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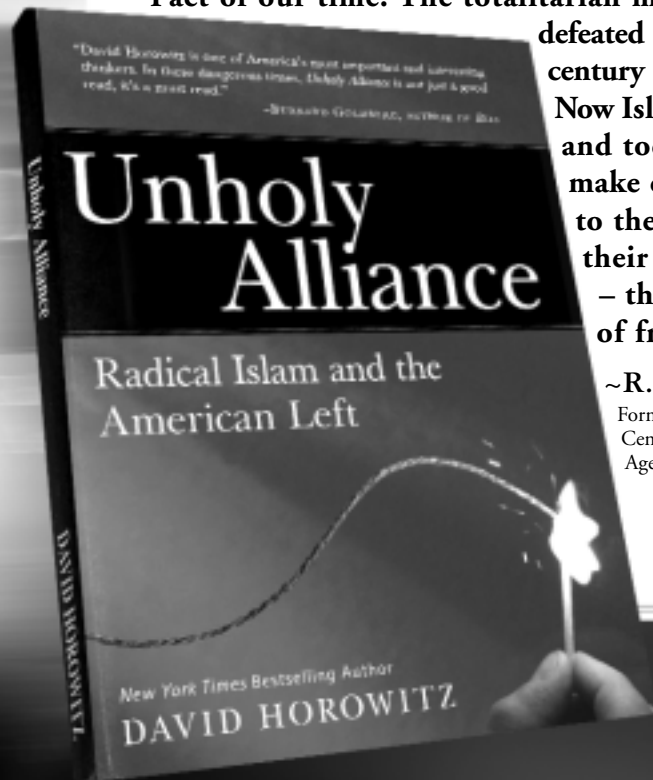
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IRAQ

AND WHY
SOME AMERICANS
WANT US TO
LOSE THE WAR

by David Horowitz

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WHY WE ARE IN IRAQ

1. WHY WE ARE IN IRAQ*

Just before American and British troops entered Iraq to remove the regime of Saddam Hussein, a videotape of Osama bin Laden was aired on Al Jazeera TV. The tape was aired on February 12, 2003, and in it bin Laden said: “The interests of Muslims and the interests of the socialists coincide in the war against the crusaders.”

Bin Laden was referring to the fact that four weeks earlier, millions of leftists had poured into the streets of European capitals, Washington, San Francisco and New York to protest the removal of Saddam Hussein. Their goal was to prevent the United States and Britain from toppling Saddam and ending one of the cruelest and most repressive regimes in modern times. Despite Saddam’s violations of international law and UN resolutions and despite his record of brutality and murder, the protesters portrayed the United States as the villain of the conflict. They chanted “no blood for oil;” they called the United States “the world’s greatest terrorist state;” they described America’s democratic government as an “Axis of Evil;” and they compared America’s president to Adolph Hitler.

In America itself, the demonstrations against the war were organized by two national coalitions. One of these was International ANSWER, a front group for the Worker’s World Party, which is a Marxist-Leninist sect aligned with the Communist dictatorship in North Korea. The other was the Coalition for Peace and Justice, an organization led by Leslie Cagan, a veteran 1960’s leftist and member of the Communist Party until after the fall of the Berlin Wall, which welcomed all factions of the left and was composed of organizations that ranged from the Communist Party to the National Council of Churches to Muslim supporters of the terrorist *jihad*.

Despite their efforts, the global protesters failed to stop the British and American military effort or save Saddam’s regime,

* Originally a speech given at Georgetown University on October 14, 2004 and broadcast on C-Span. It was edited and published as an article in FrontPageMagazine.com on November 26, 2004 and has been edited again for this pamphlet.

which fell six weeks after the initial assault. The allied victory stopped the regime from adding more bodies to the mass graves which already held 300,000; it shut down the torture chambers and closed the prison that Saddam had built for four to twelve-year-olds whose parents had earned his disapproval. It initiated an attempt to provide Iraq with a democratic regime for the first time in its history.

Within weeks of the victory it became clear that Saddam's forces had not been entirely defeated. They had regrouped and been joined by the terrorist forces of Abu Musab el-Zarqawi to fight a rear-guard guerilla effort against the American liberators. The anti-war protesters in the United States decided to join this battle as well, also in opposition to their own country. This time their activities would be focused on the arena of electoral politics. The anti-war activists and organizations joined the presidential primary campaigns in support anti-war Democrats like Dennis Kucinich and Howard Dean.

Through organizations like MoveOn.org, the enormous money and manpower resources that the activists had mobilized against the removal of Saddam Hussein now transformed the campaign of an obscure governor of Vermont, making Howard Dean the immediate front-runner for the Democratic nomination. Dean condemned America's war in Iraq, and hinted that, if elected, he would make peace at the earliest possible opportunity and withdraw American forces from the Persian Gulf. Electoral politics thus became the left's rear guard attempt to produce the result their pre-war protests had failed to achieve: an American defeat in Iraq.

With the resources of the left squarely behind him, Howard Dean raced to the front of the presidential pack. In the spring of 2003, just prior to the Iowa caucuses, Dean's nomination appeared so inevitable that he was endorsed by the titular heads of the Democratic Party, Jimmy Carter and Al Gore. This moment encapsulated just how leftist in its view of America's world role had the Democratic Party become.

But even as the prospect of Dean's nomination approached realization, Democrats collectively flinched. The candidate's verbal gaffes hyper-emotional rhetoric caused many Democrats to wonder if a nominee so overtly radical could carry the party to victory in the

national campaign in November. Within a few weeks, this question was decided as Democratic primary voters abandoned Dean and rallied behind John Kerry — a candidate who had originally supported the war in Iraq but who had recently turned against it under the pressure of the seemingly irresistible Dean tide.

This reversal of views on a matter of war and peace eventually proved to be the most troubling aspect of John Kerry's candidacy, and sealed his electoral defeat. Although Democrats generally supported him, his behavior was in stark contrast to that of another Democratic candidate, Senator Joseph Lieberman. Having been the Democrats' vice-presidential nominee in the previous election, Lieberman ought to have been the presidential nominee in this one. But his views on the removal of Saddam Hussein put him at odds with Democratic primary voters and with the activists who had brought their resources into the campaign. Unlike Kerry, Lieberman did not waver in his views of the war even though it meant sacrificing his presidential ambition. His eclipse at the polls, on the other hand, raises troubling questions about the Party he serves.

PATRIOTISM AND TREASON

Certain issues lie beneath the surface of political discourse, but carry a charge so great as to shape the conversation itself. These include the issue of "patriotism," and the question of what is legitimate criticism of government policy in a time of war.

To listen to the complaints of the left, one would think that conservative officials were ready with pre-drawn indictments for opponents of the war, or even criticisms of government policy in matters regarding Iraq. Yet if any side in this debate has deployed the charge of treason against its opponents on the war issue, it is the Democrats themselves. Leaders of the Democratic Party have accused the President of taking the country to war under false pretenses, lying to the American people, and getting Americans killed for no reason, except (so it is insinuated) to line the pockets of his Halliburton friends. These are charges tantamount to treason.

Al Gore has explicitly attacked the President for “betraying” his country. The President has not mentioned Gore’s name.

The political reality in regard to these matters is that that no one in America takes treason very seriously anymore, and hasn’t for a long time. No individual has been charged with treason in the United States in fifty years, since Tokyo Rose and Axis Sally were tried for broadcasting enemy propaganda to American troops during WWII. Not the Rosenbergs, who stole atomic secrets for the Soviet Union; not Jane Fonda, who in the exact manner of the aforementioned traitors appeared on enemy radio in the midst of a war, denounced American soldiers as war criminals and called on them to defect. Fonda also collaborated with the Communist torturers of American POWs. Yet she was not charged with any crime, let alone that of treason. Nor were spies like Aldrich Ames, or defectors like John Walker Lindh, who joined the Taliban to fight against his own country.

Let us, therefore, drop the pretense that there is any real threat in the charge of betrayal that is capable of chilling criticism of current foreign policy. If there were, Michael Moore would be in jail instead of on the short list for an Academy Award. When leftists complain that their patriotism is being questioned in an attempt to stifle them, the claim is a red herring designed to prevent others from thinking about the issues that affect our national security, or about the implications of positions that some opponents of the war have taken.

Contrary to the impression conveyed by the left, Republicans have been extraordinarily discreet in confronting those who in assaulting the war have also slandered its supporters. In the first presidential debate Bush chided his opponent for attacking the war in Iraq as “the wrong war, in the wrong place, at the wrong time.” To make that claim “confuses” people, the President said, adding that it was no way to lead a nation engaged in a war.

The President’s statement was certainly correct as far as it went. But Senator Kerry’s statement — coming from a leader of the Democratic Party who might soon be President himself — served to do more than that. If you are nineteen years old and an American marine in Fallujah, and are being fired on by terrorists, and the leader of the Democratic Party who is within a hair’s breadth of

being your Commander-In-Chief says you shouldn’t be there at all, that does more than confuse you. It demoralizes you; it saps your will to fight; and it can get you killed. The reckless nature of the Democratic attacks on this war encourages the enemy. It demoralizes American soldiers on the field of battle and it probably gets some of them killed. This is the very subject that is suppressed when issues of loyalty and the proper tone of criticism in time of war are arbitrarily taken off the table. But Republicans are too polite to mention all this.

