

*From Outside the  
Sunni Triangle*

*Fritz W. Peter*

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,\*)

this recent story is told from outside the Sunni Triangle – and it's telling of a different kind of triangular reality, namely today's interwoven reality due to global communications on an individual basis, rendering obsolete any static or defiant mind-set of which there is plenty in this many-shaded world. The triangular virtual reality I will tell you of is very real and stretches from some place in Iraq to others in Germany and the U.S. – as to now.

It is fueled by the power of written thought and by common understanding of timeless universal values. There might be huge walls of narrow-mindedness and of fortified borders right through the hearts of people but there are lines of communications as well from many a mind or heart in some ransacked part of the world to other parts with more calm or consideration and a minimum of human respect or, at least, with less wordless violence.

So the Iraqi-German-American triangular context, of which I like to give some tiny, telling evidence – and of which you might become a part if you choose to –, may serve as a symbol to whoever takes comfort in constructive mutual support, or call it supportive human interrelations.

The “actors” involved are an Iraqi architect and writer, Nasir Flayih Hassan; the editorial staff of FrontPageMagazine.com, presenting Mr Hassan's insight and résumé on their website; a German journalist who also manages an effective NGO in Kurdish Iraq, Mr. A., bringing the article of Mr Hassan to my attention; myself, by way of translating it and by “mining” for a way to have this article printed; Mr. B. of DIE ZEIT, as well as Mr. C. of *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, and – last but by no means least – some of the foremost commentators of one of the foremost newspapers\*) (should I skip the words “one of”, indeed, I would be ready to) on this troubled dazzling globe.

You might want to start reading now. My hind thought would be, how can the story described be kept going?

Yours

*Fritz W. Peter*

somewhere amidst a very local world.

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\*) I've addressed this to several columnists of the Washington Post.

## January 2005 – A Recent Story.

On Jan 12<sup>th</sup> I sent a letter to DIE ZEIT, including a German translation of the article of Nasir F. Hassan: “How the Left Betrayed my country – Iraq” (attached in full length, English and German).

I didn't know the author – only appraised his article. I didn't even know whether he was a resident of Iraq or the US. At the start my belief was that he be the latter.

The English version had been presented on FrontPageMagazine.com.

DIE ZEIT is the most popular center-left weekly paper among readers busy (or searching for jobs) in the field of academia; it is considered by students or academicians to render political “non-ideological” orientation, in accordance with “modern attitudes or feeling” – and is also pushing these views too. So the amalgam of opinion and information offered by this paper is on an appealing and adequate high level. Reading – DIE ZEIT – is not at all restricted to the community mentioned; it's a widely read weekly.

On Jan 13<sup>th</sup> Mr. B. of DIE ZEIT sent a mail saying that they would discuss the matter soon in view of the elections in Iraq. He seemed confident to be able to include it into last week's edition, Thursday Jan 27<sup>th</sup>. So I tried to get hold of Mr Nasir Hassan, addressing FrontPage-Magazine.com, editors as well as Mr David Horowitz, asking them for swift support:

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### 1.)

**Head:** How the Left Betrayed My Country - Iraq  
**To:** <jglazov@rogers.com>; <ben@cspc.org>  
**Date:** 14. Jan 2005 14:55

Dear Editors,  
would you be so kind to help me get into mail-contact with Naseer Flayih Hasan. I've been messaging yesterday as well as today. I'm not sure there will be an immediate reaction. Please read the following lines which I addressed to the author by way of the comment-function on your website.

Dear Naseer Flayih Hasan, having translated your article into German I would now like to find a way of printing it or presenting it on a website read by my fellow countrymen. Please take notice of this mail and reply so I can get into contact with you in order to ask you whether you give your okay with respect to printing the translated version. To help you make sure that the translation is of good quality and will serve your purpose you might get into contact with a German NGO doing work in Kurdish Iraq – of which I give you the web-address: [www.wadinet.de](http://www.wadinet.de). You will find them to be trustworthy people; they will be able to reassure you that the translated version of your text is well done. It would help to confront some people over here too with a non-dogmatic view of the situation and a perspective of people in your country which had been self-colonialized by Saddam and the Baath regime for so long.

Yours, Fritz W. Peter, Germany ( [peter@4pe.de](mailto:peter@4pe.de) or [info@4pe.de](mailto:info@4pe.de) )

The translation is attached to the mail. May be someone around you knows enough German.

Sincerely  
Yours

Fritz W. Peter

## 2.)

Mr Hassan replied next day.

**From:** <naseer11f@yahoo.com>  
**To:** <peter@4pe.de>  
**Date:** 15. Jan 2005 21:34

Dear Fritz W.Peter

Thank you very much for your interest in my essay.

I just received a message about your e mail, and I'm contacting you now so we have direct way of contacting.

Please make it clearer to me where you have the attention to publish/print my article, and the rights for payments I expect to have for this. I will try to check the German translation soon.

Sincerely

Yours

Naseer Flayih Hasan

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## 3.)

I hurried to respond:

**From:** <peter@4pe.de>  
**To:** <naseer11f@yahoo.com>  
**Copy:** <Mr-B@zeit.de>; <Mrs-E@hagalil.com>; <Mr-A@yahoo.de>  
**Date:** 15. Jan 2005 23:23

Dear Naseer Flayih Hasan,

there is an important weekly paper over here that told me they might take interest in your article, i.e. the German version. It's "DIE ZEIT" ([www.zeit.de](http://www.zeit.de)).

I'll also give you the web-address of one of the staff's journalists (Mr. B.). He is one of the persons responsible for the political section of this paper. You should try to get into contact with him by mail (Mr-B@zeit.de).

In case this option will not work (Mr. B. told me that they hadn't yet decided on the matter), then, indeed, I would ask you to accept unpaid publication on two websites:

[www.wadinet.de](http://www.wadinet.de) and [www.hagalil.com](http://www.hagalil.com)

WADI is an NGO working in northern Iraq. They need all their money for their work. Same thing with hagalil. They are both presenting substantial information day by day. Be so kind to consider whether you would accept unpaid presentation of your article in case it can't be printed in DIE ZEIT.

I will send this mail as a copy to Mr. B. (DIE ZEIT), Mrs. E. (hagalil), Mr. A. (WADI). You can also address me in case you accept unpaid internet-presentation.

