingness to try out the small presidency again. The first such failure was the unfortunate Hoover, who, as Romney might have done, favored engineering. Loving nothing better than managing the complex details of grand deals, Hoover often concluded agreements that pleased all parties but hurt the economy. An example was his meticulous negotiation of the Smoot-Hawley tariff. Hoover was so

pleased with his adaptations to a mechanism called the "flexible tariff" that he overlooked the damaging signal the tariff sent to foreign nations. They retaliated, accelerating the downward spiral of world trade.

Next came the Kansan Alf Landon, Franklin Roosevelt's opponent in 1936. Landon ran on a platform only slightly less ambitious than Roosevelt's—New Deal Lite—and lost. In the early 1970s, Richard Nixon similarly blurred the distinction between the two parties when he opted to play economic superhero at Camp David, ending the gold standard and imposing wage and price controls. These policies were popular at the time, but they hurt the party for decades: "We are all Keynesians now," Nixon's phrase, too often meant we were all Democrats as well. Ronald Reagan, strong as he was, also fits in here. We can see some of Coolidge in him, for, like Coolidge, he cut taxes, looked away from details, and delegated routinely. But his willingness to permit continued federal spending produced a record of deficits that would undermine the Republican reputation for fiscal probity.

Republicans who are thinking past January's ceremony to future inaugurations might consider this strategy: For small government and big results, don't just think small. Be small, too. **NR**

Surprise, He's a Liberal

Obama's second inaugural confirmed what we knew

BY JONAH GOLDBERG

It was brief.

It's tempting to stop here, having listed all the commendable aspects of the president's second inaugural. But that would be uncharitable. So let us also acknowledge that the phrases taken from better-written speeches by Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King Jr. were tastefully cribbed.

Okay, now we're done.

So let's move on and offer thanks to President Obama for settling what has been one of the more ridiculous disputes in American politics for the last five years: Is Obama a committed liberal, or is he a centrist, a pragmatist, or some other fashionable term? Well, guess what—he's a committed liberal! Shocker.

The man who ran for president the first time opposing gay marriage (and lying about his past support of it) has championed it in his second inaugural. The man who once said all the right words on reforming entitlements and grappling with the debt has now made clear that he never meant any of it. The man who rode into office on a Pegasus named "Bipartisanship" has now used the inaugural podium to fling out the last bits of manure from the Obama campaign's near-Augean stables. Some potshots were so thinly veiled, even the mainstream media recognized them. They included cracks at Mitt Romney, the guy he had just beaten, and George W. Bush, the cause of all of America's problems. There were also barbs aimed at voter-ID laws, those who would "deny" global warming, and other familiar liberal targets.

While it's certainly reasonable to be surprised that Obama would exploit his second inaugural address to excoriate his political opponents, suggesting that this is some sort of new and different Barack Obama is obtuse. A gobsmacked James Fallows called this the "most progressive speech Obama has ever given," which is ludicrous even if you look only at his

speeches as president. NBC's Chuck Todd seemed stunned that Obama wanted to "mainstream the liberal progressive movement."

The fact is that the Obama we saw on January 21, 2013, is the same old Obama. Indeed, one of the most remarkable things about his second inaugural is how unoriginal it was, both for him and for his cause. It's a strange thing: President Obama has one of the most elevated reputations for oratorical skill of any politician, and yet he's not known for any truly memorable speeches since his 2004 Democratic National Convention keynote address, or possibly his "race speech" of 2008. After nearly every other speech—State of the Union addresses, Oval Office statements, etc.—the response is that he was "surprisingly flat," or that, for arcane reasons never fully explained, he opted not to deploy the rhetorical superpowers everyone knows he has but no one ever sees. It's a wonderful place to be as a politician when, after you deliver a bad speech, everyone says, "He meant to do that."

Philosophically, Obama's inaugural was trite as well. "Obama's speech lacked signature lines and was more direct than soaring," concedes the liberal *Washington Post* blogger Greg Sargent, "but it was nonetheless enormously ambitious. It drew a direct line from language of the Founding Fathers straight through the great progressive presidents of the 20th Century, linking the founding language of liberty directly to the great debates of the present." True enough; the ideas in Obama's speech were already shopworn when FDR tried to replace the Bill of Rights with his "economic bill of rights." If you're of a masochistic bent, go back and read Obama's acceptance speech at the 2008 Democratic convention. It said the exact same things.

In that 2008 speech he tried to rewrite the American idea of "the pursuit of happiness" into an open license for the American government to fulfill "America's promise": "For 232 years, at each moment when that promise was in jeopardy, ordinary men and women—students and soldiers, farmers and teachers, nurses and janitors—found the courage to keep it alive." That courage, he made clear, is not the courage to keep alive the American dream of the individual pursuit of happiness vouchsafed by a constitutionally circumscribed government, but the

courage to relentlessly increase the size and scope of government. It stems from the understanding that "one person's struggle is all of our struggles," and that the only mechanism for ameliorating that struggle is the state.

Hence the ridiculous straw man Obama trots out whenever he tries to describe America without progressive government. "No single person can train all the math and science teachers we'll need to equip our children for the future," he declares. Thanks for clearing that up, Mr. President.

"For we remember the lessons of our past, when twilight years were spent in poverty and parents of a child with a disability had nowhere to turn," Obama went on. As a conservative, I am willing to concede that government interventions (Social Security, Medicare, etc.) have improved the plights of the disabled and the needy, even if we debate whether those interventions were or remain optimally designed. As a liberal, however, Obama seems incapable of grasping that there were ever alternatives to government. Did such people have nowhere to turn besides Washington? No families, no churches, no charitable organizations of any kind? For Obama, a nation without his brand of social democracy is a world where everyone is a Julia cast adrift.

The story of America as told by Obama is the unfolding realization that the constitutional order established by the Founders is inadequate to every new challenge we face. This was the "journey" Obama invoked to hold the speech together: "But we have always understood that when times change, so must we, that fidelity to our founding principles requires new responses to new challenges, that preserving our individual freedoms ultimately requires collective action."

Really? We've always understood that every new challenge requires yet more "collective action"? Obama goes on to explain that investing in new technologies and "sustainable energy sources" is "what will lend meaning to the creed our fathers once declared." So the Declaration of Independence will finally have some meaning if we pour ever more money into the corporatist green boondoggles that have already soaked up billions we've borrowed from China? Good to know!

At his core, like Wilson and FDR before him, Obama is skeptical of the



Obama gives his inaugural address, January 21, 2013.

Founders' conception of inalienable rights that protect us from government. His is a Deweyan vision of positive liberty in which the government helps us to be all that we can be. These interventions, Obama assures us, "do not make us a nation of takers. They free us to take the risks that make this country great." Hence, American greatness is, irreducibly and fundamentally, a government program. A free people didn't build that, the government did.

You may have doubts about this, but Obama is sure. And his invincible confidence is all that is required. "Progress does not compel us to settle centuries-long debates about the role of government for all time, but it does require us to act in our time." In other words, even if you, in your bitterness, insist on clinging to the real American creed, he and his followers are going to move on without you. This is an echo of his oft-repeated desire for his opponents to shut up. Objections about the proper role of government must not impede Obama's obligation to act for progress's sake. This is not a new Obama; it is the same community organizer who saw his job as galvanizing grievances to spur government action.

Of course, one might think that the best way to respect the already manifest meaning of our Founders' creed would be to respect their mechanisms of limited government. But that is not an argument Obama has much use for.

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JUSTIN SULLIVAN/GETTY IMAGES



What Happened at Haymarket?

A historian challenges a labor-history fable

BY JOHN J. MILLER

TIMOTHY MESSER-KRUSE doesn't remember her name, but the question she asked in his college classroom a dozen years ago changed his career—and now it may revolutionize everything historians thought they knew about a hallowed event in the imagination of the American Left. “In my courses on labor history, I always devoted a full lecture to Haymarket,” says Messer-Kruse, referring to what happened in Chicago on the night of May 4, 1886. He would describe how a gathering of anarchists near Haymarket Square turned into a fatal bombing and riot. Although police never arrested the bomb-thrower, they went on to tyrannize radical groups throughout the city, in a crack-down that is often called America's first Red Scare. Eight men were convicted of aiding and abetting murder. Four died at the end of a hangman's noose. Today, history books portray them as the innocent victims of a sham trial: They are labor-movement martyrs who sought modest reforms in the face of ruthless robber-baron capitalism.

As Messer-Kruse recounted this familiar tale to his students at the University of Toledo in 2001, a woman raised her hand. “Professor,” she asked, “if what it says in our textbook is true, that there was ‘no evidence whatsoever connecting them with the bombing,’ then what did they talk about in the courtroom for six weeks?”

The question stumped Messer-Kruse. “It had not occurred to me before,” he says. He muttered a few words about lousy evidence and paid witnesses. “But I didn't really know,” he recalls. “I told her I'd look it up.” As he checked out the standard sources, he failed to find good answers. The semester ended and the student moved on, but her question haunted him. “My interest grew into an obsession.” As Messer-Kruse began to look more closely, he started to wonder if the true story of Haymarket was fundamentally different from the version he and just about everybody else had been told.

The 49-year-old Messer-Kruse now teaches at Bowling Green State University in Ohio. His father was a minister, so

BETTMANN/CORBIS

he moved around a lot as a kid, eventually winding up in Oshkosh, Wis., where he graduated from high school. After that came the University of Wisconsin–Madison, but he needed nearly seven years to earn his undergraduate degree because he kept taking time off to make money as a taxi driver. These days, he prefers jogging to driving, and he has qualified to compete in the Boston Marathon this April. He posts running times on his office door. Messer-Kruse is in many ways an ordinary academic liberal. He mentions anti-poverty activist Michael Harrington as an inspiration, calls himself a “social democrat,” and says he voted twice for Barack Obama.

In 1986, when he was a senior in Madison, a buddy suggested that they drive down to Chicago for the weekend. “I just wanted to hang out with friends,” says Messer-Kruse. His companion also proposed a side trip to a cemetery, where labor activists planned to commemorate the centenary of the Haymarket protest. “I had been aware of Haymarket in passing,” says Messer-Kruse. “But I didn’t have any special knowledge or appreciation.” He doesn’t remember much about the day, which featured a roster of speakers including populist author Studs Terkel. Yet the number of young people in attendance and their passion for working-class causes affected him. “The whole day made a deep impression,” he says. It stayed with him as he entered graduate school and specialized in labor history. A framed poster for the event now decorates the wall of his cramped office at Bowling Green. “Partly because of that experience, I became a labor historian,” he says. Haymarket lit a fire in the mind of the young scholar, but Messer-Kruse devoted his doctoral dissertation to a completely different topic. “I assumed that there wasn’t anything new to research or write about Haymarket,” he says.

He also accepted a version of events that had been written into the history books long ago. The details vary, but the broad strokes of the story are the same. A group of workers, most of them German-speaking immigrants, assembled near Haymarket Square to appeal for an eight-hour workday. Many called themselves anarchists, but they were mainly a peace-loving bunch who simply wanted to improve their wretched conditions. As police arrived to bust up the crowd, someone tossed a bomb. No one knows who did it—perhaps an anarchist agitator or, as Howard Zinn suggests in *A People’s History of the United States*, perhaps “an agent of the police, an *agent provocateur*.” Regardless of the culprit’s identity, police panicked and opened fire, accidentally killing several of their fellow officers. The incident left seven cops and a handful of protesters dead. In a fit of xenophobic hysteria, authorities rounded up political radicals, showing little regard for civil rights or criminal evidence. At a trial with hostile jurors and a biased judge, eight defendants who could not be connected to the bombing were nevertheless declared guilty. Seven received death sentences. One committed suicide in prison. Four went to the gallows. The other three eventually were pardoned.

EVER since, Haymarket has occupied a central place in progressive lore. The international labor movement honors May Day as its holiday in part because of its proximity on the calendar to Haymarket’s anniversary. In the United States, Haymarket ranks alongside the cases of Sacco

and Vanzetti, Alger Hiss, and the Rosenbergs as a fable of anti-radical persecution. Well into the 20th century, its notoriety provoked violent rage. In 1969, Bill Ayers and an accomplice from the Weather Underground engaged in their own Haymarket terror, bombing a statue that honored the fallen policemen of 1886. “This is too good—it’s us against the pigs, a medieval contest of good and evil,” wrote Ayers of the affair in his memoir, *Fugitive Days*.

The Haymarket legend became more than a preoccupation of red-diaper babies. It entered mainstream education. A common college textbook—*America: A Concise History*, by James A. Henretta and David Brody—says the Haymarket defendants were “victims of one of the great miscarriages of American justice.” Another textbook—*American Stories*, whose authors include best-selling historian H. W. Brands—claims that there was “no evidence of their guilt.” Worst of all, the episode was thought to have exposed the nation’s highest ideals as gross hypocrisies: “The Haymarket case challenged, like no other episode in the nineteenth century, the image of the United States as a classless society with liberty and justice for all,” wrote James Green in *Death in the Haymarket*, a popular account published in 2006.

“I believed all of this,” says Messer-Kruse. “I had drunk the Kool-Aid.” Then his student asked her vexing question: If the trial was a sham, what did everyone talk about for week after week? Driven by curiosity, Messer-Kruse wanted to find out.