Treason is not really difficult to define. Treason is when your country is at war and you want the other side to win. Are Americans who have such desires? The filmmaker Michael Moore is one obvious example. The following statement by Moore appeared on his website on April 12, 2004 as the United States was struggling to build a post-war democracy in Iraq: “First, can we stop the Orwellian language and start using the proper names for things? Those are not ‘contractors’ in Iraq. They are not there to fix a roof or to pour concrete in a driveway. They are MERCENARIES and SOLDIERS OF FORTUNE. They are there for the money, and the money is very good if you live long enough to spend it. Halliburton is not a ‘company’ doing business in Iraq. It is a WAR PROFITEER, bilking millions from the pockets of average Americans. In past wars they would have been arrested — or worse.”

While Moore described Americans’ roles in Iraq as that of a predators and criminals he described the Saddam diehards and Zarqawi terrorists, beheading American citizens and killing American troops, this way: “The Iraqis who have risen up against the occupation are not ‘insurgents’ or ‘terrorists’ or ‘The Enemy.’ They are the REVOLUTION, the Minutemen, and their numbers will grow — and they will win. Get it, Mr. Bush?”

There is little doubt whose side of this war Michael Moore is on. Michael Moore wants America to lose this war and why shouldn’t he, since he regards the United States as a rapacious empire illegally in Iraq, and “terrorism” as a fiction created by Washington to justify its imperialistic ambitions?

I have followed Michael Moore ever since the 1980s, when he

was fired from his position as editor of the leftwing magazine *Mother Jones*. His firing was triggered when he censored an article mildly critical of the Sandinista dictatorship that had been written by the socialist Paul Berman. Moore was too much of a Leninist even for the leftists at *Mother Jones*. As a Marxist convinced that America is an empire ruled by evil corporations, and that makes him America's enemy. The issue of betraying his country when it is under attack never arises for Moore, because he denies that there is even a terrorist threat in the first place. Of course he does. Because in his eyes, America is the threat. America is an aggressor responsible for the attacks upon itself. American imperialism is the root cause of the War on Terror. This is not his unique view but is one shared by others on the political left and by most of the people who marched in the protests against the war to remove Saddam Hussein.

Michael Moore's hostility to his own country in time of war is a fact, but what are the consequences? Moore has rooted for the enemy all his life, first in the Cold War and now in the War on Terror, but his treasonous sympathies have made a celebrity of him, not a pariah, and rich into the bargain.

A similar observation can be made about the leaders of the anti-war demonstrations, whose careers may not be as well rewarded as Moore's, but whose commitments and lack of adverse consequences are the same. The national mobilizations against the war in Iraq were organized and led by veteran activists who rooted for the Communist enemy in the Cold War. They did so because, like Moore, they regarded America as an evil empire and the Soviet Union as an advocate for the oppressed. Guided by these radical assumptions they marched in the winter of 2002 and the spring of 2003 to thwart America's war in Iraq and to save Saddam Hussein.

It should be self-evident that these are not people for whom "peace" is a priority. When Saddam was faced with a UN ultimatum to disarm "or else," the opponents of American policy organized no demonstrations at the Iraqi embassy to persuade Saddam to comply. Disarming Saddam was not part of their "anti-war" agenda. In a similar way, there were no demonstrations by "anti-war" protesters against the genocide the Communists carried out in Indo-China after America withdrew its forces from Vietnam. The anti-Vietnam

movement was also not about bringing peace and justice to Indo-China; it was about defeating America and helping the Communists to win. The goal of the radicals who organized the anti-war demonstrations during the conflict in Vietnam and the confrontation with Iraq were the same: whatever the war, America should lose.

In Michael Moore's notorious film, *Fahrenheit 911*, which became a campaign spot for the Democrat Party, Saddam's Iraq is presented as a peaceful, even idyllic country cruelly invaded by a callous and deceitful invader, which is us. This anti-American propaganda film had its opening in Washington DC in the midst of the presidential election campaign. The celebration was attended by the leader of the Democratic Party, Terry McAuliffe, by Senators Hillary Clinton, Tom Daschle, Tom Harkin and Barbara Boxer and among other prominent party figures. It marked a low point in how far we have slipped morally in this country that the leaders of one of our two great parties should be ready to accept any attack on the sitting Commander-in-Chief — and through him on the nation itself — and should do so in a time of war.

LEGITIMATE CRITICISM OF WAR POLICY

Criticism of government policy is the life-blood of a democracy. This includes war policy. But beginning with the founders, everyone understands — or used to understand — that there is a necessary trade-off between liberty and security and that in times of war sacrifices of the former are regularly made in the interests of the latter. "Loose lips sink ships" was a slogan disseminated on posters during World War II. It was an appeal to Americans to voluntarily restrict their exercise of free speech to save the lives of themselves and their neighbors. It was not regarded as a bid to abrogate the Constitution or the destruction of the First Amendment, which is the way the left-wing is currently mis-characterizing measures to tighten America's defenses against terror today. It was a simple recognition that some speech can weaken a democracy and undermine its security.

In a conflict like the war on terror, where the enemy walks

among us and can kill thousands of civilians at a stroke, it is important to recognize the difference between criticism made in support of the war effort and criticism designed to undermine it, even if the actual line between them is not always easy to discern. Some criticism is maliciously intended, and some criticism in itself can constitute an assault that weakens our democracy and undermines our defense.

Before the fighting started in Iraq, some critics voiced a concern that an armed intervention would cause the Arab street to erupt and inflame the Muslim world. This was the consideration voiced by former National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, who categorically opposed the war. Scowcroft's remarks were obviously made out of concern for the nation's security. A substantial amount of the criticism of the war in Iraq is based on similarly legitimate concerns. Scowcroft's attack on the President's policy was a harsh criticism. But it was obviously a criticism based on reasonable concerns about America's security, that were proven wrong when Saddam was toppled in the swiftest and least costly victory on historical record, and without the consequences that Scowcroft imagined.

A significant aspect of the criticism leveled against the war, is that it is made on grounds that have nothing to do with American security, and in terms that are far removed from American realities. As in the case of Michael Moore's widely popular rants, these are thinly veiled attempts to portray America as the global problem and outlaw regimes like Saddam Hussein's as the victims. Often, the attacks are voiced in such a way (and to such reckless ends) as to undermine the security of Americans and their forces in Iraq. It was one thing for Scowcroft to imagine negative consequences of resulting from the attempt to remove Saddam and quite another when the initial stage of the war was won for critics on the left to launch an all-out attack on the credibility and morals of the Commander-in-Chief.

Within two months of the fall of Baghdad, Democratic leaders were assaulting the President as a calculating liar. They did this on the basis of 16 reasonable words in a State of the Union Address whose reliability has since been confirmed by a bi-partisan Senate Intelligence Committee investigation. As Senator John Edwards — himself one of the leaders of the attack — pointed out, a President's credibility is his most important asset. Why then attack him as a liar

merely for saying that British intelligence had reported that Saddam was seeking bomb-making uranium in Niger? Particularly, when the British had done just that. Yet for weeks in June of 2003, Democratic leaders assailed the President as a "liar" for those very words.

It is one thing to make dire predictions in advance of a war, and quite another to make dire (and unsubstantiated) claims after the war is under way and our troops are still under fire in Iraq. In these circumstances, to say that the President lied to the American people and sent our troops to die under false pretenses is more than mere criticism. Especially when there is no evidence to substantiate the charge. When this is done by politicians who supported the war in the first place, the betrayal is an even greater. Yet that is precisely what leaders of the Democratic Party did within two months of the liberation of Baghdad. Most shamefully: Ted Kennedy and Al Gore, but also John Edwards, Jimmy Carter, John Kerry, and Howard Dean.

Even the grave charges which followed the failure to locate stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction are baseless given the fact that there is no evidence the President lied about these weapons in advance of the war. The evidence, in fact, would lead to the opposite conclusion, since all national intelligence agencies, including those of the Muslim countries of Pakistan and Jordan were making identical claims.

The vitriolic attacks on the President's integrity and morality, while the war was only months old went beyond legitimate criticism and amounted to an effort to sabotage the war itself. Democrats hoped that a failed war would unseat the incumbent in the elections in November. These personal attacks were incitements to distrust and hate the President in the middle of a war. This is no longer criticism, nor is it intended as such. It is a war within the war, and is directed at all of us.

In the real world, of course, these matters are not always so easily resolved. The issues often fall into a gray area that makes distinctions difficult. Thus, there are incidents common to all wars that are regrettable and need to be condemned, but can also be exploited by enemy propagandas. The criminal offenses at Abu Ghraib are an example. As war atrocities go — as the atrocities com-

mitted by our enemies in this war go — the incidents at Abu Ghraib were minor. They were an isolated series of indefensible but unrepresentative acts. Still, we hold ourselves to higher standards than our enemies and concern was therefore in order.

But when Abu Ghraib is inflated into a major atrocity and appears on the front page of the *New York Times* for more than sixty days running and is compared by a leading Senator to Saddam Hussein's own torture chambers, something else is going on. This coverage may have started out as an irresponsible effort to topple a sitting President. But its clear effect has been to fuel a psychological warfare against the American effort, and thus to sabotage the war against the terrorist foe. *The New York Times* and Senator Kennedy expressed more outrage about Abu Ghraib in one day than Imam Ali Sistani the leader of Iraq's Shi'ite population did, for example, throughout the entire episode, about which he said nothing.

THE WAR WAS NOT ABOUT WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

It is an odd but illuminating fact that the opposition attacks on the President throughout the first year of the war and occupation in Iraq were exclusively focused on its justification and rationale. The peculiarity of this fact can be seen by making a historical comparison. If we were to discover that Abraham Lincoln had contrived to send a secret Union force to attack Fort Sumter and blame the attack on the Confederacy would that change our view of whether the Civil War was worth fighting? Yet that seems to be the logic of the opponents of the Iraq War for whom “missing WMDs” and other elements of the pre-war argument have been crucial to rejecting the war itself.

