

INDEX

- abortion, 94–95
Abrams, Creighton, 40
Ackerman, Spencer, 62, 139
Adelman, Ken, 129
Afghanistan, 224–225
 Beers on, 111
 Kucinich on, 90
 Soviet military action in, 41–43
 U.S. military action in, 45–51,
 58, 135–136, 179–184
 See also Iraq War; Qaeda, al-
Against All Enemies (Clarke),
 111–112
Allawi, Iyad, 136–142, 159
al-Qaeda. *See* Qaeda, al-
American Enterprise Institute,
 43, 97
American Israel Public Affairs
 Committee (AIPAC),
 169, 170
American Political Science
 Review, 134
American Prospect, 50
Americans for Democratic
 Action, 90
“Anbar Awakening,” 215–216
Anderson, Jack, 31
Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, 29
AQI (Iraq forces), 215–216
Arab-Israeli conflict, 49, 51,
 68–70, 202–203
“Arab Spring,” 146–147. *See also*
 democracy-promotion
 strategy
Aristide, Jean-Bertrand, 145
Armitage, Richard, 49, 202
Asad, Bashar, 165
Assassins’ Gate, The (Packer),
 66–67
Baathist Party, 48–49, 56, 96
Baker, James, 154–155, 160–166
Baker-Hamilton Commission.
 See Iraq Study Group (ISG)
Balkans. *See* Bosnia and
 Herzegovina; Kosovo
Barber, Benjamin, 18
Barnes, Fred, 152
Bayh, Evan, 142, 185
Beers, Rand, 110–111
Beinart, Peter, 2, 65, 93,
 177, 196
 on Bush’s democracy-
 promotion strategy, 142–143
 on 2004 presidential election,
 120–121, 123
Berman, Ari, 114
Better War, A (Sorley), 40
Biden, Joseph, 2, 73–75, 120,
 141–142, 156, 221
Biden-Lugar resolution (on Iraq
 War), 73–75

- bin Laden, Osama, 112–113, 133, 180–181. *See also* September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks
- biological weapons, 186, 191
- Blair, Tony, 78
- Blix, Hans, 79, 97
- Bolton, John, 30, 32
- Boot, Max, 174–177, 182
- Bosnia and Herzegovina, 14–17, 65–66
- Braun, Carol Moseley, 89
- Brinkley, Douglas, 144–146
- Buchanan, Pat, 27–28, 57
- Burton, Dan, 28
- Bush, George H. W., 11, 24, 55–56, 202–203. *See also* Persian Gulf War (1991)
- Bush, George W., 3
- 2002 congressional election and, 54–56
- 2006 congressional election and, 152
- on democracy promotion, 130–132
- executive powers exercised by, 166–168
- on Iraq/al-Qaeda connection, 67–69
- on Iraq and WMD, 78
- Iraq War initiation, 65, 80
- as isolationist, 23–34, 184–189
- popularity following September 11, 2001, attacks, 58
- 2004 presidential election and, 102 (*See also* Kerry, John)
- See also* Afghanistan; Iraq War; September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks
- Cambone, Stephen, 32
- Campbell, Kurt, 123–124, 177, 222
- Camp David accords, 203
- Carter, Jimmy, 57, 98, 106, 202, 203
- Center for American Progress, 176–177, 223, 224, 225
- Center for a New American Security (CNAS), 222
- Chace, James, 2
- Chafee, Lincoln, 151
- Chait, Jonathan, 25, 101, 152–153
- Chechnya, 21
- China, 14, 29, 134, 190, 197–199
- Chirac, Jacques, 142
- Chirot, Daniel, 37–38
- CIA, 19, 35–36, 46–47, 62, 75, 109–110. *See also* Iraq War
- Cirincione, Joseph, 170
- Civilian Reserve Corps, 175, 176
- Clark, Wesley, 93–95, 170
- Clarke, Richard, 19–20, 111–112
- Clash of Civilizations, The* (Huntington), 18
- “clean break” strategy, 69–70
- Clinton, Bill, 3–4, 11–14, 23–24, 202–203
- on counterterrorism, 17–20
- Dean and, 98–100
- “Democratic Enlargement” policy, 144–145
- executive powers exercised by, 168
- 1992 presidential election, 56, 120
- Persian Gulf War and, 85
- 2004 Democratic Convention speech, 107