His first step was to consult the conventional scholarship—works published by labor historians Henry David in 1936 and Paul Avrich in 1984. “I thought it would be easy to learn what happened,” he says. Yet neither account satisfied him. Then the Internet came to the rescue: Messer-Kruse discovered that the Library of Congress and the Chicago Historical Society had just digitized a large collection of material on Haymarket, including a transcript of the trial. He slogged through thousands of pages, consulting other primary documents to gain a sharper picture of what lay buried in the historical record. Along the way, he realized that earlier researchers had not consulted this transcript. Instead, they had relied on an abstract of the trial prepared by defense lawyers, drawing their conclusions from a flamboyantly prejudiced account of the bombing and its aftermath. “The best source had been hiding in plain sight,” says Messer-Kruse.

Here was a scholar’s dream: untapped evidence about a landmark moment in history. Messer-Kruse looked at Haymarket from brand-new angles, embarking on the *CSI: Haymarket* phase of his research. The trial transcript made him question the claim that friendly fire was at least as deadly to the police as the actual bomb, so he consulted old maps and built a scale-model diorama in his basement. Cardboard cutouts represented buildings. Plastic green soldiers stood in for police and protesters. One time, his wife came down the steps to find him fixated on his miniature scene. “A beautiful mind,” she said before turning around and heading back up, in an allusion to the then-current movie about John Nash, a brilliant professor who sinks into madness. “I was just trying to understand the evidence,” says Messer-Kruse.

This unusual approach seems to have paid off: Messer-Kruse believes that although it’s impossible to rule out lethal friendly fire, several policemen were probably shot by armed protesters—a fact that chips away at the belief that the anarchists

were peaceful. Messer-Kruse also worked with chemists to study the forensic remains of Haymarket's violence. He determined that the original trial experts brought in to study the bomb and bullet fragments had done their jobs well. He furthermore concluded that one of the Haymarket defendants—Louis Lingg, who killed himself before authorities could carry out his death sentence—almost certainly built the bomb.

These findings made their way into Messer-Kruse's first formal work of scholarship on Haymarket: a 2005 paper printed in *Labor*, a top academic journal. Around the same time, Messer-Kruse organized a symposium on his work at an annual labor-history conference at Wayne State University, in Detroit. "I expected skepticism," he says. "Instead, I encountered utter and complete denial of the evidence." The standing-

militants who believed that only bloodshed could bring social change. They plotted to incite violence at Haymarket. The person who threw the bomb was almost certainly Rudolph Schnaubelt, a close confederate of the defendants. He was never brought to justice because he fled Chicago and vanished from history, though Messer-Kruse suggests that he lived out his days as a farm-equipment salesman in Buenos Aires. The eight men who were arrested received a fair trial by the standards of the day. Finally, most of the blame for their being found guilty lies with a defense team that seemed more committed to political theater than to providing competent legal counsel.

Once again, Messer-Kruse encountered the closed-minded hostility that he had experienced at the Wayne State confer-

Even the best revisionist scholarship can take a long time to influence the way teachers and schools treat history, especially when the authors of leading textbooks show little interest in examining new evidence.

room-only crowd refused to question what had become an article of faith in left-wing mythology. "They seemed to think that our purpose as historians was to celebrate Haymarket, not to study it or challenge it," he says. The most provocative attack came a year later, when Bryan D. Palmer of Trent University, in Canada, published a rebuttal to Messer-Kruse. The Haymarket anarchists, he wrote, were "humane, gentle, kindly souls." Evildoers oppressed them: "The state, the judiciary, and the capitalist class had blood on their hands in 1886–87," he wrote. Those of us who "drink of this old wine adorned with the new label of Messer-Kruse . . . may end up with the sickly sweet repugnance of blood on our lips."

These fighting words convinced Messer-Kruse that he needed to continue his work. He envisioned a magnum opus on Haymarket—a large book that would ask hard questions and exploit new sources. "A lot of labor historians think they must be deeply engaged with the prospects and agenda of labor unions," says Messer-Kruse. "But we have an obligation to represent as best we can the objective reality of the past."

FOR several years, Messer-Kruse toiled away. He produced a thick manuscript, only to find that publishers didn't want a big book on the subject. They feared a commercial flop. So he broke it into three parts, delivering his reinterpretation of Haymarket in a long academic paper and two peer-reviewed books: *The Trial of the Haymarket Anarchists*, published by Palgrave-Macmillan in 2011, and *The Haymarket Conspiracy*, published by the University of Illinois Press last summer.

"My aim is not to prove that the police and the courts were right and the anarchists and their supporters were wrong," writes Messer-Kruse in the introduction to *Trial*. Yet the sum of his work appears to do just that. He shows that Chicago's anarchists belonged to an international network of left-wing

ence. When a press release for *The Haymarket Conspiracy* appeared on an online discussion board for labor historians in August, within days of Mitt Romney's acceptance of the Republican presidential nomination, Norman Markowitz of Rutgers University delivered this deep thought: "Perhaps Romney will put the book on his reading list." *Dissent*, a left-wing quarterly, attacked Messer-Kruse's work, and most mainstream publications have ignored it. Messer-Kruse even battled Wikipedia editors when he tried to update the entry for Haymarket.

Yet Messer-Kruse is also starting to receive a strange new respect. Last May, the Labadie Collection—the nation's premier archive of anarchist documents, housed at the University of Michigan—asked Messer-Kruse to deliver the keynote address at its centennial exhibit. In August, the academic journal *Labor History* picked *Trial* as its book of the year. In the fall, *Labor*, the scholarly periodical, published a symposium on his work. Colleagues offered criticism, but they also praised his "careful," "well-argued," and "impressively nuanced" scholarship. The January 2013 issue of *Choice*, the professional magazine for college librarians, listed *Trial* as an outstanding academic title.

Even the best revisionist scholarship can take a long time to influence the way teachers and schools treat history, especially when the authors of leading textbooks show little interest in examining new evidence. "I haven't read Messer-Kruse's book and so can't comment," says H. W. Brands. Bryan Palmer, who wrote the blistering "blood on our lips" attack in 2006, says he hasn't read the new material. James Green, author of *Death in the Haymarket*, also demurs.

Yet change is coming, according to Eric Arnesen, a labor historian at George Washington University. "This is going to make people pause when they get to the Haymarket part of their courses," he says. "They won't be able to use their old lecture notes anymore. They'll have to bring up Timothy Messer-Kruse."

NR

Marriage and Politics

*Why the debate matters;
why the conjugal view can prevail*

**BY SHERIF GIRGIS,
RYAN T. ANDERSON, AND
ROBERT P. GEORGE**

In our new book *What Is Marriage? Man and Woman: A Defense*, we make a rational case for the historic understanding of marriage as a conjugal relationship—a union of a man and a woman at every level (mind, heart, and body), inherently oriented to family life. We show how the common good depends on enshrining this view in law, and answer all the most significant criticisms of this view (having to do with equality, freedom, neutrality, interracial marriage, infertile couples, and much more). We show how the argument for redefining marriage contradicts itself, and document the many ways that embracing it would harm the common good. And we show how society can support marriage without ignoring the needs, undermining the dignity, or curbing the fulfillment of people with same-sex attractions.

Here, we respond to some challenges that even those sympathetic to our views might raise: Why worry about same-sex marriage in particular? Why worry about marriage policy? If marriage policy does matter, why not “broaden the definition” of marriage to promote family values? How would recognizing same-sex relationships as marriages harm marriage? Isn’t ours a losing cause, or at best a secondary one? And why privilege anyone’s sectarian values at all—doesn’t that compromise freedom and equality? We address each of these questions in turn.

Why focus on opposing the recognition of same-sex partnerships as marriages? Aren’t widespread divorce and single parenting the real problems?

Why do conservatives focus exclusively on same-sex marriage? The answer is simple: We don’t. Conservatives always did, and still do, make other social and political efforts to strengthen the marriage culture. The push to redefine marriage was brought to us. We don’t know a single person involved in this effort who wouldn’t rather focus on something else. But now that this is the live debate, we can’t ignore it, for its out-

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come will have wider effects on the marriage culture that really is our main concern.

Long before the debate over same-sex marriage, a “marriage movement” was launched to explain why marriage was good for husbands and wives faithful to its demands, for their children, and for society more broadly.

Prominent articles, such as “Dan Quayle Was Right,” Barbara Dafoe Whitehead’s cover story for *The Atlantic* in 1993, tallied the high social costs of family fragmentation. The next decade saw the emergence of organizations such as Mike and Harriet McManus’s Marriage Savers and policies such as the Bush administration’s Healthy Marriage Initiative. The targets of these and countless other initiatives were high divorce and cohabitation rates and the rising birth rate among unmarried women. Same-sex relationships weren’t on anyone’s radar.

It was in this marriage movement that Maggie Gallagher, today’s leading opponent of redefining marriage, was active throughout the 1980s and ’90s. She wrote books documenting the sexual revolution’s damage to “family, marriage, and sex” and making “the case for marriage” as a better arrangement for couples than cohabitation. One of us (RPG) joined her in the ’80s after witnessing the havoc wrought by the collapsing marriage culture in his native Appalachia. (The other two of us were busy gestating or learning to read.) None of this was about gay anything.

Though the Defense of Marriage Act was passed in 1996, the question of whether to redefine marriage to eliminate sexual complementarity didn’t take center stage until 2003, when the Massachusetts Supreme Court created a constitutional right to recognition of same-sex partnerships as marriages. By then, the marriage movement’s leaders had no choice. They had to decide: Would recognizing same-sex relationships as marriages strengthen the marriage culture or further weaken it?

They concluded that same-sex marriage was not ultimately about expanding the pool of American couples eligible to marry. It was about cementing a new idea of marriage into the law—the very idea whose baleful effects they had spent years fighting. That idea, that romantic and emotional union is all that makes a marriage, could not explain (as anything other than sentiment or personal preference) or support the stabilizing norms of permanence, monogamy, and sexual exclusivity that make marriage fitting for family life. It could only weaken them.

Indeed, it had already begun to do so. Disastrous policies such as no-fault divorce were motivated by the idea that a marriage is made by romantic attachment and satisfaction—and comes undone when these fade. The marriage movement’s leaders knew that to keep any footing for rebuilding the marriage culture, they had to fight the formal and final redefinition of marriage as essentially romantic companionship.

Why worry so much about policy?

Some think supporters of marriage should focus less on politics and more on civil society. This is a false and self-defeating dichotomy. We should focus both on politics *and* on culture, because each can only reinforce—or undermine—the other. Indeed, they are not entirely separate things.

Over time the law shapes what people think marriage is and requires, which in turn affects how people act toward and with-

in marriage—just think of the effects of no-fault divorce laws. The effects of redefining marriage to exclude sexual complementarity will likely be multiplied by anti-discrimination laws requiring the compliance of unwilling third parties and by changes in public-school curricula. Political and cultural efforts simply can't be separated. They are two fronts in the same battle to provide the space, motivation, and social support for couples to live according to a true ideal of marriage. Indeed, in some ways they aren't separate fronts at all: Law, policy, and politics are themselves part of culture.

How much does such social regulation matter? History is our lab, and the results are clear. Every political community that has lasted long enough to leave a trace of itself has regulated male-female sexual relationships. Why? These alone produce new human beings—highly dependent little creatures who have the best chance of reaching physical, moral, and cultural maturity and of contributing to the community when reared by their own mothers and fathers in the context of marriage. But family stability doesn't happen by chance. It requires a strong marriage *culture*: norms and subtle influences designed to guide people's choices toward their own long-term interests and the common good.

Indeed, justice demands as much. By encouraging marital stability, the state vindicates a right—that of a child to know the committed love of his own mother and father for him and for each other. And it limits the impact of negative externalities on innocent parties, because failed marriages and out-of-wedlock births burden us all with a train of social pathologies and a greater demand for policing and state-provided social services. The research of sociologists David Popenoe and Alan Wolfe on Scandinavian countries shows that as marriage culture declines, the size and scope of state power and spending grow. Libertarians, please take note.

A study by the left-leaning Brookings Institution finds that \$229 billion in welfare spending between 1970 and 1996 can be attributed to the breakdown of the marriage culture and the resulting exacerbation of social ills: teen pregnancy, poverty, crime, drug abuse, and health problems. A 2008 study found that divorce and unwed childbearing cost taxpayers \$112 billion each year.

Government is leaner and more effective when it supports marital norms than when it tries to pick up the pieces from a shattered marriage culture. And it can support these norms without banning anything. Libertarians and social conservatives should be allies on marriage.

Why wouldn't you want to recognize committed, monogamous same-sex relationships?

Some argue that marriage will civilize and stabilize same-sex relationships. But there is nothing magical about the word "marriage." It does not by itself promote marital norms no matter where or how we apply it. Rather, marital norms are promoted by marriage laws that embody and encourage a vision of marriage that makes sense of the norms as a coherent whole.

Marital norms make no sense, as a principled matter, if marriage is just whatever same- and opposite-sex couples can have in common—namely, intense emotional regard. There is no reason of principle that emotional union should be permanent. Or limited to two persons rather than larger ensembles.

