

toward the schooling of Iraqi refugee children in addition to the \$150 million already available for Iraqis forced from their homes. But such a sum is likely only a down payment. Jordan and Syria alone claim that hosting Iraqi refugees costs each of them \$1 billion a year.

FOREIGN POLICY & DEFENSE

The New Infantry Epoch

THE SOURCE: "Infantry and National Priorities" by Maj. Gen. Robert H. Scales (Ret.), in *Armed Forces Journal*, Dec. 2007.

AN EPOCHAL SHIFT IN THE immemorial cycle of war is under way, writes retired major general Robert H. Scales, the former commandant of the Army War College. The infantry is back. America's enemies have learned that they can't win blitzkrieg-age wars, so they no longer fight them. They have moved the battlefields to cities, jungles, and mountains, where the U.S. military's technologically superior machines are ineffective.

"The enemy chooses to fight as infantry because he can win the infantry fight," Scales says, and America's experience in Iraq and Afghanistan shows that the nation has no choice but to meet its opponent on uncongenial terrain.

In recent wars, he writes, infantry soldiers



Soldiers patrol near the Baghdad train station in 2005. America's enemies are forcing foot soldiers to bear the brunt of the latest iteration of war. Four-fifths of combat deaths occur among infantry.

have suffered four of five combat deaths even though they make up less than four percent of U.S. military personnel. In wars waged with armor, airpower, and other heavy armaments, the kill ratios were skewed in America's favor: In the World War II Pacific cam-

paign, 13 enemy soldiers died for every American killed; in Europe against the Germans, the ratio was 11 to 1; in Korea, 13 to 1. But in the second battle of Fallujah, in November 2004, the ratio in close combat narrowed to 9 to 1, and for soldiers fighting inside buildings, the ratios were "much closer to parity," Scales writes.

For too long, the Defense Department has spent a major share of its budget on aircraft and ships—big-ticket items made by big corporations. Now it needs to put its money where its casualties are, Scales writes. The country needs to invest more in lighter, fuel-efficient vehicles that can operate in distant locales for extended periods, low-flying aerial drones to protect the lives of

EXCERPT

Fathers of Defeat

The American public, not the timeless nature of war, has changed. We no longer easily accept human imperfections. We care less about correcting problems than assessing blame—in postmodern America it is defeat that has a thousand fathers, while the notion of victory is an orphan.

—VICTOR DAVIS HANSON, author of *A War Like No Other: How the Athenians and Spartans Fought the Peloponnesian War* (2005), in *Claremont Review of Books* (Winter 2007–08)

troops who search out the enemy and now suffer more than half of all casualties, light body armor, and telecommunications that allow foot soldiers to see and talk to their units.

Most important, Scales argues,

the Pentagon should pay infantrymen better. Compensation should reflect the risks soldiers face, not just their technical skills. Foot soldiers should also be allowed to retire earlier than other personnel. The infantry, he

says, should be manned by the military's best and brightest, because mature, intelligent, well-led, well-trained, and motivated soldiers are "far more effective in the close fight and far less likely to die."

POLITICS & GOVERNMENT

The Court's 'Right' Track

THE SOURCE: "A Tale of Two Justices" by Linda Greenhouse, in *Green Bag*, Autumn 2007.

PRESIDENTS RICHARD M. Nixon and George W. Bush had similar goals in appointing Harry Blackmun and John Roberts to the U. S. Supreme Court more than 30 years apart: to move the Court away from what they considered egregious liberalism.

Their choices were Republican sons of the Midwest and brilliant graduates of Harvard College and Harvard Law School with almost unassailable legal credentials.

But Blackmun traversed the ideological spectrum to become the Court's most liberal member by the time he retired in 1994. Is a similar ideological journey in store for Chief Justice Roberts?

Substantial recent scholarship suggests that the answer is a resounding *no*, writes Linda Greenhouse, the Supreme Court correspondent for *The New York Times*. Modern-era Republican-appointed justices who came from outside Washington have drifted to

the left on the bench, while those who were already Washington insiders with service in the executive branch when they were appointed to the Court stayed put on the liberal-conservative spectrum. Chief Justice Earl Warren, considered a conservative when he moved from California after his appointment by President Dwight Eisenhower in 1953, issued some of the landmark liberal rulings of the 20th century, including *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). By contrast, Chief Justice William Rehnquist, elevated to the Court from service at high levels in the Justice Department, never veered from his conservative views.

Why? A move in midlife to such a prominent position in Washington,

Ideological drift is unlikely to infect Supreme Court justices such as John Roberts who have served in the executive branch.

an unfamiliar place and culture, is a profound personal disruption that fosters receptivity to new ideas and influences, Greenhouse thinks. Working in the executive branch in Washington, by contrast, is the "product of a process of self-selection and political dues paying that both reinforces and demonstrates loyalty to a set of principles."

So ideological drift is unlikely to infect the current chief justice, who is a veteran of the Justice Department, the White House, Washington private practice, and the District of Columbia federal courts, no matter how long he serves.

POLITICS & GOVERNMENT

Granny Goes Left

THE SOURCE: "Population Aging, Intracohort Aging, and Sociopolitical Attitudes" by Nicholas L. Danigelis, Melissa Hardy, and Stephen J. Cutler, in *American Sociological Review*, Oct. 2007.

WILL THE GRAYING OF AMERICA produce a more conservative electorate, resistant to liberal ideas about minorities, atheists, political dissenters, and gays? Not likely, say sociologists Nicholas L. Danigelis and Stephen J. Cutler, of the University of Vermont, and Melissa Hardy of Pennsylvania State University.

Americans over 60 are as likely as those under 40 to hold different views