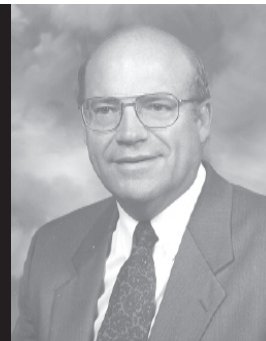




Dr. Fred Schwarz

The Schwarz Report



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Inside

Return of the Dupes and the Anti-Anti-Communists

by Paul Kengor, Page 3

The most visible anti-anti-communist may be the next President of the United States.

A Victims of Communism Memorial Address

by President George W. Bush, Page 6

At the opening of the new memorial, President Bush reminds us why we can't forget communism's past.

The Next Fidel, Part II

by Peter Hitchens, Page 7

Even in defeat, Chavez bids to revive revolutionary Marxism.



The Schwarz Report Bookshelf

To see a complete list of books recommended by the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade please check out our website at www.schwarzreport.org. This site also has back issues of *The Schwarz Report* as well as other great resources.

Dany 'The Red' Cohn-Bendit

by Neil Clark

In one corner, a 77-year old general from an old aristocratic family, a war hero, and the ruler of his country for the past ten years. In the other, a red-headed young anarchist, preaching the language of liberation and revolution.

Charles de Gaulle was portrayed by the 1968 rioters in Paris as a right-wing reactionary—an old fuddy-duddy hopelessly out of touch with the spirit of the times. Daniel “Dany le Rouge” Cohn-Bendit, unofficial leader of the student rioters, was billed as the radical “progressive.” But 40 years on, it's clear that the real hero of 1968—and the man whom history has totally vindicated—was de Gaulle.

The French president was no right-wing dictator à la General Franco. Distrustful of politicians—he once famously declared “politics are too serious a matter to be left to the politicians”—de Gaulle saw referenda as the best way for a leader to divine the wishes of his people. Always distrustful of the power of money and market fundamentalism, he introduced a mixed economy, a welfare state, and presided over the biggest rise in living standards for ordinary people in French history. “He was a man who did not care for those who owned wealth, he despised the bourgeois and hated capitalism” was the verdict of de Gaulle's biographer Jean Lacouture.

Neither did De Gaulle care much for wealth itself. Despite occupying the highest office in the country for a decade, he died in relative poverty. Instead of accepting the pension he was entitled to as a retired president and general, he only took the pension of a colonel. The contrast between de Gaulle and the money-obsessed career politicians of today could not be greater.

De Gaulle's foreign policy stressed national sovereignty and pursuing the French—not the American or anyone else's—national interest. Having done more than any other Frenchman alive to help liberate his country from Nazi occupation, he was not going to let it be dominated by any other power after the war. De Gaulle also felt strongly that French forces should always be under French control. For this reason he took France out of the military command of NATO in 1966. An instinctive “live and let live” anti-imperialist, he pulled French forces out of Algeria and was the strongest Western critic of the war in Vietnam and Israel's policies toward the Palestinians.

Cohn-Bendit, of the Fédération Anarchiste de Nanterre, was the antithesis of everything de Gaulle stood for. De Gaulle, the archetypal proud Frenchman, had been born into a deeply patriotic family. Cohn-Bendit, born in France to German parents in April 1945, was officially stateless at birth. De Gaulle loved France; Cohn Bendit hated almost everything about it in 1968.

While de Gaulle, the devoted husband and family man, preached social conservatism, Cohn-Bendit advocated extreme libertinism. He first came to national

And do not participate in the unfruitful deeds of darkness, but instead expose them. Ephesians 5:11

“Dwell on the past and you'll lose an eye; forget the past and you'll lose both eyes.” Old Russian Proverb

prominence when he interrupted a speech by a minister who was inaugurating a swimming pool at the University of Nanterre to demand free access to the girls' dormitory. The disturbances of 1968 were kicked off when Cohn-Bendit, together with seven other students, occupied offices and lecture halls of the University of Nanterre and declared the "22nd March movement." The student protests quickly spread to the Sorbonne, and soon France was in crisis. Although economic grievances were added to the students' demands in an attempt to bring industrial workers into the dispute, the main motivation behind the protests was social, not economic. "It was a revolt, not a revolution—we wanted to change this old fashioned society," recalls Cohn-Bendit.

