



George Will

CONSERVATIVE BATTLELINE ONLINE

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[Reagan Un-Will-ing To Say "No"?](#)

From the Battle Line

[Reagan Un-Will-ing To Say "No"?](#)

by Donald Devine

[Supporting Terrorism?](#)

by David Keene

[Union Bribery](#)

by Bill Sizemore

Culture Wars

[Muslims Defeat Terrorists?](#)

by Daniel Pipes

[UN Climate Change?](#)

by Dennis Avery

[Star Wars Reality](#)

by Vincent Fiore

Media Pass in Review

[Letters From Iwo Jima](#)

by Spencer Warren

["Times" Can't Take It](#)

by Thomas Brewton

[Roe Not News?](#)

by Sharon Hughes

Political Front

[Search For New Reagan](#)

by Jeff Crouere

[Hillary Maneuvers](#)

by Lisa Fabrizio

[Energy Politics](#)

by Paul Driessen

Government Maneuvers

[Politicized Warming](#)

by Alan Caruba

[Arnold's Health Fiasco](#)

by John Goodman

[Bush Offers Medicare Reform](#)

by Brian Riedl

Reader Backfire

[Fusionism Only One Way](#)

by Roman Joch

[October 7 in Baghdad](#)

by Larry Gill

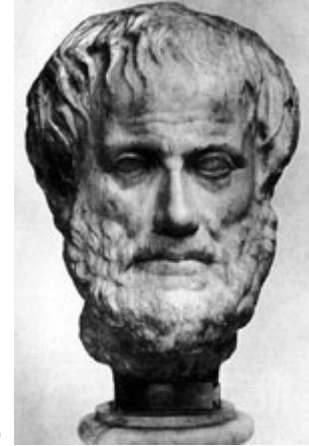
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Reagan Un-Will-ing To Say “No”?

by Donald Devine

The worst thing to say about a democratic politician is that he cannot say “No” to things people should not have. Over 2,000 years ago, the philosopher Aristotle said this is why democracies fail. Since the leaders are dependent on popular votes, the easiest thing is to say “yes” to every desire.

That is the charge George Will in his mass-circulation column, echoing historian John Patrick Diggins’ new book “Ronald Reagan,” makes against America’s most popular recent president--who Will says told “people comforting and flattering things they want to hear,” that all of their desires should be met, and that this pandering inevitably leads to big and bad government.



Forgive another article on the Gipper but this claim has circulated so widely it requires a response. Only a brilliant left wing academic could pull it off. In his book, Professor Diggins of CUNY makes the argument that the 1980s were America’s “Emersonian moment” because Reagan sometimes quoted optimistic phrases from the radical individualist Ralph Waldo Emerson. But it was Reagan’s mother who supposedly was the real culprit, her faith influencing him to write in a 1951 letter that “God couldn’t create evil so the desires he planted in us are good.” This proves to the good professor and the columnist that Reagan adopted the “Emersonian faith” that “we please God by pleasing ourselves”—we act on our own passions only and they are all good so leaders can say yes to them—a faith ascribed to Reagan based on a few speech phrases and a private letter.

The proof to Diggins is that Reagan’s “theory of government has little reference to the principles of the American founding” to which Will adds “especially to the wisest of them, James Madison” who taught that “Government’s principal function was to resist, moderate or even frustrate the public’s unruly passions.” The founders created a separation of powers government “to check the demands of the people” whereas Reagan simply blamed government for what was “inherent in democracy itself,” giving in to the peoples’ desires.



**John Patrick
Diggins**

Diggins is not a typical leftist but he has the same rationalistic belief that the Enlightenment made all traditional thinking obsolete. The Founders, being serious people, their principles must be Enlightenment rationalist, not silly Emersonian optimism misled by religion. Diggins describes himself as being somewhere “to the right of the Left and to the left of the Right” but he is an expert on the Left and has the leftist assumption that anyone who believes in individualism and optimism is an Emersonian. To the wise men of the left (as opposed to Leninists) it is either Emerson or Rousseau--or Marx (properly understood), the pure free, optimistic individualist or the pure rational, communal socialist. They miss everything between--including actual capitalism, which is not pure individualism but also corporatism, private beneficence, local government and other intermediate institutions as Adam Smith clearly taught.

Diggins mentions that Reagan was very influenced by the free market economist Frederic Bastiat but he just cannot help himself by adding that Marx called Bastiat the “modern bagman of free trade,” as if it is obvious that a rationalist bon mot is enough to dismiss a thinker.

To univocal rationalist scholars like Diggins, tradition may simply be dismissed for serious thinkers and the only rational alternative is selfish individualism (see C.B. Macpherson’s “The

Political Theory of Possessive Individualism") as with Emerson. He means a compliment to Reagan. But Reagan had a traditional side that made him less successful than he could have been. He was so optimistic about man's nature because of his mother's religion he rejected the possibility of evil. But the Christian belief in Reagan's letter that God created man good ignores that Genesis also depicts evil as being brought to mankind by the Devil after the creation. Reagan's was not a belief all is good but represented the theological tradition of the Bible, which is hardly simple optimism. There is plenty of evil recognized by this tradition although, as with Reagan's mother, it does teach that God will make it right at the end—but in a kingdom not of this world. But even such limited optimism must be dismissed by pure rationalists as irrational.

To try to make the charge that Reagan was a simplistic theological optimist and the Founders were not—and Will does not mention this-- Diggins must exclude the Declaration of Independence as an American founding document. Think of that! "Fundamentalists may jump for joy when they see the word 'God' in the Declaration and other documents," says the not very dispassionate professor, but "the founding is not the Declaration but the Constitution," which does not mention God or tradition. This is the opposite extreme from the Declaration "creedalists" who almost exclude the Constitution. Obviously, both documents are essential to understand the founding principles.



A man who honors Edmund Burke, as does Will, should certainly recognize there is a middle way, a synthesis of the Declaration and Constitution, of tradition and reason, of freedom and order, of optimism and realism. No one recognized this more than Ronald Reagan. In an early speech as president, he summarized his philosophy at some length to his closest ideological kin at the annual Conservative Political Action Conference (to be held this year March 1-3). After listing "intellectual leaders like Russell Kirk, Friedrich Hayek, Henry Hazlitt, Milton Friedman, James Burnham, Ludwig von Mises" as the ones who "shaped so much of our thoughts," he discussed only one of these influences at length.

It's especially hard to believe that it was only a decade ago, on a cold April day on a small hill in upstate New York, that another of these great thinkers, Frank Meyer, was buried. He'd made the awful journey that so many others had: He pulled himself from the clutches of "The [communist] God That Failed," and then in his writing fashioned a vigorous new synthesis of traditional and libertarian thought -- a synthesis that is today recognized by many as modern conservatism.

It was Frank Meyer who reminded us that the robust individualism of the American experience was part of the deeper current of Western learning and culture. He pointed out that a respect for law, an appreciation for tradition, and regard for the social consensus that gives stability to our public and private institutions, these civilized ideas must still motivate us even as we seek a new economic prosperity based on reducing government interference in the marketplace.

Our goals complement each other. We're not cutting the budget simply for the sake of sounder financial management. This is only a first step toward returning power to the States and communities, only a first step toward reordering the relationship between citizen and government. We can make government again responsive to the people by cutting its size and scope and thereby ensuring that its legitimate functions are performed efficiently and justly.



In other words, the Reagan patrimony actually came from the synthesis of Western thought Frank Meyer identified as modern conservatism, including Burke's important contributions. Contrary to the charge, it promised cutting governmental functions but as a means to putting local citizens in control

rather than bureaucracies. It was individualism and freedom but it was also culture, tradition and law. It was neither pure individualism nor pure communalism. Both were part of the deeper synthesis of Western civilization that especially expressed itself in the American experience.

Reagan specifically referred to the founders in another key speech that also escaped Diggins' scholarship—all he had to do was type the name in the Reagan Library search engine—and here he specifically referred to the man Reagan supposedly forgot, James Madison, and the limitations on democracy he supposedly did not understand.

Madison knew and we should always remember that no government is perfect, not even a democracy. Rights given to government were taken from the people, and so he believed that government's touch in our lives should be light, that powers entrusted to it be administered by temporary guardians. He wrote that "government was the greatest of all reflections on human nature." He wrote that "if men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government," he said, "which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed, and next oblige it to control itself."



James Madison

Led by Madison and Jefferson and others, the authors of the Constitution established a fragile balance between the branches and levels of government. That concept was their genius and the secret of our success -- that idea of federalism. The balance of power intended in the Constitution is the guarantor of the greatest measure of individual freedom any people have ever known. Our task today, this year, this decade, must be to reaffirm those ideas. Our Founding Fathers designed a system of government that was unique in all the world—a federation of sovereign states with as much law and decision-making authority as possible kept at the local level. They knew that man's very need for government meant no government should function unchecked.

We the people—and that is still the most powerful phrase— created government for our own convenience. It can have no power except that voluntarily granted to it by the people. We founded our society on the belief that the rights of men were ours by grace of God. That vision of our Founding Fathers revolutionized the world. Those principles must be reaffirmed by every generation of Americans, for freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction.

Is this a starry-eyed optimist who did not reference the founding principles? He specifically emphasized their belief men were not angels and the necessary controls on the people. Is this a man who believed in unchecked satisfaction of the desires of the governed? It is precisely the reverse. President Reagan is the only recent president to say no to popular spending, actually limiting the size of government, by reducing federal non-defense discretionary spending over his term absolutely by ten percent and even reducing total non-defense spending including entitlements as a share of national wealth from 17.9 to 16.4 percent of gross domestic product.



George Will

In a few lucid words Ronald Reagan answered every one of the charges by Diggins and Will, in words easily accessible to them. How can these two be so far off? Was the man who called the Soviet Union an "evil empire" oblivious to evil in the world? Who are these people writing about.

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**E-mail the
Editor**

Supporting Terrorism?

by David Keene

I visited the Alamo a couple of weeks ago and was struck by the names of the men and women who died there. Many, like Davy Crockett, were U.S. citizens at the time they died, but others were not. There were Mexicans and volunteers from Ireland, England and France who came to fight and die with Crockett, Travis and the rest.

Had they lived, most of them would no doubt have settled in Texas and themselves become citizens. But that was then. Today, they would be ineligible for admission to this country precisely because they crossed the line Col. Travis drew in the sand as Santa Anna's army approached.

They'd be rounded up and sent home to Europe... or to Mexico to be dealt with by Santa Anna himself.

Anyone who doubts this ought to look carefully at the way we have been treating those seeking asylum here since Sept. 11, 2001. In order to protect us from terrorists and their friends, we now bar the entry of anyone who, like the defenders of the Alamo, has ever taken up arms anywhere for any purpose other than to, say, rob a 7-Eleven. This prohibition has already been interpreted to include those who fought side by side with U.S. forces in Vietnam or who decades ago fought Fidel Castro in the mountains of Cuba, and even those Iraqis who sided with us in the initial days of the Iraq war.

The problem lies partly with the language of the hastily crafted anti-terrorist legislation enacted in the wake of Sept. 11, but mostly with the incredible inability of federal bureaucrats to see the forest for the trees. As a result, legislation enacted for the best of reasons is being used against the victims of terrorism rather than against terrorists.

How many in Congress sought in voting for the Patriot Act (a major source of the language being interpreted to keep these people out) to deny sanctuary or eventual citizenship to refugees and asylum seekers who have fought in support of our troops in the field or have themselves been victims of terrorism?

Historically a small percentage of our immigrants have been political refugees with nowhere else to go. Welcoming them into our midst speaks volumes about our values and concern for those who have suffered at the hands of tyrants and terrorists.

Today, however, refugees and asylum seekers are being turned away by Department of Homeland Security bureaucrats who have decided they don't deserve sanctuary either because of the prohibition mentioned above or because they have provided what the law terms "material support" to terrorists or organizations that support terrorists.

It turns out that "material support" can be anything... even a glass of water given to a thirsty stranger who one later learns is a terrorist.

A few examples of the sorts of people being excluded and the "material support" they have provided says it all. They include a fisherman kidnapped by the Tamil Tigers and forced to cough up his own ransom; a Burmese teacher who allowed members of a pro-democracy group to speak to her class; a Colombian nurse kidnapped, assaulted and forced to provide medical treatment to her captors; and a woman from Sierra Leone whose home was invaded by rebels with machetes who killed one member of her family and tried to burn her gasoline-drenched son to death.