As for myself I've written numerous articles alongside your basic views when analyzing the situation in Iraq during the past two years. Like you I've been an outspoken supporter of liberating Iraq from Baathist "Neo-Selfcolonization" - as I like to call it (would you agree?) - so your country might have some real future perspective.

I'll attach a list of writings of my own that might be of interest to you. In case you know somebody who speaks German have him look into these writings. It should please you as I try from the beginning to convince my readers of the necessity to act in favor of regime change. Among these readers are several leading representatives in our national parliament - we call it "Bundestag".

By the way, I spent some time translating your article in the very best way I can, sticking to your language and transposing it into German at the level of your intentions.

Be so kind and let me here from you.

Best greetings, Yours  
Fritz W. Peter

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#### 4.)

On 17<sup>th</sup> Mr Hassan replied:

**Head:** thank you  
**From:** <naseer11f@yahoo.com>  
**Date:** 17. Jan 2005 10:51

Dear Mr Fritz W.Peter

thank u for your nice e mail, and sorry for being little late to answer you, since i tried to find some person who speaks good german in the last 2 day, and unfortunately couldnt.

i still have no idea about the way u translated my article, although i feel that u did this in a very good way, specially that u r a writer too.

if im going to find some one who can give me an idea about yr translation , and have a good german, that will take some time im afraid, what u suggest.

i highly appreciate what u r doing and writing to help the democratic changes that are taking place in my country.

pls keep in touch

best

Naseer Flayih Hasan

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#### 5.)

I hurried again to respond:

**Head:** Re: thank you  
**To:** <naseer11f@yahoo.com>  
**Copy:** <Prof-G@t-online.de>; <Mr-A@yahoo.de>; <Mr-B@zeit.de>; <Prof-G@t-online.de>; etc.  
**Date:** 17. Jan 2005 14:

Dear Naseer Hasan,

now it's my turn to say thanks for your answer. We are both idealists and rationalists and hope to further humanity in a chaotic world composed as much of malicious as of benevolent forces. Let's continue fighting and preserve a strong morale!

If you look for some person to reassure you of the correctness and quality of my translation of your text "How the Left Betrayed My Country - Iraq" just turn to one of the persons that I will address alongside with this mail. They are all highly qualified, knowledgeable people engaged in fur-

thering political analysis and democratic progress for years and decades. Of course, I could point out many more persons to be contacted, yet I can't send this letter indiscriminately to any person without adding all the information needed.

DIE ZEIT is one of the most well-known papers in Germany. So you might address Mr-B. This paper might refrain from publicizing your article because its readers belong in part to the center-left of our public. On the other hand, the paper tries to counterbalance some of the provincialism and lacking realism of leftist or "liberal" thinking. So they might want to provoke some rethinking on the part of their readers.

WADI e.V., foremost NGO in northern Iraq, is a rare example of an organization led by people who are not just humanitarians but profound theoretical thinkers who cannot be lured by conventional public or leftist views. They have published many excellent contributions as journalists and authors.

Prof. G... is a Senior academician of outstanding merits. You might also like to turn to a person like him. So good luck - and let's get going with publicizing your article.

Hagalil, which I mentioned in my last mail, is a platform dedicated to the principle of tolerance, specializing on Near-East and Jewish topics as a means to stop any racist dealings or propaganda that has done (and is doing) so much harm round the world. You know yourself that anti-Semitic or anti-American thought is deflecting from facing reality and from real problem-solving. Let's help stop ideology of all kind.

I also add the address of Clyde P., President of the T... Strategy Institute in Washington, D.C., who has been cited shortly by Thomas L. Friedman, NYT, one of the most wellknown journalists in the world. You might have read some of his brilliant analyses. Yet, I'm not quite sure whether Mr. Clyde P. is at his place. He might also be traveling.

If - in the end - there is no way of earning money by publicizing your article or its translation then please consider to give your consent to present it at [www.wadinet.de](http://www.wadinet.de) and [www.hagalil.com](http://www.hagalil.com).

Best regards

Fritz

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## 6.)

A day later I was informed by Mr. B. – DIE ZEIT – that they intend to publish the article of Mr Hassan. Great!

I received a copy of the mail Mr. B. had sent to Mr Hassan.

**From:** <Mr-B@zeit.de>  
**To:** <naseer11f@yahoo.com>  
**Copy:** <peter@4pe.de>  
**Date:** 18. Jan 2005 12:36

Dear Mr Hasan,

Thank you very much for your inspiring article which I would like to run in our pre-election issue on Iraq next week. We have already planned for three pieces, yours would be the fourth. I shall try hard to get it all into this edition and let you know Monday, January 24. Please, send me a short bio if available.

Best regards,  
Mr. B.

DIE ZEIT  
20095 Hamburg

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## 7.)

On Jan 21<sup>st</sup>, however, Mr. B. informed me that because of lack of space due to some additional lucrative advertisements they would not be able to print the article.

I sent a mail to Mr Hassan telling him that I felt very sorry for him, asking him for permission to present his article on the websites mentioned before.

**Head:** Your Iraq-article  
**To:** <naseer11f@yahoo.com>  
**Date:** 23. Jan 2005 23:29

Dear Naseer Hasan,

Mr. B. sent me a mail informing me that your article will not be published because of lack of space due to advertisements. He wanted to publish your article very much - as he wrote me before.

He himself firmly believed that it would work. It's a pity that it didn't.

I'm very sorry for you. I also spent much time trying to make this a success. So it's a sad outcome for me too.

Would you approve in presenting your article as well as my translation on WADI-homepage ([www.wadinet.de](http://www.wadinet.de)) and on hagalil-homepage ([www.hagalil.com](http://www.hagalil.com))?

Please look at these websites and tell me whether you accept this or maybe one of the two.

I told you of all the valuable work they do and it'd be added value if your article would be presented there too.

Please respond quickly so we get this done before election date in Iraq.

Thanks a lot and best regards

Fritz W. Peter / Germany

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## 8.)

**Head:** thank u  
**From:** <naseer11f@yahoo.com>  
**To:** <peter@4pe.de>  
**Date:** 24. Jan 2005 21:41

Dear Mr Fritz Peter

I'm sorry for being little late in answering u, but in fact we generally don't have Internet connections in houses, and I don't go to the Internet cafi daily, as well as the continuous problem of electricity, as I guess u know..