This is, in fact, a war whose aims and purposes make it hard to understand how anyone who is a supporter of human rights, or who believes in freedom, could be against it. In four years, George Bush has liberated nearly 50 million people in two Islamic countries. He has stopped the filling of mass graves and closed down the torture chambers of an oppressive regime. He has encouraged the Iraqis and

the people of Afghanistan to begin a political process that will give them rights they have not enjoyed in 5,000 years. How can one not support this war?

The rationale for this war was not, as critics claim, stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction. This is a misunderstanding that was the product of political arguments during a Democratic primary season that were intended to unseat a sitting president, but they had grave fallout for the credibility and security of the nation itself. The resultant misunderstanding about WMDs is the basis for most of the attacks on the war in Iraq.

In addressing this issue, it is important to remember that the Democrats who are now in full-throated opposition to the war, authorized it in the first place. The “Authorization for the Use of Force in Iraq” is the title of the resolution justifying the war that was passed by both the House and the Senate, with Democratic as well as Republican majorities in support.

Since Bush has been accused of acting willfully and imperially and “dividing the nation,” it should be pointed out that not only did he request and secure a resolution for using force in Iraq from both political parties, but that this is more than his Democratic predecessor did in launching his own war in Kosovo five years earlier. In gauging the sincerity of the Democratic attacks on Bush's war policy as “illegal” and “unilateral,” it is worth remembering that Bill Clinton never even sought congressional approval (or UN approval) for the war in Kosovo. This didn't seem to bother Democrats at the time.

In attacking the Bush Administration's policies on Iraq, some Democrats seem unaware of the reasons this administration gave for seeking the congressional authorization to go to war, which was passed by majorities in both political parties. During the hearings on the nomination of Condoleezza Rice for Secretary of State in January 2005, Senator Barbara Boxer had this to say on the rationale for the war:

SEN. BOXER: Well, you should read what we voted on when we voted to support the war, which I did not, but most of my colleagues did. It was WMD, period. That was the

reason and the causation for that, you know, particular vote.¹

The Authorization for the Use of Force in Iraq that President Bush sought and obtained on October 16, 2002 has 23 clauses.² These clauses spell out the rationale for the war. Among all 23 clauses, there are only two that even mention stockpiles of Weapons of Mass Destruction. In other words, Weapons of Mass Destruction could hardly have been the rationale for the war. What the resolution did stress – in twelve separate clauses – were the 16 UN resolutions that Saddam had ignored or defied.

These Security Council resolutions, were more than mere expressions of UN opinion. The first two of them — 687 and 689 – provided the terms of the truce in the first Gulf War. Saddam Hussein had invaded two countries - Iran and then Kuwait, and used chemical weapons on his own people. We went to war with Saddam Hussein in 1991 to force him out of Kuwait, which his invading armies had swallowed. At the end of the war, there was no peace treaty, merely a truce that left Saddam in place. The truce was sealed by UN resolutions 687 and 689 and they set established the conditions by which we - who were still technically at war with Saddam - would allow him to remain in power.

These resolutions instructed Saddam to disarm and to stop his *programs* to develop weapons of mass destruction. Violating them was a legal basis for resuming the war. The other fourteen UN Resolutions were failed attempts to enforce the first two – i.e., the Gulf War truce. This is why we went to war: *to enforce the truce in the first Gulf War, and beyond that the authority of the UN resolutions and international law.*

How do we know that Saddam had *programs* for developing weapons of mass destruction? Because he had gassed the Kurds. Because his own brother-in-law who was in charge of his nuclear weapons program defected and told us he did. Because we sent UN inspectors into Iraq under the UN Resolutions and they located his weapons of mass destruction and destroyed the ones they found. In other words, the UN resolutions — backed by the armed power of the United States – partially worked. But only partially, and only for

1 Transcript of the testimony, New York Times, January 18, 2005

2 Text of the resolution, <http://www.c-span.org/resources/pdf/hjres114.pdf>

awhile. When the UN inspectors discovered his programs, Saddam was forced to terminate them; he was forced to stop repressing the ethnic and religious minorities in Iraq, as the UN resolutions required.

But without an occupying army in Iraq, the UN was unable to hold him to the terms of its resolutions and he remained an internationally recognized menace. With the help of his allies on the UN Security Council — France, Russia and China — Saddam circumvented the sanctions placed on him, obstructed the inspectors and evaded the terms of the resolutions. Finally, in 1998, he threw the UN inspectors out of Iraq altogether.

This constituted an act of war. The Clinton Administration recognized this, but did not have the will to prosecute one. Its response was to fire 450 missiles into Iraq (more than had been fired into Iraq during the entire Gulf War). The President also asked Congress to authorize an Iraqi Liberation Act, which passed by overwhelming majorities in both parties. Despite its name, the Iraqi Liberation Act only asked for authorization to provide military help to *Iraqis* trying to overthrow Saddam. It didn't call for an American Army to do the job. Bill Clinton understood the grave threat that Saddam Hussein presented to international peace and thought Saddam should be removed and said so, because Saddam had broken the truce. But Bill Clinton didn't send an army to do the job, because in 1998 he was too busy with an intern scandal and was unable to perform his duties as Commander-in-Chief.

In 1998, Bill Clinton at least understood, as John Kerry and Tom Daschle and Al Gore also did at the time, that Saddam Hussein had violated international law and was a threat to the peace. He was an aggressor twice over. He had shown that he was determined to circumvent the UN inspections and the arms control agreements he had signed. It was clear to all –to every intelligence agency in the world — that Saddam was determined to break the UN sanctions and to develop weapons of mass destruction if he could. Why would Saddam throw the U.N. inspectors out if it wasn't his intention to build weapons of mass destruction and use them? (The famous Deulfer Report says that in fact it was.)

Saddam was a self-declared enemy of the United States who

expressed his loathing for America in innumerable ways, among them an attempt to assassinate an American President. He had the distinction of being the only head of state to celebrate the destruction of the World Trade Center after 9/11. Despite leftwing claims to the contrary, Saddam had major links to international terrorists, including al-Qaeda. These are documented in Stephen Hayes' book, *The Connection*, which describes the relations between the government of Iraq, Al Qaeda, and the major world terrorist organizations. Among his gestures to the Islamic *jihād*, Saddam had inserted into the Iraqi flag the proclamation "*Allahu Akhbar*." He did not adopt the mantra of Islamic martyrs because he had a religious revelation. He did it because Islamic terrorists had adopted the slogan as their war cry and Saddam wanted to join their war.

THE NECESSITY OF WAR

In the fall of 2002 the only thing standing between Saddam and his malevolent ambitions was the uncertain power of the United States. It was uncertain because the first Bush Administration had failed to remove the dictator at the end of the Gulf War and the Clinton Administration was too paralyzed by ideology and circumstances to act when the need to repair the mistake became unavoidable. Clinton fired hundreds of missiles into Iraq, but without an army to remove the tyrant, they were fired to little effect. After his defeat in the Gulf War, a still-defiant Saddam had boasted that America could fight a Cold War, but couldn't handle ten thousand casualties. After America's humiliation in Somalia, Osama Bin Laden said nearly the same thing: American soldiers can fight a Cold War but not a hot one.

In the terrorists' eyes, post-Vietnam America had become a paper tiger. This was perhaps the main cause of the miscalculations made by Saddam that led to his fall. But his assessment was correct until September 11, 2001. Until that moment, and since the Vietnam truce of 1973, America had shown itself to be a power unwilling and therefore unable to field an army for more than four days.

On September 11th the world changed because the perceptions of an American president changed. George W. Bush understood that the strike was a declaration of war. He understood that the threat America faced was now determined by rogue states like Afghanistan and Iraq who could provide terrorists like al-Qaeda with bases and support. America could not wait for such an attack to materialize before responding. The development of biological, chemical and possibly nuclear weapons made the consequences too terrible to contemplate. America had to strike before such a threat became imminent.

Since Saddam had already shown that he would defy all attempts to control him and since he had already demonstrated that he would use weapons of mass destruction, and since he supported the *jihād* against the United States, his regime presented a peril that had to be confronted. John Kerry and other Democratic leaders spoke eloquently to these realities and endorsed the measures taken by President Bush that eventually led to war. The "Bush Doctrine" of pre-emption is simply a statement of these realities coupled with a will to take the necessary action. It is a statement of readiness to engage the war that has already been declared by the terrorists and the regimes that harbor them, among them Syria, Iran and Iraq.

In their attacks on the President, opponents of the war and even Democratic leaders who once knew better have argued that Iraq was "no threat." But if Iraq was no threat, why was Afghanistan a threat? Afghanistan is a much poorer country than Iraq. It has no great oil reserves; it wasn't about to make a deal with North Korea to buy nuclear weapons "off the shelf," as Saddam was when United States troops crossed his borders. So why was Afghanistan a threat? It was a threat because it provided the terrorists with a base of operations, and from that base they were able to deliver a devastating blow to the United States.

Since Afghanistan was a threat, obviously Iraq was an even bigger one, but so was Iran. Some critics of the war want to know why we didn't attack Iran or North Korea, which appear to them more menacing than Saddam Hussein. There is a certain hypocrisy in these expressed concerns. These are the same people who argue that the attack on Iraq – a country with whom the United States was

already technically at war —was illegitimate. So why would an attack on Iran or North Korea be any different? It wouldn't and if confrontations with either country had been seriously proposed these critics would have attacked that policy as well.