David Keene

The rebels, terrorists to be sure, held the Sierra Leonean woman and her family for four days, repeatedly raped her and her daughter and even forced them to do their laundry before they left. It was doing their laundry, we are told, that makes her a potential danger to us all and therefore ineligible for entry into the United States.

The good folks at DHS also barred a Colombian teenager whose entire family was murdered by rebels who then forced him to help dig the graves into which they dumped the bodies of their victims. By digging the graves, he was—you guessed it—providing the terrorists “material support.”

The folks at DHS argue that it is the law that forces them to visit injustice on the innocent. This is bureaucratic balderdash. Congress gave them the power to grant waivers when justice and common sense demand it, but they haven’t even bothered to set up a review procedure to separate the innocent from those who might actually pose a threat to our country.

Since DHS doesn’t seem willing or able to do its job, Congress should clarify the situation lest those coming here seeking sanctuary and freedom will continue to be thrown into camps or turned back to the very people they were fleeing.

Or we could just eliminate “home of the brave” from our national anthem.

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**E-mail the
Editor**

**Bill Sizemore****Union Bribery**

by Bill Sizemore

All across this nation, state and local government taxpayers are being sold down the river by politicians, who hold public office primarily because public employee unions gave them huge campaign contributions and provided the foot soldiers for their campaigns. The problem is, after these politicians are elected, they repay the unions for putting them in office by negotiating generous labor contracts with them at taxpayer expense.

It is likely that in every state in the union, the cost of government is billions of dollars greater than it ought to be because of the corrupting influence of these political contributions.

There are two terms that aptly describe this quid pro quo arrangement: bribery and conflict of interest. In fact, the conflict of interest is so odious that if a private sector union official was caught giving money to someone in management, who negotiates contracts with the union, it would be a felony and the union official and the member of management who took the money would likely go to prison.

It is the essence of collective bargaining that two opposing sides come to the table as adversaries, one representing management, the owners or the shareholders, and the other representing the employees. Management naturally wants to maximize profits and the return on investment for the shareholders. The other side, the union, wants to win for the employees of the company a larger share of the company's profits in the form of higher wages and more generous benefits.

These two sides meet in a room and each attempts to negotiate a contract that is in the best interest of the side it represents. It is generally understood that both sides must negotiate within the constraints of economic reality. In other words, management must pay enough to attract and retain an adequate workforce and labor must recognize that if it negotiates wages so high that the company loses its competitive edge, the business could fold; in which case all of the employees would lose their jobs.

The restraining effect of economic reality is so ominous that it almost goes without saying that it shapes the context of the discussions and substantially limits what each side can give or take. Over the years, several large American companies and powerful labor unions have gone too far in one direction or the other and thereby proved just how merciless economic reality can be, ending up in long drawn out, sometime crippling strikes or going into bankruptcy or receivership.

In the collective bargaining process, if things go according to theory, management and unions will be successful at finding that elusive middle ground where both sides are as unhappy with the result as they are happy and they both move on with the business of business.

What goes on in the public sector, however, all but obliterates the natural balance between management and labor. In effect, by donating money to the campaigns of the officeholders with whom they will later negotiate labor agreements, public employee unions literally purchase the other side of the bargaining table. In other words, they do not have to bargain with an adversary, but with someone whom they put in office.

The conflict of interest this creates could not be more obvious. After the election, the unions sit across the table and negotiate wages and benefits with someone who (1) owes them an enormous debt, and (2) can give in to their demands and repay them with tax dollars instead of company profits.

This is a formula for public sector economic chaos. These "legal bribes" virtually guarantees that government will grow, taxes will increase, and the taxpayers will receive the least for their money.

I know of a governor here in Oregon, who immediately after being elected had to negotiate a labor agreement with state employees. Those employees were represented by a public employee union that had been very instrumental in the governor's election. Before the negotiations commenced, the leader of the governor's negotiating team commissioned a study to determine what kind of salary adjustments were in order. When the study was completed, it was presented to the governor with the recommendation that no pay raises be offered to state employees, because the study made it clear that when both salaries and benefits were considered, state workers already were being paid more than their private sector counterparts.

The governor responded by taking the study, which cost thousands of dollars to prepare, and without so much as opening it, tossed it into the nearest trashcan. Why? Because the governor owed the public employee unions for helping win the election and could not repay them with a pay freeze, even if on the merits no pay raise could be justified.

The taxpayers were sold down the river, because the governor had a conflict of interest. To put it bluntly, but fairly, the governor had been bribed.

The tragedy in all this is that these political donations, which create such an obvious conflict of interest, are in most places legal.

This past election, Oregon held another election for governor. The Democrat incumbent won handily and announced afterwards that he owed his victory to the public employee unions, which in fact had donated quite generously to his campaign and worked hard to get out the vote for "their guy". Let me ask you this: How do you think the bargaining with state employees will go this budget cycle? Do you think the governor will hold the line on wages and benefits for state workers? Do you think he will drive a hard bargain?

If it is any clue to the way things will go, consider this: After the election, the governor appointed a new chief of staff and a new deputy chief of staff. The new chief of staff was recently the top lobbyist for the OEA, the state teachers union, and the new deputy was for many years the Oregon head of the AFL-CIO. With a staff consisting of former union leaders, who will be looking out for the taxpayers and protecting their interests when the governor or his representative sits down at the bargaining table with the unions? Certainly no one in that incestuous group.

This problem is pervasive and affects taxpayers in a host of ways. Here in Oregon, public employees routinely retire several years earlier than their private sector counterparts (averaging age 52 for public safety workers and age 57 for other public employees). Public employees not only retire early, but their pensions are so generous that career public employees usually receive pensions that exceed by a substantial amount the highest salary they ever received when they worked full time. Try finding that kind of pension in the private sector.

Oregon's public employee retirement system (PERS) is literally breaking the state, crowding classrooms; reducing the number of police officers, firefighters, and prison guards; even forcing the early release of convicted felons. And why do you suppose public pensions are so generous?

The answer is obvious. Democrat politicians, who receive about 98 percent of public employee union political contributions, have repaid their union friends with enormous favors at taxpayer

expense. (Please do not take offense at the fact that I name Democrats as the culprit here. I cannot honestly blame Republicans for this problem when Democrats receive 98 percent of public employee union money.)

If you stand back and look at the status quo, you have to admit that these "bribes" have been a good investment for the unions and their members. The unions donate a few million dollars every election to the right candidates and then receive in return hundreds of millions, even billions of dollars in overly generous salaries and benefits for their members.

It's good business for them, though one gets the feeling that they are the shearers and we taxpayers are merely the sheep. Members of organized crime should have it so good.

Are taxpayers savvy enough to catch on to what's happening to them and do something about it? In Oregon, they are going to have a chance. I have filed a measure to make it illegal for a public employee union to make political contributions to candidates for any office that would later negotiate contracts with the union or approve the budgets from which those contracts would be funded.

I expect a war over this measure. Unions like owning both sides of the bargaining table and politicians like receiving huge contributions from one source that they can repay with other people's money. Neither will give up their cozy relationship without a fight.

If nothing else, the discussion that will ensue from this measure's presence on the ballot will make people realize exactly what is going on today, i.e., bribery and conflict of interest on a wholesale scale. This measure will force a long overdue wake-up call for the voters and taxpayers of Oregon.

Bill Sizemore is President of the Oregon Taxpayers Union

**E-mail the
Editor**

Letters from Iwo Jima

by Spencer Warren

According to Clint Eastwood's film *Letters from Iwo Jima*, the Japanese who fought us and our British, Commonwealth and Dutch allies with such ferocious savagery in World War II were really just like us. The average soldier shouldn't be blamed for the few bad apples in authority. After all, we had bad apples too.

This account of the February-March 1945 battle, from the Japanese point of view, is Eastwood's companion piece to his *Flags of Our Fathers*, recently reviewed here.

<http://acuf.org/issues/issue73/061211med.asp> It is based in part on letters to his family by the commanding general, Kuribayashi. The general is portrayed as a sensitive man of honor, who had been stationed in the U.S. in the 1920's and admired America. He is proud to be an officer in what he calls his "honorable" Imperial Japanese Army. The other protagonist is portrayed as a Japanese G.I. Joe, a hapless sort of fellow who naturally yearns for his young wife and struggles desperately to survive the nightmare. Both men know they are doomed, and Eastwood sympathizes with their plight.



Clint Eastwood

These two soldiers have no involvement in the bayonet practice their comrades practice on a helpless American prisoner (standard procedure for the "honorable" Imperial Japanese Army from the Rape of Nanking in 1937-38 to the Bataan Death March in 1942 to Iwo Jima). And, anyway, some Americans were no better. Right? Two GI's are seen in the film murdering two Japanese prisoners because they didn't want to be bothered standing guard over them. This scene immediately follows one in which a Japanese colonel, Baron Nishi, gives his unit's last supply of morphine to a wounded young G.I. – you see, the Japanese could be the good ones and the Americans the bad! But to close his circle of moral equivalence, Eastwood ends the film with his G.I. Joe, now a wounded prisoner, being cared for by the Americans.

Like the much acclaimed *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) and *Flags of Our Fathers*, this film is centered on the personal experience of a small number of characters. Typical of the reductionism of our more "sophisticated" age, we see only the subjective perspective of individuals, disconnected from the objective moral and historical context. This makes it hard to understand how these average Japanese guys could have murdered 250,000 – 300,000 people, many of them women and children, in their orgy of destruction in Nanking between December 1937 and March 1938. Observers estimated about 20,000 women were raped and there were widespread reports of people being hacked to death and used for bayonet "practice," and of babies cut out of their mothers' wombs and carried aloft on bayonets. During its fourteen year war inside China, the "honorable" Imperial Japanese Army killed an estimated 10-20 million civilians and more than 5 million Chinese soldiers were killed or wounded.

Eastwood's film also makes it hard to understand how these regular guys worked to death an estimated 12,000 Allied POWs and 90,000 native laborers in Auschwitz-like conditions during construction of the Burma-Thailand railway (highly sanitized and falsified in the over-rated Oscar-winning *Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957), a film which has been roundly condemned by the survivors). Or how they could have committed the Banka Island Massacre in February 1942, murdering dozens of civilians who had fled Singapore, including 21 Australian nurses who were machine-gunned after being ordered to march into the ocean. Or how they could have treated Allied POWs worse than cattle by crushing them with little food, water or sanitary facilities into the infamous "Hell Ships" for transport inside their empire of conquest, without the markings required by the Geneva Convention, which resulted in some being sunk by our aircraft or submarines. Or how could they have brutalized the tens or hundreds of thousands of

Korean "comfort women" who were made sex slaves in the brothels of Kuribayashi's "honorable" army. Or how they could have committed cannibalism on the bodies of Australian and American POWs.

It must have been just a few bad apples, like the ones who, in retaliation for the stunning Doolittle Raid on Tokyo and other cities in April 1942, just four months after Pearl Harbor, slaughtered an estimated quarter of a million Chinese civilians in the area where the crews of our sixteen B-25's parachuted after successfully completing the attack; of the eight airmen captured, three were executed, one died from mistreatment, and the remainder endured forty months of torture and solitary confinement. It also must have been a few bad apples who dropped anthrax bombs on Chinese villages and poisoned their wells with bubonic plague (developed at the Auschwitz-like Unit 731 facility in Manchuria); they were planning to drop plague weapons on the U.S. from balloons when the atomic bombs finally made their emperor raise the white flag. Or a few bad apples who told their own civilians on Saipan and Okinawa that the Americans would rape and torture their women and children (wonder where they got that idea), leading to thousands of these women killing themselves and their children, some by jumping off a cliff on Saipan (preserved on film by our military photographers). Or a few who, early in 1942, did the following to two Dutch civilian administrators captured on Borneo, according to this eyewitness account: "Suddenly, the [Japanese] officer drew his sword and hacked off both the Dutchman's arms just above the elbows, and then both legs above the knees. The trunk of his body was then tied to a coconut tree and bayoneted until life was extinct. The Japanese officer then turned his attention to the Dutch policeman, who had his arms and legs hewed off in like manner. The policeman struggled on to the stumps of his legs and managed to shout 'God save the Queen'. He then fell dead, a bayonet through his heart." This is similar to the torture of Private Ralph Ignatowski, age 19, on Iwo Jima. Who could it have been who left his body hacked to pieces, with his penis forced into his mouth?

