

[PUBLIC WORKS]

DARKNESS AT 4 P.M.

One night without lights was an adventure: at dusk on Aug. 14, Manhattan streets buzzed with the happy prospect of the unanticipated. It wore off quickly, and one dreaded the metropolitan area without power and running water for more than a day.

"It should be lights out in Belgrade, every power grid, water pipe, bridge and war-related factory has to be targeted ... you want 1950? We can do 1950. You want 1389? We can do 1389 too." So wrote the *New York Times's* Tom Friedman, as American bombers worked over Serbia's power grid four years ago, plunging into darkness a country that had never threatened us. His argument seemed to reflect what Senator Fulbright once called "the arrogance of power"—though Friedman has had many competitors recently.

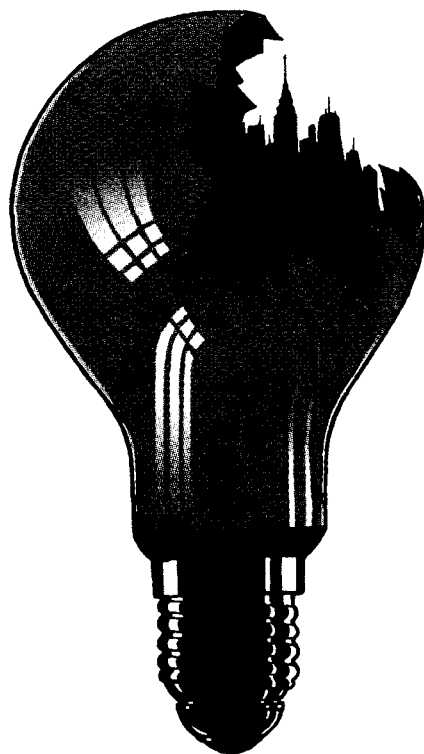
Baghdad greeted news of New York's blackout with smiles—the city whose lights U.S. air power has repeatedly turned off in the past decade seemed pleased that America had received a tiny bit of its own medicine.

Perhaps there is no role for karma in international affairs and a superpower can impose its will indefinitely, using its air force to turn lights on and off in far corners of the globe. Perhaps. But we now know a North American power grid can go down without even being bombed—simply failing to maintain and upgrade it are sufficient. And as some of us trudged up and downstairs with candles last week, we were a little more aware of our vulnerability.

[INTELLIGENCE]

GIVE WAR A CHANCE

Some prominent personalities in Iran and Washington were hoping to forge a meaningful détente between the two countries. As reported in a private newsletter prepared by former CIA



officers Vincent Cannistraro and Philip Giraldi, Iranian President Mohammad Khatami sought to open a channel to Washington after Iraq fell, getting word to former National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft that Iran was prepared to co-operate in areas of terrorism and nuclear proliferation. Tehran would restrain Hezbollah, turn over al-Qaeda operatives, and allow American inspectors to monitor its nuclear program. Khatami reportedly asked that the overtures be kept secret, as publicity would stir up confrontation with anti-Western hardliners in Iran.

Scowcroft turned the information over to Condoleezza Rice, who shared it with Donald Rumsfeld. Within days, officials at the Pentagon opposed to talks with Iran leaked news of the report to a British newspaper, and the Iranians immediately ended contact. At roughly the same time, Ariel Sharon was in Washington, pressing for a pre-emptive strike against Tehran's nuclear facilities.

The increasingly difficult occupation of Iraq isn't enough for our neocons, who still dream of pushing the United States into war against six or seven Muslim countries. Evidently dialogue between Washington and Tehran—even if it leads to co-operation with Iran in the war against al-Qaeda and a resolution of the nuclear stalemate—is not high on the agenda.

[CULTURE]

DAY CARE DEAREST

"Leave No Child Behind," makes a nifty campaign slogan, but every morning millions of parents do just the opposite, parking their kids in the care of near strangers as they head off to work.