The old Left was unimpressed. French Communist Party leader George Marchais famously denounced Cohn-Bendit and his fellow student protestors as "sons of the upper bourgeoisie who will quickly forget their revolutionary flame in order to manage daddy's firm and exploit workers there." The working class remained skeptical of the demonstrations. They had good reason to be. Under de Gaulle's *dirigiste* economic policies, the French economy recorded growth rates unrivalled since the 19th century. In 1964, for the first time in 200 years, France's GDP overtook that of the United Kingdom. The protestors called for increased industrial democracy, yet this was also a policy long favored by de Gaulle, who announced in a national address on May 24 a referendum that would give the government authority to "amend the economy in favor of the less fortunate" and also to reform the universities.

De Gaulle's speech, while exasperating many conservatives, exposed the anti-democratic credentials of the opposition—those who claimed to favor the "rule of the people" weren't too keen on the people being directly consulted. De Gaulle's next address to the nation, after a further six days of disturbances, was less conciliatory. "France is indeed threatened with dictatorship," he declared and called early elections. "The Republic shall not abdicate. The people will recover their balance. Progress, independence and peace will prevail."

The address marked the turning point in the crisis. That evening a huge crowd of de Gaulle supporters began to gather in the Place de Concorde. Up to 700,000 people took part on the march down the Champs-Élysées chanting pro-de Gaulle slogans. In the general elections that followed at the end of June, the Gaullists recorded a resounding victory.

Although Gaullism had prevailed, de Gaulle himself had been shaken by the events of spring 1968. After nar-

rowly losing a referendum the following April, he resigned from office and died the next year.

Meanwhile, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the man who had done so much to stir up discontent, moved on to new pastures. Back in Germany, he became involved in radical Green politics and ran a kindergarten in Frankfurt. His stated aim: to "radically transform" German mentalities. As in 1968, it started with sex. In his 1976 book, *Le Grand Bazar*, he wrote of children opening his trouser zipper and tickling him and how he "caressed" the children. When these comments led to accusations of pedophilia, Cohn-Bendit claimed that the book had to be understood in the context of the sexual revolution of the time.

Today Cohn-Bendit is co-president of the European Greens-European Free Alliance grouping in the European Parliament. He advocates the legalization of soft drugs and freer immigration. A strong supporter of Western military intervention in the Balkans in the 1990s, Red Dany's enthusiasm for overriding national sovereignty is something he shares with his fellow *soixante-huitard* Bernard Koucher, the current French foreign minister.

De Gaulle believed the people's verdict, delivered through a referendum, to be the last word. Red Dany's views on referendum results are rather different: he infamously called for countries who twice vote "No" to the neoliberal EU constitution to be expelled from the European Union.

The anti-de Gaulle protestors in 1968 purported to be anti-capitalist, but their attacks on traditional values, the family, the church, and the nation state only helped the cause of global capitalism. Forty years ago, the international moneymen were restrained, not just by currency and exchange controls but by the prevailing social attitudes that still held greed to be one of the seven deadly sins. By helping to crack what he called "the yoke of conservatism" and loosening the ties of family and community that bind us together as human beings, Cohn-Bendit paved the way for the change in attitudes toward money-making.

"The 'bourgeois triumphalism' on the Thatcher (and Blair) era, the greed-is-good ethos which even the governor of the Bank of England now condemns, and our materialistic individualism, might just have had their roots 40 years back," writes the conservative commentator Geoffrey Wheatcroft. Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Gordon Gekko are two sides of the same self-centered, individualistic coin. "No one has dared tell them that we live in a world of market forces," says Cohn-Bendit as he attacks those on the Left in France who are less enamored of 21st-century capitalism than he is.