Or sexual, much less sexually exclusive (as opposed to "open"). Or inherently oriented to family life and shaped by its demands. (Couples may live out these norms where temperament or taste motivates them, but there is no reason of principle for them to do so, and no basis for using the law to encourage them to do so.)

In other words, if sexual complementarity is optional for marriage, present only where preferred, then so is almost every other norm that sets marriage apart. Though some same-sex marriage supporters would disagree, this point can be established by reason, and is increasingly confirmed by the rhetoric and arguments used in the campaign to redefine marriage, by the policies that many of its leaders are increasingly led to embrace, and even by preliminary social science.

Thus, in their statement "Beyond Same-Sex Marriage," more than 300 "LGBT and allied" scholars and advocates—including such prominent figures as Gloria Steinem and NYU law professor Kenji Yoshino—call for legally recognizing sexual relationships involving more than two partners. Professor Elizabeth Brake, of the University of Calgary, argues that justice requires using legal recognition to correct for "past discrimination against . . . polygamists and care networks."

What about the connection to family life? Andrew Sullivan says that marriage has become "primarily a way in which two adults affirm their emotional commitment to one another." E. J. Graff celebrates the fact that recognizing same-sex relationships as marriages would change the "institution's message" so that it would "ever after stand for sexual choice, for cutting the link between sex and diapers."

And exclusivity? Mr. Sullivan, who has extolled the "spirituality" of "anonymous sex," thinks that the "openness" of same-sex relationships could enhance the bonds of husbands and wives by promoting "flexibility"—euphemisms for sexual infidelity. Dan Savage argues for the same in a *New York Times Magazine* article titled "Married, with Infidelities." A piece in *The Advocate*, a gay-interest newsmagazine, supports our point still more candidly:

Anti-equality right-wingers have long insisted that allowing gays to marry will destroy the sanctity of "traditional marriage." . . . What if—for once—the sanctimonious crazies are right? Could the gay male tradition of open relationships actually alter marriage as we know it? And would that be such a bad thing?

These are not our words, but those of leading supporters of same-sex marriage. We could provide many, many more examples. If you believe in permanence and exclusivity but would redefine marriage, take note.

In fact, some have embraced the goal of weakening the institution of marriage in these very terms. Former president George W. Bush is correct, says Victoria Brownworth, "when he states that allowing same-sex couples to marry will weaken the institution of marriage. . . . It most certainly will do so, and that will make marriage a far better concept than it previously has been." Michelangelo Signorile urges those in same-sex relationships to "fight for same-sex marriage and its benefits and then, once granted, redefine the institution of marriage completely."

These ideas play out in policy. Since countries have begun recognizing same-sex relationships, governments have seen challenges to nearly every other traditional norm: Mexico City

considered expressly temporary marriage licenses. Equality-based proposals to decriminalize or recognize polygamy have arisen in Canada and elsewhere. A public notary in Brazil recognized a three-person partnership (a “triad” or “throuple”) as a civil union, saying that the redefinition of marriage required it: “What we considered a family before isn’t necessarily what we would consider a family today.”

Preliminary social science confirms that marital norms would be weakened by the establishment of same-sex marriage. The *New York Times* recently reported on a study finding that exclusivity was not the norm among gay partners: “With straight people, it’s called affairs or cheating,” said Colleen Hoff, the study’s principal investigator, “but with gay people it does not have such negative connotations.” In fact, several studies suggest that there is either no difference between exclusive and open same-sex male relationships or greater stability in the open ones. By contrast, 99 percent of opposite-sex couples demand of each other and anticipate sexual exclusivity in their marriage, and violations of it are, in one study’s words, “the leading cause of divorce across 160 cultures and are one of the most frequent reasons that couples seek marital therapy.”

All the evidence suggests that same-sex marriage simply cannot generate social norms of the sort traditionally associated with marriage. That is because such norms make less sense as general requirements for same-sex relationships than they do for truly conjugal unions, as many LGBT scholars and activists concede.

How would recognizing same-sex relationships as marriages hurt marriage?

Recognizing same-sex relationships as marriages requires replacing one basic vision of what marriage is (in our law, and hence in our mores, and hence in practice) with another vision of marriage. The new vision is one that equates marriage with the much broader category of companionship. Companionate bonds have great personal value, but they can’t ground in a principled way the norms that set marriage apart.

To the extent that marriage is misunderstood, it will be harder to see the point of its norms, to live by them, and to encourage their strict observance. And this, besides making any remaining restrictions on marriage arbitrary, will damage the many cultural and political goods that first got the state involved in marriage. Here is a summary of those goods.

Real marital fulfillment. No one acts in a vacuum. We all take cues from cultural norms, many of which are shaped by the law. To form a true marriage, one must freely choose it. And to choose marriage, one must have at least a rough idea of what it is. The revisionist view would harm people (especially future generations) by distorting their idea of what marriage is. It would teach that marriage is essentially about emotional fulfillment and cohabitation, without any inherent connections to bodily union or procreation and family life. As individuals internalized this view, their ability to realize genuine marital union would diminish.



This would be bad in itself, since marital union is good in itself. It would be the subtlest but also the primary harm of redefining marriage; other harms include the *effects* of misconstruing marriage.

Spousal well-being. Marriage tends to make spouses healthier, happier, and wealthier. But what does this *is marriage*, especially through its distinctive norms of permanence, exclusivity, and orientation to family life. As the state’s redefinition of marriage makes these norms harder to understand, justify, and live by, spouses will enjoy less marital stability and less of the psychological and material advantages that flow from it.

Children’s well-being. If same-sex relationships are recognized, not only will the stabilizing norms of marriage be undermined, but the notion that men and women tend to bring different gifts to parenting will not be reinforced by any civil institution. Redefining marriage would soften the social pressures and lower the incentives—already diminished these past few decades—for husbands to stay with their wives and children and for men and women to marry before having children. All this would harm children’s development into happy, productive, upright adults.

Friendship. Misunderstandings about marriage will speed our society’s drought of deep friendship, with special harm to the unmarried. The state will have defined marriage mainly by degree or intensity—as offering the most of what makes any relationship valuable: shared emotion and experience. It thus will become less acceptable to seek (and harder to find) emotional and spiritual intimacy in nonmarital friendships. Instead of being seen as different from marriage and therefore distinctively appealing, they will be regarded simply as less. Only the conjugal view, which gives marriage a definite orientation to bodily union and family life, preserves a horizon richly populated with many types of association and affection, each with its own scale of depth and specific forms of presence and care.

Religious liberty. As the conjugal view of marriage comes to be seen as irrational (“bigoted”), freedom to express and live by it will be curbed. Several states already have forced Catholic Charities to choose between giving up its adoption services and placing children with same-sex partners, against Catholic principles. Some defenders of marriage have been fired or denied employment or educational and career opportunities for publicizing their views. If marriage is redefined, believing what virtually every human society once believed about marriage—that it is a male-female union—will be seen increasingly as a malicious prejudice, to be driven to the margins of culture. The consequences for observant Christians, Jews, Muslims, and others are becoming apparent.

Limited government. The state is (or should be) a supporting actor in our lives, not a protagonist. It exists to create the conditions under which individuals and our freely formed communities can thrive. The most important free community, on which all others depend, is the marriage-based family; and the conditions for its thriving include the accommodations and pressures that marriage law provides for couples to stay together. Redefining marriage will further erode marital norms, thrusting the state further into leading

roles for which it is poorly suited: parent and discipliner to the orphaned, provider to the neglected, and arbiter of disputes over custody, paternity, and visitation. As the family weakens, our welfare and correctional bureaucracies grow.

Isn't the fight against redefining marriage a losing battle?

The simple answer is no. A careful look at the polls reveals complex and dynamic trends. But how those polls change will depend on human choice, not blind historical forces. The question is not what will happen, but what we should do.

Consider, first, the much-vaunted 2012 election results of marriage-related referenda. In Maine, Romney received 40 percent of the vote, and marriage 47 percent. In Maryland, it was Romney 37 percent, marriage 48 percent. In Minnesota, Romney 45 percent, marriage 48 percent. In Washington State, Romney

If sexual complementarity is optional for marriage, present only where preferred, then so is almost every other norm that sets marriage apart.

42 percent, marriage 47 percent. All this in a campaign in which proponents of redefinition had a four-to-one financial advantage and the backing of prominent figures: President Obama, Vice President Biden, governors, and a host of business, sports, and entertainment leaders. And in May, marriage won in a landslide, 61 percent to 39 percent, in a referendum in the swing state of North Carolina, a state Obama had carried in 2008 and lost fairly narrowly in 2012.

Do young people tend to favor redefining marriage? Yes, though not by the margins many assume. To the extent that young people lack a solid understanding of the nature and social purpose of marriage, we have reason to redouble efforts to reeducate a generation of heirs to the sexual revolution's ruins. We have no reason to give up on them, and no excuse for doing so.

Here we should take our cue from the pro-life movement, as one of us (RTA) argues in the Fall 2012 issue of the *Human Life Review*. In the years just after *Roe*, public opinion was breaking strongly for abortion. With each passing day another pro-life public figure—Ted Kennedy, Jesse Jackson, Al Gore, Bill Clinton—evolved to embrace abortion on demand. Elites ridiculed pro-lifers as being on the wrong side of history. The pro-life ranks were aging; their children, increasingly against them.

But courageous pro-lifers put their hands to the plow, and today we reap the fruits. Pro-lifers have decisively won the intellectual battle on the humanity of the unborn child. Most Americans now oppose most abortions, and despite politicians' blunders (as in the 2012 election), pro-life state laws are generally making great progress.

What happened? Besides the advent of the sonogram and other fortuitous factors, arguments, organizations, and strategies were developed. Similar work must now be done on the issue of marriage. Whatever the intelligentsia may say, only idleness can guarantee a political loss.

Taking this longer view, we like our chances. As young people settle down, marry, and have kids, they will develop greater appreciation for what makes a marriage, for the distinctiveness

of husbands and wives, mothers and fathers. And if we are right about the likely harms of redefining marriage, then even a season of nationwide genderless marriage and its consequences would lead to a reassessment—just as no-fault divorce spawned the marriage movement a generation ago.

Why limit freedom in the name of sectarian values?

If this debate indeed is about which of two visions of marriage to enshrine, then neutrality (or equality) by itself can't move us an inch toward requiring a redefinition of marriage. Neutrality can't favor enshrining one substantive moral vision of marriage over another. And it's clear that the revisionist view is indeed a substantive vision of marriage. The revisionist view still imposes some restrictions on what does and doesn't count as a marriage. For example, it excludes what *Newsweek*

tells us are America's 500,000 multiple-partner (polyamorous) homes. Monogamy is just as much a standard as sexual complementarity.

But it isn't just marriage policy that can't be neutral. Settling other policies also requires controversial moral stances on issues where worldviews clash: affirmative action, abortion, assisted suicide, poverty relief, capital punishment, torture, and many more. That doesn't mean that the state must keep silent on these matters; it hardly can. Instead it must work to get them right—which it's likeliest to do if citizens explain the reasons for their views with clarity and candor.

In fact, though, our view of marriage isn't ours in any sectarian sense. Something quite like it has been shared by the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim traditions; by ancient Greek and Roman thinkers untouched by these religions; and by various Enlightenment philosophers. It is affirmed by the common and the civil law, and by ancient Greek and Roman law. And far from having been intended to exclude same-sex relationships, it arose in many places, over several centuries, in which same-sex marriage was nowhere on the radar. Indeed, it arose in cultures that had no concept of sexual orientation, and in some that fully accepted homoeroticism and even took it for granted.

Still, redefining the historic conception of marriage to include same-sex relationships will undermine both the rationale behind civil marriage and (based on evidence only touched upon here) the practice of marriage, as well as all the crucial goods that depend on it.

Of course, support for marriage between a man and a woman is no excuse for animus against those with same-sex attractions, or for ignoring the needs of individuals who may never marry, for whatever reason. They are no less worthy than others of concern and respect, and public policy should do what is necessary and proper to help their lives go well. But the same diligent concern for the common good requires protecting and strengthening the marriage culture, by promoting the truth about marriage.

NR



The Long View

BY ROB LONG

BETHESDA MENTAL HEALTH CLINIC

*A Blue Ribbon
Mental Health Facility*

MEMORANDUM

TO: ALL STAFF
FROM: Senior Medical Staff
IN RE: 1,460 Days to Go

Dear Staff:

As the glow fades on the second inaugural of President Obama, and as we all get back to the important work of keeping our nation's political, judicial, military, and media leaders in functional mental health, it's a good time to plan for the future.

Success, as our military masterminds will tell us, is a matter of planning. "It's not the plan, it's the planning," to paraphrase General Dwight Eisenhower. (Who was not a patient at the clinic, by the way.) So in that spirit, let's begin to think generally about the challenges and struggles our patients—especially those in the media—will be facing 1,460 days from now, when President Barack Obama leaves office.