In his new book, *Day Care Deception*, Brian Robertson reports that between 1970 and 1995, the proportion of working married mothers with children under six rose from 30 percent to 64 percent. Care arrangements have shifted to accommodate, and have-it-all parents aren't eager to compound their guilt by figuring the cost. But a pair of recent studies shows that children pay dearly for hours spent in day care.

In addition to the usual complaints: increased illness, attachment issues, separation anxiety, and slower cognitive development, the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD), after conducting the largest long-term study of its kind, confirmed that the more time a child spends in care, the higher the incidence of behavior problems and the greater their severity. (Not surprisingly, the NICHD sought to pad its press release with the reassuring subhead, "Vast Majority of Children Within Normal Range.") The issue of *Child Development* that published the NICHD findings also featured a University of Minnesota study showing that cortisol, a hormone associated with stress, rose while children were in day care and fell once they returned home.

A 1997 Pew poll found that only 17 percent of women thought it beneficial for children to have their mothers work, and 69 percent said they would prefer to stay home or scale back to part time. But the current tax structure—which in 1950, according to Robertson, exempted half of all married couples from federal taxes—makes this increasingly difficult. So while parents struggle to pay ever more, so too will their children.

[IMMIGRATION]

BRITS IN FLIGHT

Just as there have been decades of American working-class flight from California to points east, in Britain there is a movement away from the immigration-swollen cities of London, Manchester, and Liverpool to rural Wales. Given the race riots that have flared in Britain's cities—confirming Enoch Powell's warnings of 35 years ago—it is not surprising that Brits would seek calmer and more predictable places to raise their families.

Not surprising, but according to some, blameworthy. One Welsh writer has denounced his countrymen for using Wales as a “place to get away from multi-cultural society.” He quotes unnamed pub patrons saying things like “Isn't it nice without the Pakis?”

What a curious (and uniquely Western) phenomenon that one must celebrate the transformation of neighborhoods, schools, and cities—or be labeled a bigot. What could be the next step? As Britain already has laws designed to tamp down criticism of immigration, perhaps internal passports to prevent people from moving? For years Britain and the U.S. have been in competition to see which society can more effectively stamp out popular resistance to high immigration and multiculturalism. During the '80s, America held a clear lead, but under Blair, Britain has rallied sharply.

[MEDIA]

REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND

Twenty years ago, occasional *AC* contributor Roger Scruton and a small circle of other traditionalists founded the *Salisbury Review*, one of only two distinctly conservative journals in England. Named for Lord Salisbury, the distinguished turn-of-the-century Tory prime minister, the *Review* exists to gainsay prevailing orthodoxies and champion traditional wisdom, once revered but now reviled.

At its inception, the *Review* faced many challenges well known to this magazine: how to encourage cautious intellectuals to contribute to a conservative publication; how to build an audience; how to define “conservatism,” that congeries of ideas most resistant to synoptic definition. Then came the ideological attacks: the journal was called “racist” for venturing to address the question of national identity; Scruton, a noted philosopher, was exiled from English academia.

While taking a great personal toll on its editors, the campaign of suppression failed to extinguish the *Review's* unique journalistic voice. In the 1980s, it proved a source of hope to the peoples of Eastern Europe and of consternation to their Communist secret police. Gracing its pages have been the bylines of former Czech President Václav Havel, the late literary critic A.L. Rowse, mystery-writer P.D. James, and other worthy names in Western letters.

With justifiable pride, Scruton writes in the *London Spectator*, “Without claiming too much credit for this, I remain convinced that the *Salisbury Review* helped a new generation of conservative intellectuals to emerge.” This indeed is the good fruit of two decades' labor as a thoughtful, independent journal of opinion. We wish it continued success in the years ahead. ■

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PASSIONATE DEBATE

As a leftist with an open mind but an aversion to promise-breaking elite liberals, I have benefited a great deal from your august publication. It is fantastically put together and diverse—Norman Mailer, James Zogby, Taki, and Traditionalist Catholicism under one roof! While I realize that diversity is not an issue of choice among many American Rightists, from a Left standpoint, your publication is a lot more diverse than, say, the *New Republic*.

