PRO-LIFE, PRO-NADER

Ralph Nader: pro-fetus, pro-family, proclergy ... pro-life? (June 21). Pat should have asked Ralph if he supported President Bush's decision to sign away \$59 million of our tax money in January to pay for global abortions and if Ralph Nader would waste time stumping for Arlen Specter.

MIKE CZYSH $via\ e$ -mail

DEFENDER OF THE FAITH

I have subscribed to The American Conservative almost since its inception. I am also an Orthodox Jew, so I think I can respond, with some authority, to the perfidious allegations made by David Brooks, and other neoconservatives, that TAC in any way promotes anti-Semitism. Quite the contrary. Many of the contributors to this fine journal are Jewish, and I can freely attest that TAC prints my letters while several Jewish weeklies, including the Chicago Jewish News in my area, routinely decline to do so.

What TAC has opened up for discussion is the manner in which the neoconservative establishment, from Daniel Pipes's Middle East Forum to the editorials one sees regularly in the Weekly Standard and National Review, has equated American national interests with promoting the hard-line Revisionist Zionist ideology of Likud and the West Bank settler movement in Israel. Rabbi Ben Zion Uziel, one of Israel's first Chief Rabbis, spoke of the creation of the State of Israel as a harbinger of international peace. Yet the policies promoted by the neocons, which subvent the Greater Israel movement, contribute to the exact opposite. While Sharon's decision to withdraw unilaterally from Gaza is a step in the right direction, I cannot see how allowing some West Bank settlements to remain in place, a key pillar of President Bush's new white paper on the Arab-Israeli conflict, can be helpful

to anyone, Israeli or Palestinian, caught up in this terrible quagmire.

These are the very things Patrick Buchanan and his cadre of courageous journalists at TAC are trying to bring to the front-page of the American body politic for the discussion the neoconservatives would otherwise shut down in the cause of "National Security." For that alone, I am extremely grateful! DAVID L. BLATT

Chicago, Ill.

TAKE MY STAND

Bravo for Fred Reed's insight in "All Loyalty is Local" (June 21) that "a man has a certain dignity when he stands in his own farm or when he owns his own storeWhen he becomes a salaried warehouseman for a remote office in Milwaukee, he doesn't."

Chesterton and Belloc could hardly have put this rooted conservatism better. Actually, Belloc wrote a book, The Servile State, nearly a century ago that described this need for roots for the individual. Our conservative vision must capture the need for a human scale to economic life. While it can be called a Third Way between rapacious capitalism and central planning, it has its foundations in the Distributist political philosophy of an earlier generation and would reflect the Western spiritual patrimony that infused Europe's Christian Democracy movements.

This magazine recently asked its readers for their opinions as to the approach of the traditional right. An approach that leads our nation back to its spiritual basis and to the human scale of enterprises would do well enough.

THOMAS J. HERRON Philadelphia, Pa.

UNFIT TO PRINT

Marcus Epstein did an excellent job of covering the political debate of Affirmative Action Bake Sales (AABS) on college campuses (June 7). One aspect that he did not touch on, however, is how the debate was portrayed (or shaped) by campus media. As a University of Washington alum, I am in a unique position to comment.

On October 8, 2003 a UW College Republican AABS grew unruly "when passers-by started shouting, tearing down posters and eventually dumping the cookies on the ground," according to the official campus paper, The Daily. Although property damage and heated arguments ensued (the police were present, and campus officials shut down the event), The Daily chose not to cover the incident as news but instead wrote an editorial denouncing College Republicans for staging a publicity stunt.

Under any other circumstances, a dispute of this sort would be front-page news for a campus newspaper. Local TV and newspapers covered it, and eventually CNN and other national media picked up the story. Yet the official campus paper did not find it newsworthy, reportedly telling UW College Republican President Jason Chambers that The Daily "does not cover bake sales."

ERIK TOMREN Seattle, Wash.

THE MISSING LINK

Talk about the dog that didn't bark! The glaring omission in "Come Home, America" (June 7), an otherwise welcome and well-reasoned article on reassessing our global alignments and alliances after the Iraq War, is perhaps the most important—our relationship with Israel. Tsk, tsk, American Conservative. I'm shocked, truly shocked.

S.K. OBERBECK Sanibel, Fla.

The American Conservative welcomes letters to the editor. Submit by e-mail to letters@amconmag.com or by mail to 1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120, Arlington, VA 22209.

Contents July 5, 2004 / Vol. 3, No. 13



[REAGAN]

We Shall Not See His Like Again

BY PATRICK J. BUCHANAN President Reagan called America "hopeful, big-hearted, idealistic, daring, decent, and fair." So it shall be said of him. Page 6

American Realist

BY DOUG BANDOW The man who brought down the Evil Empire had a humble foreign policy. Page 8

At the Pleasure of The President

BY JAMES G. WATT He won our loyalty by being true to his troops—and his principles. Page 10

He Spoke for Us

BY KEN KHACHIGIAN The message matched the man. Page 11

Capitalist Revolution

BY PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS Ronald Reagan defeated socialism abroad by rejuvenating free enterprise at home. Page 13

COLUMN

31 Taki: Resolved: Great Britain may be a poodle, but the Oxford Union's girls are no bow-wows.

NEWS & VIEWS

4 Fourteen Days: Spymaster to Spend Time With Family; Pontifical Counsel; The Real Abortion Fanatics

ARTICLES

- 15 Jim Pittaway: Iraq's neighbors may be better situated to stabilize the region than the hired commandos currently keeping a lid on chaos.
- **20** Steve Sailer: Power is all in family for Ahmed Chalabi—and the neocons.
- 21 Robert Stacy McCain: Bush's Texas education "miracle" proves to be a mirage.