We've already begun to see signs of magical thinking on the part of our journalist patient group, albeit on a benign scale. At the recent mental-health retreat for the on-air talent and producers at MSNBC, most of the morning breakout sessions were taken up by the issue of the presidential term limit and how it can be annulled. Within reason, of course, this kind of fantastical daydreaming can be beneficial to patients struggling with delusion and feelings of inappropriate devotion. Negation of self—especially when accompanied by slavish subservience to the "grand

other"—can be abated, somewhat, by guided fantasy.

On the other hand, we're starting to notice, especially with print reporters from the *New York Times*, an increased awareness that, eventually, President Barack Obama will leave office. Some of the D.C. Bureau staffers have begun making subtle requests for an increase in their anti-anxiety dosage and a doubling up of their psychotic-episode inhibitors, and some CNN producers have even begun wondering, in group settings, about the viability of an assisted mass suicide, along the lines of a Jonestown or Heaven's Gate cult.

Within reason, and under the supervision of mental-health professionals, these "death drama" fantasies can be explored in the safety of individual or group sessions. And as we know, we have 1,460 days to prepare our patients for the inevitable end of the Obama administration.

On the other hand, in a recent private session with on-air-talent patient C. Matthews, the vividness of these fantasies caused some concern with his responsible doctor. That patient indulged in a highly detailed daydream about setting himself on fire on Inauguration Day 2017, in the fashion of those Buddhist monks during the Vietnam era. These kinds of dangerous and malignant delusions need to be monitored, especially among our patients who, like C. Matthews, are already ingesting the maximum safe dosages of anti-anxiety, anti-delusion, and anti-psychotic medications.

To that end, we'd like to ask all mental-health staff—and this includes the nurse practitioners and the ice-bath attendants (who are primarily focused on the on-air talent)—to comply with the following guidelines:

1. Remind our patients that the presidential term is by definition limited, but that the impact of a former president is limitless. Utilize messianic and/or religious vocabulary if necessary to paint a picture of the president's

being "born anew" into a new role and a new "majesty." Cleansed of the "filth of politics," the new "Glorious Citizen Obama" will be able to float above us, as a kind of angel-lord. (This will be especially effective, studies show, with the print journalists.)

2. Make the countdown fun. We'll be installing a fun countdown clock in the main lobby, and our on-air patients will be issued a kind of "advent" calendar: Behind each day will be a chocolate or some kind of treat—perhaps, in the case of the MSNBC personnel, an extra dose of medication.

3. Do not refer to the "cycle" of politics, as that will be unduly alarming for most of our patients in the media, who have accepted the notion of the "permanent transformation" of the self-object—in this case, American society.

4. Keep a running tally of the various suicide-pact/violent-outburst/"grand gesture" fantasies that emerge, and remind patients as they move through the following months how much easier it will get over time for them to accept a world without a President Obama.

5. Begin and end each session with a simple identity recitation. Studies show that cult members who are continually asked their names, the names of their spouses and children, their home addresses, and other simple identifiers have an easier time transitioning from total devotion to the Leader back to a more stable self- and worldview.

Please try to comply with those five initial guidelines, and be prepared to share successes and insights at our weekly staff meetings. As indicated, it's primarily our journalist/media patients who seem most at risk, but as the 1,460 days count down, our political/administrative patients will no doubt be showing stress fissures.

Please see anyone from senior staff if you have any questions.

Thank you,
Senior Medical Staff

Inaugural Exegesis

Now that the president has laid out his agenda in broad, sweeping strokes—basically, solar-powered wedding chapels for gay marriages—we can get down to the business of the disappointing second term. It's usually a letdown for the stalwarts. Recall George Bush saying he'd accumulated political capital and intended to spend it. A few years later, after Social Security reform went nowhere, he was wearing a barrel and staring at a pile of chips on the other side of the table.

It's possible, though, that President Obama will skip blithely from triumph to triumph, nudging a lowing herd of credulous millennials into the pen of joyless collectivism, emerging periodically to give a hectoring address while jutting his chin at the Future, mistaking hortatory hollering for persuasion.

There were a few notes in the inaugural address that reminded you who he feels he needs to be. On the perils of something once called "global warming," he said, "We will respond to the threat of climate change, knowing that the failure to do so would betray our children and future generations."

Maybe he was throwing this out as a bone to the Left, which believes that people are a scourge on the planet and global warming is bad because it will . . . hurt people. At least someone on the anti-human front is honest enough to tell us all we're nothing but viruses: Sir David Attenborough has compared humans to a disease. As quoted by the *Telegraph*: "We are a plague on the Earth. It's coming home to roost over the next 50 years or so. It's not just climate change; it's sheer space, places to grow food for this enormous horde. Either we limit our population growth or the natural world will do it for us."

He's a member of Population Matters, which wants to decrease the British population so that it resembles Japan's by 2035: lots of old people living with robot cats, shuffling off to Soylent Green reduction centers when they become ill—defined, in the future, as wrinkly. He wants NGOs to do something about people in less-developed countries (cough wogs cough) so they don't gnaw at the planet's withered teats. Prosperity will do that, eventually, but prosperity also means people use more energy as they live better lives, and this means the oceans rise—why, you can just imagine Sir David throwing a chart of projected sea levels across the room, angrily declaiming that this will decimate Miami Beach property values, the FOOLS.

This requires collective action, which the president supports; his use of the word "collective" must have sent a thrill rippling through his tripartite base:

1) The red-in-tooth-and-claw Actual Collectivists, who no doubt nodded when Van Jones said the speech was "Djobama

Unleashed"—a reference to a movie where a slave shoots a lot of people, played by an actor who told a *Saturday Night Live* audience that he gets to shoot white people, and how great is that? OH COME ON IT'S A JOKE. Anyway, hoorah for collectivism! It'll be super-peaceful this time, pinky swear.

2) The extraordinarily rich people who love the president because he cares and Stonewall!!! squeee!!! and whose lifestyle suffers no diminution from his policies; it's not like they gave the pool boy health care in the first place, and now it's so nice that he has it, somehow.

3) The post-individualist cohort of intellectual sycophants who have no religion, feel uncomfortable with America because it did bad things and patriotism is horrid unless you're French (in which case it's just *charming* and *SO THEM*), and sighed with relief when they realized that *government* is

The word
"collective"
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a chill rippling
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Obama's base.

the thing we all belong to. These men steal into their children's bedroom at night and behold their innocent countenances, thinking, "Someday the call may come for you to defend OSHA regs on the proper placement of hazmat regulations in the workplace. May you be equal to the task."

An apt example of the last group—perhaps not "men without chests," in C. S. Lewis's phrase, but possibly lads with dimpled sternums—might be Matthew

Yglesias, who wrote about the uptick in the hooker economy in the North Dakota oil patch. More men grunting over greasy pipes means increased demand for slatterns-for-hire: *Quelle surprise*. Because this was so stupidly obvious he added a Cautionary Note: "It's a reminder that the economic and social consequences of natural resource extraction are highly gendered."

Dirty smelly oily work is mostly done by men: Go figure that. You catch the whiff of dismay: Oh dear, stereotypes are being reinforced out there in North Dakota and there's *nothing* we can do about it. Out there in the icky middle of the country, GENDERED WORK IS HAPPENING.

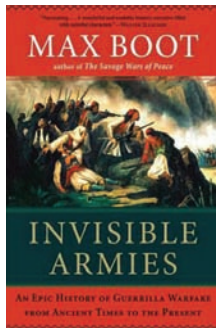
For the moment, anyway. The president likes the NoDak boom because he can claim he's pro-oil to casual viewers, then pivot *en pointe* and be Mr. Sustainable for the greens. No one will call him on it. If the ACLU filed suit to close down Gitmo and he had drones take out their board of directors, it would be a sign of his Vigorous Posture. It doesn't matter what he says, unless he utters the Tingle Words like "climate" or "Stonewall." What matters is that he's transforming America, as promised—from a wretched sprawl of oppression and so-called freedoms to a bright new land where government brings us together, much as a house fire brings together a family on the lawn. Not to say we aren't good people; heck, we elected him. But a hundred years from now, if there were fewer Americans infecting the world? That'd be great. Best second term ever.

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Books, Arts & Manners

La Petite Guerre

MACKUBIN THOMAS OWENS



Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Times to the Present, by Max Boot (Liveright, 784 pp., \$35)

DURING the decade after the first Gulf War, many national-security experts concluded that emerging technologies, especially information technologies, had created a “revolution in military affairs” (RMA) that would fundamentally change the nature of war. They contended that these emerging technologies and “information dominance” would eliminate “friction” and the “fog of war,” providing the commander and his subordinates with nearly perfect situational awareness.

Toward the end of the decade, the phrase “RMA” gave way to “transformation,” defined as innovation on a grand scale predicated on the RMA-inspired belief that war was changing. During the 2000 election, candidate George W. Bush adopted many of the tenets of this argument, calling for “skipping a generation of weapons” in order to transform the U.S. military from a Cold War institution to a highly mobile, stealthy, dispersed, and electronically networked force structure.

Mr. Owens is a professor at the Naval War College and the editor of Orbis, the journal of the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He is a Marine-infantry veteran of the Vietnam War.

During the first phase of the Iraq War in the spring of 2003, the promises of the transformation advocates seemed to have been fulfilled. By any standard, the performance of U.S. arms during the Iraq War was nothing short of breathtaking. But then the character of the war began to change. The toe-to-toe slugfest with Iraqi conventional forces for which the Coalition had planned gave way to a guerrilla war that came close to derailing the Coalition’s efforts. Not until the surge of 2007 and the application of a reinvigorated counterinsurgency approach would the guerrilla threat abate.

The changing character of the Iraq War led a number of commentators to argue that the Pentagon’s emphasis on technology as the basis of transformation was fundamentally flawed. One of the most influential of these was Thomas X. Hammes, who argued in his 2004 book *The Sling and the Stone* that the emphasis on high-tech warfare prevented the U.S. military from adapting to a style of warfare in which guerrillas and terrorists employ low-technology tactics to counter American strengths and exploit American vulnerabilities.

Hammes’s critique of the Pentagon’s technocentric thinking was right on the money, but he erred in calling this phenomenon “fourth-generation warfare,” and in suggesting that there was something new about wars in which our opponents rely on asymmetric, low-tech tactics and on networks of people rather than networks of state-of-the-art weapon systems. As Max Boot shows in his encyclopedic new book, *Invisible Armies*, the sort of war that Hammes described goes back to antiquity: Far from being the fourth generation of war, it has been a part of war from the beginning of recorded time.

Boot, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, has written widely on security affairs, and has actually been on both sides of the transformation debate. In his 2002 book *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power*, he suggested that the real “American way of war” owed at least as much to our experience with irregular warfare as to our technological

advantage in conventional conflict. But in 2007’s *War Made New*, he seemed to reject his earlier arguments, penning what many saw as a paean to technology in war, although he acknowledged that technology alone has never been a sufficient cause of victory. *Invisible Armies* is closer to *The Savage Wars of Peace* than to *War Made New*.

The book’s title is taken from an account of the French experience in Spain from 1808 to 1814. In his memoirs of the Peninsular War, the Count Miot de Melito recalled that

an invisible army spread itself over nearly the whole of Spain like a net from whose meshes there was no escape for the French soldier who for a moment left his column or his garrison. Without uniforms and without weapons, apparently the guerrillos escaped easily from the column that pursued them, and it frequently happened that the troops sent out to do battle with them, passed through their midst without perceiving them.

With *Invisible Armies*, Boot has undertaken an ambitious project: to provide a comprehensive account of *la petite guerre*, or “small war”: low-intensity, irregular, asymmetric, complex, hybrid, or unconventional warfare. He acknowledges that these categories are often hard to define with precision, “but, like pornography, most analysts know them when they see them.”

The book is a long march through the ages. Boot’s narrative takes the reader from prehistoric tribal warfare to the medieval clashes between the Scots and the English, the liberal revolutions that reshaped the world over a hundred years beginning in the late 18th century, and the campaigns by Europeans and Americans to pacify native peoples in the territories acquired in pursuit of empire.

Boot then turns to the related topic of terrorism, including such often-overlooked cases as John Brown’s war on slaveholders and the efforts by the KKK to defeat Reconstruction after the Civil War. He continues with the guerrilla campaigns arising out of the two world wars, focusing on T. E. Lawrence, Orde Wingate, and Josip Tito. He concludes with chapters describing the

Creating Tyranny

RONALD RADOSH



Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe, 1944–1956, by Anne Applebaum
(Doubleday, 556 pp., \$35)

At the end of World War II, Eastern and Central Europe were “liberated” from Nazism only to see it replaced by a social order installed by the other great totalitarian nation, Joseph Stalin’s Soviet Union. In his famous speech at Westminster College in March 1946, Winston Churchill told the world that “from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an ‘iron curtain’ has descended across the continent.” The left wing at the time saw the charge as outrageous and as warmongering. Anne Applebaum’s book not only confirms the accuracy of Churchill’s understanding that Moscow was establishing regimes that would attempt to duplicate the Soviet system, but she shows that the Soviet-led rulers of those regimes would attempt to eradicate any independent civil society and build a new human being—“Homo Sovieticus,” the new Soviet man—who would accept his essential role as the builder of Communism.