Although he has talked of "the extreme religion" of

“Thatcherism and even Blairism,” Cohn-Bendit’s solution to the rule of corporatism is not a return to the *dirigiste* policies of “Les Trente Glorieuses” but that classic New Left cop-out “the social market.” In other words, allow capital to rule the roost, but make government pay for the mop-up operation.

In 1968, the fault lines became clear: on the one side were the sovereigntists—a coalition of conservatives like De Gaulle and traditional leftists—on the other, the globalists, socially and economically liberal, bent on destroying the nation state, national culture, identity, and any links with the past. Although De Gaulle’s party won a resounding election victory in June 1968, it is Cohn-Bendit’s pernicious ideology that dominates today.

Tony Blair may have attacked the excesses of 1960s social liberalism under which “a society of different lifestyles spawned a group of young people who were brought up without any sense of responsibility to others,” but in many ways the intellectual guru of Britain’s New Labour—and the 21st-century New Left in general—is Cohn-Bendit.

An obsessive hatred of conservatism—and conservatives—is a hallmark of both New Labour and Cohn-Bendit. “The one striking new paths in politics will always be accused of something: conservative thinking is always taking revenge,” he complained in an interview with the Italian newspaper *La Repubblica* earlier this year. In a 1999 speech to his party’s conference, Tony Blair ferociously attacked “the forces of conservatism,” a group that included everyone from fox hunters, hereditary peers, and the medical profession to left-wing supporters of nationalization and “those who yearn for yester-year,” who stood in the way of the brave new globalist future.

New Labour severed Old Labour’s strong links with the indigenous and staunchly conservative working class. It rejected the old Left’s distrust of military adventurism and respect for the sovereignty of nations and instead embraced a militant interventionism, beginning with the attack on Yugoslavia in 1999 and culminating in the debacle in Iraq. “Old leftist friends of mine from the 1960s are now on Labour’s frontbench and staunchly defend the overthrow of Saddam Hussein,” boasted Christopher Hitchens.

Cohn-Bendit’s militant ideology has infected not only the Left, but the Right, too. John McCain’s advocacy of a more liberal immigration policy and his championing of a League of Democracies, with the right to intervene in the affairs of sovereign states the world over, owes more to Daniel Cohn-Bendit than it does to Russell Kirk.

Forty years ago, Red Dany lost a battle. But the sad truth is, he won the war.

Return of the Dupes and the Anti-Anti-Communists

by Paul Kengor

Since literally the founding of the American Communist Party in 1919, the extreme left—specifically, the communists—have relied upon genuine liberals to be dupes, or suckers, to help further their cause. Here’s how it typically worked: the communists would engage in some sort of work or agenda, very focused, and which they would be prepared to publicly deny. Anyone who has done any work with or on communists, from New York City to Moscow, can speak at length about how they operated with deceit. As Vladimir Lenin had said, in a favorite quote cited often by Ronald Reagan, the only morality that communists recognized was that which furthered their interests.

At some point as the communists pursued their intentions, someone or some group—usually conservatives or moderate Republicans—would catch on and blow the whistle. When the alarm was sounded, the communists typically would flat-out lie about whatever they were doing: claiming not to be guilty of the charges, but rather victims of right-wing paranoia. For this, they relied upon gullible liberals—non-communist liberals—to join them in attacking their accusers on the right.

These liberals, particularly after the McCarthy period, came to detest the anti-communists on the right. These liberals were not pro-communist but anti-anti-communist. They saw the anti-communists as Neanderthals, and still do, even though the anti-communists were absolutely right about the 20th century slaughter otherwise known as Marxism-Leninism. This ongoing *anti-anti-communism* is immediately evident in a quick conversation with your typical liberal in the press or academia. When I lecture at universities around the country, rattling off facts about the literally unparalleled communist destruction in the 20th century—easily over 100 million people died under communism from about 1917-79—the young people are riveted, clearly having never heard any of this in the classroom, whereas their professors roll their eyes, as if the ghost of Joe McCarthy had flown into the room and leapt inside of my body.