Please don't feel sorry for my article not being published in (Die Zeit) paper, u know such things highly expected in our work, and we can get all what we want all the time!!

I'd like to thank u for all the effort and interest u showed in my article, and I hope for further cooperation with u, specially if u have regular connections with German papers, magazines, and web sites.

Please feel free to publish my article in the 2 web sites u suggested, and please consider that the correct form of my name that should be published is (Nasir.F.Hassan), since some inaccuracy happened in the first publishing.

Please accept all my regards and respect.

Yrs

Nasir F. Hassan

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## 9.)

I guess he intended to say "... and we can't (CAN'T) get all what we want at the time!!" – yet his subconscious got in the way.

I was moved by the letter – and tried again to find some way of publication, writing to DIE WELT, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung, as well as to Die Tageszeitung (taz), a leftist paper, yet somewhat creative or unconventional from time to time. I addressed staff members, referring to some former mail-contacts I had established.

It worked: Mr. C. from Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung called me up and told me that they would print it on Jan 30<sup>th</sup> (Sunday).

I figure, you will know Mr. C. – and of course, it wont be necessary to comment on F.A.Z. or F.A.S..

## 10.)

Then I gave the information to Mr Hassan.

**Head:** your article How the Left Betrayed ...

**To:** <naseer11f@yahoo.com>

**Copy:** <Mr-C@faz.de>; "Mr. C." <sonntagszeitung\_politik@faz.de>

**Date:** 27. Jan 2005 15:16

Dear Nasir (may I call you by your first name - please use mine too), it might work after all! I tried again with some other big German papers. One of the most renowned and most widespread (weekly) papers has signaled much interest. They will try to get into contact with you. A responsible staff member of that paper, Mr. C., will send you an email. I told him of the problems like sporadic lack of electricity and that you are dependent on an internet-cafe. Mr. C. is a superbly informed person and one of the most thoughtful and profound German journalist. It'd be a great honor if your article will be printed! This email will be addressed as a copy to Mr. C. from Frankf. Allgem. Sonntagszeitung.

Regards

Fritz

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## 11.)

Nasir reacted:

**Head:** Re: your article How the Left Betrayed ...

**From:** <naseer11f@yahoo.com>

**Date:** 28. Jan 2005 10:35



Dear Fritz

here i find my self again so grateful to all what u do, in fact thats very impressive and all what can i say, again, is ( thank u).

i'd like to draw yr attention to another article of mine which is printed in front page magazine, check my name as (nasir flayih hasan)

(<http://www.frontpagemagazine.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=16740>)

but pls consider as i told u before, i like my article to be printed, if it is going to be printed, under the proper form of my name which is (Nasir F. Hassan).

i wonder what u would think about this second article too.

in some earlier e mails of yrs, u talked about some political and intellectual points, in fact i didnt have the opportunity to read it carefully yet, and in the coming few days we will be quite busy with the ellection issue, so im going to say something about this as soon as i read it carefully.

pls accept all my respect and appreciation.

yrs sincerely

Nasir

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## 12.)

The article he is referring to is attached at the end of this story. It also reveals some personal data; he lost a close friend and a relative, an "ordinary worker, father of six kids", by terrorist attack ... Trying hard when mobilizing my limited knowledge of English, I sent Nasir some commentary.

**Head:** your second contribution

**To:** <naseer11f@yahoo.com>

**Copy:** "Mr. K." <Mr-K@gop....com>

**Date:** 28. Jan 2005 21:19

Dear Nasir,

you have written a wonderful text, very serious, very considerate and balanced, very moving, very telling about present reality in Iraq - objective and psychological reality. The thoughtful way you describe the situation - one could almost say: the poetic way of description - helps readers and political decision-makers outside the borders of your country to appraise the fierce struggle your people is fighting. You don't exaggerate, you don't use militarized language, you just make clear that there is growing resolve among people to fight this "disease" - as you say - and to support all the brave American soldiers that risk their lives for the sake of an oppressed people! They indeed behave like real brothers and sisters would. And your people will know or learn to understand - some slowly, some more quickly - who is on their side.

These soldiers were sent there for numerous reasons, not just humanitarian but also very profane ones. They came for reasons of "national interest". But it happens to be your Iraqi "national interest" too to stand on your own feet for the first time in almost half a century. So what these brave soldiers are actually and factually are doing is to open the door and pave the way for your Iraqi future.

I've asked an American friend, Mr. K., to please help find a journal or magazine in the US where "Iraqis and the Real Resistance" could be offered (as I like to put it) to the public. I lack sufficient time to engage in this attempt at the moment as well as during the next five or six weeks. If there were sufficient time I'd try myself as I did before with your other piece of political literature.

The mail-address of Mr. K. is in the heading.

Mit besten Grüßen

Fritz

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### 13.)

Nasir responded on Febr 1<sup>st</sup>.

**Head:** Re: your second contribution

**From:** <naseer11f@yahoo.com>

**Date:** 01. Feb 2005 13:27

Dear Fritz

im so glad that u have such a good opinion about my second article too, and since these are the first articles that im publishing in the english language, what u say seems very encouraging to me. thank u for every thing.

i just answered Mr C's e mail, since we were in the last three days (as well as all the things that i told u about electricity and internet connections) were quite busy with the ellections issue, specially considering the carefew etc. im thinking of writing an article about this issue (the elections day) too.

do u know if im going to have any reward from Mr C's paper (what is the name of the paper in english pls) if my article is going to be printed there? of course u know that i consider this point all the time in my writings, to be able to arrange my daily life financial demands.

the cafe which im writing this e mail from is going to close soon, so i must stop here now.

since Mr C asked for some short information about my self, i quote here what i wrote about to him , so u can have an idea too about some of my points of view, and i would appreciate it if u can give me some idea about yr self too.

thank u again, yrs

Nasir

quote: Dear Mr C.

thank you very much for your very nice e mail. in fact im glad to say that it will be a great honour of mine to have my article printed in yr highly respected paper.

im sorry for being little late to answer u, in fact, beside the daily normal problems we have here (like the continious lack of electricity, and generally having no internet connections in houses, things that force me to go to internet cafes, which i cant do daily), the last three days were also extraordinary days, considering the ellections issue, and the curfew etc.

about me:

im an architect and a writer, a poet in deed, and i had a poems collection printed in 1998, whose title is (the circle of the sundial). im a person who resisted Saddam regime in many ways, for decades, and had many of my relatives and friends excuted. some day i was believing in communism, but i had a (dramatic) change in my thoughts in the period (1989-1992) where i changed to secular democratic person. u know, the long experiences of suffer are sometimes the decisive factor that can change the dogmatic inflexible ideologies of persons and peoples. and this is what im widnessing now, after the last war. since the liberation of my country in 2003, ive been watching closely all the arguments of all those who opposed the USA and its allies, and i found, and still founding how the american points of views now, are matching much more harmoniosly the hopes of the peoples of this area, for democracy and progress. im aware that each side has his own intersts, whatever the ideal aims he is claiming, and from this point of view, i can tell, how the american interests are more progressive now days comparing with, lets say, France, Germany, Russia, Arab countries etc.