What Applebaum has accomplished in her worthy successor to her Pulitzer Prize-winning *Gulag* is nothing less than the first full account of precisely how the USSR worked to create—in Poland, Hungary, and East Germany, the three “people’s democracies” on which

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Chinese revolution and its legacy during the decolonization struggles in Indochina, Algeria, and Malaya; left-wing guerrilla and terrorist groups since the 1950s; and the rise of Islamist groups such as Hezbollah and al-Qaeda.

Taking his cue from T. E. Lawrence’s “27 Articles” (1917), which detailed the conclusions Lawrence had drawn from his time as a guerrilla leader during the Arab uprising against the Turks in World War I, Boot derives his own “twelve articles” or lessons from his narrative. For instance, he concludes that while the likelihood of an insurgency’s succeeding has improved since 1945, most of them still fail; that conventional tactics rarely work against unconventional threats; that inflicting terror in an attempt to defeat an insurgency is counterpro-

Boot helps us understand why, despite our preferences, we will have to be prepared to **confront the guerrilla threat** again.

ductive; that political organizing and propaganda have become more important since the 18th century, because irregular conflict in many cases has merged with the popular struggle of people against their governments; and that guerrillas and terrorists have therefore become more successful by playing on public opinion. Legitimacy is important for both the insurgent and the counterinsurgent.

Boot is an elegant writer and his narrative, although necessarily brief, is far from superficial. But there are occasional contradictions. For instance, one of Boot’s twelve lessons is that guerrillas are most effective when operating in conjunction with conventional forces. But he treats the Vietnam War as if it were exclusively an insurgency, ignoring the conflict’s important conventional element. As the late Douglas Pike wrote in *PAVN*, his classic 1986 study of the People’s Army of Vietnam, both the VC and the PAVN operated in South Vietnam under the direction of the Lao Dong party in Hanoi, which followed a strategy called *dau tranh* (struggle). *Dau tranh* consisted of two operational elements: *dau tranh vu trang* (armed struggle) and *dau tranh chinh tri* (political struggle), which were envisioned as

a hammer and anvil or as pincers that crush the enemy. Armed *dau tranh* had a strategy for “regular forces” and another for “protracted conflict.” Regular-force strategy included both high-tech and limited offensive warfare; protracted conflict included both Maoist and neo-revolutionary guerrilla warfare. Political *dau tranh* included *dich van* (action among the enemy), *binh van* (action among the military), and *dan van* (action among the people).

While U.S. forces were able to defeat regular-force *dau tranh* and to make inroads against protracted-struggle *dau tranh*, they began to deal successfully with political *dau tranh* only after General Creighton Abrams replaced General William Westmoreland as the overall commander of the U.S. effort in

Vietnam in late 1968. Unfortunately, Abrams’s successful strategy was undone by the Congress elected in the wake of the Watergate scandal.

The American wars in Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan and the French wars in Indochina and Algeria confirm one of Boot’s most important points: Liberal democracies are at a disadvantage when fighting insurgents. Tacitus once described the Roman approach to war: “They made a wasteland and called it peace.” The Roman model is not an option for liberal democracies.

With the end of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, most observers have concluded that the American people have lost their appetite for the sort of long wars necessary to defeat guerrillas. But observers made the same sort of argument right after Vietnam. They were wrong then; they are no doubt wrong now. That is why, despite appearances, *Invisible Armies* is a timely book. To modify Lenin: We may have concluded for the time being that we are not interested in counterinsurgencies, but insurgencies remain interested in us. Boot helps us understand why, despite our preferences, we will have to be prepared to confront the guerrilla threat again. **NR**

she concentrates—mechanisms that would make it virtually impossible to resist implementation of a Stalinist social structure. Any individual who sought to belong to or participate in a group not controlled by Communists was per se an “enemy of the state” and not to be tolerated. To insist on individuality or the right to belong to autonomous groups—even chess clubs—was viewed as a dangerous precedent that might lead to “anti-Soviet actions” by members, who thus deserved imprisonment before they could actually become opponents of the regime.

The new postwar governments turned out to be as horrendous and oppressive as those the people had endured during Nazi occupation. The Nazis used radio as their main propaganda apparatus to

have accepted. The realist Walter Lippmann argued at the time that it was American policy that pushed Stalin to take harsh measures to consolidate his power in Eastern Europe.)

The social policing was quite severe. For a short time, the YMCA in Poland provided a center for independent arts and for the distribution of food, clothing, and books, but the Communists viewed its decidedly non-political and popular activities as a “tool of bourgeois fascism”: They closed it down, but not before their youth cadre arrived with hammers and smashed all the jazz records in the library.

In Hungary, independent “people’s colleges” had been created, an effort Applebaum calls a “populist, left-wing project.” Like the Israeli kibbutz move-

the fact that how Stalinization was accomplished in Eastern Europe at the point of a gun is a story that has never before been told, or explained, so fully. It is one thing to note that the regimes created were totalitarian; for many, that phrase explains little. Applebaum’s research and interviews present readers, for the first time, with a full account of how the Soviets and their acolytes attempted to build totalitarianism. The truth is that knowledge even of the basics of this history can hardly be taken for granted anymore. Many revisionist historians in our own country persist in arguing that it was Western policy that forced Stalin to take tough measures in order to defend Russia’s borders from a future attack, and in their writings they completely ignore

Applebaum’s research and interviews present readers, for the first time, with a full account of how the Soviets and their acolytes attempted to build totalitarianism.

control the population, and likewise the Soviets moved immediately to take over the radio stations, ensure that they were not destroyed in the final days of fighting, and put in place broadcasters who would broadcast propaganda that would cement the Communists’ social control.

That was the first step in a highly successful process. By 1948, Applebaum writes, the Eastern European Communist parties “had eliminated the most capable of their potential opponents. They had taken control of the institutions they considered most valuable. They had created, from scratch, the political police.” The armed opposition in Poland had been destroyed and the legal opposition crushed. In Hungary and East Germany, genuine anti-fascist movements that had sprung up spontaneously were closed down, since they were not under Soviet and Communist control. In Czechoslovakia, the Communists actually had some level of public support, but they nevertheless staged a coup d’état that “left the Communists with absolute power.” (That coup, we should remember, was seen by Henry A. Wallace and his supporters, as well as by the conservative Robert A. Taft, as something the U.S. and the West should

ment, these colleges favored communal living and group decision-making, and their participants engaged in folk dancing and singing. The colleges’ leaders wanted to help build a leftist “progressive” intelligentsia, but they also sought to be independent of the party and the state, a stance that doomed the enterprise. The Communist rulers wanted them instead to create cadres for the Communist party, particularly in rural areas where farmers were hostile to the Marxist agenda. They also wanted to recruit more non-Jews into the Communist movement, in order to “Hungarianize” Communism by appealing to the anti-Semitic sentiments of many rural dwellers. The Communists infiltrated the colleges and quickly took over their self-governing administrative sections. Finally, in 1949, the colleges were taken over by the government.

In a strange review of Applebaum’s book that appeared in *The New York Times Book Review*, Max Frankel wrote that “the heart of her story is hardly wrong. Why, he asks, “should we be consuming such a mass of detail more than half a century later?” Perhaps Frankel was aware of these details, but as one who has read widely in the history of Communism, I can attest to

what Stalin’s policy meant for the inhabitants of Russia’s new empire. Applebaum proves that what Stalin sought was not safe borders, but sister regimes (and secret police) established and controlled by Moscow.

In addition, Applebaum describes the Soviets’ engaging in what we might rightfully call ethnic cleansing, forcing thousands of subjects from homes they had lived in for decades. The Soviets forced entire groups of people—Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, Hungarians, and others—to move from the areas in which they lived, so the Soviets could fill the newly vacant homes with groups of people they hoped would be more loyal to the Soviet-created regimes.

Loyalty was rigidly enforced in these police states. The stories Applebaum presents from scores of survivors are shocking to read. In the 1947 elections in Poland, candidates of opposition parties were removed from the ballot, their leadership arrested, and phony shadow parties with the same names created to persuade the gullible that independent parties still existed. In Hungary, when a leader of the opposition Independence party tried to speak at a meeting, crowds were mobilized to attack him, and the interior

minister told him that “if it were up to me you would all be killed.” (It is not surprising to learn that the man quickly fled Hungary to the West.)

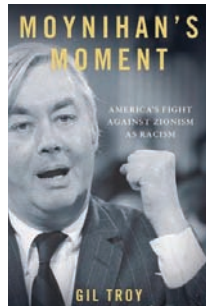
The essence of Communist control was to be continually on the lookout to smash suspected enemies of the people—a category that was extremely capacious. The Stasi in East Germany came to surpass the Gestapo in its systematic structure of police control, in which thousands of citizens were brought into its web to function as informers. In Poland, millions of Poles were under constant suspicion.

Readers know well that—despite all the severe restrictions and forced conformity, the attempt to create new socialist cities that had no churches in them, and the imposition of Soviet-style “socialist realism” in the arts and culture—the system would begin to collapse from the weight of its own economic incompetence and its failure to meet the basic needs of the people. As early as 1953, the Germans began a massive strike; the Hungarians attempted their own revolution in 1956, occasioning one Soviet military invasion; and in Czechoslovakia, the attempt to democratize Communism led to yet another. These signs of breakdown revealed the essential failure of totalitarian regimes to permanently achieve the total control they had sought. It all would collapse by the end of the 1980s.

What Anne Applebaum has accomplished is to show us how easy it was for a determined Stalinist leadership, cemented by military force, to implement the structures of total control and an end to independent civil society in ravaged postwar Eastern Europe. Those who have argued that Communism was morally different from fascism will, in reading her account, have their views deeply challenged. Those who argue that the Soviets were only trying to protect themselves against further aggression from their enemies will find that they, too, have bought into the propaganda of Stalin’s loyalists. No longer can anyone say that Churchill was wrong to call what was imposed on Eastern Europe an “iron curtain.” Anne Applebaum has shown us in her definitive account that, with determination and in the absence of much opposition, totalitarians can impose their will on entire societies. **NR**

A Man Standing

DAVID G. DALIN



Moynihan's Moment: America's Fight against Zionism as Racism, by Gil Troy (Oxford, 368 pp., \$29.95)

On November 10, 1975, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed Resolution 3379, which declared Zionism a form of racism. After the vote, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, rose to speak, his voice shaking with anger. “The United States rises to declare,” proclaimed Moynihan, “before the General Assembly of the United Nations, and before the world, that it does not acknowledge, it will not abide by, it will never acquiesce in this infamous act.” In his speech, Moynihan recognized the U.N. resolution for what it was: an attack on Israel, and its right to exist, and a totalitarian assault on democracy itself, motivated by both anti-Semitism and anti-Americanism. Moynihan’s eloquent defense of the State of Israel made him a political celebrity and paved the way for his 1976 election to the U.S. Senate, where he would serve for 24 years.

In *Moynihan's Moment*, McGill University historian Gil Troy recounts the dramatic story of Moynihan and America’s fight against the Zionism-as-racism resolution, and Moynihan’s heroic political efforts to prevent its passage. At the time of his appointment as U.N. ambassador in 1975, Moynihan enjoyed an

Mr. Dalin, a rabbi and a professor of history and political science at Ave Maria University, is a co-author (with Jonathan D. Sarna) of Religion and State in the American Jewish Experience.

enviable reputation as one of America’s most thoughtful and prolific policy analysts and public intellectuals, having spent two decades alternating between positions in government and positions in academia. After serving for four years as a top aide to New York governor Averell Harriman, and then completing his Ph.D. in international relations, Moynihan served in various domestic-policy posts in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, including a stint as a special assistant to Kennedy’s secretary of labor, Arthur Goldberg. He subsequently became director of the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies and a tenured professor at the Harvard School of Education. “Even though he spent few years actually being that,” notes Troy, “he was defined as a Harvard professor for the rest of his life, the model of the scholar-politician.” In 1969, he joined the Nixon administration, with a cabinet-level position as “counselor to the president” for urban affairs, and also served as a “public delegate” on the U.S. delegation to the U.N. Moynihan returned to Harvard in January 1971, but in January 1973 he accepted President Nixon’s nomination to be ambassador to India.

As Troy discusses in some detail, Moynihan owed his appointment as U.N. ambassador to an influential article he had written for *Commentary* magazine. Moynihan had been writing for *Commentary* since 1961, and the magazine’s editor, Norman Podhoretz, had become a close friend. In January 1975, as Moynihan was resigning his ambassadorship to India and preparing to return to Harvard, Podhoretz commissioned him to write the article “The United States in Opposition,” which was published in the March 1975 issue and caused an immediate sensation. For the first time since becoming *Commentary*’s editor in 1960, notes Troy, Podhoretz called a press conference to promote a particular article. With its provocative thesis that the U.S. now stood as a minority, in opposition to the coalition of Soviet-backed Arab and Third World dictatorships in the U.N., it caused an immediate sensation. Moynihan told his friend (and White House chief of staff) Donald Rumsfeld that he had never provoked such a response “in all my scribbling.” Rumsfeld brought the article to the attention of President Ford, who, in turn, showed it to Secretary of State

Henry Kissinger. Highly impressed with Moynihan's essay, which he proclaimed to be "one of the most important articles in a long time," and one that he "wished he had written," Kissinger quickly approved Ford's suggestion that Moynihan be appointed ambassador to the U.N. This was a decision that Kissinger would come to regret: Moynihan lasted as ambassador for only eight months, resigning in response to the fervent opposition Kissinger had mobilized against him at Foggy Bottom.