It is all, yes, quite bizarre, quite strange, and really requires more of a psychological explanation for which I’m not adequately trained. But the point is that this anti-anti-communism works beautifully for the true communists who rely upon liberal dupes—of whom the communists are privately contemptuous, given the liberals’ stunning naïveté.

Fortunately, on the plus side, there have been some good non-communist liberals who refused to be duped—the late Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. comes to mind—and who were crucial to ratting out the communists. These are the smarter liberals, not dictated to purely by emotion. These liberals played an important role during the Cold War, and for a very significant reason that rarely gets its due: these liberals knew, as the right-wing anti-communists knew, that the communists often actively undermined genuine liberal causes—from advancing workers' rights to civil rights.

Why do I mention this now? Because the entire process is being repeated once again before our eyes, except now it's worse, given that the modern left is so outrageously uninformed, having been trained—by the mainstream media, Hollywood, liberal historians, and the academy—to reflexively dismiss any charge of communism as illegitimate McCarthyism, even when the charge is not only accurate but, importantly, exposes how the communists have literally schemed to undermine yet another genuine liberal cause.

I will start from the beginning:

A couple of weeks ago in Washington, Herb Romerstein and Cliff Kincaid, two veteran investigators of American communism, held a press conference on Capitol Hill to announce the release of two new reports on Barack Obama's radical past, or, more specifically, his association with extremist elements from the American left—yet more evidence of a frightening pattern of associations by Obama throughout his distant and recent life, from Bill Ayers to Reverend Jeremiah Wright, all of which at the least shows bad judgment. At the press conference, they discussed Romerstein's report on Frank Marshall Davis, an influential figure in Obama's early life, whom Obama refers to only as "Frank" (albeit affectionately) in his autobiography *Dreams From My Father*. Davis was a communist, a member of CPUSA. Romerstein developed that fact very carefully in his report, which contained at least a half dozen exhibits and other forms of reliable documentation—a fact that itself is news, since many (on the gullible left) still like to question whether Davis was a Party member.

Before going further, I would like to add a word on Herb Romerstein's credibility: Romerstein himself was a communist early in life, a member of CPUSA. He broke ranks over 50 years ago. He went on to become probably the single most respected authority on American communism. He is the go-to guy on questions of American communism—thoroughly respected from the legislative to executive branch. He is the individual who did the work

on the Venona papers. He is completely credible.

I know this well, because I know Romerstein. I've worked with him on precisely this kind of research. He is extremely fair, precise, nuanced, and knowledgeable. He constantly exhorts me by email or phone: "Now, Paul, be careful there: He was a liberal and never a communist—a sucker, maybe; but not a communist." Another example, which is a direct quote from an email: "He was a small 'c' communist, but never a party member, and later a non-communist liberal who cooperated with the FBI." Or, as he often says: "No, Paul, he was a good guy. An anti-communist liberal. No dupe." Romerstein is no witch-hunter and has never been accused of such. He is the epitome of responsible anti-communism.

That said, what did Romerstein find on Frank Marshall Davis? He showed not only that Davis was a communist, but—listen up, liberals—how Davis and his comrades worked to undermine genuine liberal causes because of their lock-step subservience to the Comintern and the USSR. Modern liberals need to understand, for example, how the American communist movement, including men like Davis, flip-flopped on issues as grave as Nazism and World War II based entirely on whether Hitler was signing a non-aggression pact with Stalin or invading Stalin's Soviet Union. The disgusting about-face by CPUSA on this matter was unforgivable. And what a shame that liberal college professors don't teach this to their students. Liberals also need to know how their friends inside government were used by communists who sought victory for Mao Tse-Tung in China in 1949, which would lead to the single greatest concentration of corpses in human history: 60-70 million dead Chinese from 1957 to 1969.