Nonetheless, the question is worth answering. The difference between North Korea and Iraq was that North Korea was not part of the Islamic *jihad* which Saddam Hussein had joined. The Iraq regime not only financed suicide bombers in the Middle East, but as we now know provided \$74 billion of UN Oil-for-Food funds to finance the terrorist organization Hamas. The difference between Iran and Iraq, on the other hand, is that we were actually at war with Iraq and had been at war since 1991.

For a decade U.S. and British warplane had participated in daily missions over the “No-Fly Zones” in Northern Iraq in order to prevent Saddam Hussein from spraying the Kurds with poison gas. For ten years, the United States and Britain had engaged in a low-intensity war with Iraq to contain Saddam within the limits set down in the UN resolutions that he relentlessly defied. This war had failed to accomplish its task, which is precisely why the United States and Britain initiated a larger war to finish the job. The Deulfer Report, issued after Saddam's removal, concluded that Saddam Hussein had one overriding agenda, which was to remove the UN sanctions, remove the UN inspectors, and resume his programs to build weapons of mass destruction. That is what the war was about.

To recap the timeline: After 9/11, George Bush declared that Iraq was in defiance of the arms control and inspection agreements designed to keep him under control. Saddam was thus an international menace. In his State of the Union Address of January 20, 2002 Bush told Saddam, in effect: “You are part of an ‘Axis of Evil’ and you are in defiance of the 1991 truce agreements. You need to comply with the terms of the truce you signed, and with the U.N. resolutions, and disarm, open your borders to UN inspectors and give up your ambitions to acquire weapons of mass destruction — *or else.*” This ultimatum was delivered fourteen months before we actually went to war.

When Senator Kerry and other critics say the United States

“rushed to war,” it is difficult to imagine what they are talking about. Shortly after George Bush put Saddam on notice in January 2002, Al Gore gave the first foreign policy address he had made since the election of 2000. In this speech, Gore praised Bush for identifying Iraq as one of the components of an axis of evil. He noted that Bush had come under criticism for making such a statement, and he made a point of supporting the President's decision to do so. Saddam's regime was, in fact, evil and a threat to the peace. Gore said America had to do whatever was necessary to deal with the threat that Saddam represented, even if we had to do it alone and without our allies' approval. Subsequently, Al Gore betrayed his own vision of Iraq, just as the leadership of the Democratic Party betrayed a war it had signed onto, in the hope of making a seasonal political gain.

There was no rush to war. In September 2002, nine months after the Axis of Evil speech and six months before the onset of the war, President Bush went to the UN and told its delegates the UN must enforce the resolutions Saddam had disregarded and defied or become “irrelevant.” If the UN Security Council would not meet its obligations, enforce its resolutions and defend the peace, the United States intended to do so in its place. As an earnest of its intent, the United States had already begun sending troops to the Gulf. The immediate effect of this was to cause Saddam to readmit the UN inspectors. In the crucial months that followed, the American president said more than once to the Saddam regime: “You will disarm, or we will disarm you.” This was not a rush to war, but a deliberate march to a moment of truth in which Saddam's intentions would be tested a final time: Disarm; open your borders to unobstructed UN inspections — or else.

In October, following his appearance at the UN, the President went to Congress and got the authorization he needed to use force against Iraq if Saddam persisted in the course of obstruction he had pursued for more than a decade. The vote was 77 to 23 in the Senate, receiving support from majorities on both sides of the aisle. On November 9, the President won a unanimous 15 to 0 vote in the Security Council for Resolution 1441. This resolution was an ultimatum that said to Saddam: “You will disarm, and you will show that you have disarmed by making a comprehensive report on your

weapons of mass destruction ‘*or serious consequences*’ will follow.” The deadline for compliance was set for thirty days hence, or December 7, 2002.

The Chief UN Weapons Inspector Hans Blix has since written a book on these events called *Disarming Iraq*. Blix is a Swedish leftist who, by his own admission, was against going to war despite Saddam’s failure to comply with the UN resolutions.³ In his book he acknowledges that UN Resolution 1441 was diplomatic language for an ultimatum of war, and that Saddam failed to meet its terms.⁴ On December 7, which was the deadline for compliance the Iraq regime delivered a 12,000-page report that was essentially a rehash of previous inadequate and deceptive reports it had submitted and not a serious answer to the questions that had been asked. Thousands of weapons were unaccounted for, and the requirements the Security Council had laid down had not been met.

At this point, the question was whether yet another ultimatum should be allowed to slip by with no consequences to follow. If there is never a consequence for violations of the law, then the law becomes an empty letter. Neither the word of the United Nations or the United States would have credibility any longer. This would create a dangerous international environment where force would be the only arbiter. If the word of a great power like United States could not be taken seriously, the only way remaining to deter a future threat would be to go to war. In sum, not acting on UN resolution 1441 would show contempt for international law, as Prime Minister Tony Blair himself pointed out vainly to the French, and would increase the chances of future conflict with potentially more deadly consequences.

3 Hans Blix, *Disarming Iraq*, NY 2004, p. 109

4 Blix, *Disarming Iraq*, pp. 106 et seq. “The chemical area of the text was an updated version of a declaration submitted in 1996. The missile part also had largely the same content as a declaration of 1996, with updates added. I reported to the Council that our preliminary examination of the declaration had not provided material or evidence that solved any of the unresolved disarmament issues.” These included the fact that “8,500 liters of anthrax, 2,100 kilograms of bacterial growth media, 1.5 metric tons of VX nerve agent and 6,500 chemical bombs” that the U.N. inspectors had ascertained were at one time in Saddam’s possession were unaccounted for. Resolution 1441 had called on Saddam Hussein to document their destruction. Even the French ambassador noted that “there was no new information in the declaration, . . .” Afterwards Blix wrote of the declaration: “My gut feelings, which I kept to myself, suggested to me that Iraq still engaged in prohibited activities and retained prohibited items, and that it had the documents to prove it.”

The reason for enforcing the UN ultimatum had been summarized with admirable clarity by President Bill Clinton back in 1998, although the disorder of his personal affairs at the time paralyzed his government and restricted his response to a series of missile strikes against Saddam: “If we fail to respond today, Saddam and all those who would follow in his footsteps will be emboldened tomorrow by the knowledge that they can act with impunity, even in the face of a clear message from the United Nations Security Council, and clear evidence of a weapons of mass destruction program.”⁵

Senator Kerry and other critics on the left have claimed that Saddam Hussein could have been contained without going to war, that the weapons inspections would eventually work to disarm the regime and keep it disarmed. But this is an empty claim. It presumes the United States could keep 100,000 troops on the Iraqi border indefinitely and focus the main energies of government on keeping one rogue state in check. The only reason the U.N. inspectors were readmitted to Iraq in the first place was because of the decision taken by Bush to put a massive American military force on the Iraqi border, and to threaten the regime’s survival.

The effort to mobilize enough force – diplomatic and military – to produce Saddam’s moment of truth on December 7, 2002 had been a year in the making. How long could the United States focus this kind of attention on Iraq and deploy these kinds of resources just to see that Saddam Hussein observed the promises he had made? To let the ultimatum created by UN resolution 1441 pass, to continue the cat and mouse game indefinitely, would mean to paralyze Washington’s ability to deal with the rest of the world. While the confrontation lasted maintaining the U.S. force would cost a billion dollars a week and would mean maintaining more than 100,000 troops in the Arab desert, where they would be sitting targets for terrorists. Saddam, on the other hand, would have all the time necessary to manipulate “world opinion,” delay any result and wear the allies down. This entire exercise, moreover, would be merely extending an already frustrated effort to force Saddam Hussein to comply with the resolutions that had been in place for more than a decade. It should be self-evident that this “alternative” to war

5 Cited in Horowitz, *Unholy Alliance*, p. 227

proposed by the Democrats and other Bush critics was merely a plan for continuing an appeasement that had failed.

THE ROLE OF THE LEFT

In January 2003, one detour remained on the road to Saddam's moment of truth, — a detour that has since served to obscure the rationale for the war itself. When the UN Security Council deadline passed on December 7th, America and Britain were alone among the major powers willing to enforce the resolution they had all signed onto. The Foreign Minister of Saddam's longtime ally told Secretary of State Colin Powell that, even though Saddam had now defied his 17th UN resolution, France would veto a decision to go to war "under any circumstances (*quelles que soient les circonstances*)."⁶ In January, 750,000 anti-war protesters appeared in the streets of London to join the French opposition and say no to war. The size of this demonstration was equivalent to 4 million protesters in the streets of Washington.

Four million American protesters would not even be the full equivalent of the political fact that now confronted Tony Blair. The protesters were members of his own party. A proper equivalent would have been millions of Republicans marching in Washington to oppose enforcement of the Security Council resolution. To neutralize this opposition Tony Blair pleaded with President Bush to go back to the U.N. Security Council and present whatever intelligence information was required to get a second – albeit entirely superfluous – UN resolution. This, in itself, was an appeasement of Saddam who had brazenly defied the UN resolution. But because Tony Blair was such a loyal ally the President said yes.

In retrospect, he should not have done so. It was to secure this second, superfluous Security Council resolution that Colin Powell presented evidence of Saddam's WMD violations. Even so the French informed him afterwards that no evidence would persuade

them. We now know that the French had been bribed with millions of dollars stolen from the UN Oil-for-Food program and the promise of billions of dollars in oil contracts from Saddam. But this was hardly necessary for their opposition to action on the very resolution they had voted for, since they had been Saddam's allies for decades.

There was a second and far more important reason not to go to the Security Council to attempt to persuade its unpersuadable members (Russia and China were also Saddam's allies with a veto over the decision) to vote for another superfluous resolution. In order to make his case to the recalcitrant left, Powell had to stretch the available evidence and make claims about the existence of actual weapons of mass destruction that proved unsustainable.