- Clinton, Hillary, 106, 176
 on Iran, 169, 172
 on Iraq War, 156, 162, 185,
 222, 227, 228
- Cohn, Douglas, 31
- Cohn, Jonathan, 84–85
- communism, 1–3, 179
 Cold War–era defense budget,
 183
 containment policy, 9, 36–37,
 131
- Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty,
 31–33, 187
- Conason, Joe, 31
- Cox, Christopher, 29
- Croatia, 14–17
- Daalder, Ivo, 30–31, 91, 196–198
- Daschle, Tom, 54, 74, 75
- Dayton Accords, 15
- Dean, Howard, 83–89, 93,
 95–103, 107–108, 120
- Defense Science Board, 41
- DeLay, Tom, 28–29
- democracy-promotion strategy,
 194–196
 “Arab Spring” and, 146–147
 embraced by Bush, 130–132,
 142–146
 Iraq elections (2005) and,
 136–142
 as justification for Iraq War,
 127–130
 as solution to jihadist violence,
 132–135
- Democratic Leadership Council
 (DLC), 98, 108, 177
- Democratic National Convention
 (2004), 105–107. *See also*
 Kerry, John
- Democratic Party, 151–153
 on domestic issues, 98,
 117–120, 171–172, 207
 on Iraq War implementation as
 “incompetent,” 114–117,
 149–151, 171–172, 222
 national security policy
 avoided by, 53–60,
 170–172
 on Petraeus Report, 216–218
 post-2006 election, on Iraq
 withdrawal, 153–160
 support for war by, 71–81
 2006 congressional election,
 151–153
 See also internationalism; Iraq
 War; “liberal hawks” groups;
 individual names of
 Democratic leaders
- Department of Homeland
 Security, 55
- “Department of Peace” proposal,
 89, 176, 177
- Deutsch, John, 157
- Dobbins, James, 125
- Dodd, Chris, 165
- domestic political agenda, 98,
 117–120, 171–172, 207
- Donohue, Phil, 71
- Dreyfuss, Robert, 161
- Drum, Kevin, 215
- Durbin, Dick, 156
- Edwards, John
 on Iran, 169
 on Iraq War, 75, 155, 185, 227,
 228
 2004 presidential campaign,
 101–104, 107–108, 123–124
 (*See also* Kerry, John)

- Egypt, 129, 146
 82nd Airborne Division, 212
 ElBaradei, Mohammed, 79
 Emanuel, Rahm, 156
Emerging Democratic Majority, The (Judis, Teixeira), 53
 England, 7–8, 78, 219
 Enron, 57
 Ethiopia, 204
 Europe
 public opinion of George W. Bush, 27
 World War I and, 4–8
 See also individual names of countries
 European Union (EU), 10, 145.
 See also individual names of countries
 executive powers, 166–168

 “failed states,” 12
 Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), xi, xiii
 Feith, Douglas, 32, 70
Fiasco (Ricks), 212
 Finland, 10
 Fischer, Bobby, 39
 Florida, 57
 Flournoy, Michele, 222
Foreign Affairs, 36–37
 FOX News, 30
 France, 7–8
 Frank, Thomas, 117–120
 Friedman, Thomas, ix–xv, 18, 63–64, 127–128, 140–141
 Fukuyama, Francis, 131, 177, 181, 196

 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 12

 Gephardt, Dick, 54, 74–75, 95–96, 101, 155
 Germany, 4–8
 Gingrich, Newt, 97, 144–146
 Goldberg, Jeffrey, 185
 Goldberg, Jonah, 60
 Goldgeier, James, 196
 Gore, Al, 57, 85, 106, 187
 Goss, Porter, 28
 “Green Lantern Theory,” 40, 45–46
 Grotto, Andrew, 170