Troy brilliantly analyzes Kissinger's incessant efforts to undermine Moynihan's position. As Troy demonstrates, Moynihan's U.N. speech marked the

that annal of untruth and outrage. The lie is that Zionism is a form of racism. The overwhelming truth is that it is not." Moynihan proclaimed that, in the approval of this resolution, the "abomination of anti-Semitism . . . has been given the appearance of international sanction," and that the General Assembly had granted "symbolic amnesty—and more—to the murderers of 6 million European Jews."

Troy discusses in illuminating detail the bitter rivalry between Kissinger and Moynihan, and Kissinger's efforts to sabotage Moynihan's diplomatic career both before and after Moynihan's U.N. speech. Kissinger was especially jealous of

defending the Jewish state." For several weeks, both privately and publicly, Kissinger vented his anger at Moynihan's defense of Israel. The more Moynihan attacked the U.N. and defended Israel publicly, the angrier Kissinger became. "I will not put up with any more of Moynihan. I will not do it," Kissinger fumed. Only eight months after his appointment, Henry Kissinger fired Moynihan.

Beautifully written, and rich in its insight and analysis, Gil Troy's compelling study of "Moynihan's moment" is the definitive account of this episode and of why its legacy is an enduring one. "In a lifetime of article writing and

Beautifully written, and rich in its insight and analysis, Troy's compelling study of "Moynihan's moment" is the definitive account of this episode and of why its legacy is an enduring one.

rise of neoconservatism in American politics, inspiring the beginning of a more confrontational foreign policy, one that rejected Kissinger's détente-driven realist approach to the Soviet Union—which was behind Resolution 3379—as nothing short of appeasement. In denouncing the resolution, as Carl Gershman would later note, Moynihan was "declaring ideological war—or at least mounting an ideological counterattack" on Kissinger's policy of détente, which, because it ignored Soviet human-rights abuses, was seen by many as a failure.

"Five years before the anti-Communist trinity of Ronald Reagan, Pope John Paul, and Margaret Thatcher put Western policy on a more moralistic footing," notes Troy, "Moynihan blazed the trail." The appointment of the author of "The United States in Opposition" as ambassador to the U.N. signaled a new, robustly unapologetic style of diplomacy to confront the new alliance among the Soviet Union, the PLO, and their Third World allies, and their collective efforts to delegitimize Israel and its right to exist. Moynihan's campaign to block the resolution had precipitated a threat against his life by the head of the U.N.'s Palestinian delegation.

Moynihan called Resolution 3379 "a political lie of a variety well known in the 20th century and scarcely exceeded in all

Moynihan's newfound public celebrity. "Moynihan's ascendance," Troy points out, "threatened Kissinger. Kissinger enjoyed his status as the Harvard wunderkind, dazzling bureaucrats and reporters; he did not want to share the spotlight with another articulate intellectual with a crimson glow." Moreover, Moynihan's confrontational and ideological approach to foreign policy and international diplomacy contrasted sharply with Kissinger's diplomatic strategy.

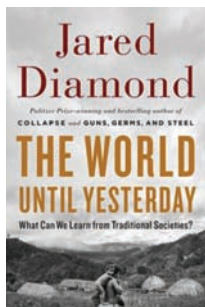
Troy's book also sheds new light on Kissinger's privately voiced criticism of Israel in the aftermath of Moynihan's fight against the U.N. resolution. "One major problem you will have is on Israel," Kissinger warned Moynihan. "We must dissociate ourselves a bit from Israel. . . . They are desperately looking for a spokesman and they will work on you. . . . I don't want Israel to get the idea that our U.N. mission is an extension of theirs. . . . We have to show Israel they don't run us." On November 10, the very day of Moynihan's speech, Kissinger grumbled that "we are conducting foreign policy. This is not a synagogue." In the days following Moynihan's speech, Kissinger and his aides "mocked Moynihan's Israel obsession. They wondered if he planned to convert." "At some deep level," Troy suggests, Kissinger, America's Jewish secretary of state, resented the fact that "Moynihan was

speech making," Troy aptly concludes, "this may have been Moynihan's greatest effort." In the immediate aftermath of his U.N. speech, as Troy points out, "Daniel Patrick Moynihan had become a symbol of America's renewed patriotism and confidence." He had also become a hero to New York Jews, who, in 1976, helped elect him to the U.S. Senate, where he would continue to speak out against the U.N. resolution and seek its repeal. Moreover, as Troy points out, "Moynihan's stand against Soviet and Third World bullying in the United Nations helped inspire Reagan's more aggressive approach there." In 1985, President Reagan, who had earlier called the 1975 resolution "outrageous," "hypocritical," "stupid," and "vicious," added his voice to the growing campaign to rescind it; ultimately, on December 16, 1991, 111 countries voted for the measure that repealed it. (Nine days later, the Soviet Union collapsed.)

Moynihan was in the General Assembly chamber during the December 16 vote. He toasted this "moment of truth and deliverance," which dramatically exorcised "the last great horror of the Hitler-Stalin era." Sixteen years after his historic U.N. speech, Moynihan's courageous fight against the Zionism-as-racism resolution had been vindicated. **NR**

Old School

ROBERT VERBRUGGEN



The World until Yesterday:

What Can We Learn from Traditional Societies?
by Jared Diamond (Viking, 512 pp., \$36)

THE most recent ancestors that humanity shares with chimpanzees and bonobos died about 6 million years ago. For almost all of our existence, we humans have lived in small hunter-gatherer groups. It wasn't until 11,000 years ago that we developed agriculture and 5,400 years ago that we formed states.

In many ways, the environments we occupy today bear little resemblance to the world that shaped us as a species, and this fact has any number of implications. Jared Diamond—academic, polymath, and winner of a well-deserved Pulitzer Prize for his 1997 book *Guns, Germs, and Steel*—takes up this topic in *The World until Yesterday*, a work that manages to be captivating and informative despite never advancing a coherent thesis.

The book's subtitle asks, "What can we learn from traditional societies?" In less capable hands this would be a recipe for disaster: In everyone from young leftists living in Occupy tents to aging conservatives distrustful of modern technology, there is a temptation to idealize earlier lifestyles—to assume that the levels of dysfunction and conflict in today's world are a departure from the noble savagery of humanity's past. That urge will not survive a read through *The World until Yesterday*, with its frank appraisals of what Diamond calls "traditional" cultures, a category that encompasses the hunter-gatherer

lifestyle and early agricultural societies, including ones that have survived into the modern era.

Some of the drawbacks to the traditional life are obvious: Those living it lack modern medicine and run a higher risk of starvation. Others might be surprising: People in many of these societies simply kill babies whom they cannot afford to support, or who are born with defects. People in others kill or abandon the elderly, kill strangers on sight, or even strangle widows. Basic hygienic practices that some might imagine come instinctively, such as washing one's hands after handling feces, are often lacking. While traditional societies have ways of handling disputes peacefully, there is no backstop when these processes break down, and as a result they often degenerate into blood feuds.

Diamond also offers an assessment of pre-modern warfare, and his conclusions mirror the ones Steven Pinker presented in *The Better Angels of Our Nature* (2011). Any given battle between traditional groups might not be a particularly bloody affair, given the primitive weaponry, the low number of people involved, and the lack of formal military training. But many of these societies are at war almost constantly, and conflicts are sometimes punctuated by massacres; all in all, most traditional societies have a much higher rate of war death than modern societies do. Diamond has spent much of his life studying New Guinea, which is still not entirely modernized, and he reports that war comes naturally there. While soldiers from the First World suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder and avoid talking about what they've done in combat, New Guinean men who were raised as warriors brag about killing their enemies.

But in conceding these realities, Diamond makes his task—the search for lessons to apply to our own culture—more difficult. The fact that traditional life is so bad in some ways doesn't mean it isn't good in others, but it does mean we should be careful about what we emulate. Further, lifestyle recommendations based on the norms of traditional societies are useful only if we can't reach the same conclusions by studying the First World, in which we don't encounter all the problems of cross-cultural comparisons. Unfortu-

nately, upon finishing *The World until Yesterday*, one could be forgiven for answering the subtitle's question with: "Not all that much, apparently."

Diamond comes closest to finding useful lessons in the realm of child-rearing. Westerners are often struck by how well-adjusted children in traditional societies are, and it makes sense to look at parenting as a potential cause. It turns out that traditional people let babies nurse for much longer than we do, respond to a baby's crying almost immediately, and let infants sleep near their mothers. And while traditional societies differ in how neglectful, permissive, strict, or abusive they are toward children as they grow up, there are some that grant children more autonomy and responsibility than we do and don't seem worse off for it. It's at least possible that we have something to learn from traditional people here.

But otherwise, Diamond's advice is mostly commonsensical or forgettable. Diamond himself admits that the health lessons one can glean from studying traditional life—exercise, lay off the salt if you have high blood pressure, don't eat junk food—are "embarrassing" in their banality. His tips for improving our treatment of the elderly—include them more in daily life, let them babysit grandchildren more, and so on—will occur to anyone who thinks about the problem, whether or not he considers what traditional societies do, and in fact these efforts would require rejecting the practices of some traditional societies. Adopting some traditional dispute-resolution techniques might not be a bad idea, but (as Diamond notes) this idea is already being tried in the forms of out-of-court mediation and programs that require offenders to meet with their victims. Studying these programs directly would be far more informative than pointing out the qualities they share with the practices of other cultures.

Also, it's rather bizarre that Diamond doesn't address monogamy, given that he wrote a book (*Why Is Sex Fun?*) about the evolution of human sexuality 15 years ago and it's a hot topic right now. A bestselling 2010 book, *Sex at Dawn*, argued that we evolved to mate like bonobos, freely and without jealousy; *Sex at Dusk*, a 2012 book written in response, says that's bunk. A recent

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Thur./Aug. 1	Amsterdam, Netherlands		4:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Fri./Aug. 2	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars
Sat./Aug. 3	Bergen, Norway	8:00AM	5:00PM	afternoon seminar “Night Owl”
Sun./Aug. 4	Flam, Norway <i>Scenic cruising Sognefjord</i>	7:00AM	8:00PM	afternoon seminar late-night smoker
Mon./Aug. 5	Eidfjord, Norway <i>Scenic cruising Hardangerfjord</i>	10:00AM	6:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Tue./Aug. 6	Stavanger, Norway <i>Scenic cruising Lysefjord</i>	8:00AM	4:00PM	afternoon seminars “Night Owl”
Wed./Aug. 7	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars evening cocktail reception
Thur./Aug. 8	Amsterdam, Netherlands	7:00AM		



three revelrous pool-side cocktail receptions; a late-night “smoker” featuring world-class **H. Upmann** cigars (and complimentary cognac); and dining on two evenings with a guest speaker or editor.

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EIDFJORD This place of peace and quiet is surrounded by beautiful scenery. Take a lazy-day stroll along the waterfront, gaze at the majestic fjord, visit the old stone church and the Viking grave yards.

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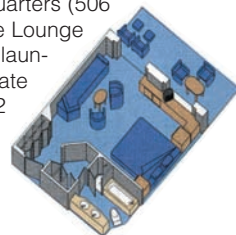
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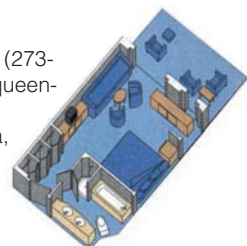
DELUXE SUITE Magnificent luxury quarters (506 sq. ft.) features use of exclusive Neptune Lounge and personal concierge, complimentary laundry and dry-cleaning service. Large private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), whirlpool bath/shower, dressing room, large sitting area, flat-panel tv/DVD player, mini-bar, and refrigerator.



Category SA

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 5,399 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 8,499

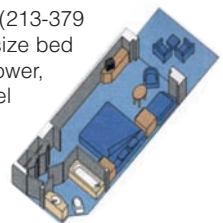
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Category SS

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 3,999 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 6,299

DELUXE VERANDAH Spacious cabin (213-379 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bath with shower, sitting area, mini-bar, refrigerator, flat-panel tv/DVD player, floor-to-ceiling windows.



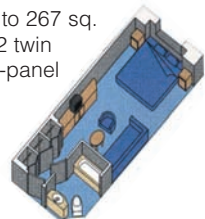
Categories VA / VB / VC

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 3,399 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 5,299

Categories VZ (Similar cabin located forward or aft)

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 3,199 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 4,999

OCEAN VIEW Comfortable quarters (169 to 267 sq. ft.) features queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bathtub with shower, sitting area, flat-panel tv/DVD player, ocean-view windows.



Category C

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 2,299 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 3,499

INSIDE Cozy but ample cabin quarters (from 141 to over 200 sq. ft.) features queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), shower, flat-panel tv and DVD player.