The reason to go to war was the defiance of the UN ultimatum (and of sixteen previous UN resolutions). But Colin Powell's presentation gave enough of an impression that the reason for war was the existence of stockpiles of WMDs as to cloud the entire debate about the war. It was Colin Powell's presentation that became the basis for the left's unprincipled attack on the President for allegedly "misleading" the nation into war.

The war in Iraq was not about weapons of mass destruction; it was about Saddam Hussein's ten-year defiance of international law and his manifest determination to break the UN's arms control arrangements in order to acquire weapons of mass destruction. There was no rush to war, but rather a deliberate march to war authorized by both political parties and a unanimous vote of the Security Council (which France and Russia and China had no intention of honoring). It was not unilateral, and it was not about a "non-existent imminent threat," as the party of appeasement has claimed.

In his State of the Union speech on January 28, 2003, right before the fighting began, the President said in so many words that we were not going to wait until Saddam Hussein became an imminent threat. We were not going to wait until Saddam already had the weapons in place and the plan to attack us was afoot. We were not going to wait until he struck us first. "Some have said we must not act until the threat is imminent. Since when have terrorists and tyrants announced their intentions, politely putting us on notice

⁶ *Unholy Alliance*, op. cit. p.216; cf. William Shawcross, *Allies: The US, Britain, Europe and the War in Iraq*, NY 2004 p. 148

before they strike? If this threat is permitted to fully and suddenly emerge, all actions, all words, and all recriminations would come too late. Trusting in the sanity and restraint of Saddam Hussein is not a strategy, and it is not an option.”⁷

This was the President’s message: Saddam will comply with the UN ultimatum. He will disarm and prove that he has disarmed, or we will disarm him.

THE PARTY OF APPEASEMENT

It was this policy that the Democratic Party and its leaders reluctantly supported and then opposed after the fact, weakening the post-war effort to consolidate the victory and establish a democratic regime in Iraq. How did the Democratic Party come to be a party of appeasement in the approach to this war, and a saboteur of the war effort after the fighting started? How did it come so powerfully under the influence of an historically anti-American political left?

The Democratic Party’s romance with radicals began in 1935 with a decision of the Communist International to form a “popular front” with liberals in their battles against the right. Until then, Roosevelt Democrats had been denounced by the Communists as “social fascists.” But with the change in Communist policy, liberals became allies of leftists who joined the New Deal. This *marriage de convenience* lasted until 1947, when Harry Truman announced the “Truman Doctrine,” a policy that was regarded as a declaration of war against the Soviet Union and its expansion into Eastern Europe.

In 1948 the Communist left abandoned the Democratic Party to support the presidential nominee of the newly formed Progressive Party, Henry Wallace, who opposed the “Cold War” that the left claimed Truman had launched. A lifelong Democrat, Wallace had been Franklin Roosevelt’s Vice President for his third presidential term before joining the Progressive Party, which was created (and controlled behind the scenes) by the Communist Party itself.

For nearly twenty-five years, the left remained outside and

⁷ Cited in *Unholy Alliance*, p. 227

opposed to the Democratic Party, until the culmination of another anti-war campaign. In 1968 New Left leader Tom Hayden and anti-Vietnam activists organized an anti-war riot at the Democratic Party convention in Chicago. The adverse publicity helped to damage the presidential prospects of Hubert Humphrey who was a supporter of the war. In the aftermath of Humphrey’s defeat, the anti-war wing of the Democratic Party redrew the party rules and dramatically strengthened the party’s left.

Senator George McGovern had been put in charge of the rules changes and became the party’s presidential candidate in 1972. McGovern was a veteran of the 1948 Wallace campaign and conducted a similar assault on America’s foreign policy using the slogan “America Come Home.” The subtext of his campaign was that the Communist aggression in Vietnam was not the problem; America’s response to the aggression was. Virtually all the leaders of the anti-Iraq War movement in the Democratic Party today, including Edward Kennedy, Howard Dean and (however fitfully) John Kerry, are veterans of McGovern’s anti-Vietnam campaign.

The year after McGovern’s defeat, President Nixon signed a truce in Vietnam and withdrew American troops. His stated goal was “peace with honor,” by which he meant accepting a stalemate but denying the Communists a victory in the South. The 1973 truce with the Communists allowed the withdrawal of American troops. But it was an uneasy truce, which depended on America’s ability to maintain a credible threat that hostilities would resume if the Communists violated its terms.

Meanwhile, the anti-war left continued its internal war against Nixon demanding that he cut off the support his administration was still supplying to the anti-Communist effort, in particular the economic and military aid to the regimes in Cambodia and South Vietnam. Among the leaders of the left’s campaign were Edward Kennedy, John Kerry, Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden. They organized an “Indo-China Peace Campaign” and a war crimes tribunal called the “Winter Soldier Investigation,” which condemned America’s role in Vietnam and accused the American military of systematic atrocities. These sensational charges were used to fuel their campaign to persuade the Democratic majority in Congress to cut off aid

to the anti-Communist regimes.

Meanwhile Senator Kennedy, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, led the effort to force Nixon out of office because of his role in covering up the Watergate break-in. Nixon was forced to resign, and the Democrats cut off the aid to the anti-Communist regimes. Four months later, in April 1975, the governments of Cambodia and South Vietnam fell to the Communist forces.

The result of America's retreat in Indo-China was a bloodbath in which two and half million Cambodians and Vietnamese were slaughtered by the Communists and more than million driven from their countries as refugees. This is an atrocity that has all but been forgotten by the left, which has never learned the lesson of its actions in Vietnam. Instead, it has invoked Vietnam as a reason for repeating the same disastrous policy in Iraq.

During the Christmas season in 2004, a Republican administration was once again struggling to deny a contested battlefield to a totalitarian enemy. But while U.S. marines were battling terrorist forces in Falluja and other cities in Iraq, many Democrats led by party chairman Terry McAuliffe were calling for an American withdrawal. Among them was former presidential candidate George McGovern, icon of the party left. Iraq's first election was scheduled for the following month to establish a democratic government that would carry on the fight against the Saddamist remnants and Islamic terrorists.

But McGovern was not interested in the battle for Iraq or its outcome. What he desired was a unilateral retreat: "I did not want any Americans to risk their lives in Iraq. We should bring home those who are there." His rationale for this proposal? "Once we left Vietnam and quit bombing its people," he explained, "they became friends and trading partners."⁸ In sum, if only America would leave Iraq alone, everything would be all right.

But McGovern's history is not at all what happened in Vietnam. First of all, he has forgotten the bloodbath that followed the American retreat he did so much to encourage. The blood of those victims is on the heads of those who forced America's withdrawal

— John Kerry, Edward Kennedy, Howard Dean and other opponents of today's war in Iraq, and George McGovern among them.

It is true that Vietnam eventually became a trading partner (though hardly a "friend"). But this transformation did not take place "once we left and quit bombing its people," as McGovern claims. Before that happened, it was necessary for a Republican President to confront the Soviet Union in Europe and Afghanistan and force the collapse of the Soviet empire, which was the chief patron and armorer of the Communist aggressors in North Vietnam. It was only then, after their principal supporter had been defeated and destroyed that the Vietnamese rulers accommodated themselves to co-existence with the United States.

McGovern has become the symbol of a "blame America first" mentality for good reason. "Iraq," he explains, "has been nestled along the Tigris and Euphrates for 6,000 years. It will be there 6,000 more whether we stay or leave, as earlier conquerors learned." But Iraq of late had been more than just "nestled" in the Middle East. It had invaded two countries, used chemical weapons on its Kurdish population, attempted to assassinate a U.S. president, spent tens of billions of dollars on banned weapons programs, aided and abetted Islamic terrorists bent on destroying the West, defied 17 UN resolutions, and broke the terms of truce it had signed when its aggression in Kuwait was thwarted. McGovern ignores all this. To him Iraq is a land of the conquered, and we are the conquerors.

During the battle over Vietnam policy thirty years ago, those supporting the conflict warned of the consequences that would follow if the anti-war campaign was successful. President Nixon spelled out these consequences in so many words. If the United States were to quit the field of battle in retreat, the Communists would engineer a "bloodbath" of revenge. The very idea of a Communist bloodbath was summarily dismissed by George McGovern, John Kerry and other spokesmen for anti-Vietnam left. It was just an attempt by the Nixon White House to justify a bad war, they argued. But time proved the anti-war activists wrong. Tragically and catastrophically wrong, although they have never been able to summon the decency to admit it.

If the United States were to leave the battlefield in this war in Iraq, before peace were secured, there would be a bloodbath along the Tigris and Euphrates as well. The *ihadists* would slaughter our friends, our allies, and all of the Iraqis who are struggling for their freedom. Given the nature of the terrorist war we are in, this bloodbath would also flow into the streets of Washington and New York and potentially every American city.

The *ihadists* have sworn to kill us all. Anti-war leftists, like George McGovern, who think America is invulnerable, and that if we leave the field of battle peace will reign, do not begin to understand the world we live in. Or if they do understand it, they have, transferred their allegiance, like Michael Moore, to the other side.

To McGovern and Moore and those who think like them *we* are the invaders and the conquerors, which makes the Zarqawi terrorists “liberators,” or as Moore would have it, “patriots.” The same left that wants America to throw in the towel in Iraq is hyper-sensitive when it comes to questions about its loyalties. On the other hand, it casually refers to our presence in Iraq as an “invasion and occupation.” It wants to use the language of morality but only wants the standard to apply in one direction. There is no such one-dimensional standard, and a politics of surrender is not a politics of patriotism or of peace.