But, as Eastwood shows with his balancing of atrocities on Iwo Jima, there really was no difference between the U.S. and Imperial Japan. Most of us were good, some bad. Both sides' soldiers were victims: the Americans in *Flags of Our Fathers* exploited by their cynical president and War Department handlers on a war bond tour, the Japanese in *Letters* by their few bad apples. (*Flags* fabricates a scene to defame President Roosevelt; Hirohito, Tojo and the rest are absent from *Letters*.) The two sides must be treated equally. After all, what right have we to make a judgment about our enemy? Equality, "tolerance," non-discrimination and relativism are the only truths in our post-modern world, are they not?

This film represents the nadir of moral equivalence. True, some of our troops committed atrocities. These were few, small in scale, the exceptions from the rule, and many were punished; Japanese atrocities, many on a mass scale, were the rule. Further, our boys were placed in these situations only as a result of the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, facing an extraordinarily savage enemy whose ferocity is barely hinted at in the film. (5,931 American boys died and 17,372 were wounded in the five-week battle. On Okinawa, from April-June 1945, 7,613 infantry were killed and 31,807 wounded, plus more than 4,900 seamen killed and 4,824 wounded, mainly due to kamikaze attacks. The enemy's fanatical fight-to-the-last man resistance contributed to the decision to drop the two atomic bombs in August.) Only by whitening out the historical record can Eastwood and his friends in Hollywood and the mainstream media slander our country by reducing us to Imperial Japan's level.

It would be interesting to hear Eastwood explain why to this day Japan has never fully and properly apologized, much less paid compensation to its surviving victims (as West Germany did), and why Japan's school textbooks continue to whitewash the truth, whereas the U.S. has apologized and paid compensation to its ethnic Japanese who only were interned in 1942. (This apology, approved by President Reagan, should never have been made; the internment was justified, as we know from the intelligence files described in Michelle Malkin's *In Defense of Internment* (2004), which were ignored by the commission that recommended the apology.) It

also would be interesting to hear Eastwood explain why the Japanese Foreign Ministry official who participated in the surrender ceremony on the U.S.S. Missouri on September 2, 1945 later said that, as he stood on the deck abjectly facing Gen. MacArthur, Admiral Nimitz and the rest of the imposing cast of Allied military leaders who had brought his nation to its knees, he asked himself whether his side would have acted with the same magnanimity toward its conquered foe had the places been reversed. Maybe Eastwood would explain Japan's refusal to face up to its past as "multiculturalism."

The profound ignorance on which *Letters from Iwo Jima* is based is compounded by Eastwood's characteristic nondescript, crude direction, which is, as ever, devoid of the slightest subtlety. He can never rise above the pedestrian: thus, his climactic shot, of the wounded Japanese G.I. Joe being laid on a stretcher beside a long row of our G.I.'s on the volcanic ash beach, is abrupt and trite rather than poetic. Equally abrupt and trite is his opening shot, of modern-day excavators digging up Kuribayashi's papers, which dissolves into a shot of Japanese soldiers digging fortifications back in 1944. Typically, the film doesn't have one memorable scene or image. The script, credited to the Japanese Iris Yamashita (with a story assist from the leftist Paul Haggis), is a patchwork of contrivances designed to advance the theme, rather than letting the theme grow organically. For example, Kuribayashi, wounded at the end of the battle, asks our ever-present Japanese G.I. Joe to finish him off with the handsome, white-handled gun his American hosts are seen giving him (in flashback) in the 1920's. Oh! What pathos! For one representation of the waste of war, the allegedly humane Baron Nishi, who was an Olympian equestrian at the 1932 Los Angeles games, sees his horse killed by an air attack – with an awful (and typically gratuitous) shot of the poor dead horse. Here we have another suspension of moral judgment – what kind of man would bring his beloved sporting horse to a battlefield? Another trite contrivance, one that cheaply exploits the audience's emotions, is a flashback scene where, back in Japan, one of the "good" Japanese refuses an order to kill a friendly dog, the house pet of a civilian family, so the "bad" officer does the shooting instead (off-screen, mercifully). Again, the film substitutes the personal for the history – why not show the two at the Rape of Nanking, for example? Among other shortcomings, like most films these days, the 140 minute picture is too long, and the special computer effects of the American armada, as in *Flags*, look cheesy and fake; such things often were done better even in the 1940's.

The acclaim heaped on *Letters from Iwo Jima* can only come from leftists who hate America and from others who are ignorant of history (as well as what makes a good, professional film). With regard to the ignorant, a few years ago I was talking with my dogs' veterinary doctor during an appointment; she is Belgian and mentioned how her country had suffered under the Germans in both world wars. I mentioned that my father had fought in the Pacific in World War II and saw his best friend killed on a landing beach in the Solomons. Eventually, the discussion came around to Japan's atrocities. The doctor's nurse, an otherwise well-educated, non-ideological woman aged 26 at the time, then commented: "We did bad too." When I asked if she knew about the Bataan Death March or Unit 731 in Manchuria, she answered no. In making her appalling comment, she likely had in mind our internment of the ethnic Japanese in 1942.

Perhaps the ignorant are not to blame. The veterinary nurse is a product of an education system that teaches little real history and often focuses more on our alleged shortcomings. At a veterans conference recently a Virginia high school student told me all they are taught about World War II is the internment (without reference to the Malkin findings, of course) and the atomic bombs (undoubtedly from the leftist perspective). Nothing about the more than 1000 sailors, including many pairs of brothers, entombed in the battleship Arizona beneath Pearl Harbor. And, needless to say, nothing about Ralph Ignatowski and the millions more.

The nurse did not know what she was saying, but the whitening out or misrepresenting of our history is a conscious tool in the left's agenda of radical egalitarianism. Facts, even at the cost

of our national pride in one of the two or three noblest chapters of our history, must give way to our embrace of the "Other" – whether it be our vicious enemy in World War II (the Drudge Report published a photograph of Eastwood on the set wearing a World War II Japanese army cap), or today's flood of Third World immigrants (also supported by globalist business), or Islam (even if it threatens our safety), or radical homosexuals who want to destroy the family, or pedophiles who must be "understood" rather than segregated from children, and on and on. To the left the only "truth" is complete equality and non-discrimination, leading, via multiculturalism, to the deconstruction, dismemberment and erasure of our national identity and its replacement by an inchoate mass of atomized individuals who maximize their "freedom" to create their own personal and group identities as they please. In light of this "truth," what right have we, the American majority, to make a judgment about the history of the war? That might make us seem better than – unequal and superior to -- our enemy. This was the thinking that lay behind the 1995 Smithsonian exhibition to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the atomic bombs. The exhibition's plan to embrace our enemy and denigrate our part ignited such an uproar that it had to be canceled and replaced by a different exhibit.

In his two films on Iwo Jima, both greeted with wild acclaim by the New York Times and all the rest, Eastwood and Hollywood (Steven Spielberg is the producer) are leading a campaign – perhaps out of ignorance and stupidity as much or more than intent -- to white out the history of World War II. A people which lacks historical memory is a people with a shaky hold on its identity. In this connection, note that the upcoming 65th anniversaries of the Doolittle Raid (April 18th) and one of the most decisive naval victories in history, Midway (June 4th) at this writing appear to be gaining little public attention. True, in the 1990's we saw a renewed interest in the war, leading to erection of the (uninspiring) memorial on the Mall. But, based on my own informal survey, I doubt more than one in twenty people under age 50 can identify either epic deed. Such topics obviously do not interest Hollywood's "respected" filmmakers.

This film desecrates the memory of every American who fought in the Pacific theater during the Second World War. It is an affront to every patriotic citizen. It would be comparable to a film presenting a Nazi's point of view. (Auschwitz guards and S.S. officers wrote letters home too.) For such a film – which is mediocre even on its own terms -- to be showered with critical acclaim and awards, possibly including the Oscar as best film of the year – demonstrates as clearly as anything that we are in a cultural civil war. I do not consider those who have embraced this film citizens of the same country.

Spencer Warren writes on film and culture for Conservative BattleLine. He is president of a public policy seminar program.

**E-mail the
Editor**

The "Times" Can't Take It

by Thomas E. Brewton

The Sulzbergers, the New York Times controlling stock-holders, are miffed at criticism of their poor business performance.

In a February 3, 2007, article in the New York Times, reporter Katharine Q. Seelye wrote:

The Ochs-Sulzberger family, which controls The New York Times Company, said yesterday that it was withdrawing most of its personal assets, worth hundreds of millions of dollars, from Morgan Stanley.

"Custody of the majority of the assets of the Ochs-Sulzberger family are being moved from Morgan Stanley to another institution," said Catherine J. Mathis, a spokeswoman for the Times Company.

Through a spokesman, the family also declined to comment.

The withdrawal was apparently first reported online by CNNMoney.com, which suggested that the move was in retaliation against one of Morgan Stanley's fund managers, who has been critical of the company's ownership structure and performance.

Shares of the Times Company have declined 16 percent over the last year as the company struggles to maintain advertising and circulation in the face of competition from the Internet. The company announced this week that it was writing down by \$814.4 million the value of its New England newspapers, The Boston Globe and The Worcester Telegram & Gazette.

Hassan Elmasry is a portfolio manager for Morgan Stanley Investment Management, the bank's asset management arm, which owns more than 7 percent of the Times Company's shares. Since June 2005, he has been pushing for the Times Company to change its corporate structure, saying that the current arrangement limits accountability.

It should also be noted that the assets the Sulzbergers are withdrawing from Morgan Stanley's management, to the extent that they are invested in New York Times stock, have a market value distressingly lower than when Arthur Sulzberger, Jr., took over management of the Times.

What causes the ruckus is the two-tier stock capitalization of the Times. Publicly traded Class A shares are entitled to elect 30% of the company's directors. Class B Shares owned by the Sulzbergers, with 88% in a family trust, are entitled to elect 70% of the directors, which means that management is essentially unaccountable to outside investors.

If you are a liberal-progressive-socialist, you will love the editorial views of the Times, which pervade so-called "news," as well as the editorial page. But whether liberal or a conservative, all observers agree that the paper has undergone marked changes since the 1997 accession of Arthur Sulzberger, Jr., to the CEO position.

From an editorial viewpoint, the Times's long-time liberal stance has been shifted even farther to the left. The paper is rabidly anti-Bush, anti-Christian, pro-UN, and a cheerleader for liberal-progressive "social justice." The Times repeatedly is embroiled in scandals, from the Jayson



Blair affair and the Judith Miller farrago, to deliberately revealing national security secrets and knowingly presenting false versions of stories to comport with its editorial positions. All of them pivot off editorial intentions to attack the administration and Judeo-Christian values.

From a financial viewpoint, the Times has performed poorly compared to its competition. The stock price over the past two years of booming stock markets has dropped 41%. In late December, Standard & Poor's cut NYT's long-term corporate and unsecured debt to BBB+ from A-.

Total revenues have been flat, growing less than 7% over the last four years. In that period, from 2002 to 2005, net income after taxes dropped 18.9%, and in 2006 turned into a net loss almost twice as large as the preceding four years' average earnings.

Among investors the consensus is that Arthur Sulzberger, Jr., lacks judgment. Preoccupied with pushing a bevy of social justice causes, from affirmative action to same-sex marriage, young Mr. Sulzberger has roiled the Times management and its reporting staff.

Former CEO of General Electric Jack Welch has assembled an investment group to bid for the Time's Boston Globe. And former AIG insurance group chief Hank Greenberg heads another group that would like to gain a board position on the parent Times company in order to reorient its policies.

Both groups see the Times's poor performance as opening an opportunity to buy and rehab underperforming assets, in the classic Graham-and-Dodd value-investment mode.

Even the super-liberal New Yorker Magazine has taken a shot at Mr. Sulzberger., as reported in the New York Daily News:

Hard Times: New Yorker punches out Pinch Monday, December 12th, 2005

New York Times chairman Arthur Sulzberger Jr., who famously got punched in the eye by a bicycle messenger in 2002, gets another shiner in the new issue of The New Yorker.

In a must-read profile for media soothsayers, writer Ken Auletta raises the question of whether Pinch [Arthur, Jr.] Sulzberger can survive journalistic embarrassments and shrinking profits.

In the final analysis, even socialists have to pay attention to the capitalist marketplace. Non-family shareholders may not be able directly to unseat Mr. Sulzberger, but the family is paying dearly in diminished asset value for his ideological preoccupations.