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**14.)**

Again, I had to react – though short of time due to other demanding vocational obligations:

**Head:** Re: your second contribution

**To:** <naseer11f@yahoo.com>

**Date:** 01. Feb 2005 17:26

Dear Nasir,

because I felt certain (and still feel certain) that the big paper, where your article has been printed, will pay a reward to you, I didn't discuss this point with Mr-C. I guess it'll just be a question of time. I addressed him once again after receiving your letter referring to your question of reward. Since you yourself also sent a mail to him, he will most certainly react very quickly to inform you of everything.

The name of the paper is: Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung. The last word means: Sunday paper. So it's a weekly paper. It belongs to the most renowned German media and publishing company, by the name of: Frankfurter Allgemeine Verlag. The last word means: Media and Publishing house. It also has a daily edition, called: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. The last word means: Paper/ journal. This paper is the most prominent one of numerous fine or excellent daily papers we have in Germany. They are mostly independent of each other as well as of foreign publishers. So your article was placed in the very best way it could be. I take for granted that they will find some way of paying you. Pls stick to Mr. C. for further help since I've no way or means of influencing this. - Returning to translating the German words: "Frankfurter" means "coming from Frankfurt", that is to say, this paper (the weekly as well as the daily one) come from Frankfurt, that big city somewhere in the middle of Germany. The word "Allgemeine" means: "general", in the sense of "general information". This might help you to refer to that paper when asked by the people around you, where you achieved to present your valuable article. It was placed on the inside of the front side of last Sunday's edition. I wouldn't know a better place for positioning a commentary of the kind you made. I've downloaded your article as it appeared in the paper and will attach it here. Mr. C. has changed the title in a very meaningful way, writing: "Keine Tyrannenfeinde", meaning: "Those who are no enemies to tyrants". That refers, for instance, to a statements of a very renowned German author and critic who had been pointing out that Germans (and Europeans) don't confront tyranny sufficiently. Mr. C. also did some shortening of your descriptions - but I can assure you, he did a superb (!!!) job. I knew he would. He is a very profound commentator. So wherever they speak German -like in Switzerland or Austria too - you might show your article to the most educated and most intellectual people you can find and you can be sure they will regard you with respect, just as well due to the positioning of your article as to the contents and stile of writing when published, for it is fittingly translated and has, in some slight way, been brilliantly shortened. It is NOT for compliment, when I say this, but for information. You can rely on what I have said just here and now with certainty. There are still some things certain in this world! It's a "distant reminder" of what is called "German quality". We have lost much of that. In contrast, this piece of work or end-product deserves to be classified as I just did!

By the way, we speak of this paper as F.A.S. (that's the weekly one). The other one is abbreviated as follows: F.A.Z. (that's the daily one).

Since you asked for some information concerning my views or person I include some biographical data. My age, by the way, is beyond the fifties, but my heart and spirit are those of a twenty-year-old, hopefully.

During the coming four weeks I will be so busy doing my job as a consultant that it will not be possible for me to respond to the "outer world" like you, Nasir, or any other wonderful person. You can send me anything but please don't expect me to answer before March. Take care of yourself,

Yours

Fritz

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### 15.)

Mr. C. informed me that – of course – Mr. Hassan will have a reward. They ponder at the moment how best to address him so the money will reach him.

Mr. B. of DIE ZEIT, who had seen the article in F.A.S., wrote me and reassured me that it had been for the reasons he had already cited. He was happy that things worked out in the end but was sorry that it didn't work in his center-left weekly. That's my classification, not his. There were no remarks on his part on this matter (of political classification). You know the people at the top of DIE ZEIT, Helmut Schmidt, Theo Sommer etc. ...

Maybe you might find it worthwhile to get into some contact with Mr Hassan. It's just an idea of mine, I didn't tell him of this idea. When reading all your splendid commentary in The Post – as I did for years – I envisage you, one just as much as the other, each in his/her different personal intellectual way, to ponder some moments whether there might be some way to encourage – or make use of – a person like Nasir F. Hassan.

Best regards

Fritz

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### Attachments:

### 16.)

## How the Left Betrayed My Country - Iraq By Naseer Flayih Hasan, January 3, 2005

Before the last war, we Iraqis spent decades cut off from the outside world. Not only did the Baathist regime prevent us from traveling during the Iran-Iraq conflict and the period of the sanctions, but they punished anyone possessing satellite television. And of course, internet access was strictly limited. Because of our isolation, most of us had little idea or sense about life beyond our borders.

We did believe, however, that democracy and human rights were important factors in Western civilization. So it came as a shock to us when millions of people began demonstrating across the world against America's build-up to the invasion of our country. We supposed the protests were by people who had no idea about the terrible atrocities that the regime had inflicted upon us for decades.

We assumed that once they learned what had happened in Iraq, they would change their minds, or modify their opposition to the war.

My first clue that this would not happen was a few weeks after Baghdad fell. I had befriended a French reporter who had begun to realize that the situation in Iraq was not how the international media or the so-called “peace camp” described it. I noticed, however, that whenever he tried to voice his doubts to colleagues, they argued that he was wrong. Soon afterwards, I met a Dutch woman on Mutinabi Street, where booksellers lay out their wares on Friday morning. I asked her how long she’d been in Iraq and, through a translator, she answered, “Three months.”

“So you were here during the war?”

“Yes!” she said. “To see the crimes of the Americans!”

