

Cambridge University Press

0521836565 - The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy

Murray Friedman

Excerpt

[More information](#)

Introduction

American Jews in an Age of Conservatism

Why would I choose to write about American Jewish conservatism? Is there really much to say? As far back as most of us can remember, the vast majority of American Jews have been associated with liberalism, not conservatism. They have consistently supported public assistance for the poor and civil rights for the rejected. Second only to African-Americans, they have been the strongest supporters of the Democratic Party at all levels of government. From the 1930s until the start of the Cold War, a small but influential number joined the American Communist Party or were sympathetic to what they took to be its goals. For many, the far left was simply the farthest end of the liberal political spectrum.

But that was then. It is not Jewish liberals who have been making the news in recent years. It is Jewish conservatives with important positions in the administration of President George W. Bush. The Pentagon's Paul Wolfowitz and Douglas Feith; the National Security Council's Elliott Abrams; and Richard Perle, formerly of the Defense Policy Board, can be distinguished from moderate WASP conservatives not only by their ethnicity, but also by their militancy. Rather than descending from many generations of conservatives, they are mostly relatively new to the movement – and they have transformed it. Unlike traditional conservatives, they have proudly come to be called neoconservatives (or neocons).

Cheering them on have been such prominent and like-minded journalists and writers as William Kristol, editor of the Washington-based *Weekly Standard*, columnists David Brooks and Charles Krauthammer; Robert Kagan, an international affairs specialist and political scientist; Joshua Muravchik, a frequent contributor to *Commentary*; and Norman Podhoretz, longtime editor of *Commentary*, the neocon bible. For example, in response to findings by United Nations weapons inspectors and others that Iraq possessed “the elements of a deadly germ warfare arsenal and perhaps poison gases as well as the rudiments of a missile system,” Kristol and Kagan at *The Weekly Standard*, along with a number of former government officials, urged

Cambridge University Press

0521836565 - The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy

Murray Friedman

Excerpt

[More information](#)

President Clinton in January 1998 to oust Saddam Hussein by mounting a ground invasion. Clinton, in fact, also believing the situation to be perilous and untenable, initiated at the close of 1998 Operation Desert Fox, a four-day missile and bombing attack against known and *suspected* weapons facilities in Iraq.¹

The American invasion of Iraq has, arguably, left the nation more divided politically than at any time since the Vietnam War. The essence of the debate has revolved around the Bush Doctrine, which, after September 11, 2001, established the rationale for preemptive (unilateral, if necessary) military action “to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of terrorists before they act and to find them before they strike” and “to pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism.”² Critics accused the hawkish neocons of unduly influencing an inexperienced chief executive and encouraging him to undertake a reckless, imperialistic adventure. William Pfaff of the *Los Angeles Times* “argued that the Bush Doctrine undermines the principle of state sovereignty which has hitherto been the bedrock of international relations and the basis of international order” by substituting not a new universalist and allegedly liberating principle, but to achieve American security, to which it implicitly subordinates the security of every other nation.”³

Others took to more personal attacks against Bush or his neocon advisors. Jack Shafer, in the online magazine *Slate*, noted (albeit critically): “In a letter/photograph spread captioned ‘Separated at Birth’ in the September (2003) issue, *Vanity Fair* letter-to-the-editor writer Art Dudley attempts to draw parallels between Perle and Nazi Minister of Propaganda Dr. Joseph Goebbels. . . . Dudley writes: ‘Here it is: the same arrogance, the same malice toward the photographer, the same all-around creepiness.’” A smaller number of writers and intellectuals, including Middle East scholar Bernard Lewis and diplomatic historian John Lewis Gaddis, perhaps this country’s most eminent scholar of the Cold War, backed the administration.⁴ Although critical of some of the language used by the Bush administration, Gaddis has argued, in his book *Surprise, Security and the American Experience* (2004), that the move has increased discussion within the Arab world about political reform.