Thomas E. Brewton is a staff writer for the New Media Alliance, Inc. The New Media Alliance is a non-profit (501c3) national coalition of writers, journalists and grass-roots media outlets. His weblog is THE VIEW FROM 1776.

**E-mail the
Editor**

Roe Not News?

by Sharon Hughes

Did you notice the decrease in news coverage of this year's March for Life in Washington DC?

I tuned in to local and cable channels every day looking for news on the March for Life events I knew were being held in the nation's capitol for the 34th anniversary of Roe vs. Wade. But I could find little coverage. The same thing was true for print news.



Why? Because of the mainstream media's liberal bias, many would say. And I would agree with that.

But more specifically, could it be because, as [William Saletan of the Washington Post](#) writes, "For the first time in 14 years, legal abortion in the United States is in serious jeopardy."?

Has the mainstream media adopted a new *don't show, don't tell too much pro-life news* policy...because it could persuade more people to take a second look at the pro-life argument. Images of huge crowds demonstrating for civil rights is powerful, especially when there are large numbers of young people, in this case...marching for life.

A few years ago, one of my husband's business friends who was very active in the community tried to do something about the continual liberal-leaning bias in our county's newspapers, and ended up starting his own newspaper. What an undertaking. What an expense. What an uphill battle it was competing with the big media boys. Today, because of the internet, no longer is owning a newspaper or a television station the only options available for someone who wants to do something to get the unbiased news out.

Anyone can set up a website or a blog for little or no cost, and hundreds, thousands, even millions may very likely read what you post. The MSM having realized the power of the internet has a presence on the web, but they do not dominate it. News coverage is no longer in their control.

Every issue you can think of, and every side of every issue, is covered on the internet including the pro-life / pro-choice issue. [Blogs for Life](#) and [ProLife Blogs](#), are just a couple of examples of credible news coverage. And [NPLR](#) (NationalProLifeRadio.net), which began just over two months ago, has had well over half a million hits to their site already. While [Planned Parenthood](#) is probably the pro-choice staple, the [Democrat Party](#) often leads with this issue on their site, such as covering the new Speaker of the House, Nancy Pelosi's remarks on the 34th anniversary of Roe vs. Wade:

"Today, we observe the 34th anniversary of Roe v. Wade, the landmark Supreme Court decision that affirmed a woman's right to make her own reproductive health care decisions.

"Roe v. Wade is based on a woman's fundamental right to privacy, a value that all Americans cherish. It established that decisions about whether to have a child do not and should not rest with the government. A woman – in consultation with her family, her physician, and her faith – is best qualified to make that decision.

"The 110th Congress signals an end to 12 years of destructive debate putting politics above science and restricting women's rights afforded by the Constitution. In this new Congress, we will work together in a bipartisan way to reduce the number of abortions by preventing

unintended pregnancies through comprehensive sexuality education and access to family planning in the U.S. and abroad.

"As I have throughout my time in Congress, I will continue to work to ensure a woman's right to choose. We must preserve the right to privacy while promoting a comprehensive approach to reproductive health care, including planning for healthy families."

However, while feminists such as Nancy Pelosi claim they are the 'majority', they are actually losing ground on one of their bedrock issues...a woman's right to abortion, as a [new Zogby Poll](#) indicates. As posted on their site: "Polls are consistently showing that Americans are becoming more pro-life. A December poll conducted by Zogby International, a respected nonpartisan polling firm, confirms that, by a 53% to 36% margin, the public supports the statement, "Abortion destroys a human life and is manslaughter." An amazing turn of events. Note, this is referring to abortion, period. Not partial-birth-abortion, et al.

Probably one of the most powerful reasons pro-choicers are losing ground is because of the emergence of organizations such as [Feminists for Life](#), with their "Women Deserve Better" campaign, and the [Silent No More movement](#), where women who have had abortions are admitting they regret having done so. Not to mention the [new 3 and 4D ultra sound scans](#) that show amazing pictures of what's really inside the womb of a pregnant woman...a baby.

More and more women have grown tired of being told that in order to be liberated they have to be on the side of death. They realized it doesn't work.

Sharon Hughes is Founder and President of The Center for Changing Worldviews and a radio talk show host on KDIA in San Francisco, RIGHTALK.com, NPLR and Salem Web Network's Oneplace.com. Her column appears in many recognized news sites and publications, most recently FRONTPAGEMAG. She also writes for NewsBusters.org, a division of The Media Research Center, and has appeared on FOX News as well as other radio shows across the nation. For further information visit her Websites www.changingworldviews.com, WOMANTalk.us, and Blog <http://changingworldviews.blogspot.com>.

**E-mail the
Editor**

Politicized Warming

by Alan Caruba

As the news poured forth about the devastation wrought by a huge storm that swept across central Florida recently, I wondered to myself how anyone with any common sense could think that humans are responsible for the weather? Responsible? We have zero control over these events. And yet...



Alan Caruba

- What is happening in Congress with regard to various Green legislative proposals;
- What occurred when President Bush used the term "climate change" in his State of the Union speech;
- What is happening as various corporations throw their support to carbon emissions "cap and trade" programs;
- What is happening when California declares it will not purchase power if it is generated by "dirty" utilities utilizing coal-fired operations;
- The massive media coverage of the announcement of the United Nations Panel on Climate Change report predicting millions dying from hunger and widespread drought by 2080;
- The hyping of ethanol as the solution to energy independence;
- And so many more events, announcements, and claims has reached a tipping point for those seeking to convince the world that modernization, industrialization, and globalization is destroying the Earth?

The Earth is 5.4 billion years old. Does anyone seriously believe millions will die by 2080 or that the Earth's vast resources of water will go dry?

Those of us who have written extensively on the vast hoax that Global Warming represents must wonder if the Big Lie has triumphed? What can be done when a kind of mass insanity or willing and deliberate ignorance replaces both science and rationality?

The government, from the White House to the Congress, appears ready to vastly impact our lives and the nation's economy by passing legislation based on a massive campaign marked by deception that began in the 1980s.

Global Warming has become totally politicized. Even in the halls of Congress science cannot be evoked to debunk it. Those who cite science are to be threatened with decertification, denied access to the public by the mainstream media, ridiculed or subjected to isolation within their profession.

Sen. John McCain (R-AZ), a candidate for the presidency, has said that "Global warming is an international problem requiring international effort," but he knows full well that neither China or India are signatories to the U.N. Kyoto Protocol to control greenhouse gas emissions and, for that matter, neither is the United States.

- Why does no one ask, having been masterminded by then-Vice President Al Gore, why didn't then-President Clinton ever submit the U.N. Kyoto Protocol to the Senate for a vote?
- Why do today's senators ignore the Senate's unanimous vote against the Protocol in 1998, citing the harm to the nation's economy?
- Why doesn't anyone admit that none of the Protocol's signatory nations have ever met the emissions reductions required?
- Why does anyone think its carbon emission restrictions will have *any* impact on the world's climate when neither China and India, home to more than two billion people, will not participate?

"This is a problem whose time has come," said Sen. Hillary R. Clinton, yet another presidential candidate. No, it is an even bigger problem if carbon emission caps are applied nationwide.

It would appear that former Vice President Al Gore has won his insane effort to save the world from the internal combustion engine thanks to one of the most flawed and deceitful documentaries in recent times.

Americans simply have not grasped how environmentalists have put them and others around the world at risk for their lives by, for example, removing from use some of the most beneficial pesticides ever invented.

The Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards imposed in 1975 to reduce U.S. dependence on foreign oil and gasoline consumption have had similar consequences. In order to improve fuel standards, auto manufacturers have looked for ways to lighten cars. The National Highway Safety Administration concluded that, between model years 1996 and 1999, this translated to 13,608 traffic fatalities for light cars, 10,884 for heavier cars, and 14,705 for light trucks. Since CAFE went into effect, crash data from 1975 calculates out to 7,700 deaths for every mile per gallon gained in fuel economy.

The mandate to require gasoline blends with ethanol in ever increasing amounts has driven the cost of corn to a ten-year high. This in turn is driving up the cost of all the food products, including the feed for livestock and poultry, derived in whole or part from corn. There are already food riots in Mexico because of it.

The list of indictments of the environmental movement is too long for this short examination of the Green juggernaut. It is not saving the Earth, but intends to render it devoid of humanity.

Americans, while they still have a voice in the affairs of this nation, must demand that Congress vote against the "climate control" legislation that power-crazed politicians of both parties are advancing.

Alan Caruba writes a weekly column, "Warning Signs", posted on the Internet site of The National Anxiety Center, www.anxietycenter.com. His book, "Right Answers: Separating Fact from Fantasy", is published by Merril Press.

**E-mail the
Editor**

Arnold's Health Fiasco

by John Goodman

First, some background. Years ago I proposed an idea to Ira Magaziner and he ignored it. More recently, Governor Romney made the idea the center piece of his Massachusetts reform plan, although he tacked on an individual mandate and other regulations I find objectionable. This week, Governor Schwarzenegger took the same core idea and coupled it with so many bells and whistles it's hardly recognizable.



John Goodman

Here was my original proposal: Currently, the existence of free (charity) care encourages people to avoid private insurance. We should instead use the "free care dollars" to encourage people to privately insure. Dollars should follow people. If they buy private insurance, they get a subsidy. If they stay uninsured, the money stays in the safety net system. This requires no new spending. There is also no need for a mandate. The goal is 1) eliminate perverse incentives and 2) offer low-income families access to the same system everybody else participates in. (The same principle, by the way, also should apply to Medicaid enrollees).

The California plan is very different. It would require people to buy insurance, spend a lot more money, create more perverse incentives than it eliminates, raise everyone's health care costs, and create new burdens for low income families.

For a summary, see the Governors own description (http://gov.ca.gov/pdf/press/Governors_HC_Proposal.pdf).

Here are a few salient features:

- Medicaid (Medi-Cal) and S-Chip (Healthy Families) will be expanded and everyone eligible will be required to join.
- Everyone else will be required to buy private insurance and a minimum coverage plan will have a \$5,000 deductible.
- The state will subsidize the insurance for lower income families, based on income.
- Insurers will be compelled to sell to all comers, with no discrimination based on health status.
- Employers who do not offer insurance will have to pay a 4% wage tax.
- Doctors will face a new 2% tax on their revenues and hospitals will pay 4%.
- Only about one-fifth of the state's cost will be covered by the diversion of charity care funds; the bulk of the cost will be paid by new taxes imposed on employers and providers.
- The plan is designed from top to bottom to maximize federal matching funds; in fact for every new dollar of state spending there will be an additional dollar of federal spending. Good for California perhaps, but bad for the rest of us federal taxpayers.

On this last point, think of it in the context of the new pay-as-you-go budget rules Democrats in Congress are expected to adopt. Republicans will not be able to propose a tax cut without offsetting (and unpopular) cuts in entitlement benefits. But Arnold is about to increase federal spending by \$50 billion (over ten years) and no member of Congress will even have the opportunity to vote on it!

(Parenthetically, this is the best argument I've seen for scraping Medicaid's matching formulas and replacing them with block grants. It's great for states to experiment. But why should federal tax payers pay 50¢ on the dollar to foot the bill?)

Whenever you propose to force people to do what they are not otherwise disposed to do, all that really matters is the threatened penalty. Remember the uninsured rate for auto drivers (for whom insurance is mandated in all but three states) is only a few percentage points below the health uninsurance rate. In California, the "or else" seems to be almost an after thought. In ten single-spaced pages describing the plan, I could find only one sentence that addressed the question - with vague references to garnishing wages and withholding tax refunds. Bottom line: don't expect everyone in California to be insured.

There are also other things that could go wrong. Like the Massachusetts plan (but much worse than the Massachusetts plan), the California plan:

- Encourages people with unsubsidized insurance to get subsidized insurance instead (a lot of employers of low-income workers will drop their coverage and pay a 4% fine) and this will cause system costs to soar.
- Expands Medicaid and S-Chip, which in its own right will encourage employers of low-paid workers to drop their coverage.
- Encourages healthy people to exit the system (for example, by self insuring under federal law), leaving the sickest and most costly people behind - again driving up costs.
- Opens the door for future legislatures to convert an individual mandate into an employer mandate thereby encouraging businesses to leave the state.