I was stunned. After a moment, I replied, “What about the crimes of the regime? It killed millions of Iraqis. Do you know that if the regime was still in power, the conversation we’re having now would result in our torture or death?”

Her face turned red and she angrily responded, “Soon will come the day that the Americans will do worse.” She then went on to accuse me of not knowing what the true facts were in Iraq—and that she could see the situation better than me!

She was not the only “humanitarian” who expressed such outrageous opinions. One afternoon, I was speaking to some members of the American anti-war group “Voices in the Wilderness.” One of the group’s members declared that the Iraqi Governing Council (then in power at the time) were “traitors.” I was shocked. Most of the Council were people whom we Iraqis knew had suffered and sacrificed in a long struggle against the regime. Some represented opposition parties who had lost ten of thousand of members in that struggle. Others came from families who had lost up to 30 loved ones to the Baathists.

After those, and many other, experiences, we finally comprehended how little we had in common with these “peace activists” who constantly decried American crimes, and hated to listen to us talk about the terrible long nightmare that ended with the collapse of the regime. We came to understand how these “humanitarians” experienced a sort of pleasure when terrorists or former remnants of the regime created destruction in Iraq—just so they could feel that they were right, and the Americans wrong!

Worse, we realized it was hopeless to make them grasp *our* feelings. We believed—and still believe—that America’s removal of the regime opened a new way for democracy. At the same time, we have no illusions that the U.S. came to Iraq on a white horse to save our people. We understand this war is all about national interests, and that America’s interests are mainly about defeating terror-

ism. At this moment, though, U.S. interests are doing more to bring about democracy and freedom in Iraq than, say, the policies of France and Russia—countries which also care little for the Iraqi people and, worse, did their best to save Saddam from destruction until the last moment.

It's worth noting, as well, that the general attitude of peace activists I met was tension and anger. They were impossible to reason with. This was because, on one hand, the sometimes considerable risks they took to oppose the war made them unable to accept the fact that their cause was not as noble as they believed. Then, too, their dogmatic anti-American attitudes naturally drew them to guides, translators, drivers and Iraqi acquaintances who were themselves supporters of the regime. These Iraqis, in turn, affected the peace activists until they came to share almost the same judgments and opinions as the terrorists and defenders of Saddam.

This was very disappointing for someone like me, who thought for decades that the Left was generally the progressive power in the world. You can imagine how aghast I was when my French reporter friend told me that the Communist Party in his country actually considers the “insurgents” to be the equivalent of the French Gaullists! Or how troubling it is to hear Jacques Chirac take satisfaction from the violence wreaked by the terrorists—those bloody monsters that we Iraqis know so well—because they justify France's original opposition to the war.

And so I have become disillusioned, at least with the Leftists I met in Iraq. So noble in their rhetoric, they looked to the stars, yet ignored what was happening around them, caring only about what was inside their minds. So glorious in their ideals, their thoughts were inflexible and their deeds unnecessary, even harmful. In the end, they proved to me how dogma and fanaticism had transform peace activists into—lifeless peace “statues.”

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17.)

## **Iraqis and the Real Resistance**

At last, a real Iraqi election, the event we have waited decades to see, is coming true. And now, as we prepare to vote, we remember all those who sacrificed their lives, their families and their youth, so that such a day would come. These words might look abstract to those who did not live under Saddam's regime, but for us, who lost loved ones and suffered long years of pain and sorrow, they are not abstractions at all.

We did not expect the events that have occurred since the fall of Saddam on April 9, 2003. Most of us expected the tyrant's collapse would make the rem-

nants of his regime—and others who assisted the monster to stay in authority for so long, feeding on the blood of Iraqis—withdraw into themselves, keeping silent, hoping for the forgiveness of the people. As we see, this did not take place. Instead, they reorganized their resources and power, formed regular links with foreign terrorists, and took the initiative to start again, although in quite different circumstances, what they had been doing for years: killing innocent Iraqis.

A few weeks ago, a relative of mine, a simple worker, one of those Iraqis whom the regime forced to spend his youth in military service and wars, was killed in an explosion on a highway. He was a father of six children. A few days ago, one of my best friends, a writer and a highly educated person—a man who had managed to resist the political pressure and threats from the Baathists for decades—was assassinated by remnants of the regime. Meanwhile, there have been countless explosions in Baghdad recently, one of which took the lives of 37 children.

And yet, we are resisting. The people who opposed the dictatorship for decades continue to struggle against it, even as it changes to secret bloody organizations using terror, assassination and hidden bombs as weapons. The true “resistance” is not the bloody terrorist groups and lost regime murderers shown on the Arab or American media all the time, but everyday Iraqis. People who suffered for decades because of Saddam’s killers and now hope to have a good, normal life like other people in the world. People like my relative who was going to work to feed his family, and people like my friend who challenged all the threats and risks and decided to make his voice heard and his existence felt.

When the regime collapsed, most Iraqis believed this would be the start of a new period, one of peace and development, a period in which our people could take off the military uniform from their bodies and souls and start rebuilding their country. But now, faced with the challenge of terrorists who would try to destroy our chances for a peaceful life, Iraqis are feeling once more the call to battle, but this time for a totally different reason: a battle in the name of democracy and progress.

Just as in the past, when the crimes of Saddam fed the deep hatred for the man and his regime in the Iraqi soul, so now the increasingly criminal actions of anti-democracy groups feed a sense of resolve in the breasts of Iraqis to fight for their democratic future. Today, I see how friends, relatives and acquaintances—some of whom have lost loved ones to the terrorists—are now rising to the challenge, not only to take part in the coming elections, but to participate in the future of Iraq’s development. I see how people who once seemed hesitant or apa-

thetic about events have become aware that the battle for democracy and freedom is their own battle, and if they are going to have a better life for themselves and their children, they must take part in this battle one way or another.

This feeling extends not only to intellectuals but to the average person in the street, who has gradually become aware that the new enemy, the new disease that infected this country after the collapse of the regime, is something we must face, sooner or later. It is taking away each day the lives of more and more Iraqis. It is not going to stop and yet it must be stopped.

And by this spirit, and through this spirit, we Iraqis are going to participate in the elections, that political slap in the face for all those who support terrorism and want to postpone our destiny as long as they can. Our increasing spirit of resistance and hope for the future is perhaps the best example of how terrorism can never stop a people's will to be free.