 Haas, Richard, 49
 Hagel, Chuck, 73
 Haiti, 24, 29, 145
 Halabja, Kurdistan, 65–66
 Hamas, 45–46, 223
 Hamilton, Lee, 160
Hard Power: The New Politics of National Security (O’Hanlon, Campbell), 123–124, 177
 Hashemites, 69
 Heilbrunn, Jacob, 212
 Hezbollah, 41–43, 69–70
 Hitchens, Christopher, 65
 Hitler, Adolf, 7
 Holbrooke, Richard, 120
 Hoyer, Steny, 156, 168
 Hulsman, John, 177, 186
 humanitarianism
 “humanitarian militarism”
 approach to Iraq War, 63–71
 UN role and, 10, 17, 25
Human Security Report, 198
 Huntington, Samuel, 18
 Hussein, King, 70
 Hussein, Saddam, 43, 45, 46, 80–81

- capture of, 68, 100–101
- WMD suspicions and, 55–56, 75–78, 87–88, 96–97, 109
- See also* Iraq
- Hutchinson, Tim, 59

- Ikenberry, John, 177–178, 185, 186
- Imperial Hubris: Why the West Is Losing the War on Terror* (Scheuer), 112
- imperialism, 4–8, 11, 15–17. *See also* democracy-promotion strategy; military budget (U.S.)
- implementation
 - (“incompetence”) argument, 114–117, 149–151, 171–172, 222
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 62, 97
- internationalism
 - Balkan conflicts and, 14–17, 20–22
 - Clinton administration and, 3–4
 - “Democratic Enlargement” policy and, 144–145
 - League of Nations and, 4–10
 - liberal world order approach to, 178, 184–189, 196–208
 - post–Cold War era and, 3–4
 - September 11, 2001, attacks and, 17–20, 48
 - Truman on communism and, 1–3
 - UN and, 10–17
- international law, 5–8, 11, 15–17, 26
- Iran, 141, 182, 211

- Iraq War and, 164, 173–174, 220
- reaction to September 11, 2001, attacks, 48–49, 192
- U.S. attack on Irbil consulate, 166
- U.S. negotiation with, 169, 172, 189–191
- See also* weapons of mass destruction (WMD)
- Iraq
 - Allawi, 136–142, 159
 - Kurdistan genocide, 55, 65–66
 - nuclear weapons of, 33, 79
 - Persian Gulf War (1991), 11, 13, 55–56, 72, 85, 186
 - reconciliation agenda for, 163–166, 217, 222, 223
 - Saddam Hussein, 43, 45, 46, 55–56, 68, 75–78, 80–81, 100–101
 - See also* Iraq War
- Iraq Study Group (ISG), 154–155, 160–166, 168, 211, 225
- Iraq War
 - call for diplomatic approach to, 217–226
 - calls for withdrawal, 213–214, 218–221
 - as 2002 election issue, 53–60
 - as 2008 election issue, 226–229
 - ethnic cleansing during, 216–218
 - implementation as “incompetent,” 114–117, 149–151, 171–172, 222
 - international coalition, 182
 - Iraq Study Group on, 154–155, 160–166, 168, 211, 225