Perhaps the worst feature of the plan is the new burdens it creates for the people it claims to help: low-income, uninsured families. Remember, these people are currently getting charity care; and according to the RAND, once they access the system, their care is just as good as everyone else's care. Under the new plan:

- Workers will get hit by the 4% wage tax (a tax nominally imposed on their employers).
- If they do not buy insurance, they will have wages garnished and tax refunds withheld.
- If they do buy insurance, they will have a \$5,000 deductible catastrophic policy - of great benefit to California hospitals (and perhaps even to the family if they have assets), but of no benefit for the purchase of primary care.
- When they do seek care, they will face a new tax on their medical bills (nominally imposed on the providers).
- Although Medicaid reimbursement rates will be increased, the poor will not become empowered consumers in a medical marketplace; instead they will likely continue to get care exactly where they get care today (e.g. hospital emergency rooms).

In sum: Californians will pay more for their health care, low-income families will pay a lot more for their care, federal taxpayers will get taken to the cleaners, and the quality of care - especially the care delivered to low-income Californians - will probably not change one iota.

John C. Goodman is President of the National Center for Policy Analysis

**E-mail the
Editor**

Bush Offers Medicare Reform

by Brian Riedl

The key feature of President Bush's fiscal year 2008 budget request is not its budget proposals for next year. Furthermore, whether the 2012 budget deficit is projected to be \$50 billion or \$0 is not the most vital issue of America's long-term prosperity. What matters most is the impending retirement of 77 million baby boomers that will trigger a \$39 trillion tsunami of unfunded entitlement costs over the next 75 years



Brian Riedl

President Bush has taken an important step by offering Medicare reforms that will reduce Medicare's unfunded liability by a full \$8.1 trillion -- which is one-quarter of the program's entire 75-year shortfall. And it does so with reforms focusing mostly on the wealthiest Medicare Part B and D participants.

It is important for Congress and the nation to have this debate: How much debt and taxes are we willing to dump on the next generation in order to protect large Medicare subsidies for upper-income seniors?

"Bush Budget Reins in Entitlement Costs" can be found at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/Budget/wm1341.cfm>

Brian Riedl is Grover M. Hermann Fellow for Federal Budgetary Affairs at The Heritage Foundation.

**E-mail the
Editor**

Muslims Defeat Terrorism?

by Daniel Pipes

An effective counterterrorism strategy must focus on the fact that terrorism by Muslims in the name of Islam presents *the* strategic threat today to civilized peoples, whether Muslim or non-Muslim.

On the low end, this threat involves lone individuals seized by the [Sudden Jihad Syndrome](#) who unpredictably set off on a murder spree. At the high end, it involves an outlaw organization like Hamas running the quasi-governmental Palestinian Authority, or even Al-Qaeda's efforts to acquire weapons of mass destruction. In all, were terrorism by Muslims halted, this would be a major advance toward winning what some call [World War IV](#).



Daniel Pipes

Can this be achieved?

Yes, and partially via effective conventional counterterrorism. Individuals must be hunted down, organizations closed, networks smashed, borders monitored, money denied, WMD restricted. These steps, however, address only the symptoms of the problem, not the problem itself. "The problem itself" consists of the motivating forces that lie behind the surge of violence by Muslims in the name of Islam. Only by isolating why terrorism has emerged as so prominent a feature of Muslim life can the violence be countered.

This aggression results not from some perverse impulse to inflict damage for its own sake; nor does it flow from the religion of Islam, which just a generation ago did not inspire such murderousness. Rather, it results from political ideas.

Ideas have no role in common criminality, which has purely selfish ends. But ideas, usually ones about radically changing the world, are central to terrorism, and especially to its suicidal variety. Unlike the rest of us, who generally accept life as it is, utopians insist on building a new and better order. To achieve this, they demand all powers for themselves, display a chilling contempt for human life, and harbor ambitions to spread their vision globally. Several utopian schemas exist, with fascism and communism historically the most consequential and each of them claiming tens of millions of casualties.

By 1945 and 1991, respectively, these two totalitarianisms had been vanquished through defeat in war, one violently (in World War II), the other subtly (in the cold war). Their near demise [emboldened some optimists](#) to imagine that the era of utopianism and totalitarianism had come to end and that a liberal order had permanently replaced them.

Alas, this view ignored a third totalitarianism, growing since the 1920s, that of Islamism, most briefly defined as the belief that whatever the question, from child-rearing to war-making, "[Islam is the solution](#)." As the result of several factors – an historic rivalry with Jews and Christians, a boisterous birth rate, the capture of the Iranian sate in 1979, support from oil-rich states – Islamists have come to dominate the ideological discourse of Muslims interested in their Islamic identity or faith.

Islamic law, in retreat over the previous two centuries, came roaring back, and with it *jihad*, or sacred war. The [caliphate](#), defunct in real terms for over a millennium, became a vibrant dream. Ideas proffered by such thinkers and organizers as Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, [Shah Waliullah](#), Sayyid Abu'l-A'la al-Mawdudi, Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, and Rouhollah Khomeini aggressed successfully against traditional, modernist, and centrist approaches to

Islam. To advance the poisoned vision of these utopians, their followers adopted violent means, including terrorism.

The most effective form of counterterrorism fights not the terrorists but the ideas that motivate them. This strategy involves two main steps. First, defeat the Islamist movement just as the fascist and communist movements were defeated – on every level and in every way, making use of every institution, public and private. This task falls mainly on non-Muslims, Muslim communities being generally incapable or unwilling to purge their own.

In contrast, only Muslims can undertake the second step, the formulation and spread of an Islam that is modern, moderate, democratic, liberal, good-neighborly, humane, and respectful of women. Here, non-Muslims can help by [distancing themselves from Islamists](#) and supporting moderate Muslims.

Although theoretically possible, the [weakness of its advocates](#) at present makes moderate Islam appear impossibly remote. But however dim its current prospects, the success of moderate Islam ultimately represents the only effective form of counterterrorism. Terrorism, begun by bad ideas, can only be ended by good ones.

Mr. Pipes (www.DanielPipes.org), director of the Middle East Forum, last week presented a longer version of this analysis in Brazil, at a conference hosted by the country's intelligence agency, the Agência Brasileira de Inteligência (ABIN).

**E-mail the
Editor**

UN Climate Change?

by Dennis Avery

The UN Climate Change panel is asserting—again—that humans are overheating the planet. Again, they have no evidence to support their claim—but they want the U.S. to cut its energy use by perhaps 80 percent just in case. Stabilizing greenhouse gases means no personal cars, no air-conditioning, no vacation travel. Nancy Pelosi says one-third of the Senate want this too.

It's a remarkably sweeping demand, given that the earth has warmed less than 1 degree C, over 150 years. This on a planet where the ice cores and seabed sediments tell us the climate has been either warming abruptly or cooling suddenly for the past million years.



Dennis T. Avery

The first long ice cores from Greenland and Antarctic were brought up in the 1980s. The ice layers showed the earth warming 1–2 degrees roughly every 1,500 years—usually suddenly. The natural warmings often gained half their total strength in a few decades, then waffled erratically for centuries—rather like our planet's temperature pattern since 1850.

History tells us the coolings, not the warmings, have been the bad part. After the Medieval Warming ended about 1300, Europe was hit by huge storms, gigantic sea floods, crop failures, and plagues of disease.

My big gripe with the IPCC is that they're still keeping this climate cycle a virtual secret from the public.

What does the IPCC say about hundreds of long-dead trees on California's Whitewing Mountain that tell us the earth was 3.2 degrees C warmer in the year 1350 than today? In that year, seven different tree species were killed—while growing above today's tree line—by a volcanic explosion. The trees' growth rings, species and location confirm that the climate was much warmer than of today, says C. I. Millar of the U.S. Forest Service, reporting in *Quaternary Research*, Nov. 27, 2006.

The new IPCC report warns us it can't explain the recent surge of warming from 1976–1998. Therefore, it claims the surge must have been caused by human-emitted CO². But the IPCC also can't explain why more than half of the current warming occurred before 1940, before the Industrial Revolution improved global living standards and increased CO² emissions.

Look at this interesting coincidence: The "inexplicable" 1976–1998 surge in global temperature looks very much like the warming surge from 1916–1940. After 1940, we had a 35-year cooling—which the IPCC also can't explain. But in 1996, researchers discovered a 50–60 year Pacific-wide climate cycle they call the Pacific Decadal Oscillation. This cycle caused the salmon decline in the Columbia River after 1977. It also causes shifts in sardine and anchovy catches all around the Pacific.

The PDO shifted into a cool phase in 1940, with lots of salmon in the Columbia, until 1977. That's almost exactly the period of the 1940–76 global cooling. Then the PDO turned warmer and the Columbia salmon declined—until about 1999. That closely matches the 1976–98 surge in global temperatures.

Does the Pacific climate cycle explain the last two short-term blips on the world's temperature chart better than humanity's small contribution to the CO² that makes up only 0.03 percent of

the atmosphere? It is certainly worth exploring more carefully before we make huge changes in our standards of living world-wide.

Past climate warmings haven't correlated with CO² changes. The Antarctic ice cores show that after the last four Ice Ages, the temperatures warmed 800 years before the CO² levels increased in the atmosphere. The Warming produced more CO² in the atmosphere, not the other way around.

It's worth noting that the environmental movement and the politicians also blamed human activity for the salmon decline. Farming, fishing, and logging were reined in, sending the Pacific Northwest's rural economies into despair. Now we've found the PDO. Is a natural cycle also the answer for the UN climate change panel?

Dennis Avery was a senior policy analyst for the U.S. State Department, where he won the National Intelligence Medal of Achievement. He is the co-author, with atmospheric physicist Fred Singer, of the book Unstoppable Global Warming—Every 1500 Years, available from Rowman & Littlefield. Readers may write him at the Center for Global Food Issues (www.cgfi.org) Post Office Box 202, Churchville, VA 24421.

**E-mail the
Editor**

Star Wars Reality

by Vincent Fiore

To some, 1983 may as well have been the dark ages in the United States.

At that time, America had a conservative president in the White House, who, in addition to being responsible for the worldwide outbreak of AIDS and the nation's homelessness problem, also thought to "intercept nuclear weapons and destroy them as they emerge from their silos."



For on March 23, 1983, President Ronald Reagan revealed to the American people his vision for the nation's protection by asking this question:

"What if free people could live secure in the knowledge that their security did not rest upon the threat of instant U.S. retaliation to deter a Soviet attack, that we could intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reached our own soil or that of our allies?"

Hence, SDI, or the Strategic Defense Initiative was born.

Predictably, the liberal chattering class in Washington as well as the mainstream media--already in near hysterics over Reagan's "evil empire" remark made just week's earlier in a speech in Florida--greeted Reagan's policy initiative with derision, scorn, and fear.

From their standpoint, elected Democrats in Washington were part and parcel of a mindset that permeated the 1960's, 70's, and until Reagan came to Washington, were destined to carry over into the eighties and beyond: The concept, or policy, of MAD, or otherwise known as "Mutually Assured Destruction."

Reagan knew that talk of arms control was nothing more than a vehicle for Soviet nuclear arms expansion. For Reagan knew early on--since 1969 when the SALT talks (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) began--that:

"There is a myth that arms control agreements automatically produce arms reduction. Well, between 1969, when the SALT talks began, and the mid-eighties, the Soviets increased their number of strategic nuclear weapons by thousands, and under the limits set by the SALT I and SALT II agreements the number could have reached thousands more. That might be arms limitation, but it sure wasn't arms reduction."

The work started by Ronald Reagan in 1983 was carried on by President George H.W. Bush, but essentially shelved by President Bill Clinton until a CIA report initiated by congressional Republicans in 1994 dragged him kicking and screaming back into it in 1998. In 1991, Bush the senior refocused SDI into something more like a land-based national missile defense system (NMD).

For his part, Clinton finally signed the National Missile Defense Act in July, 1999, investing further money into the program but stressing that "no decision on deployment has been made."

In January, 2001, newly elected President George W. Bush entered the White House, and shortly thereafter, announced in May that he would be committing to a national missile defense system, which would in turn "violate the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty with the former Soviet Union," much to the consternation of MAD- Democrats and their legion of liberal supporters in the media.

On that day, Bush stated:

"This treaty (the ABM) does not recognize the present, or point us to the future. It enshrines the past. No treaty that prevents us from addressing today's threats, that prohibits us from pursuing promising technology to defend ourselves, our friends and our allies is in our interests or in the interests of world peace.

"This is still a dangerous world--a less certain, less predictable one. More nations have nuclear weapons and still more have nuclear aspirations. Many have chemical and biological weapons."

