

between 51 and 54 percent of the youth vote in Kentucky, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, and Alabama. In Arkansas it was a tie. The youth vote was decisive in helping Obama carry North Carolina, as they voted for him by a whopping 74-26 margin and made up 18 percent of the electorate.

Conservatives have complained for years about identity voting among minority groups as an electoral form of affirmative action. But Republicans did what they could in 2008 to appeal to the diversity current: as her critics note, Palin's gender went a long way to making her McCain's running mate. Minnesota governor Tim Pawlenty shared much the same background as Palin, and unlike her he was a loyal McCain supporter even during the summer of 2007, when the Arizonan's campaign was in grim shape. But Obama's nomination pushed the GOP to compete with the Democrats on the diversity scale, which meant she was on the ticket and Pawlenty was off.

Given the demographic trends, pressure on Republican leaders to respond to Obama's presidency by diversifying the party will only grow stronger. Ironically, the candidates the establishment wing of the GOP would find acceptable in 2012—Jeb Bush and Mitt Romney for example—may very well be overwhelmed by the diversity imperative the way Pawlenty was this year. If that's the case, the person who will benefit is Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindal, who could be the perfect candidate to balance the cosmopolitan and provincial wings of the party. He has Washington experience as a congressman but is seen as an outsider. He has a reputation as a reformer of Louisiana's notoriously corrupt state government. Unlike Palin, Jindal is a policy wonk, with experience in the health and human services field

Continued on page 34

Cowboy and Indians

President Bush could yet fulfill his liberation fantasy. The secret is to start small.

By Paul Moreland

THE ROUND REJECTION of John McCain indicates that George W. Bush's nation-building fell far short of the Shadransky ideal. The prospects for christening the Shining City on the Hindu Kush by Jan. 20, 2009—or Jan. 20 of any year—seem less than promising.

Granted, a let's-do-it-while-we-can attack on Iran would provide visceral release in certain quarters, but Iran is a nation already built and notably uneager to be rebuilt. Odds are that an assault on Tehran would be another one for the boondoggle column—a poor nostrum for the most fragile legacy since James Buchanan's.

Yet if we stay the course for another few weeks, GWB will forever be known as the failed nation-builder—the cowboy who rode into town, shot it up, and left. He needs one last riposte to balance things out.

While democracy is said to rest on universal principles, thus far President Bush's beau ideal has involved force-feeding freedom to recalcitrant Muslims. For one willing to challenge paradigms on the quick, however, a new frontier exists. The limitless mystery of the Amazon offers the nation-builder's equivalent of 72 virgins.

Deep within the Peruvian rainforest, the crew of an NBC reality show recently discovered a lost Indian tribe. These Indians—the Jururei—present Mr. Bush with perfect opportunity to add a solid win to his democratization score sheet.

We know little of the Jururei, but what we have learned is chilling. Far from passing the Town Square Test, these

fierce people are wholly undemocratic. The tribe's current leadership commits human-rights violations against their own people, neighboring tribes, and even the Western loggers introducing modernity from atop bulldozers.

The Jururei are led by one Sopai, a thuggish Amazonian headman. French anthropologists report that Sopai did not earn his leadership through free and fair elections, but seized power by cudgeling his predecessor to death. The common Jururei—fundamentally decent monkey trappers and tuber gatherers—are utterly disenfranchised.

When encamped, the peripatetic tribe resides within a single roundhouse called a *shabono*, in which deep divisions exist. While all Jururei adhere to the same basic form of animism, a schism has arisen between the majority, which holds the traditional belief that departed ancestors return as birds, and a minority that believes they become howler monkeys. Sopai, a fervent traditionalist, has excluded the minority faith from the tribal council and has ordered them to sleep on the jungle side of the *shabono*, where they fall prey to snakes and panthers.