- Iraq War (*continued*)
 Petraeus Report on, 211–218
 “surge” in, 154–155, 166,
 209–211, 216–218
 U.S. military budget and,
 24–25, 124–126, 174–177,
 182
See also Democratic Party;
 Iraq; “liberal hawks” groups;
 Republican Party; *individual
 names of Democratic and
 Republican leaders*
- Irbil, Kurdistan, 166
- Islam, 50–51
 Balkan conflicts and, 14–17
 Shia-Sunni tension, 136–142,
 215–216
 terrorist factions of, 41–43,
 133–135, 204 (*See also
 individual names of
 organizations*)
- Islamic Courts Movement,
 204
- isolationism
 Buchanan and, 27–28
 Clintonian internationalism
 and, 23–25
 Democrats vs. Republicans on,
 28–34
 George W. Bush and, 25–26
 Kosovo War and, 26–27
- Israel
 American Israel Public Affairs
 Committee (AIPAC), 169,
 170
 Arab-Israeli conflict, 49, 51,
 68–70, 202–203
 Hamas and, 45–46, 223
 Iraq and, 33
 Lebanon and, 41–43
- Jeffords, Jim, 58
Jihad vs. McWorld (Barber), 18
 Joseph, Robert, 32
 Judis, John, 53, 62
 Just, Richard, 128–129
 Juul, Peter, 224
- Kagan, Frederik, 45, 46
 Kahl, Colin, 222, 223
 Kamiya, Gary, 164
 Kant, Immanuel, 6
 Kaplan, Fred, 60–61, 213
 Katulis, Brian, 223, 224
 Keller, Bill, 65
 Kennan, George, 9, 36–37
 Kennedy, John F., 121
 Kennedy, Ted, 139–140
 Kerry, John, 21, 165, 228
 “flip-flop” accusation,
 108–109, 120–126
 on Iraq War, 75, 80–81,
 114–117, 155, 222
 2004 presidential campaign,
 88–89, 95, 101–111,
 117–120, 151–152, 192–193
- Kessler, Glenn, 165
 Khalilzad, Zalmay, xi
 Khoei, Sayyid Abdul Majid, al-, 96
 Kissinger, Henry, 202
 Klein, Ezra, 169
 Korb, Lawrence, 224
 Kosovo, 16–17, 20–22, 26–31
 Krauthammer, Charles, 30, 42,
 97, 178
 Kucinich, Dennis, 89–93, 226,
 227
- Kurds
 Iraq genocide of, 55, 65–66
 Iraqi election and, 136–142
 Irbil attack, 166

- Kuttner, Robert, 99
 Kuwait, 13
 Kyl, Jon, 211
 Kyoto Protocols, 187
- labor unions, 99
 Lake, Anthony, 144
 Lantos, Tom, 156
 League of Nations, 5–8, 9
 Lebanon, 41–42, 69–70, 146
 Ledeen, Michael, 43, 44
 Leverett, Flynt, 49
 Levin, Carl, 73, 75, 156, 158
 Levy, Daniel, 164
Lexus and the Olive Tree, The
 (Friedman), 18
 Libby, I. Lewis, 327
 “liberal hawks” groups, 77–81
 on “humanitarian militarism,”
 63–71
 on national security, 60–63
 on “strength” as political
 position, 71–77
 Lieberman, Joe
 on Iran, 211
 on Iraq War, 74, 95, 101, 156,
 176, 185
 on Persian Gulf War, 85
 Lieven, Anatol, 177, 185–186
 Lind, Michael, 143
 Lindsay, James, 30–31, 196–198
 Lizza, Ryan, 161
 Lugar, Richard, 73–75
 Lynch, Marc, 223
- Madrid Conference, 203
Manchester Union-Leader, 94–95
 Marshall, Joshua Micah, 79,
 129, 194
 Marshall, Will, 121
- McCauley, Clark, 37–38
 McMaster, H. R., 212
 McQuaid, Joseph, 94–95
 Meade, Walter Russell, 29
 Mearsheimer, John, 10
 Mexico, 145
 Middle East peace process
 (Arab-Israeli conflict), 49,
 51, 68–70, 202–203
 military budget (U.S.), 24–25,
 124–126, 174–177, 182
 Miller, Greg, 166
 Milosevic, Slobodan, 16–17
 MoveOn.org, 67
 MSNBC, 71
 Mubarak, Hosni, 129, 146
 Mueller, John, 192
 Murtha, John, 155, 157
 Mylroie, Laurie, 46
- Nader, Ralph, 57
 NAFTA, 98, 145
Nation, 65, 114
 National Defense Strategy
 (March 2005), 25–26
 nationalism, 8
 isolationism vs., 23–34
 as motivation of terrorists,
 133–135, 204
 neoconservatism and, 31
 See also imperialism
National Review, 12, 43, 60
 national security
 call for “new ideas” in,
 177–184, 193–199
 interrelated issues of, 173–174
 progressives on, 140
 September 11, 2001, attacks
 and, 17–20 (*See also*
 Afghanistan; Iraq War)