There is no mistaking the emphasis placed by some on Jews as responsible for the war and a whiff – more than the whiff – of anti-Semitism that permeates some of the criticism. Writing in the left-wing *Nation* magazine, Eric Alterman said the “war has put Israel in the showcase as never before. . . . The U.S. Congress and White House puppets to Israel military policy have been consistent.” Independent presidential candidate Ralph Nader told right-winger Pat Buchanan in an interview in June 2004, “Both parties concede their independent judgment to the pro-Israel lobbies.” And a musical opened several months later in Manhattan attacking Bush, featuring Paul Wolfowitz wearing a yarmulke.⁵

Cambridge University Press

0521836565 - The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy

Murray Friedman

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Introduction: American Jews in an Age of Conservatism*

3

A national security document of the United States ultimately embodied the president's doctrine in a formal statement in September 2002.⁶ He had already followed up his State of the Union speech with a speech in June 2002 at West Point, where he declared that deterrence and containment were too little and again promised to "take the battle to the enemy."⁷

For the Bush team and its neocon advisors, September 11 was what Eliot A. Cohen, another of the neocon intellectuals, gave "the less palatable but more accurate name [of] World War IV. The Cold War was viewed as World War III."⁸ The enemy was militant Islam. Al-Qaeda-style terrorism was just part of the assault. Attacks had previously occurred and were continuing to occur in Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, Kuwait, Indonesia, and Israel, as well as in Western Europe. Accordingly, we could not afford to sit still and wait for the next one. With the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the danger of mass casualties was such that aggressive action was warranted against terrorism's state sponsors – thus, the initial moves in this country for regime change in Afghanistan and war and occupation in Iraq. As foreign policy experts Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay note in a recent book, Bush has finally laid to rest the hallowed policy of deterrence, which had emerged from America's struggle to contain expansion of the Soviet Union in the nuclear age.⁹

The final determiners of the critical new defense and international policy were, of course, such strong-willed figures as Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld, Vice President Dick Cheney, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, and President Bush, rather than the neocons. We must leave to history the final reckoning on the Bush Doctrine and the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq. What is not in doubt, however, is the important role played by neoconservative intellectuals, not just in the case of the War on Terror but also in the development of public policies, thought, and debate for more than fifty years. Indeed, it's hardly an exaggeration to suggest that the neocons have been critical players in bringing about an Age of Conservatism in which we live today.

How did these conservatives, neo or otherwise, come to play such a role? Where did they come from, and what does their influence portend for America's future? These are matters I will examine in the pages that follow. Among the shibboleths to be challenged at the outset is the one holding that liberalism has been bred into the bone of American Jewry, as would appear to be the case from Jewish voting patterns since the days of the New Deal. In fact, there has always been a strand of *conservative* Jewish thought that has been little noticed. A number of scholars and historians, including Jonathan D. Sarna, David Dalin, the late Charles Liebman, and Jerold S. Auerbach, have begun writing about it recently.

Jews, according to Liebman, have been "folk-oriented" rather than "universalistic," "ethnocentric rather than cosmopolitan."¹⁰ Dalin, on the other hand, traces this characteristic back to biblical and postbiblical times. "Over

Cambridge University Press

0521836565 - The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy

Murray Friedman

Excerpt

[More information](#)

the centuries,” he writes, “the preference for charitable lending . . . over what might be termed the more liberal alms giving, which I take to be a conservative trait or tendency, became a fundamental principle of the Jewish philanthropic tradition.” This principle found its “most famous and enduring formulation,” Dalin adds, in the *Mishnah Torah*, the basic guide to the laws and teachings of Judaism for some two thousand years. The great medieval sage Moses Maimonides taught that the highest form of charity lay in offering loans or jobs to indigents so that they could become self-supporting.¹¹

In 1603, at the Jewish Council of Padua, Italy followed Maimonides’ precept in a communal regulation requiring recipients of charity to engage in some form of labor. Traditional Jewish thought and society provided no precedent for living continually on welfare without engaging in some form of labor. No work, no welfare. “No beneficiary could evade this requirement.”¹²

Edward S. Shapiro has noted the striking “difference between the Christian and Jewish attitudes toward wealth.” Whereas the New Testament emphasizes the virtues of the poor over those of the rich, “The *Mishnah*, by contrast, asks . . . ‘Who is rich? He who enjoys his wealth.’” Asked by a disciple how he might achieve eternal life, Jesus says “sell your possessions, and give to the poor, and then you will have riches in heaven.” At another point, he says “it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.”¹³ Over the years, Jewish authorities have viewed the Padua edict as a legal precedent. That’s the conservative, and sometimes liberal, position today, as evidenced by President Bill Clinton’s signing of the Welfare Reform Act of 1996.