(Jan 24<sup>th</sup> 2005)

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18.)

My translation:

## **Wie die Linke mein Land verrät – den Irak**

*von Nasir F. Hassan*

Vor dem letzten Krieg waren wir Iraker jahrzehntelang von der Außenwelt abgeschnitten. Nicht nur war uns das Reisen untersagt in der Zeit des Iran-Irak-Konflikts [achtziger Jahre] und während der Sanktionen [neunziger Jahre], das Baath-Regime bestrafte auch jeden, der Satelliten-Fernsehen hatte. Jeder Internet-Zugang war natürlich streng begrenzt. Wegen unserer Abschottung hatten die meisten von uns kaum eine Vorstellung oder Kenntnis vom Leben jenseits der Grenzen.

Wir glaubten jedoch, dass Demokratie und Menschenrechte wichtige Aspekte der westlichen Lebensweise seien. So war es ein Schock für uns, als Millionen von Menschen in der ganzen Welt gegen den amerikanischen Kräfteaufbau vor der Invasion demonstrierten. Wir glaubten, dass die Proteste von Leuten kamen, die nichts von den entsetzlichen Gräueln wussten, mit denen das Regime Jahrzehnte über uns geherrscht hatte. Wir nahmen an, dass sie ihre Sichtweise ändern und ihre Gegnerschaft zum Krieg relativieren würden, wenn sie erfahren, was dem Irak angetan worden war.

Eine erste Ahnung, dass dies nicht passieren würde, bekam ich einige Wochen nach dem Fall Bagdads. Ich hatte mit einem französischen Reporter Bekanntschaft geschlossen, dem lang-



sam klar wurde, dass die Situation im Irak nicht so war wie die internationalen Medien und das sogenannte „Friedenslager“ es darstellten. Ich bekam mit, wie immer dann, wenn er Zweifel gegenüber Kollegen vorbrachte, sie ihm entgegenhielten, dass er die Dinge falsch sähe. Bald danach traf ich eine Niederländerin in der Mutinabistraße, wo Buchhändler ihre Ware am Freitagmorgen auslegen. Ich fragte sie, wie lang sie schon im Irak sei. „Drei Monate“, antwortete sie – mit Hilfe eines Dolmetschers.

„Dann waren Sie während des Kriegs hier?“

„Ja!“, sagte sie. „Um die Verbrechen der Amerikaner zu sehen!“

Ich war wie benommen. Nach einem kurzen Augenblick antwortete ich: „Was ist mit den Verbrechen des Regimes? Es hat Millionen Iraker umgebracht. Ist Ihnen klar, dass eine Unterhaltung wie diese, wenn das Regime noch an der Macht wäre, mit Folter und Tod verfolgt worden wäre?“

Ihr Gesicht lief rot an, ärgerlich gab sie zurück: „Bald wird es soweit sein, dass die Amerikaner noch schlimmer sind.“ Anschließend schuldigte sie mich an, dass ich die wirklichen Fakten im Irak nicht sehen würde – und dass sie die Situation besser erkennen würde als ich!

Sie war nicht die einzige „Menschenrechtlerin“, die solche empörenden Ansichten vertrat. An einem Nachmittag sprach ich mit Leuten aus der amerikanischen Anti-Kriegsgruppe „Voices in the Wilderness“. Ein Gruppenmitglied erklärte, dass der irakische Regierungsrat, der zu diesem Zeitpunkt im Amt war, aus „Verrätern“ bestehe. Ich war geschockt. Die meisten Ratsmitglieder waren Leute, von denen wir Iraker wissen, dass sie Leiden und Opfer im Widerstand gegen das Regime auf sich genommen haben. Einige vertraten Oppositionsparteien, die zehntausende Mitglieder in ihrem Kampf verloren haben. Andere kamen von Familien, die bis zu 30 Angehörige durch die Baathisten verloren haben.

Nach diesen – und vielen weiteren – Erfahrungen verstanden wir schließlich, wie wenig wir mit diesen „Friedensaktivisten“ gemeinsam hatten, die ständig amerikanische Verbrechen anprangerten und es hassten, uns zuzuhören, wenn wir von dem langen schrecklichen Alptraum sprechen wollten, der erst durch den Zusammenbruch des Regimes endete. Wir begriffen allmählich, dass diese „Menschenrechtler“ eine Art Wohlgefühl empfanden, wenn Terroristen oder Überbleibsel des früheren Regimes ihr Zerstörungswerk im Irak verrichteten – so konnten sie sich einbilden, sie hätten Recht gehabt und die Amerikaner Unrecht!

Schlimmer noch, wir bemerkten, dass es hoffnungslos war, sie zu bewegen, *unsere* Gefühle zu verstehen. Wir glaubten – und glauben immer noch – dass die Beendigung des Regimes durch die Amerikaner eine neue Startchance für die Demokratie eröffnete. Wir machen uns aber auch keine Illusionen, dass die U.S.A. auf einem weißen Ross kamen, um unser Volk zu retten. Wir begreifen, dass es in diesem Krieg vor allem um nationale Interessen geht, und dass Amerikas Interessen besonders in der Terrorismus-Bekämpfung liegen. An diesem Punkt leisten die US-Interessen allerdings mehr für den Weg des Irak zu Freiheit und Demokratie als, sagen wir, die Politik Frankreichs oder Russlands – Länder, denen es ebenfalls wenig um das irakische Volk geht, und die obendrein auch noch ihr Bestes taten, um Saddam bis zum Schluss vor einer Entmachtung zu schützen.

Es ist auch auffällig, dass die allgemeine Haltung von Friedensaktivisten, die ich getroffen habe, Spannung und Verärgerung ausdrückt. Man konnte mit ihnen nicht argumentieren. Dies mag auf der einen Seite daran gelegen haben, dass sie manchmal durch ihre Opposition zum Krieg erhebliche Risiken auf sich genommen haben, was sie dann unfähig machte einzusehen, dass ihr Anliegen nicht so nobel war wie sie dachten; außerdem führte ihre dogmatische anti-amerikanische Haltung sie zu genau den Personen, Fremdenführern, Übersetzern, Chauffeuren, Bekanntschaften, die selbst Anhänger des Systems waren. Diese Iraker wiederum verstärkten die Sichtweisen der Friedensaktivisten, mit dem Effekt, dass sie fast dieselben Ansichten wie die Terroristen und Verteidiger Saddams teilten.