- National Security Council, 19–20
 NATO, 15, 145, 201, 224
 Nelson, Bill, 165, 176
 neoconservatives, 29–31
 Netanyahu, Benjamin, 69–70
 New America Foundation, 164
 New Hampshire, 53–56
 new media, in campaigns,
 83–84
New Republic, 2, 21, 39, 65, 101,
 140, 142
New Yorker, 38
New York Times, 119, 152. *See also* Friedman, Thomas
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, xi–xii
 Niger, 79
 9/11. *See* September 11, 2001,
 terrorist attacks
9/11 Commission Report,
 19, 112
 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT),
 33, 190
 Northern Alliance, 19–20, 47
 Northern Ireland, 219
 Nossel, Suzanne, 187
 nuclear antiproliferation, 29,
 31–34, 187, 190. *See also*
 Iran; weapons of mass
 destruction (WMD)
 Nunn, Sam, 85

 Obama, Barack, 170, 185, 227,
 228
 Office of the Coordinator for
 Stability and Reconstruction,
 174–177
 O’Hanlon, Michael, 21, 123–124,
 177, 214–215
 Omar, Mullah, 180
 101st Airborne Division, 212
 Operation Enduring Freedom,
 47. *See also* Afghanistan
 O’Reilly, Bill, 30
 Oslo peace process, 202–203
 Ottawa Treaty, 187

 Packer, George, 64–65, 66–67,
 156
 Pakistan, 47
 Palestinians, Arab-Israeli conflict,
 49, 51, 68–70, 129–130,
 202–203
 Pape, Robert, 133–135
 Pelosi, Nancy, 155
 Penn, Mark, 119
 Perle, Richard, 70, 129
Perpetual Peace (Kant), 6
 Perry, William, 164
 Persian Gulf War (1991), 11, 13,
 55–56, 72, 85, 186. *See also*
 Iraq War
 Petraeus, David, 211–218
 Petraeus Report, 211–218
 “Phased Transition: A
 Responsible Way Forward
 and Out of Iraq” (CNAS),
 222
 Pollack, Kenneth, 60–63, 65, 68,
 91, 215
 Ponnuru, Ramesh, 12
 Porter, Gareth, 129
 Powell, Colin, 31, 47, 49,
 74, 86
 Princeton Project on National
 Security, 178, 196, 201
 Progressive Policy Institute, 121
 Project for a New American
 Century (PNAC), 32,
 178
 Pryor, Mark, 59

- Qaeda, al-, 3, 18–19, 41
 casualties from, 191–193
 Clinton administration on,
 17–20
 expansion of, 112–113,
 179–184
 Iraq War justification and,
 67–69
 See also Afghanistan; Iraq War;
 September 11, 2001, terrorist
 attacks
- Reagan, Ronald, 43, 179
 Reed, Jack, 176
 Reid, Harry, 75, 213–214
 Republican Party
 anti-Bush sentiment of,
 159–160
 on domestic issues,
 171–172
 as isolationists, 24–34
 neoconservatives (“neocons”),
 29–31, 177–179
 2004 National Convention,
 105
 See also Iraq War; *individual*
 names of Republican leaders
- Rice, Condoleezza, 74, 165
 Richardson, Bill, 170, 226
 Ricks, Thomas, 77, 212
 Rockefeller, Jay, 76
 “rogue states,” 12
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 8–10
 Rosner, Jeremy, 144–146
 Rove, Karl, 77
 Roy, Arundhati, 39
 Roy, Olivier, 18
 Rumsfeld, Donald, 70, 74, 96
 Russia, 16, 190, 197–199. *See also*
 Soviet Union
- Sadr, Muqtada, al-, 97
 Salazar, Ken, 176
 Saletan, William, 26–27
 Saudi Arabia, 129, 146
 Scheuer, Michael, 112
 Schumer, Chuck, 156, 167
Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 38
 September 11, 2001, terrorist
 attacks, 3, 17–20
 Afghanistan invasion following,
 45–51, 58
 international reaction to,
 48–49, 192
 isolationism and, 30–31
 neoconservative response to,
 177–179
 9/11 Commission Report, 19,
 112
 U.S. reaction to, 35–44
 See also Afghanistan; Iraq War;
 Qaeda, al-
- Serbia, 14–17
 Shaheen, Jeanne, 53–58
 Sharpton, Al, 89
 Shays, Chris, 151
 Shea-Porter, Carol, 151
 Shia, 136–142
 Shinseki, Eric, 112, 124
 Sistani, Grand Ayatollah Ali, 137
Slate, 26–27
 Slaughter, Anne-Marie, 177–178,
 186
 Somalia, 13–14, 42, 204
 Sontag, Susan, 38
 Sorley, Lewis, 40
 Soviet Union, 10, 41–43. *See also*
 communism; Russia
 Srebrenica, Bosnia, 65–66
 Sri Lanka, 134
 Starr, Paul, 24