These technologies are being spread to "some of the world's least-responsible states" such as Iran, North Korea, China, possibly Syria, and, until this president decided to deal with him, Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Liberal naysayers can play games regarding Hussein having WMD's or not. Clear-thinking people know he had them, used them, and would have most certainly sold them, given the chance.

America was right in 1983 to support Reagan and his SDI initiative, and until the media and the Democratic Party decided to choose politics over national security, the American people supported this president as well. And that support has paid off.

Though it received little press--far less than it should have-- America now has a working missile defense system. On January 29, Reuters reported the following:

"Within a year, the U.S. missile defense system should be able to guard against enemy attacks, while testing new technologies, said Brig. Gen. Patrick O'Reilly, deputy director of the U.S. Missile Defense Agency. The United States activated the ground-based system last summer when North Korea launched one long-range and six short-range missiles."

The latest test results are stunning:

"O'Reilly said the missile defense system, which includes sea-based and ground-based interceptors, and powerful X-Band radar systems, achieved success in 14 of 15 flight tests. The United States has 14 interceptors in Alaska and two in California, primarily to counter North Korea.. O'Reilly said the number in Alaska would grow to 21 within eight months."

<http://today.reuters.com/news/articlenews.aspx?>

Further still, there is more "Star Wars" in the works. From the Air Force Times, this "futurama-type" news: "The YAL-1A, a modified Boeing 747-400F known as the Airborne Laser, will test-fire its low-power laser in flight for the first time as part of a long-term test phase at the Air Force Flight Test Center at Edwards Air Force Base, Calif., according to an Air Force report. The Airborne Laser, part of the Missile Defense Agency's Ballistic Missile Defense System, is designed to identify, track and shoot down enemy ballistic missiles shortly after they launch. (www.airforcetimes.com/news/2007/01/AFairbornelaser070129/)

So where would America be if its Reagans and Bushs listened to the heavily-biased and agenda-driven reporting of such anti-American periodicals as the New York Times?

In a "six-month period commencing in December 1991, the Times ran 17 anti-SDI articles, op-ed pieces and editorials denouncing SDI as, among other things, a "bizarre, costly concoction....science fiction...lunacy...sheer fantasy..." The Times gave front-page coverage to Teddy Kennedy's Senate speech deriding SDI as "Star Wars," likening the idea to a science fiction movie or a video arcade game, and thus providing SDI foes their slogan-of-choice." (www.aim.org/publications/aim_report/1993/09b.html)

It is 2007, and there are enemies of the United States that have the ability to launch nuclear missiles, and kill millions. Because of the vision of Ronald Reagan, and the belief of future GOP presidents, SDI is a reality, and it will save lives, and cause the North Koreans and Irans to think: Success is far from guaranteed anymore, but U.S. retaliation is a certainty.

So please, call it "Star Wars" if you like, but give thanks to a man who saw the future so much clearer than anyone else in the country, and believed in it enough to take all the slings and arrows that the Democratic Party and the liberal media could hurl at him.

In 1983, Reagan gave America the courage to dream big. Thanks to Reagan's "Star Wars" initiative, actual, real wars may be avoided--wars where the human cost is unimaginable.

Vincent Fiore is a freelance political writer who lives in New York City.. His work can be seen throughout the Internet, including the American Conservative Union Foundation, GOPUSA, Human Events, ChronWatch, and theconservativevoice. Vincent is a staff writer for the New Media Alliance and a contributing writer for NewsBusters.org.

**E-mail the
Editor**

Search For New Reagan

by Jeff Crouere

A few days ago, the nation recognized the birthday of a great man, Ronald Wilson Reagan, the 40th President of the United States.

Reagan was born February 6, 1911 in Tampico, Illinois. During his amazing life, he was a lifeguard, a college football player, a radio announcer, a movie star, a union leader, an author, a columnist, a governor and most importantly a two term President of the United States. In addition, he was a loving husband and father of not only his four children, but also the conservative movement. Reagan's legacy for both his party and country has been vast.



As President, Reagan had two very successful terms. He restored pride in our country after the dark years of Watergate and Jimmy Carter. He rebuilt our military, he revived our economy and he brought down the Iron Curtain "without firing a shot." His historic tax cuts of 1981 led to a massive economic recovery, a boom in the Stock Market, 20 million new jobs, and a reduction in unemployment, inflation and interest rates. By the end of his term, the budget deficit was moving down, as the military build-up had been accomplished and the Soviet Union was collapsing.

Reagan united social and economic conservatives under the GOP banner and expanded the party to capture votes of millions of "Reagan Democrats." He won two electoral landslides and accomplished significant legislative victories, in spite of a Democratic majority in Congress. Today, public opinion polls place Reagan atop all U.S. Presidents in American history. His influence cannot be overstated, it was enormous.

Ever since Reagan, the Republican Party has been on a quest for a similar type of leader to no avail. However, in politics, hope springs eternal and the 2008 race has now begun, earlier than ever before and the Republicans are engaged in a wide open contest. The three leading candidates are former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, U.S. Senator John McCain and former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney. All three are claiming the mantle of Reagan and why not? No Republican president in recent history has been more successful either as a candidate or as President.

So, the search is on for another Reagan. The GOP is not searching for another Richard Nixon, or another Gerald Ford, or another George Bush, Sr. or Jr.; the activists in the Republican Party want another Reagan. They want to relive the glory years, not dwell on the current difficulties.

At the present time, the party is in the doldrums, led by a President with historically low poll numbers and the Democrats now controlling Congress. The GOP is reeling, suffering from the effects of an unpopular war and an unpopular President. In many ways, George W. Bush is no Ronald Reagan and not only does the general public understand that, but the leadership of the Republican Party understands it as well. In this race, the candidates for President are running away from Bush as much as possible, trying to distance themselves from his unpopular policies. Most grassroots Republicans desperately want to find a nominee who will not only be resolute in the war on terror, but also unyielding against illegal immigration and waste in government spending.

So, as the 2008 GOP race begins, the Republicans will begin their search for another Gipper, a nominee who is principled, polished and popular and can lead the party to take back control of Congress and receive a mandate to fight the terrorists, control the borders and restrain government spending.

In essence, the grassroots of the party is demanding that the Republican Party nominate a true conservative once again, in the mold of the most successful Republican President in modern history, Ronald Reagan.

Jeff Crouere is a native of New Orleans, LA and he is the host of a Louisiana based program, "Ringside Politics," which airs at 8:30 p.m. Fri. and 10:00 p.m. Sun. on WLAE-TV 32, a PBS station, and Noon till 2 p.m. weekdays on several Louisiana radio stations. For more information, visit his web site at www.ringsidepolitics.com.

**E-mail the
Editor**

Hillary Maneuvers

by Lisa Fabrizio

After the November elections, while most conservatives were in a dual state of shock and mourning, I advised them to turn their thoughts to the joys of congressional minority living: "And this, my fellow partisans, is where the fun begins; fun, as in watching the loyal opposition twist themselves into pretzels on the floors of Congress for a change."



Lisa Fabrizio

Well that twist contest has begun, at least verbally. The problem for the Democrats--especially those in the 2008 White House sweepstakes--is tri-fold. On the one hand, they must appease their large anti-war base, yet maintain a mainstream facade; all the while appearing to be Commander in Chief material. What this means is that they're liable to say almost anything in service of these goals and in the process, they will be in opposition to various party factions, and ultimately, to each other.

For example, Joe Biden ticked off black Democrats with his odd remarks regarding the ascendancy of Barack Obama, when he said of the budding colossus: "I mean, you got the first mainstream African-American who is articulate and bright and clean and a nice-looking guy. I mean, that's a storybook, man."

Shouldn't Mr. Biden know that use of the word 'articulate' in reference to minorities is a no-no in liberal circles; that it is a covertly racial code word? Yet these are the same folks who can't see that Affirmative Action casts a legitimate veil of suspicion over the accomplishments of all blacks, their articulacy notwithstanding. Besides, calling Obama articulate may be an overstatement for a man who has eloquently referred to our efforts in Iraq as a "dumb war."

Probably the best part of the whole thing was Obama's reaction to the 'slur' when he said, "you'd have to ask Senator Clinton, uh, Senator Biden what he was thinking." A Freudian slip of the tongue by the articulate one? Possibly, but maybe a little taste of the deliciously catty campaign season ahead of us.

After all, Hillary Clinton hinted at this when she said, "When you are attacked, you have to deck your opponent. I have been through the political wars longer than some of you have been alive. We've got to be prepared to hold our ground and fight back." It is regrettable that she and her party cannot demonstrate that same resolve in holding our ground in Iraq.

In the meantime, we can enjoy the gyrations of others who voted for the War in Iraq while they do the John Kerry shuffle. Former running mate John Edwards added a few new steps on Meet the Press. When asked by Tim Russert about his 2004 defense of his vote after no WMDs were found, he gave this rambling, incoherent answer:

When the campaign was over and the election was over, we had a lot going on in my own family. Elizabeth had been diagnosed with breast cancer, we were taking care of her. And for the first time I had time to really think about, number one, what I was going to spend my time doing, and, number two, my vote for this war. And over time, when I reflected on what I thought was going to be necessary going forward, to have some moral foundation to work on issues like poverty and genocide, things that I care deeply about, I could no longer defend this vote.

The operative phrase seems to be, "what I thought was going to be necessary going forward," which is another way of saying, "I stuck my finger in the air to see which way the wind was

blowing." Also going forward, or maybe in circles, is Mrs. Clinton; she who has vowed to issue an imperial edict to end the War should she re-assume her share of the presidency in 2009.

Her statements like, "I want to be very clear about this: If I had been president in October 2002, I would not have started this war," even though she voted to authorize it, demonstrate that she is either an insincere panderer or an incredibly incompetent dupe. But no matter how they get it, the left wing of the Democratic Party wants an end to this war and will support the candidate most likely to accommodate them by doing the Hustle.

Lisa Fabrizio is a columnist who hails from Connecticut.

**E-mail the
Editor**

Energy Politics

by Paul Driessen

The ink has barely dried on its new code of conduct, and already Congress is redefining ethics and pork to fit a global warming agenda. As Will Rogers observed, "with Congress, every time they make a joke, it's a law. And every time they make a law, it's a joke."

However, life-altering, economy-wrecking climate bills are no laughing matter. That's why we need to recognize that the Kyoto Protocol and proposed "climate protection" laws will not stabilize the climate, even if CO2 is to blame. It's why we must acknowledge that money to be made, and power to be gained, from climate alarmism and symbolism is a major reason so many are getting on the climate "consensus" bandwagon.



Paul Driessen

In accusing ExxonMobil of giving "more than \$19 million since the late 1990s" to public policy institutes that promote climate holocaust "denial," Senate Inquisitors Olympia Snowe and Jay Rockefeller slandered both the donor and recipients. Moreover, this is less than half of what Pew Charitable Trusts and allied foundations contributed to the Pew Center on Climate Change alone over the same period. It's a pittance compared to what US environmental groups spent propagating climate chaos scare stories.

It amounts to 30 cents for every \$1,000 that the US, EU and UN spent since 1993 (some \$80 billion all together) on global warming catastrophe research. And it ignores the fact that the Exxon grants also supported malaria control, Third World economic development and many other efforts.

Aside from honest, if unfounded, fears of climate disasters, why might others support climate alarmism?

Scientists who use climate change to explain environmental changes improve their chances of getting research grants from foundations, corporations – and US government programs that budget a whopping \$6.5 billion for global warming in 2007. They also increase the likelihood of getting headlines and quotes in news stories: "Climate change threatens extinction of rare frogs, scientist says." Climate disaster skeptics face an uphill battle on grants, headlines and quotes.

Politicians get to grandstand green credentials, cement relationships with activists who can support reelection campaigns and higher aspirations, magically transform \$14-billion in alternative energy pork into ethical planetary protection, and promote policies that otherwise would raise serious eyebrows.

Corporate actions that cause even one death are dealt with severely; but praise is heaped on federal mileage standards that cause hundreds of deaths, as cars are downsized and plasticized to save fuel and reduce emissions. High energy prices are denounced at congressional hearings, if due to market forces – but praised if imposed by government "to prevent climate change." Drilling in the Arctic or off our coasts is condemned, even to create jobs, tax revenues and enhanced security; but subsidizing wind power to generate 2% of our electricity is lauded, even if giant turbines despoil millions of acres and kill millions of birds.