This being said, I hoped that your defense of Mel Gibson's film, "The Passion" (Aug. 11) would give some context to why we Jews are slightly perturbed. From a Jewish perspective, the Passion Play has long been used as "preparation" for organized anti-Jewish activities, well before the founding of Israel. The Russian Tsarists and German Nazis regularly used Passion Plays to soften up their populations, as, apparently, did Spain at the time of the Inquisition.

As more conservatives see Israel for what it is: an American client that, like others before it from Noriega to Hussein, has caused quite a bit of inconvenience, this is no reason to lapse from reasonable opposition to unreasonable anti-Semitism. Showing the Passion Play without some information as to how Jews have been called "Christ Killers" is not conservative; it is theocratic and racist. I am sure that Mel Gibson realizes this and will attach a disclaimer to what looks to be a magnificent work of motion-picture art.

JORDY CUMMINGS
Toronto, Ontario

MADE IN MEXICO

Pat Buchanan's hard-hitting polemic against free trade (Aug. 11) was brought home to me this past week at the inner-city Chicago hospital where I'm employed. Recently, our facility installed a new air conditioning system largely

funded by grants from the federal and state governments. I had the chance to go down into our sub-basement and view one of the giant "chillers" that power up the hospital's coolers. To my horror I saw a sign affixed to the machine noting it had been manufactured at a *maquiladora* plant in Durango, Mexico. One can only imagine how many American jobs were lost just in this one project!

DAVID L. BLATT
Chicago, Ill.

OAFISH HAND OF STATISM

Concerning Pat Buchanan's paranoid protectionist screed (Aug. 11), no King Canute protectionism will stop the rest of the world from challenging American industry if it is fit to do so. Scratch a protectionist thesis and you find the oafish hand of Statism, the fatal conceit of the paper-pushing bureaucrat or academic trying to order the universe.

Mr. Buchanan should concentrate on some true outrages inherent in the trade issue: that outcropping of corporate welfare known as export subsidy and the massive defense subsidy America gives its economic rivals in Europe and Asia.

J. WROBLEWSKI
Vancouver, British Columbia

LEFT-RIGHT CONVERSATION

I enjoyed Scott McConnell's recent piece, "How Dean Could Win" (Aug. 11). I'm a Dean supporter and Democrat with a healthy respect for the frankness of the traditional conservative perspective.

One thing I'd point out is that Dean does address immigration issues in the context of international trade, and he's of the opinion that by negotiating "fair trade" policies America can help structure a functioning middle class in countries such as Mexico that will reduce our illegal immigration problem while enhancing our shared environmental resources. You're right to say that he's an

internationalist, but I wonder if his approach might achieve some of the goals of a conservative policy by alternate means. You say we ought to protect our labor market from resembling Mexico's or Brazil's, and Dean is proposing to make Brazil look like the United States rather than the other way around.

There seems to be a growing base of agreement among Democrats and conservatives on a broad range of issues—for example, the past few years have enlightened a lot of liberals to the value of states' rights. Thank you for helping to build on the conversation between the two in a meaningful way, and thanks for a great article.

MATT WAGGNER
Los Angeles, Calif.

NO DOGS OR IRISHMEN

Joseph De Feo's "The New Know-Nothings" (Aug. 11) boldly catalogs modern liberal American anti-Catholicism. But anti-Catholicism is a foundational principle for the United States. The Pilgrims and Puritans settled New England precisely in reaction to Anglicanism's hold-over Catholic elements. Although Maryland was founded as a Catholic colony, as soon as Protestants took control of its legislature, they barred Catholics from voting and holding public office. America's political system is rooted in Anglo-Saxon Protestantism and its economic system in a Weberian paradigm. Normally, *AC* would champion fidelity to America's foundational principles. What a surprise it is to see them characterized as "outrages" in your pages!

DINO DRUDI
Washington, D.C.

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The Tojo Doctrine

August always calls to mind the final weeks of the war in 1945: Hiroshima on Aug. 6, Nagasaki on Aug. 9, the surrender of Aug. 15. Formal surrender in September

to General MacArthur on the Missouri in Tokyo Bay was but a photo op.

