Modern democratic politics, said Chesterton, is really about drunk men hollering at each other in a bar, about exaggerating their importance in order to win coercive power over others. Inviting women does not sanctify the bar: It degrades the ladies. "If you don't like the idea of men shouting at each other at the 'Blue Pig," he said, "you will not like its shadow."

In its shadow is Bristol Palin, deliberately humiliated before the whole crowd. And yet her mother wants power—the power to effect change. She risked young Trig's unborn life to stand before John McCain, her amniotic fluid leaking, and deliver a speech that would energize him. And because of it, she was invited to the Blue Pig to shout at the other side along with the rest of the louts. And she accepted because she has been schooled by her father, the "First Dude," her churches, and her Conservative Movement in the fine art of masculinization. She doesn't blink. She is a proud Feminist for Life.

Assume for one fleeting moment that the vice president, not the president, appoints federal judges and Supreme Court justices. Assume that Cindy McCain is wrong and that her husband really does want to overturn *Roe* v. *Wade*. Assume that McCain doesn't really want to abort frozen babies and use their tiny bodies for research. Assume that McCain doesn't think that a child conceived in rape deserves to die, if the mother so chooses. It is still a violation of the natural order, on which conservatism and Christianity depend, to abuse a mother and her children. The way of faith honors women and respects women, refusing to strip them of their dignity by thrusting them into the base, crude, and meaningless game of modern democratic politics, filled with lies and exaggerations.

We don't need to reread the story of Deborah in the original Hebrew; we don't need to search history for examples of queens or prime ministers or matriarchs. Christians rooted in the natural law simply know that there is no greater good than for a woman to be what she was made to be, and their efforts to that end collectively are a culture of life. It is not enough to teach Creationism; we must believe in and respect the created order. Conservative Christianity apart from the natural order is neither conservative nor Christian. It is a monstrous mutation of the Enlightenment—the religion of choice apart from revelation, the religion of change in the face of tradition.

If an energized America makes history in November and puts John McCain in the White House, Sarah Palin will not have time for a lot of trivial, insignificant things that matter little to the abstract culture of life—to fix snacks for Piper, to take her to and from school every day, to help her with homework and stay home with her when she's sick. And when it's time for her grandchild to be born in January, she'll have an inauguration to attend to instead of her daughter. But the glass ceiling will be shattered, and its shards will have fallen on her and her family—and on the conservative Christians who valued the principle of life over life.

## Four Firsts and a Last for Dan Treat D.V.M.

by Timothy Murphy

Her first retrieve afield: a shotgun shell fired and ejected with no warning. How she adored that smell, charcoal, sulfur and niter in the morning.

Her first bird was a crippled mourning dove. She somersaulted down a ditch head over heels in love, buttoned her bird and bounded up the pitch.

Her first drake dropped beyond a refuge sign. Wriggling under the lowest wire, she swam a perfect line as though posting a proof of her desire.

Her first loss was her superhuman ear. Hand-signalled on an unmarked run, she could no longer hear whistling wingtips; even at last, the gun.

At fourteen she was walking into walls, fouling the carpet, losing teeth. Farewell to mallard calls and decoy spreads, wild roosters on the heath.

To St. Francis of Fargo fell the chore, the barbital a gentle thrust to launch her from our shore. The last look in her fearless eye was trust.

**26 / CHRONICLES** 

## **Spain Embraces Change**

## **Canceling the Past**

## by José Javier Esparza

For the last four years, change has been in the air in Spain, following the election of Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, leader of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party. And thanks to his reelection in March of this year, we can look forward to more of the same.

There have been abrupt changes to the very structure of the government: new statutes regarding regional autonomy that recognize the "national" character of Spain's regions, thereby weakening the unity of the country.

There has been a radical shift in Spain's antiterrorist policy: In the name of the "peace process," the political spokesmen of terrorism have returned to public life, while victims of terrorism are being harassed by the authorities and pressure is being brought to bear on judges.

Change has come to our civic morality as well, through the legalization of homosexual "marriage," legislation in favor of transsexuals, and the adoption of fast-track divorce laws. Abortion laws are being amended to bring Spain closer to abortion on demand, euthanasia is being advocated, and embryonic stem-cell research is being promoted.

We now have a party line to tow with regard to our interpretation of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). "Historical memory" is now skewed in favor of the Republican (leftist) side of the conflict.

Change has meant the injection of leftist ideology into education and policies that reward indoctrination over academic performance.

There have been attacks on the Christian identity of Spanish society—government initiatives hostile to the Catholic Church, a diminishing role for religion in schools, and attempts to confine religion to the private sphere. We are also being encouraged to explore other faiths, especially Islam.

This has accompanied an emphasis on rapprochement with authoritarian regimes in Latin America and within the Islamic bloc, as well as support for Turkey's admission to the European Union.

Change has meant the toleration of huge waves of immigration, mass amnesties, ineffective control over the borders, and laxity in the expulsion of illegals, accompanied by

José Javier Esparza, a Spanish journalist, is the author of numerous books, including El Bienio Necio: Cronica del Zapaterismo (2006). This article was translated from the Spanish by Brooke Cadwallader. ongoing dialogue that actually encourages them to come.

Spain's course today is the direct result of trends promoted for a long time. One of these trends follows the general direction of the European left in recent years toward the liquidation of any vestige of tradition. Another corresponds to a leftist path unique to Spain throughout her history: the path to self-hatred and selfannihilation, whereon everyone who promotes anything that is uniquely national and Spanish is identified as a reactionary. Zapaterism, the ideology driving those who hold the reins of power in today's Spain, is the synthesis of these two trends.

The socialism of Felipe González contradicted the traditional values of the Spanish people, but nobody feared (at least after 1984) that it would be necessary to rush to the door, ax in hand, to defend the things held most sacred. On the other hand, the socialism of Zapatero, with regard to the most important things in life (family, social order, religion, the right to life) is extraordinarily aggressive—all the more so for having been built upon such a meager majority. Felipe González's socialism was socialist; Zapatero's is nihilistic. This is terrifying. All things terrifying, however, are interesting. And what is interesting in Zapaterist socialism is that it reveals the true face of the Third Left.

The First Left was revolutionary and red: Russia in 1917, Germany in 1919, Spain in 1934 and 1936. Its paradise was Soviet Russia. The First Left ended up drowning in a bloodbath of the Gulag and the Cheka. Today only Castro survives.

The Second Left was reformist and white: the British Labor movement, Swedish and German social democracies, as well as French (Mitterrand) and Spanish (González) socialism. Its paradise was Sweden. The Second Left collapsed and died, a casualty of the mere inability to keep up the level of public spending required by the welfare state.

The Third Left is the granddaughter of revolutions discredited by butchery, and the daughter of experiments found to be impracticable because of financial incompetence. Its great challenge is to construct a new theoretical paradigm. On the left's fringes, nihilistic currents began to pop up under the banners of antiglobalization. And in the chapels of nostalgia, a new hagiography was being assembled that did not take its inspiration from the old Soviet and Swedish paradises, but from the Sexual Revolution, the Latin American insurgency, the perpetu-