Alarmist rhetoric has also redefined corporate social responsibility, created the Climate Action Partnership and launched the emerging Enviro-Industrial Complex.

Environmental activists have turned climate fears into successful fund-raising tools – and a brilliant strategy for achieving their dream of controlling global resource use, technological change and economic development, through laws, treaties, regulations and pressure campaigns. Recent developments promise to supercharge these efforts.

Environmental Defense is collaborating with Morgan Stanley, to promote emission trading systems and other climate change initiatives – giving ED direct monetary and policy stakes in the banking, investment and political arenas, and in any carbon allowance or cap-and-trade programs Congress might enact. Other environmental groups, companies and Wall Street firms will no doubt follow their lead.

ED designed and led the disingenuous campaign that persuaded many healthcare agencies to ban DDT, resulting in millions of deaths from malaria. Greenpeace, Sierra Club, Union of Concerned Scientists, ED and other groups still post deceitful claims about DDT on their websites, further delaying progress against this killer disease. By blaming climate change for malaria, they deflect criticism for their vile actions.

Climate catastrophe claims enable activists to gain official advisory status with companies and governments on environmental issues. They also make it “ethical” for Rainforest Action Network and other pressure groups to oppose power generation in Third World countries, where few have access to electricity – and thereby keep communities perpetually impoverished.

Meanwhile, Prince Charles gets lionized for appropriating 62 first class jetliner seats for his entourage of 20, on a trans-Atlantic trip to receive an environmental prize and lecture Americans on saving the Earth – because at least he didn’t use his private jet.

Companies in the CAP and EIC can develop and promote new product lines, using tax breaks, subsidies, legal mandates and regulatory provisions to gain competitive advantages. They get favorable coverage from the media, and kid-glove treatment from members of Congress who routinely pillory climate chaos skeptics.

Some worry that this could become a license to further redefine corporate ethics, present self-interest as planet-saving altruism, and profit from questionable arrangements with environmental groups and Congress. Certainly, cap-and-trade rules will create valuable property rights and reward companies that reduce CO2 emissions, often by replacing old, inefficient, high-polluting plants that they want to retire anyway.

DuPont and BP will get money for biofuels, GE for its portfolio of climate protection equipment, ADM for ethanol, Lehman Brothers for emission trading and other deals. Environmental activists will be able to influence corporate, state and federal policy, and rake in still more cash. Insurance companies can blame global warming for rate increases and coverage denials.

Lobbying and deal-brokering will enter a new era. As Thenardier the innkeeper observed in *Les Miserables*, “When it comes to fixing prices, there are lots of tricks he knows. Jeess, it’s just amazing how it grows.” Indeed, the opportunities to “game the system” will be limited only by one’s “eco-magination.”

To determine the losers, look in the mirror. Activists and politicians are creating a Frankenstein climate monster on steroids. Were it real, we’d need to dismantle our economy and living standards to slay the beast. How else could we eliminate 80–90% of US and EU fossil fuel emissions by 2050, to stabilize carbon dioxide emissions and (theoretically) a climate that has always been anything but stable?

Think lifestyles circa 1900, or earlier. Ponder the British environment minister's latest prescription: World War II rationing, no meat or cheese, restrictions on air travel, no veggies that aren't grown locally. France wants a new government agency that would single out, police and penalize countries that "abuse the Earth." Others want to put little solar panels on African huts, while kleptocratic dictators get millions of dollars for trading away their people's right to generate electricity and emit CO2.

We should improve energy efficiency, reduce pollution, and develop new energy technologies. But when we demand immediate action to prevent exaggerated or imaginary crises, we stifle debate, railroad through programs that don't work, create enough pork to fill 50 Chicago stockyards, and impose horrendous unintended consequences on countless families. That is shortsighted and immoral.

Paul Driessen is senior policy advisor for the Congress of Racial Equality and Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise, two groups that have received some ExxonMobil support for work by Driessen and others on malaria eradication, Third World agriculture, energy and economic development, climate change, and other issues. He is the author of Eco-Imperialism: Green power - Black death (www.Eco-Imperialism.com)

**E-mail the
Editor**

Fusionism Only One Way

by Roman Joch

Thank you for your thoughtful "Reagan's Fusionism Failing?" in the last issue.

I must laugh when anybody on the right proposes either a paternalist "traditionalist-socialist" (socialist means - traditionalist ends) alliance or a libertin "libertarian-liberal" (libertarian means - liberal ends) alliance. Both of them are non-starters, or still better, "dead-enders".

There are only two theoretically coherent positions, of which only one is viable long term. Those two theoretically coherent positions are the fusionist (libertarian means - traditionalist ends) alliance or the libertine (socialist means - liberal ends) alliance. Of the two, only the former is viable in the long term because the latter will eventually lead to corruption, bankruptcy and disintegration of society.



Frank Meyer:
Philosopher of modern
conservatism

Why is the fusionist (libertarian means - traditionalist ends) alliance the only one both theoretically coherent and practically viable?

First, on the theoretical level: (A) Virtue cannot be coerced; it must be freely chosen, in order to be an authentic virtue and not a simulacrum of virtue. (B) Only virtuous people are really free: they are free not only from oppression and tyrannical government, but from passions and sin. People, who are slaves of sins and passions, are not really free.

Second, on the practical level: (A) Freedom can be achieved, maintained and sustained by virtuous persons only: they must be virtuous enough not to become predators against rights and liberties of others, and must be virtuous enough to defend their own freedom against its enemies, domestic and foreign; must be virtuous enough to "pledge Lives, Fortunes, and sacred Honor" in defense of Freedom. Otherwise, being not virtuous enough, they would eventually lose their freedom.

(B) A virtuous society cannot coexist with a big, socialist, or tyrannical government. Tyranny is incompatible with virtue directly--tyrants and their servants are never virtuous, but always slaves of their passions. Socialism and big-government are incompatible with virtue indirectly: they progressively corrupt virtue on the part of the citizens. Yes, a few virtuous people can live in a Tyranny, but they are virtuous in despite of the Tyranny, not because of it--like early Christians in Roman Empire, or the "Righteous among the Nations" who protected Jews in the Nazi Empire, or anti-communist dissidents and freedom-fighters in Communist Empire.

You can have few virtuous individuals without political freedom, but you cannot have an authentically virtuous society without that society simultaneously being a free society. An authoritarian society intending to coerce virtue will not produce virtuous citizens, but conformist ones. And, as we have already mentioned, in the long term perspective, we cannot have a politically and economically free society without that society simultaneously being a society of virtuous persons.

Therefore, Frank Meyer, Ronald Reagan and you have it right. "Statist means to traditionalist ends" or "libertarian means to liberal ends" positions are simply laughable.

Roman Joch, Prague, Czech Republic

**E-mail the
Editor**

October 7 In Baghdad

by Larry Gill

On October 7, 2003, Staff Sergeant Larry Gill was severely wounded during an insurgent attack in Baghdad, Iraq. This is my story.

"Eagle Base, Eagle Base, this is Eagle One-Alpha-One. Be advised, there is a large demonstration beside the mosque and the 214th's precinct, Southbound on highway 8. ..Break..." "There are several-hundred civilians protesting. Signs only at this time, no weapons visible, can you advise any further, over?" "Eagle One-Alpha-One, be advised that is a planned, peaceful demonstration." "Drive-on and advise any further updates when possible; Eagle Base, out!"



At 0715 hours, October 7, 2003, radio silence was broken when the first squad leader, 1st platoon, 1165th Military Police Company, notified us of a large demonstration along highway 8. Highway 8 is a large, six-lane highway, which runs North and South into Baghdad and branches east into the "Green Zone" and west to the Baghdad Airport Highway. Probably the most dangerously traveled road in Iraq. It was apparent that the Operations Section was aware of this demonstration, however, they had forgotten to pass it along to those of us who were patrolling outside the wire!

The 1165th Military Police Company had been in Baghdad for approximately 5 months. Our original mission was to secure five police precincts in Baghdad, provide assistance for the newly formed Iraqi Police, and bring these precincts into full operational readiness. This particular morning, our mission was to provide escort and personnel security for a Captain with the Judge Advocate General's Office (JAG), to the Iraqi Police Internal Affairs Headquarters. As we approached the location of the demonstration, I made radio contact with our operations center, and asked them to verify the information on the demonstration. I knew the radio traffic would alert my men to the potential risks that may be just ahead.

The North and South bound traffic had been slowed to a crawl due to the large number of protesters. The on-lookers, in both cars and pedestrians, as well as the protesters, stared at us as if to say, "What are you going to do about this?" All ten members of my squad had learned the importance of an automatic, constant, and thorough scan. Nothing moved near us or around us, that didn't have a watchful eye (and weapon) trained on it. It took us about five minutes to transit that stretch of highway. It would have normally taken about 45 seconds! I recalled thinking to myself, "the fresh, cool morning air would soon be gone," and "so would the tempers and patience of these protesters!"

Our drive to the headquarters was conducted with the usual, high speed, lane changing, and borderline reckless driving that my squad had become accustomed. We had learned when traveling through the overcrowded streets of Iraq, you did what you could to avoid snipers or the roadside bombs. The only thing missing was a bumper sticker that read: "If you don't like the way I drive, stay off the sidewalk!"

When arriving at our destination, our vehicles were driven into the compound and positioned in a defensive posture. I escorted the captain into the precinct and my team leaders assigned gear guards and security for half the squad, while the other half went inside to soak up a few

minutes of air conditioning before switching with those left outside to maintain our security. Sometimes, depending on the duration of our missions, my men and I would take the opportunity to meet and greet some of the locals in the police precincts.

At approximately 1300 hours, I had walked out to the vehicles to make sure all the men had eaten, and hydrated themselves with water. While talking to the men, the radio squawked the following message,

“All Eagle Base elements, be advised: Avoid the demonstration southbound on route 8,” use alternate routes back to base, out!”

My gut instincts told me it was time to return to base while we could. I instructed my men to “gear-up” and prepare to move out. We mapped out a couple of alternate routes to the base camp, and I went inside to inform the JAG officer of the changes in the status of the demonstration. I briefed the Captain and suggested that we return to Eagle Base as soon as possible. He concurred, but stated we were to follow the Iraqi Colonel and some of his officers to a different precinct. I was given a grid coordinate of where we were going, and after mapping out the route, we headed back out into the mean streets of Baghdad once again.

We traveled to another precinct in the middle of downtown Baghdad. High-rise office buildings and apartments surrounded the precinct. The entrance and drive way was a one-lane alley. A sniper’s dream! The vehicle entrance was barricaded by Iraqi Policemen armed with AK-47 assault rifles. The driveway into the police compound was block with the vehicles of an MP unit from Montana. We positioned our vehicles into a tactical “herringbone” staggered formation and remained parked in the alley. This meant no one was going inside and that all of us had to remain 110% vigilant. I only hoped this Captain would not take too long.

We received another radio message from Eagle Base.

“All Eagle elements, be advised: Highway 8 is now closed to all military traffic in the vicinity of the demonstration. All Eagle elements, the demonstrators have closed down the highway, No military traffic is authorized into this area until further notice. Eagle Base, out!”

We had mapped out yet another route to the base camp, I advised the captain, and we were soon underway to our base camp.

Our route back took some time. We arrived between 1700 and 1730. My men had been debriefed and I returned to my billeting area to ground my gear. We had been on the move since 0630, and eleven hours in full gear and the heat was something you just had to deal with! I was looking forward to getting a cool shower (we had no hot water), and cooling down with a nice dinner from our newly built dinning facility. Little did I know I would not make it to dinner!

What we didn’t know about the demonstration was that just prior to returning to the base camp that afternoon, the protesters had spilled onto the highway and completely closed it down to all traffic. Highway 8 is one of the main routes into Baghdad and therefore, all the trade, commerce and military supply lines were closed off and were now at the mercy of the protesters. Division MP’s from First Armor Division had responded to the protest from the northern end of the demonstration, approximately 5 miles from our base camp. Upon their arrival, two armed insurgents exited from the buildings near the edge of the protesters, and opened fire on the division commander and his security team. When the MP’s returned fire and the smoke cleared, the two gunmen lay dead. This seemed to incite the protesters even more,

and the division commander requested an immediate call for additional MP support, and a Quick Reaction Force (QRF).