Dies war sehr enttäuschend für jemanden wie mich, der jahrzehntlang im Glauben war, dass die Linke – allgemein gesprochen – die progressive Kraft in der Welt ist. Sie können sich vorstellen, wie entgeistert ich war, als mir mein französischer Reporter-Freund erzählte, dass in der Kommunistischen Partei seines Landes die irakischen „Aufständischen“ tatsächlich als ein Pendant zu den Gaullisten gesehen werden! Oder wie quälend es ist mitzubekommen, wie Jaques Chirac Zufriedenheit zeigt im Blick auf die Gewalt der Terroristen – diese Blut besudelten Monster, die wir Iraker so gut kennen –, weil das die ursprüngliche französische Opposition zum Krieg rechtfertigt.

Und so bin ich desillusioniert worden, jedenfalls von den Linken, die ich im Irak getroffen habe. Eine so hochtönende Rhetorik, mit dem Blick zu den Sternen, aber ohne (darauf) zu achten, was unmittelbar um sie herum geschieht! Wichtig nehmen sie nur, was in ihren Vorstellungen ist. So vollmundig in ihren Idealen, waren sie andererseits unbeweglich in ihren Gedanken und ihr Einsatz war unnötig, ja sogar schädlich. Im Ergebnis haben sie mir gezeigt, wie Dogmatismus und Fanatismus Friedensaktivisten in leblose Friedens-„Statuen“ transformieren.

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19.)

Shortened translation – version published in F.A.S.:

## Keine Tyrannenfeinde

Mancher Menschenrechtler haßt Amerika mehr als Saddam Hussein

Vor dem letzten Krieg waren wir Iraker jahrzehntlang von der Außenwelt abgeschnitten. Deswegen hatten die meisten von uns kaum eine Vorstellung oder Kenntnis vom Leben jenseits unserer Grenzen. Von einem aber waren wir überzeugt: daß Demokratie und Menschenrechte wichtige Aspekte der westlichen Lebensweise seien. So war es ein Schock für uns, als Millionen von Menschen in der ganzen Welt gegen die amerikanische Invasion demonstrierten. Wir nahmen an, sie würden ihre Sichtweise ändern und ihre Gegnerschaft zum Krieg relativieren, wenn sie erfahren, was dem Irak angetan worden war.

Eine erste Ahnung, daß es nicht so kommen würde, bekam ich einige Wochen nach dem Fall Bagdads. Ich machte mit einem französischen Reporter Bekanntschaft, dem langsam

klar wurde, daß die Situation nicht so war, wie es viele internationale Medien und das Friedenslager darstellten. Immer dann, wenn er seine Zweifel vorbrachte, hielten ihm seine Kollegen vor, er sehe die Dinge falsch. Dann traf ich eine Niederländerin in der Mutinabi-Straße, wo Buchhändler am Freitagmorgen ihre Ware auslegen. Seit drei Monaten sei sie im Irak, sagte sie mir - mit Hilfe eines Dolmetschers. "Dann waren Sie während des Kriegs hier?" "Ja", sagte sie, "um die Verbrechen der Amerikaner zu sehen." Ich war wie benommen - und fragte zurück: "Und was ist mit den Verbrechen des Regimes? Ist Ihnen klar, daß unsere Unterhaltung, wäre das Regime noch an der Macht, Folter oder Tod zur Folge hätte?" Ihr Gesicht lief rot an, verärgert gab sie zurück: "Bald werden die Amerikaner noch schlimmer sein."

Sie war nicht die einzige Menschenrechtlerin, die solch empörenden Ansichten vertrat. Eines Nachmittags sprach ich mit Leuten der amerikanischen Antikriegsgruppe "Voices in the Wilderness". Einer erklärte, der irakische Regierungsrat, der damals im Amt war, bestehe aus Verrätern. Ich war geschockt. Die meisten Ratsmitglieder waren Leute, von denen wir Iraker wissen, daß sie Leiden und Opfer im Widerstand gegen das Regime auf sich genommen hatten. Einige vertraten Oppositionsparteien, die Zehntausende Mitglieder in ihrem Kampf verloren haben. Andere kamen aus Familien, die bis zu 30 Angehörige verloren hatten.

Nach diesen Erfahrungen verstanden wir schließlich, wie wenig wir mit diesen Friedensaktivisten gemeinsam haben, die ständig amerikanische Verbrechen anprangern und uns nicht zuhören wollten, wenn wir von dem langen, schrecklichen Albtraum sprachen, der erst durch den Zusammenbruch des Regimes endete. Wir begriffen allmählich, daß diese Menschenrechtler eine Art Wohlgefühl empfanden, wenn Terroristen ihr Zerstörungswerk im Irak verrichteten.

Wir glauben immer noch, daß der Sturz des Regimes eine neue Startchance für die Demokratie eröffnet hat. Wir machen uns aber auch keine Illusionen über die Vereinigten Staaten. Wir wissen, daß es in diesem Krieg vor allem um nationale Interessen geht und daß Amerikas Interessen besonders in der Terrorismus-Bekämpfung liegen. Hier freilich bewirkt Amerikas Interessenpolitik mehr für unseren Weg zu Freiheit und Demokratie als, sagen wir, die Politik Frankreichs oder Rußlands - Staaten, denen es ebenfalls wenig um das irakische Volk geht und die zudem ihr Bestes taten, um Saddam vor der Entmachtung zu schützen.

Mit den Friedensaktivisten, die ich getroffen habe, konnte man nicht diskutieren. Dies mag auch daran gelegen haben, daß sie wegen ihrer Ablehnung des Krieges erhebliche Risiken auf sich genommen hatten - was sie dann unfähig machte einzusehen, daß ihr Anliegen so nobel gar nicht war. Außerdem führte sie ihre dogmatisch antiamerikanische Haltung zu Fremdenführern, Übersetzern, Chauffeuren und Gesprächspartnern, die Anhänger des alten Systems waren. Diese verstärkten die Sichtweisen der Friedensaktivisten, mit dem Effekt, daß diese am Ende fast dieselben Ansichten hatten wie die Terroristen und Verteidiger Saddams.