Benjamin Disraeli, the nineteenth-century British statesman who was born a Jew but joined the Church of England and later became prime minister, believed that “all the tendencies of Jews were conservative.” In his book *Lord George Bentinck*, he described Jews as “the trustees of tradition, and conservators of the religious element [whose] bias is to religion, property and natural aristocracy,” adding that “it should be the interest of statesmen that this bias of a great race should be encouraged and their energies and creative powers enlisted in the cause of existing society.”¹⁴

In the United States, Jewish political conservatism was evident from the founding of the republic until well into the twentieth century. Charity or *tzedaka* (its Hebrew translation) was a function of the Jewish community itself, not of government. Under the ground rules that the first Jews in New Amsterdam (later New York) worked out with its anti-Semitic governor, Peter Stuyvesant, in the seventeenth century, a certain opprobrium was directed against outside help. “So long as we are able to educate our youth in the Hebrew, send Passover bread or coal to suffering brethren, [and] preserve our own organizations for dispensing charity to our own poor,” the *Occident*, the country’s major Jewish weekly, editorialized in 1858, “we

Cambridge University Press

0521836565 - The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy

Murray Friedman

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Introduction: American Jews in an Age of Conservatism*

5

should be proud to decline contributions from any fund that belongs to the public for public purposes.”¹⁵

In the nineteenth century, many Jewish leaders were also conservative on the issue of slavery; relatively few joined the abolitionists, and many, in fact, opposed them. “The link between prophecy and social justice, a staple tenet of Reform Judaism,” Auerbach writes, “was less self evident in the nineteenth century than it became later.” Isaac Mayer Wise, the most prominent spokesman for Reform Judaism, the leading Jewish religious body at the time, was more critical of abolitionists, whom he termed “wicked preachers” and “fanatics,” than of slaveholders. He claimed to find justification for the practice in biblical texts. While Reform Judaism’s Pittsburgh statement of principles, adopted in 1885, condemned the “evils of the present organization of society,” it was not until the rise of the Protestant Social Gospel movement that it began to apply prophetic morality to industrial capitalism.¹⁶

Separation of church and state was not always one of the cardinal principles of Jewish public policy, as it has been of contemporary Jewish liberalism. Sarna has pointed out that for a long time Jews were more concerned about freedom of religion than freedom from religion. “[M]ost early American Jews accepted religious freedom as a right rooted within a religious context,” he writes. “They defined it in the words of Mordecai Noah, perhaps the leading Jewish figure of the day, as ‘a mere abolition of all religious disabilities.’ This trend continued for about two thirds of the 19th century until a movement to Christianize the country brought Jews into a more absolutist or separatist position which found its fullest expression in the post World War II years.”¹⁷

Before the coming of FDR, Jewish voting patterns were mixed. Although many of the Eastern European Jews flooding into this country at the turn of the last century were drawn to socialism, most divided their vote among the major parties.¹⁸ The politically orthodox voted more often for Republicans than for Democrats in presidential elections from 1900 to 1928 (with the possible exceptions of 1900 and 1916).¹⁹ Jacob Sapherstein, a Bialystock-born, Orthodox Jew who emigrated to the United States in 1887 and began publishing the *Jewish Morgen Journal*, later the *Morgen Zhurnal*, in 1901, turned his newspaper into the Yiddish voice of Republicanism.²⁰ In 1920, eleven Jews were elected to the House of Representatives in Washington: one socialist from New York, two urban Democrats, and the rest Republicans.²¹ Of course, Republicanism was not then what it is today and contained many liberal or progressive features; but the fact remains, Jews were not always wedded to the Democratic Party.

The nation’s most prominent and influential German-Jewish leaders in the early years of the twentieth century also tended to be conservative. New York bankers Jacob Schiff and Felix Warburg; Philadelphia bibliophile and jurist Mayer Sulzberger; Chicago Sears, Roebuck head Julius Rosenwald; and New York attorney Louis Marshall, second president of the American

Cambridge University Press

0521836565 - The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy

Murray Friedman

Excerpt

[More information](#)