Category J

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 2,199 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 2,699



National Review 2013 Norwegian Fjords 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

<input type="text"/>		<input type="text"/>
GUEST #1: Name as listed on Passport (LAST, FIRST, MIDDLE)		Date of Birth
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Passport Number	Expiration Date	Citizenship
Are you a past Holland America cruiser? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		

<input type="text"/>		<input type="text"/>
GUEST #2: Name as listed on Passport (LAST, FIRST, MIDDLE)		Date of Birth
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Passport Number	Expiration Date	Citizenship
Are you a past Holland America cruiser? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		

PASSPORT INFORMATION This cruise requires a valid passport. Passports should expire after 2/9/14. Failure to provide this form of documentation will result in denied boarding of the Eurodam. For more information visit www.travel.state.gov.

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. 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 The Hague, Netherlands (for 2 or 3 nights) and in Amsterdam (for 1 night).

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 5/1/13 unless otherwise directed. If application is received after 5/1/12, the full amount of the cruise will be charged.

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

Charge my deposit to: AmEx Visa MasterCard Discover

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
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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!

Authority (TCA) and National Review magazine (NR). You understand and agree that if you elect to use TCA to serve as your agent in connection with the provision of any Services, you will look solely to HAL or the applicable service provider in the event of any loss to person or property, and you expressly release TCA from any liability for injury, damage, loss, accident, delay or irregularity to you or your property that may result from any act or omission by any company, contractor or employee thereof providing services in connection with the Cruise (including any shore excursions), including but not limited to transportation, lodging, food and beverage, entertainment, sightseeing, luggage handling and tour guiding. For purposes of the preceding sentence, the term "Services" shall include, but not be limited to, the following: (i) the issuance of tickets, vouchers and coupons, (ii) arrangements for transportation to and from the point of embarkation, and (iii) hotel accommodations prior to embarkation. • Furthermore, TCA shall not be responsible for any of the following: (i) 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, (ii) cancellation of the Cruise or postponement of the departure time, (iii) price increases or surcharges imposed by HAL and/or service providers, (iv) breach of contract or any intentional or careless actions or omissions on the part of HAL and/or service providers, (v) social or labor unrest, (vi) mechanical or construction difficulties, (vii) diseases, (viii) local laws, (ix) climate conditions, (x) abnormal conditions or developments or any other actions, omissions or conditions outside of TCA's control (xi) the accessibility, appearance, actions or decisions of those individuals promoted as Speakers for the Cruise. Should a Speaker promoted for the Cruise be unable to attend, every effort will be made to secure a speaker of similar stature and standing. • TCA does not guarantee suppliers rates, booking or reservations. In the event you become entitled to a refund of monies paid, TCA will not be liable in excess of amounts actually paid. TCA reserves the right to prohibit any person from booking the Cruise for any reason whatsoever. • HAL reserves the right to impose a fuel supplement of up to \$10 USD per guest, per day if the price of West Texas Intermediate crude oil exceeds \$65 USD per barrel. • On behalf of those guests listed in this application, I authorize TCA to use image(s) (video or photo) for purposes of promoting future NR cruise events. • You acknowledge that by embarking upon the Cruise, you have voluntarily assumed all risks, and you have been advised to obtain appropriate insurance coverage against them. Retention of tickets, reservations, or package after issuance shall constitute a consent to the above and an agreement on the part of each individual in whose name a reservation has been made for the Cruise, or a ticket issued with respect to the Cruise. • This Agreement shall be governed by the laws of the State of Georgia, excluding its conflicts of laws principles. Each party hereto agrees that all claims relating to this Agreement will be heard exclusively by a state or federal court in Fulton County, Georgia. Accordingly, each party hereby consents to the exclusive jurisdiction of any state or federal court located in Fulton County, Georgia over any proceeding related to this Agreement. Irrevocably waives any objection to the venue of any such court, and irrevocably waives any claim that any such proceeding in such a court has been brought in an inconvenient forum. No provisions of this Agreement will be interpreted in favor of, or against, any of the parties hereto by reason of the extent to which any such party or its counsel participated in the drafting thereof or by reason of the extent to which any such provision is inconsistent with any prior draft hereof or thereof. **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT: I understand and accept the terms and conditions of booking this cruise package and acknowledge responsibility for myself and those sharing my accommodations (signed)**

MAILING AND CONTACT INFORMATION (FOR INTERNAL USE ONLY)

<input type="text"/>	
Mailing address	
<input type="text"/>	
City / State / Zip	
<input type="text"/>	
Email Address	
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Daytime Phone	Cell phone

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 _____

IV. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

- We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to and from Amsterdam (arriving there on 8/1/13 by 1:00PM and departing after 11:00AM on 8/8/13).
- We would like The Cruise Authority to customize roundtrip air from _____ Coach First Class Air

Arrival date: _____

Departure date: _____

Preferred carrier: _____

(Customized air will incur a fee of \$50 per person. Prior to air reservations being made you will be contacted with flight options for approval.)

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:

<input type="text"/>

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 March 1, 2013 cancellation penalty is \$100 per person; March 1 to May 1, 2013 cancellation penalty is \$600 per person, AFTER May 1, 2013 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: 9.5% of total price; Age 70-79: 12.5% of total price; Age 80-plus: 22.5% 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.

RESPONSIBILITY: The Holland America Line (HAL) cruise advertised herein (the "Cruise"), which features guest speakers promoted for the National Review Cruise (the "Speakers"), is being promoted by H2O Ltd. d/b/a The Cruise Authority. You acknowledge that by embarking upon the Cruise, you have voluntarily assumed all risks, and you have been advised to obtain appropriate insurance coverage against them. Retention of tickets, reservations, or package after issuance shall constitute a consent to the above and an agreement on the part of each individual in whose name a reservation has been made for the Cruise, or a ticket issued with respect to the Cruise. • This Agreement shall be governed by the laws of the State of Georgia, excluding its conflicts of laws principles. Each party hereto agrees that all claims relating to this Agreement will be heard exclusively by a state or federal court in Fulton County, Georgia. Accordingly, each party hereby consents to the exclusive jurisdiction of any state or federal court located in Fulton County, Georgia over any proceeding related to this Agreement. Irrevocably waives any objection to the venue of any such court, and irrevocably waives any claim that any such proceeding in such a court has been brought in an inconvenient forum. No provisions of this Agreement will be interpreted in favor of, or against, any of the parties hereto by reason of the extent to which any such party or its counsel participated in the drafting thereof or by reason of the extent to which any such provision is inconsistent with any prior draft hereof or thereof.

SIGNATURE OF GUEST #1 _____

DATE _____

Slate article went with “monogamish” as a way of describing our sexual inclinations: Humans form pair bonds, feel heartbroken or jealous when those bonds end or are threatened, and are capable of lifelong attachment, but long-term fidelity is often a struggle and societies differ wildly in their norms regarding it. A thorough treatment from Diamond would be welcome here, but he

mentions sex and marriage only in the context of other topics.

The World until Yesterday will not change the way you live your life, and you will not feel entirely satisfied upon turning the last page. But it will help you appreciate how much different—and how much better—the modern world is from everything that came before. **NR**

LAST NIGHT

If one sits on the steps of Sacré Coeur
to see the city after dusk,
one sees, too, in the cold, each traveler:
the silk-scarved men, distinct with musk;
the ladies in flared miniskirts and tights,
most often black or midnight blue,
occasionally punctuated—brights,
or puce, or some unlikely hue.
One sees the leathered packs with cigarettes
on precipices blowing smoke.
One listens to musicians finger frets
for famous songs, of rock or folk,
And smells some bitter andouille on the wind,
grim and scraggly grass in cracks,
the perspiration of the olive-skinned,
or warmly melted votive wax.
Green macaron in hand, its mellow paste
the flavor of pistachio—
like olive skin one cannot touch nor taste—
in vain, one fights with vertigo.
The tourists photographing from a tier
below, curved girlfriends striking poses,
roaming vendors proffer bottled beer
and blood-red, long-stemmed roses.
As twilight deepens, one will then observe
deposit, these distracted brash,
the emerald-drained merchandise they serve
in bags hung on the fence for trash.
Perhaps unnoticed, wholly by surprise,
a bottle will miss the bag, and break,
its broken shards outspread like distant eyes
which cause some hazel heart to ache.
Upturned and staring from the chilly stone,
the pieces render one aware
although surrounded, one is yet alone,
by means of their green, absent glare.
Attempting to escape from such a glower,
one stands, walks to the west, the sight,
the tall seduction of the Eiffel Tower,
alluring and aligned with light.
And from those heights, perhaps one then will wonder
in silence, what it would be like
to fall beyond the fence, and tumble under
this platform—plentiful—to strike
some unidentified allée, to splatter
the ground of Sacré Coeur beneath,
and if the dizzy mind would even matter
to brittle bones, or grinding teeth.

—JENNIFER REESER

Medium, Not Rare

ANDREW STUTTAFORD

*Psychic Blues: Confessions of a
Conflicted Medium*, by Mark Edward
(Feral House, 242 pp., \$18.95)

THE tale of the whistleblower generally follows a predictable arc. There is the dreadful misbehavior, and the whistleblower’s shamefaced confession of his part in it. The whistle blows. The wrongdoing ends. The penitent whistleblower moves on to a better life, book contract in hand. That’s not quite how it seems to have worked out in the case of Mark Edward. But there has been a book contract, and the result is *Psychic Blues*.

Its author, Mr. Edward, is a mentalist (yes, that’s the word) who has set the traps of junkyard superstition for decades, and the gullible, the lonely, the hopeful, and the dim have fallen right in. Amongst other roles, he’s been a dial-a-psychic (with the old Psychic Friends Network, an entity that does *not* emerge well from this book), a rent-a-psychic, a TV psychic, a party psychic (“somewhere between the popcorn vendor and the mimes”), a Psychic Revivalist (don’t ask), a palmist, an ESP-tester, a runestone cowboy, a banana-reader (oh yes), a nightclub act, a fortuneteller, a graphologist, and the organizer of a hoax involving the possibility of a three-way interspecies dialogue to be arranged by whales between them, us, and the extra-terrestrials that are, as you know, now living in our ocean depths. He has held “quick but dramatic psychic readings for attractive single women” and he has read the paw-print of a dog (“Whitney has a lonely side to her personality”). But there’s a problem. As the subtitle of *Psychic Blues* signals, Edward is a “conflicted medium.” Those paranormal abilities he’s been touting? He believes that he hasn’t any, and nor, for that matter, has anyone else. As for the supernatural, well, “there’s nothing there in the dark.”

Indeed. But these apparently long-held

Mr. Stuttaford is a contributing editor of NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE.

beliefs did nothing to stop Mr. Edward from pursuing a charlatan career, something that is a touch difficult to square with the way he likes “to look in a mirror and see integrity staring back.” Clearly he is not only in the business of deceiving *other* people.

But he’s a trickster, not a monster. Many of his clients will have treated his readings as a game. Even those who didn’t won’t have got into much trouble with pronouncements that, as Edward describes them, relied on common sense and his own sharp intuitive gifts, or were of a generality so wide, bland, or broadly benign as to be helpful at best and safely opaque at worst. And sometimes people just like to talk. “A sideshow tent,” writes Edward, “is never far from a psychiatrist’s couch; there’s just more sawdust on the floor”; an exaggeration, to be sure, but not by too much.

Edward goes on to claim that he has “consistently opted to tell people what I feel in my gut is what they *need* to hear.” This is not the most clinically rigorous of approaches, and Edward’s early background (according to the Wikipedian oracle, it included stints in various absurdly named bands and time as a fire-eater) involves nothing in the way of scientific training. Then again, would the study of old Freud’s woo-woo have added much more? Cleverness and empathy can frequently be enough.

Thus he notes that, “as P. T. Barnum once said, there’s a sucker born every minute. And in the 900 business, every minute counts.” But he then throws in tales of occasions where he was a genuine friend, if not a genuine psychic. As Edward fielded call after call from the “lost souls” out there, he had, he maintains, a “long list of 800 help-line referral numbers” covering everything from alcoholism to alien abductions. He tries to direct the savagely abused Trish to a women’s shelter. His session on the line with Ginger Triggs (“another drunk badly slurring her speech”) turns out to be a life-saver. He discovers later that their conversation has been enough to persuade her to put down the loaded gun that (as, naturally, he had failed to divine at the time) she was aiming at her head while they talked. Ginger leaves her abusive husband, tackles her alcoholism, and starts training to be a nurse: “I had saved someone’s life.” Who could have foreseen *that*?

Enlightenment sorts, as well as the more conventionally devout, will be dismayed by Edward’s neatly drawn description of the mumbo-jumbo America in which he works, a credulous place where a psychomanteum (look it up if you care; trust me, it’s ludicrous) is technology, tarot is wisdom, and a pendulum is a lie-detector. But *Homo sapiens* is who he is. Edward wonders whether the New Age abracadabra represents a “terminus of rationality” or a return to our roots, a distinction that implies, rather optimistically, that we have left them. However bizarre, beliefs like those he was pushing—and their antecedents and, inevitably, successors—offer the meaning that many folk feel that they need, but cannot find elsewhere. Such beliefs will forever be with us. What matters is whether they are put to good(ish) use or bad.