Sopai's oppression of his people doesn't end with religious minorities. In this Amazonian human-rights crisis, women and sexual minorities fare no better. Previous headmen, bending to domestic pressure, permitted women to assume lucrative roles in hunting parties. Sopai immediately banned this practice. For the few women who retain hunter privileges, a thatched ceiling exists: on average, they keep just 68 percent of the

monkey meat their male counterparts do. Western apologists for tyranny argue that women retain power within the tribe's matrilineal family units. But such revisionism doesn't conceal the ugly fact that Sopai's all-male clique wields absolute political power.

Due to medical limitations, the tribe does not yet have any transgender members, and the mere suspicion of homosexuality results in immediate spearing. But it is Sopai's contempt for the sovereignty of neighboring tribes, the property rights of international logging companies, and his threats to wipe Peru off the map that trigger the alarm bells of freedom. The case for intervention is mounting:

- UN observers recently witnessed Jururei warriors, on the pretext of pursuing a particularly agile monkey, attacking a neighboring tribe, burning down its *shabono*, plundering its tuber reserves, and carrying off four women.
- A Peruvian logger hit by a Jururei poison dart died last week in a Lima hospital. DoD is testing the dart and is expected to deem it a banned biological weapon.
- Human Rights Watch is set to release a report calling Jururei aggression an "existential crisis for Sopai's neighbors."

With each passing day of inaction, Sopai is emboldened in his belief that the West will do nothing to check his regional ambitions. Shown a picture of Barbara Bush by a visiting CNN crew he proclaimed, "I will spear her."

Enemies of Freedom are already making overtures. Previously, Jururei political alliances were seasonal pacts made only with other lost tribes. Unnamed sources at the U.S. embassy in Caracas report that Hugo Chavez sent a private expression of solidarity to Sopai. And Cuban dissidents claim that the Castro brothers will bestow an honorary

generalship on Sopai during a speech at Plaza de la Revolucion.

Israeli intelligence reports that Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has dispatched Al Quds operatives to transfer IED technology from Caracas junkyards to the Jururei. This terror is hampered solely by Sopai's beliefs that only avian deities residing in storm clouds can create loud booms.

With decisive leadership, it is not too late to stem this evil tide, even with less than two months to spare. Each full moon, Sopai is said to binge on a potion of fermented plantains mixed with the droppings of a colorful local frog. Following a nocturnal hallucinatory frenzy, he assumes a stuporous repose throughout the next day. It is then that the Forces of Freedom must strike.

A few casually tossed grenades will suffice for Shock and Awe. Given tribal superstitions regarding loud noises and bright lights, only the deadenders will continue to hold their spears as the invasion begins.

While it's always nice to employ a smart bomb with a live camera feed, collateral damage concerns—*shabonos*

NO STRETCHING COMBAT BRIGADES FOR THIS CAKEWALK. A COMPANY OF MARINES OR A FEW SUVs OF BLACKWATER MEN CAN HANDLE THE LIBERATION.

are highly combustible—dictate that removing Sopai will require boots on the ground, but deliciously few. No stretching combat brigades for this cakewalk. A company of Marines or a few SUVs of Blackwater men can handle the liberation.

Before the first sun sets on the invasion, the Green Zone—a large, inexpensive tent—will be functional, though given the surrounding foliage a new name will be needed. Deviously placed snare traps aside, the danger from insurgency will be *de minimis*. Assuming we

sever the Iranian link, there will be no RPGs or roadside bombs. Looters, who we now know cannot be wished away, will be shot.

The first order of business in the transitional period will be to wire the *shabono* for Internet and satellite TV. All charges and fees will be waived for the first year, including adult pay-per-view. The wonderment of the images piped into the roundhouse will keep the Jururei at home and jumpstart democratization.

Lest the deadenders convince the common Jururei that we offer nothing more than a savory but poisoned berry, a properly indoctrinated replacement for Sopai is needed. The elder son of the headman toppled by Sopai reportedly wandered into a logging camp in August and, enthralled by his first sip of Peruvian rum, stuck around. He is being named in private circles as the likely successor, and the American Enterprise Institute is co-ordinating efforts to buy his freedom.

The unfolding Jururei crisis thus presents President Bush with a prime opportunity to apply what we learned in our trillion-dollar nation-building lesson.