Jewish Committee, were staunch Republicans and equally staunch adherents of the laissez-faire business philosophy their party stood for. Seeking to dissuade Schiff from voting for Democrat Woodrow Wilson in 1912, Marshall wrote to him that the GOP “in my judgment represents the principle of constitutional government as we have received it from the ‘Fathers of the Republic,’ and as such still merited Jewish support. It stands four square against the forces of socialism and radicalism . . . as contrasted with an unregulated democracy.” During the subsequent Red Scare, Marshall argued that Bolshevism was the “creation of non-Jews” and that “the Jew is not by disposition a radical. He is essentially conservative, wedded to the ideals of his forefathers.”²²

Woodrow Wilson first broke the Republican association with Jews by receiving 55 percent of the Jewish vote in 1916.²³ Even so, Republican Warren Harding gained some 43 percent of the Jewish vote four years later; the rest went to Socialist Eugene V. Debs. In heavily Jewish Boston precincts, Harding received 59 percent.²⁴ With the coming of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal in the midst of the Great Depression, Jewish voters moved overwhelmingly into the Democratic camp.

What the foregoing suggests is that despite the popular image of pervasive Jewish liberalism, there has always been a significant conservative Jewish tradition in this country. Indeed, if one looks at the course of Jewish history, it can be said that liberalism is the newcomer to the Jewish political stage and that the Jewish trend toward greater conservatism, especially at state and local levels, is growing, as I discuss in the Epilogue.

Before going further, the reader needs a definition (at least *my* definition) of conservatism. As used here, conservatism denotes a body of thought that emphasizes the right of individuals in society to pursue their own interests with as little government interference as possible. Socialism is seen as a failure, while capitalism, with all its faults, is credited with having provided for the material well-being and individual freedom of increasingly larger numbers of people, both in this country and abroad.

Conservatives blame the New Left and the counterculture that spread during the Vietnam War era for a breakdown of societal values, as reflected in increased crime, violence, drug use, and sexual immorality (if indeed we can use that term seriously any more). A binding force for conservatives has been strong opposition to communism and, more particularly, to the aggressive designs of the Soviet Union before its collapse. (Of course, many Democrats and liberals also shared these concerns – Harry Truman launched the Cold War, which John F. Kennedy continued – but conservatives over the years have led the anticommunist crusade.)

Many of the neoconservatives whom I profile in the following chapters (Irving Kristol; his wife, Gertrude Himmelfarb; Daniel Bell; Nathan Glazer; and Norman Podhoretz, along with such non-Jewish allies as James Q. Wilson, Michael Novak, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan) were bitterly

Cambridge University Press

0521836565 - The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy

Murray Friedman

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Introduction: American Jews in an Age of Conservatism*

7

attacked as apostates from liberalism. Nonetheless, as their ideas gained broader acceptance, they won greater respect. Although older-generation neocons still see themselves as embattled outsiders, younger Jewish conservatives regularly express their views to large audiences on television talk shows and in mainstream newspapers and magazines.

Gary Dorrien, a historian respectful of the movement coming from a liberal perspective, notes in the Preface to his book *The Neoconservative Mind: Politics, Culture, and the War of Ideology* (1993) that the political scientist “Michael Walzer has rightly observed that neoconservatism is the only intellectual movement in recent American politics to successfully unite theory and practice.”²⁵ Even Norman Podhoretz and Midge Decter, who have been bitterly reviled for embracing conservative views, have received relatively benign reviews for their most recent autobiographical works, particularly Podhoretz’s *Ex-Friends* (1999).²⁶

The neocon ascendancy in this country has taken shape against the backdrop of a growth in conservatism both in the United States and abroad, hence the title of this Introduction. A Gallup poll indicates that twice as many Americans (41 percent) view themselves as “conservatives” than as “liberals” (19 percent). Since the end of the New Deal and Fair Deal, Republicans have occupied the White House for much of the time. The demise of the Soviet Union and its turn toward private enterprise, the rollback of socialist systems in Africa and Asia, including, most notably, Communist China and Western Europe (Germany in particular), have accentuated the worldwide move to the right. (Although the conservative Margaret Thatcher is no longer in office in Britain, a later successor, Prime Minister Tony Blair, has often appeared Ronald Reagan-like at times, to the mortification of his own Labour Party.). Sociologist Alan Wolfe has written, “Across all of Europe and North America, the social democratic century has come to an end.”²⁷

Popular culture has also taken a shift rightward most recently. With some twenty million listeners, conservative Rush Limbaugh still dominates talk radio, not to mention Fox News, “the loud, flashy, right-tilting network,” writes Jason Zengerle, “that in January 2002, overtook CNN in the ratings to become the most-watched news network in the country”²⁸ It may be a measure of the times that the widely viewed and award-winning television program *The West Wing* replaced liberal President Josiah Bartlet briefly in the fall of 2003 with the conservative Republican President John Goodman. Its producers brought in two consultants, one a former chief of staff to Ronald Reagan and the other a neoconservative, John Podhoretz, the son of two of the key figures in neoconservatism.