The odds of the latter markedly increase when there’s a buck involved. In Edward’s trade there is plenty of room for “callous exploitation” of vulnerable prey. He quotes Ambrose Bierce: “Magic is a way of ‘converting superstition into coin.’” And this coin can travel in unexpected directions. Edward argues that it’s the phone company, not the psychic, that does best out of all those late-night sessions on the 900 line, followed by the network’s owner, not the psychic. Edward depicts a tough world in which most of his cohort, a carnal crowd really—all “greasepaint and bulls**t”—eke their way through. In a reflection of the hardscrabble existences of those on whom they so often feed, they too can struggle to survive. He describes the skills, tricks, flimflam, and cheating that they deploy to make a living, something made easier by humanity’s willingness to believe just about anything, or, for that matter, to pay for a spooky thrill: “Sweat it out, miss a few details, and the audience is left with no other explanation than that you are the real deal.”

At times, this makes for a fascinating read—and *Psychic Blues* would make a useful gift for a friend susceptible to circling light-workers—even if it falls far short of the bleak, brilliant brutality of *Nightmare Alley*, the Truman-era novel (and movie) with which Edward would dearly like his book to be compared. Perhaps it takes fiction to do true justice to fables of the psychic con. And some literary talent: Despite some good lines and better insights, Edward is not

much more of a writer than he is a clairvoyant.

He’s also pretty cagey. Like so many of his peers, he has peddled what he knows to be nonsense. Nevertheless he claims that he would never “outright lie” (note that careful “outright”). He never, he declares, claimed “to see spirits,” which makes one think that the séances he has organized (briefly referred to elsewhere in the book) must have been a little dull. Nor has he, he says, tried to cheat his clients by telling them only what he “sensed they wanted to hear.” Given the shenanigans to which he does admit, not least his confession that “hope” is what he sells, more cynical readers may not be entirely convinced.

They may also puzzle over the question of why he really reached for that whistle. The way Edward puts it, he was tired of his double life as both skeptic and seer, and became “committed to letting the psychic cat out of the bag.” This book, complete with a foreword by the Great Debunker, James “The Amazing” Randi himself, is part of that process, but some of those pesky cynics may still be suspicious. Could this conversion be just another routine for a conjurer still—notwithstanding an appearance at Buddy Hackett’s 70th-birthday party—looking to hit the big time?

That said, Edward has paid his skeptic dues. He has been on TV with Penn and Teller, he’s shown up at Skepticamps, he posts at Skepticblog, and he practices guerrilla skepticism, swilling what ought to be lethal quantities of homeopathic remedies and punking the infamous Sylvia Browne, “world-renowned” spiritual teacher, psychic, and author.

But Edward’s road to Damascus may have space for some U-turns. In a recent interview with the *New York Times*, he confirmed that he was “still involved” in some of his old psychic games. It’s impossible not to think that this particular whistleblower may be playing a decidedly ambiguous tune.

Meanwhile, just last year the septuagenarian Browne published her new book, *Afterlives of the Rich and Famous*, an update on how things are going for the glitterati on the Other Side—Princess Diana, Elvis, and Heath Ledger the newbie, to name but a few.

The gypsy caravan trundles on. Always has. Always will. **NR**

Film

9/11

Aftermath

ROSS DOUTHAT

I CAME out of *Zero Dark Thirty*, Kathryn Bigelow's riveting procedural about the hunt for Osama bin Laden, thinking that it was the best movie of 2012, but upon further reflection I'm not sure I'm qualified to tell you that. What's more, I'm not sure that any other contemporary American is really qualified to judge it either. Criticism depends, to some extent at least, on distance: You wouldn't trust a man to dispassionately review a book about his wife, or a celebrity intellectual to deliver a clinical, clear-eyed assessment of a *New Yorker* profile of himself. And *Zero Dark Thirty* is designed—brilliantly designed—to collapse the distance between its audience and its protagonist, between anyone who lived through 9/11 and the story that it tells about what came afterward.

That collapse starts with the opening scene, which is just recordings, and the memories they summon up: bursts of static, overmatched 911 operators, and the terrified voices of people choking, burning, dying inside the Twin Towers eleven years ago. Then we meet Maya, played by the gaunt and beautiful Jessica Chastain: a young CIA agent, new to the field, who's sent to Pakistan in 2004 to work on the bin Laden hunt because her bosses have decided she's a "killer." And then we get the hunt itself: two and a half hours with Maya as she sits through interrogations, trawls through intelligence, follows leads that go nowhere, conducts interrogations herself, loses friends to suicide bombers, and then eventually—eventually—finds her years of effort and obsession vindicated by a mysterious white compound in Abbottabad.

And that's all we get. The recordings and our memories, Maya, her hunt, and nothing else. If you're expecting to get to know her backstory, don't: We know no more about where she came from at the end of the movie than we did at the beginning. If you're looking for subplots, look somewhere else: The movie's fine supporting cast exists only in relation to the



Jessica Chastain in *Zero Dark Thirty*

driven protagonist—providing assistance, throwing up impediments, or suffering fates that cement her motivation. If you're interested in the political context, you'll find it only when some major world event impinges directly on her efforts. (The Iraq War, for instance, comes into play only when the memory of the WMD fiasco becomes an obstacle to persuading the higher-ups to gamble on her non-slam-dunk intelligence.) If you're looking for big ideas and sweeping arguments, you'll be completely disappointed: The endless debates, strategic and moral, that have raged since 9/11 don't interest Maya at all. She just has a job to do.

That job includes observing and participating in her agency's interrogation program, in which the movie immerses us for about the first 40 minutes of its running time. This means dog collars, boxes, chains, nudity, pulsing music, and, yes, the waterboard. Eventually, one of these interrogations produces a scrap of information—plucked not during the torture itself, but during the period of disorientation that follows—that sets Maya on the long, long path to finding bin Laden's courier, and with the courier the arch-terrorist himself.

Critics of the movie's politics have mostly focused on that scrap of information, arguing that nothing so crucial actually emerged from the "enhanced" sessions, and accusing Bigelow of stacking the deck in favor of techniques whose brutality no viewer of this film could possibly deny.

I agree that there's a sense in which she stacks the deck, but I think the details of which piece of information emerged from which interrogation session are almost incidental to that process. If *Zero Dark*

Thirty is implicitly pro-waterboarding, it's not because it delivers a careful brief for the practical effectiveness of everything the CIA tried in black sites and interrogation rooms. It's because Bigelow doesn't give us any perspective except Maya's, or show us any path except the one that she and her fellow agents took. Within the context of the movie, there is no real vantage point from which to be "anti" any one of her specific choices. The quest for bin Laden is a world unto itself, and to judge one part is to pass judgment on the whole.

Since Bigelow doesn't shy away from showing some of the darkest aspects of what Dick Cheney famously called "the dark side," her film doesn't entirely preclude that kind of sweeping, it-wasn't-worth-the-cost judgment. But it doesn't exactly invite it either. If you come into *Zero Dark Thirty* convinced that going to the dark side was necessary and even admirable, the movie may well strengthen that conviction. And if you come in—as I did—with serious qualms about what the United States government did to captured terrorists, Bigelow's film invites a kind of moral fatalism. *If you want vengeance, it implies, this is how it works. If you want the catharsis, you have to accept the price. If you identify with Maya, then you probably would have done exactly what she did.*

The aesthetic merits of *Zero Dark Thirty* ultimately depend on whether this fatalism is serious or shallow, an insight or a cop-out. But I am American, I lived through 9/11, I wanted vengeance and catharsis, and my identification with Maya was absolute. So while I unreservedly recommend the movie, I'm the wrong person to answer that all-important question—and so, most likely, are you.

NR

ANNA PURNIA PICTURES

Every Man a Criminal

FOR Chris Matthews, the sob-sister sap who hosts MSNBC's hilariously misnamed *Hardball*, President Obama's inaugural address bore comparison to Lincoln at Gettysburg. Whether Lincoln would have felt the same is doubtful. "He talked about the government that we want," enthused Chris, "which is infrastructure, education, regulation, all the good things . . ."

Infrastructure? If you're going to go for Big Government, you might as well have something to show for it. Sweden and Denmark have the Øresund Bridge, Britain and France the Channel Tunnel, Russia the St. Petersburg flood barrier. But, four years after Obama's first stimulus bill, America still isn't shovel-ready. A New York flood barrier? As the president would say, you didn't build that, and neither will he.

Education? The more we spend, the more mediocre American education gets, the more it declines relative to the rest of the developed world.

So that leaves regulation as the "good thing" that gets Chris Matthews hot. And, while we will have no infrastructure projects or education improvements in the next four years, it seems safe to say we will have plenty of new regulations, bazillions of them, intruding on every aspect of life. There is now almost no activity an American can engage in that doesn't fall under the regulation of some level of government—from handing out complimentary coffee in California hardware stores to rescuing a bird from the jaws of a cat in Virginia. And even if you do nothing at all except stay at home and sit on the toilet, the government regulates that, too.

In economic terms, around one-tenth of America's GDP is consumed by federal regulation alone. But there are psychological costs, too. John Moulton was a distinguished judge, a man of science, and a chap who held the splendid title during the Great War of Britain's "director-general of explosive supplies," a job he did brilliantly. Lord Moulton divided society into three sectors, of which he considered the most important to be the "middle land" between law and absolute freedom—the domain of manners, in which the individual has to be "trusted to obey self-imposed law." "To my mind," wrote Moulton, "the real greatness of a nation, its true civilization, is measured by the extent of this land." By that measure, our greatness is shriveling fast: The land of self-regulation has been encroached on remorselessly, to the point where we increasingly accept that everything is either legal or illegal, and therefore to render any judgment of our own upon the merits of this or that would be presumptuous.

A small example: The other day, I visited a Shaw's supermarket in New Hampshire. On the front door was a sign:

"No bare feet—for Health & Safety reasons." Really? Yes, it's true that the bare foot is particularly prone to fungus and bacteria, and one wouldn't want it promenading in large numbers around the meat department—in the same sense that it would be unhygienic to take a leak in the produce department. But the reason a civilized person neither urinates nor pads barefoot amid the fruit and veg is not that it's a health-code violation but that it's (in the Moulton sense) ill mannered. Shaw's can no longer rely on its clients to know this (and to "obey self-imposed law"), and it apparently feels it cannot prohibit such behavior merely as an affront to societal norms, so it can disapprove of barefoot shopping only as an act of regulatory non-compliance.

Speaking of "societal norms," whatever happened to those? We used to accept that different places had broadly observed customs. "When in Rome, do as the Romans do." But in Rome these days they do all kinds of things: There are still a few more or less observant Catholics, but there's also a lively crowd of gay hedonists, and a big bunch of disapproving Muslims. A norm to

one is an abomination to the other, which is one reason the state is increasingly comfortable in micro-mediating social behavior.

A land of hyper-regulation is not the same as a land of law. The European Court of Human Rights recently ruled on two cases of British women whose employers forbade them to wear crucifixes—one an NHS nurse, the other a British Airways baggage handler. The court ruled against the nurse but in favor of the baggage handler. Why? What particular legal principle illuminated both cases? Don't ask the jurists. Re the BA employee, they declared that "the court has reached the conclusion in the present case that a fair balance was not struck." How is BA or any other employer to know what constitutes a "fair balance"? They can't—or not reliably. Only the state and the courts can definitively establish that, by colonizing Moulton's "middle land" unto policing dress codes, religious expression, social habits, and even casual conversational exchanges.

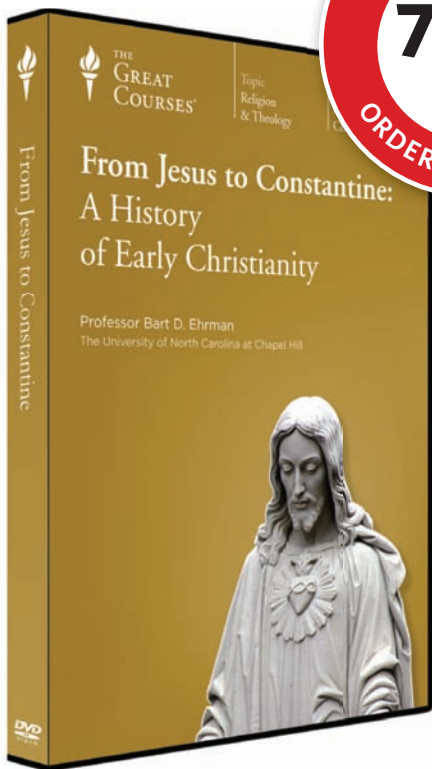
As that Shaw's sign suggests, a kind of civic paralysis sets in: It is a small step from a citizenry that no longer knows how it should act to a citizenry that no longer knows whether or if it can act, and from there to a citizenry that can no longer act. When everything is the domain of law, everyone is potentially a criminal. Over the decades, NATIONAL REVIEW has been famously antipathetic to Ayn Rand, but she called this one a long time ago. In *Atlas Shrugged*, one of her characters muses: "One declares so many things to be a crime that it becomes impossible for men to live without breaking laws."

Which is about where we are. And, *pace* Chris Matthews, that's not a "good thing."

NR

A land of hyper-regulation is not the same as a land of law

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



What Is the Real Story behind Christianity's Formative Years?

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