Finally, if that doesn't concern liberals, they should understand how communists, including Frank Marshall Davis, used the civil-rights movement, and again and again exploited and undermined the NAACP. Romerstein lays this out at length in his report. He quotes Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, who rightly noted of Davis and his comrades: "they would now destroy the local branch of the NAACP." They would do so after having destroyed another good civil-rights organization. "Comrade Davis," wrote Wilkins, "was supported by others who recently 'sneaked' into the organization with the avowed intent and purpose of converting it into a front for the Stalinist line." Wilkins knew well that this was a standard "tactic" by the communists; it was known by everyone involved in the NAACP at the time. Wilkins, like many civil-rights leaders of his time, refused to be duped by Davis and his comrades.

Where does Obama meet Davis?—in Hawaii. Similar to Obama, who moved from Kansas to Honolulu to

Chicago, Frank Marshall Davis went from Kansas to Chicago to Honolulu. Obama freely admits to learning and taking advice from Davis, which surely was nothing like the “Midwestern values” that Governor Kathleen Sebelius (D-KS) claimed he learned in Kansas. While most Americans by the late 1970s and early 1980s were at last convinced that détente with the Soviets was a sham, and that the USSR was an Evil Empire that needed to be dissolved, Obama almost certainly was learning exactly the opposite—moving totally against what Ronald Reagan described as the “tide of history,” a “freedom tide” that would “leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash-heap of history.”

Instead, as Obama writes in *Dreams From My Father*, he was hanging out with the “Marxist professors,” attending “socialist conferences,” and “discuss[ing] neo-colonialism.” Rather than learning about the American exceptionalism that would seek to bring freedom to the USSR and Eastern Europe, Obama was hearing about the glory of the Bolshevik experiment. This was the wrong side of history.

Jumping into this unfolding drama is Dana Milbank, the columnist for the *Washington Post*. Milbank was apparently one of the few mainstream journalists to attend the Romerstein press conference on Capitol Hill, according to the reporting of columnist Bill Steigerwald, a good reporter who was also there. Steigerwald noted that it quickly became apparent that Milbank was basically there to mock the event. In response, Milbank could write about it in the *Post*, and his fellow liberals could enjoy a chuckle at the expense of the latest exhibit of right-wing anti-communist cavemen.

Milbank didn’t disappoint. He described the press conference as a new Vast Right-Wing Conspiracy, as the 2008 version of the 2004 Swift Boat veterans, and described Romerstein as “a living relic from the House Committee on Un-American Activities.” The whole thing, reported Milbank, sounded “like a UFO convention.” He even pooh-poohed the quite legitimate, quite telling point that Obama’s past affiliations are so “dodgy” (Milbank’s word) that he would have difficulty getting a government security clearance. Indeed, he would—and that’s a big deal for a man who could be our next president.

To be fair, Milbank, while at the press conference, did ask the pertinent question: Was Romerstein trying to argue that Obama is a communist? What’s the point of this if Obama is not a communist, right?

Well, yes and no. He has not, to anyone’s knowledge, ever been a member of the Communist Party. On the other hand, his friends have been members. And there is

a clear long-running association in this man’s life with the most radical of the far left: on the religion side, there is Reverend Wright and Father Pfleger, on the political side, there is the likes of William Ayers and, yes, Frank Marshall Davis, to name only a few. And remarkably, Obama cites some of these people as mentors, and even draws from their messages in conceiving the title of the bestselling book that made everyone gaga over Obama in the first place—here I’m referring to *Audacity of Hope*, which is based on a Rev. Wright sermon.

These associations actually should tell us a lot, as should Obama’s struggle to deal with them *only* once the public learns their full extent. It all points to a truly troubling reality: regardless of whether the man is a communist, his politics are remarkably radical, and have been for a very long and recent time—and that’s a crucial consideration as America considers voting for him.

And guess what? Dana Milbank and his allies know this. They will not admit it because of what they themselves try to conceal on a daily basis, and likewise as poorly as Obama: their obvious liberal bias. Like Obama, the liberal press can never be fully open about its thinking and intentions. And liberals in the press, by and large, clearly want Barack Obama to be president, a bias that clouds their judgment and hinders their ability to do objective reporting. Their lack of objectivity is obvious.

What’s more, Milbank and the others would be concerned—likely obsessed—if Obama were a Republican who had these sort of long-running associations with the far-right. In fact, they themselves do this kind of hard digging on Republicans.