ARTS & LETTERS

- **24** Steve Sailer: "Napoleon Dynamite" and "Maria Full of Grace"
- 25 Ralph de Toledano: An Honest Writer by Robert K. Landers
- **27** Harold O.J. Brown: After the Empire by Emmanuel Todd
- **28** Kevin R.C. Gutzman: Thomas Jefferson by R.B. Bernstein

COVER ILLUSTRATION: CHRIS HIERS

Fourteen days

[INTELLIGENCE]

TENET TAKES A FALL

The simultaneous retirement of Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet and Deputy Director for Operations James Pavitt was triggered by advance warning that the two would be excoriated in impending congressional reports relating to 9/11 and Iraq. Both Tenet and Pavitt believe the congressional criticism to be unjust, and neither is willing to participate in the drastic reform of the CIA that will almost certainly result. Tenet, a garrulous former congressional staffer with no experience as an intelligence officer prior to becoming DCI seven years ago, presided over America's two greatest intelligence failures since Pearl Harbor. Appreciated within the CIA for his defense of the agency and its employees, he was nevertheless generally criticized for his inability to protect the integrity of the intelligence product due to his unseemly close personal relationship with the president.

Tenet's resignation for family reasons was a personally arranged and carefully orchestrated graceful exit. President Bush will not have to admit to any mistakes, and Tenet's résumé will not have to state that he was fired. And his departure will satisfy popular sentiment supporting replacement of some administration officials involved in recent embarrassments.

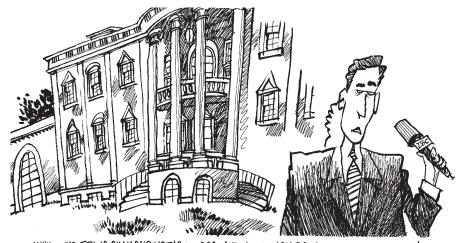
Pavitt, Tenet's protégé, will not be missed by the CIA Operations Directorate. Disliked by most of his subordinates because of his lack of both field experience and managerial sensitivity, he has been blamed for the passive riskaverse culture in the agency that contributed to recent failures.

—Philip Giraldi

[DIPLOMACY]

PONTIFICAL COUNSEL

The shadow cast by the Iraq War trails President Bush wherever he goes, even to ceremonial events. When Bush met



WHILE THE FBI IS CHAMENGING THE SOURCE AND ATTORNEY GENERAL ASHCROFT IS IN PISAGREEMENT WITH SECRETARY RIDGE OVER THE REPORT, THERE IS INCREASED CHATTER INDICATING THAT CIA DIRECTOR TENET HAS RESIGNED. THE WHITE HOUSE IS SAID TO BE SERKING CLARIFICATION FROM FORMER TRUSTED ADVISER, AHMAD CHALABI.

with Pope John Paul II at the Vatican to present him with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the physically frail but mentally strong pontiff reiterated the Holy See's opposition to the war, urged a swift transfer of sovereignty, condemned the abuse of prisoners at Abu Ghraib, and called for a genuine peace process between the Israelis and Palestinians.

While Parkinson's disease made it difficult for the pope to deliver his remarks, the meaning of his polite rebuke was clear: "Mr. President, your visit to Rome takes place at a moment of great concern for the continuing situation of grave unrest in the Middle East, both in Iraq and in the Holy Land It is the evident desire of everyone that this situation now be normalized as quickly as possible with the active participation of the international community ..."

Bush no doubt sought this photo-op to bolster his appeal among Catholic constituents, but our foreign policy would be much improved if he were as interested in heeding sound moral counsel as chasing votes.

[MEDIA]

SMELLY LITTLE ORTHODOXIES

Something unfortunate happens to pundits who cling too blindly to ideology. Perhaps their media bookings depend on pithy soundbites and clear partisanship. More likely, pride doesn't permit a re-evaluation when events confound theory. It's easier to run in the ruts.

Witness David Frum's recent National Review "Diary" entry in which he takes aim at the venerable London Spectator, a monument long before he climbed up to the keyboard. Now, TAC's affection for the *Spectator* is plain, and not only because of our editor's long-running column in the estimable weekly. Over the past 125 years, the magazine has earned international regard for witty commentary and shrewd inquiry, drawing from many streams and belonging to no school.

Ideologues make no place for such independence. "One of the saddest casualties of the war on terrorism has been my once-favorite British magazine, the Spectator," Frum writes. For printing several critical pieces—alongside reasoned pro-war arguments—NRO's finest laments, "the magazine seems to have lost both its mind—and its standards."

Notice how, in the neoconservative mind, crossing ideology suggests lunacy, or worse, the taint of some outside influence. Frum goes on, "[Editor Boris] Johnson appears to have handed most of his daily duties over to his deputy, Stuart Reid, a journalist who long ago succumbed to a gloomy and obsessive Buchananite view of the world." We're proud to count Stuart among our favorite TAC contributors and can attest to both his sanity and sunniness. That he and the Spectator draw Frum's opprobrium says much about the integrity of their endeavor-and about his tolerance for debate.