- Stephanopoulos, George, 95
 Stockhausen, Karlheinz, 39
 Sullivan, Andrew, 39
 Sunnis
 “Anbar Awakening,” 215–216
 Iraqi election and, 136–142
 Sununu, John, 54–56
 Swannack, Charles, 212
 Syria, 48–49, 146, 164–165, 169,
 192, 220
- Talent, Jim, 152
 Taliban, 19, 47–51. *See also*
 Afghanistan; Qaeda, al-
 Teixeira, Ruy, 53
 Tenet, George, 19, 62. *See also*
 CIA
- terrorism, motivation for,
 133–135, 204
- Third Way, 176
*Threatening Storm: The Case for
 Invading Iraq, The* (Pollack),
 60–63, 65, 68
- Time*, 178
 Trippi, Joe, 84
 Truman, Harry S., 1–3, 8–10,
 121, 144
- unarmed aerial vehicle (UAV)
 program, 20
- United Nations
 humanitarian role of, 10, 17,
 25
 internationalism and, 10–17
 Iraq War and, 75–78, 86,
 90–92
 Persian Gulf War (1991) and,
 13
 Protection Force
 (UNPROFOR), 15
- Republicans and
 neoconservatives on,
 29–30
 Security Council, Roosevelt
 and, 8–10
 Security Council process, 197,
 199–200
 Somalia and, 13–14
 UNMOVIC (UN Monitoring,
 Verification, and
 Inspection), 79
 USAID, 177, 195. *See also*
 “Department of Peace”
 proposal
- Vermont, 98
 Vietnam War, 2, 40, 44, 106
- Waldman, Paul, 71
 Wallace, Henry, 1
 Walt, Stephen, 225
 Walzer, Michael, 50–51
 Warner, John, 160–161
 Washington, George, 4
Washington Post, 42, 111,
 119–120
- weapons of mass destruction
 (WMD), 55–56, 75–78,
 96–97
 Bush on, 78
 CIA intelligence about, 19,
 35–36, 46–47, 62, 75,
 109–110
 Dean on, 87–88
 Kerry on, 109
 nuclear antiproliferation, 29,
 31–34, 187, 190
 *See also individual names of
 countries*
- Wellstone, Paul, 99

- Westmoreland, William, 40
What's the Matter with Kansas?
 (Frank), 117–120
Wieseltier, Leon, 65
Will, George, 193
Wilson, Woodrow, 4–8, 9,
 143–144
Wolf, Frank, 160
Wolfowitz, Paul, 32, 61,
 65, 129
Woolsey, Jim, 46–47
World Economic Forum (2005),
 141–142
World Trade Organization
 (WTO), 12, 98
World War II, 7–8
Wright, Robin, 165, 177, 184
Wurmser, David, 70
Wurtzel, Elizabeth, 39
Yugoslavia. *See* Bosnia and
 Herzegovina; Kosovo
Zavis, Alexandra, 166
Zawahiri, Ayman, al-, 180
Zinni, Anthony, 112–113