Frank Marshall Davis, as Roy Wilkins of the NAACP noted, toed the Stalinist line. What would Dana Milbank think of, say, a John McCain mentor who had toed the line for Hitler? I can tell you that I, as a conservative Republican, would be pretty darned disappointed and would demand some answers. I would not turn it into a joke. And if McCain did not absolutely, convincingly repudiate it, I absolutely would not vote for him.

Once again, too, it is the anti-communism that liberals like Milbank visibly despise, not the pro-communism. The end result is that the bad guys on the communist far-left, such as the likes of Frank Marshall Davis, continue to get a pass long after they’ve departed this world, as will those who consider them mentors. These were extreme leftists who hurt liberalism—who hurt some of the dearest liberal causes. Davis, in death, is protected, his dirty work covered up, by a press who must now protect their anointed one.

The irony of journalists like Dana Milbank, who is far

from alone, is that while they are laughing at the anti-communists, they seem to have no idea that the loudest howls of laughter have always come from the communists who see such journalists as dupes—as gullible liberals to be duped to advance the communist cause. It

is a time-honored tradition, and genuine liberals have filled the role again and again. It is always important to know who your friends are and aren't. And the communists were never the liberals' friends. The fact is that the joke is on liberals, except that none of this is really very funny.

A Victims of Communism Memorial Address by President George W. Bush

Here in the company of men and women who resisted evil and helped bring down an empire, I proudly accept the Victims of Communism Memorial on behalf of the American people.

The 20th century will be remembered as the deadliest century in human history. And the record of this brutal era is commemorated in memorials across this city. Yet, until now, our Nation's Capital had no monument to the victims of imperial Communism, an ideology that took the lives of an estimated 100 million innocent men, women and children. So it's fitting that we gather to remember those who perished at Communism's hands, and dedicate this memorial that will enshrine their suffering and sacrifice in the conscience of the world.

Building this memorial took more than a decade of effort, and its presence in our capital is a testament to the passion and determination of two distinguished Americans: Lev Dobriansky, whose daughter Paula is here, and Dr. Lee Edwards. They faced setbacks and challenges along the way, yet they never gave up, because in their hearts, they heard the voices of the fallen crying out: "Remember us."

These voices cry out to all, and they're legion. The sheer numbers of those killed in Communism's name are staggering, so large that a precise count is impossible. According to the best scholarly estimate, Communism took the lives of tens of millions of people in China and the Soviet Union, and millions more in North Korea, Cambodia, Africa, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Eastern Europe, and other parts of the globe.

Behind these numbers are human stories of individuals with families and dreams, whose lives were cut short by men in pursuit of totalitarian power. Some of Communism's victims are well-known. They include a Swedish diplomat named Raoul Wallenberg, who saved 100,000 Jews from the Nazis, only to be arrested on Stalin's orders and sent to Moscow's Lubyanka Prison, where he disappeared without a trace. They include a

Polish priest named Father Popieluszko, who made his Warsaw church a sanctuary for the Solidarity underground, and was kidnaped, and beaten, and drowned in the Vitsula by the secret police.

The sacrifices of these individuals haunt history—and behind them are millions more who were killed in anonymity by Communism's brutal hand. They include innocent Ukrainians starved to death in Stalin's Great Famine; or Russians killed in Stalin's purges; Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians loaded onto cattle cars and deported to Arctic death camps of Soviet Communism. They include Chinese killed in the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution; Cambodians slain in Pol Pot's Killing Fields; East Germans shot attempting to scale the Berlin Wall in order to make it to freedom; Poles massacred in the Katyn Forest; and Ethiopians slaughtered in the "Red Terror"; Miskito Indians murdered by Nicaragua's Sandinista dictatorship; and Cuban balseros who drowned escaping tyranny. We'll never know the names of all who perished, but at this sacred place, Communism's unknown victims will be consecrated to history and remembered forever.