THE WAR AT HOME

The root cause of America’s internal division over the war in Iraq is the existence of a left that is alienated from the fundamental purposes of this nation, and believes that the world would be better off if America lost its wars abroad. During the Cold War, this left gave moral and political support to our Communist enemies; in this war it has entered a *de facto* alliance⁹ with radical Islam with agenda of defeating America in its “war on terror.”

This left does not believe in the reality of the war on terror. In his book *Stupid White Men*, Michael Moore asks this rhetorical

⁹ David Horowitz, *Unholy Alliance: Radical Islam and the American Left*, Regnery 2004

question: “What if there is no ‘terrorist threat?’ What if Bush and Co. need, desperately need, that ‘terrorist threat’ more than anything in order to conduct the systematic destruction they have launched against the U.S. Constitution and the good people of this country who believe in the freedoms and liberties it guarantees?”

The left’s opposition is thus not limited to our efforts in Iraq. It is also at war with our security defenses at home. Under its instigation there are already more than 350 American cities that have signed pledges refusing to cooperate with the Department of Homeland Security, particularly in regard to the protection of our borders. The spearhead of this movement is the “legal left,” whose leaders are radicals dedicated to crippling American power and who are the most prominent defenders of indicted terrorists and detainees.

The chief inspirer of the movement against the Patriot Act is himself, in fact, an indicted terrorist. He is Sami Al-Arian, former professor of engineering at the University of South Florida and head of Palestinian Islamic Jihad, a suicide bombing cult responsible for the murders of more than a hundred innocent people in the Middle East. In 1996, Al-Arian founded an organization called the National Coalition to Protect Political Freedom. Its purpose was to oppose the precursor of the Patriot Act, an anti-terrorism bill the Clinton Administration had sponsored in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing. Al-Arian quickly became a leading figure in the civil liberties left, embraced by colleagues at the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Lawyers Guild and the Center for Constitutional Rights — organizations with long histories of collaboration with America’s totalitarian enemies and experience in obstructing America’s national security agencies.

Al-Arian opposed the anti-terrorist act because it outlawed “material support for terror” and allowed the use of secret evidence in terrorist cases. As an Islamic totalitarian, constitutional issues were hardly the motivating factor for al-Arian. His real agenda was to protect his brother-in-law and terrorist co-conspirator who had been arrested under its provisions. Even after his arrest as a terrorist leader, Sami Al-Arian is still defended by the ACLU and the National Lawyers Guild, one of whose chief executives, Kit Gage,

now heads Al-Arian's organization in his place. These legal radicals regard al-Arian as a victim of racial profiling and of the Bush Administration's over-zealous prosecution of the war on terror and its alleged disregard for the Bill of Rights. On his arrest, al-Arian complained: "I'm a minority. I'm an Arab. I'm a Palestinian. I'm a Muslim. That's not a popular thing to be these days. Do I have rights, or don't I have rights?"

The indictment of al-Arian is 120 pages long and consists of years of tapped phone transcripts showing him involved in planning and financing suicide bombings in the Middle East. Although journalists at the *Miami Herald* exposed al-Arian in the early 1990's, the federal government could not arrest him because of legal obstacles that blocked their investigations. These obstacles had been put in place by anti-Vietnam Democrats, led by Edward Kennedy, in the 1970s and 1980s and were only removed by the Patriot Act. For nearly a decade, al-Arian was also protected by the President of the University of South Florida, Betty Coster, who in 2004 became the Democratic Party's senatorial candidate in the state.

Sami Al-Arian is hardly alone. Another prominent figure in the legal left, National Lawyers Guild attorney, Lynne Stewart, has also been indicted by the Justice Department for terrorist activities. Like Al-Arian, Stewart is actively defended by the ACLU as well as radical magazines like *The Nation*. Stewart has been indicted for helping her client, the blind sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, conduct terrorist activities in Egypt. Rahman is the leader of the Islamic Group, a terrorist cult that assassinated Anwar Sadat and bombed the World Trade Center in 1993. Lynne Stewart is on record saying she believes that Islamic terrorists are liberationists and freedom fighters. "They are basically forces of national liberation," she told the Marxist publication *Monthly Review*.¹⁰

How is it possible that those who think of themselves as advocates of social justice can lend aid and comfort to Islamic radicals who behead their victims and stone women whom they suspect of sexual activity outside marriage? How can self-styled progressives embrace such barbarians? They can under the logic that the

enemy of my enemy is my friend. In 1993, when Stewart was honored by the National Lawyers Guild at its annual convention, she told her adoring audience: "We have in Washington a poisonous government that spreads its venom to the body politic in all corners of the globe. We now resume ... our quests ... like David going forth to meet Goliath, like Beowulf the dragon slayer, ... like Sir Galahad seeking the holy grail. And modern heroes, dare I mention? Ho and Mao and Lenin, Fidel and Nelson Mandela and John Brown, Che Guevara who reminds us, 'At the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love.'"

The unholy alliance between radical Islam and the American left is forged by their perception of a common enemy, which is the United States. They act under the delusion that is common to all radicals who believe they can "change the world," and can give birth to a future in which "social justice" will prevail. This is the contemporary vision of socialism, the post-Communist version of the totalitarian dream. It is the secular analog to the 72 virgins that await Islamic *jihadists* in Muslim heaven. Muslim martyrs commit mass murder in order to get into paradise. This is also a description of the progressive hope. Why does the left want help the Islamic radicals to destroy America? To get into paradise. To create *social justice*. It is the same dream of an impossible future so enticing that it will justify any crime required to achieve it.

Radicals cannot come to terms with the fact that the root cause of injustice is humanity itself. We are the ineluctable source of the inequalities that radicals want to erase. Like mecca of progressive fantasies can never be reached because every future will be determined by the same failed human beings responsible for the past. A hundred million corpses in the Twentieth Century attest to this truth. Secular radicals have the same goal as the Islamic *jihadists* — paradise on earth. They also have the same enemy in the Great Satan, which is the United States. The guiding principle of the left in this war is that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." To defend ourselves we must reverse the proposition and embrace the view that the friend of my enemy is my enemy too.

¹⁰ Monthly Review, November 25, 2002. Reprinted in
www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/Printable.asp?ID=4764

2. LIBERALS AND LEFTISTS IN A TIME OF WAR* (A PERSONAL VIEW)

It is inevitable that political passions in a nation divided and at war will become unpleasant and intense, but they can also be dangerous. They can tie our hands, weaken our resolve, and make us more vulnerable to enemies determined to destroy us. When lives are at stake – especially when those lives are our own – it is easy to forget common civilities and to regard those who disagree with us as members of a hostile camp vying for the power to determine our fates.

In these circumstances it is easy for the worst in each of us to come to the surface, while the worst among us are often able to dominate the public debate. With the election past and the contest for power momentarily decided, a window of opportunity is open in which each of us can also strive to put these currents in check and reaffirm our common ground.

The most important thing to be clear about in thinking through these matters of war and peace is whether our differences over them are based in good faith. If they are not, no common front is possible. If they are, then we can agree to disagree about them and yet defend our country at the same time.

I cannot speak for opponents of the war, but if I were among them I would not find it possible to embrace people whom I believed had supported the war in Iraq for motives that were venal and reasons that are corrupt. If I really believed that George Bush and Dick Cheney lied to send young Americans to their deaths to make profits for Texas companies or to steal Iraq's oil, I would regard them as enemies and their war as not just wrong-headed but indefensible. If I believed that America was a predator nation that set out to oppress and abuse other nations, I would do everything in my power to defeat its purposes. This is the problem for those leftists who see their own country as a criminal violator of the norms of justice and international law. It why they cannot make common

*This is the revised text of an article that appeared in FrontPageMagazine.com, December 10, 2004.

cause with their own nation and are fifth column sympathizers with the enemy camp.

As a supporter of the war, I begin by making a distinction between those who oppose the war out of love country and those who don't. Between those who can embrace their country despite its defects and those who are unable to do so because they see it in its very nature as a force for injustice in the world and conclude that its defeat would advance the general good.

Those dissenters from the war who do so from patriotic motives, will criticize it believing that the conflict in Iraq reflects mainly honest decisions, albeit flawed ones — that the decision to go to war has served to weaken our security and distract us from more important purposes. This disposition contrasts dramatically the disposition of those who oppose the war in Iraq because they regard America as essentially the guilty party and who share a common dream with our nation's enemies of a world liberated from American oppression.

A characteristic expression of this view was contained in speech given by Professor Nicholas DeGenova at an anti-war “teach-in” held at Columbia University. The teach-in was held in April 2003 just as the tyranny of Saddam Hussein was being toppled by American troops in Baghdad, and professor said that he wished for an American defeat – or, as he put it, “a million Mogadishus.” This invoked the infamous massacre of U.S. troops by an al-Qaeda warlord in Somalia ten years before. “U.S. patriotism is inseparable from imperial warfare and white supremacy,” DeGenova told the 3,000 cheering students and faculty in attendance. “U.S. flags are the emblem of the invading war machine in Iraq today. They are the emblem of the occupying power. The only true heroes are those who find ways that help defeat the U.S. military.” DeGenova stated that peace was “subversive.” It was subversive, he said, “because peace anticipates a very different world than the one in which we live, a world where the U.S. would have no place.”