Today, World War II is recalled as the "good war" on Hitler's empire. But that was not true for the generation that lived through it. For even the youngest, it was, first and foremost, a war against the evil empire that had carried out the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor.

And understandably so. Even before U.S. troops first clashed with Rommel's Afrika Corps, Pearl Harbor, the Coral Sea, Midway, Bataan, Corregidor, the Doolittle Raid, and Guadalcanal were already burned in our memories. And while the morality of our war measures—the fire-bombing of Tokyo, Hiroshima, Nagasaki—is still debated, no one denies the morality of the war itself.

Yet, even as Bush and Tony Blair today face charges of having "lied us into war," so, too, did FDR. Even more so.

Indeed, why did Japan, an island nation smaller than Montana, attack the most powerful nation on earth? How did Hirohito and Tojo expect to win a war to the death with America that they must have known a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor would ignite?

In 1952, the great revisionist historian Charles Callan Tansill, in *Back Door to War: The Roosevelt Foreign Policy 1933-1941*, concluded it was not Japan that sought war with us, but FDR who sought war with Japan, as a back door to war with Nazi Germany. His case: in 1931, Japan occupied Manchuria as a defensive move to secure her northern

flank from Stalin who had seized Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang. Manchuria was as critical to Japan as Mexico is to us.

In 1937, following a clash on the Marco Polo Bridge outside Peiping, Japan and China went to war. For four years they fought, with Japan controlling the coasts and China the interior. For three years of this war, America saw no vital interest at risk and remained uninvolved.

But when Japan joined the Axis and occupied Indochina, FDR sent military aid to Chiang Kai-shek under lend-lease and approved the dispatch of the Flying Tigers to fight against Japan. He ordered B-17s to Manila to prepare to attack Japan's home islands. He secretly promised the Dutch and British that, should Japan attack their Asian colonies, America would go to war. Japan was aware of it all.

In July 1941, FDR froze Japan's assets, shutting off her oil. Adm. Richmond Kelly Turner warned FDR it meant war.

Indeed, when Israel's oil supply was imperiled by Nasser's threat to close the Straits of Tiran to ships docking in Israel, the Israelis launched their own Pearl Harbor, destroying the Egyptian air force on the ground before invading the Sinai and ending the oil threat to Israel's survival.

Nevertheless, knowing it meant war, FDR cut off Japan's oil. Thus was the Japanese empire and national economy, entirely dependent on imported oil, put under a sentence of death.

Japanese militarists wanted war but

the government of Prince Konoye did not. He offered to meet FDR anywhere in the Pacific. The prince told the U.S. ambassador that if oil shipments were renewed, Tokyo was ready to pull out of Indochina and have FDR mediate an end to the Sino-Japanese war. FDR spurned the offer.

Japan then sent an envoy to Washington to seek negotiations. On Nov. 26, Secretary of State Cordell Hull rejected negotiations and handed an ultimatum to the Japanese: get out of Indochina and China.

Japan faced a choice: accept a humiliating retreat from an empire built with immense blood and treasure, or seize the oil-rich Dutch East Indies. Pearl Harbor followed. The Tojo Doctrine of preemptive war.

Did FDR truly believe China's integrity was a vital interest? Hardly. Once war broke out, China was ignored. The Pacific took a back seat to Europe. U.S. forces on Corregidor were abandoned. Aid to Churchill and Stalin and war on Germany took precedence over all.

At Yalta, FDR, without consulting Chiang Kai-shek, ceded to Stalin Chinese territories that were to be taken from Japan.

Was America's war on Japan a just war? Assuredly. Were U.S. vital interests threatened by Japan? No. Provoking war with Japan was FDR's back door to the war he wanted—with Hitler in Europe.

After a meeting with FDR, Nov. 25, Secretary of War Henry Stimson wrote in his diary that the main question is "how we maneuver them into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves." That is the American way to war. ■