In one of his most memorable pronouncements, Irving Kristol, a former Trotskyite who became one of the movement’s leaders, and indeed is widely seen as the father of neoconservatism, declared that a conservative is a liberal who has been mugged by reality. Reality came on September 11, 2001. The Islamist terrorists’ destruction of New York’s World Trade Center

Cambridge University Press

0521836565 - The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy

Murray Friedman

Excerpt

[More information](#)

encouraged a national yearning for security and a new swing toward conservatism. A new generation of Jewish neocons have lined up behind the Bush Doctrine. Moreover, as threats to Israel's safety and security have mounted, coupled with an increase in anti-Semitism in Western Europe, Jews have a nagging sense that they remain an endangered people. The deeper their anxieties, the more likely their move to greater conservatism.

If one argues, as I do, that Jewish conservatism has played a little-noticed role in American social and political life for much of the last hundred years, one may wonder why it has gone largely unrecognized for so long. The reason is that relatively few historians have examined the subject of *American* conservatism, let alone Jewish conservatism. Liberal historian Michael Kazin put it this way: "Historians, like most people are reluctant to sympathize with people whose political opinions they detest. Overwhelmingly cosmopolitan in their cultural tastes and liberal or radical in their politics, scholars of modern America have largely eschewed research projects about past movements that seem to them either bastions of a crumbling status quo or the domain of puritanical, pathological yahoos."²⁹ Alan Brinkley has made the same point succinctly: "American conservatism has been something of an orphan in historical scholarship."³⁰ And Leo P. Ribuffo, a George Washington University historian who describes himself as "an unreconstructed McGovernite," compares the profession's neglect of the right to its earlier indifference to African-Americans, women, and industrial workers.³¹ This volume can be viewed as part of the effort to create a historiography of American conservatism.

But what about *Jewish* conservatism? Indeed, for some, the term "Jewish conservative" is a contradiction in terms. One of the aims of this book is to refute that notion. For many Jews of any political persuasion, "Jewishness" is not measured by synagogue attendance or the formal aspects of faith, even though a number of the younger Jewish conservatives today are turning back to traditional religion. Many of the older generation of neocons profiled here, while proud of their Jewish ancestry, rarely attended synagogue. In an essay describing his political shift from left to right, Joseph Epstein observed that even for the non-observant Jew, Jewishness exercises "a subtle influence upon one's political consciousness," adding that his own conservatism resulted from his being "made aware of anti-Semitism as a principal fact of life."³²

The subtlety goes even deeper. For Jews who reached their maturity in the 1930s and 1940s, the tendency was to equate Jewishness with political engagement on the side of the various shades of the left. What I am suggesting is that for most neocons, their move to the right reflected the fact that the leftist formulas for social change not only had played themselves out but also, as it turned out with communism, had led to totalitarianism and massive human suffering. Thus, among the neocons, there has been what historian Stephen J. Whitfield has called "an unabashed proclivity for intellectualism."³³ That may be what is Jewish about Jewish conservatism.

Cambridge University Press

0521836565 - The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy

Murray Friedman

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Introduction: American Jews in an Age of Conservatism*

9

In a sense, all history is biography. The values and interests of individual historians often determine what they explore and not infrequently what they write about. I too have personally traveled the route of many of the neoconservatives described here. I grew up in a left-wing, working-class, immigrant-oriented environment in New York City. I attended a tuition-free municipal college – in my case, Brooklyn rather than City College, to which many of the neocons were drawn by economic necessity. (We used to refer to Brooklyn College as “the little Red school house.”)

With time out for military service, I participated in the radical politics of the immediate postwar years. It pains me to recall that as a college student, I made streetcorner speeches from a wooden platform for Henry Wallace, who ran vainly against Harry Truman for the presidency in 1948. I was not put off by the fact that the American Labor Party, a Communist Party front, supported Wallace’s Progressive Party. Shortly thereafter, and at the height of the loyalty investigations, I went to work in the Pentagon helping to write the history of the U.S. army in World War II. I was given access to classified information and feared that if my “radical” past were uncovered I would be fired as a “security risk.” (They never found out!)