DeGenova's view is one that is widely shared by those on the political left. Robert Jensen is a professor at the University of Texas. As American marines confronted Sunni terrorists in a fierce battle in Falluja on December 03, 2004, Jensen wrote in a column in the

Austin Statesman: “The United States has lost the war in Iraq, and that's a good thing.... I welcome the U.S. defeat, for a simple reason: It isn't the defeat of the United States— its people or their ideals — but of that empire. And it's essential the American empire be defeated and dismantled.”¹¹ In Jensen's mind, the real America whose troops were dying in Iraq was separate from “its people or their ideals.” It was an evil empire that needed to be destroyed.

It was this view that inspired the Communist left as it supported the Soviet enemy during the Cold War. The Communist left regarded the Cold War as a struggle between the forces of socialism and an American Empire that was governed by a capitalist “ruling class.” This convenient distinction made it possible for Communists to serve the Soviet enemy while claiming the mantle of “patriotism” for their acts. In their fanciful view of themselves it was they who were defenders of “American ideals,” which they interpreted as socialist. “Communism is 20th Century Americanism” proclaimed Earl Browder the Secretary General of the Party. This same perverse view animates the leaders of the two organizations that have coordinated all the major demonstrations against the war in Iraq, who see themselves as the heirs to the Communist legacy. War. Both International ANSWER and the Coalition United for Peace and Justice are run by Marxist veterans of the Communist left, and see theirs as a continuation of the “anti-imperialist struggles” to defeat the United States and establish a socialist future in its place.

This is the view of Tom Hayden, a leader of the New Left's campaign to support the Communist enemy in Vietnam, who later became a Democratic State Senator and received a medal from President Jimmy Carter in the White House. In an article on the leftwing website www.alternet.org called “How to End the War in Iraq,” Hayden outlines a practical plan for Americans who want to defeat their country in war. “The anti-war movement can force the Bush administration to leave Iraq by denying it the funding, troops, and alliances necessary to its strategy for dominance,” Hayden writes. This is the voice of a self-declared enemy of the United States — in Hayden's case, a lifelong enemy.

11 *Unholy Alliance*, op. cit. See the profiles of these organizations at www.DiscoverTheNetwork.org.

A more familiar prophet of the current anti-American left is Michael Moore, who has regularly denied the very existence of a terrorist threat, and wished for a terrorist victory, since in his view the terrorists are “the revolution,” and they are “patriots.” A man who thinks that the terrorists are not terrorists and are not the enemy, clearly believes that America is. If you are convinced, like Michael Moore, that America is a global imperialist power and that future progress depends on an American defeat in Iraq, you will necessarily think of the terrorist enemy as a liberating force. They are performing the service that leftists like him are too weak or too cowardly to perform on their own, which is to take on the Great Satan himself.

There was a refreshing candor to the Sixties movement to which both Moore and Hayden belonged that is absent in today’s left. Out of disgust with the Stalinist generation that had posed as “progressive” and “patriotic,” the New Left openly proclaimed itself revolutionary and internationalist. It is true that in order to mobilize large constituencies leaders of the anti-Vietnam movement framed their demands as though their only agenda was “peace,” and that they organized opposition to the war under the banner of “Bring the Troops Home,” as though their sole concern was the safe return of American soldiers. But there were also many in the movement’s ranks who remained true to the code of New Left authenticity by flying the flags of the Communist enemy and chanting “Victory to the Vietcong.”

Tom Hayden was one of these worthies, who even attempted to incite a guerrilla war in American cities in a radical homage to his Communist heroes in Vietnam. Victory for the Communists in Vietnam was the real agenda of all New Leftists at the time, though it is also true that many anti-war liberals who did not share this hope were seduced into joining the demonstrations they organized.

It is this amalgamation of forces on the left – both liberal and radical – that complicates the task of distinguishing patriots who disagree with the policies in Iraq from anti-American radicals who want to bring down the “empire.” This latter group rarely expresses its goals as candidly as Professor DeGenova did at the Columbia teach-in. That is because it is aware that its revolutionary goals

constitute an outlaw agenda the vast majority of Americans would reject.

It would be far easier to separate this anti-American left from patriotic critics, if those critics would do some of the separating themselves. It is difficult, however, when leaders of the Democratic Party embrace unsavory figures like Michael Moore, or when anti-American radicals become Democratic Party legislators. It is difficult when prominent figures in the Democratic Party embrace MoveOn.org radicals who opposed the war in Afghanistan and work with them as principal funders of the Party’s campaigns.¹²

Further complicating the task of clarity is the existence of an entire Internet industry, funded by liberal rather than radical donors, whose agenda is to smear conservatives as “witch-hunters” whose agenda is to tar any and all criticism of the war as unpatriotic. These smear sites include David Brock’s MediaMatters, MediaTransparency, PublicEye, NameBase, Disinfopedia, SouthernPovertyLawCenter, and the “Rightwing Watch” section of People for the American Way. This is not meant to imply that conservatives are guiltless when it comes to using a broad brush in dealing with political opponents. On the other hand, if radicals retend to be liberals and liberals embrace them, it is understandable that their opponents might miss the difference.

The failure of the patriotic left to dissociate itself from the Tom Haydens and Michael Moores, from the Coalition United For Peace And Justice and MoveOn.org, often expresses itself in the form of venomous attacks on conservatives who do make these distinctions. I have borne the brunt of such attacks, personally, in spite of the fact that I have acknowledged the patriotism of leftists critical of the war. The technique of lumping political opponents for purposes of attack is such an honored tradition on the left that it has a name, “attack by amalgam.” The name was given to it by Leon Trotsky when Stalinists smeared his followers by falsely linking them to Hitler fascists because both were opponents of the Stalin regime. Stalinists also coined the term “social fascists” to attack democrats and non-Communist socialists whom they opposed.

12 David Horowitz and Richard Poe, *The Shadow Party*, published by the Center for the Study of Popular Culture, Los Angeles. See also *The Shadow Party* profile at www.DiscoverTheNetwork.org.

An item on Brock's site, MediaMatters follows this well-worn pattern. It accuses me of attacking all Democrats as enemies of America, ignoring the distinctions I have carefully made. According to MediaMatters, "David Horowitz [says] Democrats [and the], media are 'getting Americans killed in Iraq ... because of their pathological hatred of George Bush.'" This charge inspired several emails complaining that I unfairly tarred patriotic Democrats with the unpatriotic brush.

In fact, the editorial I wrote (which MediaMatters even linked) says exactly the opposite. The headline I wrote for editorial says: "This is Not a Magazine about Republicans and Democrats But About a War We Have to Win." In the editorial itself, which was published the day before the election, I observed that this was "a season of poisoned politics and fierce divisions," and attempted to distinguish between patriotic dissenters from the war and those who wanted the United States to lose it. I referred to conservative critics who were suspicious of nation building and feared that Iraq was a distraction from the larger war on terror as "patriots [who] belong in our camp." My very next sentences were:

There are worthy Democrats who belong there too. Joe Lieberman should have been the Democrats' candidate for President. Dick Gephardt would have made an equally worthy leader. Both have been models of principle as potential leaders of the opposition, but have been silenced by the stampeded majority of their party from the common purpose and by the frenzy of hatred against the incumbent George Bush.

In fact, I have always been mindful that many opponents of the war are patriots. I have even posted the articles of anti-war critics on my *FrontPage* website, including Todd Gitlin who was one of the professors at the Columbia teach-in. I have made these distinctions in my book *Unholy Alliance: Radical Islam and the American Left*, where I single out Fox host Alan Colmes among other liberals as patriotic critics of the war. But this hasn't prevented Colmes himself from accusing me of "McCarthyism" as though I did *not* make such

distinctions.¹³ The smear campaign against me (and conservatives like me) is so pervasive in the constituencies of the left that nothing I could write would shake their conviction.

The other day I received an email from a friend of mine who is a leftist, a Democrat and an opponent of the war, but also a man whose eloquent expressions of patriotism I have posted on my website. Sherman Alexie is a Spokane Indian, and one of the most talented and lyrical writers of our time. The email I received from him was provoked by the false representation of my position on the MediaMatters site.

Dear David

Wow, all you guys calling each other names. Such entertainment. Do you think Jack White, in calling you an angry man, reveals himself as an angry man? And do you think David Brock realizes he's the jailhouse stoolie of the Republican Party? Yeah, I figure he's telling the truth about his former Republican dirty trickster friends, but now he seems to have become a Democratic dirty trickster. What's the difference between a Republican and Democratic dirty trickster? Only the source of funding.

And David, where's your logic? How can you possibly accuse various leftists of dirty tricks and slander when you have accused us anti-war folks and Bush-haters of getting troops killed? There is no larger insult, no greater accusation of evil than that, David. And wildly inaccurate.

You make it sound like only pro-war Republicans have friends and family in Iraq. That only pro-war Republicans are worried about the troops. At every talk I give, I ask all of the people who have friends and/or family in the military to raise their hands. Then I ask the Republicans to lower their hands. There are always dozens of hands still raised. Do you think all of those anti-war Democrats want their friends and families to die?

Talk about elitist! David, I guarantee you that I have more friends and family in the military than you do now or have ever had. I know hundreds of current and ex-soldiers. I'm an email pen

13 Alan Colmes, *Red, White and Liberal*, NY 2003, pp. 31-32
Cf. *Unholy Alliance*, op. cit.

pal to a dozen friends in Iraq. Republican small town guys who believe in their mission, who love their country and their families, but who count on me to be the anti-war guy even as I send them all of my prayers and support and dirty jokes.

It's the whole red state-blue state separation illusion. There are millions of us redstate children who became bluestate adults and we live and love in both worlds.