I had just gotten out of my body armor and grounded my gear, when my platoon leader came running into my billeting area. His disposition appeared on the verge of panic! Excitedly, he said, "Sgt. Gill, get your squad and vehicles on line, we are moving out in five minutes!" Apparently, our long day was about to be longer! The 1165th and 214th Military Police Companies were quartered in the same building. Both units had been summoned to assist with the demonstration. All we knew at that point was that the MP's on scene needed our help. We were briefed on the status of the demonstration while in route to the scene. There were approximately forty HUMVEE's that responded to the call for assistance. All were armed with a variety of crew served and individual weapons. It was an awesome display of force.

The stern looks and concern on our faces were met with looks of anger and the non-flinching pride of the Iraqi people, as we maneuvered through the open-air markets to the Northern most side of the demonstration. We arrived at the scene about 1800. The crowd of demonstrators had grown to about 2,500 persons. Iraqi flags and red banners scribed in Arabic writing were waving. Screams and chants filled the air and clinched fists shook in our direction. We posted counter sniper teams on the rooftops and the Apache gun ships were circling overhead. As additional forces from the 82d Airborne and 1st Armor Division arrived on the scene, the commander used a piece of chalk and drew a plan on the hood of his vehicle. We aligned our vehicles side by side, with just enough room in between to open the front doors. These were the shields for the dismounted MP's. We aligned from each shoulder of the highway, and faced the crowd from about three hundred meters. My gut feelings from that morning about the tempers of the protesters were now a reality.

With our vehicles side by side, front doors opened as shields, we placed four to six MP's in between each vehicle. The vehicle gunners remained mounted as over-watch security. The infantry lined up in rows about fifty feet behind us. Behind them were the medics and support vehicles. With everything in place, I quickly briefed my team leaders. "Once our forward movement is halted, we will send two men at a time, from between each vehicle, grab anyone who is not retreating, and pull them through to our rear." "At that point, they are to be turned over to the infantry at our rear, who will secure them and place them in the vehicles for transporting to the prison." I concluded my brief by telling them, "IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THE VEHICLES STAY ON LINE, AND THAT WE HOLD THAT LINE!" My squad was in the center of our skirmish line. The absolute most important and vulnerable location! If there was any doubt in the minds of my men that this was a deadly task, it no longer existed.

As we begin our advance, the screams of the angry mob were deafening. As we neared the front lines, the helicopters overhead dropped down to tree top level, pitched their rotors, and began to sandblast the crowd with dust and debris. Everything appeared textbook at this point. Some of the protestors began to flee the scene. As our forward progress was halted, the protestors began beating on the hoods of our vehicles. On command, we began, two by two, moving into the crowd, taking the protestors into custody. The crowd began pelting us with rocks, and sticks and anything else they could throw. Their screams were murderous, and their eyes were blood red with hate. Suddenly there was a flash of light and a deafening explosion that threw me off my feet. The burning pains of the hot shrapnel peppered my lower extremities like hot, molten lava. The blood, my blood, was soaking through my left trouser leg. It was an arterial bleed. I had to get it under control. I could no longer hear the crowd! Had they stopped yelling? I knew I needed a medic, but the rocks and sticks were still raining down on us.

I had to move, but did not know if I could. I staggered to my feet, and headed back to the front lines. There were several of us who had been injured, and we were all picking ourselves up. Although our vehicles were at the forefront of the action, I knew I could not leave this

situation. I managed my way back to my vehicle and relinquished some maps and other classified documents I had in my possession, to the private driving the vehicle. I was trying to remain calm as I pinched-off my left leg to slow the bleeding. I could practically feel the razor sharp shrapnel cutting inside my legs. I told the driver I need to find a medic and exited the vehicle. I walked about fifteen feet to the rear and was met by one of the Special Forces medics, who grabbed me and began dragging me to the rear away from the crowd. The medic began to cut my uniform off me. No doubt I was in shock, because I wasn't hurting anymore.

All I could think of was my family and that I refused to orphan my sons over there in this place! I remember asking God to have mercy on me and give me strength. As I lay in that street being worked on by the medic, again, all I could think of was my family. This was the first time that I felt I would survive. About ten or twelve of us had been loaded into the field ambulance. I realized by my placement in the ambulance, that I was the most serious. The medics were working feverishly on me in the back of the ambulance. I wanted to look at my legs, but then again, I didn't. Just before they closed the doors to the ambulance, my friend, SSG Barnes, climbed in the rear. He had caught shrapnel in his head and face. I began to wonder who was going to take care of my troops since he and I both were injured. In fact, I carried that grief inside me for several months, as to who was now in charge of my men.

It seemed like it took forever to get to the 28th Combat Support Hospital (CSH). The trauma ward came to life as we were brought in. All my life, I have heard how disoriented a Chinese fire drill would be. Well this was it! Pure chaos! I was strapped down to a stretcher, and could not look around too well. Clearly the pain medicine was working! At some point, one of the surgeons told me we were about to go into surgery. I told him, "Look Doc, I am a policeman back home and need my leg." I said, "Don't cut it off if you don't have to." He said he would try his best. And that's when the lights went out! When I awoke, I was in an intensive care unit in Landstuhl, Germany. I thought I was still in Baghdad. In fact, I had spent three days in intensive care at the 28th CSH, and had been in Germany for four days! So, there were seven days out of my life, seven days in October 2003 that I have absolutely no recollection of anything!

When I came to, Barnes was sitting in a wheel chair beside my bed. His head was wrapped in gauze, and he had shrapnel wounds in his foot. He said he did not recognize me at first. My body had swollen and I had tubes and monitors hooked everywhere. It was comforting to see a familiar face. I asked Barnes what had happened. Barnes told me that on the night of the demonstration, while he and I were returning to the front lines, "He saw the grenade bounce off the back of a HUMVEE." He continued, "By the time I realized it wasn't a rock, rather a grenade, it detonated before he could yell at me." I guess he was feeling guilty because I was lying there with my legs split open, but I told him there was nothing that could have been done. In fact, had I dove on the ground, I may have landed closer, or been killed. I was eventually stabilized, and evacuated to Walter Reed Army Medical Center. I went through eight surgeries and 21 months of intense physical therapy and rehabilitation. I was medically retired from the Army on June 30, 2005.

Sometime later, I learned from the soldiers in my squad, that the protest turned so violent they had to call in armored vehicles to assist in disbursing the crowd. Later on that evening, one of the transport trucks containing 20 of the detainees from the demonstration was in route to the Iraqi detention facility. A roadside bomb was detonated killing most of these prisoners and severely wounding the others. No U.S. personnel were injured in this incident!

Larry Gill is Founder/President of First Person, Inc., a group of disabled, Purple Heart recipients who are available to speak at conferences and seminars about the war on terror. Visit their web site at: www.FirstPerson-WaronTerror.com

Reader Comments

Editor: Great article on 'Reagan's Fusionism Failing?' !! Randall Teague, Chairman, Fund for American Studies, Vorys, Sater, Seymour and Pease LLP

Editor: Thanks for another great column. Very timely, very valuable insights in "Reagan's Fusionism Failing?" Bill Sizemore

Editor: I just wanted to tell you I thought your piece on "Fusionism" was excellent! Now let's get to the founding fathers vision of truly limited government by telling the truth about the fact there is NO LAW requiring the average American Citizen to file a 1040! The law that does NOT create an income tax liability for the average American! Please do us all a favor and do the research, study the law and get the truth out! Thank you! Michael J Badagliacco

Editor: It's a real pleasure to connect with the other living fusionist. Best, as ever, Neal Freeman

Editor: Regarding your "Reagan's Fusionism Failing?," hey, I'm still a fusionist. And that is important, since I have always offered myself as The Standard Conservative. To the extent anyone disagrees with me, they are less conservative. We could even measure the difference in units of "wright". Richard O. Wright

Editor: Daniel Pipes' "US Friendship With Islam?" failed to mention that Thomas Jefferson as president went to war with the Barbary pirates. Regards, Conrad Pogorzelski

Editor: I read and enjoy Daniel Pipes' work on a regular basis, and I certainly agree with the "tone" of his article on the US's relationship with Islam. There's one subtlety that he may want to point out; it's not exactly a "correction" per se, but his wording in one spot will lead to a misunderstanding by most readers. He wrote: "For 210 long years, the American government has bound itself to a friendly attitude toward Islam, without Muslims having signed on to reciprocate, or without their even being aware of this promise. The seeming agreement by both parties not to let any "pretext arising from religious opinions" to interrupt harmonious relations, it turns out, is a purely unilateral American commitment. And this one-sided legacy continues to the present." The implication from the "210 long years" and "bound itself" and "continues to the present" all suggest that the treaty is still in force. But as he knows, it was broken not long after being written; and by 1801 was considered by both sides to be defunct. It's also worth noting that in the 1790s, we perceived ourselves over a barrel; this was an agreement to pay a bribe to keep from being attacked (as European nations had long been

doing). Moreover, when a replacement treaty was drawn up in 1815, even the English version had no such religious references. It makes you wonder what Joel Barlow had in his mind when he wrote Article 11. I don't know much about him, but he was playing -- it seems-- a little bit of a game between his own people and the Dey. I'd guess that then, as now, most legislators didn't actually read all the details. This may be true of President Adams himself. Best wishes for Mr. Pipes' inceasing success, and keep up the excellent work, sir. D. Keith Howington

Editor: I agree in part with Daniel Pipes' "US Friendship With Islam?" comment: "This antique treaty implicitly supports my argument that the United States is not fighting Islam the religion but radical Islam, a totalitarian ideology that did not even exist in 1796." First, he is correct-- we can't fight a religion ... any religion, but we can fight those who try to force that religion on us. Second, there is a very large number of Muslims and/or followers of Islam that seem to believe it is acceptable to spread their form of "religion" through violence. This "totalitarian ideology" as he calls it, has been around since the beginning of Islam. I saw the program "Sahara" on the Discovery Channel a night or two ago and it went into detail how the "peace loving" Muslims slaughtered their way across North Africa "spreading the word of Islam. "This happened well before 1796. Forcing one's will on another under the guise of a "religion" leads me to believe this "religion" is nothing more than a fanatical cult. The question I have is this, "Where are the leaders of the "peaceful" side of this "religion""? Where is the outrage? If they are afraid to speak-up, who is to say they won't bow to the demands of the "radicals" to follow them in creating anarchy at a predetermined time? Charles Wilson

Editor: Thank you for Vincent Fiore's great piece, "Super Bowl: Race or Talent!" It's about time! I had a great time watching Super Bowl XLI. The two coaches were remarkable not because of their skin color, but by the calm way, a la Tom Landry, of running the game. Coach Dungy's acknowledgement of the Christian faith of both men, made that understandable. He told us, that that, not race, was what was more important to them, their faith. The media should pay attention and stop propping up the same old race story. Nancy Gail Smith

Editor: Alan Caruba's "Strangling Energy" is right on. His ideas and facts square with my beliefs. Energy is here if the objectors and dumb politicians would stop objecting and let the people with the know-how bring it tous. Warren R. Musch

Editor: Thanks for David Pyne's "2008 Preview" but, at this time, I can not think of any reasons to support John McCain, Mitt Romney, or Rudoph Guliani for president. I do not think that, in terms of actual Executive policies and priorities, they would be any different than Hillary Clinton or other Democrats if elected. Conservatives need to focus upon taking back control of the U.S. House and Senate. With no candidates worth supporting, the 2008 presidential race is looking like a pointless lost cause. Controlling the Congress from 1994 – 2000 allowed conservatives to drive the agenda (forcing Clinton to reluctantly adopt toned-down Reaganomics as his core economic policy, for example). Any Democrat or liberal Republican elected president should know they must face a very strong, united, conservative legislative branch, and adjust budget, policy, program & other priorities accordingly. Brian Lynch

Editor: I truly appreciate you printing my letter in your last edition. I didn't mention I'm also an ex-Marine and can't believe what President Bush is doing. I'll admit I was a huge supporter of us going to Iraq, but will admit now I was wrong. I wish Bush would admit it as well, pull our troops, and cut our losses short. He has recently acted like a dictator and not listening to Congress or the people he represents. I'm also from Del Rio, TX (on the border) and can't believe he wants to build a wall to stop illegals. The Border Patrol has a 6 month training that could be cut to 3 months, plus it is very difficult to get in the BP. Make it easier to get in, cut basic training, and put a system in place to allow people from Mexico to become citizens legally. Also help Mexico become better financially so they don't want to come over here. Mexico could be a giant in oil production but the politics there won't allow it. The US needs to put pressure on their government to serve the people and get rid of the corruption. Har Arl

**E-mail the
Editor**