Dies alles war sehr enttäuschend für einen wie mich, der jahrzehntelang glaubte, die Linke sei die progressive Kraft in der Welt. Und so bin ich desillusioniert, jedenfalls von den Linken, die ich im Irak getroffen habe. Vollmundig in ihren Idealen, sind sie unbeweglich in ihren Gedanken. Sie haben gezeigt, wie Dogmatismus und Fanatismus aus Friedensaktivisten leblose Friedensstatuen machen.

Der Verfasser ist Iraker und lebt in Bagdad. Übersetzt von Fritz W. Peter  
Text: Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung, 30.01.2005, Nr. 4 / Seite 2

20.) **Own publications – 2004/05:**

**„Die Irak-Erfahrung – Lehrstunde für Völkerrechtler“**

**Teil 1** – April 04:

[http://www.wadinet.de/news/dokus/Voelkerrechtsfrage\\_Irak\\_Teil-1.pdf](http://www.wadinet.de/news/dokus/Voelkerrechtsfrage_Irak_Teil-1.pdf)  
(50 p.)

**Teil 2** – Juni 04:

[http://www.wadinet.de/news/dokus/Voelkerrechtsfrage\\_Irak\\_Teil-2.pdf](http://www.wadinet.de/news/dokus/Voelkerrechtsfrage_Irak_Teil-2.pdf)  
(32 p.)

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**(anfängliche Version der „Lehrstunde“)**

<http://www.nahost-politik.de/irak/peter.htm>  
<http://www.nahost-politik.de/irak/peter-1.htm>  
<http://www.nahost-politik.de/irak/peter-2.htm>  
<http://www.nahost-politik.de/irak/peter-3.htm>  
<http://www.nahost-politik.de/irak/peter-4.htm>  
<http://www.nahost-politik.de/irak/peter-5.htm>  
<http://www.nahost-politik.de/irak/peter-6.htm>

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April 04:

**„Friedrich Ebert Stiftung mit Orientierungsschwierigkeiten“**

[http://www.wadinet.de/news/dokus/Friedrich\\_Ebert\\_Stiftung\\_inkorrekt.pdf](http://www.wadinet.de/news/dokus/Friedrich_Ebert_Stiftung_inkorrekt.pdf)  
(14 p.)

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**(zeitgleich erschienene Version, gegliedert in 4 Teilbeiträge)**

<http://www.nahost-politik.de/deutschland/ebert.htm>  
<http://www.nahost-politik.de/deutschland/ebert-1.htm>  
<http://www.nahost-politik.de/deutschland/ebert-2.htm>  
<http://www.nahost-politik.de/deutschland/ebert-anhang.htm>

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Okt. 04:

**„Schöder, Chirac: Re-Nationalisierung der Politik“**

[http://www.wadinet.de/news/dokus/Das\\_Alte\\_Europa.pdf](http://www.wadinet.de/news/dokus/Das_Alte_Europa.pdf)  
(36 p.)

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Textauszug:

**„Plädoyer gegen europäische Überheblichkeit“**

<http://www.nahost-politik.de/europa/aussenpolitik.htm>

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Nov. 04:

**Seminarbericht: „US-Präsidentschaftswahlen“**

(10 p.)

Erstellt für den „Atlantik-Kurier“, Dt. Atl. Gesellschaft:

<http://www.deuscheatlantischegesellschaft.de/kurier/index.shtml>

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Dez. 04:

**„Eine gerechte und zukunftsgerechte UN-Sitzverteilung“**

[http://www.wadinet.de/news/dokus/Reform\\_UN-Sicherheitsrat.pdf](http://www.wadinet.de/news/dokus/Reform_UN-Sicherheitsrat.pdf)

(22 p.)

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Jan. 05

Meine Übersetzung des Beitrags v.

**Nasir F. Hassan: „How the Left Betrayed My Country – Iraq“**,

in: FrontPageMagazine.com, 3.1.05

<http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=16513>

Übersetzung – unter den Titeln:

**„Wie die Linke mein Land verrät – den Irak“**

<http://www.wadinet.de/news/iraq/newsarticle.php?id=602>

**„Wie die Linke mein Land verriet – den Irak“**

<http://www.nahost-politik.de/irak/hassan.htm>

**„Keine Tyrannenfeinde“**

in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung, 30.1.05, S.2

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Febr. 05:

Dialog-Text:

**„Außenpolitik – Fehler und Lehren“**

*Untertitel:*

**„Bilanz rot-grüner Außenpolitik, UN-Reform, Iran-Krise“**

<http://www.wadinet.de/news/dokus/Dialog-Text.pdf>

(20 p.)

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**„January 2005 – A Recent Story.“**

[http://www.wadinet.de/news/dokus/2005-Recent\\_story.pdf](http://www.wadinet.de/news/dokus/2005-Recent_story.pdf)

(22 p.)

21.)

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thanks for reading and thanks for your regular, sound and equally questioning as pushing political commentary in The Post.

You are right with what you write!

There's some background to my judgment, as you may kindly assume. Though a real political nobody, I was able to impact a bit on the discussion among opinion leaders over here. Mr Dr Wolfgang Schäuble, in charge of general foreign policy matters in CDU/CSU-Faction of the Bundestag, for instance, has been stressing repeatedly over the past weeks, that there is a tendency of "re-nationalization of foreign policy" on the part of the German government, a tendency (or even profile) he is viewing with extreme concern. Mr Schäuble read my lengthy paper "Schröder, Chirac: Re-Nationalisierung der Politik", cited on p. 21 (see List of publications, pp. 21-22). He also wrote me twice in an elaborate manner and with positive tenor, reinforcing argumentation contra "re-nationalization of our foreign policy design," for instance with respect to German UN-representation. Our government's aspirations to acquire a seat in UN Security Council in fact reflects such ambitions. To my knowledge, the formula of "re-nationalization" had not been used by any other commentator over here before I did in October of last year when Dr Schäuble took notice of my article – as well as the one on "Gerechte (equitable) und zukunftsgerichte UN-Sitzverteilung" of December 04. This also gives proof of public discourse in civil society. Decision makers must not be aloof – and they aren't in many cases, as can be seen by this little occurrence. So I like to say thanks to Democracy!

Sincerely,

Yours

Fritz W. Peter

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\*) Addressed to several columnists of the Washington Post.