Sherman

I was disappointed that Sherman could be so influenced by the MediaMatters post that forget my appreciation of his deep affection for his country. In my reply I pointed out that in thinking that only conservatives were making serious charges, he had missed the other side of the conversation, which was a rarity for him. When opponents of the war say that the war is not just wrong-headed but based on “lies,” and that it is a “fraud” concocted for the President’s friends in Texas, and that the President and those who support him are getting Americans killed for no reason — that is just as serious an accusation as mine. It is tantamount to the accusation that the President has betrayed his country, which is exactly the charge that Al Gore did make. Moreover, these charges came from the left first, and it is these very attacks – not general dissent from the war — that in my view are demoralizing to our troops in the field, and “getting Americans killed.”

There will always be dissenters in a democracy. It is the air we breathe. My concern (and that of the article I wrote) is not about dissenters but about those who have fundamentally broken faith with America and its national purposes and gone over to the enemy camp. It is also about opportunistic Democratic leaders, like Jimmy Carter, Ted Kennedy and Al Gore who have broken with the tradition of bi-partisan support in foreign affairs to attack the President in the reckless fashion they have. In my view, to call the commander-in-chief a liar and a traitor is to sabotage the war effort and undermine our troops in Iraq. Dissent over the war by ordinary citizens like my friend Sherman Alexie — and others who share his belief in this country — is not. Leaders of the Democratic opposi-

tion have a greater responsibility, moreover, because of their position of national trust and must be held to a stricter standard. The reckless charges made by Gore and Kennedy gave license to people who supported them and trusted them to open up a war within the war — to conduct a war on those who are prosecuting our side of the conflict and to do so from inside the American establishment. This is an unprecedented fracture of the nation’s leadership in time of war in the modern era, and indeed since the Civil War itself.

The way I expressed this observation in a speech I gave at Georgetown University as the 2004 election approached was as follows: “When you are eighteen or nineteen years old and you are in Fallujah surrounded by terrorists who want to kill you, and you hear the leader of the Democratic Party who is within a hair of the presidency say you shouldn’t be there in the first place — that does more than simply ‘confuse’ you. It demoralizes you; it saps your will to fight, and it gets you killed.”

I also noted that when the *New York Times* runs stories about the mishandling of prisoners at Abu Ghraib on its front pages for 65 days, humiliating America’s forces in Iraq and disorienting America’s allies, and when Ted Kennedy compares America’s prisons in Iraq to Saddam Hussein’s torture chambers, that is as effective as any enemy propaganda could be in demoralizing Americans and undermining their will to resist an enemy as ruthless as any they have ever faced. The Imam Ali Sistani the Shi’ite leader in Iraq has said nothing about the matters at Abu Ghraib precisely because, unlike the *Times*’ leftwing editors, he has wanted America’s liberating forces to win.

If things go badly in Iraq, the *New York Times* and the Democratic Party leadership will have themselves partly to blame. Ever since Howard Dean and his supporters stampeded the Democratic Party into the anti-war camp, the Administration has had to fight the war in Iraq with one hand tied behind its back. To point out this obvious fact, to say that this degree of distortion at the very center of America’s political debate and this volume of attack at the highest national level gets Americans killed is also obvious. It is an appropriate criticism. And it is very different from saying that *any* criticism of the war is tantamount to treason, or that all

“anti-war folks” are in the enemy camp.

What Jimmy Carter, Al Gore and Ted Kennedy have done is to destroy the bi-partisan principle that previously governed the national debate on matters of war and peace. This was a tradition honored by both parties during the Cold War and up to the moment that Al Gore and Jimmy Carter decided to throw it overboard in September 2002, even as President Bush first went to the UN to seek international support. When Ronald Reagan was President of the United States, liberals hated him and his policies with ill-concealed passion. But no Democratic leader ever accused Ronald Reagan (or any Republican President) of betraying the American people on issues of war and peace, let alone of lying to the American people to put their sons and daughters in harms way, as Al Gore and Jimmy Carter and Ted Kennedy accused President Bush.

The anti-war *left* has itself never operated under such constraints. “Hey, hey LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?” was but one of its characteristic “anti-war” cries, which has mutated into “Bush, Cheney, what do you say, how many kids did you kill today?” But even Democrats like Eugene McCarthy and Bobby Kennedy, who finally broke with the Vietnam War, never spoke about a President in office in the ugly accents employed by the leaders of the present Democratic Party opposition. This decorum that has been breached once symbolized the bonds we shared as Americans, and it made our country strong.

During the Cold War, the closest any congressional figure came to the kind of poisonous rhetoric that has become commonplace in anti-war circles of late was when radical congressman Ron Dellums told a “Stop the Draft” protest in Berkeley, that “Washington D.C. is a very evil place.” The accusation was made during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, which was the first time the Red Army had crossed an international border since 1945. Jimmy Carter’s Administration was trying to re-introduce a military draft to meet the crisis. Dellums dismissed the Soviet threat in these words: “From my vantage point, as your Representative, I believe we are at a very dangerous moment. Washington, D.C. is a very evil place. While Mr. Zbigniew Brzezinski (the President’s National Security Advisor) professes to see the arc of crisis in Southeast Asia as the

Balkan tinderbox of World War III, well Ron Dellums sees the only arc of crisis being the one that runs between the basement of the West Wing of the White House and the war room of the Pentagon.”

Ron Dellums is a charter member of the anti-American left, a pro-Castro radical who colluded with the Marxist dictatorship in Grenada to deceive his own government about an airstrip Cuba was building on the island to accommodate Soviet nuclear bombers. But while Dellums denounced Jimmy Carter and his administration as evil and a threat to the peace, the Democrats themselves appointed him to head the congressional Subcommittee on Military Installations (with top security clearance) and then to head the House Armed Services Committee itself, the most powerful legislative position overseeing national defense. When Dellums eventually retired during the Clinton Administration, he was awarded the highest civilian honor for “service to his country” that the Pentagon can bestow.

It is episodes like this and what they reveal that makes it difficult to draw the necessary distinctions on the Democratic side of the debate. These are also reasons why Democrats have a large credibility problem on issues of national defense, which was a key factor in deciding the 2004 presidential election.

That election result has already stimulated some second thoughts in liberal circles. *The New Republic* is a liberal magazine, which thanks to its publisher Martin Peretz has generally taken a strong position on matters of national defense. The December 13, 2004 issue of *The New Republic* contained a long and thoughtful essay by its editor Peter Beinart which described itself as “An Argument for a New Liberalism” and specifically for an “anti-totalitarian liberalism.”

The problem, as Beinart posed it, was that while the Democrats had a “fairly hawkish foreign policy establishment” at the top of the party, “below this small elite sits a .. grassroots that views America’s new struggle [the war on terror] as a distraction if not a mirage.” Beinart calls the members of this grassroots “softs,” and believes that the Democratic Party has a dim electoral future if it continues to allow them to shape its policy. He recalls the days of the early Cold War when the Democratic Party was riddled with Communists

and their sympathizers who thought the struggle against Stalin and the Soviet empire was also a distraction and a mirage. The remedy liberals eventually arrived at was to condemn the Communists and fellow-travelers (who called themselves “progressives” then as now), and expel them from their organizations.

The precursors of what Beinart calls the “softs” on totalitarian Islam were the followers of former Vice President Henry Wallace, who allowed himself to become the presidential candidate of the Communist-controlled Progressive Party and condemn the Cold War. Beinart identifies as current symbols of “Wallacism” in the Democratic Party, Michael Moore and MoveOn.org:

Moore views totalitarian Islam the way Wallace viewed Communism: As a phantom, a ruse employed by the only enemies that matter, those on the right. Saudi extremists may have brought down the twin Towers, but the real menace is the Carlyle Group. Today, most liberals naively consider Moore a useful ally, a bomb-thrower against a right-wing that deserves to be torched. What they do not understand is that his real casualties are on the decent left. When Moore opposes the war against the Taliban, he casts doubt on the sincerity of liberals who say they opposed the Iraq war because they wanted to win in Afghanistan first. When Moore says terrorism should be no greater a national concern than car accidents or pneumonia, he makes it harder for liberals to claim that their belief in civil liberties does not imply a diminished vigilance against al Qaeda.

Beinart is absolutely right about this and it is encouraging to hear him say that the time has come for liberals – the decent left — to take back their movement. He takes as his model the purging of Communists from the CIO and other organizations by socialists like Walter Reuther and liberals like Hubert Humphrey and Harry Truman. “Liberals ... must first take back their movement from the softs. We will know such an effort has begun when dissension breaks out within America’s key liberal institutions.”

I hope this happens, but I am not as sanguine as Beinart that it will. In the first place I think Beinart underestimates the opposition

that decent leftists like him face in purging the “Communists” from their ranks. The left – the hard left – is much more powerful today than it was in the heyday of Communism.¹⁴ In the second place, the Michael Moores are not merely “softs” as Beinart describes them. (“The softs ... were not necessarily Communists themselves. But they refused to make anti-Communism their guiding principle.”) There were, and are, softs like this. But Michael Moore and the leaders of the “anti-war” movement are more analogous to the Communists of the Cold War. They are activists who believe not that there is *no* external enemy, but that we are the enemy. The fact that people like this are entrenched in major institutions of the Democratic Party, for example MoveOn.org and the constellation of Soros-inspired 527s, and in the leadership of the government unions, and that they control the funding base of the Democratic Party is unprecedented, and will make this battle much more difficult.

The most important aspect of Beinart’s article and its support by *The New Republic* is that it reminds us that liberals like Beinart and my friend Sherman Alexie, share a common agenda with conservatives when it comes to defending this country and its liberties from the totalitarian enemy. This is the bond that makes us a nation, and it must stand before all others in matters of war and peace.

¹⁴ Cf. *Unholy Alliance*, op. cit.