We dedicate this memorial because we have an obligation to those who died, to acknowledge their lives and honor their memory. The Czech writer Milan Kundera once described the struggle against Communism as "the struggle of memory against forgetting." Communist regimes did more than take their victims' lives; they sought to steal their humanity and erase their memory. With this memorial, we restore their humanity and we reclaim their memory. With this memorial, we say of Communism's innocent and anonymous victims, these men and women lived and they shall not be forgotten.

We dedicate this memorial because we have an obligation to future generations to record the crimes of the 20th century and ensure they're never repeated. In this hallowed place we recall the great lessons of the Cold War: that freedom is precious and cannot be taken for granted; that evil is real and must be confronted; and that given the chance, men commanded by harsh and hateful ideologies will commit unspeakable crimes and take the lives of millions.

It's important that we recall these lessons because the evil and hatred that inspired the death of tens of millions

of people in the 20th century is still at work in the world. We saw its face on September the 11th, 2001. Like the Communists, the terrorists and radicals who attacked our nation are followers of a murderous ideology that despises freedom, crushes all dissent, has expansionist ambitions and pursues totalitarian aims. Like the Communists, our new enemies believe the innocent can be murdered to serve a radical vision. Like the Communists, our new enemies are dismissive of free peoples, claiming that those of us who live in liberty are weak and lack the resolve to defend our free way of life. And like the Communists, the followers of violent Islamic radicalism are doomed to fail. By remaining steadfast in freedom's cause, we will ensure that a future American President does not have to stand in a place like this and dedicate a memorial to the millions killed by the radicals and extremists of the 21st century.

We can have confidence in the power of freedom because we've seen freedom overcome tyranny and terror before. Dr. Edwards said President Reagan went to Berlin. He was clear in his statement. He said, "tear down the wall," and two years later the wall fell. And millions across Central and Eastern Europe were liberated from unspeakable oppression. It's appropriate that on the anniversary of that speech, we dedicate a monument that reflects our confidence in freedom's power.

The men and women who designed this memorial could have chosen an image of repression for this space, a replica of the wall that once divided Berlin, or the frozen barracks of the Gulag, or a killing field littered with skulls. Instead, they chose an image of hope—a woman holding a lamp of liberty. She reminds us of the victims of Communism, and also of the power that overcame Communism.

Like our Statue of Liberty, she reminds us that the flame for freedom burns in every human heart, and that it is a light that cannot be extinguished by the brutality of terrorists or tyrants. And she reminds us that when an ideology kills tens of millions of people, and still ends up being vanquished, it is contending with a power greater than death. She reminds us that freedom is the gift of our Creator, freedom is the birthright of all humanity, and in the end, freedom will prevail.

I thank each of you who made this memorial possible for your service in freedom's cause. I thank you for your devotion to the memory of those who lost their lives to Communist terror. May the victims of Communism rest in peace. May those who continue to suffer under Communism find their freedom. And may the God who gave us liberty bless this great memorial and all who come to visit her.

God bless.

—The White House, June 12, 2007

The Next Fidel, Part II

by Peter Hitchens

Following is part two of an article began in the July issue of The Schwarz Report. To view that article, go to www.schwarzreport.com.

Chavez lost the vote largely because of two very different opponents—one a general, the other a collection of politically untried students.

Gen. Raul Isaias Baduel had been a comrade of Chavez's from their early days in the army. Rather than support Chavez's autocratic constitutional reforms, he resigned as defense minister. This was accepted with a smile. But within a few weeks, General Baduel found himself being denounced by government hacks as a traitor—any former sympathizer who dares criticize gets this treatment—and having his bodyguards withdrawn.

Baduel, a religious man whose desk is covered with

symbols of several faiths, also experienced a side of Chavez that his radical supporters in America and Europe find hard to explain or defend—a faint but unmistakable whiff of Judeophobia. He was accused of being "too close" to Venezuela's small Jewish community.