There will be challenges. Anthropologists warn that the body politic of the Jururei may vanish into the jungle. Surviving hunting party members may be reluctant to turn over spears and bows. We'll face a shortage of translators and other cultural barriers. But Mr. Bush will find no better chance to show Mr. Obama that the key is not to abandon nation-building. You just have to start small and work your way up. ■

Paul Moreland is the pen name of an immigration lawyer in New York City.

Withered Conservatism

Conservatives bicker about spending and abortion but refuse to face the real cause of the Republican rout.

By Michael Brendan Dougherty

AFTER TWO DEVASTATING election cycles for the GOP, conservatives were expected to “rethink” their movement. Signs of dissent and disintegration among the Right were everywhere in the months leading up to the election. *New York Times* columnist David Brooks called the lovefest for Sarah Palin a “cancer” on the Republican Party. Rush Limbaugh used his microphone to attack John McCain for not attacking Barack Obama and to assail moderates for their capitulations to liberalism. *National Review Online* columnist Kathleen Parker blamed electoral defeats on the influence of the Religious Right. After joining the growing ranks of Obamacons, Christopher Buckley resigned from the magazine his father founded. But Obama’s victory did not bring the anticipated recriminations among the defeated. In fact, the conservative movement isn’t rethinking much of anything.

The acceptable lines of debate among conservatives were drawn six days after the election by David Brooks. On one side he put “traditionalists” who “argue the G.O.P. should return to its core ideas: Cut government, cut taxes, restrict immigration.” He deemed Sean Hannity and Rush Limbaugh the leaders of this faction. On the other side he put “reformers” who want to modernize the party so that it appeals to Hispanics and younger voters and addresses the economic insecurities of the middle class. This group includes some neoconserva-

tives like David Frum and Brooks himself, along with Ross Douthat and Reihan Salam, authors of the domestic-policy tract *Grand New Party*.

National Review’s post-election conference, “Whither Conservatism,” cast intra-conservative debates along similar lines. In a panel on domestic policy, Kim Strassel of the *Wall Street Journal* played the role of “traditionalist,” arguing for stringent free-marketism and broad tax cuts, while *National Review*’s “reformer,” Jim Manzi, focused on suburban issues like sprawl and transportation. A discussion titled “The Future of Conservatism,” moderated by Brooks, featured Douthat and Ramesh Ponnuru on the reformer side, with *NR*’s Jonah Goldberg, Hillsdale’s David Bobb and Cato’s Gene Healy arguing for a return to the party’s old playbook. Panel members essentially argued that they each represented the future of conservatism.

Framed as a struggle between these two factions, the debate about conservatism descends quickly into details about domestic policy. Should child tax credits be expanded, or should conservatives back across-the-board tax relief? Should conservatives support domestic drilling or find ways to incentivize alternative energy consumption? These discussions revolved around two more foundational questions. Can small-government policies win popular support? Should conservatives use government to protect and enhance family life and

the free market? The idea that both answers may be “no” never troubled a panelist.

The other point of contention between “traditionalists” and “reformers” is stylistic and cultural. David Frum wrote in Canada’s *National Post*, “The dominant wing in today’s GOP is the ‘say it louder’ wing.” This faction is unabashedly populist in tone and prides itself on speaking to “real Americans.” Its influence buoyed the good-hearted but green Sarah Palin. But reformers like Frum balk at the anti-intellectual tone of a movement that promotes creation science and global-warming-denialism. They prefer competent and innovative governors like Minnesota’s Tim Pawlenty who have largely avoided confrontations in the culture war. Frum has argued that chasing after the growing segment of college-educated voters “will involve painful change, on issues ranging from the environment to abortion. And it will involve potentially even more painful changes of style and tone: toward a future that is less overtly religious, less negligent with policy, and less polarizing on social issues.”

But while conservatives discuss whether to moderate the party’s position on abortion or change its small government doctrine, there is one non-negotiable issue. The defining legacy of the Bush presidency and the primary cause of electoral disaster for Republicans was the Iraq War. But the war is the one thing the conservative movement