My experience, however, which I will touch on from time to time in this book, may add a small personal dimension to this account. Two books were critical to my intellectual evolution. The first was Arthur Koestler’s *Darkness at Noon* (1941), his fictionalized version of the Moscow show trials. For the first time I began to question whether the communist and left-wing sympathies that were so widespread in my circle actually led to the good society. The second book was Whittaker Chambers’ moving 1952 memoir *Witness*, describing his years in the underground as a spy for the Soviet Union and the exposing of Alger Hiss as a member of his espionage ring. I found Chambers’ version of events compelling. I remained, nevertheless, a liberal civic activist even as I began graduate studies.

As a staff member of the centrist American Jewish Committee in Philadelphia, I grew increasingly concerned that Jewish civic policies were losing touch with groups that made up the old liberal coalition. *Overcoming Middle Class Rage* (1971), a collection of essays that I edited (with a Foreword by Senator Hubert Humphrey), warned that liberalism was losing its way and needed to become relevant to the times. In 1984, I published an examination of Jewish public policy, *The Utopian Dilemma*, which urged Jewish liberals to move beyond their earlier important contributions to create a fresh agenda for the closing years of this century. It is a measure of the ground I had traveled that this time the Foreword was written by the conservative theologian Michael Novak, and the cover carried a blurb by Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, the conservative political scientist and former ambassador to the United Nations under Ronald Reagan.

Following publication of an article I had written in 1981 for *Commentary* called “A New Direction for American Jews,” President Reagan named me

Cambridge University Press

0521836565 - The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy

Murray Friedman

Excerpt

[More information](#)

vice chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in Washington. Alas, in that post, both the left and the right clobbered me. But that's another story.

My goal here is to provide an examination of American Jewish conservatism that is both comprehensive and objective. I can do no less, for my first loyalty is to history rather than to social or political activism. I have sought to apply here the maxim of the eminent social critic James Q. Wilson, who notes, "I know my political ideas affect what I write but I've tried hard to follow the facts wherever they lead."³⁴

A word about sources: my debt to George Nash, whose book *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America: Since 1945* was first published in 1976 and brought up to date in 1996, can be measured by the fact that I have dedicated this book to him. He has truly been a mentor to me, as he has been to just about everyone who attempts to tell the story of conservatism in our society. Two books on neoconservatism have been especially important: Gary Dorrien, *The Neoconservative Mind: Politics, Culture, and the War of Ideology* (1993), and Mark Gerson, *The Neoconservative Vision: From the Cold War to the Culture Wars* (1996). The first is critical of the movement, the latter sympathetic. Both books are excellent (I note the perspective of each, since the subject is so suffused in controversy), but both have been overtaken by events, particularly the emergence of a new group of younger neoconservatives as well as the events in Iraq and Afghanistan, which have given the discussion of neoconservatism new momentum.

Turning back to the Cold War period, I found Jay Winik's *On the Brink: The Dramatic, behind the Scenes Saga of the Reagan Era and the Men and Women Who Won the Cold War* (1996) useful primarily because of excellent interviews with neoconservatives describing their firsthand and candid personal experiences. Anticommunism has been at the center of neoconservatism from 1947 to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990. The important books here dealing with McCarthyism and what I have called the liberal civil war and the liberal meltdown include Richard Gid Powers' *Not without Honor: The History of American Anticommunism* (1995) and *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America* (2000) by John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr. The essential background for my description, one necessary to understand the role of the neocons in and out of the Reagan administration regarding the dangers posed by Soviet imperialism and the collapse of the Soviet Union, can be found in Peter Schweizer's *Reagan's War: The Epic Story of His Forty Year Struggle and Final Triumph over Communism* (2002), which draws from materials found in Soviet archives.

Finally, Norman Podhoretz has written several memoirs describing the evolution of his thought and experiences that I have consulted closely. They include *Making It* (1967), *Breaking Ranks: A Political Memoir* (1979), *Ex-Friends: Falling Out with Allen Ginsberg, Lionel and Diana Trilling, Lillian Hellman, Hannah Arendt and Norman Mailer* (1999), and *My Love Affair*