His defection was an especially hard blow because he had helped save Chavez from an attempted coup by conservative opponents in 2002. Last December, only five years later, he charged his old friend with plotting what was in effect a coup against the constitution. He says that on both occasions he was acting according to the same principle:

In 2002, as a soldier, I defended the laws and constitution against an attempted coup. Last December, as a citizen and a civilian I felt I also had to defend the laws and the constitution. Friendship does not mean you have

to mortgage your principles. Loyalty is not complicity. I was taught as a child that friendship is a fundamental value—but when you place friendship and principle in the balance, principle weighs more heavily.

Such opposition, if only it were linked to a serious political party, would be dangerous to Chavez. As yet, there are few signs that Baduel has any wider political skills. He was able to slow down his old comrade's progress. But to remove and replace him with a real political party, able to appeal to the poor and offer reform and preserve liberty, is far more difficult.

The students, whom Chavez tried to dismiss as the spoiled children of the rich, are potentially a greater threat to him. They had no idea how much power they possessed when they began demonstrating against Chavez's vindictive closure of the country's oldest TV station, RCTV. This was pure, crude spite, vengeance for that station daring to criticize him. Unlike the traditional conservative political parties, discredited by years of corruption, neglect, and incompetence, the students could not be dismissed as self-serving or as enemies of the Venezuelan poor.

One of their leaders was Geraldine Alvarez, just 22. She and her friends, alarmed for freedom of speech when Chavez announced his plan to close RCTV, organized a genuinely independent protest. They were amazed when they suddenly found themselves both popular and under attack from the Chavez state. The official TV censored an interview with them. The police, not bothering to pretend to be impartial, made violent attacks on their peaceful marches. They were slandered and smeared by the president's many mouthpieces. Geraldine recalls:

When we went to the National Assembly and asked for the right of reply, they said we were terrorists and trained by the CIA. They smeared us personally. They said on state TV that I was mentally ill and on medication—my parents had to watch that.

But most people did not buy these lies. Poor people in this country view students with sympathy. They could see that the placards we carried on our marches were homemade, not mass-produced like those of the government.

Nor did they believe it when Chavez said that the students were "spoiled rich brats," since most of them came from modest middle-class or working-class homes. So when ordinary censorship and routine smears failed, the regime resorted to the methods used by Stalin's agents in

the nations of Eastern Europe 60 years ago.

Mysterious counter-demonstrators materialized on the streets, pelting the students with bottles and stones from behind police lines. Chavez enthusiasts were unleashed on the campus of the capital's main private university firing handguns. They arrived on motorbikes and in buses with official license plates. The state did not try very hard to hide its complicity. Interior Minister Pedro Carreno went on TV dressed in a revolutionary red T-shirt to blame the university and the students for being attacked.

But the students, innocent as they may have been of traditional political ambition, were wise as serpents. They resisted the strong temptation to attack the president personally. They ignored attempts by the official opposition leaders to co-opt them. They remained, to the end, untainted by conventional politics, which until recently was a dreary system in which two more-or-less identical parties alternated in office while corruption flourished. Because they stayed clean, their battle gave confidence to those who had given up hope of halting Chavez and undoubtedly helped the campaign for a "no" vote a few months later. But their purity also limited their ability to do more than oppose. Like General Baduel, they could apply the brakes, but they had no power to offer a program of their own.

Revenge is already being prepared. Chavez is now demanding that the universities drop their entrance examinations so that he can pack them with young half-educated supporters who can elbow aside Geraldine and her liberty-loving friends. He is already funding other universities, well equipped with fleets of buses to ferry their students to "spontaneous rallies" so that what happened last autumn can never be repeated.

Venezuela ought to be an advanced and free country under the rule of law. It has plenty of educated, articulate people. It has wealth. It has most of the constituents of a serious civil society, including strong public opinion. It was born out of a revolt against autocracy.

It is a measure of the failure of free countries to encourage others to adopt their best characteristics that such a place should be faced with a choice between neglect, plutocracy, and corruption on the one hand and crude revolutionary Marxism on the other. Much the same could be said of many of the new "democracies" that sprang up in the territories once ruled by Communists.

The real essence of civilization, freedom under the law, seems much harder to export than the cheaper, flashier commodity we like to call "democracy."

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